INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND DEVELOPMENT
is the theme for IWGIA's second YEARBOOK. The book contains five sections. A detailed and illustrated account of the MAJOR EVENTS IN THE INDIGENOUS WORLD over the last year is followed by a review of INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS in INDIGENOUS RIGHTS. The YEARBOOK also contains a special focus on two indigenous trouble-spots - the AMAZON and THE PHILIPPINES and a review of important contributions to the discussion of HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT. The YEARBOOK also includes a survey of the work of IWGIA during 1987.
International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) is an independent, international organisation which supports indigenous peoples in their struggle against oppression. IWGIA publishes the IWGIA Documentation Series in English and Spanish. The IWGIA Newsletter in English and the IWGIA Boletín in Spanish are published in four numbers annually. The Documentation and Research Department welcomes suggestions and contributions to the Newsletters, Boletines and Documentation Series.

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Introduction

On the boundary between 1987 and 1988 the indigenous world is a panorama of cultural diversity and political struggle. Oppression continues. Mass killings have been reported from Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Chittagong Hill Tracts, East Timor and West Papua. A conservative estimate of the annual deaths of indigenous peoples by violent means is around 30,000 with more dying through neglect and starvation.

Famine looms again in northern Africa. Refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh need more support in the Tripura camps where they live. There are still further threats to return West Papuan refugees currently seeking asylum in Papua New Guinea. Refugees from Nicaragua are returning home but those in Guatemala are not convinced of their safety if they go back. There are at least 5 million indigenous refugees in the world at the moment.

Nuclear testing in the Pacific, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the effects of past testing in Australia, all effect indigenous peoples. Indeed indigenous peoples are facing the brunt of the effects of radiation from testing, mining or accident from Micronesia to Saamiland.

The colonisation of indigenous peoples from within the state is a regular feature all over the globe. As the global economy braces itself against further jolts, indigenous peoples’ resources come under scrutiny and are swiftly disposed.

What can indigenous peoples, their organisations and their supporters, such as IWGIA, do in the face of this depressing catalogue? Raising awareness through publications, campaigning and supporting indigenous self-determination and rights to resources is a beginning. This work may not have more than an ameliorating effect at the moment but even this is addressing the global change which is necessary to avert disaster. This is the message of the 1987 Bruntland report on Our Common Future.

1988 is going to be dominated by Australia. On January 26th, as many people in the country participate in the razzmatazz of bicentennial celebrations, many Aborigines will be beginning their year of mourning. Recent estimates from 1987 show that the pre-European population of the Aborigines in Australia was 1 million. Now there are one quarter of that number. Thousands of Aborigines have died as a result of murder, disease and moving from their ancestral territories.

Rights to land are recognised mainly in Northern Territory and South Australia, but elsewhere, such as in Queensland and Western Australia, Aboriginal peoples who have lived on their lands for 40,000 years still have no rights to their territories. Indeed it was only a few years ago that the present Australian govern-
ment had the honour of being the first Australian government to recognise that the Aborigines were the original inhabitants of the country.

Since 1980 between 97 and 100 Aboriginal prisoners have died in custody. When 28 year-old Lloyd James Boney was found hanged by a football sock in a prison in Brewaria, New South Wales on August 6th, 1987, he was the 16th Aborigine to have died in police custody during the year. Police brutality, atrocious prison conditions and the anguish of indigenous prisoners (who make up proportionally 10 times more of the prison population than non-Aboriginal people) are some of the causes of "Black Deaths in custody".

The current celebrations have been criticised by the Chief Justice of New South Wales, Aboriginal organisations and leading personalities. The Federal government is currently planning to put forward a proposal for a Treaty with the Aboriginal peoples of Australia in this bicentennial year. It remains to be seen from this and the result of the Royal Commission into deaths in custody whether 1988 will be anything other than a Year of Mourning.

Refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Tripura

This second IWGIA Yearbook looks back at 1987 and forward to 1988. It is intended as an opportunity to provide information which the Newsletters and Documents do not cover ranging from a comprehensive survey of the indigenous world, both nationally and internationally, to area studies and a thematic discussion. The book also contains a brief account of the work of IWGIA during 1987.

Part I of the Yearbook concerns the Indigenous World and is a compilation of information collected from all the major journals, newspaper reports and contacts available to IWGIA. Naturally it is impossible to cover every single event which has taken place in the indigenous world and some parts of the world are dealt with in more detail than others, nevertheless the coverage is an attempt to look at indigenous affairs on a global level.

From a global perspective it is possible to grasp recurring structural features of the oppression of indigenous peoples. Part II of the Yearbook, entitled Indigenous Rights, provides an international focus on events in 1987. The first section looks at indigenous rights from the point of view of the creation of international standards for indigenous peoples. The second part looks at the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and international organisation among indigenous peoples.
Part III, Indigenous Affairs, is a brief survey of the work which IWGIA has done in the last year. Apart from the publications we are involved to an ever increasing degree in project work, campaigning and providing a resource service.

The Part IV, Indigenous Focus, looks in detail on two indigenous regions – the Amazon and the Philippines. The bases for these sections arose from two visits which IWGIA received during 1987. One was from the Co-ordinadora of the Amazon Basin and the other from four representatives of the indigenous peoples of the Philippines. During their stay, IWGIA organised day-conferences which enabled them to present their views of the current situation in their part of the world. We have put these together as case studies with other material provided by the representatives which expands some of the information presented in the part on the Indigenous World.

Part V, Indigenous Issues, looks primarily at indigenous peoples and development. Development has been an important theme of discussion during 1987. The UN Declaration on the Right to Development appeared in the last days of 1986. Certain implications for indigenous peoples from the Declaration are compared with two reports which were presented in 1987, the Bruntland Report Our Common Future and the Independent Commission on Humanitarian Issues' Report on Indigenous Peoples. The Yearbook concludes with a review of the issues which arise from these reports and the Declaration and points out the directions in which the debate on indigenous issues are moving.
The Arctic

Our local and regional economies generally resemble more closely those of a developing country, rather than the relatively wealthy nations within whose borders our communities, lands and waters are found.

Mary Simon, President, Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC)

Two major issues affecting the Arctic region during 1987 have been the environment and militarisation. During the year the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (the Arctic indigenous organisation) developed further its conservation strategy for the Arctic. Based on the World Strategy for Nature Conservation, the Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy will provide for a comprehensive management regime based upon sustainable development of resources.

The governments of the Arctic rim continue to transform the circumpolar region into a new strategic military and combat zone. Rather than cut back on the weapons systems already in the region (such as cruise missiles), there are plans to install more expensive nuclear-powered attack submarines.

1987 started out positively in the Canadian Arctic. In January the Nunavut Constitutional Forum (NCF) and the Western Constitutional Forum (WCF) reached the long-awaited agreement on the boundary which will divide the North Western Territories, creating Nunavut in the east and a separate territory in the west. In February a plebiscite to approve this decision was agreed by the Legislative Assembly. However in March an important condition for the division could not be made in time when the Dene/Metis Negotiating Secretariat could not ratify an overlap agreement defining boundaries between the Dene, Metis and Inuit. Now negotiations are underway to try and resolve these differences for next year.

The Innu of Labrador have spent the year continuing their fight against the militarisation of their lands. Meanwhile they are facing problems while hunting caribou. Early in the year eight Innu leaders were arrested for hunting the Mealy Mountains caribou herd. Hunting the herd was banned in the late fifties, but in recent years the caribou have increased considerably. The case, which the accused consider to be political rather than legal, underlines the lack of status and rights to resources of the Innu.

Further south the Makivik corporation administers the $90 million settlement fund which 5,500 Inuit obtained under the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec agreement. The difficulties of administering economic development in the region and the current economic climate have resulted in the closure of several indigenous enterprises. A referendum held in September on self-government went against the corporation structure of Makivik and favoured one based on the co-operative movement.
Native peoples everywhere insist that their own culture is still the most vital force in their lives; the one fixed point in a changing world is their identity as Natives.

Judge Thomas Berger

In Alaska there have also been great problems with a politico-economic organisation based on corporations. The indigenous situation has become more tense than ever as 1991 approaches. In that year the 44 million acres belonging to the 75,000 Native people in the form of share-holding corporations (200 village corporations and 12 regional corporations) will be transferable to non-Natives. This system of native corporations has not succeeded and even before 1991 many village corporations will face bankruptcy. According to the recommendation of Judge Thomas Berger, which was restated to the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) this year, land must be kept in native hands by transferring it to the control of the village tribal governments or to US Federal Government trust. He also emphasised the importance of Alaskan Native peoples’ sovereign rights to their resources.

The Homerule government of Greenland, in spite of economic difficulties, is continuing its gradual process of decolonisation. This received a boost from the election results of 1987 which reaffirmed the position of the Assavit party under the Prime Minister Jonathan Mosveldt. Greenland’s Homerule has been increasingly asserting its self-determination which culminated in its withdrawal from the European Community last year.

Militarisation in the northern part of the country is still a problem in that the Inuit who were relocated to make way for the US air base at Thule have never received any compensation. In February 1987 the Municipal Council of Thule demanded a review of their case and came down to Copenhagen to present it. The Danish government refused to consider a review but with mounting political pressure agreed to a Review Committee on March 31st. The Committee was set up in June consisting of 3 persons. So far the Thule Municipal Council has heard nothing from the Committee.

Sources:
North America

We have been around for 10,000 years and we will be around for the next 10,000 years. If you don’t talk now, you’ll have to talk eventually.


1987 was the year of the Constitution in Canada. On March 27th a two-day conference which would have given Canada’s 1,800,000 aboriginal peoples self-government ended in failure. Three western provincial prime ministers – from British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan vetoed a constitutional amendment and the province of Quebec boycotted the meeting entirely. Although disappointed, the aboriginal leaders negotiating were satisfied that there had been no compromise of indigenous rights. Matters were made worse when one month later the same federal and provincial leaders agreed to the Meach Lake Accord which recognises certain rights for the French and English speaking people within Canada.

In several Canadian provinces there is still much hostility to indigenous rights and the aboriginal nations face serious problems of land rights and deprivation. In British Columbia the west coast nations continue to face threats from logging companies taking over their lands. Of particular concern has been the fate of the indigenous Haida of Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) where logging companies such as Western Forest Products, backed by the Provincial government are deforesting indigenous lands. After national and international protest, an agreement was made in July to set up the South Moresby National Park. Nevertheless, issues such as self-government and land rights, which were covered in the Comprehensive Claims Policy Task Force report in 1986, are still awaiting recognition.

In Alberta, the Lubicon Cree have increased their international campaign to boycott the exhibition at the Glenbow Museum of aboriginal artifacts in 1988. Several museums, including the Danish National Museum have decided not to send material there. The Metis of Manitoba are fighting the government in the courts because of its failure to respect the Manitoba Act of 1870 which provided 1.4 million acres for them. Further east the Algonquin Nation of Barriere Lake, Quebec, are being denied their rights to land which were recognised over 150 years ago in the Wampum Belt Agreement. The Quebec government is doing this by issuing timber licenses to cut down the forest and drawing off water from indigenous owned sources.

Generally the situation of health and education in Canada has been particularly acute this year with government cut-backs. In mid-July, 1987 the Minister of National Health and Welfare privatised dental treatment, and there have been cuts to secondary education. Unemployment among indigenous peoples is also
acute; among the Algonquins for example only 16 are employed out of 441 people.

Uranium mining in southern Ontario and northern Saskatchewan lie near indigenous reservations and can affect off-reserve hunting and fishing. The Dene nation have been the most affected and strongly oppose mining at Cluff Lake, Key Lake and Rabbit Lake.

When indigenous delegations speak of self-determination they imply sovereignty, when...states speak of self-determination they speak of autonomy

Jon Quisho, Haudenosaunee leader

Nuclear issues have been particularly problematic among the indigenous nations living in the United States. Uranium has been mined on the Navajo and Laguna reservations in the Southwest and the Spokane Reservation in the state of Washington. New explorations are beginning near the Havasupai and Hopi reservations. Lung cancer has been particularly high among Navajo uranium miners. The main risk to health comes from breathing radon-222 gas which will continue to seep from the ore and tailings for thousands of years. There are currently more than 50 million tonnes of mill tailings on or near Indian reservations.

Throughout 1987 the Western Shoshone have continued their protest at the presence of the Nevada nuclear test site on their territory. In the last days of 1986 a protest delegation moved onto the site to draw attention to the radiation from the underground testing, pollution to the underground water sources and the risks involved in transporting the waste.

Land problems continue to beset the Indian Nations of the US. Litigation by the Oglala Sioux for the Black Hills of South Dakota which has been the longest case of its kind in US history (it stretches back to the 1920s) continues. Although compensation has been offered to the Sioux, they are primarily concerned with recognition of the Black Hills lands acknowledged in the 1851 and 1868 Treaties.

Although the forced relocation of Dineh (Navajo) from Big Mountain did not take place in July, 1986, the problem has not been solved. There are two current strategies for the rights of the Dineh. One is a lawsuit on the 1st Amendment of the US Constitution arguing that relocation constitutes a violation of the right to religious freedom where indigenous land is religion. The other is a Dine-Hopi lands legislation which intends to halt the relocation process of those who do not wish to move, and proposes Congressional committee studies and on-the-land hearings.

In a presentation to the Working Group on Indigenous Populations this year, the National Indian Youth Council (celebrating its 25th Anniversary) provided the following statistics on health, education and social conditions of the Indian nations in the United States:

1. 60% of all reservation Indians live in absolute poverty.
2. Indians earn $7,200 less than the average American.
3. Indians die from accidents 3.5 times more than Whites.
4. Indians die from alcoholism at 4 times the national average.
5. Indians die 2.5 times more often before 65 than the national average.
6. 37% of all Indian deaths occur before the age of 45 compared to 12% for the rest of the population.
7. Indians die from liver diseases at 10 times the US rate.
8. Of Indians in high school, less than 50% graduate.
9. Alcoholism deaths for Indians aged 15 to 26 is 8 times higher than the national average.
10. Indian youths are arrested and jailed 3 times more than non-Indian juveniles.
11. Over 25% of Indian families are headed by a single parent.
12. Among female-headed families 2 out of 3 are below poverty level.
13. More than 25% of all Indian children are placed in non-Indian foster homes, adoptive homes and institutions.
14. Unemployment among Indians in rural areas averages 80%.

In spite of all this the US government is severely cutting back on its health services and threatening to close the 187 Indian schools it currently operates.

An issue which has been particularly acute in recent years has been the fate of indigenous prisoners in North America. Apart from the case of Leonard Peltier, there are several other Indians suffering physical and cultural deprivation. In addition an organisation, the Thunderbird Prison Alliance, has been drawing international attention to the fact that in many prisons there are no possibilities for Native Americans to practise their religion and they single out examples in Oklahoma, Texas and Utah.

Sources:
Central America and Mexico

We do not seek protection. We demand control over our resources, products and means of production which is the best way of defending ourselves from internal colonialism and external neocolonialism.

Gregorio Uribe Guardian. National Alliance of Bilingual Indigenous Professionals (ANPIBAC)

1987 has been the year of indigenous hunger strikes in Mexico. There have been two which have drawn attention to different problems facing the indigenous nations of the country.

On April 22nd, after 20 days’ hunger strike in front of the Cathedral in Mexico city, 18 Indians achieved their aim of an audience with President Madrid. The hunger strikers came from several parts of the country - 11 were Nahua from the centre and east, one was a Chinanteco from Oaxaca and the other was a Mam from Chiapas. They were joined by 5 others after a few days. The group was demanding the release of 26 Indians imprisoned on trumped up charges and the annulment of 5,000 detention orders on indigenous peoples in five states. In addition the strikers were wanting to draw attention to the need for regularisation of land holdings by indigenous communities. Those imprisoned are those opposed to local caciques and landowners who are extending their lands onto indigenous territories. On October 27th, however, one jailed Nahua bi-lingual teacher, Sosimo Hernandez Ramirez, was released after 28 months when the judge found no case against him.

Another hunger strike in Mexico city took place in September and lasted until October 12th. The purpose was to draw attention to the land problem which had become very acute. At the end of 1986 there were publicised accounts of Huastecs being thrown off their lands in December at Tlaquepeta with support from the Mexican armed forces who detained 110 Indians from several communities. In July, in Oaxaca, Francisco Llescas Francisco from La Trinidad Yaveo was killed by ranchers, and a Mixe youth was wounded. In addition caciques in Oaxaca have continued their oppression of El Pupil where ranchers have attacked the community, burnt houses and killed indigenous leaders. 15 community members are now in jail without trial.

There are 18 Mexican nations currently facing extinction, 13 in the north, 2 in the centre and 3 in the south. The State has moved in to help one group - the 300 remaining Lacandon. They are to become part of a biosphere reservation “Montes Azules” and are due to receive food and infrastructural support.
Guatemalan refugees in Mexico, Photo: UNHCR

Our ancestors, grandparents and ourselves have all been weavers of multi-coloured garments, and today we are weaving our history with sacrifice, with hunger and cold but with decision, strength and wisdom until we gain that peace and freedom which were the hope and dreams of our ancestors.

*Quiché Indian woman from Guatemala*

Estimates from Americas Watch say that in 1986 there were at least 100 extrajudicial executions in *Guatemala* every month. Evidence from 1987 shows that these figures still hold. In spite of President Cerezo’s occasional announcements that he will set up a governmental Investigatory Commission looking into the 1400 cases filed by the Mutual Support Group (GAM) prior to 1986, no investigation has been forthcoming.

Although large-scale massacres, which were such a horrendous feature of the military government, are not in evidence at the moment, killings continue and oppression is as hard as ever on the indigenous communities of the country. Reports from Guatemala at the end of the year indicate that the government is carrying out an increasing number of violent acts and the number of disappeared and killed has risen markedly. Details are not, as yet, clear.

Another major problem arises from the military instruments of control such as development zones in Quiché, model villages, civil patrols and forced labour at military camps. All social development plans in remote areas are in the hands of the military (Civil Affairs Office of the Army S-5).

On June 11th reports from the highlands told of a helicopter which flew over several highland communities and shot and bombed the inhabitants. There have also been reports of the fumigation of indigenous lands with paraguat, 2,4-d, glyphosphate and other toxic chemicals. Another particularly disturbing problem in 1987 has been the revelation of involuntary sterilisation of indigenous women which is financed by US AID and has been supported by international institutions.

There are currently about 45,000 Guatemalan refugees living in Mexico in camps in Chiapas, in relocation schemes and also in Campeche and Quintana Roo on the Yucatan Peninsula. In some areas the refugees have received positive support but in others, land shortages have made self-sufficient survival a difficult goal. Some have been taking advantage of the Peace Plan for Central America and considering a return to Guatemala, but the lack of guarantees are preventing any large-scale repatriation.

The real problem in Central America is not communism but the decades-long suffering of Indians by a handful, taking advantage of the masses, condemning us to political and economic domination, hunger, illiteracy, sickness and early death.

*Primitivo Coé, Toledo Maya Cultural Council, Belize.*

In *Belize* the government is planning the parcelling and surveying of land within the Maya reserved lands. If this goes ahead it could mean that reserved land could come onto the market. The Belizian indigenous organisation, the Toledo Maya Cultural Council is demanding communal title to 500,000 acres of homeland. This is becoming particularly critical with the incursions of multinational companies onto indigenous reserved lands. At the IV General Assembly of the Regional Co-ordinating Body for Indian People (CORPI) in April, Primitivo Coé, a Mayan from Belize, was elected Co-ordinator General.

The indigenous peoples of *El Salvador* continue to face threats on their lands and organisation from the government. In April, 1987, 14 soldiers were given a reprieve for their part in the massacre of Las Hojas which took place in 1983 where a reported 74 indigenous farmers were killed. Reports from the country say that the government is trying to take indigenous lands out of the cooperative system of land tenure and will only hand it back to their own supporters. In addition there have been several attempts by the government to close down the offices of the indigenous organisation ANIS (Asociación Nacional de Indígenas Salvadoreños).

In *Honduras*, the main problems affecting indigenous peoples are in the Mosquitia region. There are about 20,000 refugees from Nicaragua and Miskitu from Honduras who describe harassment by the Fifth Battallion of the Honduran
army and the CIA working in the region. Two reports produced in 1987 show that Miskitu complain of being forced into the contra movement and risk food shortages, restrictions on their freedom and even arrest if they don't comply. Conditions appear to be better in those areas under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR).

My people love peace, my people want the end of war, my people have suffered from war and my people have been oppressed by a war which has been orchestrated and financed by the CIA.

Hazel Lau, Miskito Member of Parliament, Nicaragua

In June several Miskitu leaders who have been fighting the Sandinists, including Brooklyn Rivera and Steadman Fagoth, met in Honduras to resolve their differences, discuss financial support from the US government and the increasing return of Miskitu refugees from Honduras to Nicaragua (the rate is about 100 a month). In September and again in October, Brooklyn Rivera said that peace talks with the Sandinists could begin in the light of the Central American peace initiative.

In Nicaragua there have been two main developments in 1987. The first is the Autonomy Statute and the second is the gradual repatriation of Miskitu refugees in Costa Rica and Honduras. In late April a Multi-Ethnic Assembly to discuss the Autonomy project was held in Puerto Cabezas and the meeting discussed draft autonomy statutes for two days. The Statute was passed by the National Congress on September 6th. Some critics point out that it is a regional autonomy addressed to ethnic groups and does not provide for indigenous rights. On the other hand community land is protected and indigenous people are entitled to the benefits of resources on their territories.

During the years disturbing reports have emerged from Nicaragua and Honduras of the fate of the 10,000 Sumu nation who are frequently forgotten in the Nicaraguan conflict. A report in September showed that over the last five years they have faced the same fate as their Miskitu brothers and sisters and have suffered violations of human rights from all parties in the fighting. Nevertheless, like the estimated 15,000 Miskitu, there are many Sumu refugees in Honduras who are expressing a desire to return home.

In Costa Rica problems continue between the indigenous population and the official organisation CONAI (National Commission of Indigenous Affairs) which operates without indigenous representation. Meanwhile in the country indigenous communities face a variety of problems. In Boruca there is great concern among the indigenous communities about deforestation of their lands, and in Cabagra there are serious deficiencies in health facilities. Incursions on to community land continue to be a problem all over the country.

For while one Guaymi Indian still lives in awareness of our history, the struggle for the Comarca will continue until we manage to achieve our objectives.

Bernardo Jaen, President of the Guaymi General Congress.

During 1987 the Guaymi of Panama have intensified their campaign for the recognition of their territories, known as the Comarca. The difficulties facing the Guaymi stem from the government which refuses to take up the issue at a Parliamentary level after negotiations reached a positive conclusion last year. The explanation for this delay comes from the campaign which local landowners and business interests have been lodging in order to prevent the comarca receiving legal recognition.

The Cuna nation already have their comarca but constantly face incursions from neighbouring landed interests. For this reason they have been pursuing their project of organising their own development of the boundaries of the comarca. At the same time the Cuna are having to ward off the Panamanian government who are intent on using Cuna lands for military exercises.
During August Panama hosted a meeting of indigenous Parliament Members from Latin America. 27 representatives attended where issues were discussed from throughout the region. There are now indigenous members of Parliament in Costa Rica, Argentina, Bolivia, Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico and Panama.

Sources:

The Caribbean

In August the first ever conference of indigenous peoples of the English-speaking Caribbean was held in Kingston Jamaica. Representatives attended from Belize (Maya and Garifuna), Dominica (Carib Indians), Guyana (Amerindians) St. Vincent and the Grenadines (Black Caribs). The participants made a 5 point declaration to respect the status and tradition of indigenous peoples.

An announcement in the journal Amerindia in October announces that the Cuban anthropologist Oscar Tejedor Alvarez has found 500 indigenous peoples still living in Cuba on the eastern part of the Island at Manuel Tames and Yateras.

Source: IPS. Amerindia.
On the western borders of Venezuela, the Barí and Yukpa nations have been facing severe health problems. Since 1980, the Yukpa of the Sierra del Perijá have lost 100 of their population of 3,500 from hepatitis. The Barí continue to suffer from land incursions of local colonists. To the east the Yanomami have been the objects of a new wave of tourism. Although an international campaign reduced this threat, the Venezuelan government is still keen to encourage outsiders to their territory, in spite of the devastating effects of the last such campaign in the 1970s.

Governments do not know our ancestral rights which we have had since before the Republic was created in 1819: we have always had our own governments, our own ways of life and our own community leadership.

Anatolio Quimi, National Organisation of Colombian Indians (ONIC)

Violence has increased in Colombia during 1987. The total number of people killed, including indigenous, is rising to the 1,000 mark. The deaths are not only members of the armed forces and the guerrillas but community leaders and members of political organisations. In Cauca alone 22 communities have been attacked and 239 indigenous people have been arrested. There have also been denunciations of murder, torture and disappearances. In an attempt to stop the violence, this year President Virgilio Barco instituted a Plan for National Rehabilitation which has aided families with land and credits. However, the indigenous organisations of Cauca, CRIC complains that the plan does not take community land rights into consideration.

