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ALASKA: NATIVE REVIEW COMMISSION IS UNDERWAY

The Alaska Claims Review Commission is conducting an
overview hearing in Anchorage for three weeks in late February
in order to discuss the Land Claims Act and Alaska lands.
The hearing will involve Native leaders from Alaska and other
parts of the US. The Commission, headed by Thomas R. Berger,
was established by the Inuit Circumpolar Conference to look
at the effects of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of
1971 (ANCSA). In spite of its initial reception as bold and
innovative, the Act has many weaknesses. Only Alaska Natives
alive in 1971 received shares under ANCSA and those born
since have no legal interest in the Native corporations or
the Native land which the corporations hold. In 1991 shares
in the corporations become tradeable and Native lands become
taxable. (For a more comprehensive view of the issues involved
in ANCSA see INGIA Newsletter Nos. 35 & 36.)

The Commission to investigate the consequences of the
Act is independent and has established its own procedures
and methods. Berger's approach in the past has been that
credibility does not rest exclusively with experts. In fact
it is the responsibility of the experts to put their ideas
forward for scrutiny by all citizens. The contribution
of indigenous peoples is thus essential to any assessment
of their circumstances. The Commission will not be conducting a
study but providing the means whereby all interested parties
can put forward their case. The procedures will enable
Alaska Natives themselves, speaking through no intermediary,
to define their values and express their aspirations. The
emphasis will therefore be on setting out the village Native
perspectives.

The Commission's work will be conducted in public. The
"overview" hearings, such as that to be held in Anchorage at
the end of February, will look at issues from a broad per-
spective with participation by Native and non-Native expertise.
These and the other formal hearings will supply background
information on specific issues. There will also be opportunity for round-table discussions.

The backbone of the Commission is to be the village meetings. During these the Commission will hear from the people who live day-to-day with the issues and know from their own experience what is important. No academic treatise or consultant's study, no formal presentation by Native organizations and their leaders can offer as compelling and vivid a picture of the true condition of Alaska Natives, their goals and aspirations, as their own testimony. The meaning of an issue often lies in how it is perceived, how it is felt in ordinary life. Village people speaking for themselves in their own language in their own way are their own best witnesses.

Village meetings will be held in an informal way according to local preferences and customs. The Commission will stay until everyone has had their say. Everything that is said at the village meetings as well as at the more formal hearings will be transcribed verbatim as a matter of public record. That record will form the basis for the final report. The report will be written and designed to be read not only by elected officials and leaders and government officers, but also by the people in village Alaska and their peers in other states and nations. The report is due to be published in 1985.

Judge Berger has adopted four principles for the Commission: thoroughness, fairness, flexibility and accessibility. The credibility and value of the published report - the end product - will rest on the unchanging application of these principles throughout the process of gathering and analysing information.

Time, a critical element of the Act, is quickly running out as 1991 approaches. Taxation, stock alienation, and land loss - all these are on the minds of Native people throughout the state. If the greater community fails to address these issues, the consequences could be devastating. Other concerns, such as Native sovereignty and self-rule, not addressed by ANCSA, also demand careful examination. This is because a movement has arisen among Alaska Natives seeking to have traditional lands restored to ownership by tribal institutions, that is, to separate the issue of Native corporations from the land issue by removing the land from the control of the corporations.

Some say it is already too late, that the die is cast, that Native Alaskans are caught in a flow of events that will eventually consume them. That remains to be seen. Certainly the challenges are awesome. Informed choices must be made that will take the individual, and the Native community as a whole, beyond 1991 into the 21st century. The issues go beyond the specifics of 1991 and to the heart of relationships between Native peoples and the land and the larger society of which they are a part.

The grass roots movements behind these broader issues are exemplified to a large degree by the thrust of the "tribal" movement in Alaska and the formation of the United Tribes of Alaska (UTA). In fact it was the UTA who in May 1983 passed a resolution requesting the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and the Alaska Native Review Commission in particular, to undertake a study of Alaska Native sovereignty.

The importance of the Commission therefore lies not only in the issues of 1991 but also in something larger. Native people are seeking their place in the wider society, they are seeking a new accommodation with their historical roots in the land and a meaningful measure of self-determination in the governance of their lives.

Source: Alaska Native Review Commission: General Project Description - December 1983.
AUSTRALIA: NEW GOVERNMENT PRINCIPLES ON ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS

In December 1983, the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Clyde Holding made a statement on the Government's attitude to land rights and sacred site protection which was accompanied by a resolution acknowledging Aboriginal people as the original owners who have been dispossessed of their land by white settlement and affirming their right to self-determination. The resolution set out principles which will be put forward in land rights legislation this year. These principles include inalienable freehold title to land, protection of sacred sites, control of mining on Aboriginal land and the issue of compensation.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the speech (extracts of which are published below) is the tone which it adopts. The white impact on Aboriginal society is described as a "holocaust", there is recognition of Aboriginal traditions and notions of customary law. The question on religious freedom is discussed in relation to sacred sites and the discrimination against Aboriginal people is recognised. In connection with the poor record of certain State governments in recognising the demands of Aborigines the speech says quite clearly that Human Rights must take precedent over State Rights.

At one point in the speech Mr. Holding made it quite clear that the issue of sovereignty would not be threatened by the legislation. Sovereignty, for him, rests in the Crown and Parliaments joining all people as Australians in the Commonwealth. This is probably the most controversial aspect of the speech and runs counter to the position of organisations such as the Federation of Land Councils or the National Aboriginal Conference who do not consider that Aboriginal sovereignty is the same thing as Australian sovereignty.

The objectives set out in the resolution are given the target date of 1988 (Bicentennial year) as an aim. Their impact on Aboriginal affairs depends on the shape which the resolution will take when it is finally passed by both Houses of Parliament and also in how this year's land rights legislation turns out. The crux of the matter will therefore be how the resolution looks in practice.

There will undoubtedly be some problems over the Government's uranium policy which is being expanded. Although Pancontinental's proposed Jabiluka mine and Denison's Koongarra mine in Northern Territory are in doubt (see INGIA Newsletter 35 & 36) as well as Western Mining's Yeelirrie mine, Roxby Downs (South Australia) has been given the go-ahead and Ranger (N.T.) will be allowed to fulfill two new contracts. This year the Federal Cabinet will push for further new contracts for Ranger and Nabarlek (the other existing mine in N.T.). The question will be the extent to which Aborigines will be able to prevent mining taking place on their lands should they so wish.

Relations between Federal and State governments are often problematic in Australian Aboriginal affairs and it is important to understand the extent to which the principles embedded in the proposed resolution will actually prevent abuses of Aboriginal rights taking place at State level. For example in Western Australia at the moment the Lockridge Camp Aboriginal people of Swan Valley face a proposal by the Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority to build the Midland Western Link Road right through their land. Each of the several alternative proposed roads slice through land important for sacred reasons, community purposes and traditional meeting places. If the road goes ahead it will also cut through Western Australia's Aboriginal Heritage Act which is meant to protect communities from such invasions. The question here is whether the proposed Federal legislation would be able to help in resolving the issue.

If this resolution is passed it will be without doubt a big step forward in the Australian government's attitudes to Aboriginal rights. However there is still a long way to go. Reports from Australia say that the land rights legislation
has been further delayed and that the notion of inalienable land is still under discussion.

Sources: Aboriginal Past: Australia's Future, Hon.Clyde Holding MP

AUSTRALIA: ABORIGINAL PAST: AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE

Extracts from a speech by the Australian Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Hon.Clyde Holding MP.

What has happened in this country between black and white has often been ignoble, and we have, only recently, begun to admit to ourselves that the widely accepted version of our national beginings, of white man bringing the benefits of civilisation to benighted heathens, is rather less than the whole truth. And even more so, the comfortable assumption that the Aborigines accepted, perhaps even welcomed, this "civilising mission" without putting up a real fight, is a view of the past which no longer stands up to examination.

The origins of Australia, as the Western nation we know today, are seen by indigenous people here as the end of the Dreaming, not the birth of the nation. For those who had been the custodians of this land for so long it was the beginning of dispossession, disease and death; in short, of the destruction of Aboriginal society. We expect Aboriginal people to 'forget the past and not be bitter' but they dare not forget the past nor allow their children to forget it - for people who have survived a holocaust will teach their children the hard lessons of that survival. The European vision of Australia's future had no place in it for the Aboriginal people, for their values, their traditions. So we have allowed them to have only a small share of the wealth of their own country, so few rights and privileges.

This Government looks to achieve progress for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people through the principles of consultation and self-determination, that is with the involvement of the Aboriginal people in the whole process. Acting on these principles, we have enlarged the resources available to the National Aboriginal Conference and given it the means to speak to the Government as the national voice of Aboriginal interests. All our policies, each of our programs and projects, have been and will continue to be fashioned in discussions with Aboriginal people and their organisations at
national and community levels. A member of the NAC is attached to my private office as liaison officer. I expect the NAC to advise me and I expect to be guided by that advice in the action I take or recommend to the Government.

The first major area of policy is land rights which will be guided by the following five principles:
- Aboriginal land to be held under inalienable freehold title;
- protection of Aboriginal sites;
- Aboriginal control in relation to mining on Aboriginal land;
- access to mining royalty equivalents;
- compensation for lost land to be negotiated.

I have already established a group of legal advisors, instructed by the NAC and land councils. They are now preparing draft legislation for consideration by the NAC. The same group is working on a law to protect sacred sites and objects throughout Australia. This work has the highest priority for Aboriginal people.

Funds available for Aboriginal programs have been increased and will be available to the States on the basis that they consult with Aborigines through the National Aboriginal Conference and the Aboriginal Development Commission as to the allocation of particular priorities. Aborigines should determine the future role of the Aboriginal Arts Board, human rights and racial discrimination legislation must be tightened up, assimilatory policies such as removing Aboriginal children from their parents are still feared by Aborigines and their concern must be alleviated, employment must be found for Aborigines and education opportunities must be stepped up. On these subjects the Government is increasing the programs already started and is initiating new ones.

In Australia, at a time when our European forebears still lived in caves, art and dance, song and ceremony, language and religion, had become an integral of this great ancient culture. The Aboriginal inheritance, still preserved in spite of so much disdain and destruction can now enrich and enhance us.

This is spectacularly apparent in the heritage of Aboriginal rock art, language and music which bring us immensely subtle experiences of people at harmony with nature. Most of all, however, the quickening of interest among Aboriginal people themselves, their proud reassertion of their own cultural integrity, gives us grounds for great hope for the future. This renaissance in Aboriginal art and culture, and a new-found and world-wide respect for it, provide the proof of the survival of Aboriginal values, from which we can all learn a great deal.

Aboriginal people have always had different concepts of guilt and innocence, crime and punishment. They have often settled disputes by consensus, recognising that there can be collective responsibility for misdemeanour. Where the law still discriminates against Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and denies them the most basic human rights, we must change the law. We must also reassess many of our attitudes towards Aboriginal customary laws reflecting all aspects of Aboriginal life; towards how Aboriginal religion governs the concept of family and people as an integral part of the land, the sea, the sky and the universe.

Our own religious heritage has prepared us little for an understanding of Aboriginal religion. But we must now discard all notions of superiority and adopt a truly ecumenical approach if we are to espouse the principles of religious freedom.

One area of widespread misunderstanding on the part of non-Aboriginal Australians is over the Aboriginal attitude towards sacred sites. One continually hears the complaint that whenever any development is proposed, the Aborigines suddenly find a new sacred site. In normal circumstances a sacred site would be secret and so would never be revealed. The Aboriginal people have now begun to disclose them only because they are under threat. If we do not ensure adequate protection for Aboriginal sacred sites in the future we will be making a mockery of religious freedom in this country.
To restore to Aboriginal people a proper form of land rights throughout Australia is not only possible but a necessity. It is, of course, not so hard to make this restoration where the white frontier has not entirely overtaken the Aboriginal people. It is not so easy, but by no means impossible to act in areas where the white frontier has overrun them. The Aboriginal people did not merely flee before the white frontier. They could not prevail against the disease and the determination of white society to impose its own values and technology. So they became refugees in their own country, settled and resettled as the white man saw fit. Until this great issue is settled, and these legacies of the past are redressed, Australians — all of us — can never be truly free, never live in harmony and with a sense of equality.

But there is no issue of sovereignty. Aboriginal people will make their own future as citizens of the Australian nation. In Australia, no contract between the colonizers and the colonized was ever negotiated. The legal doctrine of "terra nullius" was applied, on the presumption that the Aboriginal people were not people at all; that their presence in Australia was of no more significance than the flora and fauna. We can no longer live with such a naive and arrogant concept of our beginnings as a nation and the prior ownership of Australia by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people must be acknowledged by this Parliament and understood by all Australians.

We must accommodate the Aboriginal traditions of land ownership along with those traditions that came here more recently and with which people are more familiar. Associated with this is housing. Rather than trying to construct a house in the desert without building materials, the Aboriginal people found it more intelligent to develop a society that was nomadic, not haphazardly so but in tune with the seasons as they came and went. The planned progress of nomadic life was always a social and sacred ritual embracing the dictates of economics and hygiene. Many Aboriginal people have been forced by our presence in this country into town camps, the least salubrious parts of cities, or large settlements in the outback. But wherever Aborigines live today, they badly need housing in order to live full and healthy lives and, again, we should remember that it is we who have made housing a necessity for them.

It should be a matter of great shame that Aborigines have an unemployment rate that varies between 60 and 90% — much higher than the rest of the population. One of the reasons for this disastrous rate is the lack of relevant training amongst Aborigines. Education funding in this country has never been democratic for anyone and Aboriginal people have not, until very recently, been able to afford it. In our education programs, we have so often overlooked the fact that for large numbers of Aboriginal children, English is not their mother tongue.

There is the same problem with regard to Aboriginal health. An enormous toll has been taken by introduced diseases, enforced dietary changes, a breakdown of the very efficacious hygiene rules of traditional life, bad housing, lack of water, lack of medical care and the imposed marginal situation of Aborigines in this community. Health-care delivery has ignored the special social and cultural needs of Aboriginal people, and their economic and social disadvantage. We must recognize the need for Aboriginal self-determination in tackling the complex interaction of factors underlying their ill-health. This means Aboriginal decision-power in the planning and implementation of the various programs.

The effects of dispossession, of the extreme disruption of Aboriginal society, of the poor housing and low self-esteem, all combine in the frequency of alcohol abuse which is highly visible. We must see alcoholism as the symptom of deeper problems and face up to them. We must confront the cause, rather than opt for the easy solution of blaming the victim.
Aborigines have done a great deal for their own future. The Aboriginal Medical Service in Redfern, Sydney heralded in 1971 the study of community health in Australia and there are now some 23 community services controlled by Aboriginal people. The Federated Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders came into being in the 1940s and lobbied for 19 years for an effective Aboriginal referendum. Even though the Federal Government has been involved in Aboriginal affairs since this referendum, much of the impetus for reform comes from the Aboriginal peoples' own organisations.

This nation needs to come to terms with its past. Aboriginal Australians and non-Aboriginal Australians need to come to terms with each other. We have to admit and accept the past. We can't pretend that nothing happened. Nor can we ignore the legacies of racial discrimination, of injustices that become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Although this is a Government of national reconciliation and although we shall seek harmony in our relations with the States, the demands of the Aboriginal people for justice will no longer be denied. We - and they - can no longer accept the assimilationist paternalism which passes for 'Aboriginal welfare' in some parts of Australia. Human rights of Aboriginal and Islander Australians must take precedence over 'State Rights'.

We cannot aspire to leadership amongst the newly-emerging nations of the Pacific while Torres Strait Islanders and Aboriginal people live in conditions more characteristic of a colonial regime. Until we give to the Aboriginal people that which is theirs, this nation can never aspire to greatness. And we shall have to make this reparation, not in the sense of giving it and taking it back - but with the understanding that the beginnings of this nation were among the most brutal and genocidal in history. Ultimately the liberty and rights of the Aboriginal peoples will mean liberty and rights for us all.

BANGLADESH: CHITTAGONG'S HILL MEN STRUGGLE TO PUT THEIR CASE

Tribal guerrilla fighters in the Chittagong hill areas of Bangladesh are demanding a £200,000 ransom for the release of three Shell employees kidnapped late February while managing oil drilling operations.

The incident has provoked a Government ban on reporting in the hill tracts, a jungle area bordering Burma and India in the extreme south-east of the country, and forced Shell to stop work, laying off 600 casual labourers. Shell is reported to be ready to pay the ransom for the three - a New Zealander, a Dutchman, and an American - but the Government is unwilling to allow such a sum to go to the guerrillas.

Known as the Shanti Bahini or Peace Force, the guerrillas have been fighting government forces for over a decade, fearing the extinction of their race as the Government seeks to open up the area. Although dubbed "miscreants" by the Government, their demands are essentially political, a minimum object being to maintain their social and economic status as a Buddhist minority in a Muslim-dominated country.

The Shanti Bahini developed against the background of dispossession and increasing exploitation by Muslim Bengalis who now control the markets, the courts, and the police in the hill areas.

Under the British, the Chittagong hill tracts were protected and non-tribals were only allowed to buy land or to trade there under strict supervision. With independence, this measure of security began to be eroded. The most important single factor which contributed to tribal disaffection was the construction of the hydroelectric dam at Kaptai in 1963.

The dam, financed by the United States, flooded nearly half the tribal people's settled and cultivated land, forcing
them back into the hills and on to poor land. Few of the 100,000 affected, sixth of the entire tribal population, received any compensation.

Since then there have been a number of large-scale aid projects to develop the region's resources. The tribal people argue that they are the victims of these projects and not the beneficiaries as road building schemes merely assist the movement of the 30,000 government troops in the area, and Bengali-dominated businesses which exploit tribal people.

Under former President Zia Ur, a huge programme of settlement began, landless Bengalis from other districts were brought in by lorries, given land and encouraged to settle. This policy, which by 1982 had settled between 300,000 and 400,000 Bengalis, culminated in a series of massacres of tribal people by settlers.

The Shanti Bahini claim that the settlers had the tacit support of the police and army. They have also accused the army of razing villages, torture, and the desecration of Buddhist temples.

The tribal people see the settlement program as an attempt to make them a minority in their own land and so break their claim to any particular rights.

In November, 1983, General Ershad, Bangladesh's chief martial law administrator and President announced an amnesty for members of the Shanti Bahini who gave themselves up. The last date for surrender was recently extended to April 26 this year. So far fewer than 100, out of 3,000 active members, have surrendered.

While Shell interest in the region is purely commercial, the Shanti Bahini want assurances that some of the benefits, should oil be found, will go to the tribal population, as almost all administrative posts and commercial operations are in the hands of Bengalis.

More generally, the Shanti Bahini demand the restoration of tribal control over tribal land, and the return to the "special status" granted the area under the British.

They want the abolition of the identity cards which only tribal people have to carry, the reservation of the majority of local government posts for tribals, the restoration of the land taken by Bengalis (often with false papers) since 1952, and the removal of recent settlers.

Opposition attempts to disrupt rural elections called by the Bangladesh Government gathered momentum on March 5th when election authorities announced the withdrawal of 499 candidates.

Source: The Guardian March 6th 1984
BELIZE: MOPÁN AND KEKCHÍ INDIANS FIGHT FOR THEIR CULTURE

The Mopán and Kekchí peoples of Belize make up the Toledo population who have in recent years formed themselves into the Toledo Indian Cultural Movement. They live mainly in the southwestern region of Belize (formerly British Honduras) in Central America. This Maya population is an offshoot of the Guatemalan highland Kekchí of Alta Verapaz. They first migrated into the region in the 1880s as contract workers for German-owned estates where cacao, coffee and rubber were produced. After 1914 when the British interned the Germans, the Toledo people spread into the surrounding areas and formed independent villages. Since then there have been more migrations from Guatemala in response to the political repression there.

Since the time of their first migration from Guatemala they have suffered medical, educational and other administrative neglect. This was officially recognised by the British Parliament who in 1953 established a liaison officer between the Indians and the Colonial Secretary. This post was abolished in 1961 when the present government, the People's United Party, set up a representative system. However, the elected representative could do nothing in the face of government opposition and the Toledo people's problems increased further.

As the Secretary General of the Toledo Indian Movement, Mr. Cuc, said in a recent interview, "the Toledo Indian Movement is a grass roots organisation which was started by a group of farmers. They were conscious of the victimization of the Indians to present our problems. So we decided to found a committee and visit villages and set up committees there." A first attempt at a regional organisation fizzled out after government intervention. "We tried again in 1978 placing the organisation under an agricultural union name but the government did not like that either." Now the Toledo Indian Cultural Movement is working gradually to gain international recognition in its fight to defend Indian interests.

It is the aim of the TICM to increase Indian self-esteem in the Creole (African) and Hispanic dominated society of Belize. They wish to be recognised as Indian people and avoid political ideology. With their system of communal organisation based on their culture and traditions they intend to expose the historical and current problems confronting the indigenous people of Belize.

The Indian villages were originally organised by the British in terms of reservations. This consisted of an area of about three square miles allotted to each community where the inhabitants practised their slash and burn agriculture. At present there are about fifteen villages in the district of Toledo. After independence in 1981 the principles of the constitution deprived all Indians of a recognised identity. It became legal to dissolve Indian groups and expropriate the "reserved" lands. Slash and burn agriculture has been considered unproductive by the government who have recently abolished the reservations and parcelled out the land into small plots leaving an enormous area available for non-Indians. Some areas accepted the arrival of people from outside to take over their lands because they had been told it would benefit them. However, the local Indian communities have soon become dependent on these foreign land owners because their own land is not enough for their needs and they have had to seek low paid wage labour from the new owners.

One of the reasons for the economic difficulties of the Toledo Indians is that all the cash crops they produce have to be sold to government controlled markets. In 1980 the indigenous farmers were asked to produce as much as possible but in subsequent years they were given little or no recompense for the crops "sold" to the Government. The farmers have received no support from the Government to improve their equipment and the communications system which makes access to the markets very difficult. A farmer receives his income once a year when he sells his produce which must keep an extended family alive. To deny him this income is to deprive a family
of its very livelihood.

Another problem connected with agriculture has been the increase in the production of marihuana. Although the introduction, production and trade has been controlled by non-Indians, these illegal activities have brought harsh reprisals from the authorities which have severely harmed the Indian population. The illicit use of the herbicide paraquat has resulted in the spraying of the marihuana crops from the air. The poison has also destroyed many of the Indian people's fruit crops and threatened their whole food supply.

Some Toledo Indians have found favour with the Government and as a result are reaping the benefits of good connections. The result, according to the Toledo Indian Cultural Movement, has been to divide the people and deprive them of their group identity. A small group of better off Indians do not have the same commitment to traditional values and communal organisation. As Prim Coc says, "we are trying to teach the people, trying to get them to realise that everybody is equal. We should have pride in our culture, in our language, in our traditions. It is an inheritance locked in us."

Traditionally the Toledo Indians have "bush doctors" providing treatment for many ailments. However the Catholic and Protestant missions of the area have been doing their best to abolish the practice of bush-doctors with the result that many are afraid to carry out their traditional curing and refuse to pass on their techniques to the younger generation. The alternative medical services are very poor. The local village clinics lack sufficient medical facilities and are staffed by non-Indians. Visits to the one doctor in the distant town of Punta Gorda are frequently met with no result.

Education is very limited for Indian youth. General education is oriented to the national society so that only English is taught at schools. Scholarships are few and far between and those who manage to receive a college education (in the last 30 years only 1% out of a population of 7000) are discouraged from returning to work in their communities.

