



DOCUMENT 63



IWGIA

INTERNATIONAL
WORKING GROUP OF
INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

**Indigenous Self-development
in the Americas**

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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Please make your cheque payable to the International Secretariat of IWGIA:

Fiolstræde 10
DK-1171 Copenhagen K.
Denmark
Phone: + 45 33 12 47 24
Telefax: 45 33 14 77 49

Board Members of IWGIA:

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Secretariat of IWGIA:

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IWGIA Document No. 63

Indigenous Self-development in the Americas

**Proceedings of the IWGIA Symposium
at the Congress of Americanists,
Amsterdam 1988**

**Copenhagen
July 1989**

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Preface

Between July 5th and the 7th, 1988, IWGIA held a symposium at the International Congress of Americanists in Amsterdam. IWGIA had been founded 20 years previously at the Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, August, 1968. The symposium was not only designed to commemorate the founding of IWGIA, but to provide indigenous peoples with an opportunity to present their views at an international academic congress.

Symposia consisting entirely of indigenous peoples are rare. Either indigenous peoples cannot afford to attend or the congress organisers are not interested in encouraging indigenous attendance. IWGIA decided to combat both difficulties by seeking external support to bring a number of indigenous delegates from different parts of the Americas, and define a broad issue – development – as a point of departure for discussion.

The delegates were invited in their individual capacities; they were persons known to IWGIA over many years as leading lights in the indigenous movement. With the support of the Cultural Division of NORAD, the Norwegian government development agency, IWGIA sponsored 14 indigenous peoples for the meeting.

The symposium was officially entitled *Ethno-development and Development Aid: Indigenous Perspectives*. However, the participants wanted to emphasise the role of self-determination. In the resolutions, the title therefore became *Ethno-development, development and self-determination*. The symposium consisted of presentations by indigenous peoples relating to their particular problems, their ways of researching and analysing these problems and their views on development questions. The papers started from this reference point and thereafter the delegates spoke on the issues which concerned them the most.

The intention of the meeting was to bring together a group of indigenous people with a wide range of opinions and political viewpoints. From this we hoped to stimulate a useful dialogue.

The Preparations

IWGIA made all of the preparations for the symposium and co-chaired the sessions. Before the conference began, the office of IWGIA was a hive of activity, trying to check up on the tickets which had not reached the participants and ensuring that everyone's travel arrangements were in order.

Four IWGIA representatives arrived in Amsterdam on Saturday 2nd of July. Prior to the opening of the symposium on the Tuesday, we confirmed arrangements, met the participants and tried to resolve last minute problems. For example, the translation equipment was held up between Denmark and Germany and never appeared. Instead we had to hire new equipment at the last minute.

On the evening before the symposium, there was a preparatory meeting for the indigenous delegates at the hotel. During the meeting, several indigenous persons, originally from the Americas but resident in Europe, entered the meeting room. Confusing the IWGIA symposium with the institution of the Congress of Americanists as a whole, they complained that they were not automatically registered as delegates.

The misunderstanding was resolved later. It was explained that the Congress of Americanists consists of a body which provides space and facilities for people and organisations to participate in symposia. Apart from a few Congress officials, all delegates have to pay an inscription fee whether they are indigenous or not. IWGIA made it clear that the indigenous peoples invited to make presentations at the symposia had papers to present, but that any indigenous person would be extremely welcome.

The indigenous delegates who had been invited were distressed by this disruption, which was not completely resolved until the symposium began. When this had happened, however, the process of sharing opinions, understanding different perspectives and clarifying ideas went ahead smoothly.

The Symposium

The symposium filled up rapidly and many indigenous people, representatives from organisations and concerned scholars crowded into the small meeting room. On average there were 50 persons in the audience which made it one of the more highly attended symposia in the congress.

The symposium was introduced by Georg Henriksen, Chairman of IWGIA. He discussed the principle of indigenous self-development and applied it to indigenous research methods. The paper concluded that the factor linking development questions and indigenous research methods is self-determination. He then handed the meeting over to the indigenous representatives.

The indigenous representatives decided that there should be a dual chair comprising one person from IWGIA and one indigenous participant. The symposium was divided into four sections based on geographical region. After this the meeting was thrown open for brief comments from the floor.

The themes which united the papers presented and the discussions were self-determination and the value of indigenous knowledge. These two themes recurred in different contexts. The papers presented at the meeting were the following:

North America and the Pacific

Coreen Gray from the Inuit Circumpolar Conference made the first presentation which looks at the development of the ICC over the last 15 years. In her paper, she brings into focus the relationship between indigenous organisational development, self-determined development which emphasises environmental protection, and indigenous rights.

Pamela Colorado, an Oneida Indian who has lived in both the USA and Canada, gave her paper on the subject of indigenous science. She presents the results of ten years' research, describing indigenous approaches to analysis, interviewing and understanding. Her paper concludes that there should be a co-existence and mutual development between indigenous and non-indigenous scientific methods. She shows how research methods are elements of self-determination, and also demonstrates that Indian knowledge constitutes a scientific activity.

Haunani Kay Trask from Hawaii, gave a paper which traces the history of her people through the colonisation and militarisation of their lands by the United States. She demonstrates that Hawaiian indigenous nationhood is a prerequisite for indigenous self-development. This self-determination should be seen in total opposition to colonial development, imposed from outside, which is now in the hands of the Japanese economy and US political control. Her paper emphasises the importance of indigenous peoples writing their own histories as an expression of, and account of, indigenous self-determination.

Central America

In the first paper of this section, **Primitivo Coc**, Chairman of the Toledo Maya Cultural Council and Co-ordinator of the Indian People's Co-ordinating Body in Central America (CORPI), explains the problems facing the Maya nation of Belize from multinational companies. He provides examples and statistics illustrating the harmful consequences of development aid and emphasises the importance of land rights as a prerequisite to self-development. His paper combines the notions of self-determination and self-development in contrast to development which is not under the control of indigenous peoples.

Manuel Ballesteros from the Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Isthmus, in Mexico, explains the background to the indigenous situation in Mexico. In his paper he looks at the different attempts at "developing" indigenous peoples since the Mexican revolution and draws attention to the land and cacique problems which face many indigenous communities. His conclusion advocates more self-development within the context of land rights. Here, once again, the importance of indigenous peoples writing their own history contrasts with the idea that somehow all change is for the better.

Hazel Lau, a Miskitu deputy in the National Congress of Nicaragua, begins her paper with a general survey of the destructive effects of development in Central and South America, covering Colombia, Panama and Costa Rica as well as Nicaragua. She discusses the regional Autonomy Project which is currently taking place in the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and shows how the new assembly will try and cater to the needs of both the indigenous and non-indigenous people of the area. She looks the possibilities of indigenous self-development within the framework of the national state, but also takes into considerations problems from international neo-colonialist interests and from within the indigenous movement itself.

The Andean Region

The Peruvian Indian philosopher, **Salvador Palomino's** presentation provides an indigenous account of the Quechua and Aymara nations. He looks at ways

of avoiding racial definitions of Indian and explains indigenous socio-cultural concepts such as “ayllu”, “ayni” and “tawantinsuyu”. He emphasises the unity between land, culture and community and concludes with a discussion on indigenous science and technology. Here we see the inter-relationship between concepts of indigenous science, self-determination and the value of indigenous peoples’ views of their own history.

Reinaldo Mariqueo, a Mapuche from Chile, describes the problems which national development projects are having on his people. He refers to the Bio Bio dam project in the southern part of Mapuche territory and the way in which the Chilean government is encouraging types of development which harm Mapuche communities. He emphasises the importance of small scale community projects which the recipients control and discusses indigenous organisational development and its problems in Chile.

Domitila Chungara from Bolivia describes the problems facing the Quechua and Aymara people of the highlands. She explains how the attempts to stop indigenous people growing and chewing coca constitute a serious threat to their culture. At the symposium her unique form of presentation consisted of an intimate talk charged with wit, emotion and serious revelations. In her talk, she tells how the Bolivian government has tried to impose development on the highland areas, but explains how indigenous self-development can only arise from within the communities themselves.

The Amazon

In the first presentation from this section, **Els Wolff** from Surinam talks of the history of the indigenous peoples of her country. She explains the difficulties of practising indigenous self-development when there are problematic political and economic conditions. The upheaval in Surinam over the last five years has been extremely grave for her people, most of whom are currently refugees.

Anatolio Quirra from Colombia describes the formation of the national indigenous organisation of Colombia, ONIC, of which he is president. He outlines the difficulties in indigenous political development because of the warfare be-

tween government forces and guerilla organisations. He then explains the importance of land and demonstrates how the reclamation movement of the 1970s provided the basis for indigenous self-development.

Cristobal Naikiai from the national indigenous organisation CONFENIAE, Ecuador, presented an introduction concerning the situation of indigenous peoples in his country. After this, as a case study which is published here, he spoke about the Huaorani and brought together various themes: religious proselytisation, the effects of multinational oil companies trying to “develop” indigenous land, and the attempts by the Huaorani themselves to counter these forces. It is in this context that the Huaorani have to find a basis for their self-development.

Evaristo Nugkuag, the then head of the Interethnic Association of the Development of the Peruvian Amazon (AIDSEP) and now president of the Coordinadora of the Amazon Basin (COICA), is an Aguaruna from Peru. His paper emphasises the importance of relating ecological considerations to indigenous self-development projects. Too often development schemes imposed from outside a community have had devastating effects on indigenous peoples. He gives as an example the problems which Shell has been causing in Peru with its oil explorations on indigenous lands.