Internationally, the most disturbing report from Colombia has been the killing of more than 40 Emberá Indians which took place on March 24th, 14th April and 15th May at Chuigo community in the Choco region. Conflicts with colonists over gold mining rights provided the background for a dispute which turned violent when police and military decided that the Emberá were guerrillas. After an international protest the government agreed to set up a commission of enquiry into the incidents but as yet there have been no results.

In December reports emerged of the deaths of four Indians from Cauca at the hands of the police. During a fiesta held on the last Sunday of November, police entered and joined in, but then started to fire. The police authorities have announced that there will be an investigation into the killings.
The main factor for the survival of indigenous peoples is land which is the fundamental, ancestral historical right for which we are fighting.

Eloy Licuy, Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIA), Ecuador

On March 5th there was an earthquake which affected the Amazon of Ecuador. Three provinces were affected: Napo (39 communities, 1120 destroyed homes), Imbabura (54 communities, 1772 destroyed homes) and Pinchincha (29 communities, 1573 destroyed homes). The total population affected, both indigenous and non-indigenous, comes to 33,000. Nations such as the Shuar and the Quichua of the river Napo have suffered from homelessness, lack of food and medicine. Government support came far quicker to the multinational oil companies working in the Amazon than to the indigenous communities.

The killing of two missionaries by Huaorani fighters in July caused international headlines, but drew little attention to the fact that oil companies have been and continue to invade Huaorani lands. The Ecuadorian government is, in fact, advertising for international share-holders to support the exploitation of the Amazon region.

The presence of North American troops in the Amazon has been another cause for concern among the indigenous peoples of Ecuador. They are present in the provinces of Manabí and Napo ostensibly to build roads. However the progress is so slow and photos and observations of the indigenous inhabitants of the region suggest that they are there for militaristic purposes.

The African Palm exploitation continues in the River Napo region polluting the environment with its processing. The programme has already destroyed 5,000 hectares of the Amazon.

Several Amazon leaders have been imprisoned during 1987 for varying amounts of time and indigenous leaders are finding it difficult to remain too conspicuous for long.

In the highlands of Ecuador reports continue to tell of the problems of the indigenous peasant farmers. Malnutrition, high infant mortality, illiteracy and little opportunities of self-development cause many people to migrate to the cities. In addition the presence of missionaries of different denominations is an extremely divisive factor in community life.

In Peru the violence continues unabated. Deaths appear to be at a similar level as last year - 150 per month. Ayacucho seems to be still the main centre of the violence, although it has been spreading down to the rainforest areas. Sendero Luminoso (the Maoist guerilla organisation) has broken the hold of cocaine producers in the Huallaga region but now have a rival guerilla organisation called the Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru which has a more populist approach and has entered several large towns in the Amazonas region.

The government’s attempts during March to produce a new law for the highland peasants contained a very dangerous clause which would have opened up so called unused lands within community territory for commercial use. There was an international reaction against this clause, led by Peruvian peasant, union and indigenous organisations. Fortunately, at the last moment, the government withdrew the clause.
In the lowlands, 1987 has been a mixed year. On the land titling front there has definitely been an improvement which has had support and full co-operation from the World Bank. In its work on the Pichis Palcazu project the Bank's local staff and assessors have managed to ensure titling of communities throughout the region, including a large contiguous area in the Gran Pajonal, homeland of the Ashaninka.

Elsewhere in Peru the struggle for resources has been the greatest threat to the indigenous lowlanders. In Aguaruna territory in the north of Peru, gold mining concessions have been allotted by the government from within community lands. An Aguaruna was shot in conflict over this by local colonists. In the Madre de Dios in southeast Peru, an Amarakaeri youth was shot in March on community lands by colonists after an altercation.

During July, a group of Israelitas (a sect from the Highlands which mixes fundamentalist traits with traditional highland messianic religion) attacked Yaneshas living in San Francisco, in the central rainforest, on a mission to convert them. Land invasions from colonists are as frequent as ever in the Peruvian Amazon. Areas particularly affected have been the Madre de Dios (among the Amarakaeri), the Marañon (among the Aguaruna) and in the Gran Pajonal (among the Ashaninka).

Indigenous groups are being exterminated without any consideration by workers in hunting and logging companies.


In Bolivia the major event of 1987 was the murder of several Yuki who live between the rivers Ichilo and Yapacani. The area where they live is frequented by hunters and lumber companies and it is thought that these were responsible. Only a few days previously, 12 Yuki were captured and handed over to the New Tribes Mission as a part of their controversial policy of bringing forest dwellers into settled communities where they quickly fall to the ravages of disease.

In other parts of the Amazon problems facing the indigenous inhabitants range from gross exploitation of indigenous workers on sugar plantations in Santa Cruz to the continuation of control of areas of forest by cocaine producers. This is in spite of the US Armed Forces' intervention to put a stop drug trafficking during 1986.

Bolivia is one of the strongest countries for indigenous women's movements. In La Paz one group is producing indigenous women's radio programmes and providing services for women in the city, while the Izozog women of the eastern forests have formed their own organisation containing representatives from seven communities.

During 1987, particular attention has been drawn to the poor health conditions in Bolivia. In spite of constitutional rights to health services only one third of the population have access to treatment.

Nevertheless the dominating issue in highland Bolivia at the moment is the extreme measures which the government has been taking to reduce inflation. This has consisted of sacking 19,000 miners (12,000 of whom live in abject poverty on the outskirts of La Paz). Thousands of unemployed indigenous miners are suffering the effects of loss of livelihood. Those in the countryside have been in protest too. On May 25th, 10,000 indigenous peasants blocked the roads around Cochabamba to prevent the government and US authorities stopping traditional coca growing in the region. Although the blockade was successful and an agreement was reached, the protest cost two lives, 19 were wounded and over 500 were arrested. The clamp down on indigenous coca production is ironic considering that Bolivia's economy is benefitting from a booming illegal drug industry.
In Chile the unrest has continued through 1987. This has affected the Mapuche who continue their campaign to repeal legal decree 2568 of 1979 which, by allotting land on an individual basis, has been breaking down Mapuche community structure.

Of particular note this year has been the fate of the Mapuche Huilliches from southern Chile. Out of an indigenous survey of 16 communities all have lost land to outsider invaders, six have had members forcibly removed and six others have had access to the forest restricted by lumber companies.

The Mapuche and northern Aymara have expressed their deep concern at the government's celebration of 12th October as the day of the 'discovery of America' at a meeting in September. They consider that this, just as the economic and cultural repression under the government, is symptomatic of the lack of concern the Pinochet régime has for the rights of indigenous peoples in the country.

Further south, the initial results of the health project organised by the Work group for South American Indians (WIZA), Belgium, among the Qawasqar of Tierra del Fuego, has been very positive and it is hoped that the continuation of this programme will enable these people to survive as an indigenous nation.

Mapuches from both Chile and Argentina are mourning the sad death of Aimé Paine on 10th September, 1987. Aimé Paine, through her singing, celebrated the value of traditional Mapuche culture. During August this year she was the first Mapuche from Argentina to attend and make a presentation to the Working Group on Indigenous Populations at the UN. Shortly after her return to South America she died while recording a programme for Paraguayan television.

Indigenous peoples from Argentina met together in 1987 to form a new national organisation (Co-ordinating Council of the Indian Nations of Argentina), bringing together representatives from all over the country.

Every province with indigenous populations suffers from land problems. These range from land titles which are not respected (as in Neuquén) to lack of health and medical facilities in Jujuy. Although there are drawbacks to the Indigenous Law 23.302, the indigenous representatives in Argentina are encouraging people to become familiar with the law so that they can use it to their advantage.
At the beginning of 1987, reports emerged from Paraguay concerning the deaths of five Ayoreo and the wounding of four others in a manhunt organised by the New Tribes Mission who are working in the area. Using the method of encouraging contacted Indians to bring uncontacted hunters and gatherers into mission stations (reminiscent of the Aché scandal of the 1970s), the fundamentalist missionaries bring them into a reception centre. Already this year several Ayoreo have died from the influenza which usually follows from this type of forced contact.

Land problems still plague the Mbya and Maskoy peoples. The Maskoy of Pto. Victoria still have not received an adjudication on their lands which have been invaded by colonists, the Mbya near the Mennonite Colony of Sommerfield are still under threat from armed colonists and the Mbya in the area of the Caa-zapú project are still being ignored by the official institutions responsible for the project. The national agency INDI is incapable of supporting the indigenous peoples of Paraguay in resolving these conflicts.

In spite of the existence of Law 904 which is meant to support the socio-cultural identity of the indigenous communities and guarantee their land rights, many people and communities know little about the law and how to take advantage of it. There has been some progress on this in Guaraní communities, eight of which have received recognition of community titles to land through this law and 11 more of which are awaiting confirmation.

In December, reports have appeared of the deaths of 11 Pai Tavytera Indians near the Colony of Jorge Sebastian Miranda, 400 kilometres north of Asunción. The bodies were of five men, three children and three women, one of whom was pregnant. Local authorities have refused to investigate the killings which are reputed to have been carried out on November 9th by two sons of a local land owner.

The situation of indigenous peoples in Brazil is in the balance.

Representative of Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI).

In January, 1987, President Sarney of Brazil announced that the creation of a Yanomami Park was now possible. But over the following six months the situation in Yanomami territory deteriorated considerably. In August five Yanomami were killed in violence with illegal miners in Couto de Magalhaes. As a result of this, the Brazilian authorities demanded that all non-indigenous personnel (including the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami National Park which has been carrying out a health programme in the area for several years) leave Yanomami territory. The Brazilian government organisation for Indian protection, FUNAI, has been provided with facilities to remove those working to help the Yanomami but not to remove the miners. The situation is therefore critical at the moment.

At the same time, the Brazilian military are going ahead with their plan known as Calha Norte which is the militarisation of a 150 kilometre strip on the northern and western boundary of Brazil. On this area colonisation programmes will be encouraged and no indigenous lands will be recognised.

The development of the state of Acre is of great concern at the moment as there are 6,000 indigenous people under threat from the paving of Highway BR-364 which will be completed next year. Thousands of settlers are expected into the region where land demarcation has not yet been carried out. Already deforestation from cattle-ranching and land invasions by colonists are causing the indigenous populations of the area many problems.

Further north, in the Javari Valley, live 3,000 indigenous people, some of whom, like in those of the Acre area, have had little contact with the national state society. They are facing incursions from the state oil company Petrobras and the Perimetral Norte highway (BR-307). As if in preparation for further state development projects, indigenous land demarcation in the area has been halted by the National Security Council for reasons connected to the Calha Norte programme.

Dams continue to be a major problem for Brazil's indigenous nations. By the end of the year the government hopes to have the Balbina dam in operation which will flood 2,346 square kilometres of forest, including lands of the Waimiri-Atroari. Another dam project causing concern is the Altamira hydroelectric scheme on the Xingu river. Three dams are due to be constructed in 1990 which will affect nearly 1,000 indigenous people from nations such as the Kayapo, Asurini and Parakana.
The largest project affecting indigenous peoples in Brazil is the Greater Carajas Programme. The main thrust of the programme is to extract iron-ore and transport to the coast for export. The mining projects, the railway for transportation and associated charcoal projects will destroy land within an area 10% the size of Brazil. 13,000 Indians will be affected, including Guajajara, Gavioes and the hunting and gathering Guaja. Still 16 out of the 27 indigenous territories affected have no adequate legal protection. The programme, as the dams mentioned above, is largely financed by the World Bank and its associated bodies. The Carajas programme has also a $600 million investment from the European Community.

As Brazil debates a new constitution, the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI) presented in May its minimum programme for the recognition of rights of indigenous peoples in Brazil. The proposal would guarantee rights to territories, resources and recognition for social and cultural organisation.

We the descendants of the proud people who inhabited the great western continent with care and in balance with nature have had to witness the great mistreatment of our lands and peoples.

Kalinga Indian, Surinam

The violence in Surinam has continued in 1987 and has left 4,000 indigenous people (half of the total living in the country) refugees. The fighting which has been going on there for over a year has been largely based in indigenous territories whose inhabitants have been finding it impossible to avoid the conflict. Several communities have been attacked and up to 20 people have disappeared. Both sides in the conflict accuse the Indians of being on the other side and for safety reasons they have been moving away from their homelands until the situation improves.

The influx of refugees into French Guiana has put a strain on their indigenous brothers and sisters who have cleared new lands. The French government has promised some economic support but this was not forthcoming by the middle of the year. There are also fears that the aid from the Dutch government is not getting through to the indigenous victims because of the lack of indigenous organisation in the area.

A successful international campaign persuaded the French government to ban a planned rally of 45 motorboats up the rivers of French Guiana in March 1987 which would have crossed territories of most of the country’s indigenous groups.

In neighbouring Guyana the indigenous peoples still face multinational corporations and hydro-electric projects particularly in the western half of the country which is claimed by Venezuela. The government is using this development programme for border security reasons and is ignoring the rights of the indigenous inhabitants of the area who lack any recognition of their territorial rights.

Sources:
The Pacific

Militarization and technological disruption to the Pacific region is a major concern to Pacific peoples...we see the storage of nuclear weapons and a bi-yearly exercise of bombing sacred sites of Hawai‘i’s indigenous peoples.

Hayden Burgess, World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP).

The main news from Hawai‘i in 1987 has been the passing of a national constitution. In March 250 Native Hawai‘ian community delegates met at Hilo Hawai‘i for a constitutional convention which enacted a constitution providing for democratic representation in a unicameral legislature, an executive, judiciary and chiefly advisory council. The Governor of the Nation of Hawai‘i is Mililani Trask.

Native Hawai‘ians face problems from the Japanese multinational construction company Kumagai Gumi which plans to develop the West Beach area where Native Hawai‘ians have their homes. In spite of an Aloha Agreement of January 1987 between the company and the Waianae Land Use Concerns Committee, indigenous residents of West Beach are facing the loss of their livelihood. In June, waste from the West Beach Construction clearing operations prevented indigenous fishermen from continuing their work which makes community viability extremely difficult.

Another major source of concern is the US government’s intentions to build a new NASA space shuttle station right on Native Hawai‘ian land at the southernmost tip of Hawai‘i island. This would increase still further the militarisation of indigenous land in Hawai‘i such as that of the sacred island of Ka‘ho‘olawe.

In French Occupied Polynesia, the French government continues its attempts to assert full control over the indigenous population. On Bikini day (March 1st), there were three demonstrations against nuclear testing and in favour of independence on Tahiti. French governor Gaston Flosse has admitted that the French are trying to bring more colonists to the island. Whereas in 1946 there were only 1,000 Westerners, now there are nearly 25,000 out of a total population of 160,000. 250 victims of nuclear radiation induced sicknesses are currently in Paris for treatment for leukemia and cancer tumours. There are currently about 8,000 French troops on the islands. Meanwhile the French government is stepping up its attempts to bring the Pacific around to its colonial way of thinking. In December several demonstrations ended in violence on Tahiti.

More details concerning cases of the once rare disease, ciguatera, are coming from French Occupied Polynesia. This disease which includes neurological problems and occasionally death has now reached epidemic proportions in the area. Since the testing there have been 24,000 cases reported in French Occupied Polynesia from the disease which is spread by toxic fish.
In Samoa 1986 and 1987 have seen a rise in indigenous awareness. Once a mandated colony of New Zealand, the islanders have now had their 6 months visitor's permits stopped (a privilege still enjoyed by Europeans). Even though Pacific Island peoples make up 3% of the total population of Samoa, they constitute a much higher percentage of the homeless and unemployed.

Since its occupation as a strategic trust, Micronesia has witnessed the experimentation of up to 66 atomic and hydrogen bombs, finding six of their islands blown off the face of the earth.

Hayden Burgess

Recently there have been several developments in Micronesia. At the Belau December 2nd 1986 referendum on supporting the Compact of Free Association with the United States, only 66% of the required 75% voted in favour of the US. An eighth referendum on the issue was held in June but was also unsuccessful, so now the US wants another referendum to reduce the required 75% vote needed to change Belau's nuclear free constitution.

US congressional reports from last year show that US citizens were used as guinea pigs at the Marshall Islands nuclear testing in the 1950s. There is still much discontent from the Kwajalein Atoll Corporation which is meant to receive payment for the US base on their land. However the money is distributed in a grossly unfair manner says the KAC, favouring those of higher status. Meanwhile conditions among the 8,000 people moved from Kwajalein onto the 78 acres of Ebeye have been described by a US Congressman as a cross between a concentration camp and a slum.

The Prime Minister of Cook Islands has been promised extensive French aid as has the new regime in Fiji. On May 14th, Fiji lived through its first military take-over when Colonel Rubuka forcibly deposed the elected government of Dr. Timoci Bavadera. The coup has been generally considered as a major setback for a nuclear free and independent Pacific because power is now in the same hands as prior to the election. Fiji was declared a Republic in October and in December, former Governor General Ratu Penaia Ganilau was appointed President. Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara who held power prior to the elections in April has now been appointed Prime Minister again.

The conflict in Kanaky (New Caledonia) has continued in 1987. On 13th September there was a referendum on the future of the islands. Rejecting Kanak offers of negotiations, the French went ahead with plans for the referendum without considering electoral reform. The Kanaks are demanding that those eligible to vote should have at least one parent born in New Caledonia. The referendum took place with a Kanak boycott and had predictable results. In a protest vote at the United Nations Fourth Committee in New York support for Kanaky was down in comparison with the 1986 vote and there were disappointing and controversial abstentions (which in this context effectively means supporting the French case) from the Scandinavian countries.
In The Solomon Islands the main news in 1987 has been the withdrawal of the British multinational Unilever from its logging operations. This has come about from the widespread international action against the effects of its operations on the environment and the islanders.

The people of West Papua have been suffering from military occupation and colonial domination by the government of Indonesia. We have never had a valid opportunity to express our aspirations to political independence.

Representative of West Papua

Reports from refugees who have escaped from West Papua continue to tell of gross violations of human rights which have been carried out by the occupying forces of Indonesia. Visitors to the Grand Valley in the interior of West Papua have reported that the Dani are losing their hunting lands to the government and are leaving their traditional homes for model villages where the Indonesians are making the wearing of clothes a top priority.

Transmigration continues at an ever increasing rate, in spite of official accounts to the contrary. The reason for this is that the programme is becoming privatised and "spontaneous transmigrants" constitute 70% of the total. The effects of Operasi Saté at the end of December 1986, many communities in the Central Highlands were bombed and attacked. Another region under threat has been along the northern coastal strip where indigenous Papuans communities are being moved to make way for transmigrants, logging and mining companies.

A report published in 1987 says that in 1971, two years after the Indonesian take-over of Dutch New Guinea, the Indonesian military deliberately introduced pigs from Bali which were infected with tapeworm and carry the disease cysticercosis which is now prevalent on both sides of the border. Seeing the importance of pig raising and killing for indigenous Papuans the sending of these infected pigs has been devastating.

Since the peak of over 12,000 refugees in 1986, the number of West Papuans in Papua New Guinea has decreased. Some 1,500 have been due to return under the auspices of the UNHCR during 1987 and other displaced people from within West Papua are going back to their homes. Nevertheless there are still nearly 10,000 refugees in Papua New Guinea some of whom are due to be relocated in the distant Western Province. This is in spite of the fact that they are originally from the coast and would prefer to be settled there.

Sources:

West Papuan representatives at the UN Working Group, 1987
Photo: Inneke Dommerholt
Australia and Aotearoa

We say this: the Whiteman of Australia has more compassion and kindness for the Koala bear than for us Koorie people, but even our bones will not stop talking.

Rikkie Shields, Aboriginal Poet

1988 is the bicentenary of the arrival of the British in Australia. Although the country will be celebrating on January 26th, the Aborigines have declared 1988 as a year of mourning. The current population of Aborigines in Australia is about 250,000, while latest estimates of pre-European population is over 750,000.

In May the Federal government came to an agreement with Aboriginal leaders of Northern Territory for revisions to the 1976 Land Rights Act. The agreement allows for a five year ban on mining companies on Aboriginal land, but it does not provide them with any real veto over mining once exploration has begun.

One of the most disturbing issues in Australia at the moment has been the reports of Aboriginal deaths in custody. In August, after a long battle, the Committee to Defend Black Rights succeeded in getting the Federal Government to set up a Royal Commission to look into the 100 Aboriginal deaths which have taken place in custody since 1980, nearly 20 of which have taken place in 1987. The Commission started in November and within one week the commissioner, Mr. James Muirhead, recommended immediate action even before the hearings were complete as he admitted that the situation was worse than he had anticipated. Aboriginal people are being imprisoned at ten times the national rate. Unrestricted force is used in arrest and medical attention is minimal. Most of the deaths have occurred in Western Australia. Mr. Muirhead also said he was concerned at Queensland’s plans to open up Brisbane Boggo Road Black Hole jail to hold Aboriginal prisoners during the Bicentenary celebrations.

In Western Australia at the moment the gravest problem comes from the proposed uranium mining by the company CRA in Rudall National Park and on Aboriginal land. The site at Kintyre lies close to the Punmu and Pangurr communities, consisting of over 250 Aboriginal inhabitants. CRA have in fact given the Western Australia government $50,000 for a management planning project. During October, CRA said they would not develop 20% of their intended area, but the Aborigines say that this still leaves half of the park and their lands under threat. In a state where the government only grants Aboriginal lands by means of 99-year leases and which ignored the positive recommendations of the Seaman report two years ago, the future for the Aboriginal population looks bleak.

During this year Tasmanian Aboriginals were able to succeed in their fight against the Aboriginal Development Commission which wanted to take away
their harvesting rights on Big Dog Island. Leases have now been granted to the Aborigines, which is all the more amazing as the Tasmanian government does not recognise the existence of Aboriginals. The deposition of John Bjelke Petersen as Premier of Queensland in November has been positive news for Aborigines of that state who have been fighting against the racist policies of his governments for many years, but significant improvements are yet to be seen.

In South Australia hopes are rising that the government will grant Aborigines in the far north-west of the state freehold title to 21,362 square km of national park. If the proposal goes ahead the Aborigines will have title to one fifth of the state. Meanwhile in Victoria, mining interests have been trying to oppose the passing of land rights legislation designed to provide amendments to the existing culturally restrictive law.

This year there was good news for the Aboriginally run Yipirinya School in Northern Territory. The government agreed to provide land and money to build a new school with buildings, power and water. The Council for the school has been fighting for this recognition for many years and this is an important moment for the continuation of bilingual education in Australia.

Prior to the bi-centenary, the Federal government has been discussing the possibility of drafting a Makara, or Treaty, with the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. Negotiations began late, and nothing substantial has appeared yet. Nevertheless, the government has officially stated that the concept of terra nullius (which implies that no Aborigines existed prior to European occupation) is now incorrect. Although much is being made of this, the last Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Clyde Holding, stated this in a Parliamentary speech back in 1983.

In May, Maoris in Aotearoa (New Zealand) began their legal battle to prevent the government reorganising the country’s public services. The government’s plans include transferring several billions of dollars’ worth of Crown Lands to new state-owned bodies. The Maori say that this endangers present and future land claims under the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840.

The language revival movement has helped several important changes enabling the regaining of Maori culture and language and having them recognised by state education institutions in the form of ‘taha Maori’ (Maori perspectives). Nevertheless Maori people still make up a disproportionately high percentage of prison populations (70%), the unemployed (30% of the Maori are unemployed) and homeless. As in Australia suicide among Maori prisoners is on the increase.

In spite of the advantages gained in the Waitangi Tribunal which is an official body where the Maori can put forward their complaints against violations of the 1840 Waitangi Treaty with the British, Maori land rights are still not recognised. Of the 66 million acres of land which was under Maori customary ownership in 1840, less than three million acres remain today.

Nevertheless, in December, the government of New Zealand introduced legislation which could enable some Crown land to return to Maori ownership and will also make binding recommendations from the Waitangi Tribunal. In November the Tribunal recommended the return of Auckland Harbour Point to the Ngati Whatua people and the government appears disposed to follow the decision.

Sources:
I repeat again that the Ainu, the indigenous and ethnic minority group (several tens of thousands of people) do exist in Japan, as an indisputable fact.

Ainu representative

In 1980, the Japanese government submitted a report on human rights in relation to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights where it stated that there were no minorities in Japan. However, in April, 1987, the Prime Minister stated in a written Parliamentary answer that the subject of minorities in Japan was to be the subject of a second report on the Covenant which is in preparation. In this report the Ainu want their status as an indigenous minority in Japan recognised.

Another major demand of the Ainu is the replacing of the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act which on its fifth repeal in 1968 limits protection of lands and culture for the Ainu. To put these cases to an international forum, the Hokkaido Utari Association attended the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva this year and was the first indigenous people from East Asia to do so.

During 1987, information about the situation of the Aboriginal peoples of Taiwan has been available. There are 350,000 indigenous people on the island who are discriminated against in many ways. Many of the mountain villagers leave their communities to seek work on the coast and brothels send contractors to find aboriginal women. There are ten aboriginal groups in Taiwan of Austronesian stock some living on the eastern coastal area and others in the mountains. Many of them are Christian. They have an organisation called the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA) which is the first pan-ethnic movement on the island.