Despite the attempts of the missionaries and the Government to suppress the culture of the Toledo Indians, they intend to hold on to those values and customs which help to create their identity. Their communal systems of production and organisation, their styles of houses, their language and modes of worship and ritual are all of great importance to their survival as indigenous peoples. Prim Coc says that when Toledo Indians look at the remains of the Maya civilisation they understand that their culture is a part of that heritage which was so wantonly destroyed in the past.

Survival is all the more important now and their hopes for the future centre around the respect and integrity of cultural identity. "We can survive", says Prim Coc, "as Indians, as genuine people because we are of a coherent cultural tradition. For us to remain as we are we really have to get some form of protection. If our Government would protect us, that would be fine, but if not we have to look elsewhere, for example to other Indian people in other countries with whom we can discuss our problems how to preserve ourselves for the future. I think that's the only way."

Sources: "Racism is not visible here, but it exists", interview by Robin Schneider with Prim Coc, Secretary General of the Toledo Indian Movement, Belize. Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker, Germany.

Statement from Toledo Indian Cultural Movement also printed in World Council of Indigenous Peoples Newsletter, August 1983

Two devastating laws have been recently proposed in Brazil which, if passed, will take away some of the most basic rights of the indigenous peoples. The first is a projected revision of the Civil Code which declares the Indian population to be 'absolutely incapable' denying them any possibility of expressing their opinions and placing them definitively under the 'protection' of FUNAI. Denunciations of the proposal have been made nationally and internationally. UNI (Unión Nacional del Indio) made the following statement:

"UNI members of the Central/West region and leaders of the Terena people met on January 14, 1984 in Aquidauana city to examine the contents of Article 3 Inciso IV of the New Civil Code now passing through the National Congress. The representatives looked at the contents and the drastic consequences of its approval which would classify indigenous people as absolutely incapable, retarded or mentally ill. In the light of this the legitimate representatives of the indigenous communities present at the meeting repudiate and condemn the above proposal for the Civil Code which will bring dire consequences to the rural areas and result in shame for the nation as a whole.

"The significance of this project for the Indian is an unacceptable step backwards, demonstrating the attempt to force indigenous communities out of society by taking away all their rights to express their will and making them dependent on a protecting organisation. This suitably reinforces the paternalistic approach which declares: "simply giving anything to people inhibits their initiative, lowers their humanity and stagnates the community".

"Speaking frankly the supporters of this new clause wish to put us down into a condition of irrationality, mental deficiency or abnormality whereas they should be supporting and stimulating indigenous peoples to organise themselves to solve their own problems. Then by using their means of cooperation, their spirit of initiative and their particular Indian qualities, they can set their sights to improve their conditions of life and on these terms participate in the progress of development.

"The Indian ought not and cannot be considered absolutely incapable because he has contributed so much to the development of the regions around the indigenous communities. Taking part in the task of supplying agricultural produce, labouring in the farms and factories producing sugar and alcohol, working in public, federal, state and municipal sectors as well as serving in the Armed Forces where he has taken part in the World Wars and other historical events in the country, the Indian has demonstrated his value to the nation.

"Considering all the facts we appeal to the good sense of the authorities to prevent this law going ahead."

The second proposed law has been put forward by Diputado João Batista Faquandes and is Projeto de Lei no. 2465/83 which intends to "emancipate" the Indians by decree which means that they would have no legal protection for maintaining their cultural traditions and even more important no protection over their land.

What this effectively means is not that they will be released from legal constrictions but that the legal responsibilities which the Brazilian state has for protecting land and culture of indigenous peoples will no longer apply. The problem at the moment is not that the Indian population of Brazil has no legal protection but that that protection is not being enforced. This proposed law will take away the protection they have at present. To call such a law one of "emancipation" is cynicism of the highest order.

When we look at these two proposed laws together they appear to be contradictory. The change in the Civil Code
proposes that the status of Indian be seen "absolutely incapable" instead of "relatively incapable" which is the present position. This means that the role of FUNAI will change from assisting the indigenous population from making up their minds to entirely making up their minds for them. On the other hand the "emancipation" law means that these very indigenous people who are "absolutely incapable" of speaking for or looking after themselves need no longer rely on protection from the state.

However the two laws together are in fact complementary because they first of all take away all legal protection for indigenous cultural traditions and land and then prevent that same population from opposing it in word or deed. The indigenous people of Brazil are not fighting laws of emancipation but of elimination.

IWGIA has sent the following protest telegram concerning these two proposed laws to the President of Brazil, the President of the House of Representatives, the Minister of the Interior and the President of FUNAI:

"International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) very concerned at Brazilian government's recent anti-indigenous legislation particularly proposed article 3 inciso IV of new Civil Code and Projeto de Lei no.2465/83 Stop Article binds Indians to total custodial status and law denies them official protection Stop IWGIA has close contact with Brazilian indigenous organisations and urges Government reconsider these devastating measures and listen to demands of Indian peoples Stop International Community watches closely actions of Brazilian government regarding indigenous peoples Stop."

Sources: Communications from ANAI and CINI Dec 1983
Communications from UNI and Cultural Survival Jan'84.

BRAZIL: INDIAN SOCIETIES AND THE LAW

On September 22, 23 and 24 last, a meeting was held in Florianopolis, Santa Catarina, bringing together anthropologists, lawyers and others interested in the question of "Indian societies and the Law". Organised by the graduate programme in social science of the Federal University of Santa Catarina, the meeting addressed two basic problems: 1) the question of articulating a uni-national State with the plural-society, multi-ethnic reality of Brazil, and 2) the formulation of legal strategies to protect Indians and their cultures.

The meeting was divided into four plenary sessions to address specific questions, with time allowed for the formation of work groups to write up documents on the questions of Indians and the Law. In the first plenary session, "Indian Societies and Brazil: Project for a multi-ethnic, plural society nation", the following papers were read and debated:

1) "Under what title does the Union exercise dominion over Indian lands?", Alain Moreau (Pontificia Universidade Catolica, Sao Paulo).
3) "Ethnic-cultural identity and the national question", Edgard de Assis Carvalho (PUC, Sao Paulo).
4) "Indians and the State: a preliminary proposal for study", Roque de Barros Laraia (Univ. de Brasilia).
5) "Epistemological proposals", Dalme Marie G. Rauen (UFSC).

The second plenary session dealt with the question of "Human Rights and the rights of Indians in Brazil", and included the following papers:

1) "The Karajás Project and Indian areas", Lux Vidal (Univ. de Sao Paulo).
2) "Indian Peoples and the Brazilian State", Orlando Sampaio Silva (Univ. Fed. de Para).
3) "Indians and the right to representation", Carlos de Araujo Moreira Neto (Divisao Pesq. Dept.de Cultura, Rio de Janeiro).
4) "The Xingu Case: the Federal Supreme Court sentence regarding the lands of the Xingu National Park", Bruna Franchetto (Associacao Brasileira de Antropologia - ABA, Ordem de Advogados de Brasil - OAB, Rio de Janeiro).

5) "Anti-cargo cult in the Upper Xingu: Political consciousness and legitimate defence", Rafael de Menezes Bastos (ABA, Brasilia).

6) "Two simplistic answers to the question of Indian land rights", Dennis Werner (UFSC, Florianopolis).

In the third plenary session, "Political-legal strategies for the protection of Indians", the following communications were presented:

1) "The situation of the Ha-Ha-Nae Pataxo of Bahia, and the current Brazilian Indian policy", Maria Hilca Paraiso (Univ. Fed. de Bahia).

2) "Legal protection in the Guarani village of Rio Silveira-Sao Sebastian, Sao Paulo state", Marco Antonio Barbosa (Centro de Trabalho Indigenista-CTI).

3) "Indian lands and the jurisprudence of the Federal Supreme Court", Aurelio Wander Bastos (Fundacao Casa "Rui Barbosa" Rio de Janeiro).

4) "The right to self-determination for tribal societies", Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (Comissao Pro-Indio, Sao Paulo, e Univ. de Campinas).

5) "The current situation of the Yanomami National Park", Claudia Andujar (Comissao pela Criacao do Parque Yanomami-CCPY, Sao Paulo).

6) "Definitions of 'Indians' and 'Indian communities' in legal texts", Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (Comissao Pro-Indio, Sao Paulo, e Univ. de Campinas).

The final plenary session was dedicated to the reading and approval of general motions, and of the documents presented by the work groups. Carlos Moreira Neto read the first document dealing with the rights of Indians to maintain political collectiveness within the Brazilian nations, and calling for the participation of an Indian Counsel with Indian representatives within FUNAI (the Brazilian Indian Foundation). The document condemns the following violations of Indian rights: a) the imminent expulsion of the Pataxo Indians from their lands, b) the amplification of article 198 of the Federal Constitution which allows for the indemnisation of self-proclaimed owners of the land within the Xingu National Park, c) the illegal elimination of the Waimiri-Autoari reserve by FUNAI, and d) the construction of a road through the Bananal Island Park, which threatens the Karaja Indians of the region.

Eunice Durham read the second document which condemns as contrary to the goals of a "pluralistic" society the policy that considers Indians "incompetent" until they cease to be Indian. The document calls for the establishment of independent mechanisms allowing Indians to make their own decisions on internal matters, recommends Indian participation in all of FUNAI's projects for Indian posts, and applauds the right of Indians to enter into legal proceedings without mediation by FUNAI.

The third document, read by Roque de Barros Laraia considers unconstitutional decree no. 85118 of February 23, 1983 and the accompanying Interior Ministry regulation 002 of March 17, 1983. The decree and accompanying regulation impose on the exclusivity of FUNAI's tutorage, exclude FUNAI from the power of democratic process, give complementary power to Federal and State agencies for the delimitation of Indian lands, and are unconstitutional in allowing for criteria other than Indian tenure (such as "public interest", "social problems" and "others") to decide Indian land rights.

The fourth document proposes that the Brazilian Anthropological Association promote studies of the concepts of "Indian land" and "territory", calls for the complete and adequate demarcation of all Indian lands, and requests that the Brazilian Lawyer's Order promote studies to clarify the legal concept of Indian land tenure.

In addition to approving these documents, the fourth plenary session also approved the following motions and recommendations (here in summary form):
1) that the National Congress, and especially the Indian Commission take measures to avoid violence in the confrontation over land rights of the Ha-Ha-Hae Pataxo of Bahia with ranchers and others of the region; and that FUNAI use its powers to free land for the Pataxo Indians.

2) that the Brazilian government follow the United Nations Commission on Human Rights' request for the formation of a Yanomami National Park; that a permanent health plan be established for the Indians; that the Indian areas delimited in 1977 and 1978 lying outside the prohibited area continue to be recognised; that the Commission for the creation of a Yanomami Park be consulted on any Brazilian government decision regarding the Yanomami; and that the mining area of Santa Rosa, located within the prohibited area, be immediately closed.

3) that the imprisonment of the Potiguara chief, Severino Fernandes da Silva, because of actions taken to demarcate Potiguara lands, be repudiated.

4) that the French and Brazilian governments consult the Mundurucu and Satere-Mawe Indians about oil drilling by Elf Aquitaine in Indian territory, and that just indemnisation be guaranteed.

5) that FUNAI assure the Chimbanque-Kaingang Indians if Santa Catarina rights to the lands they occupy.

6) that FUNAI impose annulment of the Federal Supreme Court decision in Civil action 278-8. MT.

7) that, in view of the problems experienced by the Xokleng Indians of Santa Catarina upon indemnisation of their lands, FUNAI consider more carefully the way indemnisations are handled.

The Meeting "Indian Sciences and the Law" was organised by Silvio Coelho dos Santos (UFSC).

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BRAZIL: THE TAPE RECORDINGS OF MARIO JURUNA NOW OUT AS A BOOK

By René Fuerst

Before presiding over the Russell Tribunal which, in 1980, met at Rotterdam to pass judgement on the crimes committed against the Indians of the Americas, and before becoming, in 1982, the first Indian federal diputado of Brazil, the Xavante Mario Juruna, or more precisely, Mario Dzuruna Butse, 40 years old, was known by his very individual way of communicating with non-Indian Brazilians and especially with the representatives of FUNAI (National Indian Foundation) the government agency responsible for Brazilian indigenist politics. In fact he never discussed anything with them unless he had his tape-recorder present which prevented them from being able to forget or deny their numerous promises to him and to his people, the famous Xavante of Central Brazil. As some noticed immediately, this man who was considered a joker by most people, and an Indian into the bargain, was quickly going to become one of the most well known, the most listened to and the most respected Brazilian both abroad and at home, and that his tape-recordings would be published as a book which is without doubt the most revealing account of the seamy side of the controversial indigenist politics of Brazil.

Under the title "The tape-recordings of Mario Juruna"², this extraordinary man is presented to us by Antonio Hohfeldt and Assis Hoffmann, two Brazilian journalists who are members of ANAI (National Association of Indian Support), to whom Mario Juruna had entrusted the editing of his book. They say and in the introduction Hohfeldt emphasises this point - that the book in question is really not their's but Juruna's! On the other hand, it is true that this book which at first...

1. See: the article by Teresa Aparicio published on this subject in IMGIA Newsletter Nos. 35 & 36, October and December 1983, pp. 59-73.

was only to have been a transcription with commentary of the recordings of the Indian, finally constituted the piece of documentation which to this day is the most complete and the most serious account of Brazilian indigenist politics.

Appropriately, Höhfeldt does not shrink from making the following statement: "I am more and more convinced that the indigenous problem is above all a problem of the white man, and that in the case of Brazilian society, the equality of Indian man will be possible with the ending of the minority dictatorship which, not only since the beginning of 1964 but for much longer before, pretends to govern us." After looking at the Indian who belongs to a political party, the book examines the distinctive characteristics of the Xavante man and then it delves into the various aspects of the indigenous struggle and finally arrives at a picture of Mario Juruna. It is none other than Darcy Ribeiro, the renowned Brazilian ethnologist and ardent defender of the indigenous cause, who in his preface to the book, is only too pleased to make the following commendation of the man who had played an important part in the Russell Tribunal: "Having silenced the indigenists, the anthropologists and the missionaries who make themselves out to be the interpreters of the indigenous struggle, Mario Juruna is now the great Indian voice of Brazil. The Indians of this country have, for the first time since Rondon, an indisputable representative." And, in fact, it will be many years before another Indian is able to affect Brazilian society to such a degree.

Having said this, the Juruna phenomenon is not unique. In fact Indians in ever greater numbers are raising their voices against indigenist Brazilian politics which are more evil than ever, and several of whom have already paid for their lives in a resistance which is still justified. One can remember for example Angelo Kreta, the Kaingang leader who was cowardly murdered in 1980. Another similar example of
this resistance is the birth, in the course of the same year, of UNI (Union of Indian Nations)\textsuperscript{3}, the first Brazilian organisation of this type, whose aim is nothing other than to improve the co-ordination of the indigenous struggle in the country.

Also, to finish these few notes with regard to "The tape-recordings of Juruna", a book of such great import that it should be speedily translated and read by the greatest number of concerned people, I will conclude with the very significant end to the preface by Darcy Ribeiro: "In this admirable book created by Mario Juruna, Antonio Hohfeldt and Assis Hoffmann, you have the portrait of this extraordinary man who teaches us Brazilians, to be more dignified and less perverse". Is this not the finest praise which one can bestow on the man who was once passed over as an Indian who was a bit of a joker?

\textsuperscript{3} See the article published on this subject in TWCGA Newsletter Nos. 35 & 36, October and December 1983 pp. 74-75.

**CANADA: INUIT NEED REASONABLE LAND CLAIMS SETTLEMENTS AND A NUNAVUT TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT**

The two main goals of Inuit people living in the Nunavut region of Northern Canada are reasonable land claims settlements and a Nunavut territorial government. This is the message given by Dennis Patterson, Chairman of the Nunavut Constitutional Forum recently. The issues of land claims and territorial government are being negotiated by different Inuit bodies but according to the Canadian Federal Government no provincial Nunavut constitution will be approved until land claims are settled.

In order to clarify the differences between these two aspects of Inuit goals it is necessary to look at the history of the land claims and territorial government plans, the different organisations involved and the present state of affairs.

**Inuit Land Claims in the Northwest Territories**

Land claims negotiations have been one of those issues that just won't end. Negotiators have not obtained a final settlement after many years of research and work. Today, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut is making progress, but the events and disappointments of the past few years overshadow these accomplishments. Three main factors have delayed a settlement: one, decisions by Inuit communities; two, decisions by the land claims leaders; and three, policies and resistance by the federal government.

A land claims settlement for Inuit of the NWT became a focus of concern of the first directors of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Inuit Brotherhood and umbrella organisation for Canadian Inuit). In November 1971, they decided to begin a land claims project. In 1972, the federal government provided ITC with funding to research land claims and make a proposal to government.

Between 1972 and 1975 ITC conducted intensive research and fieldwork to prepare a position for negotiations on many
issues such as hunting rights, game management, general land
rights of Inuit, land use and renewable and non-renewable re-
sources. It was shown that the Inuit had occupied 1,550,000 m²
for more than 4000 years.

In 1975 the ITC board of directors approved a proposal
that there should be outright Inuit ownership of 250,000 m²
with the rest "surrendered" to the federal government, there
should be royalties from development but no compensation
and that a Nunavut territorial government should be created. This
proposal was rejected by community Inuit.

In 1977 the ITC decided to form the Inuit Land Claims
Commission to draft new proposals. It was hoped that this
would speed up the land claims negotiations. Within three
months the ILCC headed by John Anagoalik drafted a new position
which was approved by the communities. However this proposal
was rejected by the federal government who were not keen about
the Inuit insistence to divide NWT to create Nunavut. Dead-
lock ensued as the federal government refused to negotiate
with the ILCC setting up a non-Inuit commission (the Drury
Commission) to conduct an enquiry into reform of NWT. Prob-
lems were further aggravated when the government wanted the
Inuit to relinquish aboriginal rights in exchange for ben-
fits. The negotiations failed to progress very far on these
issues.

In 1979 the ITC dissolved the ILCC because not enough
progress was being made. A policy of immediate intensive
negotiations for land claims lasted from February till Dec-
ember 1979 but these too came to nothing.

In 1980 Thomas Suluk of the ITC announced a new policy
whereby land claims would be more flexible yet remain under
the direction of the national organisation. Negotiations
would work on a monthly schedule. However at this time there
was a federal election and the government delayed discussions
with the Inuit preferring to work on its own land claims man-
date.

Meanwhile in 1981, intensive negotiations began on pro-
posals about the protection of wildlife resources and Inuit
hunting. The subsequent agreement gave the Inuit right to
hunt all species of wildlife in Nunavut to meet their basic
needs as long as the animals were not endangered species. The
agreement effectively gave the Inuit considerable control in
all aspects of wildlife management.

In 1982 negotiations on land and resources got underway
in August. During the year an independent body with its own
board of directors was formed to research and negotiate land
claims on behalf of the Inuit of Nunavut. The body was first
called the Nunavut Claims Executive Committee and later became
the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut.

The TFN still faces federal opposition to political change
although in 1983 some progress could be seen. In April two
documents were signed in Cambridge Bay for provisions of land
ownership and principles of land selection. In May and July
there were agreements over Outpost Camps and provisions over
national parks and archaeology. In August and September there
were agreements over conservation areas too. This piecemeal
approach necessitates a gradual movement towards a settlement
of all land claims. Now that the federal government is agreed
in principle to the division of NWT, hopefully a settlement of
land claims in favour of the Inuit will appear in a year or so.

Inuit land claims are taking a long time because they are
aiming at more than just a lump sum compensation payment.
They want to strengthen their economy from benefits provided
over time as resources are developed. If the north of Canada
is to be developed it should be done with Inuit participation
and management. The Inuit can then develop their own social
and economic programmes and depend less on hand-outs from the
federal government.

There has been a feeling in Nunavut that the delays over
land claims settlements have caused some apathy among the
communities. For this reason the TFN negotiators are open for consultation with all Inuit and are providing a monthly newsletter so that the whole Nunavut population can be fully informed as to the latest events in the land claims negotiations.

**Nunavut territorial government**

The second principal goal of the Inuit in NWT has been the establishment of a Nunavut territorial government. Originally territorial government and land claims were envisaged as part of the same package deal with the federal government. The two issues formed aspects of the 1975 Nunavut proposal which was eventually withdrawn. The desire for a Nunavut territory was not in doubt, however, and in 1977 the new version continued to combine the two issues.

The linking factor between the land claims settlements and Nunavut territorial government was the division of the Northwest territories into a western jurisdiction (Denendeh) and an eastern region (Nunavut). The agreement would consist of an economic settlement for land claims and a political and administrative settlement for the Nunavut territory. However the two issues became separated in 1977 when the federal government refused to accept any total agreements.

After this, as we have seen, the land claims settlements became further delayed and the issue of Nunavut territorial government had to be discussed with the Drury Commission on NWT division. The next major development was in 1979 when the NWT Legislative Assembly established a Special Committee on Unity which recommended a plebiscite on the issue of division. The vote eventually took place in April 1982 where a majority of people (up to 80% in the eastern Nunavut region) voted in favour of division. Soon after the NWT Legislative Assembly voted 19-0 in favour of division also.

Following these events two "constitutional fora" were organised by the indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants of the Northwest territories. The Nunavut Constitutional
Forum consists of Inuit leaders and non-Inuit politicians from the NWT. This forum is connected with the eastern part of the territory. The Western Constitutional Forum consists of Metis, Dene and other western inhabitants of NWT. COPE (Committee for Original Peoples’ Entitlement), the oldest native political organisation in the north, represents the Inuvialuit Inuit groups of the Western Arctic and as such is associated with both fora. The Nunavut Constitutional Forum and the Western Constitutional Forum together make up the Constitutional Alliance.

In 1982 the federal government stated that Nunavut was acceptable in principle as long as land claims were settled and boundaries worked out. The Nunavut Constitutional Forum decided that it was important to discuss proposals for new government directly with the communities. The result has been a visit in October 1983 to all the eastern Arctic communities in NWT for grass roots consultation. Most communities were supplied with copies of Building Nunavut which contains the main constitutional issues. After the Eastern Arctic tours are planned to the communities of the Central and Western Arctic regions.

The interweaving of the land claims settlements and the territorial government demonstrates some of the complexities in the Nunavut struggle for constitutional recognition. With luck it is hoped that some end to the land negotiations will be in sight in two years whereas territorial government north of the tree line will take longer - maybe a few more years.

A survey of the issues surrounding the Nunavut constitution is presented in the paper by Dennis Patterson, Chairman of the Nunavut Constitutional Forum, which follows. The text gives some idea of the vision and determination of the Inuit Nation to achieve both economic and political self-sufficiency.

Sources: The Arctic Policy Review February 1983
Building Nunavut - Discussion paper of the Nunavut Constitutional Forum - May 1983
Inuit Tapirisat of Canada - booklet 1977
Nunavut Constitutional Tour, Peter Jull Nov. 1983
Nunavut Newsletter, Aug./Sept. 1983

Canada: Inuit and Nunavut
By Dennis Patterson

The Nunavut Constitutional Forum is an institution unique in Canadian history. We bring together elected members of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly and elected Inuit leaders from the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the Committee for Original People’s Entitlement. This body represents a social and political consensus in the area we know as Nunavut; that is, the area of the eastern Canadian arctic Keewatin and Baffin regions, the central arctic coast, islands in Hudson Bay and the high arctic islands, together with the western arctic areas in the Mackenzie Delta and beyond the treeline traditionally comprising the homeland of the Inuit.