A written presentation by **Evelio Arambiza** from the lowland organisation CIDOB, Bolivia, was submitted to the symposium. It brings together an overall perspective of the problems facing the indigenous peoples of lowland Bolivia and describes the organisational development which has been taking place over the last 10 years.

Discussion

After each section and during the final morning there was a period set aside for discussion. Points made by the participants were taken up and considered by the audience. These sessions provided some reflection on the issues raised and an opportunity for the presentation of further details.

The themes which appeared in the discussion were the threads connecting the papers. Several of these should be distinguished:

1. The creation and development of indigenous organisations were discussed by Gray, Quirra and Arambiza as pre-conditions for self-determination.

2. The value of indigenous peoples presenting their own history was discussed, taking up points raised in the papers by Trask, Ballesteros and Wolff.

3. The importance of indigenous approaches to research was discussed, which was the main concern of Colorado and Palomino.

4. The dangers of externally imposed development was raised by Coc, Mariqueo, Nugkuag and Naikiai, who argued for indigenous self-development projects which are environmentally sensitive.

5. The broader implications of neo-colonialism preventing indigenous self-determination were raised by Lau and Chungara.

By linking these themes together we can see, in summary, that self-determination means opposition to neo-colonialism from the state, from the super-powers and from multi-national companies. In order to exercise self-determination, indigenous peoples organise themselves. The participants at the symposium did not like the concept “ethno-development”, and preferred to see any development in the form of self-determination. Practical examples of self-determination come from development projects which are organised by indigenous peoples themselves.

In addition to “self-development projects” indigenous peoples want to break out of a neo-colonial approach to historical and ethnological research by re-writing their history and explaining their cultures themselves. In order to do this they need not rely exclusively on non-indigenous methods but should make use of, and develop further, their own scientific approaches.

The meeting did not only provide a floor for the presentation of papers; the indigenous participants also gained knowledge about each other and an appreciation of the diverse backgrounds from which they all came. In the conclusion to this document there is an account of how this process of inter-relationship took place in the symposium and how it constitutes a crucial factor in understanding indigenous knowledge.

When the symposium ended, each participant was given two months to revise their presentation. IWGIA then took the papers and translated them into English and Spanish. (*The document will also be published in the Spanish Documento Series*). In the case of Domitila Chungara, her paper was transcribed from a tape-recording of the presentation.

Without all the hard work, tolerance and enthusiasm of all the authors of the following papers, the symposium would never have been able to provide material for this document. To all of them IWGIA is extremely grateful.

Copenhagen May, 1989

Introduction

By Georg Henriksen

Twenty years ago, in July 1968, at the International Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, a group of anthropologists heard confirmation of mass killings which were taking place in Colombia and Brazil. The horrific news affected many of us deeply who had lived and worked with indigenous peoples for a long time. We felt then that it is impossible for anthropologists to spend their lives researching about the indigenous peoples of the world while remaining aloof and unconcerned.

Some of us felt that we had a responsibility to work against those forces and interests which are destroying indigenous peoples. We signed a resolution to establish an organisation – a research centre which would document and support the struggle of indigenous peoples for their rights. This initiative was a useful first step, but it was the late Helge Kleivan who, together with a group of anthropologists, brought the idea to life by founding IWGIA.

Today, twenty years later, IWGIA has returned to the Congress of Americanists. But this time things are different. Over the last twenty years a major transformation has taken place among indigenous peoples. Indigenous self-organisation has blossomed and spread throughout the world. Apart from the Americas, the Pacific, Asia, Europe and even Africa are involved in this fundamental struggle for basic rights.

In 1988, IWGIA's return is more one of action than of words. Our major tenet is, and always has been, that we do not speak on behalf of indigenous peoples. We believe that every people, or nation, must speak for itself or in agreed conjunction with each other. We would, therefore, not presume to put words into your mouths. We are here to provide a service, a support and solidarity in your struggle.

For this reason the symposium here has been organised and prepared by IWGIA. We have raised the funds and provided some logistical backing, but primarily because the Congress is in Europe and you all come from the Americas.

We have deliberately organised this symposium to contain indigenous speakers. In congresses such as these indigenous voices are too rarely heard. After twenty years, IWGIA has returned to the Congress, but this time it is you, the indigenous peoples of the Americas, yourselves, who have the floor.

The title of this symposium is *Ethno-development: Indigenous Perspectives*. The concept of ethno-development looks at the subject of development from the



Georg Henriksen
(photo: *Espen Wæhle*)

outside. "Ethno" here implies respect for the wishes and desires of other peoples, societies and cultures. In fact, from your own perspective you would see ethno-development as 'self-development'. What it means is your own control over your own desires and futures.

Control is the major factor involved in the concept of self-determination. Indigenous peoples are nations with the right to self-determination. The indigenous struggle is not to establish that this right exists, for indigenous peoples there is no doubt. The struggle is for the recognition of the right and its implementation. Self-determination takes several forms but at root it contains the rights to life, to land and culture.

For many indigenous people the notion of development is itself a problem. Development implies motion towards something and usually some connotation of "growth". In relation to societies, growth is primarily used as an economic concept, and too often development is seen in economic terms.

Indigenous self-development is a total phenomenon which cannot be defined only in terms of economics, politics or culture. As all indigenous socio-cultural formations, indigenous self-development has to be seen as a whole, covering many different areas. Unless the terms of development are defined by the people themselves then there is no self-development.

Whereas development from a non-indigenous perspective is defined from the outside and controlled from above, indigenous self-development is defined from the inside and controlled from below. Indigenous self-development is therefore a practical manifestation of self-determination. Self-determination is the

potential for a people to control their own destinies and self-development is the way in which this unfolds.

Both self-determination and self-development are open concepts and as such cannot be given strict definitions. However, there are three fundamental aspects of self-determination which constitute the very dimensions of development which non-indigenous peoples should understand:

1. *Sustainable resource development*

The Brundtland Report of 1987 referred to the importance of a sustainable base for indigenous peoples. This means rights to territories and resources. Without these, a people cannot control its own future and present, but has to rely on hand-outs or the monetary aid of others.

2. *Cultural dimension of development*

Indigenous peoples have a right to the free expression of culture and self-development has to take note of this. Indigenous peoples do not want to be developed according to the whims and plans of outsiders. Very often they do not want to maximise their immediate gains, but spread out the benefits to sustain a whole community over a period in accordance with their own values. Any outside project should only take place with the consent of indigenous peoples.

3. *Political dimension of development*

Indigenous peoples see development as something political too. Projects which are controlled by indigenous peoples permit the exercise of self-determination as well as providing other benefits. The organisation, responsibility and awareness of the importance of project work are fundamental to practising those rights which you have always had.

How can indigenous peoples achieve self-development? One of the ways is to cut dependency. Exclusive reliance on financial sources with particular interests works directly against indigenous self-determination. Dependence is the defining feature of colonisation. Finding ways and means for indigenous peoples to choose their own paths of development on their own terms is what is crucial here. Without control of their development, indigenous peoples cannot practise self-determination.

What indigenous peoples are presenting is an *Alternative Development*. Alternative development is not just a technological concept (although wind or solar power, alternative seeds, medicines etc. could be seen as relevant here). The alternative concept means that indigenous peoples can become self-supporting – but not until they themselves feel capable of doing so. The idea should not be one of privatisation of rural indigenous economies but collective or community

developments which are determined by the recipients who become the *subjects* not the objects of development. Then, from a position of strength, indigenous people should be able to control the connections, their relations with other peoples and the larger socio-cultural systems of which they are ultimately a part.

The difficulty of attaining these goals is enormous. Indigenous peoples live under the shadow of the concept of Third World, and those living in desperate conditions in other parts of the world (such as the USA or Australia) are ignored. There are several things which have to be done:

1. Educate agencies about indigenous peoples and how they constitute a major poverty trap in the world today.
2. Encourage agencies to support smaller projects controlled by the recipients on the basis of their own social structure and systems of knowledge, not just the state governments where they live.
3. Inform indigenous peoples as to the possibilities and advantages of taking their development into their own hands.

This symposium has been designed to provide a platform for you to discuss these very issues. The fact that the Norwegian Development Agency, NORAD, financed this meeting and has sent a representative to participate shows clearly that there are some people who are prepared to listen.

Twenty years ago indigenous peoples were looked upon as minority populations. They were to be integrated, assimilated and basically extinguished as socio-cultural entities. The kiss of life from well-meaning supporters often spelt death. Twenty years later we are still fighting for these basic concepts and issues.

In international fora, particularly the International Labour Organisation (ILO), new concepts of partnership are brought forward which betray the same old paternalism dressed to look like radical changes. Populations, participation, consultation and co-operation are bandied about in order to entice indigenous peoples to take the bait. In a development context, these four concepts basically mean adapting to the state's definition of development, whereas the alternative concepts of a people's consent, control and determination reflect real indigenous rights over their own lives.

But the picture is not altogether bleak. There are good reasons to be optimistic. For example, in the UN Working Group on Indigenous rights, work is underway for a universal declaration of indigenous rights which will contain many principles which indigenous peoples are striving to realise.

An important question here is whether the Congress of Americanists is really the forum for indigenous peoples to discuss self-determination, rights to land, life and culture and control over self-development. This Congress is based on the presentation of research results by an international academic community. The way we see it, the indigenous peoples themselves are carrying out research on

issues that are crucial to them – as well as to all other peoples of the world. Your participation in this Congress should be read as a recognition of the immense importance of your research and thinking. Your systems of knowledge and research may in many ways differ from what often passes as science in the Western academic world. However, to us, there can be no doubt that you are involved in very urgent applied as well as basic research.