In January, 1987 there was a national demonstration in Taipei against the prostitution of aboriginal women. Currently Taiwan indigenous peoples are fighting for recognition of their land rights, the reduction of tourism and the strengthening of their culture, particularly their languages.

The Tibetan people are eager to contribute to regional and world peace, and I believe they are in a unique position to do so.

The Dalai Lama in New York

The news from Tibet has dominated reports coming from China during the year. The uprising in September resulted in deaths of demonstrators who were not satisfied that the problems facing them were being dealt with by the Chinese. One of the major problems facing Tibetans is the influx of Chinese settlers into Tibet. There are currently 7.5 million Chinese which outnumber the
6 million Tibetans. Although the Chinese government has allowed some Tibetan monasteries to be rebuilt, many feel that there is a lack of religious teaching and study.

One of the major concerns of Tibetans is the production of nuclear weapons and the starting of dumping nuclear waste in the area. Nuclear issues have also been one of the Uighur complaints. They inhabit China’s northwestern province of Xinjiang and have, since 1976 suffered the effects of nuclear testing at the Lop Nor testing site. Of all the indigenous peoples in China, the two nations which have been most vocal in asserting their rights to the Chinese have been those of Tibet and Xinjiang.

A report published in 1987 points out a more liberal approach to Chinese minorities in recent years and since the cultural revolution Chinese minorities have played a larger part in their own affairs. However the main problems continue to be assimilation through education and settlement by the Han national majority on indigenous homelands. The report says that in Mongolia pastoralism and herding remain the major economic pursuit of its indigenous inhabitants even taking collectivisation from the 1950s into account.

Sources:
On April 23rd the Indonesian government conducted an illegal election on East Timor. The Portuguese government, which earlier in the year had taken a stronger stand in support of the people of East Timor than ever before, said at the UN Human Rights Commission that the elections could only take place there thanks to Indonesia's military occupation of the country. As in 1982 the voting turnout was over 100% (in Aileu it was 327%). Meanwhile militarisation in East Timor is still at a high level with three army officers sworn in as assistant governors on 1 April. Later in the year, however, the new Portuguese government rescinded its stand on self-determination for East Timor.

Evidence has appeared that East Timorese women are resisting the World Bank supported birth-control campaign (the island's infant mortality is 25%). On the positive side, East Timor was restored to the UN Human Rights agenda in September. According to Amnesty International's presentation made to the Decolonisation Committee in New York during September, persistent reports have come from East Timor of torture and executions throughout 1987.

During July Timorese students in Dili protested against discrimination they suffer both in education and employment in comparison to Indonesian students. Shortly after, the Indonesian trading areas of Dili market were burnt down. After over one year, four East Timorese students who have been trying to leave Indonesia with Portuguese passports, are still caught in a diplomatic juggling game which is being carried out by the Indonesian, Portuguese and Dutch governments. Indonesia is afraid that if they receive Portuguese passports (which is their right), East Timor will no longer appear part of Indonesia. The Dutch did nothing to help by forcing them out of the Dutch Embassy, where they were seeking asylum, and the Portuguese government has not made any positive move on the issue yet.

During 1987 there have been several changes made to the transmigration programme in Indonesia. From its early objectives of reducing population pressure and poverty, development interests and militarisation have taken over as important objectives. With the failure of so many sites Indonesia has emphasised what is known as PIR-Trans sites (where transmigrants work on their own garden plots in conjunction with being wage-labourers on nucleus estates). Examples from Sumatra and Sulawesi have shown the results to be unsuccessful.

To deal with this the government is promoting the notion of changing state-sponsored transmigration to spontaneous transmigration where private enter-
prise provides the business opportunities and government the infrastructure. Thus, even though there may be a decline in state funding and support from the World Bank announced in January, 1987, the numbers continue as ever (in 1986/7 158,333 families were moved, 103,928 of which were spontaneous transmigrants).

During 1987 there have been problems in Aceh from discontented transmigrants who complain of lack of food and facilities which were promised by the government. Another problem area in Indonesia has been the land dispute in Central Java where 5,359 families of small farmers are being relocated to make way for the World Bank-funded Kedung Ombo dam.

Meanwhile reports from the South Moluccas show that Indonesian oppression is increasing there. Extra-judicial killings, arbitrary detention and torture (including the use of snakes) are being stepped up in an attempt by the Indonesian régime to silence opposition.

1987 has seen a marked increase in violence in the Philippines. Indigenous peoples are affected by four armed groups three of which are allied to each other. The Philippine army has now made an alliance with a splinter group from the Left-wing New Peoples Army. This Cordillera Revolutionary Peoples Army has sided with the government against the NPA and independent indigenous organisations. In addition, throughout the country vigilant groups have been springing up which have targeted indigenous peoples as their victims. Many indigenous leaders are now in hiding as they are on the hit list of the government-backed armed units.

Throughout the year attacks on indigenous communities in the Cordillera and Mindanao have increased. In February a military campaign against the Paco Valley in the Cordillera affected two nations. The attack against the Isneg, called Red Buster Two, included bombardments of villages, burning homes and destroying livestock. 85 Isneg families are now hiding in the forests and are short of food. One bombing raid on April 26th killed six people.

Among the Atta, also in the Paco Valley, military attacks have been followed by relocation to lowland areas. All in all more than 18 villages with a population of 3,500 have been affected by the military operations. Similar attacks have been reported from Mindanao island in the south of the Philippines. There are currently 10 evacuation centres in Davao City coping with 1,182 families, both indigenous and non-indigenous, which have fled from bombings and cross-fire in their communities.

Northeast of Manila, the Dumagat are working as slaves for local logging companies. Not only is there deforestation of their lands, but the people are bought up by local businessmen to whom they are indebted.

In the Cordillera there is much criticism of the government’s latest plans of regional autonomy. In July, after months of negotiation, the Government and the Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army-Cordillera Bodong Administration agreed to the formation of an Interim Cordillera Regional Administration (ICRA) which met with widespread opposition from Cordillera organisations and peoples. The proposal is completely counter to the regional autonomy which the indigenous organisations have been working on for years both nationally and internationally and which involves popular participation.

In November, an emergency call came from the Batak people of Palawan island who are on the edge of extinction because they are being invaded and enslaved by businessmen and logging companies. Companies are deforesting the
area so much that they have encroached on the subsistence area around each community (about 5 kilometres).

Another development in the Philippines has been the killing of Chairman of the Cordillera Bodong Chairman Daniel Ngaya-an. A fact-finding mission of 49 went into Kalinga Apayao in November and were ambushed by members of the CPLA who lined them up as if for a firing squad and interrogated them for two hours before allowing them to leave.

During April the Cordillera Peoples Alliance hosted the International Solidarity Conference in the Cordillera which brought together indigenous peoples and support organisations from all over the world. Some 110 delegates attended the meeting which discussed not only the situation on the Philippines but throughout Asia and the Pacific.

The main issue in Malaysia during 1987 has been the logging in Sarawak. The Penan of Sarawak are starving because timber companies have taken away their lands, killed their animals and destroyed their crops. In the light of this several thousand people from over 30 communities have halted logging work by means of barricades on company-built roads.

The action started in March with Penan communities of the Upper Baram and has spread to other Dayak peoples such as the Kenyah, Kayan, Lun Bawang, Iban and Kelabit. Already one third of Sarawak's forests have been logged (over 1.5 million hectares). The Sarawak state authorities are accused of having ignored the constitutional provisions for protecting indigenous land (Article 161A(5)) and awarding large concessions of forest to logging companies.

The latest news in December has been that 41 members of the Penan and Kayan peoples and two members of Friends of the Earth Malaysia have been imprisoned after a state of emergency was declared at the end of October. All supporters of the indigenous protesters are under suspicion and no news has been reported from the prisoners who are being held incomunicado.

Sources:
Mainland Southeast Asia

In Vietnam there are more than 30 indigenous hill peoples in the highlands (known collectively as Dega). In return for a promised independence many of them fought with the US in the war. They fought against the Vietnamese government for some years with Thai support and eventually some became refugees in the US. Nevertheless, there have been recent reports of human rights violations of Dega who were not involved in fighting the Vietnamese.

In Thailand the process of assimilation and integration has been going on for a long time. The present hill population is nearly 500,000 of which the Karens are the largest group. Education is still largely in Thai and there are problems ranging from forcible regulation of opium production to the increasing influx of tourists into the hill regions. Other threats have arisen from land losses, the monarchy and logging companies who have been responsible for large scale deforestation. At the moment the government plans to move by force hill people (mainly Hmong) from Umphang district to Phop Phra as a part of resettlement project for the development of the region.

Refugee problems affect several hill peoples in Thailand. The 500,000 Hmong who live in Thailand, Vietnam and Laos have had to deal with the Chinese, Soviet and US armies over the last 20 years and have fought for both the US and Communists in the wars. There are about 50,000 refugees in Thailand although reports from Laos say that conditions are improving there. Other refugees in Thailand are Akha and Lahu from Burma who have fled from the Shan states. 1,000 of a total of 5,000 were involuntarily repatriated to the Burmese side of the border in October although over 800 fled their villages to avoid repatriation. In October reports came of two Akka villages which were burnt by Defence Volunteers. 40 houses, crops and animals were destroyed and 300 people left homeless.

We seek a political solution to the national question in Burma. We want the fighting to end. We seek a genuine federal union in Burma with equality and self-determination for the nationalities.

Karen representative.

In Burma one of the major issues at the moment is the US involvement in chemical warfare. Herbicide 2,4-D is being supplied to Burma by the US for use in opium eradication but it is being used against civilian populations in the Shan State area as well as Wa, Lahu and Kachin states.

Fighting between the Karen and Burmese armed forces has continued through 1987 (300,000 Karens are thought to have died as a result of the war which has been going on since 1948). In January the population of five villages in the Shwegyin district fled to the forest and there have been reports of crop
Refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Tripura
destruction in the region. A major Burmese offensive in Karenni State took place in April when 10 villages were burnt down.

Further north the Kachin people are fighting to retain their autonomy within Burma as part of the National Democratic Front. Their autonomy depends on their control of gold mining resources on their lands and the jade trade which has led to further fighting in that area during the year when the Burmese government launched a major offensive against their army in June.

I came here because I feel that I have a responsibility as a man, and maybe more as a Buddhist monk, to try to stop the human rights abuses in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

UN submission by Bimal Bikkhu

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh violence and human rights violations have continued throughout 1987. Some of the worst abuses are that, on January 6th, 17 people were killed at the village of Pablakhali, and in February on 7th March at least 100 Chakma were killed by the Bangladesh army while trying to reach the international frontier. Reports of torture, rape and beatings are regularly coming from the Hill Tracts.

Refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts continue to make their way to Tripura where there are now an estimated 50,000 Chakma living in five camps. Conditions in the camps are extremely poor. There is very little food and many have been dying from dysentery, malaria and other sicknesses. As winter approaches there are not enough blankets to keep the refugees warm. Nevertheless, limited emergency support has been getting through thanks to the work of Buddhist monks from the Sishu Koruna Sangha.
During 1987 Partage avec les Enfants du Tiers Monde managed to find temporary asylum for 72 orphans from the Chittagong Hill Tracts in France. This took place after a long struggle with the French, Bangladesh and Indian authorities. The children were victims from an attack on an orphanage at Boalkhali in Dighinala Upazilla on 13th June 1986.

In January 1987 there was a scare that the Indian government was going to repatriate the refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts who are in Tripura. At that time there were 25,000. An international campaign took place, but the clinching factor in stopping the forced repatriation was the Chakma women whose appeals were heeded and the Indian government rescinded the order. Nevertheless, with Bangladesh in political crisis, there are contradictory reports from Bangladesh. On the one hand there are signs of further desires on the part of the government to have the refugees returned, while newspaper reports from India in November state that the government would like to find a peaceful political solution to the problems in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and admit that they have made mistakes.

Meanwhile, recent reports from the camps tell of direct Bangladesh government attempts to persuade the refugees to return. This is hard for them considering that their villages have been destroyed and Bengali settlers now live in them.

Also in Bangladesh the Garo, who number 75,000 are facing problems in holding onto their lands. Corrupt officials with the help of the national government are forcibly taking over indigenous community land which is traditionally held by women.

In Nagaland there has been an upsurge of violence against Naga villages. Early in the year three Konyak Naga boys were shot dead in Mon town by the Indian army. In other Konyak villages people have been detained, tortured and other have been made to do forced labour for the Indian army. Later in the year similar events took place elsewhere in Nagaland.

On July 10th there was an attack on the Church Chowkidar of Thingba Khunom who was killed with one other. Two others also disappeared during the attack. Villagers were rounded up and then the leaders tortured. Four children died of forced starvation and a woman was buried alive. Currently 21 Mao Naga villages are experiencing this form of oppression. 32 houses have been burnt and village leaders have been detained and tortured this year.

Sources:
In the context of multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious countries like India, the right of self-determination within the framework of the nation is the precondition to the very survival of indigenous and tribal people.

**Representatives of Indigenous Tribal People of India**

1987 saw the formation of the first national indigenous Adivasi organisation in India. The Indian Council of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ICITP) was formed in October at a meeting in Ranchi, Bihar.

There are many problems facing the Adivasi of India which vary across the country. In Bihar there are 7 million Adivasi who are organising against development projects which threaten their traditional livelihood. The Koe! Karo dam project has been temporarily halted but only while the case is with the Indian Supreme Court. Another dam in Bihar which threatens the Adivasi is the Kharka dam project which, with World Bank support would affect Hos, Mundas and Sangthals.

In Orissa the drought has seriously affected the Adivasi of Kalahandi district. More than 300 have died from disease and starvation in the first months of 1987. In Andhra Pradesh forests are the focus of disputes between Adivasi and the government. Tribal agricultural land has not only been put aside as reserve forest, but has also been leased to paper mills. From March to May, hamlets belonging to Kondhs (Samantas) were burnt down (one estimate puts the total at 40 hamlets consisting of 638 houses). In neighbouring Maharashtra two women were fired at in February for defending their houses from police who under the state Forest Development Corporation have been trying to move villagers away and encourage illicit logging activities.

On April 14th, the massive Narmada dam project crossing three states (Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh), was given the go-ahead by the Cabinet (led by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi). The 1,500 square kilometres of forest which will be submerged will involve the relocation of 100,000 Adivasi. Now environmentalists and indigenous support organisations are trying to pressure the World Bank against providing the crucial $450 million loan for the project.

Another dam scheme which is causing concern is the Upper Indravati (Bodghat) Hydropower Project which is linked to mining activities in Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and also other controversial dams on the Godavari and Indravati rivers. The Bodghat scheme will displace some 30,000 Hill Maria people while the latter schemes will affect 70,000 Ghonds in Maharashtra.

Also in Maharashtra there was a massive demonstration at Khalapur on April 2nd where Adivasis and other landless peasants complained that they were...
being harassed by local middlemen. Particularly affected are the Katkari Takur Adivasis who have lived in Raigad district for generations. They have no titles to their lands and unscrupulous middlemen are taking the land by force and selling it to factory owners. When the authorities agreed to inquire further into the issue in April, organisers of the meeting were attacked and wounded and Adivasi women were sexually assaulted by the middlemen and their hirelings.

In Mysore the Soliga people of the Biligiri Rangana Hills, Karnataka, have been threatened for years by the Forest Department, landlords and contractors. Since 1981, a long-term project has been in operation among 6,000 Soliga to support their medical, educational and economic conditions. The project is based on community organisational principles in order to enable the Soliga create a self-reliant society.

In Assam the Adivasi have been consistently asserting their identity. Even though their language is recognised officially, the Bodo, as well as other Adivasi peoples of the State, are nevertheless still facing the Jah Joa Assamese assimilation policy of the government. The Adivasi are in favour of a federalism which takes ethnicity into account.

Meanwhile in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which has the largest Adivasi population in India, there is a movement gaining ground for the recognition of an Adivasi state which would be called Cae Campa.

In Sri Lanka, the conflict between the Tamil and Sinhalese peoples reached ghastly heights during 1987 with hundreds of innocent civilians killed on both sides of the conflict. An Accord was signed by the Indian Sri Lankan governments on July 29th designed to end the conflict, but the intervention of the Indian armed forces into the Jaffna peninsular resulted in the Tamils defending their northern homeland to the end. A 1987 report by SOS Torture supports the Accord but recommends impartial investigation of human rights violations in the region.

In the east of the island the Veddas led by Tissahamy continue to live uncertain of when and how they will be moved out of the Madaru Oya elephant park. In spite of fears of their immanent removal during the last two years, they are reportedly still in their homelands for the time-being.

Sources:
Central and West Asia

In the northern hill valleys of Pakistan in the Swat region, the Pathans, Gujar and Kohistani have seen a tourist boom in recent years. Further north nearer the Himalaya region and in both Ladakh and Nepal this has been more pronounced. Land shortages and resulting poverty have been alleviated by the tourism and in some cases the indigenous groups are using their traditional cultural attraction for tourism as a defence against state planned development and assimilation. Nevertheless to keep the status quo there will have to be some control on tourism in the region.

In spite of hopes of peace in Afghanistan, reports from the country tell of further violations of human rights by Soviet forces. A vivid account has appeared internationally of a bombing raid on a village near Pashtoon Zargoon in the north-west of the country which took place on August 11th. Over 30 villagers died and 40 were missing an hour after the attack. Figures suggest that several dozen people die from raids like this every week.

With almost 5 million refugees in Pakistan, Iran, India and Turkey, and vast areas of the east of the country without any population (56.4% have left their homes), the indigenous tribespeople of the country have suffered greatly from the war. Particularly hard hit have been the nomadic and semi-nomadic Koochis who numbered about 3 million before the war. Estimates of the dead since 1985 are about 37,000 civilians.

In neighbouring Iran the Baluchis have been resisting the Khomeini régime since 1979. As a result they have suffered religious and cultural repression. The Kurds in Iran have been singled out also as government targets but it is in Turkey where reports have described the repression of Kurds in 1987.

There are 8-10 million Kurds living in Turkey who are officially known as Mountain Turks. The government has had a campaign to destroy Kurdish identity to the extent that it is illegal to speak Kurdish or listen to Kurdish music. In the east there has been fighting between Kurds and the Turkish armed forces leaving the local civilians caught in the middle. Reports tell of forced migration, arbitrary detention and restrictions on legal representation.

In the Soviet Union there has been some contact between indigenous peoples of the north with their brothers and sisters from other parts of the world. There have been cultural exchanges between Inuit and Chukchi in the Arctic regions during 1987 and there has also been a visit by a Canadian indigenous leader to indigenous Soviet areas.

Whereas health, bi-lingual education and culture appear to be strong, there are criticisms of Russification and the movement of populations. During 1987 there was particularly vocal protest from the Tartar movement which is campaign-
ing for a return to their homelands after their forced relocation in the 1960s. Nuclear weapons testing, as in the west and China, takes place in the underpopulated areas and it would appear from a recent report that the island of Novaya Zemlya is out of bounds to its indigenous population.

Sources:

Map of Saamiland

Saami population 80,000

Europe

There is a common political will of all the Saami organisations to work for better legal and political protection of the Saami people and the resources of the areas where the Saami live.

Saami representative at the UNWGIP

There has been some contact recently between the Saami in Scandinavia, Finland and the Soviet Union who make up Saamiland. There have been three initiatives in Norway, Sweden and Finland over the last few years on extending Saami rights.


In Sweden the Saami Rights Commission presented its first report in May, 1986. The report concentrates on Saami rights in international law and it is expected eventually to make recommendations similar to those of the Norwegian Commission.

A smaller commission in Finland is continuing the work of the Saami Committee set up by the Finnish government in 1971 which resulted in the establishment of the Finnish Saami Parliament. Finland is now considering economic rights to land, water and other resource and Norway will be doing the same in the near future.

The full implications of the Chernobyl nuclear accident are still not clear. The hardest hit are the Southern Saami of Norway and Sweden who have suffered the brunt of the fall-out, and lost many reindeer. This could affect seriously their economy and ethnic identity.

In Sweden the legal limit of 300 bequerels per kilo of reindeer meat was raised to 1,500 bq/kilo during April. The effect was to reduce severely compensation from the government for contaminated meat while still not creating confidence in the public to buy meat which was previously registered as contaminated. Up to now there has been no meat purchase guarantee offered to the reindeer herding Swedish Saami.

Sources:
Nordic Saami Council reports and Cultural Survival Quarterly
Northern Africa

For 11 years the war in the Western Sahara has forced 185,000 Sahrawis to live as refugees in south west Algeria. Conditions in the camps have been extremely difficult and an international appeal has been taking place through the year to provide them with support.

Meanwhile during the early part of the year fighting has continued between the Polisario and the Moroccan Armed Forces for control of the country. Much of the fighting has taken the form of attacks on the 1,500 mile-long wall splitting the Western Sahara into two. In spite of repeated UN calls for a referendum to enable self-determination for the Sahrawi, no initiative has appeared.

One of the effects of the drought in Mauritania has been that many of the nomadic peoples have moved to the towns and settled there. Several projects with the support of the United Nations are being designed to reverse the drift to the towns by providing oasis schemes and also providing one-time slaves with employment opportunities so that they do not have to return to their previous masters as a result of hardship.

In the early part of the year there were hopes that the drought in northern Africa would be alleviated but these were premature. In Tigray, for example, refugees were already in their third phase of repatriation in March this year with 18,135 people back in their communities. However, a plague of locusts in July and now renewed drought and famine threatens the Tigrayan people. At the moment organisations are seeking means whereby relief support can be brought through the war-zone with safe passage so that those needing relief can receive it.

In 1987 the people of Eritrea celebrated the 25th anniversary of their armed struggle. A particular focal point of the struggle has been the role of Eritrean women who participate with an equal footing to men in combat and production activities. As in Tigray, the new year brings the prospect of more famine in view.

In Ethiopia 6,000 villages have been created in the south east and centre of the country for resettling 600,000 rural people from the drought areas. The province of Hararghé was the area for the pilot project of villagisation which was based on the controversial villagisation programmes in Tanzania during the 1960s. Whereas some people fully support the resettlement programme as they see it as a means to avoid famine, others have fled the country or joined organisations such as the Oromo Liberation Front. A recent report points out that the ecological devastation caused by the villagisation programme has done nothing to alleviate the food shortages.

There was concern in Somalia during July when a letter by Somali General Maxamed Saciid Xirsi was leaked where he complains of the unrest in the north
Refugees from Ethiopia in Sudan, Photo: ILO

of the country and how he plans to deal with it by obliterating villages in areas where armed guerrillas are operating and moving children out of refugee camps (Somali clans and Oromo from Ethiopia mainly) to dilute the school population. Fighting increased in the northern area earlier in the year when Ethiopian armed forces carried out raids into Somalia.

Sources:

East, West and Central Africa

There are about 250,000 Maasai in Kenya who are currently facing an intense government clamp down on their way of life. The authorities say that there is no room in the modern world for tribal peoples who continue to wear traditional dress, organise themselves in age-sets and carry out ritual ceremonies. Maasai who openly complain against the government’s policies have been imprisoned. This particularly anti-Maasai culture initiative is taking place in a climate of increasing human rights violations in Kenya.

In neighbouring Tanzania the Maasai number just over 250,000. There the main problems centre around land and traditional pastoral activities. As with many of the East African pastoralists, state bodies see development in terms of settled communities and the need for increasing exports has led to orienting Maasai cattle production for selling without taking subsistence needs into consideration. The Ngorongoro National Park which is Maasai traditional land still provides priority to the grazing rights of wild animals rather than the subsistence rights of the Maasai.

Throughout Central and West Africa there are about 200,000 pygmy people who live in different conditions. In the Camerouns there is much discrimination against these forest people. With the depletion of the forest they have to find work on plantations where they can receive only one fifth of the wage gained by Camerounian labourers.
In Zaire, the Mbuti of the Ituri forest have a reciprocal relationship with local villages. However this situation is becoming increasingly precarious as the population increase in Zaire as a whole is putting pressure on forest resources (indeed the okapi is fast disappearing). Currently attempts are being made to research and plan accordingly to avoid an increase in those very problems which are already taking place in Camerouns.

Sources:

Southern Africa

There are about 62,000 Basarwa (San Bushmen) in Southern Africa. Their traditional life style is hunting and gathering, or in some areas fishing. The Central Kalihari Game Reserve of Botswana has been one of the largest concentrations of traditional Basarwa. The Basarwa population in the park has dropped from 6,000 to 1,000 in the last 20 years and moves are currently underway to preserve the park exclusively for wildlife (a situation reminiscent of what is facing the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania).

Land resource availability is the major problem facing the Basarwa. The majority are now either working exclusively on cattle rearing or are combining this with hunting and gathering. However, the government is currently encouraging cattle raising by outsiders and, with no clear titles to land, the Basarwa will face many problems. Nevertheless the government is open to the possibility of development programmes which will be oriented specifically to the needs of the Basarwa themselves.

In Namibia the different Bushman groups had several self-development projects through the 1970s to help those who could no longer continue surviving by hunting and gathering. However the possibilities of employment for cash rewards have attracted many to work for others which has led to a deterioration in living conditions. The self-development project among the Ju/wasi has shown the benefits of a mixed subsistence/market economy.