The Nunavut Constitutional Forum has been meeting since August, 1982. At that time we adopted a work plan and today we are, if anything, a little ahead of schedule. We have held numerous meetings in the arctic open to both press and public and we have conducted a considerable research programme on Nunavut history and federal government/Nunavut relations. Other work deals with the management of the arctic offshore, a Nunavut constitution’s entrenched bill of rights, protection of the Inuit language, Inuit customary law and a Nunavut constitution. However, our main comprehensive proposal is for the shape and principles of a Nunavut constitutional act - that is an act of the federal Parliament respecting Nunavut.
Time was when political consensus like we see today was thought impossible in the north. That was a very few years ago. It is worth noting that all that has changed. The present Legislative Assembly and the native organizations in the north have forged new approaches to political development based on a new understanding. In our case, in Nunavut, we are proud of the fact that white support for our political project is not less than Inuit support.

We are tired of hearing some southern Canadians wondering if we northerners are trying to separate or are setting up ethnic societies, or otherwise doing things which are un-Canadian. These voices are especially grating when they belong to some of those Ottawa officials who are denying us rights which most Canadians can take for granted.

The NWT is not a natural region. It is what is left over after governments had chopped up the acquired lands of Canada and made provinces here or a territory there. In 1898 the Yukon was carved out so that better administration could be provided during the Gold Rush era. Later Alberta and Saskatchewan were created, and Manitoba given more lands. The Northwest Territories have shrunk steadily as Canada has been built. Now what remains are two main geographic and cultural regions. To the south and west there is the forested Mackenzie Valley with its great lakes and tributary rivers, peopled by the Dene for many thousands of years. To the north and east lie the barren tundra lands and seacoasts of the arctic, the traditional homeland of the successive waves of Inuit migration which have spread across the North American arctic from the Bering Sea and Bering Strait.

The character of these two regions is very different, yet together they form the largest jurisdiction in the Western world. Canadian federalism is a system of government designed to accommodate the regions and cultures of a great and diverse country. Surely there is no place more logical than the north in which to apply the concept. In the early 1960s, both the Diefenbaker and Pearson governments saw the point and brought in legislation to divide the NWT into an eastern Nunatsiaq territory and a western territory. This division was lost in the minority government politics of the period. Also at that time there was concern that since the people in the eastern arctic were not represented by elected spokesmen, their views were inadequately represented. Now all that has changed. In April, 1982, the people of the eastern half of the NWT voted 4-1 in a government-sponsored plebiscite for the creation of an eastern, or Nunavut territory. Ottawa understood the message. On November 26, 1982, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, speaking for the government, announced that Ottawa accepted in principle the creation of Nunavut, subject to various conditions. These conditions were agreement on boundaries for the new territory; an acceptable division of powers between Ottawa and Nunavut; and continued consensus on dividing the NWT as agreed by an overall majority in the 1982 plebiscite.

The eastern half of the NWT is less populous than the west, and it is the west where population is increasing most rapidly as a resources and related construction boom occurs there. In short, any demand for continuing consensus puts a gun to the head of the eastern arctic. The western population increase is largely attributable to new and usually transient southern Canadians with no stake whatever in recognizing the character of the north. We think that it is quite unfair that when talking about the north one should lump the culture and people of the eastern arctic with the people of the west whose languages, cultures and ways of life have no overlap.

As for the land claims, there is confusion here. Land claim settlements are essential to the people of the north. When Canada was organised as a country, the people making the laws were settler peoples from Europe. They made the laws in
their own image, according to their own customs brought from Europe, and they made them to facilitate exactly the type of settlement patterns in which they were then themselves engaged. From coast to coast they did this and they did not bother to take note that the people already here, the people who had always used and lived in these lands, the aboriginal Inuit and Indian peoples, had rights too. Those laws simply ignored the aboriginal peoples, and now, when aboriginal peoples seek redress, we take them to our courts where, by definition, they cannot win because the legal system for the most part does not acknowledge the existence of their collectivities or title. This incredible injustice has at last been acknowledged and discussions through the national constitutional revision process and First Ministers Conferences have begun. (See IWGIA Newsletter No.34.) But the problem is a keen one here in the north. Here the lands and resources are in Ottawa's hands, with a few bits alienated to other interests. The majority aboriginal population is negotiating claims. By means of these claims the Inuit and other native peoples are not seeking to enrich themselves, as many observers seem to think: they are merely seeking to have recognised some small part of what has always been theirs. Their economy for thousands of years has been based on lands and waters which, now, the governments are making them come and plead for. But the point now is: Ottawa which is negotiating land claims is tying Nunavut to settlement on Ottawa's terms of those claims. Since land claims and Nunavut resources are the twin pillars of any Nunavut economy, and since Ottawa controls both but has made no concession on either to date, you might say we are people hoping for an economy to happen.

In fact, in June 1983 the head of the federal Office of Native Claims told a public meeting on land claims in Yellowknife that Inuit simply were not going to get a land claims settlement which would go very far in providing them an economic base. He also said that the whole federal land claims policy was under review and would be revised. Every speaker at that meeting was opposed to the federal land claims policy and process. Later in the summer the federal Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, in speeches in Inuvik and in Frobisher Bay, urged native groups to settle as quickly as possible, while the Prime Minister the same week said that they should take all the time they wanted so that they would get a good outcome. The fact is that the political development of Nunavut and the rest of the north is being tied to a process which is itself unclear and with a rather confusing future. Even if aboriginal peoples are a small minority in Canada, the lands affected and where those people make up a large part of the population represent a very large part of Canada, especially in the west and north. Until claims are understood in their full economic and political context, as the fundamental matter they are for aboriginal peoples, there can be no equitable general development in the north.

As for a boundary, we have not agreed on one yet. We in the Nunavut Forum are anxious to work matters out with our friends in the Mackenzie Valley. It seems that to date we have not even agreed on a set of principles with them for the resolution of the issue. We argue that the communities which would be affected, notably the communities of the western arctic coast and Mackenzie Delta, should have the right to choose where their future lies. We strongly resist the notion of some that the people of the western arctic should be held hostage to negotiations between the eastern arctic and Mackenzie Valley peoples and should be simply chucked into a western territory as a matter of convenience and cartographic symmetry.

Our Dene, white and Metis friends and all other residents from whatever part of the world, share a common struggle here in the north for political citizenship in Canada. We should cooperate because we understand each other and our predicaments better than anyone else can. We are prepared to look at any option for the resolution of the boundary question
provided that it is a serious option. We think that outsiders who are too ready to divide our people and our land should think a little further. As far as we are concerned, our most natural and logical boundary would be that of the federal electoral district of Nunatsiaq which follows the tree-line in the western half of the NWT, including western arctic Inuit communities along with those of the eastern arctic.

On the division of powers, we were happy to hear on May 11, 1983 the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs agree that the federal government would accept some role for territorial governments in some aspects of the resources management. Nevertheless, we know that there are many powerful interests in Ottawa and elsewhere which do not agree. The issue is fundamental. If a Nunavut government does not have adequate powers, it is a charade. Anyone can draw a line and colour in an area on a map. Think of the old districts of Keewatin, Franklin and Mackenzie, they meant nothing in practice; they were legal and administrative fictions. They corresponded to no unit of administration. A Nunavut government must have adequate powers. If there are insufficient powers in relation to the management of resources, development and environmental protection, not only will Nunavut have no incentive to bear the many costs of developments in its territory, but will have no real self-government.

The main consensus about resources, reached at a 1983 conference in Yellowknife on the issue of national vs. northern interests was that sound resources and environmental management in the north requires greater input by northern peoples and that northern political development is meaningless without jurisdiction favouring northerners' access to resources.

We in the north comprise 34% of Canada's land area, and though few in numbers we are the keys to unlocking that area. What is more, the vast sea and offshore areas are no less a part of our patrimony than the land; we have used them down the ages for travel, for hunting, for placing our settlements much of the year. Indeed, the first European economy in North America was based on our arctic seas, being the fishing, especially the whale fishery, of the eastern arctic, preceded by the sporadic visits of the Vikings in Greenland from the 10th century in search of walrus, polar bear and narwhal.

Nunavut is very distinctive. It is a land of seacoasts, where nearly all communities are on the seashore. It is a land without roads, where airplane and telecommunications through the air are the essential infrastructure of modern living. It is a land of great distances, of violent and changing weather and of the most beautiful summers. It is the land of the Inuit, one of the first peoples of North America who have plied their livelihoods for centuries with or without the help of northern policies, northern visions and northern development, which, in any case, come and go less predictably than the clouds of summer birds.

Nunavut is a huge land of seacoasts and islands, straits and gulfs, where the modern industrial society has penetrated only sparingly to date. The traditional economy of Nunavut has been based on renewable resources of land and sea - the fish and wildlife, primarily. This economy is not quaint, nor antiquated. It has been the basis of social and cultural stability, and has been what has kept people here down all the ages. If Canada wants to have its territory populated with a stable society in place, the continuation of that economy is vital.

Everywhere in the lands around the North Pole we see the same situation. There are small populations with distinctive languages and cultures living in difficult climates. Some of these populations are European - as with the Faroese, Icelanders and Shetlanders - and some are aboriginal peoples like the Inuit and Dene, Greenlanders (themselves an Inuit-descended people) and Sami. They have all built their lives on the use
of renewable resources, but in recent times they have all
found themselves in conflict with more southerly political
centres which dispute their ownership and management rights
to lands and seas, and which dispute their rights to the pol-
itical status which they claim.

Northern peoples are also finding themselves in a re-
gion of renewed interest for the defense, energy and naviga-
tion plans of southern economic and political power centres
(for example there is an idea to rebuild the Distant Early
Warning defense line - DEW Line). It is important that peoples
of the north have their rights acknowledged considering they
are playing such an important role in the future of the secur-
ity of the south. We cannot allow the peoples of large areas
of our northern countries to be second-class citizens.

The economy of the north can be described under three
headings:
- there is the local economy, that is, the economy managed
and initiated by local people, whether in the hunting by
a family in one of our villages, or a local taxi service or
small hotel run by an entrepreneur, or the community co-op;
- there is the government economy which may range from
that plethora of services which in the north involves govern-
ment in far more activities than in the south, plus the more
usual range of government administrative, teaching and health
services;
- there is the southern-based industrial economy such as
mining which is dominated by outsiders and determined by dec-
isions and market forces remote from the control, actual or
potential, of northerners and northern authorities.

Of course, nothing is simple. Many local enterprises
were set up with government help; southern mining or oil and
gas interests rely on government assistance and regulation to
function; and the government sector in given region or locale
may tailor its operations to the utilisation of local employ-
ees, resources and facilities.
Let us briefly outline the history of the Nunavut economy. Ancestors of the Inuit hunted throughout the arctic and the far northern arctic islands which, in some cases, are not at present used because of harsher climate today. The last wave of migration from the west, approximately 800AD, saw the Inuit follow great herds of bowhead whales through the arctic waters, and establish permanent settlements. Typically their houses had whale ribs arching up and covered with skins, while the floor was sunk somewhat in the earth. With deteriorating climate later, however, the Inuit communities broke up into local and regional groups maximising the use of other wildlife resources to replace the whales driven away by cold. Each region had its own unique adaptations. It was during this era that the Europeans made their first fully documented contacts and concluded that Inuit were nomadic which, in some cases, they were.

The people were scattered over wide areas, coming together at regular times of year to talk, trade and marry. In some areas, later European whalers established shore facilities, even year-round ones, and certain communities in the Baffin area and later in the Beaufort Sea early established patterns of economic life oriented to servicing these fleets of ships with food, clothing and implements and, indeed, taking wage employment on board. Also, the push northwards of traders and the beginnings of the fur trade made an impact then and later.

However the main impact came with the Second World War. Suddenly at various locations across the arctic, airstrips and communities of southern workers with all the latest gear and gimmicks aroused the interest of the Inuit. Equally, the presence of southerners in the arctic led to the south hearing more about conditions in the north. Trading posts became the nuclei of communities, and when government took up the work of providing facilities like schools and nursing stations, the pattern for the future was set. The Inuit, previously scattered across the land, were moved into the new settlements. Despite the humanitarian intentions of government, this not only shattered the old ways of life but effectively reduced the practicable hunting radii of families, leading to overhunting in some areas and leaving other areas underutilised.

In the new communities a welfare sort of life became all too common, leavened by the development of the arts and crafts industry, community co-ops and some, usually menial, wage employment connected with the government and other services located in the community. More recently various local enterprises have sprung up, often with government assistance, and large enterprises and distant governments have taken away trainees for new kinds of jobs. Given the very high birth-rate, however, the extremely youthful population is highly underemployed. Over 63% of the Nunavut Inuit are under 25 years of age. It is uncertain, also whether the traditional renewable resources economy could support these numbers even if, as is not now the case, significant government investment in developing the renewable economy and value-added spin-offs was undertaken.

Imagination and expenditure on economic and employment development have been lacking, or at least have fallen far behind the current needs. There is a considerable danger of a large, young and growing population of disaffected northerners finding insufficient opportunities, even while skilled, experienced and educated southerners are brought in at great expense to run normal local services and administration. And the resources of the Nunavut region remain so rich that Ottawa has refused to date even to consider allowing the people of Nunavut a percentage share in them. Nunavut today well deserves one of its old Inuit epithets, "the land of feast and famine". What is clearly needed is an educational facility in Nunavut suited to the conditions and opportunities of the region so that northerners can participate fully in their own future.
If the Nunavut economy is to expand, through the provision of services to developers and general infrastructure, as well as things like housing for a rapidly growing population, then the financing of a Nunavut government requires attention. If the Nunavut government is to make intelligent choices, and have a basis for planning, as well as to cope with the impacts of development sponsored by southern government and industry, then it must have access to revenues from resources development in its region.

The southern-based industrial economy was for many years assumed to be the engine of northern development. This idea has faded as world markets and the high costs of northern transportation have taken their toll. As the problems of the single-industry community became more and more apparent throughout Canada, with the hardship of communities like Sudbury, Uranium City and Elliot Lake or the Yukon today, planners began to rethink the question. Unfortunately that thinking has not yet translated itself into new policies. Many parts of Canada, especially northern areas, are caught between this failed hope and a lack of attention to the more stable and continuing local opportunities. Many of the problems of northern and arctic development related to industrialization were outlined usefully in the report of the Berger inquiry into gas development in the Mackenzie Valley and Delta in 1977. These include the lack of local and stable employment opportunities, the social impact on traditional communities and the dangers posed to the renewable resource economy.

A particular challenge for Nunavut will be the establishment of resources projects with their influxes of transient populations. Elsewhere in the circumpolar world special arrangements have been made to minimise their adverse impact on local economic, social, cultural and political conditions. It is essential that northern territorial governments participate in the planning and decisions relating to such projects if they are to be accepted by the northern people. It is also essential that some of the revenues and other benefits from such projects accrue to northerners.

The people of Nunavut are not greedy. They are not "anti" development. Nor do they naively believe in vast, or grand, or magical solutions to longstanding economic difficulties. What we need is a political framework in which economic development can take place with the full involvement of our people. Then, and only then, can wise decisions be taken which benefit Canadians, both those in Nunavut and those elsewhere. Decisions will have to be made on a case by case basis, and made by duly constituted public authorities.

We are essentially asking that the present Northwest Territories be divided to create Nunavut, and that within that area a territorial government be established, one essentially similar to that in the NWT today. We would want the greatest possible degree of responsible government. Our guiding principle is that government in Nunavut should be consistent with Canadian political norms. We are not seeking special political rights for one or other ethnic group, and indeed we wish to entrench a bill of rights in our Nunavut constitution to guarantee the rights of members of all ethnic groups. We seek to have a elected Nunavut legislative assembly with the usual cabinet style of government. We would expect to take over the sorts of functions now performed by the NWT government. In addition we seek a share in the management and revenues of resources, surface and sub-surface, on- and off-shore.

As a first order of business we support and encourage the fair and full settlement of Inuit claims, not only as a matter of justice, but also as a sine qua non of any economic development in our region. Our people now are doubly dispossessed. They have neither acknowledged rights to their longstanding use and occupation of lands and economic resources, nor any means for acquiring these except through the essentially political negotiations which are now going on with the federal
Office of Native Claims. And they have no provincial-type government to represent or protect their interests with respect to lands and resources.

Our job now is to prepare the way for that first elected Nunavut legislative assembly and the administration which will support it. Our main problems start at the highest level - in the realms of constitutional development, economic philosophy and the status in Canada of our very lands and waters. Until we can resolve some of these larger issues, we can have little future except fighting for crumbs from this or that project, or trying to win a bit more control over minor matters.

It is as if we were rebuilding our nation, and doing it with all the benefit of our history and ideals as brought up to date. Here in the north we discuss these issues endlessly. We have no doubt that never before in Canadian history has such a self-conscious process of political change happened. It is here in the north that we are living out the lessons of Canadian history, and with determination showing the rest of Canadians that races and peoples, different viewpoints and cultures, language groups and political tendencies can live and work together. Canadians have shown in polls that they support our political ambition, but we need that support translated into political action in Ottawa.

You may consider that our ambitions are modest. Our people are modest. We have no interest in shouting or exaggerating, and we are suspicious of grandiose ideas about northern development because we have heard it all before. On the other hand, what we do want is to have the tools to run our own lives and to participate as equals in the greater life of Canada as a whole. The principal tools are, simply, reasonable Inuit land claims settlements and a Nunavut territorial government.

(Source: Extracts from a brief of the NCF to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (the Macdonald Commission by Dennis Patterson)

CHILE: FIFTH ASSEMBLY OF THE MAPUCHE PEOPLE

Between January 24th and 27th this year there took place in Temuco the 5th National Assembly of the Union of Small Farmers and Artisan workers (Asociación Gremial de Pequeños Agricultores y Artesanos) AD-MAPU. This organisation is representative of the Mapuche people.

The meeting which brought together more than 200 delegates and leaders of the organisation, had as its objective an analysis of the most urgent problems which affect the Mapuche and the Chilean people as a whole.

The Assembly consisted of representatives from indigenous as well as religious, social and political organisations. As a climax to this meeting of the Mapuche people and to provide national and international public opinion with the resolutions, there took place on January 27th a public gathering in Temuco at the Gimnasio Bernardo O'Higgins where more than 2,000 Mapuches from different parts of the country assembled. Here the 8 working commissions of the Assembly presented the results of their studies and the resolutions they had taken.

The first two working commissions dealt with the theme of 'information' and recommended that communication channels should be broadened by setting up new departments of education, agriculture, international relations, finance, women's issues, etc. They also recommended the publication of the new Bulletin 'Aukiñko' with the aim of disseminating the achievements and difficulties facing the organisation to the Mapuche people and to support organisations.

The third working commission on self-financing proposed among other things, the creation nationally of production activities carried out in the form of community work for financing AD-MAPU. Among these activities there were suggestions for the payment of membership dues, the setting up of artisan workshops (through initial funding from outside) and finally to carry out a "kilo campaign" during the harvest months of
February, March and April.

The fourth commission on the issue of struggle demanded an agrarian reform under the auspices of a popular and democratic government, which would rely on the participation of the Mapuche people in its planning and implementation. This commission rejected the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and other similar institutions and finally recommended the creation of Committees for defence in each one of the departments where A-MAPU operates to oppose the continual abuses and violations of human rights against the Mapuche people.

The fifth commission decided to formulate a policy of alliance. This commission considered that the struggle for liberation of the Mapuche people is linked to the fate of all exploited and oppressed people and in the light of the difficult political situation which the Chilean people as a whole were going through. It resolved to strengthen the basic unity of the Mapuche people by means of, among other things, the organisation of a historical project on the Mapuche people which contains their most immediate aims and perspectives of their economic, social, cultural and political development. Other resolutions refer to the establishment of links with organisations of peasants, workers, settlers, the unemployed and students and with any non-governmental organisations of support which promote human rights, liberty and democracy.

The fifth working commission recognised the Popular Democratic Movement's efforts to unify and give voice to the interests of popular organisations and of the Chilean people as a whole. This great work by the M.D.P. ought, according to the commission, to be seen along with the demands of the Mapuche people and all the ethnic minorities of the country. The fifth commission expressed finally its own participation in the general effort to obtain a national democratic agreement which unifies all political and social forces within the country to win liberty and democracy for Chile.

The sixth commission concerned human rights. In the first place it set out the continual and systematic violation of the human rights of the Chilean people since the time of the Spanish invasion. It resolved subsequently to create a commission of human rights which would look after the promotion, defence and diffusion of these rights throughout the Mapuche population. The objective of this commission of human rights is to defend the fulfillment of the fundamental charter of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, the International Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Agreement of Civil and Political Rights, as well as other international charters and agreements about ethnic minorities.

The two final working commissions dealt respectively with the historical project about the Mapuche people and with international work.

The commission on the historical project resolved among other things to: create a representative emblem for the Mapuche people; agree on a national day of the Mapuche people; return lands which have been taken and extend Mapuche communities; demand from the government compensation of 15% of the natural resources of the soil and subsoil; set up special Mapuche education programmes; demand exemption from all tax on Mapuche land and from any other contracted debt; demand that the constitutional studies group recognises in its new fundamental charter the right of the Mapuche people and the rest of the national pre-Columbia minorities their AUTONOMY, and finally demand the Chilean people the right for the Mapuche people to participate fully in decisions of national interest.

"It is considered that the capitalist system and its economic model has given rise to the deepest economic, political, social, cultural and moral crisis ever witnessed in history and that our people suffers from exploitation and the
violation of the most fundamental rights of man"... so begins
the report of the eighth commission on international work.
It resolves to extend and deepen the unity between different
indigenous organisations of the world and to strengthen the
struggle of these peoples; to produce a project on an inter-
national level about the rights of all indigenous people and
to establish a department of international relations which
would have as a goal the development of ties of friendship
and fraternity with all peoples of the world, with governmen
tand with institutions for solidarity with the just struggle
of all peoples.

EAST TIMOR: JAKARTA'S HARD MEN MARCH ON TIMOR'S REVOLUTION
by Jill Jolliffe

East Timorese refugees who recently arrived in Portugal
have described a full-scale Indonesian attack on their home-
land, which has been the scene of a guerilla war since 1975,
when Indonesian troops invaded the former Portuguese colony.

The current offensive began in August, soon after the
Indonesian Army Minister, Benny Murdani, announced that Indon-
esian troops would "liquidate" the resistance movement led
by Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front of Independent East
Timor). There had been a brief unofficial truce between Fret-
ilin and the Indonesian army in early 1983.

Since 1975 about one third of East Timor's population of
650,000 is believed to have perished as a result of bombard-
ment, executions, and starvation induced by the war. Amnesty
International which has been monitoring the current offensive
has a growing list of Timorese who have disappeared without
trace.

"Every day planes and ships brought more soldiers mostly
red berets, and every day more Timorese were arrested and
taken away, supposedly to Bali," Antonio, a recent arrival
said. Like most Timorese, he is afraid to talk freely for fear
of reprisals against his family, and asked that his full name
not be used. "We saw bombers flying in formation over Dili
(the capital), towards the east where the guerrillas are hold-
ing out," he claimed.

According to Antonio and other refugees, martial law was
imposed in September and Indonesian troops conducted a house-
to-house search in Dili and arrested those suspected of sup-
porting Fretilin. They compare the situation with the initial
invasion in 1975, when an estimated 40,000 troops were used.
One significant difference about this offensive - there have
been various others since 1975, but none on this scale - is
that red beret commandos from the Java-based Khopassanda
regiment are being used as the basic fighting force, whereas they are normally employed as shock troops backed by other units. This measure followed years of experiments with Timorese militia units, which failed, due to their constant defection to Fretilin with weapons. During 1982 and early 1983 the resistance reorganised under the young guerrilla leader, José Gusmao Shana (Xanana).

The refugees report that the resistance is holding out well, although the civilian population is suffering terribly. The red berets are reportedly burning villages systematically, and several massacres have been reported, such as at Luca, in the southeast, in November, when several hundred villagers were shot.