Indigenous peoples are fighting for recognition of their own research, and against the plundering of their heritage. Much of their heritage is presented in an alien manner as a result of research done from the outside. We do believe in the right to do research and in the free exchange of information, provided the ethical codes are not broken. However, we must not forget that in every society information is always produced, controlled and used by individuals and organisations for various purposes. Hence, information enters the power-structure of a society where it is used, transformed or even concealed in order to obtain economic, political and other goals. The production and use of knowledge is therefore of central concern to indigenous peoples in their political struggle.

One way of gaining control is, of course, to enter the various fora where knowledge and information are gathered and/or put to use. Already indigenous peoples have entered various UN fora, the ILO, etc. Another such forum is this very Congress. Hence, by actively participating here with your own papers and discussions, you are not only putting your own systems of knowledge and points of view into circulation, but you are also signalling that by way of entering the Congress you want to exert your influence in the knowledge-political fora, networks and channels of which this Congress is part.

Information in capitalist society operates like money. It is qualified, owned, used, shared and spent. Those with power are those who not only control information but those who can convert it into capital. Information which comes from indigenous peoples is a resource which researchers convert into their own capital – both symbolic and monetary.

Academic research is too frequently presented to indigenous peoples as a *fait accompli* from above and is viewed from without rather than within. These are the same problems that we noted with industrialised notions of development.

IWGIA fights against the hegemony and elitism of development and research. Too often, research is considered of a high quality only when it is difficult to understand. When indigenous peoples produce papers or documents which are immediately intelligible they are frequently accused of not being sufficiently “academic” or “scientific”. But when indigenous peoples record and express their own experiences academics must recognise this as research. Practical experience is itself the backbone of research and in indigenous affairs and development this best comes from indigenous peoples themselves.

When we look at the way in which research into indigenous affairs has been carried out and how development is practised, we can see several parallels. Indigenous peoples are at the receiving end of development projects in the same way that they are with research. Too often indigenous peoples are forced to assimilate into a picture which is provided of them by the researcher and are treated as objects of scientific interest, not as human beings with rights.

IWGIA supports the indigenous struggle for the democratisation of information, for self-development and human rights. Without these, there can be no self-determination for indigenous peoples which encompasses all culture, land and indeed life itself. Self-determination is the key concept in the fight against the colonisation and hegemony of development processes and research paternalism.

Too many anthropologists have painted a picture of indigenous peoples as those who have no history – people who are outside time. In fact, the last twenty years have shown that indigenous peoples are making history. The rise of indigenous organisations, the increasing research by indigenous scholars and the number of self-development projects demonstrate how self-determination is a right you already have. The task ahead is to ensure that your right is recognised.

The fact that you have come here to put forward and discuss your research, your thinking and your vision, will carry a strong message to the social scientists gathered at this conference. This message is contained in the words of Helge Kleivan, IWGIA'S founder, nearly twenty years ago:

Confronted by a world where genocide, exploitation, deprivation and loss of control over one's own life are constant facts of life for fellow human beings, social science must become the indefatigable eye watching over human inviolability. Only then will the social scientist become anything more than a predator consuming data. And only then will the concept of responsibility mean more than a buttonhole flower worn at academic ceremonies.

So, to sum up, self-determination is the central concept – we believe that all the different themes that you will bring up in your papers, and which will be expanded upon in the discussions that are to follow the papers, can be related to the idea and the goal of self-determination. Our plan is to publish the proceedings of this conference as an IWGIA document.

We in IWGIA are delighted to see how many of you have been able to come to this symposium. We have invited indigenous peoples from all over the Americas. Unfortunately three participants could not come; in Brazil, great threats still face indigenous peoples twenty years on, and the representative was obliged to remain at home. This shows that, in spite of everything, the same threats face indigenous peoples as they did in 1968.

I said at the beginning that I would hand the control of the symposium over to you, indigenous peoples; therefore this rostrum and the floor is yours.

North America and the Pacific

Arctic Policy and Self-determination: a Canadian Inuit Perspective

By Corinne Gray

On behalf of Mary Simon, the President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), I would like to thank the organisers for inviting us to this symposium. Mary was unable to attend but has asked me to extend her best wishes. As one of Canada's Inuit leaders who has worked in all aspects of land claims, political development, constitutional change and education policy, Mary is most interested in hearing a report of the discussions that take place here this week.

The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs has been a valuable source of information for ICC. Through its newsletters, documents and conferences, IWGIA has provided an essential forum for indigenous peoples to inform others of their struggle for self-determination. It has also increased an awareness among those groups that they are not alone in that struggle. Aboriginal peoples the world over are working - some under the most dire circumstances, and some in almost total isolation - to reach the common goal of control over their lands, their resources and their lives. There is much to be learned from the experience of others, and much to be gained from international discussion and co-operation.

It was for these reasons, that in 1977, Mayor Eben Hopson of Barrow, Alaska, drew together Inuit from Canada, Alaska and Greenland to discuss the future of the Arctic. Off-shore oil development in the Beaufort Sea was threatening not only the Arctic environment but the Inuit way of life. At that first meeting in Barrow it was soon recognised that the challenges facing Inuit in Alaska were not unlike those facing Inuit in Canada and Greenland. A unified effort on the part of all Inuit would be necessary if Inuit were to ensure that management and development in the Arctic were to take place in a manner consistent with Inuit values, priorities and aspirations. This was the beginning of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the international organisation representing approximately 100,000 Inuit in Canada, Alaska and Greenland.

The ICC was formally established by Charter in 1980. The main purposes of the organisation are:

1. To strengthen unity among Inuit of the circumpolar region.
2. To promote Inuit rights and interests on the international level.
3. To ensure the endurance and growth of Inuit culture and societies.
4. To promote long-term management and protection of Arctic wildlife and environment.



*Inuit Fishermen, northern Quebec
(photo: Hydro-Quebec/Northern Perspectives)*

ICC offices were soon opened in Nuuk, Greenland, Anchorage, Alaska, and, several years later, in Ottawa, Canada. In those formative years, then President Hans Pavia Rosing worked hard at increasing public awareness of ICC and at taking Inuit concerns to international fora. By 1983 the ICC had been granted Non-Governmental Organisation status at the United Nations and had become a frequent participant in conferences and meetings dealing with critical Arctic issues.

At the same time, the large number of resolutions on many vital issues emanating from the ICC General Assemblies in 1977 and 1980 formed the basis of the day to day work of the ICC. Those resolutions often responded to specific, immediate and sometimes very local concerns, but most importantly, they reflected the need for a comprehensive ICC Arctic policy to guide further actions in the circumpolar north. Initial drafting of principles regarding a wide range of concerns, including environmental, economic, social and cultural issues, began in 1983. Sections of the Draft Principles were adopted at the Fourth General Assembly held in Alaska in 1986 and work is continuing on further revisions and new draft principles in other areas.

On of the basic precepts of this Arctic policy work is that it is not static – it must be a dynamic, flexible framework in order to reflect the changing circumstances and priorities of the north. It is the hope of the ICC that these guidelines will be used by local, regional and national governments when considering future laws, policies or actions pertaining to the Arctic.

The ICC principles on environmental protection provide that a conservation strategy for the Inuit homeland be developed and implemented, in a manner consistent with the World Conservation Strategy. Given the profound dependence of Inuit upon the land and its resources, this work has been given high priority by ICC. The goals of the Inuit Regional Conservation Strategy (IRCS) are to provide for Inuit subsistence needs and to ensure the basis for sustainable development of renewable resources in the circumpolar region. The IRCS' project has been endorsed by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and was recently the recipient of the United Nations Environmental Program "Global 500 Award".

It is these fundamental principles which also guide ICC in its efforts to inform and influence decision-making bodies on the international level. Whether lobbying the International Whaling Commission for recognition of subsistence whaling rights, or submitting statements to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, the ICC draws from these elements. But those principles must as well be used on the regional and national level, within the Inuit homeland. With ICC members divided by political boundaries, procedures for implementation and progress will not necessarily be the same political structures in each country are very different, as are approaches to self-government and the history of political development.

In Greenland, Inuit form the majority of the population. The 1979 Greenland Home Rule Act provided for the establishment of a Home Rule Government and further transfers of responsibilities have resulted in Inuit control over almost all aspects of their affairs, with the exception of national defence, courts of law and foreign affairs. The Home Rule Government is an impressive, posi-



Musk-ox (photo: David R. Gray/Northern Perspectives)

tive precedent – meaningful forms of government by aboriginal peoples are indeed attainable. The Home Rule Government has been extremely supportive of ICC both financially and by taking concrete steps to implement ICC Arctic policy principles in a number of areas. For example, their environmental department is assisting with research and activating demonstration projects of the ICC conservation strategy as part of their overall environmental programme.

It has been much more difficult for Inuit in Canada to participate in federal decisions affecting the Arctic. The approximately 30,000 Inuit in Canada, although a majority of the population in the northern one third of the country, make up only point one per cent (0.1 per cent) of Canada's total population. Until recently the political influence, representation in public bodies and participation by Inuit in the decision making process was negligible. Consequently, policies, programmes and projects of government in the northern regions of Canada have not reflected the priorities, needs or aspirations of Inuit.