The San have been caught up in the 21-year-old war between the Government of South Africa and the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO) which intensified when the United Nations revoked South Africa’s mandate over the territory because of human rights violations. With forced conscription for Namibian men by South Africa, the San are divided and caught up in the war. The struggle for independence continues with a toll of 10,000 dead in the last 10 years. The conditions in South African-occupied Namibia, with its population of 1.2 million, favour the 100,000 Whites in accordance with apartheid policies.

In Azania (South Africa) the granting of independence to four homelands (Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda) has done nothing to reduce their complete dependence on South Africa as a source of finance and employment. They still provide the country’s main resource of cheap non-unionised labour. Statistics on the homelands show that:

- a) Under the programme 13% of the country’s land has been allocated to 75% of the population.
- b) 4 million people have been forcibly removed from their homes to create the bantustans and it is estimated that 13 million (40% of the country’s population) live there.
- c) 8.9 million (81% of the bantustan population) live below the poverty line (as of 1980).
- d) Unemployment on average is 27.5% in the bantustans but in some areas is 80%.
- e) Human rights are more at risk in the bantustans as abuses can occur in conditions of almost secrecy.

Sources:
Conclusion

The conclusions of this report constitute a thematic summary of some of the main events which have taken place in the indigenous world in 1987:

1. Mass Killings which could be seen as genocidal

Killings continue in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Guatemala and Peru. West Papua and East Timor suffered considerably at the end of 1986. The mass killings in Colombia, Bolivia and Paraguay and the threat to the Yanomami in Brazil make South America a greater centre of concern than one year ago. The events which have been taking place in the Philippines in the last two years put them in this category too.

2. Indigenous leaders and members of communities living under constant threat of death

All the countries in category 1 should be included here. Surinam and Chile are two other cases in South America. Nagaland, India, Thailand and northeast Africa are also areas where killings of community members have taken place.

3. International Colonisation

Even though the World Bank has attempted reforms this year by seeing indigenous leaders, increasing staff to deal with indigenous and environmental issues and cutting its loan to Indonesia, and taking note of progressive recommendations from consultants in the Pichis/Palcazu project, there are still problems with the transmigration programme in Indonesia, with the Acre extension in Brazil and the greater Carajas project, not to mention the Narmada dam in India.

4. Multinational Companies

Threat to the indigenous communities of Ecuador from oil companies and African Palm interests continue. Multinationals in the USA, Canada and Australia have been particularly problematic, particularly mining companies. In Brazil, Peru and Colombia multinational mining, oil and ranching companies are all continuing their encroachments on indigenous lands.
5. Land Rights and demarcation

Some progress has been made in Peru this year but not in Brazil. The lack of land rights in Australia is very apparent as the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the British is “celebrated”. In Colombia and Costa Rica no progress has been made and the Guaymí of Panama have had no success with their comarca.

6. Forced relocation and settlement

This continues in several parts of the world. In Peru and Guatemala, in the USA, in West Papua and the Chittagong Hill Tracts there are severe examples. Southern Africa, Ethiopia are the worst cases in Africa, although the Basarwa and Maasai both face problems in trying to stay on their traditional lands which have been declared conservation areas for animals. Similar cases take place in India and Sri Lanka.

7. Increased Militarisation

In Greenland the Thule Inughuit still await their compensation as militarisation of the Arctic increases. The Innu of Labrador, the Cuna in Panama and the military aspects of transmigration are all examples of indigenous peoples being affected by militarisation.

8. Nuclear activity

Testing continues on Western Shoshone lands, in Tahiti and uranium mining takes its toll among the indigenous peoples of Canada, USA and Australia. The sick from French Occupied Polynesia are still being taken to France unofficially and the people of Rongelap in Micronesia are still suffering the effect of the test 40 years ago as it becomes very clear in a new film Half Life that they were exposed to radioactive material and relocated as part of a vast experiment. The Saami and also caribou hunters of the Canadian Arctic are still analysing the effects and consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

On the other hand

Although the above makes depressing reading we should point out some positive moves that have taken place in the year:

1. There have been more land titles granted in Peru.
2. The World Bank has been a little more receptive than usual.
3. The UN Working Group is back to work with more indigenous representatives than ever before.
4. There are more indigenous self-development projects underway in Central and South America.
5. President Sarney of Brazil actually accepted that a Yanomami national park was in order (until the military changed his mind for him).
6. The Indian government did not send back the refugees to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and aid is now getting through.
7. The Australian Aborigines succeeded in getting a Royal Commission to investigate Black Deaths in custody.
8. Several museums in Europe refused to send artifacts to the Glenbow museum in Calgary, Alberta, because of the treatment of the Lubicon Cree Indians.

These are 8 reasons which show that indigenous news is not always negative. But these positive developments have to be qualified and seen in context before undue celebration takes place. Even so steps forward should be recognised as they could never have happened without the determination and strength of the indigenous peoples’ struggle for fundamental rights and freedoms.
Indigenous Peoples at the UN, 1987

Between July 27th and August 7th, the United Nations in Geneva played host to indigenous peoples from all over the world. During the first week (July 27th to August 1st) there was a Preparatory Meeting organised by indigenous non-governmental organisations. This meeting consisted of an extended discussion by indigenous peoples of their international strategies for gaining recognition of their basic rights.

The second week saw the fifth session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations where 375 participants put forward their cases, opinions and suggestions to five legal experts. The experts (from Greece, Cuba, Ghana, China and Yugoslavia) are currently formulating a draft declaration of principles on indigenous rights which will eventually become incorporated into international law.

PREPARATORY MEETING

A group of indigenous NGOs decided to hold a week's preparatory meeting to the Working Group for late July. The aim of the meeting was to prepare indigenous representatives for the Working Group and at the same time to discuss any questions of concern to participants.

The sponsors for the meeting were the Indian Law Resource Centre, the National Indian Youth Council, the Four Directions Council, the National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. On the first day 6 items were agreed for the agenda:

2. Discussion of the items on the Working Group's Agenda:
   a) Self-determination
   b) Health, medical, social and housing services
   c) Responsibility of indigenous peoples to respect human rights.
3. Review of the draft principles which the Working Group has already produced.
4. Review of the draft declaration of principles produced at the last Preparatory Meeting of 1985.
1. Orientation and Education about the United Nations and the Working Group

The second day of the meeting consisted of a background to the Working Group which was provided by Gudmunder Alfredsson, Secretary to the Working Group, and by Miguel Alfonso Martinez, one of the members of the Working Group. After the description of the process which emphasised that the Working Group was not a chamber of complaints, the meeting heard about the alternative channels for making complaints within the UN system.

The Working Group has already drafted 7 principles towards a UN Declaration of Principles for Indigenous Rights on the basis of the documentation and presentations which it has received from indigenous peoples. Indigenous participation is crucial for the effectiveness of the Working Group and over the next few months the United Nations plans to bring a Voluntary Fund into practice which will increase the number of representatives coming to Geneva.

The discussion continued the following morning where there was a forum consisting of four international lawyers. They spoke on the Working Group and how it can be used effectively, self-determination and standards of human rights for indigenous peoples.

2. Discussion of Items on the Working Group’s Agenda

After an introduction on self-determination by one of the lawyers which emphasised its recognition in international human rights instruments and its basis in the choosing and consenting of social, political, economic and cultural forms of organisation, the discussion was opened.

Various participants commented on the variety of meanings of the concept of self-determination. In Colombia the concept was one of internal indigenous governmental autonomy. From Canada the concept was linked to that of sustainable development and therefore brought into the recent findings of the Commission of Environment and Development. From the Moluccas, on the other hand, the application of self-determination as independence was raised.

It was agreed that self-determination means different things and that it is in itself the ability for a people to choose their own destiny. The methods for achieving this vary from negotiated settlements such as attempted in Canada to armed struggle such as is taking place in West Papua.

The subject of health and social services was continued on Wednesday and health took up most of the discussion. The main point which was reiterated several times by participants was that traditional conceptions of health and medicine must be put forward and respected when taking medical matters into consideration.

Another feature on the health discussion was that the present nuclear activity on indigenous territories, whether mining or testing, is a major problem. As many indigenous peoples live in outlying areas, they are frequently victims of radioactivity.

The subject of indigenous peoples’ need to respect existing human rights instruments was not dealt with at length at the preparatory meeting. There were two general positions of the delegates. One group, mainly the lawyers, considered that indigenous peoples should automatically accept the international standards already existing if they were to have their own rights recognised. Others felt, however, that it is not indigenous peoples who are committing human rights violations and this subject is irrelevant to their struggle against oppression. Indigenous peoples are victims not oppressors, they said.

3. Review of the draft declaration of Principles already brought forward by the Working Group.

There was little discussion on this point apart from a working paper provided by the Indian Law Resource Centre. Generally it was considered that it was too soon to make any clear critique and that it was best to look at the draft principles which were presented at the 1985 Working Group by indigenous organisations.


Although the meeting largely stood by the draft declaration, several new participants said that they would take the versions back to their people and discuss them further. There were some reservations on certain clauses.

The draft declaration was elaborated further by two more clauses on health and social services and military service. There was also a statement on self-determination which clarified the general statement in the original clause. These were later submitted to the Working Group and were the main substantial product of the Preparatory Meeting.

During the Preparatory Meeting there was some discussion of the ILO Convention 107. Lee Swepston from the ILO made a presentation of the revision process. He described the meeting of experts which took place in 1986 (see IWGIA Yearbook, 1986 for report) and explained the questionnaire which is currently being sent round to governments for their comments.

There was considerable discussion by the participants of the meeting about the lack of indigenous input into the revision of the Convention, its weakness in articles on land rights and self-determination and that the questionnaire did not reflect the views expressed in the meeting. The eventual debate resulted in a resolution which was put forward to the Working Group advocating a delay in the process until such time as indigenous peoples can express their opinions on the procedure more clearly.


The meeting discussed the 500th anniversary celebrations of the arrival of Columbus in America and the 200th anniversary of the British invasion of Australia. In these and other cases the participants expressed grave concern at the way whereby events which indigenous peoples consider invasions resulting in genocide are celebrated by the descendant of the original oppressors.

A resolution to this effect was drafted and eventually presented to the Working Group.

CONCLUSION

The Preparatory Meeting performs a useful function for indigenous peoples going to the Working Group. It provides solid background information and a preparatory discussion on the issues under review in the Working Group.

The meeting is faced with certain problems which stem from lack of money. This has made it difficult for those institutions sponsoring it to make advanced preparations. Hopefully with a more global sponsorship and larger participation by indigenous organisations some of these difficulties will be overcome.

THE MEETING OF THE WORKING GROUP

The Working Group had three main items of significance:
1. Statements by indigenous representatives about developments pertaining to their human rights since the last session of the Working Group in 1985.
2. Comments on the development of Standards by Indigenous Representatives.
3. Statements by members of the Working Group showing how their work is going.

1. Developments since 1985

Details of the specific cases can be seen in the global survey of indigenous affairs in 1986 and 1987 (see respective sections of the relevant IWGIA Yearbooks). In general the representatives emphasised that serious violations of the human rights of indigenous peoples are taking place all over the globe.

Mass killings are still taking place in Bangladesh, West Papua and Peru. The encroachment of multinationals continues in Ecuador, Belize, USA and the Philippines. Deforestation is still a problem throughout the Amazon and in India. Militarisation in Canada, Burma, the Philippines and the Pacific directly affects the indigenous peoples in these countries.

Territorial rights are still hardly respected anywhere in the world. In spite of government promises, indigenous peoples from as far apart as Australia, Indonesia, India, USA, Guatemala, Mexico, the Amazon and Chile are suffering from lack of recognition of basic land rights. Invasions, killings and encroachment are still regular occurrences.

Nuclear testing in the Pacific has caused the deaths of thousands of indigenous peoples from cancer. From the Nevada test site to proposed nuclear
storage in the Xingu area of Brazil; from uranium mining in Australia to the reservations of the Navajo in the USA and the plains of Saskatchewan in Canada, indigenous peoples are suffering, or are threatened with the effects of radioactivity.

The statements by the indigenous participants showed that colonising powers are as active as ever in trying to deprive indigenous peoples of their fundamental rights and freedoms. What was reiterated many times was that only with a recognition of self-determination would indigenous peoples be in a position to control their own lives in peace.

Under this section of the proceedings there was a discussion on the ILO's proposed Convention 107 and the resolution of the Preparatory Meeting criticising the manner and content of the proposed revision was presented to the Working Group.

2. Standard Setting

The discussion in this part of the meeting concentrated on the concept of self-determination. An important contribution was the definition provided by the Preparatory Meeting and presented to the group. It defines self-determination under several categories including rights to land, cultural expression, freedom of political organisation, respect for treaties, health and education.

Self-determination means control over destiny and as such can range from full independence to autonomy. Whereas peoples such as the West Papuans see self-determination as an independence struggle, the Adivasi of India see it in the form of internal autonomy.

Self-determination means an association between indigenous and non-indigenous societies which enables the former to have full and free informed consent and not directives imposed by the latter. Self-determination can only be seen within the context of access to resources and the concept of sustainable development has to be seen as the continuing of self-development over time.

Several participants referred to the need for a recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples to adequate health and social services. The Preparatory Meeting presented a new suggested draft principle on the subject (see appendix) and detailed examples were provided by other delegates of the terrible conditions facing indigenous peoples all over the world.

3. Statements by members of the Working Group

There were three formal statements this year and certain interventions. Mr. Türk made the first formal statement where he demonstrated how indigenous peoples in the UN system fall between two stools. On the one hand, human rights are based on individual rights rather than group rights whereas rights to self-determination are couched in the form of decolonisation from foreign occupation. Indigenous rights must fill this vacuum developing group identity and ensuring its maintenance. Administrative and cultural autonomy should be taken into account as long as universal human rights are accepted and the territorial integrity of existing states. Above all, autonomy is a means to an end - that of ensuring development over time.

Following certain Chinese precedents, Mme. Goo said that indigenous peoples should receive respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the UN Charter, state citizenship, protection of their language and culture, health and freedom of religion.

Mr. Simpson spoke of the importance of taking indigenous peoples' rights into consideration when looking at already existing human rights instruments as they were not present when they were originally drawn up. Thus the Working Group should spell out indigenous rights clearly and there should be a monitoring mechanism for overseeing any Convention on indigenous rights.

In his interventions, Alfonso Martinez commented on several points from the floor and he also emphasised his conviction that the work of the group must continue at a reasonable rate, perhaps enabling it to reach a deadline of 1992 for a Declaration of Principles which is the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus’ landing in the Americas.

At the end of the meeting Mme. Daes announced that the Working Group had asked her to present a Working Paper for next year with a draft declaration of principles based on those already drafted and with a preamble. She emphasised that although still a long process this would be a preliminary version of a text which would bring the Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights one step closer.

Her statement was received with a standing ovation by the participants and she, herself, visibly moved by the great indigenous response, closed the meeting.
CONCLUSIONS

1987 has been a very important year for the Working Group. The standing ovation for Erica Daes symbolised an important point in the whole process of forming indigenous rights on an international level. Contact has been made between indigenous peoples and the United Nations.

It has taken five years but it has been a mutually educative process. On the one hand indigenous peoples are presenting succinct relevant statements which combine clear descriptions of the horrors which they are suffering with pertinent comments which the Working Group are finding useful. On the other hand the Working Group itself is learning. None of its members were indigenous experts when the group was set up in 1981, but now they are talking the language of indigenous affairs; they are striving to achieve something in line with the wishes and desires of indigenous peoples and are making progress.

 Needless to say this optimism cannot be broad based. The Working Group is the lowest level of an enormous machine which will dilute and water down any progress as much as possible. And then there are the problems of implementation.

Nevertheless, in the long and hard struggle for indigenous rights there should be some positive moments peoples they can use to fuel their self-determination. The standing ovation for the Working Group was one of these moments where contact was made. All we can do is to strive to ensure that on this strong relationship a whole basis for a just and fair recognition of indigenous peoples' rights will develop.

The UN Ten Years On: Interview with Chief Oren Lyons.

In 1977 the indigenous peoples of the world took Geneva by storm at the NGO Conference. Ten years later Chief Oren Lyons, one of the inspiring forces behind the conference, in an interview with Anna Lena Lund, looks at the International relations of his nation, the Onondaga, before 1977 and after, particularly in relation to the Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

The Huadenosaunee (Iroquois) of whom the Onondaga are one of the 6 nations making up the Confederacy, have long been involved with international affairs. We come from the east coast of North America and were among the first to deal with the English, French and other Europeans who inundated our continent.

These people had very different ideas about government, life and values than ourselves. They were merchants, seeking to expand horizons for their own nations. They were imperialists. Eventually the Dutch, in 1613, asked us for some signed document assuring their safety while they were in our areas, for reasons of trade. So we struck an agreement called the Wampan Belt. The Whiteman and ourselves, we agreed to recognise each other as equals – as brothers.

Wampan is the name of a sea shell which comes in two colours: white and purple. Purple denotes our chiefs and people, while white denotes peace. The beads were strung on belts and for the agreement we depicted two boats: a canoe holding our culture, people, religion and way of life, and another with the boat and culture of Whiteman. In between there were the white shells of peace.

Through the 18th and 19th centuries we made meetings with colonial powers and authorities, using our traditional methods of discussion, procedures and deliberation. We made international treaties throughout the colonial times and when the United States became an entity, we directed and helped them develop their constitution.

In 1744 our people met with the colony governors and told them that they should bind themselves together in union. Ten years later Benjamin Franklin called us to New York to talk about governments and principles of government. Later in 1773 the Confederacy met with members of the Congress who were forming a revolutionary government and they took our advice to bind themselves as a bundle of arrows and plant a tree of peace in Philadelphia.

We supported the idea of the United States because Haudenosaunee was the first original united states. We had five separate nations and later became six with the addition of Tuscarora. This is important because other Indian nations throughout the Americas have made great contributions to the philosophy
and understanding of democracy. Almost every Indian nation has had a
democratic process. All understand equality, all understand what freedom is.

Concepts of freedom and equality did not come over from Europe because at
that time you had monarchies, oppression and feudalism. What actually hap·
pened was the transference of democratic ideas and ideals over to the Europeans
both directly and through association.

As history developed, our brother Whites became very powerful and sud·
ddenly we were a small group. They advanced imperialistically across the coun·
try, gathering all the lands west of the Mississippi and displacing the Indians. Mean·
while we continued to exist with our constitution but our problems became very
severe.

Internationally, nation states were now emerging in the 19th century from
the feudal system. The whole subject of nation states has a very short history.
It's just beginning really and we don't know how long it will last because the
nation states are operating under some very negative tenets. These tenets defy
natural law and the price for this is severe. We put together all industrial nation
states because to us, whether they advocate democracy or communism, they are
one and the same. The central committee is as much a centralised source of pow·
er as an executive community. They both exclude people. We are here because
in our Indian governments we allow people direct involvement and we are truly
the servants of our people.

In the 20th century the government of Canada, which had recently come
into being, became oppressive to our Six Nations. As a result, one of our chiefs,
Deskaheh came to Geneva to the gathering of the League of Nations in 1924. He
brought his problems but was not allowed to speak. He did speak at a public
meeting, however, which was jammed full.

In 1977 when we came here again for the NGO Conference it was a con·
tinuation of this history. Whatever happens the struggle remains the same. We
must maintain our freedom and our integrity as a nation. Our struggle has al·
ways been 1) to maintain our lands and 2) to maintain our forms of government.

We came to the Geneva conference in a large delegation of 26 and travelled on
our passports. These are not passports from the United States or Canada but
are Haudenosaunee passports which demonstrate our own independent
sovereignty and we have been to many countries in Europe with them.

That 1977 meeting in Geneva was a great moment in the history of the in·
digenous peoples of the western hemisphere. We came here with one mind, one
body and one heart. We came here to present our peoples’ rightful place in the
community of human beings. We came here with the understanding that we pos·
sessed sovereign rights of nationhood. We came here with leaders of indigenous
nations that understood the principles of peace, equity and the power of good
minds. We came here under the authority of Soohm Gwyah Dee Sah Eh, the
ultimate force that governs all life on this planet, we call Mother Earth. We came
as one, with the purpose to protect the seventh generation yet unborn and to seek
peace for our people.

Since 1977 we have deliberately become involved in continuing that initia·
tive. We feel that the UN work is enabling us to carry forward our intention that
our seventh generation would survive - although the process is extremely slow.
I hope that the current delegations of indigenous nations who come here can car·
ry the fire and the spirit that originated here in 1977. I know that those Chiefs
and Clanmothers from all over the Americas who came here were powerfully in·
clined to sovereignty.

And I am very concerned about the constant discussion on autonomy be·
cause while there is no definition of autonomy, there is a definition of
sovereignty. We must continue to hold the high ground and inspire indigenous
nations to sovereignty. All people should have the right to determine their station
in life even though it may not be possible. Nevertheless the option ought to be
there and that is what we are trying to establish. It concerns me that I am not
hearing much talk at the Working Group on sovereignty. I can hear a lot about
development, about state recognition but I am not hearing the leadership talk
of sovereignty.

The major benefits of gatherings such as that of the Working Group is that
you can meet your brothers and sisters from all around the world and talk collec·
tively about issues and things directly. This would be otherwise impossible. It
is very important that we are here to exchange thoughts and ideas and find out
who we are, seek support from each other and do what we can.

Just being here and seeing one another gives great energy and inspires you
to continue this work which is very debilitating and very difficult. And it grinds
the qualities of human life down to struggle. I think that this forum is a won·
derful place because you can talk to heads of states and representatives of nation
states and find out that they are, after all, only people. That is a great advantage.

From whence does authority flow? Who first established the principles of
peace and freedom? Does it flow from the great assembly of the United Nations?
That cannot be because these principles were here even before then. It seems to
us that from the earliest times, man's natural state was to be as free as our grand·
fathers told us and we believe that freedom is inherent to life. We recognised
this principle as the key to peace, respect for one another and the understanding
of the natural law that prevails over all the universe and adherence to this law is
the only salvation of our future on the planet, Mother Earth.
Statement on Self-Determination by the Participants at the Indigenous Peoples Preparatory Meeting

At the 1985 session of the Working Group, a draft Declaration of Principles was submitted by the indigenous NGO's and more than seventeen other indigenous organisations. That Declaration includes principles relating to self-determination.

In order to contribute to the understanding of this complex issue and to the understanding of the draft principles, the participants at the indigenous peoples preparatory meeting preceding the 1987 Working Group session submit the following statement.

1. The right to self-determination is fundamental to the enjoyment of all human rights. From the right to self-determination flows the right to permanent sovereignty over land, including aboriginal, ancestral-historical lands, and other natural resources, the right to maintain and develop governing institutions, the right to life, health and physical integrity, and the rights to culture, way of life and religion.

2. The right to self-determination includes the absolute right of indigenous peoples to exist as communities, tribes, nations or other entities according to their own wishes and to define their own membership.

3. The most fundamental element of the right to self-determination is the freedom of choice on the part of indigenous peoples. The relationships between indigenous peoples and states must be based on the free and informed consent of indigenous peoples.

4. Self-determination encompasses the freedom of indigenous peoples to determine the extent of and the institutions of their self-governance, their political status and associations with the state(s).

5. The right to self-determination may be realised in many ways ranging from the choice of full independence to various forms of autonomy, self-government and participation in the political processes of the state.

6. Self-determination is dependent upon the right of each indigenous people to a land and resource base necessary to sustain an appropriate and sufficient economy and the right to exercise its authority and jurisdiction over the corresponding territory.

7. The right to self-determination includes the responsibility of indigenous governments to respect fundamental human rights.

8. State action that terminates, undermines or replaces indigenous societies, or their governments or organisations, without their consent, is a violation of the right to self-determination.

9. State imposition of governmental or organisational systems and forms without consent by the indigenous people concerned violates the right to self-determination, even where the ostensible purpose is to provide a measure of self-rule or autonomy.

10. The existence of international or other legal boundaries must not be permitted to derogate from the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples.

11. Where there is a treaty the treaty shall be interpreted and applied with in accordance with the principles of self-determination.

Introduction

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples was founded in 1975 in Port Alberni, British Colombia, Canada. Its aims are to combat racism and genocide, unify indigenous peoples, facilitate information exchange among them, strengthen indigenous organisations and ensure their social, cultural and political development.

The WCIP is organised according to a Constitutional Charter and comprises a General Assembly consisting of indigenous delegates from five regions, an Executive Council (including a President and two Vice-Presidents) and a Secretariat based in Ottawa, Canada. The five regions and their respective organisations are:

1. North American Regional Council (NARC)
2. The Nordic Sami Council (NSC)
3. The Pacific Region - now including Asia (PACIP)
4. The Co-ordination of Indian Peoples - Central America (CORPI)
5. The South American Indian Council (CISA)

The WCIP General Assemblies which have taken place up until now have been hosted in each of the above regions respectively and the fifth was held in Lima, seat of CISA. The Assemblies are usually held every 4 years, but this meeting was brought forward a year. It was felt within the Council that there should be a discussion of certain constitutional issues which arose during 1986 when the then President, Clem Chartier, had his powers removed by the Executive Council after his unofficial visit to the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.