The Indonesian conference of bishops recently broke a long silence on the Timor issue, to back the Bishop of Dili, Msgr. Carlos Ximenes Belo, who preached a sermon criticising the Indonesian offensive. Until now neither the Vatican nor the Indonesian Church has solidly backed the East Timorese, many of whom are Catholics.

The Indonesian offensive coincided with a state visit by Portugal's President Eanes to the US, where East Timor was one of the topics he discussed with President Reagan. He left Washington with little reason for optimism. The US is Indonesia's main arms supplier and is too concerned with its diminishing influence, post-Vietnam, in South-East Asia to risk strains with its principal ally in the region. The refugees have described the generous deployment of American weapons - Hercules transports supplied by the US brought the reinforcements to Dili, V-150 Commando armoured cars, bought recently, patrol the capital and OV10 Bronco aircraft supplied after 1975, bomb guerrilla positions.

In spite of apparent American unconcern, East Timor has some strategic importance for the Pentagon. The Indonesian archipelago, stretching from Sumatra, south of the Malayan peninsular, to West Irian, north of Australia, shields access from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean. There are four straits in this zone used by the US Poseidon, and Polaris nuclear submarine fleets: the Malacca, Lombok, Sunda and Ombai-Wetar straits. According to R.G. Boyd, of the Canadian Defence Department in a 1977 paper on the military importance of these straits, the Malacca and Sunda passages are not reliable because they are too shallow, and Malacca is overcrowded with sea traffic. This makes Ombai-Wetar and Lombok essential to US strategy. He rated them, with Gibraltar, as the most crucial deep-water straits in the world in American defence planning.

The Ombai-Wetar straits run within the boundaries of the former Portuguese territory of East Timor. During the Salazar dictatorship, the Pentagon had no concern about their security. Not only was Portugal a member of NATO, as it still is, but Dr. Salazar was hardly sympathetic to communists.

Portugal's 1974 revolution aroused fears that the influence of revolutionary Portuguese officers - close to the pro-Moscow Portuguese Communist Party - might take root in an independent Timor - threatening the secure passage of their submarines. This is one of the reasons the US and its regional ally Australia refused from the outset to contemplate self-determination for East Timor, although Fretilin has consistently espoused a foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence with Jakarta.

Washington's support for Indonesia has been the main reason for the failure of Portugal's attempts to enlist Western democratic support for the Timor case, especially among its European allies. Although the UN has approved resolutions condemning the Indonesian occupation every year since 1975 (recently in rather diluted terms), Fretilin's main support apart from Portugal is drawn from 3rd World countries, notably the ex-African colonies.

1. Social and Political Context

Since about 1976, the Ecuadorian State has begun to draw up a new agrarian policy, favouring the paralyzing of the agrarian reform and putting an emphasis on the promotion of cattle-raising. We find it interesting to note that several DRI projects were first formulated at that time and are now underway in the rural sector. These DRI projects tend to put a priority on what could be called peasant "producers". That is to say, to peasants who can be made responsible for an important part of the country's agricultural production and who can respond positively to certain market incentives and promotional policies.

Nevertheless we find an increasing number of poor peasants in the rural sector. By this we mean peasants who combine their work and incomes coming from their parcels of land with salaried, artisan and commercial work. The economic possibilities for this latter work are restricted; peasant enterprise encounters obstacles according to the quality or lack of basic resources. Similarly, possibilities for a definite role within the labour market are limited. The majority of the rural population facing these problems are the indigenous people of the Ecuadorian Sierra.

The peasant sector has benefitted marginally from the DRI projects through infrastructural support and the rationalisation of the management of their scarce resources. Similarly peasant groups have benefitted from certain state social programmes (promotion, organisation and particularly through literacy work) and also through credit offered by PODERUMA (Fund for Marginal Rural Development under the auspices of the Banco Central of Ecuador) which in a restricted way covers some costs. In spite of these state programmes, at this time, the peasant sector has found no economic, social or political results. Admittedly there are some more or less successful experiences but they cannot be generalised onto the level of society as a whole and the problem remains a challenge for us to resolve.
On another level the return of democracy to the country produced conditions for the politicisation of society as well as great expectations of change, most of which were not very explicit. Although the great majority of political parties of the centre and right have not given a specific role to poor peasants, they do have an interest in them as potential voters in elections and at the same time as the means of holding back any deep questioning of society. Some progressive parties and movements of the left see in the peasant sector a revolutionary potential with possibilities of questioning society as it is. In this context there is general agreement that the peasant organisations have taken on a rather strategic position.

This is to say, it becomes very important for the various political forces and consequently for private development agencies to work through the grass roots organisations, sacrificing many times the unity of membership by means of ideological differences. In this context we should emphasise that no political sector or private development agencies considers union organisations unimportant.

In these circumstances, briefly set out here, World Vision began its work in Ecuador, a work of community development based in the rural areas among very poor indigenous peasants. World Vision's work and that of other agencies has been approved by the Ecuadorian State. Yet the State exercises little or no control over these agencies which many times work under axioms which go counter to those of the State.

This demonstrates how for the poorest peasants there exist diverse interests, projects and methodologies fighting over them. There are also strong contradictions between public and private agencies (eg. FODERUMA and World Vision) and a continuous manipulation of the peasants and their organisations. Finally there is a marked deterioration in the relations between peasants and agents from outside.

It is quite definite that the inability of society to offer economic, social and political results for the peasant sectors which are most impoverished opens the door to a range of agencies with their own interests to work in the field.

2. Previous History

World Vision appeared in Ecuador around 1973, financing a meeting of ministers from various Churches and evangelical denominations.

It presents itself as a vehicle of support for missionary work and for evangelisation by these Churches. Later it organised a meeting in the Hotel Quito, with public and private development organisations and with the Churches where it put forward its interest in opening a line of work in community development.

For his part, the main representative of World Vision in Ecuador maintained in an interview held with members from the Economic Project Committee, that he planned to be working in the country from 1979 (a date with which the peasant communities agree). Nevertheless, it was only in March 1980 when World Vision obtained a juridical statute, recognised by the Government of Ecuador, for its operating in the country. (cf. R.O., No. 158 of 31/3/80.)

3. World Vision as an Institution in Ecuador

The statute mentioned above conferred upon the organisation the character of a Corporation and one affiliated to the international organisation connected to the United States - World Vision International. The recognition and approval of World Vision in Ecuador was granted by Government.

In the statute it is set out that the Corporation will continue for 50 years and that its objectives are connected to community development with emphasis on children. It is presented as a humanitarian, Christian organisation.

The central seat of the institution is in Quito,
but it can establish branches in other cities and can extend its work to any place within the national territory (Article 3). World Vision International is an active member with both a voice and vote and will act through the General Assembly of which all members in Ecuador participate: the administration consists of a General Council and a President. The decision as to who sits on the General Council rests in the hands of World Vision International. The President is the legal representative of the institution and should be an Ecuadorian with full citizen's rights.

One aspect not made explicit in the statute is the type of personnel working on the actual projects. The director planned the existence of 5 co-ordinators in the provinces where they work (Imbabura 2; Chimbote 2; Tungurahua 1). These make permanent contact with the areas of work. Who are the co-ordinators? From the areas we have heard about, these co-ordinators are peasant leaders and ministers from some Evangelical Churches. In addition to these, in each community in which they work they have what they call administrators of the funds. Many times these are community leaders and ministers. The personnel receive salaries but the amount has not been precisely established. The provincial co-ordinators receive more than the administrators - the former getting $4000 and the latter $2000 annually - although information is not clear about this. Facts show that World Vision interferes little in the management of the funds which are left for the Churches and the provincial Associations of Indigenous Evangelicals (eg. in Tungurahua).

In principle this style of work has positive elements whereby the community and its leaders appear to be responsible for the management of the funds. However in many cases there is no real participation at general community level, only the expansion of the legitimacy of a type of leadership where earthly and heavenly responsibilities are mixed up and where the organisation is also seen as a mechanism for promoting religion.

4. Objectives of World Vision in Ecuador

In its juridical statutes, World Vision sets forth the following objectives:

World Vision International is a Christian and Humanitarian non-profitmaking Corporation whose aims are principally spiritual, moral, educational and of social advancement, aimed at the most needy human groups, and especially the child population (Article 2).

For his part, the Director in Quito in the above mentioned interview set out as objectives the training of leaders, as ministers and as community leaders; support for evangelisation through existing Christian groups who lack funds; help to victims of catastrophes and war; support to children by means of the Adoption Plan; and rural and urban development projects. On the other hand in an interview given to Monseñor Proaño, the Director of World Vision emphasised the following objectives: support to victims of war, the establishing of camps in Central America, training of community leaders and the protection of blind or abandoned children.

What we should emphasise here is that we are not presented with the same objectives on every occasion (and this is not because there have been changes in decisions about lines of work). Here there is a problem which World Vision does not explain clearly: does it consider the indigenous people of the Ecuadorian Sierra to be undergoing evangelisation? World Vision has not expressed this interest in evangelical work in their relations with the Ecuadorian State.

World Vision presents itself as an organisation which is carrying out “its ministry” (in the mind, body and spirit) with and by means of protestant churches of distinct denomination and establishment. It channels its resources to projects which range from programmes of child aid to literacy work and community development and it seeks support from organisations which give technical advice to development institutions. Its objectives appear more clearly in its declaration of principles. There it aims to outline “vices of being and train
poor people so that they can reach their full potential, within their culture through development programmes, support for evangelisation and for leaders.

Though World Vision does not appear to have a specific field of action, the facts from Ecuador do show that they give priority to community development. The information received does not point to the existence either of an internal body of qualified people or of external supervisors for projects, with the exception of an accountant. For example in a project organised by World Vision in Tungurahua Province, it worked with an organisation called ASDELA (Advisors for Development in Latin America) which operate to find personnel for development projects which can find no other administrators for their projects.

On another level and through its own documentation, it is possible to see World Vision as an example of the co-ordination and definition of policies working for world evangelisation. They rely on advanced technical systems and operate with an essentially 'scientific' approach to evangelisation. They have carried out a systematisation of their work in this area and have adopted certain tools and theoretical principles (according to countries) about the situation of evangelisation. In this sense World Vision appears as a sort of "evangelical intellectual organism", even though the content and ultimate objectives of their task are not found explicitly set out.

The groups of human beings which World Vision finds interesting are found immersed in the vast pagan universe and in those places where Christians have not yet heard the word of God. So "peoples" are defined by the extent to which they have been evangelised. In this sense the world is divided between a thousand million Christians and a thousand million non-Christians separated from the Christian World. The challenge of evangelisation seen in numerical terms is very difficult to oppose. To reach this objective they plan to split up three million non-Christian people into a group of social micro-organisms, with perfectly cohesive relations among themselves by sharing common elements such as language, religion, ethnicity, occupation, class or caste, place of residence, etc. The intention is to find those variables which allow people to see themselves as individuals as well as the important factors of affinity and homogeneity. Once characterised, the micro-organisms called "peoples" form groups which are relatively closed and independent from their wider context.

From this conception of society it is possible to derive some important elements to emphasise. In the definition of "peoples" there appear no structural or political criteria. This is to say that "peoples" are characterised by the functioning of a series of discrete variables without taking into consideration structural conditions and that no account is taken of power relations in which these groups are immersed. In this way the analysis does not take into consideration the causes and consequences of a determined situation in which the groups exist nor of their potential for change. Similarly, this way of treating groups as autonomous does not allow for the possibility of analysing the politics or knowledge of similar social groups.

In the specific case of Chimborazo and Imbabura World Vision works with indigenous groups which are differentiated from the rest of society to a very high degree. Even though in the declarations, World Vision considers Catholics as Christians, in their work they have distinguished clearly in their treatment of these groups. Implicitly there is the fact that they consider popular Catholicism not to have fully received the word of the Gospels.

World Vision's evangelical objectives become more apparent when we look at the type of churches it supports and to whom it is linked. Church leaders in Ecuador have indicated that Vision Mundial supports Churches who are not affiliated to the US National Council of Churches; that is to say groups which are rather conservative. We have also seen that it
supports Churches which are fundamentalist and conservative. So World Vision can be seen as a Mission of Faith in that it does not pertain to one Church and consequently its ecclesiastical roots lie in various areas. Nevertheless it can be seen as following a politically and ideologically conservative line.

In spite of the need for more research on the groups affected by World Vision, there are some factors which confirm this conservative tendency. The Director of World Vision in Ecuador told Mons. Poomo that the organisation was neither interested in structural changes in society nor in the struggle for a more just society. They consider that any action (say piped water) signifies a little liberation for the people and consolation for their poverty. On the other hand a comment made by one observer on evangelisation in Ecuador says that: "they use all the means of communication based on foreign models of evangelisation (Crusade with Luis Palau, Quito to meet with God, Crusade to every Hearth etc.) and all existing resources (medical units, community development, literacy, clinics, hospitals, colleges and kindergartens, etc.) to such a point that there isn't a single province where the evangelist gospel hasn't been preached. (Zapata 1980)

In the light of this we would like to point out two basic conceptions which World Vision has:

a) The interest in putting forward a development scheme in Ecuador and of holding back any radical change in society.

b) The development work is not understood in relation to the plans and needs of the groups to be benefitted nor of the Ecuadorian State, but in relation to the interests and the message of World Vision. In this way the preaching turns out to be alien and distant from concrete reality and as such counter-productive.

5. Finance

With respect to the sources of finance and the mechanisms of collecting the funds we have gathered the following information:

Funds which they use come from individuals and institutions in New Zealand, Europe, Canada, United States and South Africa. These are the sources of most of World Vision's funds.

The collection of money and the methods used have received ardent criticism in West Germany. World Vision uses plainly commercial formulas; it does work through the Churches, only through those contacts which allow publicity in a developed country. World Vision has organised a publicity centre so that it can carry out an extremely aggressive and largely successful campaign. This has unleashed a reaction on the grounds that aid organisations in Germany have traditionally carried out work to make people aware of the meaning and causes of the problems of the Third World among the donors. World Vision only considers the emotional aspect of the problem and is not interested in discussing the real problems of poverty. On the other hand, World Vision does not present itself with a religious face but a humanitarian one. Once more we can see a contradiction between its explicit and implicit objectives; between a gathering of funds for the basic human rights of all people with their proselitising aims. (cf. Krause 1981)

Other financial sources show that they have come to an understanding with governments. The Director of World Vision in Quito said that they had had an agreement with the Canadian government.

The funds which World Vision manages in Ecuador, whose total it has not been possible to ascertain, seems to be provided fundamentally from the Adoption Plan. That is to say through the sponsoring of children from the communities which receive varying amounts of money which can be invested in
projects which are based on another type of financing such as productive activities.

6. Final Reflections

Taking into consideration what was said above we wish to make the following points:

A) First of all, the existence of two sides to World Vision's self-presentation and a disjunction between this and its actions. In this regard it is possible to detect two levels of discourse. On the one hand, to the Ecuadorian State and to a wider public it puts itself forward as open and disposed to support any action which would lead to the improvement of the well-being of the poorest sectors of the country. In fact it really restricts its operations to support groups which have a similar ideological line. On the other hand, before religious bodies it presents itself as having a central perspective of disseminating the word of Christ.

In Ecuador the facts show that World Vision's main interest is in supporting financially the work by some Protestant Churches for spreading the Gospel. There have been no cases where World Vision has taken into consideration the religious problematic of the groups themselves. This is to say, they do not intervene directly in the spreading of the Gospel, only promote and support a conformist and castigating theology preached by some of the Churches. In supporting the transmission of different ideological conceptions which shift attitudes, the nucleus of their message is transformed into kindly assistance, innocuous technology and a supposed apoliticism. The political content of their actions is thus veiled. The presentation of their methods of fund-raising follow the same sorts of contradictions. Here they do not put forward their interest for the diffusion of a type of theology but their preoccupation with helping the poor.

With regard to the sphere of practical projects, World Vision does not seek creative alternatives for the peasants, they only seek to improve some of the basic conditions of life within the same social context. This is to say, it tries to improve the consumption capacity of the peasants offering them possibilities for their individual improvement, handing out to them a basic infrastructure and setting up a supply system, etc.. Projects which deal with production are non-existent and World Vision does not seek alternatives for the conditions of poverty in which the peasants live. World Vision, through its programmes manages to give administrative responses to the demands of the peasant population taking away the political consequences of the situation of scarcity of resources which effects the peasant sectors of this country.

Given the short time of its work in Ecuador, it is not possible to say whether the implementation of these projects is generating processes of social differentiation within the peasant population. Furthermore, in these areas which are so economically deprived it is difficult to conceive of situations of structural differentiation. Nevertheless, the facts show that the individual advantages which have occurred as a result of the donations have produced conflict and have also weakened even more the ancient communal structures.

B) Another point which merits attention is its methodology of action. In the way in which World Vision enters the communities it is possible to see two phases. First there is an "opening of the way" by means of the implementation of projects which are essentially paternalistic such as the Adoption Plan which has given rise to an attitude of passivity among the members of the communities. In relation to the peasants World Vision appears as a "magical" institution which in exchange for photos of their babies will give out some funds. There exists in this work no thought about their needs, the causes of poverty nor is any attempt made to construct a strategy to fight poverty.

The second phase stems from the consolidation of this relationship which takes the form of a connection with a representative of a protestant Church and frequently a community leader
and administrator for World Vision's funds too. Through this mechanism the subsequent decisions are assumed to be formulated by the community as a whole. At this point World Vision proposes to carry out its community development programme with the consequent paternalism which derives from the donations.

World Vision has developed a meticulous methodology for their work of evangelisation (Dayton, 1979). According to this they claim that society consists of homogeneous groups which are relatively autonomous and among which there is no room for conflict or contradiction. As a result of these principles, World Vision does not accept the existence of conflicts and contradictions in the communities nor does it foresee the impact which its projects will have for the recipients. It works with an absolute ignorance of concrete reality owing to the limitations of its methodological conceptions.

Similarly we do not find any systematic effort to plan its work and as we have said, to foresee the future consequences of its actions. This lack of planning in its work is confused as being a process of "self-management". From this we would like to emphasise the following points:

a) World Vision promotes and develops projects within groups which sow the seeds of internal conflict and sometimes legitimise existing contradictions. In this sense we claim that World Vision has as its objective the generation of conflict which actually appears as occurring spontaneously.

b) The introduction of outside elements into the communities is not accompanied by consideration for the future effects nor by a strategy for confronting poverty in a way which could really enable the programmes to benefit the whole community.

c) The responsibility which World Vision has over the effects which its funds let loose is not clearly established. Its style of work, based on the appointment of promoters and administrators to look after the funds and carry out the programmes covers over the presence of World Vision. It is the indigenous people who suffer the resulting problems.

C) Finally we would like to refer to the role of World Vision in the splitting up of grass-roots organisations and of the indigenous movement in Ecuador.

As was said earlier, most development agencies carry out their work through indigenous organisations, even when their roles might be quite different. World Vision does not despise such an organisation as a way of channelling its funds, carrying out its projects and for its evangelical work. Nevertheless, as we have seen above, it does not put priority on working with members of community organisations as a whole but deepens, legitimises and consistently generates division within the communal organisation of the peasants. In addition World Vision does not indiscriminately support any group of organised peasants. It seeks to support those who will accept proselitisation work or preaching of the gospel.

At the present time, the indigenous movement is facing a number of limitations. Nevertheless there are important efforts to seek alternative processes for organising. In this context World Vision appears to be trying to break the indigenous peasant movement's links and alliances with workers and people's movements. World Vision supports the idea of generating an indigenous peasant movement as long as its main distinction is to be evangelistic. This is to say that they organise and struggle in relation to their religious interests.

Evangelical organisations have shown themselves to be absolutely sectarian, in spite of attempts to bring them into contact with other organisations, such as co-ordination in CONACNIE (National Council of Co-ordination of Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador) created in 1980. Between these different approaches there have appeared ideological divisions which limit the opportunity for a unified struggle. On the one hand, an evangelical movement seeks to improve the well-being of indigenous peoples, carrying out a practice which although not entirely discriminatory cannot suggest possible
structural transformations of society nor the construction of a more just society achieved by a united struggle (or attempt to seek any other alternative for society as a whole).

The most important factor in the relationship between World Vision and the indigenous peasant movement is that World Vision empties out all political content from the peasant demands. Their demands are interpreted as seeking a financial solution and they do not put them forward explicitly before society as a whole; and the satisfaction of these demands does not entail any political struggle in the eyes of World Vision. In this way, World Vision helps to weaken the indigenous movement in the country.

Finally, it should be emphasised that the State has a responsibility in dealing with institutions such as World Vision. At the moment there are some state institutions which are finding competition from World Vision (eg. FODERAMA), competition which is harming the very peasants which they are seeking to benefit. The strange thing is that the State has legitimised this sort of conflict by approving statutes which grant wide possibilities for World Vision's operations. The State should be more vigilant over the actions of organisations such as World Vision.

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"Time has come when Man will discover
the darkness around him -
that power, intelligence, wealth and glory
is not enough to save his soul.
Then maybe they will listen to the people
Whom they regarded as small and worthless,
the Indigenous Peoples of the Earth.
They will ask for our help
and we must give it:

The above citation, which is a part of the closing monologue in Tukak' Theatre's presentation of "Nattoralik", is an excerpt from the Samic poem "The Circle of Life" written by Elle-Han'sa.

The theatre troupe is a combination of representatives from various ethnic minorities who have joined together at a farm in Jutland in Denmark. Tukak' is an Eskimo word meaning "harpoonhead". It is the harpoonhead (or play), which is thrown at the prey (or audience), but with a line which is attached to its starting point (that symbolises the theatre and the cultures of the 4th World).

Tukak' which has been in existence nearly 10 years, is considered old among 4th World experimental theatre. It came about through a series of coincidences in 1975. Reidar Nils
don, a Norwegian actor and director lived at a hostel for Greenlanders in Holstebyo, a provincial town in Jutland, at the time when they were planning their fifth anniversary celebrations. Reidar and a group of young Greenlanders put together a performance based upon the Alaska-Inuit legend "The Gift of Celebration". The audience was so impressed by this successful performance that many requests were made to start a Greenlandic theatre and theatre school.

Tukak' Theatre (Photo: Mads Faugteborg)
In the beginning the theatre's foundation was based upon Eskimo culture. Since then it has developed towards becoming an ethnic theatre serving a broader spectrum, where self-respect and identity are the guides for the artistic work. Tukak' has shown good examples of how traditional culture can be the source of inspiration for new directions within experimental theatre. In spite of these promising artistic qualities the theatre has had a weak economic base. Because of its status as a community theatre, it receives financial support from its home community. The theatre also receives financial support from the Greenlandic Home Rule, the Danish Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the Danish Ministry of Greenlandic Affairs, the Nordic Culture Foundation and numerous other private contributors. But the economic situation has been pressed. This is not however due to lack of appreciation and respect from the audiences in Greenland and Denmark, nor from the international audiences on the numerous foreign tours, but the fact that it is expensive to be a productive theatre as well as a theatre school. In the summer of 1983 their finances were close to being exhausted. Only a fund-raising drive started by friends of the theatre and a contribution from the Greenlandic Home Rule ensured the theatre's existence.

Tukak' was among the participants in the Scandinavian countries' cultural exhibition "Scandinavia Today" presented in the United States in 1982. Besides their participation in this exhibition, Tukak' made a three month independent tour of Canada, Alaska and various other parts of North America. The three plays, "Inuit", "Kattutta" and "Uaqjeerneg" were shown in 30 cities (78 times in all) to an audience of around 30,000. In addition to these performances, Tukak' made a film, 27 tv performances and 39 radio shows. The reviews of this tour makes one realise that there has been a need for the type of theatre Tukak' represents.