At the beginning of the 1970s organisations were formed to represent the views of Inuit to government and to push for recognition of aboriginal rights and Inuit self-government. Basic funding of these was obtained from the Canadian government. Over the years, governments have increasingly sought out the views of those organisations when planning new programmes or policies, and some significant achievements have resulted. However, these organisations have limitations despite their record of success in promoting Inuit interests. They are for

the most part advisory. They attempt to make government policy better but they do not replace that government or those policies with Inuit government serving Inuit people.

For these reasons the Inuit political movement in Canada has continued to develop new methods for achieving self-determination. One way is through the Constitutional Reform Process. From 1982 to 1987, Inuit worked intensely on the *entrenchment of aboriginal rights to self-government* in the constitution of Canada. A basic recognition of aboriginal rights including treaty rights had been included as a provision in the Constitutional Act of 1982. A further clause had provided that a special Constitutional Conference be convened to discuss the definition of the aboriginal rights to be included in the Constitution. Although negotiations concluded unsuccessfully in 1987, Inuit are still hopeful that in time negotiations will be re-opened and that there will be another opportunity to reach agreement on a Constitutional amendment.

Land claims settlements have enabled Inuit to acquire rights to some lands in perpetuity, waters, and resources for development; to gain capital funds for social, cultural and economic development; and to gain certain guaranteed rights in other matters such as education and language programmes. The Western Arctic has settled land claims. The two regions of Labrador and Nunavut are involved in land claims negotiations now. The Northern Quebec Inuit, who were the first to reach an agreement, are now negotiating to expand the powers of the regional government, established as a result of the land claims settlement. This type of regional government and other *public institutions* of selfgovernment offer the most concrete opportunities for achieving legislation and decision-making power. Attention is now focussing on this relationship between claims settlement bodies and public government bodies, to increase their effectiveness as promoters of Inuit rights and interests and to reduce duplication between them.

Major economic benefits, ranging from national economic funds for aboriginal peoples in Canada to managing offshore resources, are also being sought by Inuit to provide a strong employment base, improved skills and revenue for self-government. Development corporations such as Makivik in Northern Quebec, and the Inuvialuit Development Corporation in Western Arctic, which have resulted from land claims settlements, play an important role here. However, much more support for economic growth in Inuit areas is needed.

Through the processes outlined, and with the co-operation of progressive politicians and officials, Inuit in Canada hope to obtain substantial control and implementation of policies affecting them.

The ICC has worked closely with the other Inuit organisations in Canada on many of these and other important issues. The ICC Canada board of direc-

tors is comprised of the presidents of the national and regional Inuit organisations. This close collaboration ensures that Canadian views are reflected in ICC policy work and that interventions in international fora are consistent with, and reinforce, the efforts of Inuit on the regional and national level.

To conclude, the Arctic is becoming more and more a focus of world-wide attention as a result of shifting foreign policies in circumpolar countries, especially regarding militarisation. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference is committed to working with Arctic-rim governments, and others, to meet collectively the circumpolar challenges that await us and to shape the evolution of the north to ensure a positive future for all.

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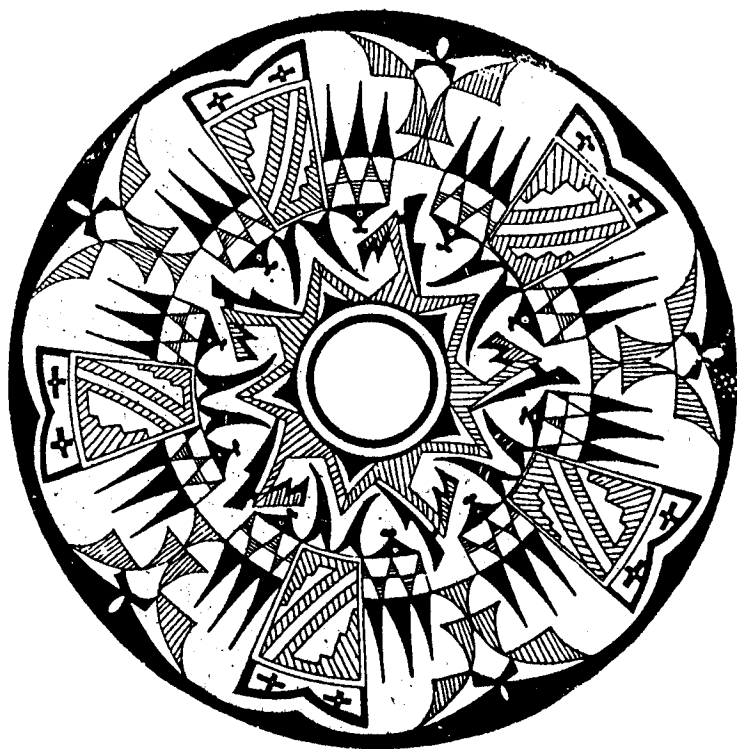
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American Indian Science

By Pamela Colorado

Introduction

Until the present, we Indians have had to stretch Western science so far that knowledge about our culture seems unreal. Research has been perceived and presented as mono-cultural, and so is not accepted by the Indian community. All peoples including, Native Americans, have science or a way of coming to knowledge; each tribe has its specific methods, but for the purposes of introducing the concept of Native science, we will make some generalisations about “Native” metaphysics.

Reflecting on the implications of “sciences”, it is clear that a bi-cultural research model, recognising both Indian science and Western science, needs to emerge. Newly evolved Western research methods such as ethnographic research, content/issue analysis and the framework of participatory research can be drawn upon to complement or make contact with Indian science and culture.

Traditional Indian science must be articulated in contemporary terms to permit growth in scholarly exchange and to empower Indian people in the scientific arena. Further research strategies and outcomes must be acceptable and respected by both cultures. (“integration” in this context refers to a blend of research findings, not the domination or extension of ideological control by one culture’s science.)

A bi-cultural research model must be both valid and reliable; strengthen traditional Indian science and enhance cross-cultural communication and understanding and simultaneously promote the growth of both sciences. This paper will present an epistemological foundation of Indian science and will explore the possibility of creating a scientific, inter-cultural, infrastructure.

Philosophy

Indian Science

"...This is what Raven did for us...The shelter is the tree..."

Indian science, often understood through the tree, is holistic. Through spiritual processes, it synthesises or gathers information from the mental, physical, social and cultural/historical realms. Like a tree collects, stores and exchanges energy. It breathes with the winds, which tumble and churn through greenery, exquisitely fashioned, to purify, codify and imprint life in successive concentric rings - the generations. Why and how the tree does this is a mystery, but the Indian observes the tree to emulate, complement and understand his/her relationship to this beautiful, life-enhancing process.

The Meaning of Science

To the Indian, the tree is the first spirit or person on Earth. Indeed, the tree which oxygenated Earth's atmosphere, is the precursor to our human existence. Because of its antiquity it is a respected Elder, but the greatest power of Native science lies in the reasons behind the tree's existence.

When discussing the origins of the tree, Chief Donawaak, Tlinglet Elder said:

This is where stories begin, there is no story before this...When Raven spirit and Blue Raven are working on this land, they put coves in it where you can come in when it's blowing - a place where you can come ashore.

My Great Grandfather who told this story to me said - the cove is going to be a harbour. If you pass that harbour you're not going to go very far...you will tip over or drown. If you come to the cove you will be safe. This is what Raven did for us. The shelter is the tree. You could get under the tree and stay there overnight. All this is what Raven did...(Colorado, 1985)

From these words we see that Native science has a sacred basis and that its teachings are grounded in the natural world. The Native and the Natural World are one; he expresses that unity in this way:

The foundation, you have to know your roots, where you are coming from. It is under that we all come from God, God created us. But you have to understand in your own life, where your roots are. You see a tree that is weak, about to give up. Sometimes you see people like that. Why is that tree just barely making it? Because the roots are not solid. If the roots are solid and strong, then you see the tree is strong and pretty. It can withstand cold, hot weather and winds. The human, has to have those roots because we are grounded too. The great spirit put us here with nature. We have to understand the nature. That is why we understand how an animal behaves. That is why we have to talk to them. We pray to them, we talk to them because they breathe the same air we do. We are put here with them. We are also a part of the plant life. We are always growing, we have to have solid roots (Colorado, 1985).

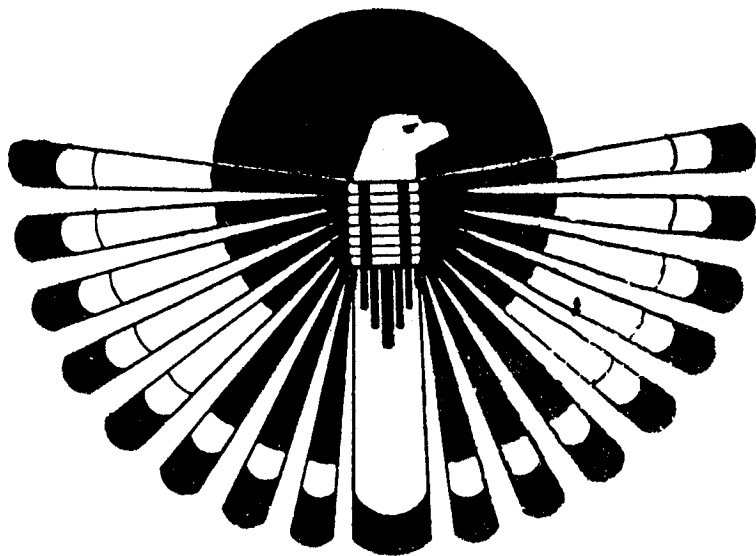
Indeed all of life can be understood from the tree.