The short notice with which the Assembly was called explains why there were fewer delegates than at Panama in 1984. Nevertheless, the 45 delegates from 21 countries ensured representation from all regions. There were, in addition, about 100 fraternal delegates and observers.

The Conference was held at the luxury Crillon Hotel which was considered the most secure venue in Lima. Indeed the closing ceremony of the Assembly was graced with the sound of a bomb exploding at the nearby Plaza de Armas.
The Structure of the Fifth Assembly

Prior to the Assembly there was a Seminar on Development at Ollantaytambo, near Cusco, where several themes were raised which appeared at the WCIP meeting the following week. These included Indian identity, self-determination and relations with the nation-state. Although IWGIA did not attend the meeting a summary of its main findings is presented below.

The Assembly itself consisted of daily plenary sessions with presentations and discussions relating to five principle themes: The Constitutional Charter of the WCIP, Indigenous Administration and Organisation in Relation to the Nation State, Indianhood, Self-determination and the 500 years anniversary of the Spanish arrival in the Americas.

There were concurrently four working committees which made reports to the Assembly later in the week:

1. The Constitutional Charter
2. Human Rights
3. Plans for WCIP activities on the 500 year anniversary
4. The electoral committee for the new WCIP officers

Indian People facing Development
- the Ollantaytambo seminar

The purpose of this meeting was to debate and present the situation of Indian peoples at the present time, showing how Indianhood, culture and world view are all integral aspects of their development. Many development projects are framed within Western concepts and the discussion emphasised the need to respect Indian culture and promote its revaluation and revitalisation through development. The meeting also made suggestions which were carried on to the Assembly in Lima.

The Seminar was organised in 3 parts each with work groups covering the following themes:

1. The Politics of Indianhood in the face of Development

The first group agreed that Indian Peoples should have their territorial rights respected, their cultures and traditions upheld in national legislation and control over national institutions organising their affairs. The work group also came out strongly against colonisation on Indian lands, the exploitation of their resources, mono-cultural education and health and alien models of agrarian reform. Indian peoples should also look in more detail at the increasing migration of their population from rural to urban areas.

The second group made proposals for the creation of more cultural centres, leadership training opportunities and the promotion of respect for traditional culture. The third group drew out the essential elements in making indigenous development possible: a territorial base, indigenous organisation, cultural pluralism and freedom from both economic interests and religious proselytisation.

TheStructureoftheFifthAssembly

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2. Analysis of Projects and the Political Economy of Self-determination

The first group in this section emphasised the need for development projects in indigenous areas to take Indian characteristics into account. Projects should respect community life and adjust their goals to suit its needs. Communities should have control over projects within their territories and there should be more attention given to Indian organisations, providing them with advisory teams and control over state development programmes.

The session compared the different models of Indian and Western development: traditional technology versus commercial technology, cultural continuity versus imposition of alien values, community politics versus individualism, horizontal versus vertical development, future consideration versus immediate gain.

Group two looked at the development strategy of Indian Peoples. It concluded that projects should reflect the desires of the communities and their historical, political, technological and cultural conditions. The WCIP should also prepare a manual preparing indigenous organisations in how to deal with projects.

Group three discussed the development of the capacity of grass-roots organisations in defining and implementing projects. Development agencies must ensure that the projects which they guarantee are carried out successfully. A final group brought together the points made in these two thematic discussions for inclusion as resolutions to be brought forward to the WCIP Assembly.

3. The 500 Years

It was decided to recommend the WCIP to set up a commission on the consequences of non-Indian rule over Indian Peoples.

The Plenary Sessions of the Assembly

The opening ceremony of the Assembly was heralded by the rousing refrain of highland Indian trumpets. Speeches from the different regions described the evolution of the WCIP and the convergence of Indian unity. Framed by a banner proclaiming the unity of the indigenous nations, the leadership stressed how they would continue the path whereby the WCIP could become world advocates of the indigenous cause.

The following day (July 12th) there was a general discussion about the agenda and the infrastructure of the meeting. The two Vice-Presidents (Hayden Burgess and Donald Rojas) made reports to the Assembly. Hayden Burgess discussed the WCIP's role in the UN Working group, the revision of ILO Convention 107, work on museums and conservation. He ended his report with a proposal to extend the Pacific Region to cover Asia which was approved.

Donald Rojas presented a report on the activities of the Executive Council and the regions of Latin America. He recommended an investigation into how the WCIP can strengthen its development at grass-roots level. The two commissions on Guatemala and Nicaragua which had been set up at the Panama Assembly of the WCIP have been at work and achieved several contributions to peace on the diplomatic front.

The discussion then moved to Clem Chartier's entry into Nicaragua. While the WCIP was conducting discussions with the Nicaraguan government, the President had gone into Nicaragua unofficially and been discovered. At a subsequent meeting in Geneva he had been stripped of his powers except for his title by the Executive Council. Both Vice-Presidents said that Clem Chartier's connection with the armed wing of MISURASATA had put the diplomatic role of the WCIP in jeopardy. The choice was whether the WCIP was to be a diplomatic or a guerrilla organisation.

At this point Clem Chartier explained his position. He had entered Nicaragua in good faith in order to understand better the situation of the Atlantic Coast. The Miskitu communities which he had previously visited with the Nicaraguan government would not speak frankly to him and so he went in to see for himself. The issue was not between diplomacy or war, but whether the WCIP represented the views of indigenous people and stood out in their support when they were suffering violations of human rights such as in Nicaragua, or whether it took a political line which fitted into a framework set out by nation states.

The decision of the Executive Council with regard to Clem Chartier was put to the Assembly's vote and endorsed.

Discussion of the Constitutional Charter of the WCIP

On Monday, 13th, the plenary session was devoted to a discussion of the Constitutional Charter of the WCIP which was to have been revised this year. Discussion ranged between advocating a new version of the Charter presented by CORPI and amending the existing Charter which was advocated by the Saamis and the Pacific/Asia region.
Definition of membership was seen as an important issue as indigenous organisations which constitute the WCIP should be based on local grass-roots movements. Another important issue, in the light of the experience of the last 18 months, is the power of sanction which the Executive Council should hold over the organisation in between Assemblies. The points of view varied between those advocating more power for the Executive Council and those wanting the fundamental WCIP voice to remain in the Assembly.

During the afternoon there were two presentations. One by Oscar Arty Quintanilla described the work of the Inter American Indigenist Institute and the other, by Augusto Willemsen Diaz, described the UN Working Group and its position in the UN system.

Relations between Indigenous Peoples and the Nation State

The Monday afternoon session started with a comparison of the situation of land rights among different indigenous groups in Central and South America. Asuncion Ontiveros from CISA made a comparative analysis of South America containing comments on the Indian Statute in Brazil, loss of land among Mapuche communities in Chile and among the Indians of Bolivia. Delegates from Central America made the point that land rights on their own are not sufficient but that resources as a whole should be addressed.

Lars Ande Baer from Saamiland rounded up the discussion pointing out the variety of issues relating the state to indigenous peoples. Since 1975 several positive steps had been made in this direction. The Nordic countries and the UN have recognised that indigenous affairs are issues of importance, and although there are some instruments for indigenous rights under preparation, there is still a long way to go.

Indianhood

On Tuesday, 14th, the discussion moved to Indianhood. Saul Rivas Rivas from Venezuela gave a presentation comparing the unilinear western model of history which puts non-indigenous peoples in a superior place in opposition to the Indian perspective which stresses a multi-causal view of the world and history.

Salvador Palomino then spoke on Indianhood. He explained that in Peru there are Indians in Parliament but they lack consciousness of themselves as Indians. Indianhood is not colour of skin but a consciousness - a form of life which is fundamentally pluralist. Mestizo is a word which means mixed in a biological sense, but it is the cultural aspect of the relationship between Indian and non-Indian which is important. A crucial factor here is indigenous religion which is completely different to Christianity although it can incorporate some elements. The assertion of Indian identity is a war of religions.

Self-Determination

The discussion on this issue lay mainly in the presentation of two case studies in Saamiland and Nicaragua. The Saami presentation looked at the work of the Norwegian Saami Rights Committee and the current legislation in Norway for the establishment of a Saami Parliament. The Saami Rights Committee is now going to look into the issue of rights to resources. Similar Saami rights reports have been presented in Sweden and Finland in the last year.

The Nicaraguan delegation then presented a description of the work of the Autonomy Commission on the Atlantic Coast which had consulted with over 48,000 members of indigenous communities. The autonomy statute not only covers political representation but will lay down the basis for educational, health and socio-economic development. The present task is to continue encouraging the trend of Miskitu refugees who are returning from Honduras. They face problems when they return to the Rio Coco, however, as they need time for their crops to start producing yields and there are several other urgent issues to be dealt with on the Atlantic Coast. Latest figures for repatriation are 300 per month.

The discussion on Self-Determination also consisted of presentations from Peru on the need for further development, particularly land and community rights. The session was concluded on Wednesday, 15th, with other examples from Central America.

500 Years and other Anniversaries

The Saami presented a proposal that the WCIP should clearly address itself to the 1992 celebrations of the arrival of Spanish colonialism in the Americas. It was agreed that the WCIP would resist and make known its opposition to any celebrations of this date and in addition to protest against similar events being prepared in Australia (January, 1988) and in New Zealand (February, 1990). It was decided to approve the suggestion made at the Ollantaytambo meeting and set up a committee to make concrete suggestions.
The Four Committees

On Wednesday afternoon and Thursday morning the four committees reported the results of their work and made plans for the future:

1. Committee on the Constitutional Charter

The Committee decided not to put forward a new Charter at this Assembly. There should be the inclusion of a norm on sanctions and the committee would meet and prepare a revised Charter for the next Assembly. It was agreed that the committee would continue its work.

2. Human Rights

A resolution was put forward on the basis of the work of this committee which would establish a Human Rights Commission within the WCIP which would monitor and document violations of fundamental rights facing indigenous peoples throughout the world. Members of the commission would come from each region and it would meet several times a year, providing an annual report.

The resolution was approved. The committee also received a total of 35 resolutions condemning violations of human rights. They were tabled. In addition two specific resolutions on oppression by the current Peruvian government were passed by the Assembly. The 35 resolutions contained differing positions on the Nicaraguan issue and there was a sharp exchange to ensure the inclusion of all written submissions. The subject matter of these was read out but the submissions themselves were not released at the meeting. They covered Nicaragua, Belize, Asia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Australia and the 500 years.

3. 500 Years

The committee agreed to form a plan of action over the next years integrating Australia, New Zealand and the Americas. They would not support any attempt to celebrate the invasion of these continents but would, through the WCIP, set forth detailed indigenous examination of the circumstances of the celebrations and how they appear from an indigenous perspective.

4. The Electoral Committee

The committee arranged the rules of the election which were as follows:

- **Presidential Candidates and Sponsors:**
  1. Donald Rojas – Costa Rica – (El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico)
  2. Lars Ande Baer – Samiland – (Sami and New Zealand)

- **Vice-President (Spanish speaking):**
  1. Jorge Valiente – Argentina – (Venezuela and Hawaii)
  2. Minerva Wilson – Nicaragua – (Sami and Belize)

- **Vice-President (English speaking):**
  1. Hayden Burgess – Hawaii – (India and New Zealand)
  2. Terry O’Shane – Australia – (Sami and Australia)

The successful candidates were:

- Donald Rojas Maroto (President)
- Jorge Valiente (Vice-President)
- Hayden Burgess (Vice-President)

The Assembly closed with another spectacular display of highland and lowland Indian dancing and playing. Speeches from the newly elected officers stressed unity, the desire to work together with all regions of the WCIP and the hope that those in charge would be given a chance to strengthen the work of the organisation.

In spite of a power cut and the distant sound of bombs, the meeting ended on a harmonious note with communal dancing.
Conclusions

Apart from the discussion of specific indigenous issues at the plenaria there were several themes which reappeared both in the open assembly and in conservation outside.

1. Structure of Indigenous Organisations

The WCIP was the main focus of attention here but in fact the same principles were applied to regional organisations - such as CORPI and CISA - and national members of the Council. The alternatives presented at the Assembly were as follows:

a) There should be a stronger Executive Council with the ability to take unlimited decisions in the period between Assemblies. This argument was put forward by the previous Vice-Presidents (Donald Rojas and Hayden Burgess) on the basis of the Executive Council having taken Clem Chartier's powers away from him without prior approval of the Assembly. This would provide firmer leadership, they argued, and give the WCIP more flexibility in manoeuvring.

b) The alternative position was that power should continue to reside in the General Assembly which should operate as a check on the powers of the Executive Council. The WCIP should retain an essentially democratic and representative image which could be tarnished and even abused if there is a too strong power shift in the direction of the Executive Council. This position was argued forcefully by Mexico.

The issue here concerns the distribution of power within organisations between its constituent members and the leadership. For many organisations which do not claim to be representative, the issue does not arise because the leadership is not elected. These organisations operate more as support institutions (eg indigenous advocacy organisations or development agencies).

For the WCIP, on the other hand, the issue is important because the basis of the organisation stands on its aim to represent indigenous peoples on an international basis. The position of the General Assembly is, therefore, not only of symbolic but concrete importance in defining the WCIP. The discussion therefore indicates that the organisation is currently at a significant stage in its internal development where it has to ask fundamental questions about the relationship between representativeness and structure.

2. Function of the WCIP

Discussions on the functions of the WCIP were connected with those of its structure but not exclusively so. The two models presented at the Assembly were as follows:

a) The two previous Vice-Presidents and the Co-ordinator of CISA (Asuncion Ontiveros) argued that the WCIP should choose between whether it was a diplomatic or a guerilla organisation. By this they were referring to the role of Clem Chartier's entry into Nicaragua accompanied by indigenous fighters. They insisted that the WCIP should be fundamentally seen as a diplomatic or advocacy organisation working to represent indigenous peoples.

b) Clem Chartier and others had a completely different position. He argued that if the WCIP was to be truly representative, it should represent the interests of indigenous peoples no matter who they were, even if it did bother the powers that be within the nation state. The WCIP position was not to negotiate or act as a diplomatic body but to listen to the demands of its membership and support their struggle on a political front. This was not the same as being a guerilla organisation.

The meeting tended to polarise the structure and function of the WCIP providing a package for the delegates to vote on. According to the former Vice-Presidents, the WCIP had the choice of either being a diplomatic, advocacy organisation with more power placed in the executive or a less efficient, guerilla organisation where policy was determined solely by the Assembly.

Clem Chartier's position was in favour of more power to the Assembly, less to the Executive Council and an emphasis on representation, even if this should prove controversial. His argument was based on the concept of whom is the WCIP serving - the interests of nation states or of indigenous peoples?

In between these positions, the Saami argued for a balance of power between Executive Council and Assembly, much as is already enshrined in the Constitutional Charter, with a flexibility between both representation and diplomatic activity, according to the problems encountered.

Although the Assembly agreed not to make a final decision on the Constitutional Charter, the election results showed clearly that the position of the former Vice Presidents and CISA (diplomatic activity combined with more Executive Council power) was approved by the majority of delegates.
3. Representativeness and Membership

The question of what constitutes a representative indigenous organisation is open to debate. It is very rare when forming new organisations to find ready-made representativeness in the sense of the leadership actually speaking and acting on behalf of others. The growth of this representativeness is a part of organisational development.

Some organisations may not represent people or organisations but they symbolise, and thus represent, attitudes and ideas. For example, in the early days of the Indianist movement of South America it was sometimes said that although the new organisations did not represent all the millions of Indians in the continent, they did represent the spirit of Indianhood.

The question which arose in the Assembly of the WCIP was the extent and nature of its representativeness. Everyone there agreed that the WCIP and its regions had a duty to include in its membership organisations which were recognised nationally and contained substantial indigenous peoples. However there is, and always will be, disagreements as to how that should be seen in practice.

The delegates to the WCIP Assembly came from organisations throughout the world but in several cases there were questions as to who made up their membership. As in the Panama Assembly, there was a discussion as to the extent to which delegates to such a conference should be approved or even elected by the regional bodies or not. This argument is in fact the same debate noted above as to whether the executive in any indigenous organisation should control who attends its general assembly or whether the assembly itself should be picked by its constituent base organisations.

The above positions were made public in the Assembly over the question of attendance. Several indigenous organisations in South America claimed that they had the right to attend the meeting as they once constituted a part of CISA. These 11 organisations were denied access to the meeting as observers because they had been responsible for bringing legal proceedings against CISA.

Initially it was agreed that these organisations should not be allowed access, although the Saami and Pacific regions stated that as the meeting was public, people should not be kept out. Eventually the Saami women insisted on opening the meeting and the female members of the outlawed organisations managed to gain access.

The practical issue of attendance arose among the South American groups because they were already present in Lima and had access to the conference centre. However, it became apparent in the conference that there was a similar situation in some countries in Central America where some delegates encountered obstacles to their attendance.

4. Political Organisations and Development

The new leadership of the WCIP demonstrates that the General Assembly was satisfied with the way in which the organisation is moving. Over the next four years we should see more administrational development (perhaps a separation of the organisation into political, development and communications sections) and an increase in diplomatic advocacy on behalf of indigenous peoples.

The WCIP intends to investigate more clearly the bases on which the organisation stands and will present a proposal to the next Assembly for Constitutional Reform. The Assembly has delegated its power for this period to the new Executive Council and it is to this body that we must look and hope for a clear and open stance in favour of indigenous rights all over the world.
Interview with Donald Rojas Maroto, President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples

During the 5th General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, held in Lima, Peru between 11th and 16th July, the Costa Rican indigenous leader, Donald Rojas Maroto was elected President for a period of four years. In this interview, conducted at the offices of IWGIA, Donald Rojas, who is of the Brunca nation, talks to Javier Farje on a theme which has recently taken on much importance: the situation of the indigenous peoples of Central America in relation to the Peace Plan of Costa Rican President Arias and his award of the Nobel Peace Prize. In addition he spoke on the new leadership of the WCIP and the role of support organisations to indigenous nations.

Q: At the meeting of Central American Presidents at Esquipulas, a peace plan was elaborated on the initiative of Oscar Arias of Costa Rica. As a result of this he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This prize was awarded partly as an incentive to the success of the plan. As an indigenous Costa Rican, what do you believe would be the benefits the plan could bring to the indigenous nations of the region?

A: The peace plan has several aspects. In the first place there is the Commission of National Reconciliation which involves political parties, notable persons, the Churches and the governments. The peace plan also talks of democratization in all the countries concerned with guarantees for popular participation in the electoral system.

There is also discussion of an amnesty which will be a fundamental principle of the plan so that people can return to their countries without problems. This therefore concerns the subject of refugees.

Nevertheless the fact that amnesty is mentioned, the return of refugees does not necessarily mean that anything will happen. Why? Because, in the first place, something more than signatures on a document is necessary. There is the political fact of security. What guarantees can be given to those people who have had to leave the country? We mentioned this concern to President Cerezo last year and he agreed that no government could guarantee the safety of many of the people who would return.

In the second place there is a deeper problem. This is the movement of thousands of indigenous brothers who are refugees in another country and want to return to their homes without any material or psychological support and with no help to reconstruct their communities. This will require much financial and material resources. For example, one problem which we have analysed together with the Nicaraguan government is the situation of the return of our Miskitu...
Indigenous Peoples in general

Q: What do you consider to be the general situation of indigenous nations in the world? Has it improved, deteriorated or does it remain stable?

A: It is very difficult to say if it has improved or not. I believe that what is positive is that there is a greater consciousness among indigenous peoples themselves. Now there are several examples of international solidarity among indigenous peoples. This is very important given that, previously, until the 1970s, outsiders or the Church spoke on behalf of indigenous peoples. Now, however, there are indigenous organisations and there is more interest in participation. We cannot say that at the moment there is an established homogenous movement. There are different organisations of various political directions. But this is a dynamic process and there are hopes that in the future we indigenous people will advance further. For example, today we are in communication with India, Bangladesh and other parts of the world where indigenous peoples are being eliminated. This communication is positive.

At the same time there are responses on the part of governments which take the form of strong cultural and political repression to ensure the movement does not grow. Governments in some countries also attack when the movement grows too strong through dividing us. For example they create pro-governmental indigenous organisations or technical institutes to deal with the problem.

There are four factors which affect indigenous nations. The first is the Church. Some work with the objective of cultural elimination while others with good intentions confuse the situation. Nevertheless there are parts of the Church which have a position and are offering solid support to indigenous peoples.

In the second place we have the governments which try to divide us. Thirdly there are multinationals which directly affect us. This can be seen clearly in South America. Finally there are the political parties of each country. As soon as they see indigenous leaders rising up they immediately try and grab them to assimilate them into the western party system.

All these factors have been particularly acute in recent years and will be more so in the next four years as we approach the 500th Anniversary of the arrival of Europeans to America.

The United Nations and the International Labour Organisation

Q: What do you think of the work of the UN Working Group and the ILO on indigenous affairs?

A: I think that these are two extremely important fora. The Working Group is a small doorway and is important in the framework of the United Nations as it allows our indigenous brothers to speak out internationally and will enable us to go forward a little to setting norms and perhaps conventions in the future. I believe that this is going to depend on our maturity as indigenous nations to further this work along with other non-governmental organisations.

The ILO Convention 107, currently under revision, is one of the few which deal with the indigenous question. We still do not yet know what sort of revision is going to take place and if we are going to achieve anything. What we are doing at the moment is analysing the proposals and plans to put to the ILO. For example a group in Canada has formed a permanent working team which is dealing with the proposal. The Saami have also produced documents relating to the convention. Nevertheless we must see that the opening up of the indigenous question here is still small because the decisions are in the hands of workers, employers and governments. What we therefore need is co-ordination, not only among the indigenous nations but also with solidarity groups to see what we can do within the ILO.
Unity is possible

Q: What do you think indigenous nations and solidarity groups should do to reach these objectives?
A: The theme of the Vth WCIP Assembly was For the Unity of Indigenous Peoples and we have to be clear that the political conflicts during 1986 did divide several organisations. These conflicts mean that there will inevitably be ideological lines within the movement and there cannot be any single lineal process. On the contrary the struggle is in motion and is constantly in need of planning and definition.

In this sense we believe that the unity of indigenous peoples is important but not a lineal unity but a concrete political unity. This is the only way which will receive respect from indigenous peoples. Each indigenous nation shares the same objectives, our self-determination.

Q: Is there a possibility of unity among indigenous peoples?
A: I believe so and this is a historical fact. We can see that we have common problems and common systems all over the world. Obviously there are differences but the fact that there are differences of opinion does not mean that there is division but alternative ways of operating in a particular context. The interaction and co-ordination of organisations is therefore very important.

This is going to be a slow process. It will not be the UN, the ILO or the Organisation of American States which will solve indigenous peoples' problems. We must see that these problems stem from a historical situation of 500 years colonisation. It a problem of economic and political structure. For these reasons the WCIP supports the solution in Nicaragua and sees it as a change in Central America which will open up the possibility of other changes in the situations of indigenous nations.
IWGIA annual report

Introduction

1987 has been an important year for indigenous peoples. More representatives than ever participated at the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations in August and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples held its Vth Assembly in Lima, Peru. There have been major international campaigns on cases in Brazil, the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh and in the Pacific.

While there have been advances in some areas, such as limited land titling in Peru and the receiving of badly needed aid by refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh in Tripura and India, the threats facing indigenous peoples continue unabated all over the globe. Events in Brazil have been particularly disturbing. IWGIA has been making whatever contribution possible to support the struggle for the recognition of indigenous fundamental rights and freedoms.

During 1987, IWGIA developed its work on several fronts. The office became computerised, we increased our support to indigenous peoples, established a system for press and publicity and converted our library into a resource centre.

The board and secretariat

We are all sorry that Mark Münzel, our German board member, has retired after 15 years on the Board of IWGIA. His support and inspiration through the years has been of great importance to the work of IWGIA. Although he has left us, he will continue to keep in touch in an advisory capacity. During 1987 we have had the pleasure of welcoming Jens Dahl on the Board of IWGIA. Jens is the current Chairman of the Institute of Eskimology in Copenhagen.

We are also sorry to be losing Jørgen Brechner Jørgensen this year. He has worked for 11 years in the Secretariat on our international relations activities and his time with IWGIA has made him a friend of indigenous peoples all over the world. Jørgen feels that it is time to be moving on to research specific indigenous issues for his thesis. He will still be in Copenhagen, however, and will certainly be a regular visitor in the office.
Publications

Documentation is the backbone of IWGIA's work and in 1987 we have been able to produce the following publications:

Saami Document Northern Peoples (English)
This document was based on the Seminar on Saami and Northern Peoples organised by the Copenhagen and Oslo local groups in 1984. The articles compare the practical manifestations of self-determination among the Saami of Norway, Sweden and Finland and put them into a northern context with articles from Greenland and Canada.