Reader has noted that many audiences have been surprised not to find a group of Eskimos in fur pants dancing to the

From "Inuit" (Photo: Ole Jørgensen)
beat of a drum. But instead they have found young actors, who in a modern theatre (which has nothing to do with folklore or the exotic) express their thoughts and experiences in a clearly artistic manner. These thoughts and experiences are not purely Inuit, but are to a greater extent universal.

The theatre's performances are developed through improvisational work between the director and the actors. Improvisation is used for the purpose of opening and expressing feelings in which a common bond for the creation of new plays can be found. It is a long process, in which some of the material cannot be used and is discarded, while the rest is worked through again and again and hopefully after 50-80 rehearsals an improvisation like this can reach its final artistic expression. As Reidar Nilsson says "It is the essence of all art to cut out everything superfluous". The many improvisations are put together to make a complete play - but this can also be altered whereby modifications of the same piece or a totally new piece can be born.

An example of this process can be seen in the theatre's cornerstone piece "Inuit". The theatre has worked with this piece on and off since 1975. The title offers two possible interpretations of the story, in that "Inuit" means both "the people" and "Eskimos". In a restricted sense the piece can be seen as the Inuit fight against the colonisation of Greenland, but in a broader sense it gives expression to the necessity for all people to fight actively against repression. "Inuit" is based upon traditional Inuit legends, but the form of expression is that of the modern theatre with a visual and gestural language so rich that the plot can easily be understood - even though one may not understand the language (Greenlandic). One result of the work with "Inuit" was the creation of the piece "Oqautsip Kinia" (The power of the word). This piece is a collage of modern Greenlandic poems and songs, recited, sung and expressed by the four performing actors. In

"Nattoralik" (The eagle) from 1979, the story is based on the legend "The Gift of Celebration". "Nattoralik" takes place in a time when people didn't know of life's pleasures. Life then was nothing but work, food, digestion and sleep. An old eagle then taught a young man the pleasures of life and in this way people were taught how to write poems and songs, how to dance and make drums, and to appreciate the feeling of solidarity with other people. The piece raises a number of common human questions concerning life - but it does not provide the answers - these the audience will have to find for themselves.

Tukak's performances have over the years become more numerous and still they work on new plays. However when we visited the theatre in November 1983 all those employed at the theatre had been discharged because of the economic crisis in summer 1983, therefore none of the actors performing had graduated and some of them had just started at the theatre school. What we had come to see turned out not to be a performance but a look in the wings. It was the working theatre which we witnessed. That night's "look in the wings" was the opening act to the forthcoming piece "Sinnattoq" ("The Dream") and it was followed by the student's individual performances of free exercises which they had been given the same afternoon.

"Sinnattoq" has its basis, just as the earlier pieces from the theatre, in the actor's own reality, which is the struggle of indigenous peoples for national and cultural survival. On a more general level, perhaps, it also has its roots in the human being's fear of armageddon. The piece is far from having found its final expressional form and nobody, including the director, knows exactly how it will turn out. But it is decided that armageddon/the catastrophe is the opening act and Reidar Nilsson did lift the veil towards his audience and declare that light/hope will comprise the closing act.

Armageddon is the nightmare of a sleeping person.
Gloomy atmospheric lighting sets the scene, suddenly the hysterical insane laughter of a woman (Asa Simma) accompanied by an electrifying doomsday tune breaks the silence. Hereafter light is focused in four spots - on the insane women, on the alcoholic (Norman Charles), on the confined (Qisua Alaujesen) and on the suicidal (Anuitingquag Johnsen). It should be pointed out here that the essence of this dramatic incident is the distinctive marks (stigmas) of oppressed people. The scene continues to develop in a way quite concordant with the reality of oppressed peoples - a reality oppressors only know in the form of a nightmare. This reality is visualised in the insane woman’s bewildered death struggle, in the alcoholic’s drunken death spasm, in the confined man’s hopeless freedom-loving death and in the suicidal’s lonely gallows death. At this point the first act ends.

The act was of an incredible and almost indescribable character. If the troupe succeeds in creating a similar eloquent content to the rest of “Sinnaatq” that will be another harpoon turned against oppressors in all countries!

Maybe this act made the subsequent individual improvisations fade a little. On the other hand the five hours which the students were given to create, rehearse and present a specific idea does not allow for the possibility of major artistic expansion. Even so we did gain a certain impression as to how far these young actors had come and had some insight into their potential.

The original idea behind the Tukak’ theatre was to instruct a group of Greenlanders so that they could go back and start a theatre troupe in Greenland. The theatre was, from its very start, faced with a crisis of identity with which it had to come to terms. The group was Greenlandic, Reidar a Norwegian and the work took place in Denmark. A precondition to getting started was that the people in the group should identify themselves as Greenlanders. The process of a clarification of identity has from the beginning of the theatre From Sinnaatq (Photo: Mads Fætseborg)
been a cornerstone of its work. Although the Greenlandic identity was a good basis to begin work, later on the theatre realised that such a cultural identity was too narrowly defined. The troupe became aware of the cultural relationship with Inuit in Canada and Alaska which has led to the development of an inter-arctic co-operation under the Inuit Circum-polar Conference (ICC) from 1977 onward. This co-operation with the ICC involved a number of tours in arctic Canada and Alaska, which also led the way to stagings in southern Canada.

At the domestic productions in western Jutland, Denmark, Greenland and gradually in countries throughout Europe, there grew great interest in Tukak’s performances. The success of the theatre took the group far and wide and provided contacts with other casts and representatives of other indigenous peoples than Inuit. The result was that the concept of identity became extended to include all the 4th World. The implication of this is that Tukak’s is no longer a specific Greenlandic theatre; it is a theatre which is working its way to becoming an indigenous peoples’ theatre - or maybe in the long run a universal theatre. That Greenlanders comprise most of the cast for the time being does not shake this.

Reidar Nilsson realises that the theatre has quite a large political influence, “but this influence has nothing to do with the unification of thought. It is an influence which is to do with the arousing of strength. I hope to contribute to the promotion of pride. That people again become proud of what they are; if they are Inuit or Norwegian, if they are Black Africans in New York, Samis or Farsiians they should not be blindfolded as to the value of their identity”. It is with this message that Tukak’s has a political influence, and it is in this message that Tukak’s carry the seeds of the universal theatre. When Tukak’s performs it is a general political act - it is not party political propaganda.

Tukak’s was one of the founders of the Indigenous People Theatre Association (IPTA) which for a period was run by the former Tukak’s actor Makka Kleist. At the moment IPTA is preparing a theatre festival which is to take place in autumn 1984 in South America. The work with IPTA and the fact that Tukak’s is the oldest theatre within the association means that it has become something of a model which other groups follow, and it also looks as if this type of international co-operation will be a major aspect of Tukak’s work in the future. Examples of this co-operation are that a former student at the Tukak’s theatre school is to graduate from the “Native Earth” theatre in Toronto and that the Iroquois Norman Charles has been admitted as a student at Tukak’s. Two other Indian students are expected to start at the school soon. Tukak’s has arranged numerous courses and seminars for Inuit in Canada and Alaska and the theatre is also involved in a project with the Institute of American Indian Art in New Mexico. Members of Tukak’s will stay there for two months over autumn 1984 to teach representatives of indigenous peoples within the USA. A similar project is planned for Alaska in 1985. The idea there is to start a theatre education facility at the University of Fairbanks. Tukak’s experience in this area comes from co-operation with the Native Theatre School in Canada among other places.

The latest development in Tukak’s international co-operation took place in November 1983 in New York when Reidar Nilsson met with the International League of Folk Arts for Communication and Education (FACE). FACE has along with UNESCO and UNICEF recommended that the United Nations proclaim 1988 as the year of Indigenous/Traditional Cultures and Development. A resolution about this is expected to be put to the vote at the United Nations soon. Several members of the UN’s General Assembly have already supported the resolution, trying to make the world focus on traditional cultures - not only their folkloric expressions, but also the modern ways of expression which Tukak’s represents.
The long-range international work takes time and is complicated by the economic problems of Tukak'. "When we get involved in projects like these, which I think are important for us, and which I think are important for Denmark and Greenland, which contribute towards greater understanding - especially since the world is on fire today - and when many of our projects have so much to do with the brotherhood of man - I think that the Danish Ministry of Cultural Affairs and others should support us more than they do now", says Reidar Nilsson. The International co-operation is very valuable for the theatre, however from an audience point of view this means that not all activities will be channelled into performances. Even so the theatre is still producing more and as Tukak' does not want to play for commercial reasons only, the audience will have to be patient with the slower rate of new productions.

The theatre has since its start in 1975 kept a distance from national romanticism as an artistic way of expression and also on an individual level in relation to personal identity. If you ask Norman Charles if he has an Indian name, he answers "Yes". If you ask him what it is, he replies "Norman Charles". At the Native Theatre School Norman Charles considered it dangerous that only a certain ethnic audience was ever reached. "You can understand why that would happen, when you have people that have been oppressed for centuries - when you have all that anger and frustration inside - then it's allowed to be expressed and sometimes you can feel a lot of anger against the white man coming out... but if you only think that way, you just make the conflict that exists continue...One of the reasons I studied philosophy and religion at the university is that it makes you see that you can't get too caught up in your own culture... it doesn't lead anywhere." The Sami Ass Simma (married to Charles) mentions that some Sami theatre is national romantic and that this means that the audiences tend to be only Sami. Tukak' does work with traditional Eskimo songs and dances, but not as theatre performances, it should from the Improvisations (Photo: Mads Fættsborg)
be seen more as a sort of folk music seminar, Reidar Nilsen points out and continues: "Within theatre, at least if you think of theatre as a branch of art, folklore is pretty ornamental - what you get is a living museum, it is not dramatic art."

Reidar Nilsson regards his work with actors from different cultural backgrounds as a research project in which common human feelings and a common foundation for humanity is sought. Earlier Tukak' worked a lot with myth as a sign language or a textbook in universal knowledge: "The myth reaches some primitive emotions or sensations within us, and if we are able to find the symbolic language in the myth and get it into our plays, then the myth can cross political and cultural frontiers... for the time being we work with four cultures: the Sami, the Greenlandic, the Iroquois and the Scandinavian. Maybe someday we will be more. To go in and examine the aspects of these cultures takes time - more time than I thought it would and it is more difficult than I thought it would be - but it is possible to find a common denominator.

The theatre school is recognised as a training institution by Danish and Greenlandic authorities, and Asa Simma has financial support from Sweden, which must be seen as Swedish recognition too. The student graduates as an actor and not as a culture-worker in a broader sense. Because the dramatic literature has not been written down for exotic looking actors, and because there are still no professional theatres in Greenland, jobs as actors have been limited. However several of the students have found jobs in the recreational and school sectors and a few with radio and television. One has become the head of the Greenlandic record-company "Ulo" and four earlier Tukak' students have leading parts in a new Danish feature film "Tukuma" (He who is busy).

While Greenlandic students generally are critical of the advanced studies taking place in Denmark, the Tukak' students chiefly find it satisfying to have the theatre based in Denmark. Elisabeth Heilmann from Greenland emphasises this point in that she finds it much easier to see the values of her own society from a distance. Qiss, also from Greenland, finds it a great advantage that the theatre is in Denmark as Tukak' have more possibilities for comparing notes and experiences with other theatre troupes from the 4th World touring Europe - a possibility not so available if the theatre had its residence in Greenland.

Reidar Nilsson calls attention to the fact that both actors and many politicians and civil servants in Greenland, quite clearly see two advantages in the present location of the theatre. One is that if Tukak's' residence had been in Greenland, the students, who take an active position and have an international experience in communications, would find engagement in areas which would take their concentration away from their education. The other reason is that by virtue of working in Denmark the Tukak' theatre has changed the common Danish idea as to what and who Greenlanders are. But to all the students, the ultimate goal is nevertheless to be able to become frontiers in building up new theatres in their respective homelands.

A momentous part of the play "Inuit" is the masks, usually half-masks, made of plaster and painted in black, white and red. It was these masks which brought Tukak' and Jo Møller together. Jo Møller who has a professional background as artist, actor and schoolteacher, is the founder of a mask-making workshop as well as a lecture group. He saw the "Inuit" play about three years ago and found it very moving. "It was the actors own reality which they adapted - I don't think it has anything to do with the fact that they were Greenlanders - everybody is able to work with themselves, in many different ways and from many different angles. Personally, I think theatre has something to do with adapting our own reality - if not, acting is a handicraft which is all right but
I prefer to see the artist on the stage. Well, I saw their performance and became very enthusiastic - except for one thing - their plastermasks. They were nice looking compared with many others, but I felt I knew something more about building up a mask - well and then we talked it over.

As a result of this Jo came to the theatre where he held courses in mask-building. Last autumn he stayed about two months at the theatre to create masks both for the new staging of "Inuit" (Now called "The Man and the Mask") and for "Sinnattog".

Jo's technique has improved since 1980. A mask which is created by him is built up of gauze over a last made from a facecasting. This is well known from other mask-workshops, but Jo's masks differ because of his close co-operation with the actors and directors and also because of his own experiences in mask-therapy which developed out of gestalt-therapy, where he analyses the characters of the actor, the part and the common elements of the collective consciousness.

"As an example, Anda's mask is personifying a person who underlays our European culture, one who is functioning on our premises, a slave soul, a kind of conformity, one who is serving the strange culture. To my perception he is narrow-minded, has no personal freedom and does everything in his power to defend his never gaining personal freedom. He will try to convince others to have the same attitude and believe in the same truth. That is the reason for the limitation of the face - it has the character of a helmet, it is distorted, inharmonic and shows both a will and a fear."

The mask is at that moment a sculpture. Through painting, certain characteristics have to be emphasised. Whereas usually Jo can use a choice of colours, in the Tukak' work he is limited to the three colours known in the eskimo-context. The final job in making the mask is done by the actor on the stage.

Jo Møller with Andas mask (Photo: Henrik Elling)
Usually Greenlandic artists have no big PR at their disposal and often they do not take advantage of the opportunities for having a new work announced in the press. Tukak' is an exception here and a well organised PR unit is tied to the theatre. Quality is a fundamental aim of the Tukak' theatre — it is found in their performances, in the written material which they present themselves and in the culture centre which is connected to the theatre and led by Elin Nilsson.

Originally Elin was the founder and the motivation behind the Greenlanders' Hostel in Holstebro, but shortly after the Tukak' theatre began she followed and built up the culture-centre. Elin's courses in weaving have developed into a widely supported textile centre. Every summer three major courses are held which are attended by weavers of wall-carpets from Denmark and abroad who meet at Fjaltring. There are also three annual seminars based on the theme of "man's creative power". Participants from many different areas such as artists, poets, novelists and psychologists lecture and discuss at these events.

There are many other activities at the culture-centre. These cover a wide field, such as gymnastic work for people who work at home ("does your body function?"); dance courses, lectures, slide shows and musical concerts.

Attendance is naturally varied, limited by distance and rival activities in nearby major towns. However between 50 and 200 people visit the centre for the courses. Although Fjaltring is a remote place sometimes not even on maps, participants and guests find their way there from all over Denmark.

Tukak' theatre provides the parameters for an active and creative milieu in which different branches of the arts can inspire each other to mutual advantage. Although Tukak' has provided the model, other theatres have seen the possibilities their working methods offer experimental theatre and derive much inspiration from it.

Through the ten years of Tukak's existence, it has steadily developed from being a specifically Greenlandic theatre to becoming a universal theatre. This has given birth to the idea of starting up a proper Greenlandic theatre in Greenland. As a result of an invitation by a former Tukak' actor (Rasmus Lyberth) a group of interested people are currently investigating the possibilities of establishing it in Nuuk, the 'capital' of Greenland.

Reidar Nilsson (Photo: Henrik Elling)
The massacres of people of Somali origin in Kenya's northeastern district of Wajir by the Kenyan security forces in February and the repression apparently going on in the area could have extremely serious consequences in the next few months and threaten the stability of both Kenya and Somalia. No precise information is as yet available on the number of victims, even though the Kenyan government officially admitted that 57 had been killed during the clashes with the security forces. Direct accounts from members of religious or humanitarian organisations have confirmed the accusations of two MPs of the area who say that more than a thousand people, most of them women and children, have been killed or have "disappeared".

There has been a striking determination on the part of the governments concerned to cover-up or completely ignore these tragic incidents. The Somali government has not said a single word about this affair, which clearly shows that in the strictest manner, it is acting on the security agreement between Presidents Moi (Kenya) and Barre (Somalia). The accord was signed in Nairobi in December in an attempt to combat the "subversive elements, bandits and smugglers" who operate along the border between the two countries. This attitude has provoked serious discontent within Somalia itself.

In fact, since 1979, a bitter conflict has developed between President Barre and part of the population of Somali origin from the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya, especially the Degodia clan. During the June 1981 Organisation of African Unity summit in Nairobi, President Barre held long talks with President Moi following which he publicly declared that Somalia was abandoning all territorial claims on the NFD. At the same time he issued orders to arrest in Somalia the main leaders of the "Northern Frontier District Liberation Front", most of them Degodia, urging the guerrillas to join the ranks of the "Western Somalia Liberation Front" (WSLF) and fight in Ogaden.

The Degodia clan as a whole has since then been opposed to the Syaad Barre regime. A number of the clan's members took refuge in Ethiopia where they met with support from Colonel Mengistu. Fighters from other NFD Somali clans (the Ajuran in particular, the Garre and the Ogaden) chose to join up with the WSLF. These interclan factions, nurtured and exacerbated by the little border wars between Somalia and Ethiopia, are the root of the violent clashes which, over the past few years, have opposed the Garre to the Murille in the Mandera district and the Ajuran to the Degodia in the Wajir area.

One of the unexpected consequences of the massacres perpetrated against the Degodia, in which everything points to the conclusion that they were conducted with the approval of the highest Kenyan authorities has been the exodus of large numbers of clan members who have fled, not to Somalia, but to Ethiopia, where great efforts have been made to welcome them. In the end, this implies that the Degodia could give up their traditional struggle against the Kenyan government for a while to turn against the Syaad Barre regime.

Ethiopia has much to gain from this as it already supports the Issaa guerillas in northern Somalia and the Mejeertein in the centre. It could now open up a new front in southern Somalia, the base of the main ethnic and social support for the regime. This affair is all the more serious for President Barre because even though the Degodia were by far the worst hit by recent repression in Kenya, it has also affected other tribes badly such as the Aulysan. The President is closely connected to some of these clans and possibly even the Marehan (the President's clan) have been among the victims. In spite of the censorship on such information in Somalia, news travels fast, and the President will have trouble quelling the widespread discontent it has caused.

It is difficult to foresee the consequences these events
will have in Kenya. At the end of March, the "Kenya Times", (mouthpiece of the ruling Kanu Party) declared that the "Iriria" movement, to which a number of Somali-origin clans adhere, was supported by a Nairobi-based company and several tribal chiefs in the area. The paper said that large sums of money were being spent on sophisticated weapons for use in possible interference from a foreign country. Although the country in question was not named, in the context of recent events, it can only refer to Ethiopia.

The question now is to know whether President Moi himself gave orders for the massacre to put down a nascent, perhaps externally aided rebellion, or whether the events simply got out of his control. In this case it would be a manoeuvre by the President's enemies to weaken his position by cutting him off from the ethnic minorities on which he has been leaning since his accession to power. A most striking paradox in this affair is that General Mahamoud Mohamed who stepped in decisively to save President Moi's regime in the August 1982 attempted coup, was from the Aulyahan clan, one of the victims of the massacres.

Source: The Indian Ocean Newsletter 14/4/84 No.127

MALAYSIA: RAJANG RIVER DAMS THREATEN SARAWAK INDIGENOUS GROUPS

Based on material by Hanne Robenhagen & Henrik Schleicher

The Malaysian government is currently planning a massive hydro-electric project on the Rajang river of Sarawak. This scheme consists of two enormous dams, one at the Bakun rapids 37 kilometres upriver from Belaga and another at the Pelagus rapids 50 kilometres upriver from Kapit. Opposition to the Bakun dam has already been organised by some of the Kayan, Kenyah, Kajang, Ukit and Penan people who would be displaced by the flooding. More than 4000 members of the indigenous population will be relocated by the Bakun project and 10,000 if the Pelagus goes ahead.

The Rajang river scheme is a part of a development programme by the Malaysian government for attracting foreign investors and multi-national companies into the country. Malaysia is a federation of states which is divided into a western half of 11 states on the Malayan peninsular which gained independence in 1957 and an eastern half on the island of Borneo consisting of two states, Sarawak and Sabah which joined the federation in 1963. Eastern Malaysia is the homeland of a large indigenous population (68% of the total there) who stand to lose most from the development plans.

Two major characteristics of Malaysian government policy has been increasing Islamicisation in the wake of the influence from the Iranian revolution and New Economic Policy. This policy which intends to shift Malaysia's emphasis on the production of raw materials for export into a modern industrialised state. According to the government the hydro-electricity generated from these proposed dams on Sarawak will provide energy for new factories in Western Malaysia by means of a huge underwater cable. By using electricity Malaysia will then be able to conserve oil and gas resources for export.

The choice facing the Malaysian political leaders has been whether the hydro-electric scheme should be produced first. Bakun would require a larger investment of $7 billion than
the smaller and more accessible Pelagus. Bakun's potential output of 2,400 megawatts is considerably more than Pelagus' 900 mw. The clinching factor has been the discovery of coal resources in the area to be flooded by the Pelagus dam and so the Pelagus will be delayed until the 200 million tonnes have been mined. Construction is planned for next year and will last until the next decade. During that time the indigenous populations in the affected area will be relocated to a destination as yet unspecified.

The Kayan, Kenyah and Punan people, like the famous Iban (Sea Dayaks) and the Land Dayaks live mainly in community long-houses which contain well over 150 people. They subsist on hunting and production of dry rice, sweet taro as well as a limited production of cash crops such as rubber, pepper, cacao and coffee. Relations between the indigenous peoples have improved over the years, head-hunting is no longer practised and the long-distance trading relations have continued to flourish.

There are great fears among these people as to the consequences of these projects going ahead. Some of the young Kenyah and Kayan from the communities have read the literature on similar hydro-electric schemes in the region and have prepared a 24 page paper on resettlement and compensation. "The native peoples have an ancestral right to the land where they are staying, farming and hunting. Therefore the Government should bear responsibility for resettlement." They demand:
- Suitable resettlement areas with adequate lands and forest area
- Compensation for loss of home, crops and livelihood
- An interim source of food until the new longhouse can become self-sufficient
- Adequate amenities for health and education
- Community hall and recreation area
- A share in the revenue from the sale of electricity generated from the project (1% could provide for a Foundation Fund to improve their lives).
Compensation for the value of all resources flooded by the dam project - for example share in the sale of timber cut down before flooding takes place.

The paper continues to propose the establishment of an indigenous committee which would negotiate the resettlement with the Government and participate in a Resettlement Agency consisting of Government and indigenous representatives as well as independent experts.

These young indigenous protesters have visited the Philippines and met with people opposed to the Chico hydro-electric project. There the dam was eventually cancelled not only for economic reasons but also because of the dedication and firm resistance of the indigenous people. However it is widely believed that it may prove impossible to stop the Bakun project and this is why the strategy of adequate compensation has been adopted.

When looking at the Malaysian government's record in past resettlements a contradictory picture emerges. The Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (Salcra) were responsible for the resettlement programme of the Ibanas living in the area of another dam, the Batang Ali was being constructed in 1982. This organisation considers that the resettlement has been a total success - traditional hill padi farming methods have been discouraged and with money from cash crops the Ibanas will be able to pay for their houses. Although the land is free the housing and development will not be.