...just after the earth's crust was formed Raven (the Creator) made the tree. Why did he made this tree? He made it to shelter us. Even before Raven broke light on the World, people took shelter from the tree. And after he broke light, look what you are sitting on, what's above you, it comes from the tree.

And that's where the Tlingit gets his canoe, his house, his clothes – everything. The Raven put it there for him (the people).

And look, what's growing under that tree? The grass. In the spring the bear comes down to eat that grass and the wolf, the moose and the mountain goat. All these things, they come. And the berries, growing there – salal, salmonberry, huckleberry and beneath them, the plants, – the medicine. All that, it comes from the tree...(Colorado,1985)

So the roots and their functions form the basis of Native scientific methodology. Seeking truth and coming to knowledge necessitates studying the cycles, relationship and connections between things. Indeed a law of Native science requires that we look ahead seven generations when making decisions!



Principles of Native Science

Laws and standards govern Native science just as they do Western science. In an Indian way, Bear who is the North, represents knowledge, healing and comfort. The Bear is also fierce, his claims are non-negotiable. Western science understands Bear in terms of rigor, reliability, and validity.

In the spring, Bear marks his territory on the tree. Stretching as far as possible, Bear uses his claws to score the tree. Other bears, passing by, are challenged to meet this standard. If they cannot reach the mark they leave the territory. For the Native scientist, the tree is not merely science but science interwoven inseparably with life. We meet the mark or die. Like the Bear passing through, no one watches us; the science relies on utmost integrity.

Native science assumes its character through power and peace. Vine Deloria, noted Lakota scholar, discusses its principles (1986a):

Here power and place are dominant concepts – power being the living energy that inhabits and/or composes the universe, and place being the relationship of things to each other...put into a simple equation: power and place produce personality. This equation simply means that the universe is alive, but it also contains within it the very important suggestion that the universe is personal and, therefore, must be approached in a personal manner...The personal nature of the universe demands that each and every entity in it seek and sustain personal relationships. Here, the Indian theory of relativity is much more comprehensive than the corresponding theory articulated by Einstein and his fellow scientists. The broader Indian idea of relationships, in a universe very personal and particular, suggests that all relationships have a moral content. For that reason, Indian knowledge of the universe was never separated from other sacred knowledge about ultimate spiritual realities. The spiritual aspect of knowledge about the world taught the people that relationships must not be left incomplete. There are many stories about how the world came to be, and the common themes running through them are the completion of relationships and the determination of how this world should function.

Deloria notes that there is no single Native science, each Nation follows ways specific to a locale. However, the tree and the Bear are nearly universal. From South America to the Arctic, the tree and all that it implies has been guiding and shaping the thought of Native people since the dawn of humanity. Those who follow this natural science do so in search of balance, harmony or peace with all living relationship. Iroquois call this SKANAGOAH.

The Goal of Indian Science

Skanooga, literally interpreted as “great peace”, is the term used to describe the still, electrifying awareness one experiences in the deep woods. This feeling

or state of balance is at the heart of the universe and is the spirit of Native science. For the Western educated audience, the notion of a tree with spirit is a difficult concept to grasp. The English language classifies reality into animate and inanimate objects, with most things falling into the inanimate classification. Native languages do not make the same distinction. As Deloria says, the universe is alive. Therefore, to see a Native speaking with a tree does not carry the message of mental instability; on the contrary, this is a scientist engaged in research!

Put another way, Western thought may accede that all natural things are imbued with energy. Much like the electromotive force in a capacitor, the force of the energy is transmitted without there being a direct flow of energy. If you had a piece of wire, electricity would travel from one end to the other uninterrupted. But if you put a capacitor in the line, the force is transmitted from one side to the other without there being a direct flow of electricity from one side to the other. This is how energy is transferred from tree to tree and tree to person without there being a direct flow of energy. The spiritual energy of a tree isn't transmitted directly but rather its life force is felt. Like a capacitor, the thickness of the dielectric, the physical distance between the person and the tree, is not important; the exchange still occurs.

This exchange suggests that human beings play a vital part in Skanagoah. Through the tree, Indian science generates data to inform us the condition of, and possibilities for, completing relationships ravaged by four generations of colonialism. We see that the research itself is a process for healing and identifying relationship. We are related, we are all one, life and death, good and bad, we are all one. The Indian acknowledges this and so discovers the most liberating aspect of Native science; LIFE RENEWS and all things which support life are renewable.

The Bear Has Made His Mark...Can you Reach It?



Dynamics of Native Science

Four Dynamics Drive our Methodology

Our methodology picks up where our description of Native science ends – that is, with prayer. However, an inseparable part of both description and methodology is the common thread which binds their fabric – Feelings. Because the understanding achieved through Native science is manifest in feelings and that its nature is spiritual, Elders never attempt to explain. (NOTE: The author employs terms for the dynamics covering concepts which appear to be universal among Native peoples.)

1. Feelings

The Basis, the Medium, the Message, the Understanding. The nature of Native science is that it is qualitative and subjective rather than quantitative and objective. Feelings tell us whether we are prepared for the task, whether the situation is right, whether the location is correct, and whether there is balance.

To do this work, you have to have feelings and love for the child. Many times I pray with my kids as I do this research, especially when I have hurt feelings, or need an open mind, I pray when I need guidance. When I go to interview, I have to know how to approach people. Some people I know; I can visit them right away. Others I don't know so I go to visit once or twice just to get them comfortable with me. Some I don't know how to approach so I get the help of other Elders. I say, "You know me and you know the other family; we don't usually talk but I have this work to do..." I then explain the Child Welfare research and ask how I can approach them to get something good out of it, and they tell me. In every interview you have to establish trust; you have to put a relation type thing in it. I know when to interview. Before I interview I have to make me feel good first. If I'm not feeling good, I don't interview anyone that day. I pray or see an Elder and wait until my mind is open again (Theresa Tuccaro, 1987).

2. Haa Shagoon, History as a Tool

...Haa Shagoon is a concept by which Native science collapses time and space; i.e., collapses the distance between the creating and this place.

In Western thought, history may only be an objective chronology of the occurrences of events. Whereas, to Native, it is a way of experiencing all of the feelings, emotions, and responses to events experienced by ancestors, beginning with the creating (Woodrow Morrison, Jr., 1987).

To be valid, our research must be more than longitudinal chronology. To-day, every day, we see our ancestors making the trail for us as we work and move about the face and surface of our mother, the Earth. Past, present, future perfect,

and future exist at this moment. For example, when a baby is born, an Elder cradles the infant and speaks softly into the child's ear.

When you're talking to the newborn baby, when that little baby listens, it stays there, everything we say. Anytime in life that child starts talking, it's (the words you spoke to it) going to come out in front, like the tape recording when you play it. That's the reason we talk to our babies so that what we try to teach will stay in its mind (Chief Donawaak 1985).

3. *Gii Laii*

Prayer as a Medicine-Gii Laii is the quiet, still place (a round hole in the bed of a stream or lake of water and the quiet, still place of balance within ourselves). Prayer is a medicine where all life begins, exists within, without and between us and our relationships. It is an actual place and state of being that marks the end-point/beginning of our science. Occasionally, non-Indian people report experiencing a sense of time slowing down; a sensation of suspended animation. This is something like Gii Laii (the water held in suspension while life continues to move through it), with one distinction. That is Gii Laii created a sensation of total "aliveness", awareness, and peace along with the sense of slowed time. But, then, where is the place; how do you find it, and how do you know that this is the Place?

Another thing about interviewing; you have to pick a good spot, and you have to feel, "this person will fit in good here". One day I went to see a Social Worker. I explain the research, what I'm trying to do and she agrees to be interviewed. But, I don't do it because I don't feel right. So I tell her how about tomorrow morning. I'll bring coffee; she says O.K. The next day I come back to this office. I bring two cups of coffee. I can see it; the spot is right. But you have to know the right place/time to begin. You don't just jump in. You have to visit, make the other person feel comfortable (Theresa Tuccaro, 1987).

True Native scientists actually see the "spot". This ability stems from prayer, the hallmark of Indian science. In prayerful research, the voice of the people becomes the data; the words create a feeling in the reader and give a credence to the findings. This is the normal method by which Native people arrive at consensus, or in this case, confidence in research findings. This process is similar to triangulation in Western science and is vividly and poetically portrayed in Pulitzer prize winner, F. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*.

4. *Relations*

The Indian theory of relatedness demands that each and every entity in the Universe seeks and sustains personal relationships. Furthermore, the spiritual aspect of knowledge about the world teaches that relationships not be left incomplete (Deloria). Traditional protocols, Native language and stories teach the lessons of relations. For an example, let us look at the function of the Story. Native

stories, which may be 30 to 50,000 years old, have the ability to integrate and synthesise all the living relationships or events at any given moment in life. When we rely on a story to guide us, we are not only integrated with the natural environment around us and with our living relations, but also with the timeless past and culture of our ancestors. Because American Indian cultures are so ancient, and the stories so old, there is almost no human experience or learning which has not been recorded in those stories. Moreover, they are tied so intricately with motion, relations, and a sense of collapsed time, that there is a spiritual essence to them which people often describe as timeless.

When my Grandmother used to tell me stories, I would close my eyes and I would feel as if I was walking through that time. I could just imagine everything the way that it looked, the tools that people used, what kind of clothing they wore, how the weather felt, what people were feeling; it all came alive to me! It is as if I was right there at the time.