Polonoroeste Document Brazil (English and Spanish)
The disastrous effects of the World Bank funded Polonoroeste programme in Brazil are well known. One of its ameliorating factors, however, has been the financial support given by the World Bank to indigenous peoples via the National Indian Foundation of Brazil (FUNAI). However the document charts how the money has had very limited effect and that the structure of the national society still threatens the future of several indigenous nations in the Aripuana Park region.

Bari and Arhuaco Document Venezuela and Colombia (English)
This document compares the strategies of survival of two indigenous nations - the Bari and Arhuaco who have respectively an egalitarian and hierarchical mode of organisation. While the Bari have lost most of their land since 1900, the Arhuaco have forged a resistance which has held up missionary incursions into their territories. The document also compares different authors' approaches to indigenous affairs in general - one based on culture and another on historical accounts of land invasions.

Tourism Document Global study (English and Spanish) - translation complete but printing to take place in 1988.
Tourism is a major threat to indigenous peoples and minorities all over the world. This document looks at the phenomenon globally, tracing the colonial dimensions of tourism and how it can bring in its wake violations of human rights and developmental destruction. With cases from Canada, the Amazon, Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Kenya and West Africa, the document will undoubtedly be a major new publication on the subject of tourism.

Newsletters and Boletines
In the 1987 Newsletters and Boletines there have been several major articles. Visits to IWGIA from Miguel Alfonso Martinez of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations and Domitila Chungara from Bolivia have been recorded as interviews. The documentation has followed campaigns in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the Peruvian Congress and in Brazil. Articles about the effects of the Chernobyl disaster on the Saami and uranium mining in Australia focus on the nuclear issue. Other important questions covered in the publications have been the Cuna of Panama, the Miskitu of Nicaragua and the Maori of Aotearoa.

Newsletters and Boletines share about 60% of the same material although as the former appear more frequently there is some difference in orientation. IWGIA publications do not necessarily reflect the views of the Work Group and we concentrate on the presentation of documents with as little editing as possible in order to make them a more exact and useful resource.

In 1987 IWGIA also wrote the Minority Rights Report on the Amerindians of South America. The research was largely based on IWGIA's own material and was presented by MRG to the Sub-Commission on Human Rights in Geneva during August.

Prospects for 1988
IWGIA has planned an Indigenous Women's Document in English and Spanish for 1988. There is also in preparation a major source document on North American Indians which is being edited by Ward Churchill. Other documents in preparation are on the Peruvian Amazon, the Philippines, West Papua, human rights in Nagaland, Brazil (the Yanomami, Rio Negro, Kayapo and on Roads) and one on the Basarwa of Botswana.

Projects
IWGIA has channelled money for several projects this year and has followed up others from 1986:

1. Manaus in Brazil is the site for the construction of a boat which will enable the Tukano nation of the Rio Negro to by-pass middlemen in their trading activities.

2. Money has been granted to the Yanomami Human Rights Assembly, but because of the political situation in Brazil the meeting has been postponed.

3. IWGIA has continued to send small sums to support the education of
Harakmbut students from the Madre de Dios region of Peru now studying in Lima.

4. Human Rights Fund for Indigenous Peoples. IWGIA raised from the Scandinavian Churches 75,000 Dkr. for this fund which in all managed to support 30 indigenous representatives (more than 10% of the delegates) at the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

5. During 1987 IWGIA channelled money from the Danish Church to support the indigenous Cordillera Peoples Alliance international conference in the Philippines with $2,000.

6. IWGIA channelled from the same source $5,000 in medical aid for Nagaland.

7. In the light of the grave situation among the refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts now in Tripura, IWGIA raised from Norway and Denmark $25,000. This has had a significant effect in alleviating the hardship of the Chakma refugees.

Campaigning, protests and lobbying

1. Chittagong Hill Tracts: In January IWGIA sent a protest cable to the Indian government urging them not to send the refugees from the Chittagong Hill Tracts who were living in Tripura back to Bangladesh. The protest was successful. As part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts network we have sent out two large packages of material to contacts in Europe. This network is now extending to the Americas and Asia.

2. IWGIA co-signed a detailed protest to the World Bank on the effects of transmigration and lobbied in the Danish Parliament on the issue. IWGIA’s input in the discussions with the World Bank protest meant that several ecological organisations gave full prominence to the indigenous dimension of the problem. In October, Teresa Aparicio discussed the transmigration issue directly with a representative of the Indonesian government and the World Bank in Britain.

3. In Peru IWGIA has protested on two accounts during 1987. In March we joined Peruvian peasant and indigenous organisations in successfully persuading the government to get rid of a clause in a new Agrarian Law for the Highlands which would open up unused Indian community lands for forced purchase. In April IWGIA expressed its horror at the killing of an Amarakaeri youth who was shot in cold blood on community lands by a colonist.

4. During the year IWGIA has been following up reports of experimental sterilisation of indigenous women in Guatemala and East Timor.

5. Environmental issues: in February IWGIA joined several NGOs in Copenhagen to discuss differences between ecological and indigenous perspectives. A working agreement was reached which has resulted in co-ordinated protests, particularly concerning the World Bank.

6. In Brazil an initial hope that the Yanomami Park was to be created by President Sarney was dashed in October with the news that those working in Yanomami territory were to be thrown out of the area. Not only has this severely harmed the health project IWGIA has been supporting in Yanomami territory, but FUNAI has not been able to ensure that local mining prospectors (garimpeiros) will not take over indigenous lands and physically put the Yanomami in grave peril. IWGIA protested over this in November.

7. During the summer IWGIA took part in a campaign to stop a Danish travel company touring to Venezuelan Yanomami territory which would be a grave threat on their health and culture. After some publicity and discussions the tour was cancelled.

8. In August IWGIA heard of the mass killings of Embera people in Colombia. Conflict over rights to gold mining has led to conflict which resulted in the deaths of more than 40 community members at the hands of the police and colonists. IWGIA sent a very strong protest to the Colombian President about the killings and the need to set up an official commission.

Visitors

During 1987 IWGIA received more visitors than ever from all over the world. The main regions can be divided as follows:

Latin America
From Central America IWGIA received several guests. Adrian Esquina Lisco discussed the situation in El Salvador (see Newsletter No.49) and Donald Rojas Maroto, the recently elected President of the WCP explained his plans for the organisation over the next five years. In addition he spoke openly about the choice of the President of Costa Rica as winner of this year’s Nobel Peace Prize. From Panama IWGIA welcomed Crispulo Richards during May who discussed the indigenous situation in his home country and the problems facing the Cuna. In November we were pleased to receive a visit from the Co-ordinator of the Indian Council of South America, Asuncion Ontiveros, and head of the Brazilian Javari campaign Silvio Caicossens.

The largest delegation from South America were four leaders from the Coordinadora of the Amazon Basin: Evaristo Nukuaq from Peru, Eloi Licuy from Ecuador, Miguel García from Bolivia and Anatolio Quirá from Colombia. At
a day conference the four leaders made detailed presentations of the problems facing the indigenous nations of the Amazon Basin.

**Asia**
IWGIA welcomed a four person delegation from the Philippines during September. Jean McLilng, Cesar Taguba, Angelito Omos and Eduardo Solong stayed for several days and spoke at length of the developments in the Philippines since Corazon Aquino assumed the Presidency. IWGIA also received a visit from two Naga representatives during September who described the recent killings which have been taking place in their country at the hands of the Indian Army.

**Pacific**
During April, West Papuan representative Victor Kaiseipo visited IWGIA for several days and discussed the situation in West Papua. In addition the Aboriginal film maker Rikki Shields has been staying several months in Copenhagen while making and editing his latest film and protesting about the Bicentennial celebrations in Australia due to take place next year. During November IWGIA was delighted to welcome Millan Trask, the first governor of the Nation of Hawaii. At an extended press conference Millani explained the establishment of Native Hawaii's constitution earlier this year and her work as Governor.

**Northern Peoples**
In Spring IWGIA was pleased to receive a visit from the Mayor of Thule in Greenland and a delegation who have been trying to receive compensation for their illegal forced relocation from their homelands in 1952 to make way for Thule airbase. IWGIA has also received several visits from members of the Nordic Saami council who meet with us on a regular basis in order to co-ordinate activities and exchange information.

**International**
During 1987 IWGIA was delighted to receive visits from two members of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. In April, Miguel Alfonso Martinez, expert from Cuba, spent a day in the office and in November, Danilo Turk from Yugoslavia, was able to spend several hours discussing the progress of the Working Group.
IWGIA has also been fortunate to receive several other important visits. Augusto Willemens Diaz accompanied Donald Rojas Maroto from the WCIP. His 30 years of experience with human rights at the United Nations gives him great insight into the international developments of indigenous human rights.

**Travels and conferences**

**Latin America**
During April Teresa Aparicio visited Nicaragua, Peru and Brazil. Most of her time was spent in Brazil where she managed to visit the Yanomami and Shavante.
In July, Andrew Gray visited Lima, Peru, for the 5th Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

**Asia**
In November Teresa Aparicio visited the Philippines where she spent a period in the Cordillera in indigenous communities.

**Scandinavia**
During June, Jorgen Brochner Jorgensen visited the Ethnographic Film Festival at Tromso, Norway, and afterwards travelled through Saamiland at the invitation of Saami from Norway, Sweden and Finland.
In November Georg Henriksen and Andrew Gray participated at the 5th Nordic Conference on Human Rights held near Copenhagen under the auspices of the Danish Human Rights Center.

**International**
In July and August, Andrew Gray represented IWGIA at the Preparatory Meeting of indigenous peoples prior to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations which followed. For the main meeting he formed an IWGIA delegation with Anna Lena Lund and Elena Arengo.
In September, Teresa Aparicio represented IWGIA at an international conference held in London with representatives of the World Bank and certain countries receiving World Bank support (specifically India, Indonesia and Brazil).
Also in September, IWGIA's Chairman, Rene Fuerst, who is head of the audio-visual department of the Ethnographic Museum of Geneva, Switzerland, represented IWGIA at the 2nd Latin American Indigenous Peoples' Film Festival in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

**Campaign Meetings**
In June, Andrew Gray participated at a Chittagong Hill Tracts network meeting in Paris and in August at an Amazon Conference held in Vienna.

**Huridocs**
IWGIA is participating in the preparatory work for joining the Huridocs international cataloging system for our resource centre. Karen Andersen went on
visits to Strassbourg in July and to Norway in October representing IWGIA and planning how we should co-operate with the scheme.

Programmes

Women's Programme
Most of 1987 has been spent continuing work on the indigenous women's document. Inese Andersen completed her research in IWGIA during May and since then has been gathering together the articles for the document next year. Indigenous women have all contributed to the programme in 1987, particularly Domitilla Chungara from Bolivia, Jean McLiing from the Philippines and Mililani Trask from Hawai'i.

Development Programme
During 1987 IWGIA increased its role in supporting indigenous projects. A particularly interesting area of work has been analysing the 1986 Declaration of Principles on the Right to Development.

Environment Programme
IWGIA has had several meetings with environmental bodies during 1987. Meetings in Copenhagen in February, visits from James Barnes from the Environmental Defence Fund in the United States and the World Bank meeting in London in October have increased IWGIA's contact and co-ordination with environmental organisations. We are currently reviewing the impact of the recent Bruntland report Our Common Future on indigenous peoples.

IWGIA's Resource Centre
IWGIA’s resource centre has been developed considerably this year thanks to support from UNESCO. With new computers, the cataloguing of the library has been completed. Papers, articles and press-clippings have been organised for researchers and visitors. A new video section has been set up and people can watch videos on indigenous subjects in the office. The resource centre holds well over 20,000 documents which makes it a major information base.

IWGIA has plans to enter the Huridocs system so that the resource centre material can be catalogued and made available not only in Denmark but in other parts of the World. The computerisation will thus provide the means for IWGIA to provide a documentation service which is much broader and more useful than at present.

Publicity

During 1987 IWGIA has been planning a publicity campaign which has involved a two part strategy.

1. Press Work
Since October IWGIA has employed, with a grant from NORAD, a journalist who has been writing feature articles, conducting interviews and providing material for the national and international press. Our contacts are now approaching the 100 mark and are increasing daily. Providing that we have adequate support IWGIA hopes to continue with this work as it provides a good complement to the other publications.

2. Promotion
IWGIA is now planning several exhibitions for 1988. The first is to be shown for two weeks in the window of a Handelsbank in Strøget, Copenhagen. The others, which are on a much larger scale are, providing funds are available, to be shown in the Kulturhuset in Stockholm.

Local groups

Norway
The Oslo Group has been working during 1987 with receiving indigenous visitors in Norway, promoting exhibitions on indigenous affairs and campaigning for indigenous human rights.

Sweden
The Göteborg Group have been working with education on indigenous issues and have been translating IWGIA articles into Swedish. They have organised two seminars on indigenous affairs with speakers from all over Scandinavia.

Denmark
The Copenhagen Group has been working with the Press Section providing translations and broadcasts to 8 local radios. They have also been giving lectures and preparing a list of speakers on indigenous affairs.

Switzerland
During 1987 a local group was formed in Zürich. This is the first IWGIA group outside Scandinavia and already they have organised a tour by Philippine representatives in Switzerland and are campaigning on the Chittagong Hill Tracts human rights violations.
Conclusions

1987 has seen a continuation of IWGIA's work with a stronger internal development of its infrastructure. Contacts and work within Scandinavia have been increased as well as a development in an extended international press service and a new local group in Zürich.

For 1988 IWGIA has several plans. The internal consolidation of the resource centre will continue as well as a concerted effort to publicise IWGIA’s activities more in Scandinavia and beyond. In July IWGIA is organising an all-indigenous symposium at the International Congress of Americanists - where it was founded 20 years ago.
The Amazon

Area 1,853,000 square miles
Indigenous Population:
Venezuela 100,000
Colombia 100,000
Ecuador 65,000
Peru 100,000
Bolivia 150,000
Argentina 100,000
Paraguay 50,000
Brazil 100,000
Guyana 45,000
Surinam 8,000
Fr. Guiana 4,500
Total 822,500

Multinational Development

1. Pichis-Palcazu Special Project, Peru.
   The project is trying to settle 150,000 colonists from highland and urban areas.
   Problems: Although the World Bank has ensured titles for several communities and tried to cushion the shock of development, indigenous peoples have lost lands and have limited control over projects.

2. Northwest Region Integral Development Programme - Polonoroeste, Brazil.
   The $1.5 billion programme is designed to pave 1500 kms of road. 500,000 colonists have been brought in but they have had little success. The project is currently being extended to the Acre region. The whole scheme will affect nearly 10,000 Indians.

3. Caazapá Regional Development Project, Paraguay.
   This road-paving and colonisation project will affect 14 indigenous communities.
Multinational Enterprise

1. Extractive

The largest mining project is the Gran Carajás project, Brazil, which costs $62 billion and is based on extracting iron ore. 5000 Indians are affected by the scheme.

Oil prospecting is taking place in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. Problems with the Huaroani Indians in Ecuador, resulting in the deaths of two missionaries in July, 1987, arose from a deal with oil prospectors and the Church.

2. Agriculture

African Palm in Ecuador is a major issue in the Amazon. Already 20,000 hectares of rainforest have been destroyed and another 200,000 are under threat. Two companies stand to affect 5000 indigenous people with loss of community land and pollution from the oil refining process.

Coca in Bolivia, Peru and Colombia is big business and has many indigenous peoples in the hands of mafia groups exploiting this traditional indigenous crop.

3. Cattle Ranching on a multinational scale is taking place in Brazil (30% of Brazil’s beef market is owned by foreign enterprises).

The Church

1. Catholic missionaries. In most areas of the Amazon the Catholic missions present a concentration of economic power which is often based on the reduction model of Iberian farming with feudalistic elements.

2. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Because of their reputation as proselytisers, SIL has been thrown out of Colombia and there are strong indigenous complaints against them in Ecuador in case they should be returned.

3. The New Tribes Mission. This is the most controversial of the missionary organisations. They have been recently accused of Indian hunting in Paraguay and have been officially denounced in Bolivia.

For a country by country description of indigenous conditions in the Amazon, see the section on the Indigenous World.

Indigenous Organisations

In 1984 at a meeting in Peru the Co-ordinadora of the Amazon Basin was founded containing the national indigenous organisations of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. This international organisation brings together indigenous peoples facing common threats in the Amazon region, particularly those initiatives formulated by the co-ordinating body of the Amazon governments. At international meetings, particularly the UN Working group on Indigenous Populations, the constitutive members of the Co-ordinadora make their representations together.

Below we present a collection of documentation compiled as a result of the visit to Europe of 4 members of the Co-ordinadora. The first is their official statement to the UN Working Group as an Amazon body. This is followed by four statements which they presented at a day conference held in IWGIA immediately after the Working Group. Unfortunately the Brazilian representative was unable to attend because of the constitutional debate in Brazil. Nevertheless he will be in Copenhagen in February 1988 and we will present a detailed coverage of the situation in Brazil.
Amazon Co-ordinadora’s presentation to the UN Working Group, 1987

Introduction

Four hundred years ago the myth arose of the wonderful El Dorado - that marvellous land of inexhaustible wealth which could be gained with ease. Since then this myth has continued to play on the imagination along with the expedition of Francisco Orellana, who, at the beginning of the 15th century, began the process of conquering the Amazon.

Nevertheless, the forest, the climatic conditions and the original inhabitants of the region have repelled incursions into the region time and again. Only when the resources of the coastal areas and the highlands were exhausted, when the empty land was filled, when large farms were formed and when the Andean communities began to send out excess population which industry could not absorb, did conditions change and the conquest of El Dorado became a more realistic possibility.

The first incursions were ill equipped and easily repulsed. A small handful of adventurers who passed through the region caused some damage, but in general the memory of the event disappeared in a few years. However technology has changed and people have changed too. River navigation has been made easier with motorisation and roads and aircraft have opened an access to remote regions. Armed with new techniques, and in search of the hidden resources of the jungle, groups of colonists are preparing to invade El Dorado. This invasion is coming close and is even beyond comparison with the tragic experiences of the past.

The conquest of Amazon territories and the form of resource exploitation which is being carried out by the Amazon Basin countries is causing great concern among indigenous organisations. Existing institutions are not always in a position to defend the rights of indigenous peoples. No one opposes the expansion and development into our lands. What we demand is that this process does not take place at the expense of indigenous peoples, that we share the benefits and are guaranteed continuity as peoples.

The development model which is being implemented in the Amazon Basin is ecological suicide. Mistaken types of settlement patterns are promoted such as small private holdings which are socially unsustainable in the long term. In
spite of some small benefits, colonisation as it is being implemented is going to be a failure, bringing the misery and socio-economic problems from deprived areas in other parts of the country to the Amazon. El Dorado could easily be turned into one of the greatest disasters in history.

Careful thought is urgently needed on how to use the resources of the tropical forest which will lead to a regional development in a rational manner benefitting the national society and indigenous peoples equally. We indigenous peoples of the Amazon Basin have defended ourselves with all the means possible and have resisted fiercely the invasion of our territories. Today we are organised and so can do this more effectively. There is a marked rise in indigenous consciousness and organisations at the present time which are demanding self-determination, control of our resources and recognition of our own history, the defence of our territories as a symbol of unity and strength and resistance in the face of the attacks on our ways of life. All these things are shown in the existence of indigenous organisations in the Amazon Basin.

The Importance of the presence of Amazonian indigenous organisations at the meetings of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations

For the almost four decades which have passed since the establishment of the United Nations, indigenous peoples have largely remained invisible within the world community. Ignored in the process of colonisation and submerged in various state strategies of national unity and integration, we indigenous peoples have been systematically and brutally dispossessed of our ancestral lands and deprived of the social cohesion of our traditional cultures. All too often the result has been the marginalisation of entire peoples who have been assimilated into the margins of national society and the lower levels of the social and economic dominating system.

This is a continuous process. Many indigenous peoples have maintained a level of isolation because of their remote geographical position or the difficulty of access to their territories. However even these people are threatened by massive development projects which are in progress in several countries of the region. These peoples have the added disadvantage that there are no means in the legal system of the countries involved which protect their lands and the recognition of their rights. Indeed, it is frequently the legal process itself which is the means whereby lands are dispossessed, companies receive recognition to land titles, businesses can exploit resources and non-indigenous peoples can receive permission to carry out large scale colonisation projects.

As a result of this, some indigenous people have begun to turn to the international community to seek recognition and protection. Nevertheless, these attempts have been held back by the lack of protection for group rights, both theoretically and practically, in treaties and other international instruments on human rights. The representatives of indigenous peoples and their lawyers have found that it is extremely difficult to translate clearly the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples into meaningful categories of contemporary international law. In spite of the substantial commitment of the United Nations in the progress of human rights, protection has been effectively limited to the recognition of rights of the individual within the national society, on a basis of non-discrimination. The instruments of human rights in particular were dealt with at a time when the clear aim was the easing of peaceful assimilation for all elements of the national population, AS INDIVIDUALS.

For indigenous peoples, existing principles on human rights have been significant mainly for those who choose or have been forced into participating in the national society. Those indigenous peoples who have kept their societies together on the basis of land rights and whose existence is threatened both physically and culturally, have remained firmly outside the system. In spite of these realities, those who have been charged with implementing human rights at an international level have tried in recent years to broaden the existing fields to include more consideration on indigenous peoples’ problems. For example, the Committee of Human Rights, a body of experts which has the responsibility of monitoring the agreements of states to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, has consistently questioned government representatives on the status and treatment of indigenous peoples in their countries. In the few cases where questions on indigenous rights have been brought to this body through the procedure of individual complaints, the Committee has shown great sensitivity over the communal nature of indigenous society, in as far as it can be analysed within the framework of the Covenant.

To a large extent this sensitivity must be attributed to a series of international meetings which, since 1977, have been mainly organised by indigenous peoples, NGOs and the United Nations, in which indigenous peoples have presented their problems and viewpoints to the international community. Indigenous peoples have advanced their cause substantially with some very important results. One was the incorporation of presentations and declarations from indigenous representatives in a 10 year study on The Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples, which was carried out by a Special Rapporteur for the Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities of the United Nations. This study in its first stages was very dependent on the opinions governments, but it eventually affected the future course of action...
of the United Nations in this area.

Of greater significance was the establishment from the Subcommission under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1982, a Working Group on Indigenous Populations. Taking into account the insufficiency of existing instruments for the protection of indigenous peoples, the Working Group was mandated to recommend guidelines for the recognition and protection of indigenous rights and to study annually the developments in the various situations of indigenous peoples internationally.

The existence of the Working Group has made the question of indigenous rights into an annual theme in both the Subcommission and in the Commission of Human Rights, making access to these important fora easier. In addition, the Working Group opened its deliberations to indigenous delegations, independent experts and accredited non-governmental organisations and governmental observers. The Working Group has openly admitted that indigenous participation is indispensible.

In the meeting in 1983, the Working Group announced its intention of starting a 5 year study programme which underlined a special theme each year. In 1984 the Working Group debated themes on the Rights to Land and Resources, the Right to Life and the problem of definition of indigenous peoples. It is eventually hoped that this process will culminate in an international instrument and will result in an effective support to safeguard the integrity and existence of indigenous peoples as different peoples in the world community. This year, 1987, the discussion was on the theme of language, education, religion and culture.

There exist several factors, as much of a structural nature as institutional, which hold up this process and lessen the importance of full indigenous participation. The lack of substantive provisions in the common system of human rights of Group Rights has been noted above. This situation has been made worse in an indigenous context by the extent of ignorance within the international community of the actual conditions of indigenous peoples, their diverse cultures and the nature of their aspirations; furthermore the Eurocentric attitudes expressed within the social evolutionary tradition have an unfortunate repercussion on many individuals involved in this work internationally.

As long as organisms of the United Nations involved in human rights are isolated from information material which they can use to appeal against the current misconceptions and create new ones, it is improbable that the human rights system will produce any significant change. The Working Group meets five days a year and depends on others to provide the information on which they will base their deliberations. Other organs are even more dependent on information from outside to handle the presentations of governments.

Both the indigenous representatives and the members of the Working Group have emphasised the essential nature of an indigenous participation in the formulation of recognised international indigenous rights. As a result of the distancing from the paternalism of the past, a historic opportunity is being presented to indigenous peoples to continue on this path. Until now, the representation at the Working Group has been largely North Americans and other English-speaking countries. In recognising the diversity of the conditions and aspirations of indigenous peoples, the Working Group has noted the absence of representatives from other geographical areas as a serious limiting factor on to their work.
Some of the populations most affected by national and international frontiers of expansion within nation states have been the inhabitants of South America, particularly the Amazon Basin. In spite of attempts to colonise and proselytise the region since the 17th century, with the exception of the large scale extraction of resources connected with the rubber boom (from the end of the 19th century to approximately 1912), the Amazon and its surrounding areas were considered as undesirable habitats and unhealthy to live in for those who live on the periphery of South America. For this reason, the indigenous populations and their lands and resources remained largely untouched.

Two recent phenomena have altered this situation throughout the continent. In the first place, following the suggestions which developed from the meetings in 1961 at Punta del Este, most of the South American governments established agrarian reforms during the 1960s. This produced both planned and spontaneous migration on a large scale and subsequent colonisation of Amazonian lands which were considered by these countries as depopulated and unproductive. Indigenous communities occupied most of this land. Nevertheless, not having recognised titles, many were displaced by colonisers.