This perspective is very different to some of the people involved in the Batang Ali resettlement scheme. They say that they have still not received part of their compensation money and most of their new agricultural land is not ready for use. They had been promised their land ready and planted but Salcra have decided to do this in stages. This will put a severe strain on the settlers because of the delay while the cash crops grow over the first few years. Out of the land granted
to the settlers little or no attention is being paid to their traditional subsistence needs. Even the possibilities for working on the dam project, which were promised in 1982, have been denied the traditional owners of the area. They have to pay for the new houses and for their energy needs. The net result has, in contrast to the Salcra claim, led to much discontent because one of the conditions for their moving was that their houses and energy costs would be free.

Back in the area of the proposed Bakun dam certain timber companies have already started to fell the trees along the river banks even though the dam has not had an official go-ahead yet. The inhabitants of the area complain that the rivers have been silted up and they cannot find clean water to drink, the fish in the rivers have died and the wild animals have fled. All attempts at stopping the work have failed and the Sarawak Electricity Supply Corporation says that it is state land, the timber company must see to the compensation for the indigenous inhabitants and that the water supply is not their concern.

All in all the effects of the proposed Sarawak dams will be disastrous for the indigenous communities of the area if they are treated as others in a similar plight. A recent confidential report by the firm of Lahnmeyer International has said "34 village shops, located within or next to the longhouses, would be affected, and the agricultural land - planted with vegetables, fruit trees and cash crops such as rubber, pepper, coffee and cacao - would be almost entirely flooded. 70% of the fields for hill padi would also be affected. To all these areas, native customary rights of acquisition and possession, laid down in the Sarawak Land Code, 1958 apply."

The report talks of the terrible effects of the introduction of workers on the dam, raising the cost of living and hitting the poor families very hard. The two staged resettlement plan (one at the commencement and one at the completion of the project) will split traditional ties between longhouses
and force people to part with their cultural environment such as graveyards and places linked to their oral tradition or personal experiences. The report recommends full compensation for anything destroyed in the flooding, a supply of basic foods to tide people over the difficult period of resettlement and large enough areas to land to allow for future population expansion and sufficient forest land for game and jungle produce... Compensation of a nature which would approach the demands of the indigenous population would come to about $92.21 million.

Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth Malaysian Branch) have played an active role in publicising the effects of the project. In addition to the introduction of waterborne diseases to the area other ecological consequences can occur. Many rare plants and animal species will die and in addition the economic rationale of the project is hard to support considering Malaysia already has more than enough generating capacity to meet present demands.

SAM’s view is that attention should be paid to recent studies in Sarawak showing how 150 “mini-hydro” sites could produce more electricity, cost less and effect local inhabitants and ecology minimally.

However providing the project can gain the $40 million loan from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank the whole scheme will go ahead and the longhouse communities of the Rajang river will face a bleak future.

Supplementary material: Borneo Bulletin: 27/8/83; 17/9/83
New Straits Times: 27/11/83; 31/1/84
NICHARAGUA: VISIT FROM GOVERNMENT AND INDIGENOUS DELEGATION

On March 28th IWGIA received a visit by an official delegation from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast which was travelling through Europe on an information tour. The delegation consisted of Commanders William Ramírez and Lumberto Campbell, Ministers of the Government for the northern and southern regions of the Atlantic Coast (called respectively Special Zones I and II), Dr. Mirna Cunningham, Delegate of the Ministry of Health in the northern Atlantic Coast and Dorotea Wilson of the FSLN (Sandinist National Liberation Front) Regional Committee in the southern Atlantic Coast. In addition there were two members of the Center for Investigation and Documentation of the Atlantic Coast (CIDCA) - Galio Gurdíán (Director) and Hazel Law (researcher and Miskito with a long experience of representing the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast).

The aim of the European trip was to discuss the general situation in Nicaragua and in particular the problems facing the Atlantic Coast. The discussions with IWGIA staff centred around the conflicting accounts as to what is happening to the indigenous peoples in the area as a result of the conflicts between the Sandinist government and CIA-backed counter-revolutionary groups operating from Honduras and Costa Rica. (For background to this whole problem see IWGIA Document No.47 and IWGIA Newsletter No.35 & 36.)

The Commandantes presented the problem on the Atlantic Coast from the perspective of the interference by the United States in Nicaraguan affairs. They pointed out that attacks which had taken place on Miskito and other indigenous communities by counter-revolutionaries could only have happened with the financial and logistical backing of the CIA. They rejected outright that the Sandinist government had any intention of waging war on the indigenous population and pointed to the Amnesty for all prisoners which took effect in December 1983 as an example of the Government's sincerity in trying to solve the problem. They were sensitive to criticisms that the resettlement of the indigenous populations from the Río Coco and more recently from areas further west on the Honduran border (Raiti) and nearer Puerto Cabezas (Sangnílaya) had constituted a violation of rights and put forward the point that in times of war populations are frequently evacuated for their own safety. If those people had not been moved and had then died in the subsequent fighting, the government would have been held responsible.

On the subject of the future for the indigenous populations of the Atlantic Coast the Commandantes said that this was entirely connected to the extent of the conflict. When the fighting stopped then the area could receive the infrastructural benefits the government would like to offer. They also made the point that in the light of criticisms about their policies and actions in the Atlantic Coast they had made mistakes in the past but had not sufficiently put forward the positive side to their work such as their achievements in health, education and other projects.

Dr. Mirna Cunningham then talked about some of the major aspects of health care on the Atlantic Coast. Criticisms that there are no medical facilities in the area are blatantly untrue. However the vast improvements in primary health between 1979 and 1981 have been hampered by the attacks of counter-revolutionary groups and the necessity to close down some posts in certain conflict areas. In spite of all the difficulties statistics (left by Dr.Cunningham) showed that there has been an increase in medical infrastructure of the area and a decrease in the main illnesses of the region: parasites, tuberculosis, malaria, whooping cough and silicosis among miners.

Some of the pre-revolutionary health work done by charitable organisations has now been taken on as Government policy, Dr. Cunningham said. For example the more isolated parts of the Atlantic Coast are receiving visits from mobile medical units co-ordinate health clinics and health posts and go right
into the communities on training programmes to enable local brigadists to carry out basic medical care for a community and educate the population on self-help and hygiene. At the same time it is policy where possible to install radios to call emergency aid should the need arise.

The main problem at the moment for the functioning of this medical service is the lack of petrol for the mobile units and a shortage of medicine which is on ration as a result of the conflict in the region. In spite of all this health services in the Atlantic Coast are better than before the Revolution and in addition the services provided are free.

Dorotea Wilson then spoke about the situation in the settlements of Santo Tomas de Umbra, Waibinona, Saha, Sunumbila and Colombus which constitute Tasba Pri. The people in Tasba Pri were evacuated from the Rio Coco in January 1982 and consist of Miskito and Sumu. The population in all the settlements amounts to nearly ten thousand. Land is worked co-operatively producing rice, corn, yuca and cacao as well as other crops. Over eight hundred houses have been built and the number is fast approaching the thousand mark. Health care and vaccination programmes come from the clinics there and education is provided for all ages. Each settlement has a church and there is freedom of religion. There is also a road which links the Pacific to the Atlantic passing through the Tasba Pri area.

The Miskito have organised most of their lives in Tasba Pri and although some of the older people have found the change from traditional life on the Rio Coco a dramatic change younger people have managed the transition well. The value of the land as producer of cash crops will determine the length of time the settlements will remain but as things stand they are permanent.

IWGIA staff then mentioned that it had received reports that some Miskito people in Tasba Pri felt that there were some short-comings to the arrangement. For example some said that the houses were closer together than was traditional for the Miskito. Also some felt that they did not have sufficient land for their needs in that traditionally there was always enough for subsistence purposes which is not inevitably the case in a co-operative system such as that working in Tasba Pri. There had in addition been reports that certain differences between Miskito and Sumu production patterns had been overlooked and that the restrictions on movement was a problem for men who want to hunt and fish.

Hazel Law commented on these criticisms. She said that there were some very genuine grievances which the Miskito people felt. In the past they had put them to the Government and she hoped that there would be a prompt reaction and speedy resolution. The traditional social and cultural life of the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast should change and develop in accordance with their own wishes. Obviously it would be unrealistic to expect everyone to agree on how things should be done but it is important to enable all indigenous points of view to be heard. One way for this would be the establishment of an indigenous organisation which could present these opinions nationally and internationally. The Government has no objection to such an organisation but the main problems are the logistics of financing it and avoiding some of the pitfalls which its predecessors encountered.

Hazel Law continued by giving her perspective of the current problems. It was no help for the indigenous people of Nicaragua to run away from the situation. A more constructive position is to work for indigenous rights within the country on a basis which will benefit the majority of people and hopefully lead to peace throughout the region. What is needed is the implementation of social improvements, such as those the Government is trying to bring into the Atlantic Coast, while at the same time giving as much freedom as possible for the indigenous populations of the area to develop in line with their own cultural and ethnic identities as part of one country.
As long as there are still indigenous people working within the framework of the Revolution and negotiating with the Government for their ideals, then a practical and peaceful solution to the problems of the Atlantic Coast is possible.

Hazel Law said that although there was no indigenous organisation for her to continue her previous work representing the Miskito, Sumu and Rama people, her current research work with CIDCA was giving her an opportunity to gauge the feelings of the indigenous population and understand the present situation on the Atlantic Coast. She and Galio Guardián then spoke about a recent project CIDCA has produced involving a detailed analysis of the attitudes and events which have and are shaping the history of the Atlantic Coast.

The result of the research has been published in a report called Trabil Nani ("We have many problems") which covers the historical and recent background to the present situation and looks at the effects of the current conflict on the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast.

Galio Guardián and Hazel Law said that CIDCA saw the conflict which developed between the indigenous organisation MISURASA and the Sandinist government as a contradiction between one organisation which saw reality as based on ethnicity and the other seeing it in terms of class. The different perspectives contrasting an ethnic tradition of self-reliance on the Atlantic Coast with suspicion of the Pacific with a revolutionary desire to develop the material base of society to form a unified state presented a clash which set the scene for the rupture which followed.

Since 1981 fighting in the Atlantic Coast has changed from the border attacks which led to the formation of Tasha Pri to internal counter-revolutionary camps within Nicaragua which from 1982 formed the base of community attacks. By 1983 with co-ordination and co-operation between MISURA in the north and MISURATSATA in the south both fighting the Sandinist government with whom they had once worked, opposition became far more sophisticated. With the backing of the USA to the tune of $20 million annually the whole region entered a new war phase. It is in this war context that CIDCA considers the actions of the Sandinist government on the indigenous population should be seen.

Criticisms of the Government's handling of the war have been put forward in an October 1983 report by Dr. Bernard Nietschmann who pin-points areas of human rights violations—civilian deaths, torture, arbitrary detention and looting. CIDCA do not deny that there are reports of the Armed Forces carrying out actions which would fit into these categories but on a far smaller scale than implied by Dr. Nietschmann. All reports of alleged violations of human rights have come from communities where there was fighting between the Government and the counter-revolutionaries. War being no excuse for any civilian suffering, the Government has already set up enquiries and has prosecuted some members of the Armed Forces. CIDCA consider that in the light of this information and considerably more, it is inaccurate to say that the Government are in any way seeking to exterminate the indigenous population of the Atlantic Coast.

The CIDCA report found a certain amount of discontent among some of the Atlantic Coast population but that this in no way means that the counter-revolutionary Miskito can claim any grounds for being representative of the indigenous cause in the region. Another problem is getting any really reliable information—e.g., after interviews with 170 people from 30 different communities CIDCA comment on the difficulty of people trying to tell you what they think you want to hear and at the same time the inconsistencies of some allegations which are based primarily on hear-say. In addition to this there is the propaganda war which is taking more interest in scoring points in a game of human rights rather than trying to find solutions to the problems of the Atlantic Coast which
will benefit the indigenous population.

Hazel Law and Galio Gurdian ended their discussion of the CIDCA report with the following observations which could be seen as a summary of the position of the whole delegation: "The Sandinist Revolution still faces the challenge of responding to the demands of the Atlantic Coast - economic, political, social and cultural. Nevertheless the last four years has seen the Government trying to work towards this goal with much human and economic effort. It is evident that the Revolution has set itself out to ensure the survival and prosperity of the ethnic groups of Nicaragua. While the war continues under the aegis of the United States the funding of solutions to the existing problems will be difficult. The energies and creativity will be divided between dialogue and defence. Eventually we will build a new society, more just and fraternal both multi-ethnic and multi-lingual. However this will cost us all many sacrifices."

NICARAGUA: A CONTRASTING VIEW - WHAT HAPPENED AT KIWASTARA?

On March 20th members of IWGIA’s Secretariat were invited to meet Teofilo Archibald Wilson and Silvio Diaz Thompson who were visiting Scandinavia on an information tour. The former is a member of SIIC (Southern and Indigenous Creole Community) and the latter of Misura (a counter revolutionary group led by Steadman Pagoth operating from Honduras).

They presented a picture of the Atlantic Coast being starved to death by the Sandinist government who commandeers food, provides no education nor healthcare. They say that they had no desire to become involved in any guerilla war, only that they wanted the Government of Nicaragua changed and that they wanted to get rid of Cubans and Russians in the country.

The numbers of people who had fled to Honduras they put at 25,000 (twice as high as official sources) and the refugees need food, medicines and clothes (at least 8,000 are beyond the help of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees). The two representatives brought with them various documents including one published by Misura which gives a strongly anti-Sandinist interpretation of the events leading up to the guerilla war and alleges that the Sandinist government has attacked and violated the human rights of many communities in the Atlantic Coast.

When asked about the attacks and violations which have been reported on the counter-revolutionary side the representatives would not comment saying that they had not come to talk about the war only to ensure that the view-point of the Miskito and Creole people in exile be understood. Dialogue with the Sandinists had proven useless in the past and it would be of no use now, they said. They considered Miskitos remaining in Nicaragua seeking dialogue with the Government to be misguided.

Teofilo Wilson said that in the past the Sandinists had promised many things but had delivered nothing for the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast. The Government of Nic-
aragua admit their mistakes but the atrocities go on, he said. 

Silvio Diaz Thompson explained that they were travelling in 
Scandinavia after a trip to Geneva where they had present 
an account of an atrocity alleged to have taken place at Kwa-
astara village within Honduran territory on January 5th this 
year. 28 families were tied up, men told to lie down and then 
12 people were killed. This allegation was in response to a 
Press Release made by the Nobel Peace Prize Winner Adolfo 
Perez Esquivel.

The Perez Esquivel information came as a result of his 
recent visit to the Mocoro refugee camp in Honduras on January 7 
1984. While he was there he heard a report that the Honduran 
army radio had transmitted information that 600 Miskito trying 
to return to Nicaragua from Honduras had been intercepted by 
Honduran armed forces during which attack 200 Miskito had been 
killed. Perez Esquivel did not accuse anyone of the event 
but asked the Honduran government to investigate the alleged 
incident. In the official reply to Perez Esquivel the Honduran 
Minister of Foreign Affairs counter-asserted that Sandinist 
soldiers had attacked the village of Kiwastara. It is on this 
counter-allegation which Teofilo Wilson and Silvio Diaz Thomp-
son based their Geneva testimony.

In response to the conflicting accounts as to what may 
have happened on January 5th and 6th this year on the Honduran 
border, INGIA sent a letter to both the Foreign Ministers of 
Honduras and Nicaragua asking that they investigate the alle-
gations (see extracts below).

The two representatives of the exiles in Honduras said 
that even though the United States had along with others organ-
ised and financed their Scandinavian trip, they wanted all 
foreign interference in Central America stopped. The Miskito 
are the only people who should determine Miskito affairs.

They said that they were not asking for an independent Atlan-
tic Coast separate from the rest of Nicaragua but rather a 
say in government and recognition of their demands for govern-
mental change and the end to foreign interference in Nicaraguan 
affairs.

Apart from their wish to express the perspective of the 
exiled Miskito and Creoles in Honduras and Costa Rica, the 
two representatives emphasised the difficulties facing the 
refugees in those countries and appealed for help to improve 
their conditions. They looked forward to the day when they 
could return to Nicaragua in peace but as things stood they 
had to stay because in spite of the Amnesty they were afraid. 
They did not criticise the diplomatic efforts of Bishop John 
Wilson of the Moravian Church to explain the conditions of 
the Amnesty to the refugees but felt that it would still be 
a long while before people return to Nicaragua again.

In response to the visit from the two representatives INGIA 
sent the following letter to the Foreign Minister of Nicara-
gua and Honduras:

"The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 
(INGIA) has become extremely concerned about reports emanating 
from various sources as to events which took place in January 
1984 on the border between Honduras and Nicaragua.

"One of the reports was provided by Adolfo Perez Esquivel, 
Nobel Peace Prize Winner in 1980. A. Perez Esquivel at pre-
sent works internationally in favour of oppressed peoples in 
his capacity as general co-ordinator of Servicio Paz y Justicia 
en Centro y Sud América.

"On January 7th 1984, Adolfo Perez Esquivel in the company 
of persons connected with the cause in defence of human rights 
such as Bishop John Wilson of the Moravian Church, visited the 
refugee camp Mocoro situated in Honduras. Colonel Garcia 
Tursios, placed by the Honduran government in charge of
refugee camps, also accompanied the A. Perez Esquivel commission.

"According to the report set forth by Adolfo Perez Esquivel, when the Commission arrived at the Mocoro camp, representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees present there, believed erroneously that the Commission had arrived to investigate an incident which had occurred the previous day. According to Perez Esquivel, the UNHCR representatives told the Commission about a Honduran army report transmitted by radio, according to which, 600 Miskitos trying to return to Nicaragua from Honduras had been intercepted by the Honduran armed forces. According to the same report, 200 Miskitos had died at the hands of the Honduran army.

"At midday Comandante Coronel Balderrama of the Honduran Armed Forces arrived at Mocoro camp who, according to Perez Esquivel, tried to minimise the incident saying that the number of dead had not been so high and that the majority of the Miskito had hidden themselves in the jungle. Since then the Government and Army of Honduras have denied that the attack on the Miskito had been made by the Honduran forces but blame Sandinist forces for the incident.

"IWGIA requests that the government of Honduras investigate the report of Perez Esquivel, for various international circles are afraid that the government of Honduras is creating an atmosphere of fear among the Miskito refugees in Honduras. Many of these people wish to return to Nicaragua to take advantage of the General Amnesty passed by the Sandinist government in December 1983.

"In an official reply to the press release of Perez Esquivel, the Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs said that an incident occurred on the 5th of January 1984 involving members of the Sandinist Armed Forces who attacked the Honduran community of Sunlaya (also known as Kiwastara), Departamento de Gracias a Dios, where 18 Miskito refugees had been killed. This attack has been described by one of the survivors Carmelos Vargas, who added that it was led by a Nicaraguan Comandante Sonda Escobar of Puerto Cabezas.

"IWGIA requests that the government of Nicaragua investigate the attack described by Carmelo Vargas on the community of Kiwastara.

"IWGIA greets the governments of Honduras and Nicaragua in the hope that both governments will respect the wishes and demands of the indigenous peoples in their respective territories."
PACIFIC: ISLAND NATIONS, INDEPENDENCE AND CONSTITUTIONS

In a recent article, Professor Yash Ghai discusses the role and importance of constitutions in the context of Pacific Islands gaining their independence. Formally independence means the renunciation of claims to sovereignty by a colonial or metropolitan power, however practically independence involves the adoption of a constitution for defining the parameters of public power and the conduct of political activity. Throughout the Pacific region the period prior to independence has consisted of extensive negotiations between the metropolitan country and the colony and between members of the colony itself. It is the issues and contradictions involved in such discussions which provide the substance of Professor Ghai’s article.

Creating constitutions among the Pacific islands has been important because it has involved a focus away from politics organised locally and regionally towards a national perspective. The crucial conflict here is the extent to which custom and tradition clashes with the concept of the new state. As the basis for a “nation” the new constitution must to some extent establish a new basis of authority which may in some respects clash with some local and regional interests. On the other hand the constitution must have some legitimacy which rests on the process of its making and the extent of popular consultation and consensus on which it is based.

Professor Ghai presents two models of constitution making in the Pacific. One is the British mode of decolonisation where Britain takes an active part in the process, encouraging the colony’s leaders to make proposals which are then discussed and approved by Britain at a conference in London. All final drafting and authorisation comes entirely from Britain. This model was followed in Fiji, Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Tuvalu. The other model (followed in Western Samoa, Nauru and Papua New Guinea) leaves the main responsibility for the constitution in the hands of the leaders and people of the colony. A constitutional convention (or assembly in PNG) has the task of drawing up and adopting the constitution with the aid of consultants and some public debate. This procedure provides an autonomous constitution as its legal basis lies not in imperial legislation (as with Britain) but in the will of members of the colony. Two exceptions to these models are Vanuatu and the US Trust Territory. In Vanuatu a local committee prepared the constitution but changes were imposed by Britain and France, while in the Trust Territory the US held a veto over the constitutions in that each one had to be compatible with the compact for association with the US being negotiated at the same time.

These main models refer to the drawing up or making of constitutions but not to the amount of consultation with the people which varies considerably. For example the Solomon Islands’ constitution which conforms to the British model in fact involved more consultation in its preparation than that of Samoa where the representative leaders did not actually consult with public opinion. Only on Cook Islands and Fiji was there no consultation process, in contrast to PNG where two years of consultation took place.

Ratification of the constitutions varies according to the procedure in the metropolitan countries. For example where possible Britain makes use of elections whereas the French prefer referenda. The US have also used referenda extensively in the Trust Territory. Changes in constitutions after they have been ratified are usually contingent on consultation with the people again, either through a new convention or another referendum.

In his article Professor Ghai discusses seven main issues which have arisen in the drafting of Pacific constitutions. Each country’s constitution is shaped by those problems and preoccupations relative to that country’s historical, social and political situation the issues presented are as follows:
1) **Status of colony after decolonisation:** since the 1960s, size, resources and preparedness have no longer been criteria for independence. The economic realities have meant that several islands have opted for association with another state as an alternative to full independence. Cook Islands and Niue are both associated to New Zealand through constitutional Acts and as a result have matters of defence, external affairs and citizenship determined by New Zealand. However New Zealand's interests in its associates is less than the US in Micronesia where association is based on strategic interests which the compact has used to curtail the parameters of the constitution.

2) **Territorial Integrity:** the boundaries of the Pacific colonies rarely corresponded with the pre-colonial ethnic entities which produced another problem at independence—whether ethnic groups should separate into smaller units. The UN had a resolution against dismemberment and so it was not easy for such divisions to take place. However Tuvalu (the Ellice Islands) separated from Kiribati (the Gilberts) and in Micronesia the Marshall from Palau. Where secession was denied the issue had to be accommodated in the constitution (eg. decentralisation in PNG, the Solomans and Vanuatu).

3) **Decentralisation:** this is the way of reconciling the interests of the state and the islands. As a result of the centralisation of the colonial administration, decentralisation was considered essential in drawing up constitutions. Most details of decentralisation were drawn up after the constitution (cf. Solomon). The Federated States of Micronesia have one overall constitution and each state has its own within that which they decide upon.

4) **Government Structure and Head of State:** broadly speaking the Commonwealth countries adopted the Westminster parliamentary system which was considered familiar and to some extent consistent with traditional systems. Micronesia opted for a US style presidential system with the exception of the Marshall Islands. In those countries where the head of state and government would be different there were complex choices. In PNG and the Solomons the choice was between the Queen and a President. The former became head of state but was represented by the latter. In Fiji a governor-general was appointed rather than elected and appointed by Parliament. The separation of the offices of Prime Minister and President on the one hand can provide cohesion and balance for a new country but on the other hand create problems and misunderstandings as to the distinction between an executive and ceremonial role.

5) **Citizenship:** originally indigenous citizenship was defined by a long line of local ancestry in order to exclude non-indigenous persons. With time naturalised citizenship has become accepted provided that it does not interfere with the traditional rights to land. There is no dual nationality though as that implies dual loyalty in the region.