When American Indian people come to an experience in life, we feel comfortable that the stories have walked us through this before. Thus ancient wisdom helps in the decision making and learning of today. “Relations” become an integral part of this research through language. Researchers must be bilingual so that the community is free to express itself and the research design focuses on qualitative or verbal data.

When that person is relaxed, you begin. Also, keep the language simple, never put yourself above someone else. It won't work. And the interview has to be balanced. I watch the little things. If it's too serious, I joke or tease. As I begin, I have to put my knowledge, mind, and my feelings on the table. I have to come out with it; what I'm there for, what I'm trying to do, how I feel...everything. Then I have to really listen. Sometimes I have all my information and the person goes right on talking, two hours more! Some of our people have never had anyone listen to them; someone they trust to talk to. I just let them go on, as long as they like, and when I leave, they always say, come back again. This is the toughest, hardest job I ever had...It's so amazing, this Indian way of life (Theresa Tuccaro, 1987).

5. Conclusion

The four tools or dynamics – feelings, history, prayer, and relations – are bound together and distinct from each other by virtue of the land they come from. These dynamics take on special form and power depending on the tribe using them.

Native Science Methodology

Based on the work of Theresa Tuccaro

Interviewing

Like energy or spirit moving through the roots of the tree, the Native scientist moves through the extended family or clan system to collect data. As a tree records its generations, the Native researcher interviews each generation in the community. The data, in keeping with oral tradition, are comprised of words.

- a) Preparation

1. Have to have feelings and love for the people.
2. Pray, especially with your kids.
3. Know how to approach people:
 - visit
 - get help of elders.
4. Know when to do the interview:
make me feel good first before I interview
 - when I have hurt feelings
 - need guidance or open mind.

- b) Interviewing the generations

1. Know the right time to begin, "When the spirit shows itself".
2. Establish trust, put in a relation-type thing with the person you interview.
3. Relax yourself and interview.
4. Language must be simplified
 - never try to be above the other person.
5. Has to be balanced, have to work twice as hard
 - watch the little things.
6. Joke, tease.
7. Listen, sometimes people talk two or three hours after the interview; they need someone to listen to them.
8. I put my knowledge, mind, and feelings on the table
 - this was the toughest, hardest job I ever had!
 - it is so amazing this Indian way of living.

Each of these methodological elements represents extensive knowledge, experience, and training. Let us examine two: the help of elders and language.

THE HELP OF AN ELDER

Approaching Elders

Researchers need support, guidance, information, and prayers from Elders to succeed in Native science. Although the search for truth and learning is a spiritual relationship between the individual and the Creator, a tenet of Indian science is that Elders are helpers to the younger scientist in training.

Who is an Elder?

Generally, an “Elder” will have some particular training or expertise in an area of life. Medicine people who represent the finest of Indian science can be characterised by their deep and abiding sense of humility, by their commitment to the people and to a traditional, natural way of life. Often the true American Indian scientist leads a life of poverty, because the people are too poor to support him/her. Just like any other culture, some American Indians have more scientific expertise than others. Although all Elders have built up certain knowledge and wisdom over years of living, this is not to be confused with the specific understanding of traditional Native American ways of coming to knowledge.

Today it is common to see Medicine Men touted as celebrities in the national and international social change circles. These celebrities may have no standing or certification by Native Nations, yet unaware non-Natives promote them and the further degradation of our life ways.

Barriers to Traditional Science

The colonialism and the disruption of traditional American Indian life have created a schism between elders and younger people. Elders blame themselves:

We (Elders) talked about how our younger ones live... It's our fault. We are not talking to our grandchildren and our sons. Our land; what we used to know before we don't tell. How are they going to learn? We got to tell them everything so they will learn to live. In these times, we just leave our children when they say it's (our ways) old fashioned. We are scared to talk with them.

Young people feel that they are to blame.

We don't know where we fit in....The older people do not know how to approach us... They've never seen young people drink like we're doing...sniffing glue, gasoline, pot... it was my impression they just gave up on us...

But even healthy, accomplished Natives may not know the protocols for relating with an Elder. Yet the culture does not permit an Elder to share information without being properly asked. Moreover, Elders are not aware that the young do not know how to approach them!

Apprenticeship

Even if an Elder is approached in a proper manner, he still may not accept the young person. Again, the accepting or rejecting of the applicant follows cultural dictates. If an Elder responds, “I do not know” or simply shakes his/her head, the answer is “no”. But if the Elder says, “I’m getting old, it’s difficult for me to remember”, the door is opened for future visits.

The visit is an essential ingredient of Native scientific methodology. The Elder will ask the aspiring scientist, “Who is your clan? Who is your family? What is your Indian name?” Socialising will include humour, and finally, raising the purpose of the visit. Through visits, a contract is established. Often the contracting process requires several visits, the apprentice will do chores around the Elder’s home, listen attentively and follow directions about mundane activities. Through this process, trust is established and a genuine interest in the welfare of the Elder is promoted. This is important; the Elder is about to share knowledge that is powerful, sacred, and often of a personal nature – the recipient must be prepared.

In addition, the process of the visit teaches the younger person the qualities that are necessary for becoming a Native American scientist. These qualities include tremendous self-discipline, patience, a willingness to share, faith and a belief in prayer. The rather extended period of time for these visits also demonstrates to the Elder that the young person is leading a good life or is committed to a good life. The evidence of this good life is abstinence from alcohol and drugs and a morally correct life in a cultural sense.

When an Elder accepts an apprentice he will often share knowledge without asking, “Why is it that you want to know?” It is enough for the Elder to detect a sincerity and a true desire on the person’s part to learn. Sometimes, even if a person is involved with alcohol and drugs, an Elder will patiently listen to this person and then share some piece of traditional knowledge that the Elder feels may help guide the individual back to himself and out of substance abuse or addiction. This wisdom that the Elder is passing on, although learned personally, derives from tribal experience and from a collective effort to know throughout time. The outcome of this science and knowledge is that people learn to live in balance in relationship with all other things. Therefore, the Elder faced with the

young person who has serious life problems will share traditional information, but only when asked; they never volunteer it.

Case Illustration

The Elder that I asked to help me through my job on the reserve, she helped me by a prayer and advice. One day I went to visit her; I had my father with me to help interpret and explain to her why I came to visit her. I gave her some tobacco and a blanket. She said to me, "It's nice to give gifts to other people, whether it's very little or a whole lot." She said a prayer for me and accepted the gift. The prayer she said in her own language, and I did not remember. I didn't have a tape recorder at that time; otherwise I would have taped her. Through her I identified the other Elders I would be visiting.

When I visit an Elder, I explain to the Elders why I'm there to see them and give the Elder a traditional offering. I have interviewed five Elders so far. Four of these Elders are 80 years old and over. Two are 70 years and younger. I have visited them various times. Each time I visited their homes, they were either busy or not at home. Finally one day they were at home and I sat and talked with them. I had my father help me with interpreting. I explained to them why I came to see them and why they were chosen.

One of my Grandmother's responses was, "All along since my 10 children were born, I've raised them up and given them advice that my parents and Grandparents have taught me. Today my children are all grown up. They don't listen to my advice anymore. They argue, don't help each other out, they have forgotten they're Indian. Instead they act and try to live like the White people. So now today, I'm tired, all alone widow. I have a lot of good stories, but I have made up my mind to keep them within me till the day I die." She mentioned that the younger people today don't listen anymore. Maybe because today we live in a totally different world. I thanked her for their time and told her that the few words that she spoke meant a lot to me.

The next Grandmother I had visited informed me that she had nothing to say or do. She informed me that she cannot give me any advice. She then asked her husband, but he also said the same thing. They both spoke in their Native language. I thanked them both and left.

One of the Elders I had on my list for interviewing had just died recently. The reason why I wanted to interview him, I saw him to be very traditional. He had a lot of grandchildren living with him and his wife. Complaints were never heard from them either.

Up to this date I have recorded four Elders. Each gave their own opinions. In my interview with the Elders, I find them to be saying it's pretty hard for them to remember a lot of the traditional ways of life. Because times were already changing when they were young, they hardly experienced the traditional ways of life, but can remember a lot of what they were told.

Another thing I'd like to mention about talking and seeking information from the Elders is their opinions were, "We don't have much time left on earth to be giving advice."

It has always been in our culture and tradition that an older person must give guidance and advice to the younger people. One elderly lady, a Grandmother, told me, "if you want to record or write down some of the advice I'm going to tell you, do it the first time around, because we are very forgetful and might say things differently the next time around".

One of the Grandmothers who is now 70 years old didn't want to be recorded. She mentioned that she would give me advice, "but I don't want you to write it down" she said.

The efforts of this young Native researcher amplify the disruption, pathos, and chaos of our neocolonial context; however, this researcher became very successful at his work and in following traditional processes the researcher created a strong, healthy relationship with his father and Elder helper. This is similar to the experience of other Native people who report fundamental, positive shifts in their awareness, relationship and/or self-esteem as a result of practicing Native scientific inquiry.

Elder Relationships – Summation

Learning that comes from an Elder is characterised by questions or riddles. The result is we go away curious and wanting more. Furthermore, the way the information is passed to us causes us to think deeply and to look at our own lives. This distinction is important. Unlike Western science, Native science relies on total involvement of the person with his or her environment.