In the second place, when oil prices rose in the 1970s, national and international development agencies began to deploy themselves in the search for oil and other resources which could be used to buy oil. As a result of this, many regions have speedily been furnished with an infrastructure (especially roads) which facilitate and speed up the rapid demographic change which began in our regions.

The unexpectedness of these changes took many indigenous peoples by surprise. Very few had the ability to defend their lands or adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Some indigenous peoples have disappeared completely. Others have made comparatively successful adaptations and developed organisations to defend their rights to land and to subsist within a broken traditional economy. Nevertheless, people are continuing their struggle relatively successfully, particularly at a local level. Even so not enough have realised that they can take advantage of opportunities to present their problems to international fora.

Co-ordinadora leaders visit IWGIA

The following compilation is based on a day conference which was held in IWGIA on August 12th 1987. The four representatives from the Co-ordinadora of the Amazon Basin visited Copenhagen to present accounts of the current conditions facing the Amazonian indigenous peoples of Peru, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia.

Evaristo Nugkuag Ikanan, Interethnic Association of the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest, (AIDESEP), Aguaruna.

We are here from having attended the meeting of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations of the United Nations in Geneva. We represent different indigenous organisations of the Amazon countries which together constitute the Coordinadora of Indigenous Organisations of the Amazon Basin.

The Co-ordinadora has been created for very practical reasons. For many years indigenous events have been discussed in various places but there has never been any treatment of the Amazon Basin. This is in spite of the fact that it is a major source of natural resources and appears as an alternative solution for the problems of developing countries. It also appears as a solution for governments who want to exploit natural resources without considering the existence of indigenous peoples.

For this reason, and after having analysed the situation of Amazonian indigenous peoples, we decided to form this Coordinadora in order to reinforce already existing organisations and co-ordinate practical activities. We also agreed to strengthen together our organisations to seek the demands of the movement of indigenous peoples and to defend our ancestral rights.

Once the Co-ordinadora was formed we decided to attend as many fora as possible to explain our more acute problems. For this reason we are making this trip in Europe.

I would like to discuss primarily the Peruvian Amazon. From what I have been able to see, the Peruvian government has a good international image. Nevertheless, we who live in the Peruvian Amazon see another side. It is certain that the Peruvian government has promised many things, not only to the Amazon but to people in general. One of these promises was to hand over land to the Andean peasants who had nothing. For the unemployed people of the coast it promised work. It promised that education would be better than it had been. It promised that health care would be extended to the more remote areas. Land titling was to be increased, particularly those cases which had been waiting
a long time. In addition it promised that credit would be available on favourable terms to those who were oppressed, dispossessed and abandoned. We were able to meet and discuss all these things in a meeting which was held last September called Rimanacuy (which means dialogue in Quechua). The meeting was between the President of the Republic, Alan Garcia, and indigenous community leaders. The President promised that after two years these promises would be turned into a reality. However, all this was just words, it was all rhetoric.

We indigenous peoples of the Amazon consider that all our governments are like this. External politics will never solve the needs of forgotten people. They always need votes, they try us out and then forget us as quickly. At the moment the Peruvian government is losing its credibility. Perhaps President Garcia intends to resolve the country’s problems, but his Cabinet and the other authorities do not support him. So we in the Amazon continue to be forgotten, just as we were by previous governments.

At the moment the government has presented a proposal for a law to the Parliament which considers that priority areas in the jungle ought to be military garrisons in strategic zones. On the other hand it says that all support should be through the large Catholic Church organisations which work in the area. The government has neither resources nor infrastructure and has to count on Church aid. In addition it says that it is necessary to bring people from outside to colonise the region, people who can defend the country and can watch over the development of the region. The construction of roads is continuing as before as are invasions of colonists. Currently, before coming to Europe, there was a problem in a place called Atalaya: many colonists had dispossessed Indians from their homes and are now living there. They have also taken the Indians’ gardens. The government has said and done nothing about this. Similarly in the Oran Pajonal, which is in the Central jungle, similar things are taking place. In the Upper Maranon, where the Aguaruna-Huambisa live, and from where I come, the President has publicly declared that this is an area where there is gold and from where it is possible to extract 300 to 600 kilos. To take full advantage of this inexhaustible resource, he wants to bring in business and investment from abroad. The problems in Peru are innumerable and these cases are only some of the cases I could mention.

For this reason the situation of indigenous peoples in relation to land and natural resource ownership is threatened by these abuses. In particular, the government thinks that the Amazon should be exploited by companies which have resources. This is what has happened with deforestation. In the Ucayali region enormous quantities of wood are extracted and huge areas of pasture land are opened which cut down all of the existing forest. Various ecological experts have been able to see that the forest is in danger. In addition, scientists have come from outside and, just as the colonists, have gone to the communities and forced the communities to cut down the forest and made them practice monocultivation which is completely against our traditions. They also use insecticides and other chemical materials which destroy the soil and environment. Now the River Ucayali is contaminated and we are concerned about the state of the fish that we eat which we know are contaminated. Fish are no longer abundant.

In the Upper Maranon where there are several oil pipelines, all the deposits from the installations go into the streams and then into the rivers. Our communities haven’t been warned about this. When the fish begin to become scarce we wonder why. But now we know that the absence of fish is due to the oil pipe-line. This encourages malnutrition and then sickness.

On the other hand, we indigenous peoples are continuing to fight for the titles to our communities which in many cases have not been forthcoming. In many places we can see problems of health and education and we have begun to work on projects, but with no land they are limited in success. Now we are demanding the titulation of our lands because without land and resources we can have no guarantee of working in other types of project.

One of the strategies which we have chosen is to pressure the Cabinet and we have a group of indigenous brothers who are in dialogue with the Ministry of Agriculture. Even though contact with the government is easier today than previously, in terms of solving problems, things are much the same.
Anatolio Quirrá, from the indigenous community of Coconuco, Cauca, Colombia, representative of the Indigenous National Organisation of Colombia (ONIC)

My organisation is ONIC and it is made up of 23 regions. My community is Coconuco. One of the most important aspects of the work of ONIC is the raising of the consciousness of my indigenous companions in that the government has done nothing for our indigenous peoples. We have been demanding from the government recognition of the rights which belong to indigenous communities. Whereas in some areas communities have kept their territories, in others the lands have passed into the hands of landowners. For this reason we began the recuperation of our dispossessed lands. In the Highlands our land titles dated from the Spanish colonial times of the 16th century. These lands had been handed to our caciques (community leaders) and they were ratified by archived documentation. Nevertheless the government did not want to recognise these lands.

In Republican times our communities were organised by councils cabildos which were run by governors. Even so, our ancestral titles were held by leaders such as mamos, payes and curacas. Then the government devised a law which decided on the destruction of indigenous communities. With this law indigenous peoples were no longer recognised as indigenous but as peasants. With the passing of this law our lands passed into the hands of the state. When this happened it became possible to sell lands which had been ours to disposessers. Our lands then began to be bought by landowners: in Cauca, the lands belonging to Peases, Huambianos, Coconucos and Yanaconas; in Tolima, the lands of the Pijaos passed quickly into the hands of colonists and landowners; those of Cristiania-Antioquia were also dispossessed as were the Senues of Cordoba. These were the four worst affected regions. Some of us were living in the Highlands at this time. The landowners were left with the best lands and we were pushed further into the Highlands. Some companions remained as guardians who looked after landlords’ properties. Some of us were already workers on their lands. In Antioquia our companions became coffee cultivators; in Cordoba and Tolima they became wage earners and community lands were reduced to between 8 and 10 hectares.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the councils began to organise themselves and land reclamations took place in Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia and San Andrés de Sotavento in Córdoba. We knew that these lands belonged to the indigenous communities. The landowners published documents trying to show that the lands were private property. The government did not want to accept our demands and recognised these documents. Seeing that the government was not giving us our lands we had to begin to recover them by force and took them over. We began to demonstrate and strike and with two or three thousand of us we closed the main roads. We then presented written petitions including some on health and education. The departmental governments, as a result of this pressure, went to the central government to see how the problem could be resolved. The police and the army began to confront the indigenous communities. The repression was strong and the landowners defended themselves with their titles while we defended ourselves with our prior titles. Those of us who were found within the regained lands were taken to jail by the police. Some of us stayed some time in jail, such as myself, for example. I was imprisoned for five months for the crime of trying to reoccupy our lands. Others of us stayed in jail for between 10 months and 3 years. Lawyers were found to get us out and it happened that some lands at least returned to the indigenous communities by means of legal action.
Initially, the government tried to get us to buy these lands as it said that there was no money to buy them. But we said the same that we would not buy our own lands. The government asked us for an initial down-payment to start paying for the lands, but we said we could not and would not pay for them. As a result of this the organisation began, through its regions, to unite in order to gain more strength and give us solidarity against the government. We realised that we were very separated geographically and had to look for means to reach the rest of the communities. And with this work we began to solve some problems, not entirely, but little by little, farm by farm. Up until now we are still fighting for our land.

With regard to the jungle region, we have the problem of the colonists. With a long-term perspective of the problem, ONIC has pressured the government for land titles in the jungle and reserved areas. The government has a law (from 1890), which although it does not entirely favour us, it does enable us to take out some points which do help us and use these when we speak to the government. We tell the government what the law says and demand solutions. And it is really the colonists who are primarily destroying the environment in their search for gold and oil. Many times the government gives them permission and they use it to destroy indigenous communities. This is what happened in El Cho-có where the Emberas-Haonanas live. Only this year up to 40 Embera were killed by police who were supporting gold colonists. In the region of the Arhuaco, oil companies have gained government permission to exploit within indigenous territory. With this permission they are destroying indigenous lands, particularly in Sierra Nevada de Santa Martha. There some anthropologists found the lost city, so they say. But really there was nothing lost but the lands of the Cogui people. This city is used by them for their religious rites.

It can also be seen that the government has signed certain treaties without consulting with indigenous communities. Recently indigenous communities were passing from one government to another. This happened on the frontier between Ecuador and Colombia where the Aguaakaiere live. In this case we have repeatedly stated and we have tried to stipulate that their territory is respected by both the Ecuadorian and the Colombian governments.

Eloy Likuy Shihuanco, Quichua, leader of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE)

CONFENIAE is made up of all the Provincial Federations of the Amazon regions of Ecuador. Here live the Quichuas, Cofán, Sionas, Secoyas, Huaorani and Shuar. The Confederation was organised by indigenous companions with the aim of combatting the oppression of the large transnational companies and to defend our lands, cultures, traditional customs and all which belongs to us. We are autonomous, without political or religious intermediaries. We have organised ourselves to maintain the unity of the indigenous classes and confront the state. The state has been handing over large areas of land to transnational companies.

In our country we have what is called the Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonisation (IERAC). This institute has caused harm and problems to the indigenous nationalities. IERAC was created to work only in the Highlands and the Coast; but they wanted to apply the same process to the Amazon. But there everything is different, and that is a problem.

The fundamental problem which affects us is land. All the natural wealth of the country is concentrated there. Countries who want oil look at this wealth with greed and this is where problems start for the indigenous nationalities. Large portions of our territories are now in the hands of oil, African Palm, mining and logging companies. To facilitate communications for these companies roads are constructed which slice up the forests. At the same time the environment becomes polluted from the oil and the chemical fumigation of African Palm. Animals are dying and fish disappearing. For us the forest and river are life, our survival, where we hunt and fish. From the forest we take our traditional medicine. Currently these resources are being destroyed and sickness is increasing. We need Western medicines but we have no economic means to pay for them. When children fall ill and are taken to hospitals the parents are charged huge sums of money. They cannot pay and the children die.

On the other hand indigenous communities are surrounded by transnational companies, mainly from the USA, Britain, South Korea and Denmark. The government provides no medical, educational or service support to indigenous peoples and we really need much support to be able to demarcate our territories.

Now there is another serious problem which affects us. When we suffered the earthquake on March 5th whole communities were left buried and there are groups of people who have nowhere to begin rebuilding their dwellings and preparing their fields. They are living in tents sent from Europe. Children are left orphans. But we as an organisation are trying to find some support from agencies to re-settle these people and give the means to begin work.

In addition all the roads have been destroyed. On the pretext of this the government has allowed North American reservists into indigenous areas, such as near to where I live, the small community of Archedona. There the reservists have machinery, helicopters and sophisticated material. The government says that it is to rebuild the roads which connect the big oil installations. We are worried and have complained about this North American presence because all along
the road there are many indigenous communities. When the road is reconstructed more colonists and large landowners will re-enter the area looking for more lands. For this reason we want to defend our land and are pursuing this goal on a national level.

Another problem facing us is that the government is trying to divide and control our organisations. It has created a National Directive Body of Indigenous Populations but it has not been organised to support indigenous nationalities nor does it take already existing organisations into account, such as our own. In this body people are working with the government and we reject these governmental machinations which are designed to control us politically. Since this institution was created, several Federations have split. Many of the old leaders who had government connections have formed new organisations. We call these baseless groups ghost organisations.

I would like to mention another problem. Some oil companies have been trying to enter the territory of the Huaorani. Two Catholic missionaries were killed on June 21st. The oil company had previously made an agreement with the Catholic Mission who authorised them to enter Huaorani lands. The Huaorani have been very angry and they killed the missionaries because they thought that they had come to throw them off their lands. The whole incident was related to relations between the State and the transnationals. Today the government wants to militarise the region, all of the Amazon, to protect the large companies and prevent indigenous communities from organising themselves and annoying the companies.

At the end of July another land problem appeared when an indigenous brother was killed. This happened because of IERAC and an old issue: they do not want to solve the land problem and allow colonists to enter our lands. It was during a conflict arising from invading colonists that the Shuar was killed.

Miguel García, President of the Centre of Indigenous Peoples of Eastern Bolivia (CIDOB), Chiquitano.

In our organisation there are several ethnic groups from eastern Bolivia. The main objective of our organisation is the defence of our lands in the Amazon region. The platform on which we stood at our founding was: defence of our people, lands, education, health and economy.

With the present government we have the problem of land titles: some communities have been waiting for a measure on this issue for as long as 20 years. One of our organisation’s main tasks is to provide solidarity with the people who are fighting for their lands. We are Bolivians and for this reason we demand our government to recognise our land. The present government is constitutional and has promised us to provide education, land titling and better prices for our produce. But these are promises. We have seen no results. Currently our produce is bought at very low prices and sold in cities at very high prices.
Another problem faces those of us living near Brazil in Trinidad. There, the situation is serious because landowners are forcing them from their lands. They are throwing indigenous peoples off their own lands so that they can provide grazing land for their cattle. We are trying to regain these lands and several conflicts have taken place. Several landowners forced community members off their lands and several had to flee for their lives.

In the same area there is another problem: evangelical missionaries. They are entering indigenous communities and working there. Then we are enslaved. The Church imposes its biblical doctrine saying that we must believe in the word of God. The missionaries help in some small things but they do not improve the general situation of our people. They, however, arrive and set up nice houses with all facilities. The main missions are the New Tribes, the South American Mission and the Swiss Mission. When we worked together with a companion from Trinidad for a few days, the missionaries opposed the work saying that indigenous peoples should continue to co-operate with them and would pay all expenses. As a result of this we have asked the government to throw all the missions out of the country and have presented a copy of our demand to the United Nations in Geneva.

We have no education facilities among our people, nor do we have medical attention. If you are sick you die. In the rainy season no one can enter our lands except by plane as there are no roads. In addition to all of this the government has planned to sell 50,000 hectares of land to raise money for the foreign debt. We have protested against this because indigenous peoples constitute 80% of the Bolivian population and this land belongs to our children.

The government is also allowing 5,000 Taiwanese to enter Bolivia although we do not know yet the conditions. Even though the government promised many things during the electoral campaign, nothing has changed for the better. Mines have been closed and the miners are moving east, even though they are not used to working in the rainforest and suffer very much. Even though mining was one of the few economic attractions of the country, now it is all lost. For this reason we are asking the government to provide these miners with work so that they do not die of hunger. The government has also reduced the wages of those working for oil companies saying that there are problems in the petrol contract with Argentina.

Returning to education, the government promised that it would be free. But now they are privatising it and forcing people to pay for it. Now people, even those in the country, are having to pay for their education.

In Bolivia there is no justice for indigenous populations. If we protest or seek help we are put in jail. If we are wronged they do nothing. When, in Chilo which lies 100 kilometres north of Santa Cruz, there were killings of Yukui by hunting companies, nothing happened. What we asked then was the same as all Amazonian indigenous peoples are asking: Why do you not protect our brothers who live in the rainforest?
The Philippines

1. Population
56 million
7.2 million indigenous
4.5 million Muslims

2. Religion
Approximately 80% Roman Catholic, 15% Muslims and the rest are Protestants, Buddhists, Animists.

3. National language
Filipino, English and around 80 dialects

4. Economy
Mainly agricultural, 50% of the populace are engaged in agriculture, 11% in manufacturing. 40% of the labour force of 21 million are unemployed and underemployed. $26.5 billion foreign debt; $3.1 million debt servicing in 1985 which is 67.4% of all export earnings.

U.S. interests in the Philippines:
a. Air and naval bases play a significant role in US force projection in the Asia-Pacific region, Indian Ocean and Africa.
b. Investment of $2 billion

5. Natural wealth
Philippines ranks in the top ten world producers of copper, chromite and gold.
Long coastline with more than 250 identified species of fish.
Rich agricultural products (top exporter of coconuts, sugar, bananas, and pineapple).

6. Poverty
70% of the populace live below the poverty line.
Main causes of death are attributable to poverty and malnutrition.

7. People’s Response to their condition of exploitation and repression.
Open and legal mass organising and political mobilisation
Revolutionary struggle
National Democratic Front (NDF)
Muslim secessionist movement (Moro National Liberation Front - MNLF and Moro Islamic Liberation Front - MILF).
8. Overall political and economic situation
There is a growing deep dissatisfaction with the Corazon Aquino government. Political:
a. Dominant role of the elite in key cabinet positions and in the newly elected Congress. They advocate conservative/rightist policies one of which is anti-communism giving rise to armed rightist fanatical groups.
b. Pro-U.S. policies which contradict the peoples’ struggle for national self-determination.
Economic:
a. Economic policies dominated and dictated by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.
b. Export-oriented.

Indigenous peoples
1. 52 indigenous peoples (non-Muslims)
2. Location - In the major islands of Northern Luzon and Mindanao.
3. Modes of subsistence:
   - wet and dry agriculture
   - swidden farming, fishing, hunting
   - vegetable cash crop
   - domestication of animals
4. Very high percentage of illiteracy and malnutrition.
5. Existing and proposed hydro-electric dam projects affecting indigenous communities:
   - Luzon: 25
   - Mindanao: 21
   - Big American Corporations which control lands in Mindanao:
     - Pacific Wood Products: 61,064 hectares
     - Weyerhaeuser: 73,000 hectares
     - Georgia Pacific Corp.: 96,000 hectares
     - Castle and Cook: 30,000 hectares
     - United Brand: 6,000 hectares
     - Del Monte: 24,000 hectares
     - Goodyear: 3,000 hectares
     - B.F.Goodrich: 2,900 hectares
     - Firestone: 2,000 hectares
7. In the Cordillera area, Northern Luzon there are 13 mining companies (copper, gold) and 36 logging companies covering an area of approximately 300,000 hectares:
   - The operations of the TNCs, mining and logging firms and the existing and proposed hydro-electric plants endanger the existence of indigenous peoples through:
     a. land-grabbing
     b. forcible evacuation and population concentration
     c. poverty which breeds malnutrition and other social problems
     d. lost of cultural identity
     e. destruction of their economy and their absorption into the plantation economy.
Problems of the indigenous peoples

1. MILITARISATION
The counter-insurgency drive of the Philippine military, which is trained and equipped by the U.S., seriously affects indigenous communities. They are forcibly evacuated into hamlets. Their human rights are violated and they become victims of torture, imprisonment, rape and looting.

2. OPERATIONS OF THE TNCs

3. STATE/GOVERNMENT NEGLECT and, instead, the designation of indigenous lands as resource bases for national development

4. POLITICAL MISREPRESENTATION - Indigenous political will for self-determination is not listened to and is disregarded or mis-represented by small favored groups.

5. POVERTY and its ill effects on the health and cultural development of the people.

6. US INTERFERENCE - Through the Philippine military, the US is adopting the tactic of repression against indigenous peoples who are fighting for their rights and co-option which destroys the unity of indigenous peoples. The tactic of divide-and-rule is being used against them.

Forms of struggle for self-determination

1. Letter writing to the government authorities

2. Delegations to protest military atrocities and to lobby for indigenous rights

3. Mass mobilisation (involving a committee of 10 to 10,000)
   - pickets
   - marches
   - demonstrations/rallies

4. Confrontational politics (peaceful) to evict military detachments, TNC equipment and the cancelation of government hydro-electric plans and other projects harmful to the people.

Main activities

- Education, organisation (geographical and sectoral) to bring about the organisation of the youth, women, professionals farmers. Education activities put stress on peoples' history, problems and alternative visions of a just society, organising methods/tactics, literacy and health.
General goals

1. STRENGTHEN further the unity of the indigenous peoples
2. STRENGTHEN the unity of the indigenous peoples with the rest of the Filipino people struggling for a just, participatory society
3. ESTABLISH self-determining communities economically, politically and culturally
4. INFLUENCE state and government policies to protect and advance indigenous people's rights and welfare
5. SEEK and ESTABLISH international solidarity

Needs (Immediate and mid-term)

1. Protection of our human rights against the increasing militarisation of indigenous land and communities;
2. Recognition of indigenous rights over their ancestral lands and the recognition of their genuine people's organisations and institutions;
3. Systematic dissemination of their indigenous situation - our sufferings, poverty, goals and aspirations;
4. Financial and material support to sustain indigenous educational, health, economic organisational and mobilisation campaigns;
5. Effectively linking up with other indigenous peoples for mutual sharing and action based on their capacities.

Cordillera and Mindanao Representatives visit IWGIA

By Javier Farje

For the indigenous people of the Philippines, the government of Corazon Aquino has not led to any change in the oppression they face. This is the conclusion reached at a day conference given by an indigenous delegation visiting IWGIA after attending this year's session of the Working Group for Indigenous Populations at the UN in Geneva, Switzerland.

Angelito Ramos, Secretary General of Lumad-Mindanao; Eduardo Solang, Chairman of Cordillera Peoples Alliance (CPA); Jean Macling, delegate from Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera and, Cesar Taguba, representative of the Comprehensive Development Program Consortium and Liaison to EEC visited Copenhagen in September. They all agree that since Corazon Aquino took office indigenous peoples are still waiting for the fulfillment of the promises she made during her election campaign.

Cesar Taguba explained that the indigenous people of the Philippines make up 7.2 million people out of a total population of 56 million. They are organised in approximately 52 indigenous nations located mainly in the Cordillera and in Mindanao. He explained that in spite of the several languages and dialects which they speak, these peoples have many things in common.

"We are the original owners of our land. We still live according to our own values and political institutions and we share a common history of oppression from colonial rulers. The Spanish, the Japanese, the Americans, transnational corporations and the central government, which we consider repressive and corrupt, have all colonised us.

"We are the original owners of our land. We still live according to our own values and political institutions and we share a common history of oppression from colonial rulers. The Spanish, the Japanese, the Americans, transnational corporations and the central government, which we consider repressive and corrupt, have all colonised us.

"We all have the same aspiration to recover our ancestral lands which are rich in minerals and forest resources. There is gold, copper, zinc, iron and several non-metallic minerals on our land.

"Our land is rich but we are poor, and the poverty is a threat to our existence as communities. 70 per cent of our households live below the poverty line and 80 per cent of our pre-school children are malnourished. Our homelands are considered as some of the most depressed regions in the entire Philippines.

"In the struggle against Marcos' dictatorship, indigenous peoples participated in the fight and supported the take over of Corazon Aquino. Nevertheless, we are disappointed. After 18 months of Aquino's new government and in spite of the new Congress, we feel betrayed. We now consider that the celebration of
The new beginning was premature. First, militarisation continues, employing far more sophisticated weaponry and tactics than ever before, which combine military with political campaigns. These are supposed to keep subversion away from where our communities are located. And now we are confronted with a new development: the establishment of officially sanctioned armed rightist anti-communist vigilantes. We consider this new policy of the government to be the most dangerous and immediate threat to our existence.

"Secondly, we consider that the government’s national development strategy until 1992 (that should be the end of President Aquino’s term of office), will allow for our ancestral lands to be appropriated by transnational corporations.

"Third, there is the preoccupation of the government to respect the payment of our $28 billion foreign debt. This will mean more taxes for our already extremely poor people and less resources for our development.

"Fourth, we continue to be excluded from political decisions taken by the government. We continue to be politically and economically marginalised. The landlords and elite who dominate Congress make laws to legitimise further plundering of our ancestral lands. We anticipate that, unable to sustain and satisfy our demands we will become progressively unable to continue our fight against poverty and resistance against oppression. For its part, the government will adopt more repressive measures in the years to come. With the gracious help of the United States, the military is now building up its capacity for repression.