6) **Land:** land issues appear in the constitutions as an attempt to restore the pre-colonial situation returning land to its traditional owners. The original aims of the leaders, however were dampened by pressure from the metropolitan powers fearing their nationals would come off badly. PNG, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu still allow only citizens to own freehold although there is protection for naturalised owners of land from compulsory purchase in PNG. The Trust Territory was unable to question titles from a previous regime but only citizens could obtain water and land rights or in the case of the Marshall Islands alienate land rights without the permission of the traditional authorities of that land.

7) **Custom and Traditional Authorities:** traditional authorities were often involved in the committees and conventions of the constitutional process and custom was important because of a wish that a constitution should reflect traditional values. Homogeneous cultural traditions such as Tonga and Western
Samoa could incorporate custom more easily than countries with a great diversity of cultural traditions such as PNG. Another problem was the conflict of values between the traditional customs and western political institutions as well as between the educated elite and traditional authorities. A constitution can threaten custom by state institutions, nation-wide laws and judicial functions and as Professor Ghai emphasises, "fundamental rights, which are based on western philosophy and values in many cases can seriously undermine the bases of traditional authority (the right to exercise jurisdiction, to impose sanctions, to exile, to restrict mobility etc.)."

Attempts have been made to preserve custom law in PNG, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. In Micronesia the traditional chief is theoretically at least still in control of traditional law as long as it is not un-constitutional.

The nation state has emerged in the Pacific as a result of colonialism although the colonial state was not 'national'. It tolerated some autonomy and traditional authorities carried out its orders. However custom and traditional practice was also the vehicle for expressing discontent with the colonial power. On independence the constitution declares itself the basis of all lawful power and authority. The importance of legitimacy in the popular vote undermines traditional challenges to state institutions. Although there are examples of decentralisation, the central government still dominates. The state also gains international recognition through taking on certain western values, particularly those of political and economic development. Both of these provide the basis of more foreign political and commercial influences masked by internal national responsibility for decisions taken by leaders. Even after independence the small Pacific nations are captives within a larger economic system of neo-colonial exploitation. Whether the cause is a heavy-handed indulgence of western values over cultures within a country, or the exploitative relationships from outside forces, indigenous rights can still be threatened after independence.

PERU: FIGHT TO DEFEND "CONQUEST" OF MANU NATIONAL PARK

In recent years the Peruvian government has been developing President Belaunde's dream of "jungle conquest". While the struggle for the rights of the Amuesha people threatened by the Pichis/Palcazu project has continued in the Ucayali, the Government has been working hard in the southern department of Madre de Dios granting Shell oil concession rights within one of the few protected areas of the Amazon basin, the Manu National Park. In addition the Government plans to drive the jungle highway (carretera marginal) right through the northern part of the Park (a part of the same scheme of which Pichis/Palcazu is a part), construct several canals linking the Ucayali river basin with the Madre de Dios and establish a naval base with helicopter landing facilities. The following article by Thomas Moore describes these and other threats to the Manu National Park and its people.

On December 7th last year a Technical Committee for the Defence of the Manu National Park was established in Lima made up of peoples concerned with natural and cultural conservation. The principal objective of the committee is to safeguard the Park from the development projects planned by the Government. The original idea of the Manu National Park was to preserve the flora and fauna of a cross section of environmental habitats ranging from the high Andes to the lowland tropical forest. It was hoped to develop this area for investigation, education and some tourist and recreational activities. Within the framework of the Park live indigenous peoples such as the Machiguenga, Yaminahua and Amahuaca. It was intended that the cultural heritage of these peoples would be respected in any plans for the Park. All of these ideals have been totally disregarded by the Government who, in addition stand to contravene several legal rights.

Article 123 of the Peruvian political constitution states that everyone has the right to live in a healthy and balanced ecological environment suited to the development of life and the preservation of natural life. It is an obligation of the
state to prevent and control any form of environmental contamination. According to the Ley Forestal y de Fauna Silvestre (1975 Article 16) National Parks are protected areas where the flora and fauna should remain untouched. This point is also made in Article 5 of the 1977 Reglamento de Unidades de Conservación and in Article 6 there is a statement that all exploitation of natural resources in a National Park is prohibited.

The Committee for the Defence of the Manu National Park has set out some alternatives to the idea of the highway through the Park. They say that a carefully planned tourist development in the Park could pay for a re-routing of the road around its boundaries. They say that such a development would have to take place in areas far from the indigenous inhabitants of the Park so that they do not become objects of tourist attraction as has happened in other parts of Peru (see forthcoming INGIA Document on the Yagua people by J-P Chaumeil). Such a tourist project would have to be extremely well organised indeed to quell the fears of indigenous inhabitants of the Madre de Dios which have in recent years found tourism an increasing menace. Re-routing the road will also produce more problems as there are Machiguanga, Piro, Amahuaca, Yaminahua, Huachipaeri and Amarakeri communities all within striking distance of the Park.

However, as Thomas Moore's article shows, the threat to the Park is more than the road but involves a whole-scale onslaught by the military and multi-national interests. It is time that the Peruvian government rethink their jungle policies. They should be ensuring the titling of lands for indigenous communities, recognising the prior right of the original population to sufficient land for their continued existence, they should respect and preserve the ecological integrity of the jungle areas and after consultation propose projects which concur with ecological patterns and indigenous rights.
Reports in the Lima press on January 23rd and 24th, 1984, described a bow and arrow attack by a group of 20 to 50 naked and painted members of the "Pirumashco tribe" on January 22 in the Isthmus of Fitzcarrald area of Manu Province, Madre de Dios, Peru. The victims were a crew of heliport construction workers, and Segundo Brito Murallari, a 16-year-old trail clearer, received a 2-inch arrow wound in the back.

The attack coincided with a visit to the location by Peru's President, Fernando Belaúnde Terry. Brito was transferred by helicopter to the Dominican Mission at Sepahua on the Urubamba River, where his wound was attended by a presidential doctor.

President Belaúnde had previously been warned by local authorities of the possibility of a hostile confrontation with these indigenous peoples. His visit had been postponed twice before, on December 8 and again in early January, because the safety of the visit could not be guaranteed. Belaúnde was accompanied by a contingent of the Peruvian Navy which responded to the attack with gunfire from helicopters. The indigenous attackers quickly dispersed. Witnesses testify that at least 2 Indians died and an undetermined number was wounded.

The location and the history of previous incidents suggest that the "Pirumashcos" are probably Yaminahua, although the possibility that they are an Amahuaca, Machiguenga or Pi- ro subgroup cannot be excluded. There has been no published ethnographic or linguistic documentation of the group involved in the incident to date.

Whoever they are, these indigenous people have remained in relative isolation from the outside world by choice in one of the last "protected" areas of the Amazon Basin, the Manu
the Isthmus of Fitzcarrald area within the Manu National Park where the January 22 incident took place. Seismic exploration involves the opening of trails at 5 kilometer intervals and the detonation of explosive devices in order to register the seismic reaction which provides an indication of the potential for hydrocarbon reserves. These explosions are disturbing to both the human and other animal inhabitants in the area. Moreover, such operations involve a large labor force spread out over vast territory, so that the possibilities of contact with the indigenous peoples are great as is the likelihood of careless depredation of the forest flora and fauna by the oil company personnel.

The Shell seismic exploration in this area terminated in mid-1983, but the company is currently negotiating for two new concessions to the east of the current location, which would also affect the Park and its inhabitants.

The heliport construction is a first step toward the opening of a new Navy Base in the Isthmus of Fitzcarrald, a project which directly and openly violates the Park’s purpose as a conservation unit. The Naval units would be transferred there from the Lagarto Navy Base on the Madre de Dios River several hundred miles to the east and outside the boundaries of the Park.

The streams in the Isthmus of Fitzcarrald are not navigable, and the only justification of a Navy Base in this area, which is a watershed between the Urubamba-Ucayali and Manu-Madre de Dios River Basins, is to carry out another project announced by President Belaunde, the interconnection of these river basins by opening a canal which would permit navigation by small crafts during the rainy season months.

It is difficult to justify this interfluvial connection in economic terms since the Urubamba-Ucayali and Manu-Madre de Dios are of similar geographical character and have little

National Park.

The Manu National Park is a wilderness area in the tropical forests of southeastern Peru (Departments of Madre de Dios and Cusco) set aside for conservation and scientific purposes by the Peruvian Government in 1973. In 1977 it was recognized by UNESCO as a conservation unit of unique value and importance in the Man and the Biosphere programme. Its unique value and importance consist in that it encompasses one of the last intact expanses of primary tropical forest containing perhaps the world’s richest variety of mammalian, avian, and botanical species in an area which includes ecological formations ranging from the high cold thorn forest to the humid tropical forest of the low jungle.

The Park is also the habitat of at least three different indigenous populations (Jungius, 1976) which by law are guaranteed the right to remain, although without property rights to their land, within the boundaries of the Park and continue their traditional way of life, including hunting, fishing, gathering, and slash-and-burn horticulture. They are not allowed to hunt with firearms nor fish with explosives, however, and these techniques have only been introduced by outsiders in spite of very strict legal restrictions against contact with these indigenous peoples. The laws, of course, are very difficult to enforce.

The conservation measures were taken by the military governments of Presidents Velasco and Morales Bermúdez. The current Government (1980–) of President Belaunde has given higher priority to other projects in this area, however, and these projects seriously threaten the survival of both the indigenous peoples and the fragile ecology of the Park.

Beginning in 1981, the Royal Dutch Shell Petroleum Company and its subcontractor GeoSource, Inc., have conducted seismic exploration for oil in a large concession including
to exchange. Moreover, the distance between urban population centres from one side to the other is more than 500 miles.

The Isthmus of Fitzcarrald is the watershed crossed by the Peruvian rubber baron and trader Carlos Fermín Fitzcarrald in 1894, an exploit dramatized, although inaccurately and ahistorically, by the recent film "Fitzcarraldo" of West German producer Werner Herzog. The production of this film in 1979-82 also resulted in friction with the indigenous peoples of this area as well as with the Aguaruna in the northern Peruvian jungle.

Fitzcarrald and subsequent rubber collectors who crossed the watersheds from the Urubamba-Ucayali Basin met with little economic success in developing rubber extraction in the Madre de Dios region of Peru. The real "boom" in the rubber industry for that region occurred after 1906 when an American firm, the Inca Rubber Company completed a mule trail connecting the Tambopata River in eastern Madre de Dios with the highlands of Puno from which there was rail transportation to the Pacific coast port of Mellendo. In 1915, rubber production from Madre de Dios reached 790,000 kilogrammes. Prior to 1906, most of the rubber exported from Madre de Dios was taken out through Bolivia and Brazil and not via the watershed route.

The canal project is considered the dream - some say obsession - of the 71-year-old President Belaúnde who suffers from Parkinson’s disease and memory lapses.

For the indigenous peoples and the Park ecology, however, the canal project would be disastrous. The volume of labour force, equipment, and explosives necessary to excavate the canal and the long access route through the Park would not permit any meaningful protection of the Park’s indigenous population, flora and fauna.

Meanwhile, another Belaúnde dream, the extension of the
Jungle Marginal Highway across the Isthmus of Fitzcarrald, through the Manu National Park, along the Manu and Madre de Dios Rivers to the Bolivian border is also being advanced. Surveying for that purpose is scheduled for later this year. The Trans-Amazonian Highway experience in Brazil provides an indication of what the consequences of this road would be for the indigenous peoples and the ecology of the region.

The economic utility of such a highway is similarly questionable as is the possibility of its maintenance in this area where rainfall and erosion prospects are unusually high. Moreover, Peru's geopolitical interests might better be served if the highway route were to be extended from the port of Atalaia to the mouth of the Urubamba River along the Purús River to the Brazilian border where it could connect with existing Brazilian roads. There is currently no Bolivian highway which might connect with the Jungle Marginal Highway's proposed Manu-Madre de Dios route.

Any jungle highway construction would undoubtedly cause difficulties for indigenous peoples and endanger the jungle ecology. However, the Purús route would not affect any indigenous population which still has no permanent relations with non-indigenous peoples. Moreover, it would spare the Manu National Park.

In yet another aggression against an indigenous people of the Manu National Park, Father Javier Ignacio Iraizoz, a Spanish Dominican priest, has requested permission for the Mayakame Machiguenga community to cut timber in an area along the Manu River. The Tayakome community is located on the Manu River well within the Park. The timber concessions have been solicited for an area just outside the Park but within the Manu Reserved Zone, a sort of buffer zone created in 1980 to protect the eastern flank of the Park. Timber cutting is officially prohibited in both the Park and the Reserved Zone, but Father Ignacio has requested that an exception be made in this case.

The Machiguenga of the Tayakome community have never even been consulted, at least not collectively, as to whether they want to cut timber, and they have traditionally maintained a lifestyle largely independent of missionaries and the mercantile economy. The Summer Institute of Linguistics had a presence there in the 1960's and early 1970's but left in 1973, taking some of the Machiguenga with them to the Camisea River, outside the Park (d'Ans, 1981). Those Machiguenga who have remained at Tayakome have done so in resistance to missionary pressure.

Father Ignacio administers a sawmill at the Shintuya community of Amarakaeri and Wachipaeri natives on the Alto Madre de Dios River in Manu Province but outside the Park. He also has a monopoly on gasoline distribution in the region. A year ago he obtained a donation from a European charitable organization to provide an outboard motor for the Tayakome community. Members of the Tayakome community report that Father Ignacio has demanded they work in the sawmill in order to pay for the outboard motor which Father Ignacio received as a donation. The community, which now operates the outboard motor on one of their canoes, has balked at this demand. So, the priest now wished to commit them to cutting timber within the Manu Reserved Zone nearer their community.

The Machiguenga of the Tayakome community are now a relatively strong, healthy, proud, and independent people. By contrast, the Amarakaeri and Wachipaeri at Shintuya who work in Father Ignacio's sawmill, find little time to hunt, fish, gather, and cultivate their gardens, and as a result, they suffer from serious malnutrition. Physicians who have visited Shintuya in the past two years report that from 50 to 80 percent of the Shintuya population have active cases of tuberculosis for which the Dominican mission provides no systematic
treatment.

Should Father Ignacio succeed in gaining Peruvian Ministry of Agriculture approval for the timber cutting concession and in persuading the Wayakome Machiguenga to work in it, one can predict a similar future for them.

Meanwhile, the Manu National Park is protected only by three guard posts, two on its eastern flank and one at a southern entry. There is no guard post in the Isthmus of Fitzcarrald area on its western border nor is there any aerial surveillance. Moreover, there is no budget to carry out either anthropological or conservation programmes, and most of the zoological and botanical studies being conducted there are sponsored by North American and European institutions. The need for an international campaign to save the Manu National Park and its indigenous inhabitants is urgent.

References


SOUTH AFRICA: COMMUNITY FIGHTS EVICTION FROM EMBHULENI VALLEY

One of South Africa's longest established black communities, whose ancestors settled in a picturesque valley of eastern Transvaal in 1842 while white pioneers were still trekking into the interior, has been ordered to move because its members are now classified as illegal squatters in a white area.

A government eviction order served on their Chief in November set a deadline of midnight Wednesday January 11th this year for the community of 3,000 to leave the Embhuleni Valley for three resettlement camps in the tribal homeland of Kanyane 20 miles away. But they are refusing to move.

They now face either prosecution or forced removal to the resettlement camps where there is temporary accommodation of small, one-roomed metal huts. A removal squad with trucks and bulldozers is camped a mile away waiting for orders.

Chief Johannes Dlamini, the community's tall, bearded leader, said, hours before the deadline expired, that government officials had told him his people would not be paid compensation for their land, homes or the school they have built because they are regarded as squatters.

He said the Government initially offered a special grant of £110 a family to encourage them to go, but this was later withdrawn when they resisted the move.

Legal authorities say that if the Embhuleni people move to the homeland they will also lose the right to work in South African towns. These rights do not apply in the black homelands.

This means that except for the few who can get jobs within commuting distance, they will have to become migrant workers, joining the long unemployment queues that there are in all the homelands. Last year in the area only 206 jobs could be found for 2,381 people seeking work.

Chief Dlamini is determined to resist the removal of his followers, and civil rights workers said they hoped the Government might stay the execution of its order rather than risk an outcry.

The chief, who is related to the royal family of Swaziland and whose followers are members of the Swazi tribe, explained that Embhuleni is of great historical and emotional importance to them.

It was acquired in a barter deal from early Boer settlers for 10 tusks of ivory, but there are no written records of the purchase, which is why the Government will not realise the villagers as the legal owners of the land.

It was once the royal kraal of an early Swazi king, Umsawazi, after whom the tribe is named. Umsawazi housed a principal wife there and near to Chief Dlamini's house is a shrine to the tribal ancestors, a grass hut containing the skeleton of an elephant, which is an animal symbolically associated with Swazi queens.

The Government has said Chief Dlamini and his immediate entourage may remain at the site of the old kraal with its shrine, but that the rest of the community must go.

"We cannot allow that", Chief Dlamini said, "This place belongs to us all. Our ancestors are here. It would destroy our spirit to leave." The threat to Embhuleni comes just 8 weeks after the South African Government caused an international outcry by ordering the removal of a similar community from the western Transvaal village Mogopa, whose inhabitants have been there for 72 years.

There appears to have been a stay of execution following the criticism. A visit to Mogopa in January revealed that 211 families who defied the Government's eviction order in November are still there.

Members of the village committee said they had not seen a government official for six weeks and had received no reply to a letter written to the Minister in charge of black affairs,
Dr. Piet Koornhof, on December 12th telling him formally of their refusal to go to a resettlement camp called Pachsdraai which is scheduled for incorporation to another homeland.

But they said some villagers were coming under new pressure to make them 'volunteer' to go to Pachsdraai. Mrs Elizabeth Kgaitsoe, who runs the village's only supply store, said that she was having trouble for the first time in 21 years in getting her trading licence renewed, which she must do every January.

"We shall all be in trouble if Elizabeth doesn't get her licence", said Phillip More, a member of the village committee. The only other supply stores in the vicinity are in the white town of Venterdorp, 20 miles away.

Source: The Observer, January 15, 1984

THAILAND: NAKORNSAWAN PROVINCE FARMERS FACE EVICTION BY ARMY

Nakornawan Province is situated on the central plain of the Chaophraya River. It is one of Thailand's most important rice producing areas and links the central and northern parts of the country. The area is inhabited by 42,300 farmers from 6,318 households. They live in the three districts of Nakornawan Province: Meung, Prak-pra and Phayahakiri which in total contain 57 villages, 30 schools and 21 temples.

In the middle of 1982 the 4th Precinct Army which is under the jurisdiction of the 3rd Region Army in Nakornawan Province, expropriated 60,000 rai (about 24,000 acres) of the farmland. The army wanted the land for a military exercise and also for agriculture to keep their soldiers self-reliant. The army cites the 1936 Royal Decree to back up their claim. This decree limited the area for the use of military manoeuvres on the grounds that it was a desolate area. In fact the region was inhabited in 1936 because many farmers today still hold title deeds which date back to before 1922.

At the same time the Thai government also has had plans for the region. The 5th Economic and Social Development Plan names this province as a potential centre for Thai agricultural business. The area which the army has expropriated is only 10 kms from the important town of Nakornawan. The land is crossed by the main road to Bangkok, the northern railway and a new station for river transportation is soon to be built on the Chaophraya River.

The initial claims of the army that the land was to be used for military manoeuvres became less convincing when it was seen that eviction did not apply to the owners of factories or commercial buildings who were already paying rent to army landowners. In addition when the villagers bargained that the army should exercise in the dry season when the land is free from cultivation, the response was that the eviction still stood. The claim for 'self-reliance' for the army was then given as a reason for the eviction. However villagers reported that families of soldiers were travelling to the
area and working out where their personal plots of land would be.

The Army had never taken any notice of the 1936 Royal Decree before and now it seems that economic gain was the motive. The 1936 R.D. had been promulgated without a proper survey to ascertain the population of the area. 197 farmers in fact have documents showing rights to land and 50% are dated pre-1936. The Army now says that these titles no longer hold. In fact the villagers have been living in the area for over hundreds of years and it was their own forefathers who cleared the forest and first cultivated the soil.

In September 1982 the 4th Precinct Army in the name of Lt. Colonel Saphrang Kallayanamitr asked Kork-pra and Phayuhakiri Districts to order the people to leave in accordance with the 1936 Royal Decree. The Army would take no responsibility for damage to the lives and properties of those who did not move out.

In May 1983 the soldiers began manoeuvres. They shot artillery and shells fell in the fields of the villagers in the cultivation season. A child found one shell and was badly hurt when it exploded. The villagers were afraid that they might plough on the shells and they would explode.

Yet the villagers refused to move out. They gave no assistance to the soldiers who came to occupy the land. Lt. Colonel Saphrang then threatened the villagers that: "Whoever hinders the operation of the soldiers will be killed, whether adult or child, and the whole family will consequently disappear," Saphrang's reputation in the Province is as someone who does not play with words.

The villagers appointed representatives to make an appeal to the Provincial Governor and the Army. Both turned down the appeal. Then they appealed to the Premier's Office who sent the appeal back to the Army. The Army stated that the villagers had already had the situation explained to them and had consented to move out. For any villagers who suffered it would be the duty of the Public Welfare Department to help.

However the villagers had not consented to move out. Even during these negotiations the Army were using the threat and use of force to expel the villagers. In the end only three families moved because soldiers came with firearms, blockaded their houses and shot guns to intimidate them. In addition soldiers drove tractors over growing crops and cars through grazing cattle. In spite of the three families going, the rest of the villagers have no intention of moving out as they have no place to go.

Four instances of the soldier's harassment are:

1. Nang Yew (Mrs.) from a village in Phayuhakiri District. She occupied 16 acres of land which had been in her family over 60 years. In May 1983 soldiers seized her land and built camps, planted wood and then built a large fence around "their" area. They told Nang Yew that they will expand their land every year.

2. Nai Ploy (Mr) from a village in Krok-pra District. He occupied 9 acres of land. On 13th June 1983 soldiers ploughed up his corn crop. He was helpless as they were armed. On complaining to the police at Krok-pra, he was told that they could not interfere in a military operation. The next day Nai Ploy was found dead by his children.

3. Nang Talum from Phayuhakiri District. She cultivated millet which the soldiers ploughed up on August 12th 1983. The soldiers families sowed job's tear instead.

4. Nang Ur-aree from Meung District. She bought a smallholding in 1972. In December 1982 soldiers contacted her to sign a contract to rent the land from the Army. She refused because she had bought it legally. The soldiers therefore brought the police to arrest her and charged her with trespassing on prohibited land and obstruction.
During the whole controversy, the 4th Precinct Army has tried to break down the organisation of the villagers by saying that the Army will not touch the land of people with land titles. The official policy is actually that they will not touch titled deeds now but will first evict those who 'invaded' the forbidden land and have no documents. One can see that the Army has not said that it will not touch the titled land, only that they will leave it for the time being. This statement is simply a tactic to disintegrate the unity of the villagers.

The operation by the 4th Precinct Army has caused anguish to the 42,300 villagers. They face problems of an economic nature but also in terms of physical security. They will soon have no land for living and farming if the army has its way. This will give the Government a large welfare problem because the Army are refusing to provide any compensation whatsoever. Many of the villagers are still suffering from the threats of the soldiers and the future of the farmers from Nakornsawan looks bleak.