Coming to truth in an Indian way involves spirit, body, mind and relationships. While Western science stresses cognitive abilities and powers of reasoning, American Indian science relies on these two facets as part of the total way of coming to knowledge. American Indian science is based on observation, experience, information, and prayer; Native language is the key to all.

Comparison of Indian and Western Science

INDIAN

Subjective – you put yourself
into it

Spiritual

Methods include talk with
Elders, prayer, fasting,
ceremony.

Main purpose to understand
‘why’ or ultimate causality
Outcome, balance within and
with the natural world

Community control

WESTERN

Objective – separate
yourself and feelings from
what you are studying

Separate religion from
science

Methods include measurement,
breaking things down to their
smallest parts; cutting into
something to see how it
works.

Main purpose to describe
'how' or immediate causality.

Outcome, a report, findings,
usually some life has been
destroyed through the
research process and
something man-made now
exists

Expert control

LANGUAGE / THE ORAL TRADITION

Elders tell us to prepare ourselves mentally, physically, and spiritually for Indian science and they stress the power of Words and Stories.

...My Grandfather used to tell me, "If you are going up the river, cut a pole so they can push your boat up. Before you give it to your partner who is going to help you, you got to run your hand over the pole. If you don't, sharp ridges on it will cut your hand. Then your partner will not help you." You have to run your hand over the words before you say anything. I tell my children. They are beginning to listen, how to respect each other.

When we set out to interview our people, we must prepare ourselves as Tuccaro, Cree Grandmother/researcher says. In Mohawk we say, *Sah ni Kora Ahotoriso*, which means not only "set your mind at ease", but describes the moment – "when you arrive at the good feeling, you're at harmony with the one you're speaking with".

Our language helps us find the right spot, the “Still Place”. In Mohawk, we say *Yohts so nonyahts tsiei yoh*, which is interpreted as sheer joy, happiness, peacefulness, calm and contentment. It is a known, verifiable, objective state!

When we speak of relations or “putting a relationship thing into an interview” we say *Tähtikosontotiye*, which means “As you’re being taught, your ancestors are with you as you teach future generations”.

Finally, knowing when to start and stop an interview is expressed as, “the spirit is going to tell you when to rest” or “I recognise that Good Mind or Good Spirit is Around”.

Speaking the Native language is essential to the practice of Native Science. Eber Hampton, a Ph.D. Chichasaw tells this story:

Once as I was getting ready for a sweat, Manfred, an Elder, told me, “Eber, I know you can’t pray in Indian, but when you are in the sweat, pray in Indian in English”.

Language is our guide, therefore, ideas and methods suggested in this paper should not be undertaken unless the concept exists in one’s own tribal language and stories.

Indian and Western Sciences: Should the Gap be Bridged?

For the American Indian, there are compelling reasons for scientific pluralism. If we are to survive as a people, we must regain our critical consciousness; we must become responsible to ourselves within the neocolonial context.

Practising Native science helps restrict scientific colonialism, which, as Deloria discusses, has confused and controlled Native minds:

One of the most painful experiences for American Indian students is to come into conflict with the teachings of science which purports to explain phenomena already explained by tribal knowledge and tradition. The assumption of the Western educational system is that the information dispensed by colleges is always correct, and the beliefs or teachings of the tribe are always wrong. Rarely is this the case. The teachings of the tribe are almost always more complete, but they are oriented toward a far greater understanding of reality than is scientific knowledge. And precise tribal knowledge almost always has a better predictability factor than does modern science, which generally operates in sophisticated tautologies that seek only to confirm pre-existing identities.

The need for Native science is clear from an intra-cultural perspective, but what of the West? Are there equally compelling reasons to link with the practice of Native science? According to many scholars, the answer is “yes”. Beginning with Einstein’s theory and moving to contemporary physicists, Western science has been searching for a new paradigm. The old science can no longer contain the data it produces. Quantum mechanics and genetic research, to name a few,

demonstrate the limitations of positivist, atomistic Newtonian mechanics. And on a social scale one need only observe the alienation of human beings and the destruction of the natural environment to see that something else is needed.

UNESCO has addressed the global social problems created by the monocultural scientific paradigm:

One source of learning for North American social scientists is the third world inside North America; the spaces where Native peoples of Canada and the United States live, the rural and urban hard-core poverty ghettos that trap ethnic minorities, Blacks, women single-heads-of-households, and poor Whites. Development failures are not confined to Africa, Asia and Latin America. We have colleagues who have emerged from these ghettos to gain research training, and have returned to study what has happened to their people. The reconstruction of colonised cultures, the recovery of oral tradition, is happening every day in North America, too. No one can be ready to work with their world colleagues abroad who has not first learned to work with third world colleagues at home (Boulding, 1983).

CONCLUSION, based on the story of Chief Donawaak

Ahskanni, tree people; they help us in everything, not only us but the birds, mountain goat; even the bumblebee which crawls beneath the bark...The tree suffers for us...it is Master of the whole world...that's how I call it. We talk to it, because it listens.

After (Raven) created everything, He wonders how am I going to get it? (spirit in the Creations). The trees, grass, everything is standing there just the way He made it; nothing is growing and the people, they're already there too, but they don't think...

Looking out on the water, Raven sees a flame jump up. The second time He sees the flame, a young man, Hawk, comes by. Raven asks Hawk to fly out and get the flame. Taking a branch from the tree, Raven puts pitch on the end of the stick and tells Hawk, "When you fly out there, carry this stick in your mouth. When you get near the flame, turn your face and get the flame on the stick."

This is really important to us, what He (Raven) said.

You're going to help the whole world if you bring that flame to me. Everybody will know you. When you come near that flame, turn your head sideways so you don't burn. You are suffering for the whole world – all the People who need it. Bring it to me!

When Hawk goes out to get the flame, he can feel the heat on his face. He is really suffering. When he returns with the flame, Raven takes the branch and, like throwing paint from a paint brush, puts spirit into everything. The grass starts growing, the rocks have life, and the People standing there, He threw it on them; that's why we think now!

Another thing, the roots of the tree go to the other different trees – birch, hemlock, alder, name them all, they've all got roots.

We all have roots and when we begin to trace them back to the source, we discover our relations, peace of mind, a sense of the timeless. For the whole

world, for all the people who need it, we must, like Hawk, bring the flame to our science and our People.

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Haunani-Kay Trask (photo: from Indian Summer in Geneva)

Hawaiians, Self-determination and Ethno-development: A Native Hawaiian Perspective

By Haunani-Kay Trask and Mililani B. Trask

Hawai'i: an Historical Account (1)

Settlement

Polynesians migrated to Hawai'i Nei more than 75 generations ago from islands in the South Pacific. Prior to its so-called "discovery" by the west, as many as three to five million of our ancestors lived and died in the Hawaiian Islands, establishing and sustaining a viable and productive society.

From the mountains to the sea, everyone had access to the natural resources and shared in nature's generosity. Living on the most isolated group of islands in the world, our ancestors were self sufficient; they produced everything they needed and they used everything they produced. Their philosophy of *malama 'aina*, caring for the land, and of conserving and sharing the natural resources of the land guided their everyday activities.

Invasion of Trade

When Captain James Cook accidentally came upon the Hawaiian Islands early in 1778, he found a thriving Polynesian society. The people were generous to a fault, giving the foreign visitors everything they asked for, and accepting the token trade items offered in exchange. Since then, the generosity and hospitality of our Hawaiian peoples have been exploited to provide profit for others. At first, our islands were a cheap source of fresh food, water and firewood for the fur traders whose ships plied the coasts of North America and China. We also became a source of sandalwood that enriched Euro-American traders, depleted our forests and left us with a large and highly inflated national debt, claimed to be owed to French, British and American resident merchants who called on their countries' gunboats to help them collect their claims. In the twenty years between 1824 and 1844, over fifty foreign man-of-war ships came to our shores, many threatening to take over our islands. The British actually took possession early in 1843, and our sovereignty was only restored some five humiliating months later.

Private Property and Loss of Hawaiian Lands

Fearing a permanent foreign takeover, Kamehameha III and his council of chiefs followed the advice of the American missionaries to westernise their government. Having been in the islands only since 1820, several missionaries left the mission in the 1840s, entered the Hawaiian government and began the process.

They completely destroyed the Hawaiian land tenure system of undivided use rights and replaced it with private ownership. Land became a commodity to be bought and sold on the market; bought by those with money and sold by those without. The instrument that instituted these changes was called “the great mahele” of 1848.

In the “mahele” the land was divided among the King, 245 chiefs, the government, and less than 8,000 farmers and fishermen. The King received about one million acres of land, the chiefs about 16 million acres, and the common peoples only about 28,600 acres (less than 1 per cent of the land of Hawai’i Nei).

By this time the population of Hawai’i had been greatly reduced by the introduction of many foreign diseases. Conservative population estimates indicate there were close to one million Hawaiians in 1778, when Cook arrived, but that by 1845, the population had been reduced by 90 per cent, to about 80,000 people.

Some government land was sold at low prices to foreigners for their large plantations and ranches. Large acreages were also purchased from chiefs or taken by merchants in payment of debts.

In 1864, the remainder of the King’s lands were made inalienable. Leases of these lands were limited to no more than 30 years and all outstanding mortgages were paid by the legislature. These lands became known thereafter as Crown Lands, the income from which was used to support whomever occupied the throne.