"With regard to the recent coup-attempts our view is that these conflicts are the expression of rivalries between the elites of the Philippines and whoever wins it will not necessarily mean a basic change in the policy of the government concerning indigenous peoples.

"What is at stake is our existence as indigenous peoples both as individuals and communities, we have two choices: either we struggle or gently let the forces of the right wipe us out. We choose the struggle. Even as legal organisations, we believe that are still areas where we can fight our struggle for survival and for self-determination."

**The Cordillera**

Eduardo Solang, Chairman of the Cordillera People’s Alliance, stated that militarisation in the area has not improved. It has even got worse. Some bombings took place in Apayo, near Kalinga in 1986. In 1987 communities and forest lands in the north have been destroyed with sophisticated warfare methods and helicopter raids.

Concerning autonomy, Eduardo said that Corazón Aquino’s regime has ap-
proved the so-called Execution Order 220 which pretends to create conditions for autonomy. This execution order has been given without consulting the Cordillera People leadership. Aquino has given this order to maintain the military presence in the area. To choose people who do not represent the Cordillera People means that Aquino wishes to keep control over the area.

Mindanao

Angelito Ramos, Secretary General of Lumad-Mindanao explained, in his own language, Tagalog, that militarisation is, as in the Cordillera, the main problem. "At the time of Marcos, 65 per cent of the military forces were deployed in Mindanao, as well as para-military groups like the so-called Integrated Civilian Home Defense. Now we've got the problem of the so-called vigilante groups which are causing many threats and tensions to the lives of civilians. These groups are officially sanctioned by the Corazon Aquino government."

With regard to the relation between the guerrilla movements and the indigenous movements, Eduardo said:

"We understand that some people opted to join the guerrillas, but conditions are such that some individuals join them because they have many problems.

"We indigenous peoples think that the security of our villages is everybody's business. People organise themselves according to the options open to them. Some organise themselves in order to defend themselves. We negotiate, we lobby, we appeal to the President, that's the way we do it."

With regard to Lumad-Mindanao, Angelito said: "First, we have to clarify that our organisation is legal and therefore we carry out a legal struggle. In regard to the guerrillas and their struggle, we've got to say that the Philippine Armed Forces in our areas are very abusive. Furthermore we've got in our area at least 294 transnational corporations and the Philippine Armed Forces are used to protect them."

Eduardo then spoke on the presence of American military bases and autonomy.

"In Baguio City, there is an American base which occupies a big piece of land where our people live. In certain areas, indigenous communities have been practically displaced by the American army, such as in Subit Bay.

"Even during the Marcos dictatorship, we began the struggle to become an autonomous region. Now, we just continue our struggle for our forefathers' land and self-determination. During the new Constitution debates last year, we participated and lobbied so provisions would be given for our autonomy. In spite of that work, nobody in Aquino's government appointed us to discuss our own rights. Corazon Aquino promised autonomy in several areas while she was campaigning, even in the Cordillera area. She continues saying that this project will be put to indigenous people for consultation, she keeps promising. But just the opposite has been happening. We should be consulted about priorities,
about what is to be done first. Only after this we can talk about democracy. As far as the Cordillera area is concerned, we want to become autonomous so that we can participate in our own development, make our own indigenous political system, and develop our culture. And when we see the continuing militarisation process, we can say that there has never been democratisation in the Philippines. Curfew hours have been employed in several villages, even today. There is no democracy if people have no freedom to move. Democracy has been absent. There has never been any special democracy, as far as certain villages are concerned.

"For indigenous people, democracy has no place in our discussion in the Philippines because our situation at the moment has become worse than ever during Aquino's government. The conflict is not between democracy or dictatorship, it is between life and death. The issue is between life and death, and we, as indigenous peoples, must continue to organise ourselves because we want to live.

"Our struggle is for the satisfaction of our fundamental rights," said Angelito, "our demand of land, both for the Filipinos and for we, the indigenous people. We also want justice to be done, justice relative to the abuses of the military. Definitely, the need for jobs is also our concern. This is what we understand by democracy and not that the government continues the military build up and buying helicopters from the United States."

Cesar summed up: "maybe for the Western world, Aquino has a liberal democratic face. But, in terms of her policies, she has a right wing government. Behind all these policies a deadly machinery for killing has been built up. She is a real sweet smiley lady, and it will take us time to unmask the character of the government but we hope that some time we will succeed and put forward very basic questions about human rights. She promised that justice will be done for the victims of human rights abuses. Many indigenous people suffered in the long struggle against Marcos' dictatorship. Justice is not being done. And we are still confronting the same problem of a military which abuses us."

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Interview with Jean McLiing

By Anna Lena Lund

I am Jean McLiing. I belong to the Bontoc tribe – one of the seven ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera. I grew up in one of the towns and this has rubbed off some of my cultural heritage. But in the process of working again with my own people it is now starting to come back to me.

The Philippines is an archipelago. When the tide is low there are 7,000 islands. Where I come from is the highlands in the centre of the larger island. In most areas of the Cordillera we find different warrior tribes. Men play an important role in the political and economic decision making. However, even if we say that the women have played a secondary role in these areas, we have always been at the forefront of the struggle of our people.

In the past the women all followed the men to war and in recent times when the communities started opposing development projects from governments and the World Bank, our women were in the forefront. Once we were opposing a mining concession in our area and all legal means had been used. So all of the men and women went to the camp of the engineers. We agreed that the women would go first into the camp and that the men would only enter if we were overpowered by the engineers. The women tore down the camp and faced the soldiers. They were taken to the military barracks and the women directly confronted the Commander.

Although we do not have women's organisations in the Cordillera we still consider that we have a role to play in the struggle as a whole. We would like to show our solidarity with other indigenous women but not only to discuss domestic problems but also to discuss how or what our roles are as women.

In the city I work in an organisation which helps the urban poor and also co-ordinates relations with other NGOs in the Cordillera. I have a small child and arrange my work so that I have time to be with him. One of our tasks is to educate professionals to work with the poor and also to work in indigenous communities. The distance professionals have from community life is largely a result of living in the town where education is in English and people go to Church more frequently. This is a problem which I will face when my child grows older. However I think it is possible to go to school and yet keep your identity within you. This is when you realise that your identity is related to your culture which is the land.

The situation of women in the Bontoc tribe is very different from the Kalinga women from another part of the Cordillera. Among the Kalinga the division
of labour is more marked than for the Bontoc. Whereas we share our agricultural work with the men, the Kalinga women do most of the planting, weeding and harvesting. However things changed there when the New Peoples Army recruited some Kalinga women. Once when there was a successful ambush there was a long discussion as to whether women could receive the victory celebration. Traditionally this was only given to the men for head-hunting. The women were given the celebration. Among the Bontoc however, there is a tradition that women can fight sometimes.

There is a stratification among our Bontoc people. We have rich farmers but we also have poor ones too. However this stratification is not antagonistic in the way the landlord/peasant relationship is. This is because the rich families are responsible for their poorer relatives. If I were a richer member of our family I would work the land I needed and give the rest to my relatives, especially the poorer ones who give one third their harvest to the owner. We don’t see this as exploitation but some economists do.

When we marry it is primarily to have children who will replace you when you are dead. Love sometimes comes into it but I think that having someone to replace you is a heavier consideration. We do not show our emotions so much among the Bontoc and some of our men would be very embarrassed if they behaved like some of the coastal men - holding hands and declaring love all the time. We also have to take land into consideration. Land and children are the main reasons for marriage, love comes later.

For me, however, it was different. My commitment to our peoples’ struggle introduced me to my husband and the struggle is the unity which binds us. Yet it is the same because I am involved in the struggle to prepare our children for a better future. And without our land we will have no culture, identity or continuity.
Indigenous peoples and development

Development has been an important theme in indigenous affairs during 1987. The Declaration on the Right to Development which appeared at the end of 1986 has been a topic of discussion while two reports, the Bruntland Report, entitled *Our Common Future* and the Indigenous Peoples report of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues (ICIHI) have provided some material for indigenous peoples' thinking. These documents give some insights which illuminate features of indigenous peoples' needs and aspirations.

The Declaration on Development is significant in what it omits as much as in what it includes. The text contains no reference to either indigenous peoples or the environment and much of its emphasis is on the duties and rights of states. Nevertheless, group rights are implied in the text and it is here that indigenous peoples could look in relation to the current preparation of a draft Declaration of Principles of Indigenous Rights which is taking place at the United Nations.

The lack of reference to ecological issues will have to be resolved by another UN Declaration on the subject. This is, in fact, a recommendation of the Bruntland report. If the Declaration on Development is discussed further and another declaration on environmental concerns appears in the future, indigenous peoples will have to be included to make these instruments relevant to contemporary needs.

In several human rights fora during 1987 there was discussion of the issues raised in the Declaration on Development. The reason for this is two-fold. Some of the experts who worked on the Declaration have been involved in indigenous affairs and so it is useful to see where indigenous concerns could benefit from the document. The other factor is that there are certain difficulties in the overall context of the Declaration which can only be addressed by placing the inconsistencies within an indigenous framework.

The conclusions which can be drawn from the Bruntland Report and the Declaration of the Right to Development is that the right to development is inextricably bound with the right to self-determination. To see this more clearly we should look further into the text of the Declaration.

The Declaration on the Right to Development was passed on December 4th, 1986, by the United Nations General Assembly. Although one of the major criticisms of the Declaration is that indigenous peoples are not mentioned, they are not specifically excluded. It is therefore up to indigenous peoples themselves to determine the extent to which the Declaration should apply to them.

The definition of development used by the Declaration is as follows:

Grass-roots development should be under the control of the peoples affected. Photo: ILO
Development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom.

Development is an open concept. Like self-determination it is neither more nor less than a people make of it. The openness of the concept can be seen in the term process. A process is a course of action which lasts over time. The problem with seeing development as a process is that it can be easily interpreted as referring to a force which is outside the control of the instigators and practitioners of development policy. The effect of this is to make development appear as something which is natural; a process which is beyond anyone's control or responsibility. Yet it is the question of who controls development which is of primary importance, and which is too often ignored in discussion.

Most of the Preamble of the Declaration reappears in the main articles which are reviewed now:

Article 1

1. The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realised.

2. The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes, subject to relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources.

Article 1 has two aspects. Section 1 continues the notion of development as something beyond the recipients' control. The word participate (so long an issue of discussion in the ILO Convention 107 revision) is problematic. How one can fully participate in something over which one has given no consent or has no control? Contribution and enjoy also concern reactions to development which has already been initiated by another party.

Section 2, on the other hand, provides, in an indigenous context, several issues which are very relevant. Self-determination, inalienability and sovereignty over resources are strong concepts which indigenous peoples have been promoting for many years. This section counterbalances the previous one as it gives peoples the right to determine their own development.

Self-determination, like development, is a concept which embraces potentiality. Both concepts refer to possibilities not to specific results. Indeed, development which has the control and consent of peoples, in this case indigenous peoples, is the exercise of self-determination carried out through time. The right to development here means that indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own futures in accordance with their desires and aspirations.
Article 2

1. The human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development.
2. All human beings have a responsibility for development, individually and collectively, taking into account the need for full respect of their human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as their duties to the community, which alone should therefore promote and protect an appropriate political, social and economic order for development.
3. States have the right and the duty to formulate appropriate national development policies that aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of the benefits resulting therefrom.

The human person is the central subject of development. One of the difficulties in the declaration is how it handles the point that human persons are both the subjects and objects of development. Article 2 confronts this through the ambiguous use of the word subject which is exploited further in sections 2 and 3. States (i.e. those in power within states) set the guidelines for development in accordance with the national interest and they should provide for the recognition of basic human rights (section 3). On the other hand, in section 2, all human beings are responsible for development, whether or not they are in a position of control or have given their consent.

If indigenous peoples do not give consent for development projects taking place on their lands it seems strange that they should be held responsible for them. If States set out the parameters of development in any country, they are in effect the subjects of development while the recipients are the objects. Indigenous peoples are undoubtedly crucial here as their needs and interests are not necessarily the same as those holding power within a State. Who defines the national interest?

The Declaration deals with three sectors: states, peoples and individuals. The state and the individual are treated as complementary entities, while group rights are present but not spelled out. However, when indigenous peoples are introduced specifically into a discussion, a new dimension appears. Collective rights to culture and territory have to be included in the picture. A peoples' right to freedom from interference can overlap with rights seen by some as the exclusive domain of the State. If applied to indigenous peoples, development should then include freedom from interference, control over resources and the right to cultural expression.

Article 3

1. States have the primary responsibility for the creation of national and international conditions favourable to the realization of the rights to development.
2. The realization of the right to development requires full respect for the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
3. States have the duty to co-operate with each other in ensuring development and eliminating obstacles to development. States should fulfill their rights and duties in such a manner as to promote a new international economic order based on sovereign equality, interdependence, mutual interest and co-operation among all States, as well as to encourage the observance and realization of human rights.

Article 3 deals with the national and international conditions for development. The international aspect is significant for indigenous peoples as this dimension of oppression is too often overlooked. The international economic order with its inequalities within and between states inevitably causes interest groups to seek new ways and new areas for exploitation (both material and human). Indigenous peoples bare the brunt of this. A new international economic order will be necessary to enable indigenous peoples live the lives they need.

However, according to the Declaration, (which concentrates from now on mainly on the duties and rights of States), collective entities within states are somehow apart from the international order. The State presumably acts as a broker between internal and external interests. This seems somewhat ironic when looking at the current practices of multinational companies in indigenous areas. States either support the multinational bodies against indigenous peoples or else are powerless to prevent direct exploitation of indigenous resources. In any realisation of the right to development, indigenous peoples will have to have some international voice in order to deal with the international threats which face them.

Article 4

1. States have a duty to take steps, individually and collectively, to formulate international development policies with a view to facilitating the full realization of the right to development.
2. Sustained action is required to promote more rapid development of developing countries. As a complement to the efforts of developing countries, effective international cooperation is essential in providing these countries with appropriate means and facilities to foster their comprehensive development.

As a suggestion to enable States resolve inequalities and exploitation, Arti-
Article 5

States shall take resolute steps to eliminate the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of peoples and human beings affected by situations such as those resulting from apartheid, all forms of racism and racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign domination and occupation, aggression, foreign interference and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, threats of war and refusal to recognise the fundamental right of peoples to self-determination.

The sooner States apply this to indigenous peoples the better. Indigenous peoples suffer from all these massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of peoples. In fact it should be stated that for many indigenous peoples discussion of the right to development may even be a luxury because they are facing threats to their basic rights to life and liberty.
Article 6

1. All States should co-operate with a view to promoting, encouraging and strengthening universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any distinction as to race, sex, language and religion.
2. All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent; equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.
3. States should take steps to eliminate obstacles to development resulting from failure to observe civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

As with the previous article one could comment that it is about time that these rights were recognised for indigenous peoples and that States should promote, encourage and eliminate obstacles to the recognition of these rights. By taking this position, the concept of development rights will become primarily group rights in the context of the UN. The recognition of these rights in a development context would be positive for indigenous peoples because they are being taken beyond the State and individual perspectives in which they have been expressed in existing instruments.

Article 7

All states should promote the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security and, to that end, should do their utmost to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control as well as to ensure that the resources released by effective disarmament measures are used for comprehensive development, in particular that of developing countries.

This article is aimed at supporting developing countries. Indigenous peoples have, until now, born a heavy burden of the armaments race (being used as guinea-pigs in Micronesia, suffering from radiation in the Pacific, Australia, the United States, Canada, etc.). One would hope that in carrying out the terms of this article some priority will be given to making amends to those who have been directly affected by militarisation in the world, particularly indigenous peoples.

Article 8

1. States should undertake, at the national level, all necessary measures for the realization of the right to development and shall ensure, inter alia, equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution of income. Effective measures should be undertaken to ensure that women have an active role in the development process. Appropriate economic and social reforms should be made with a view to eradicating all social injustices.

The recognition of the right to social services and facilities is very important. However, there should be a caveat that resources in this case do not refer to the right of anyone to violate the inalienability of indigenous territories and unilaterally extract their natural resources.

Popular participation is a common phrase in development issues at the moment. As with the comments on the word participation noted earlier, it has to be treated with caution. However, in the sense of popular consent, indigenous peoples may find the notion of relevance.

Article 9

1. All the aspects of the right to development set forth in this Declaration are indivisible and interdependent and each of them should be considered in the context of the whole.
2. Nothing in this Declaration shall be construed as being contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, or as implying that any State, group, or person has a right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the violation of the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenants on Human Rights.

The Declaration, as we have seen in this survey, is interesting when looked at in the context of the whole, because it is battling with the distribution of rights between different entities. While emphasising the duties of States more than the rights, the Declaration sets a scene for improving the group rights of peoples within States and tackling the problem of injustices within the international order.

Nevertheless the Declaration does not single out indigenous peoples or minorities and so, while taking a step towards recognising group rights by going further than applying individual rights to development, it is not clear who has the right to control or determine development.

Control would still appear to reside in the instigators of development policy, who, among indigenous peoples, are usually never the recipients. In this way a fundamental question is avoided. Development itself is made to look like a natural process (perhaps to replace the ecological and environmental issues which are clearly excluded from the Declaration). Human beings participate in development, enjoy it and share responsibility for it. No one, however, seems to control it, determine its course or be accountable for it.
Article 10

Steps should be taken to ensure the full exercise and progressive enhancement of the right to development, including the formulation, adoption and implementation of policy, legislative and other measures at the national and international levels.

If this Declaration is to go any further, there will have to be some acknowledgement of its relevance to indigenous peoples.

The question which should be discussed now is how to place together notions of indigenous self-determination, and development. One answer comes from the Bruntland report which has been taken up strongly by indigenous peoples of Canada in the Preparatory Meeting to the Working group in Geneva during the summer.

The position held at that meeting was that sustainable development is a crucial pre-requisite of self-determination. Sustainable development is, according to the report, development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future to meet its own needs.

Although sustainable resource development cannot be made into a fixed definition of self-determination which covers everything (see the appendix to the report in this Yearbook on the UN Working Group for a comprehensive indigenous perspective on self-determination), it is a fundamental concept for the continuation of community life.

During 1987 four reports were published which concern indigenous peoples, their rights and development concerns. Two of the books are the results of Commissions which have been reviewing indigenous peoples and the state of the world’s environment respectively. The other two reports put some of the issues raised in the Commission reports into practical contexts.

The first report comes from the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues. The report: *Indigenous Peoples: A Global Quest for Justice* (Zed Books, 1987) is a survey of the situation of indigenous communities and values which are under attack. The book starts with a definition of indigenous peoples, who they are and the conditions in which they live. It continues to look at the main issues affecting them: lands, mines, dams and forests and their struggle for survival against relocations, militarisation and genocide. The report then looks at action which governments and multinationals make against indigenous people and how they could improve their records. The report ends with a review of international work on indigenous affairs and recommendations. These are as follows:
The report urges governments to recognise and promote respect for the populations, territories and institutions of indigenous peoples; to guarantee them rights to their traditional territories and natural resources; to combat discrimination against them, and educate the general public by revising national histories and texts and taking into account the views of the indigenous population. Governments are urged to increase funding for social services to the indigenous.

In the field of development, banks and transnational corporations are urged to consult effectively with indigenous peoples before they initiate projects in or near their territories. Codes of conduct should be developed with the full participation of indigenous communities.

At the international level, the report calls upon the International Labour Organisation to ensure that its 1989 deadline to revise its Indigenous Populations Convention is met, and that the revision incorporates the recommendations it has received from indigenous representatives and other experts.

The report is a useful introduction to indigenous affairs at a very broad level. Although described as provocative, there is little in it which would cause government representatives from most countries to lose sleep. This in itself could be a positive thing in the context of indigenous rights although in certain places the report comes short of promoting standards which are already commonly accepted by indigenous peoples and some governments.

Two areas of significance here are self-determination and development. Self-determination is difficult to discuss in a brief report. The line taken is that it is essentially a political right (as opposed to economic and cultural demands which come under land rights). Taking the concept further the report does provoke where it says that self-determination is controversial because it challenges the absolute sovereignty of nation states (p.36).

This begs an important question which is that all nation states have absolute sovereignty and that we know what this means. But this certainly is not the case in the USA where even the current government talks of government to government relations with indigenous peoples. The Cuna comarca in Panama, the implications of the Inner Line Regulations of the British in South Asia both raise questions as to the fact that sovereignty, even from the perspective of nation states, is not absolute. The ICIHI report deals with development by emphasising...
the concepts of participation and consultation (ICIHI pp 106-107). Indigenous peoples are able to participate, negotiate and be consulted on the effects of transnational companies, but the question of consent in providing any choice to indigenous peoples is not discussed. This is disappointing in the light of the predominant indigenous rejection of these concepts in discussions on the ILO revision of Convention 107 at the meeting of experts in 1986 (see IWGIA Yearbook, 1986).

The second major report of 1987 is called Our Common Future (Oxford University Press). Although not addressing indigenous peoples specifically it takes up some of the themes of the ICIHI report. Our Common Future was produced by the Commission on Environment and Development which has investigated the speed and irreversibility with which the planet's environmental resources are being squandered.

Looking at the question of development on a global level the book offers a positive picture of a future based on the concept of sustainable development. This concept is based on bringing together the basic needs of humanity with clear management of technology and social organisation to make way for a new era of controlled economic growth. Growth must be seen as a qualitative phenomenon taking into consideration needs for jobs, food, energy, water and sanitation as well as a sustainable level of population.

The Bruntland report (as it is known) does not deal with indigenous affairs in detail apart from a section entitled empowering vulnerable groups who have been isolated from the main stream of development. The report argues for recognition of their rights to land and measures to protect their local institutions. The report sees the sensitive handling of indigenous affairs to be a means of applying the notion of sustainable development.

Indigenous peoples do not form a major part of the Bruntland report and their position at the end of Chapter 4 is rather as an annex (too frequently the case in human rights reports as well). The report analyses the problems facing all of us (including indigenous peoples) as being global. This is a positive line of analysis which can provide important insights for people looking into indigenous issues. (It might be noted that for some critics, Our Common Future is rather mild in its suggestions for changing the world system which appear to consist in rearranging the existing system rather than tackling the problems facing our common future from a structural position.)

Two other reports of importance were published in 1987 which are connected with these themes. The first, from Survival International (Bound in Misery and Iron) concerns the impact of the Grande Carajás Programme on the Indians of Brazil. Written by David Treece, with a section by Charles Secrett from Friends of the Earth, the document describes the programme which, costing $62 billion
The Greater Carajás programme is precisely the type of project censored in Our Common Future and the document should ideally be read as a case study demonstrating what is happening to indigenous peoples within the system described in the Bruntland report. The Survival International document also contains a well-researched and detailed account of the problems facing all the indigenous groups under threat. Bound in Misery and Iron is an excellent way of seeing how the Bruntland report relates to indigenous peoples and its recommendations are strong and clear.

The other recent book is by Julian Burger. Report from the Frontier, Zed Press/Cultural Survival was also published in 1987. The author was involved in the ICIHI report and there is inevitably some overlapping in subject matter. However the book is more coherent and comprehensive than that of the ICIHI.

Report from the Frontier takes a global view of indigenous affairs and reviews each part of the world in turn. It is a descriptive report and contains invaluable reference material, particularly on the areas which are less known in indigenous issues, such as the Minorities in Socialist countries.

Report from the Frontier should be read as a companion piece to the ICIHI report in order to put indigenous affairs into a global framework. It provides excellent educational material.

The four books considered here deal with several questions raised in the Declaration of the Right to Development reviewed above, particularly the parts concerning the rights of peoples. These are the inter-relationship between recognition of the indigenous rights to self-determination, sustainable resource development and territorial and cultural integrity.

What is necessary now is to bring together the different threads which are being discussed internationally at the beginning of 1988:

1. Environmental factors are being firmly drawn into discussions of indigenous rights, particularly the connection between sustainable resource development and self-determination. This is one of the connecting links between the concept of self-determination and development.

2. Global perspectives on the factors which oppress indigenous peoples are becoming more apparent. For many years ecologists have been pointing out that there is something wrong with the world system which is destroying our future. Other people are now addressing the problem and grasping that the very same factors which cause poverty, over-population and environmental devastation are those which have been, and are still, colonising and threatening indigenous peoples.

3. The implication of the above analyses, is that the global destruction of peoples and the environment which is taking place now is not a part of a natural law, but the result of conscious decisions made by politicians, scientists, business-

4. There is an increasing awareness and understanding of the coherence and inter-connectedness of indigenous life. Land rights are bound up with economic, political, social and cultural rights. It is difficult to grasp this anthropological axiom in terms of declarations and reports which divide life into issues such as economics, politics, culture etc. While for non-indigenous peoples this compartmentalisation might make sense, it tempts people to reduce existence to one determining factor. Compartmentalising leaves gaps. There can be no gaps in the recognition of rights. For indigenous peoples the solution has to be all or the result is nothing.
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