Although challenged as early as 1948 to defend its Indian policy at the United Nations, the United States only recently responded. At the August 1983 meeting of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, an expert advisory body to the US Commission on Human Rights, the US representative surprised other diplomats and American Indian observers with a detailed report. Like Canada and Australia, the US apparently is beginning to realize the importance of demonstrating respect for its native peoples' human rights - both to mollify its Western allies, and to set itself apart from the Soviet Union in the eyes of the Third World. Unfortunately the US made a number of misleading statements to the Working Group in its haste to appear virtuous.

"The United States can unequivocally aver that no policy of the United States, past or present, toward its own indigenous populations, has ever been intended to, or did, in fact, promote either genocide or ethnocide."

Denying history is a poor way to make a start on the future. If the US still cannot admit to its aggressive acquisition of native territories and attempts to assimilate native peoples - as Canada and Australia have now done at the United Nations - there is little hope that it will deal candidly with the poverty, disease, despair, or resistance of Indian communities today.

By some estimates there were upwards of five million people in North America when the first Europeans arrived. In 1900 there were fewer than 100,000 Indians left in the United States. Many, of course, had succumbed to catastrophic epidemics, but many also died fighting to defend their country, or of starvation when their lands were seized and the crops or wildlife on which they depended were destroyed. Nor did the end of military conflict bring an end to the physical
destruction of Indian families. Until restricted by federal legislation in 1978, Indian children were commonly removed from their homes and placed in non-Indians' care. According to a 1876 survey, at least one of every five Indians today grew up in foster or adoptive homes.

And what about ethnocide, which the United Nations defines as a systematic effort to destroy a people's culture, language or religion? Until the 1930s, Indians were punished for practicing their religion, wearing traditional clothes, even for wearing long hair. Until the 1950s most Indian children were forced to attend residential schools far from home, where they were forbidden to speak their own languages. Cultural assimilation was the explicit goal of US Indian policy for more than a century. The renewal of Indian languages and culture only became possible in the 1950s, with the development to a limited extent of Indian-controlled schools.

The US tries to blame the disintegration of indigenous cultures on Indians themselves. "Indian tribal cultures have, of course, over time constantly evolved, changed and developed. In particular, the Indians' own decisions to develop their resources and create jobs have an impact on tribal cultures." The US attributes changes to voluntary modernization - a phenomenon of the past ten years - rather than the previous century of coerced assimilation. This is a little like saying that Britain had no effect on the cultures of Africa or Asia - that all change has been post-colonial.

That's past. Is the US more candid about the situation today?

The United States "has authorized tribes to organize for their common welfare and to adopt appropriate constitutions and by-laws."

The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act ("IRA") allowed Indian communities to adopt American-style forms of representative self-government. But each tribal constitution had to be approved by the United States, and before giving its approval, the US made sure that most tribal decisions would remain subject to a US veto. Most tribes cannot raise taxes, spend money, develop their lands or make laws without US consent. This supervisory power was originally supposed to be used to protect Indians from making bad decisions. In 1982, however, the Supreme Court said that a tribal decision should be vetoed if it conflicts with the interests of whites, or with national economic growth policies.

The federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) operates as a kind of colonial department, telling tribes how to run their affairs and getting its way by threatening to veto tribal actions. And the BIA wields another power: money. Many reservations have been deprived of productive resources, and those that still do have valuable minerals or timber are subject to BIA control of their use. As a consequence, most reservations depend on financial aid to survive. This means that the BIA - and the IRA tribal government it controls - decides who eats.

Reform-minded Indians often see little point in running for tribal office. If the tribal council defies the BIA, its funds are cut and its decisions blocked. The people are reminded that they elected the wrong candidates, and if they know what's good for them, they won't do it again. In an extreme case, the BIA sometimes shuts a reservation down completely, closing schools and social programs, until it gets its way. This happened at the Rocky Boys and Lower Brule Sioux reservations last year.

Additionally, US courts have been cutting back the authority of tribal councils on the theory that some aspects of self-government are "inconsistent with their status" as Indians. That is, a government run by Indians cannot be allowed as much authority as a government run by whites. In 1978 the US Supreme Court told tribes they cannot enforce their criminal laws against whites, for crimes committed on the reservations. 
In 1979 tribes' right to set their own tax rates was restricted. In 1981 their power to regulate whites hunting and fishing on the reservations was limited. In 1983 tribes' authority to control the use and sale of liquor was abolished. Whatever Congress and the President may say, the scope of tribal self-government is shrinking.

The most important problem with Americanized IRA tribal governments is that they are too authoritarian by traditional Indian standards. Most traditional tribal governments were advisory in nature. Every family (or clan) was represented, and if all agreed, cooperative action could be taken. A dissenting family was not forced to go along with the majority.

Hence there were no "laws" in the sense of rules made by a majority which had to be obeyed by everyone. Today's IRA governments do make laws, and do enforce them against dissenters. Many Indian communities consider this antidemocratic, and on some reservations (as at Wounded Knee in 1973) it has resulted in civil strife.

Moreover, since tribal governments are responsible for distributing federal money and jobs, they have a power over families' livelihood that was never permitted under the old ways. Very simply, the US has encouraged the development of powerful institutions on Indian reservations — institutions which tend to take over the US role, rather than protecting and developing indigenous values and goals.

"The Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 provides for maximum Indian participation in the self-government and education of the Indian people."

The 1975 law merely authorizes the BIA to subcontract the administration of its Indian programs (education, housing assistance, welfare) to IRA tribal governments. BIA regulations and standards must be observed. Hence the same programs which used to be run by whites are now run by Indians, under white supervision. The major impact of the Indian Self-Determination Act has been the growth of an Indian bureaucracy on the US payroll. By the late 1970s there were nearly 20,000 BIA employees and more than twice that many Indian tribal employees involved in running basic services for 700,000 Indians — roughly one bureaucrat for every two Indian families. More than 75 cents of every dollar appropriated for Indian social and economic programs is eaten up by administration, two-thirds of this by the newly expanding tribal offices.

The Indian Self-Determination Act was therefore not really a program for increasing Indian self-government, but for increasing Indian employment in the federal government.Administrative growth has increased the costliness of Indian social and economic programs without changing their structure or effectiveness. This point has been made repeatedly by the United States' own General Accounting Office, a Congressional department that audits federal programs.

"Land owned by tribes is generally held in trust by the United States and is conserved, developed, and protected by the United States."

Under US law, all Indian land is owned by the United States. All tribal and individual land-use decisions must have BIA approval. Some resources, such as timber and grazing land, are routinely managed by the BIA — and usually leased out to whites. In some cases, the BIA can lease Indian land without Indians' consent. An legal landowner, then, can determine how Indian land is used.

"Development" is a word that easily conceals a multitude of sins. Building attractive office buildings and parks can be called developments; so can selling off natural resources. The real question is whether the community is growing better able to meet its own social and material goals. On Indian lands, intensive mining began in the late 1960s, encouraged by the BIA and American mining firms. The total value of minerals taken from Indian lands — chiefly coal and uranium — has
more than doubled since then. In most cases, mining projects
last only about 20 years, after which the community must make
its living with what is left of its land. For very small
communities with few natural resources, mining often results
in very short-term cash prosperity followed by even more
extreme poverty.

The BIA is part of the federal Department of the Interior,
which also is responsible for national mining, forestry,
and water policy. Indian lands contain as much as one-third
of the United States' energy reserves, and straddle every
one of its major rivers. The US can scarcely serve as Indians' "trustee" and pursue its own economic goals at the same
time.

"It is express United States policy to protect the traditional
religions of the American Indian, which rights include
access to religious sites."

Only on paper. The 1978 American Indians Religious Freedom Act has never been enforced. Indians unsuccessfully tried
to use it to protect Cherokee cemeteries in Tennessee; Rainbow Bridge, a natural stone arch sacred to the Navajos; San Francisco Peak, a sacred mountain of the Hopis; and Bear Butte, the sacred mountain of the Sioux and Cheyenne. In each case the courts either said that the sacred land was not important
even to deserve protection, or that whites' exploitation of the land was more important than Indians' religious practices.

Both the San Francisco Peak and Bear Butte cases involve
white recreational facilities and tourism. The US is Building
a ski resort on the Hopis' sacred mountain. The State of South Dakota has turned Bear Butte into a recreational campground and "educational" center - little more than a public
zoo to which whites are encouraged to go to watch Indian cer-
emonies over Indians' objections.

"The civil rights of Indians are protected from abuse by their
own tribal governments by the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968."

This is no longer true - if it ever was. This 1968 law
subjected IRA tribal governments to some, but not all of the
provisions of the US Bill of Rights. Many tribes objected
vigorously, believing this would lead to even greater Ameri-
canization of their governments. The Act forced tribes to
adopt the "one man, one vote" principle, for example. On many
reservations each district, village, or band had an equal
number of seats in the legislative council. (This is the way
the US Senate is apportioned - each State has the same number
of seats, regardless of its population.) The Indian Civil
Rights Act reapportioned these tribal councils, breaking up
some very old and important balances of power. It also forc-
ed tribes to adopt American-style courts and legal procedures,
which many traditional communities objected to as impersonal,
harsh and ineffective.

The Indian Civil Rights Act had one virtue, however. It
gave individual Indians some protection from the real abuses
of power by IRA governments. Often the ruling party or co-
alition uses the tribe's power (with tacit BIA approval) to
imprison dissenters, or to take away their jobs or homes.
Tribal courts offer little relief because their judges are
appointed and removed at the pleasure of the tribal council,
and therefore avoid conflicts with the council's wishes.
Under the Indian Civil Rights Act, though, a federal court
could order a tribal government to observe basic human rights.

In 1978 the US Supreme Court limited the supervisory
power of federal courts over Indian tribes to civil rights
disputes involving imprisonment. Cases involving the destruc-
tion or confiscation of property, or loss of employment, were
no longer included. This has nearly brought Indian civil
rights litigation to an end. Ironically, then, the US forced
an American-style form of government on tribes - then deprived them of an effective legal relief from the abuses inherent in that form of government.
"Most Indian tribes have legal counsel of their own choice, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior."

This is quite true, but it merits careful scrutiny. An Indian tribe cannot employ a lawyer without BIA approval. The BIA can veto the tribe's choice of counsel, the fees paid, and, since January 1983, which cases are brought. This discourages aggressive legal protection of Indian rights. BIA can see to it that activist lawyers are never hired or, if they are hired, that they do not get paid. BIA also controls which legal issues are raised, and in which disputes they are raised. Under these circumstances, it is scarcely true that Indian tribes enjoy impartial, independent legal representation.

In its comments at the United Nations, the United States made no reference to the most pernicious aspect of contemporary US Indian policy - the legal principle of "plenary power". According to this doctrine, Indians' rights "exist at the suffering of Congress and are subjected to complete defasance". That is, Indians enjoy only those rights that Congress has not yet seen fit to take away. If the United States wants international approval for its limited recognition of Indians' social and political rights, it must at least be prepared to agree that it has no power to take these limited rights away.

WEST PAPUA: TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE TRANSFER

By Hein Inggeramer

In May 1983 it was exactly twenty years since, officially and by force, the Papuans of the former Netherlands New Guinea were transferred to Indonesia under the supervision of the United Nations. Among the Papuans of the entire island West Irian is better known as West-Papua New Guinea. For the sake of world peace and the economic interests of the "civilised west" international laws were ignored. Shortly after the transfer the area was closed to the outside world until the nineteen seventies. The generals' régime of Jakarta was, and still is, tolerated by the world at large and so they can exercise control over the area just as they please. In the eyes of Indonesia it is absolutely necessary that West Papua New Guinea should be integrated and no means should be left untried to attain this object. Transmigration, economic exploitation, oppression and murder, either directly or indirectly, are only a few examples of the ways in which the régime attempts to extinguish the Papuans of Melanesian stock and to annex a territory rich in raw materials. Since the quarantine on the area was lifted, many journalists have visited the country, owing to which, particularly in the last few years, much has been published on the outrages of Indonesia in West Papua. Travellers as well as missionary workers confirm the statements in the press about the abuses. Below is a brief outline of the socio-economic situation in 1983.

Transmigration

The street picture of West Papua in 1983 is strongly dominated by the many warungs (eating-houses) springing up like mushrooms. The Papuan disappears from this picture and must give way to the Javanese, the Macassarése, the Boeginese and other population groups from Indonesian society. Many thousands of Indonesians enter the country legally and illegally every day. The main objective of Indonesia is to eliminate
the Papuans and to take possession of the territory, as General Ali Murtopo said in 1969.

The Macassarese and Chinese are the most successful immigrants, because they control the economy. The Javanese have already been promised a piece of land in West Papua as well as some financial means. The promise of land was not made in consultation with the Papuan owners and so tensions have risen. Sale of land is promoted by the government and if the owner refuses to sell, his property is seized - this occurred for instance at Manokwari in 1981. As a compensation, Papuans (particularly politically conscious ones) are given a place in the immigrant colony - one in ten houses must be inhabited by a Papuan family - in order to "integrate" them. The true reason is to check them and thus to eliminate the O.P.M. (Organisasi Papua Merdeka - Free Papua Movement) - the underground independence organisation, which has the sympathy and support of people from all walks of life. Immigrants have even settled in the highlands along the border of Papua New Guinea, after the communication road between Port Mambai (Jayapura) and the Central Highlands had been partly completed. The authorities are extending this road, the trans-Irian road to Merauke (see IWGIA Newsletter Nos. 35/436).

According to official sources about 25% of the total population of West Papua consist of immigrants, but an O.P.M. spokesman estimates that this percentage may no longer be correct in view of the hectic activities of the provincial authorities towards the opening up of more new immigrant settlements.

Discrimination

The immigrants know that they must work hard if they are to survive in their new country. They usually already have relatives or friends who can get them a job. A Papuan with the required qualifications will often be rejected, because the government policy is to make no distinction between the Papuans and Indonesian immigrants. They are all Indonesian.

In the eyes of the Indonesian, the Papuan (or Irianese as he is called) is still primitive and has to be educated, if necessary, by force. As the Dutch did at the initial period of their colonisation, Indonesians consider the Papuan culture as inferior. The Papuan is already on the verge of losing his own culture and identity and if rapid outside intervention should fail, it is not unthinkable that the people and their culture will disappear before long. Many writers and culture anthropologists have warned against this.

At school pupils are taught that there are no Papuans only Indonesians. Even the word Papuan is forbidden and he who dares to use this word risks imprisonment or losing his job.

With marriages there is a clear distance between the Papuans and the immigrants. Papuan women do marry Javanese, Macassarese and others, but in the course of time the husbands often go away and leave their wives and children behind. The other way around marriages hardly ever take place. Indonesians consider the Papuan inferior for their womenfolk. If a marriage does take place, then Islam must be embraced and beforehand the religious obligations must be met.

Multinationals and Employment

West Papua is very rich in minerals. Various minerals, oil, wood and fish are now largely taken by the multinationals. Apparently most of the labourers in their employment are not Papuans but Indonesians. Of course, this is partly due to lack of skill, but even the low-income jobs are not available to the Papuan. An example of this is the American copper mine Freeport which does not employ a single Papuan. The large town which has been built near this mine is actually out of bounds for Papuans.

The proceeds of the large-scale exploitation of raw materials go directly to Jakarta and not even a small proportion of this money goes to the rightful owner. "The tree grows
on our land, but the fruits drop in Jakarta" is a frequently heard remark. The O.P.M. has quite rightly drawn attention to this by blowing up the transport conduits of the copper concentrate near Tembagapura in 1977.

The common labourer, if he has succeeded in getting a job, has great difficulty in making ends meet. As a rule he earns on average 30 Indonesian Rupees yet the cost of half a loaf, a kilo of rice and 40g of coffee is 600 Rupees. Often a labourers children are compelled to give up studying because parents cannot afford the clothing, money and school fees. To attend school one is obliged to wear a uniform. For subsistence the city Papuans are often dependent on family aid.

Poor Medical Care

Although the exploitation of the various minerals is a large source of income for Jakarta, almost nothing is done for the benefit of this area. There is a permanent shortage of even the simplest medicaments. An Indonesian doctor told our informant that seriously sick persons are regularly sent back to their homes without treatment. They are mostly told that there are no medicaments and that they should go over to their traditional mode of treatment. What few medicines there are mostly go through the back-door to private practice to be sold on the black market at extortionate prices.

The Central Highlands people are still confronted with the serious problem of burns caused by epilepsy. In the evening and at night the temperature falls so that one is compelled to lie down around a fire to sleep. In epileptic attacks, during which consciousness is entirely absent, one gets burnt by the fire. Third and even fourth degree burns ending in death are very frequent. In other cases amputations of arms or legs constitutes a life-long handicap.

The main cause of the burns epidemic is pig tape-worm. A pig infected with the tape-worm was introduced in 1971 from Bali into the Central Highlands, notably the Paniai region. Previously this region was entirely free from this tape-worm. After consumption of insufficiently cooked pork contaminated with eggs of the tape-worm, the larvae are released in the human body, enter the tissues and form cysts, leading to epileptic attacks.

If the pig tape-worm is not rapidly eliminated, this may be the beginning of the destruction of the Ekari, the Danis and the Kapaukua, the inhabitants of the Central Highlands.

Since 1976 it has been known that the entire Central Highlands of West Papua is infected with pig tape-worm. The medical journal The Lancet of April 1983 also mentions an increase of burns at a provincial hospital in P.N.G.. From 1978 to 1982, 48% of the treated wounds were ascribed to fire, half of them being caused by epilepsy. It is to be feared that the pig tape-worm introduced to the Ekari groups in the Paniai region has already reached the Central Highlands of P.N.G. (Papua New Guinea).

O.P.M. continues the struggle

The O.P.M., of which it should be said that it is a growing national movement, clearly raises its voice. The ideal of an independent West Papua, whether or not in a federative association with P.N.G. which has already been independent since 1975, is more and more gaining ground.

Although some of the leaders of the guerrillas, when trying to escape to P.N.G., were recently taken prisoner and under pressure of Indonesia were deported, actions mainly against the Indonesian occupying forces still take place. All of the interior of the Vogelkop as far as the border of P.N.G. is controlled by O.P.M.. This was confirmed by an informant who also paid a visit to the Vogelkop. He also confirmed the mass flight of Papuans on foot through the interior from the Vogelkop to the border of P.N.G. In February
1983, more than a thousand people, mostly women and children, crossed the border of P.N.G.in search of freedom. On February 14th 1983 the P.N.G. parliament debated this, while at the same time The National Liberation Council of West-Papua New Guinea, European Section, sent a request to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva, to grant this group of people the status of political refugees. At the present a number of them stay in the reception camp in P.N.G. awaiting the decision of the P.N.G. government whether or not to grant them political asylum.

No Indonesian soldier will risk his life by entering territory controlled by the O.P.M.. If guerrilla activities are expected, air attacks are preferred, so that many victims are from among ordinary villagers. The actions by the O.P.M. against the Indonesian occupying forces take place throughout the country. Only those actions which take place in and around the regions bordering on P.N.G. reach the press through couriers who are capable of getting by foot as far as Goroka in the central P.N.G. Highlands. In the Vogelkop the O.P.M. controls town and country after sunset. This has led to a curfew being imposed from February 1st 1983 from Manokwari.

We will conclude this article with the remark of our informant: "The poorer and the worse the situation of the Papuan, the richer the generals in Jakarta. They make the mess in West Papua."

The O.P.M. may perhaps be carrying on an obscure war with great loss of life, and often lacking the necessary means, but it fights for a very good cause. It will never surrender, for that would mean death and disappearance of the Papuan people. Independence, being master in one's own house, is the best guarantee of the survival of the Papuan people.

Source: West Papua Courier, September 1983 Published by the National Liberation Council of West-Papua New Guinea.

Symbol of the West Papuan people's plight, used again recently by the Danish Melanesian Campaign
WEST PAPUA: MELANESIANS SHOW THEIR DEFIANCE

More than 150 people have fled from West Papua across the border into Papua New Guinea during March to seek asylum. They said they were trying to escape reprisals after a show of defiance by the Free Papua Movement (OPM) which led to a gun battle in which 13 people died.

They told PNG officials that Indonesian reprisals were taken after an attempt to raise the West Papuan flag outside the provincial assembly. But if the refugees hoped for support in Papua New Guinea, they were disappointed. The government of Mr. Michael Somare, which has never signed the UN protocol on refugees, ordered them arrested as illegal immigrants.

They are due to stand trial soon and, if the outcome is similar to other recent cases, they will either be handed back to Indonesia or taken to the border and told to return.

The OPM had planned a big show of defiance in the provincial capital, Jayapura, but the plot was discovered.

In subsequent attempts to raise the flag, guards shot dead a Melanesian soldier in the Indonesian army and an attendant who allowed him near the flagpole. Three soldiers and eight OPM guerrillas were killed in the ensuing battle.

After the gunbattle, about 100 men deserted the army to join the OPM in the jungle. Half of these Melanesian defectors are among the refugees now in the Papua New Guinea border town of Vanimo.

The affair has again strained the country's relations with Indonesia, despite determined efforts by Mr. Somare - encouraged by Australia, the former colonial power in Papua New Guinea - to improve ties with Jakarta.

Before his country's independence in 1975, Mr. Somare accused Indonesia of "cultural genocide" against the 800,000 strong Papuan majority in the former Dutch West New Guinea. Indonesia's takeover of the province was carried out under a UN-supervised act of free choice - widely dismissed as a farce - in 1969, and the OPM was born in 1971 when a former intelligence officer led a group of guerrillas out of the jungle, captured an Indonesian-controlled village and, using the army radio, declared West Papua's independence.

In practice, the declaration meant little. But it encouraged Papuans opposed to Indonesia's rule. OPM sympathisers at the Cendrawasih ("Bird of Paradise") University, where over half the 2,000 students are Melanesians, complain that, even with degrees, they are likely to face a future of prolonged unemployment. The economy has generally failed to provide work for the swiftly growing labour force. In West Papua, people also encounter strong prejudice, in both private sector, dominated by Chinese entrepreneurs, foreign companies, as well as the civil service.

There are, for instance, few Melanesian officers among the 20,000 troops based in the province. Fearing desertions, the army strictly controls the issuing of weapons to Papuan troops. Recent desertions will mean a further tightening of this policy.

The bleak view of the future beyond the campus has created widespread support for the OPM among students. According to the refugees, students planned to help the planned uprising by sabotaging fuel depots near the international airport at Sentani Lake.

The military agency which monitors dissent, the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, Kopka, though its intelligence gatherings and use of intimidation, sometimes fails to pre-empt trouble. But its officers - mostly Javanese - are not known for their finesses. Secret documents reveal brutal treatment of detainees, including a number of summary executions.

A guerrilla in the central highlands, who attacked the Indonesian presence, may only be armed with a bow and arrow, but is still a member of an organised force. The villager, who
spoke of his fears, is a corporal in a regional division of Tepenai, the military wing of the largest of OPM's two main groupings, Pemaka. The mainland-based Liberation Army now has a force of guerrillas which range from the Papuan border to the Baliem Valley in the highlands.

In the past, factional disputes within the movement have sometimes led to armed clashes between OPM members. But, in December, a pact was agreed to end differences, and the OPM now seems more united in its fight.

Despite harsh Indonesian reprisals, which go back to when paratroops were dropped into the territory in 1962, the OPM's strength has remained steady. Papuan intelligence believes that there could be as many as 1,000 armed guerrillas in the administrative district of Jayapura alone.

The Papuan border has been placed under tight security in a bid to clear out the OPM and allow the area to be settled by immigrants from elsewhere in Indonesia. West Papua's role in this controversial scheme is to be the new home for a million settlers within the next five years.

This would see the Melanesians outnumbered almost two-to-one in their own land.

The migration scheme's main aim is clearly to create a cordon sanitaire along the border and to crush Papuan feelings.

Source: Robin Osborne: Bow and arrow rebels step up revolt. The Guardian, 8 March 1984
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