Sugar Plantations and the Annexation of Hawai’i by the United States

In 1876, the American sugar barons succeeded in getting their sugar and molasses to enter the United States duty free. The number of sugar plantations increased rapidly during the 1880s and 1890s. In 1887, a second “Reciprocity Treaty” gave the Pearl Harbor to the United States for use as a coaling station and ship repair yard, in exchange for duty free status for Hawaiian sugar and molasses.

That same year foreign interests succeeded in forcing on King Kalakaua what is referred to as the Bayonet Constitution. This document limited the monarchy’s power and made property and money a requirement for voters to cast their ballots for candidates to the House of Nobles, thus partially disenfran-



Queen Lili'uokalani (photo: Native Hawaiians Study Commission)

chising the majority of the Hawaiian people. When Queen Lili'uokalani succeeded Kalakaua in 1891, she tried to promulgate a new constitution that would

restore the monarchy's powers and allow Hawaiians full voting rights. As a result of the Queen's sentiments, the American sugar barons, with the help of the United States military, took over the government buildings and placed the Queen under house arrest, forcing her to abdicate.

Unable to get the United States to annex the Hawaiian Islands immediately, the Provisional Government declared itself the Republic of Hawai'i in 1895. At the same time, the new government took over the Crown Lands and all lands of the Hawaiian Government, calling them all public lands. Some of these lands were sold by the new government before annexation. The remainder of these public lands were given or ceded to the United States of American.



Lei seller – Honolulu, c. 1910 (Native Hawaiians Study Commission)

Monopoly of Land in Hawai'i Today

Sales of public lands to wealthy sugar barons continued to put an ever increasing amount of land in Hawai'i into the hands of a few large and powerful corpora-

tions As a result, about 72 major landowners, each owning 1,000 acres or more, own about 47 per cent of all the land in the State of Hawai'i today. When the land owned by the United States Federal Government and the State of Hawai'i is added to that of private landowners, altogether these 74 landowners own about 95 per cent of all the land in the State of Hawai'i. Because our islands are small and their land area is limited, the large landowners have great political power and a large amount of economic control over the lives of our peoples. For example, only seven major landowners, each owning over 10,000 acres, own nearly 30 per cent of the Hawaiian islands. The largest single private landowner is the Bernice P. Bishop Estate, and the other six are Richard Smart of Parker Ranch, C. Brewer and Co., Castle and Cook, Alexander and Baldwin, Amfac Inc., and the Samuel M. Damon Estate. Four of these are members of the so-called "Big Five" sugar factories.

Some of the private landowners lease large acreages from the State and thereby increase their effective economic and political power. For example: only five major private landowners control over 60 per cent of the entire island of Maui. Seven control nearly 60 per cent of Kaua'i; eight control over 50 per cent of Hawai'i island; and eleven over 60 per cent of the island of O'ahu.

The United States Federal Government owns over 250,000 acres of land and controls about another 250,000 acres of public trust lands set aside for their use and lands issued to them in special use permits. Another 48,000 acres are leased to the Federal Government. Much of this land is used by the US military. The Federal Government controls about 14 per cent of the entire State of Hawai'i. Some of this land is in Federal Parks (the Hawai'i Volcanoes Park, the Honaunau Historical Park, and Haleakala National Park), but the majority of the lands are used by the military. For example, on the island of O'ahu, where most of the present population is located, and where the Federal Government has no national parks, over 20 per cent of the island is controlled by the U.S. military.

The Native Land Trusts

Hawaiian Home Lands

In 1920, the United States Congress provided 193,000 acres of land for homesteading and agricultural use of "Native Hawaiians", persons defined by American law as having 50 per cent blood quantum of the native race in Hawai'i prior to Captain Cook's landing. These lands were managed by the United States until Statehood in 1959 when their control was transferred to the State of Hawai'i Department of Hawaiian Home Lands.

For over 67 years the State has failed to distribute these lands to Native Hawaiians. A joint Federal-State Investigation conducted in 1983 found that less

than 38,000 acres had been distributed to Natives and that the vast bulk of the lands were utilised for public parks, schools, airport and flood control projects, military facilities and by private persons who were not Hawaiian. An estimated 30,000 people have died waiting for their entitlements. At present, 5,800 families lease Hawaiian Homestead lots; there are 16,200 families currently on waiting lists for these entitlements.

The Ceded Lands Trust

In 1959, the United States granted to the State of Hawai'i 1.43 million acres of land and the natural resource rights attached thereto, to the State of Hawai'i for the public and "for the betterment of conditions of Native Hawaiians" as defined in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920. This larger and vastly more productive and valuable land trust has been, and continues to be, utilised exclusively for the public. Revenues generated from these ceded lands are appropriated for public needs and for the administrative budgets of various State agencies. At present, not a single acre or dollar is appropriated to non-governmental native groups or communities.

Civil Rights Violations and Deprivations

Hawaiians are the only minority group remaining in the United States who are not allowed access to either State or Federal Court to sue for protection of their trust assets and for monetary compensation of their losses. This deprivation is of constitutional magnitude and has forced many native groups to resort to acts of civil disobedience to publicise their plight. Increasing civil resistance at Sand Island, Makua, Kings Landing, Makapuu, and elsewhere have resulted in injury and most recently, armed confrontation.

Hawaiians are excluded from Federal policies and administrative processes designed to provide Native American Indians with access to court, Federal recognition of their tribal governments and, most importantly, jurisdiction and control over their lands and natural resources.

Demographics and Socio-economic Statistics on Native Hawaiians

- In 1980, Native Hawaiians comprised approximately 175,000 (19 per cent) of the State's population.

- The number of Native Hawaiians in the population on each island ranges from 15 per cent on Lanai to 62 per cent on Molokai and nearly 100 per cent on Niihau, 68 per cent of the Native Hawaiians in the State live on O'ahu.

- Approximately 44 per cent of the Native Hawaiians are age 19 and below compared to 32 per cent for the State population.

- The life span for Native Hawaiians is nearly 7 years less than that of the total population. More than 2 per cent of Native Hawaiian elderly are not covered by any health or medical insurance.
- Native Hawaiians have higher morbidity/mortality rates, compared to State and national rates, in the three major chronic diseases of cancer, diabetes and hypertension, especially for full Hawaiians
- About 34 per cent of the Native Hawaiian households have 5 or more persons, compared to 20 per cent for the total population.
- About 15 per cent of Native Hawaiian families are living below poverty level, compared to 8 per cent of total families in the State.
- The per capita annual income for Native Hawaiians is \$5,328 compared with \$7,740 for the State.
- About 10 per cent of Native Hawaiian adults were unemployed in 1980
- nearly twice the Statewide rate.
- Only 1,400 or about 6 per cent of the 20,600 minority-owned businesses in Hawaii are owned by Native Hawaiians.
- The majority of the Native Hawaiian work force is employed in entry-level positions while few are in professional careers.
- Only 4 per cent of enrollment in the University of Hawaii Manoa Campus are Native Hawaiians.
- About 46 per cent of adults in correctional institutions are Native Hawaiian and about 66 per cent of youth are Native Hawaiian.
- Of the total number in the population who are abusers of both alcohol and drugs, 23 per cent are listed as Native Hawaiian.
- The suicide rate among male Native Hawaiians (aged 15-24) in the State is 31 per cent of all suicides in this age group.
- Of learning disabled youth in the public schools, 1,236 or 36.5 per cent are Native Hawaiian.
- 35-38 per cent of the 34,000 Hawaiians in public schools are in stanines 1-3 which is equivalent to the 1-22 percentile range.

Aloha'aina, Malama'aina and Native Initiatives for Peace, Justice and Integrity of Creation

The Cultural Basis

In traditional Hawaiian society, the relationship of people to land can only be understood through the story of *Papa* (Earth Mother), *Wakea* (Sky Father) and *Ho'ohokukalani*, their human offspring. The multiple matings of Papa, Wakea and their daughter produced the Hawaiian islands, the taro plant and the Hawaiian people. In birth order, the islands and the taro are the elder siblings

of the Hawaiian chiefs and people. Because of these origins, the relationship between the Hawaiian people and their land is a familial relationship.

As in the rest of Polynesia, so it is in Hawai'i. The duty of the younger sibling is to serve and care for the elder sibling. Therefore, Hawaiians must cultivate the land and make it productive. This familial relationship is called *malama'aina* - caring for the land.

The duty of elder siblings is to feed and care for the younger siblings. Thus, the familial relationship is made reciprocal: the land and taro will feed and shelter their younger siblings, the Hawaiian people. When Hawaiians practice *malama'aina*, the land will in turn *malama* Hawaiians. The balance between humans and nature that is thereby established is called *pono*, universal harmony.



A Hawaiian elder or Kupuna
(photo: Robert Goodman/Native Hawaiians Study Commission)

This cultural posture requires that Native Hawaiians, acting in a modern political framework, undertake specific activities to protect the land, nurture, cultivate and preserve its richness for their *keiki* (children) and for future generations. It is in this context that native political struggles for self-determination and native acts of civil disobedience must be viewed.

Native Initiatives for Self-governance

In order to interface with the current federal policy of establishing government-to-government relationships with its Native people, Hawaiians took action in January, 1987, to form a democratic governing structure. In March, 1987, a con-



Photo by Robert Goodman.

*A Hawaiian girl (photo: Robert Goodman/
Native Hawaiians Study Commission)*

stitutional convention held in Hilo, Hawai'i, enacted a constitution providing for democratic representation in a unicameral legislature, an executive, judiciary and chiefly advisory council. Over 250 delegates attended the convention, island caucuses were formed and simultaneous workshops have since been conducted on all islands to register Native people as part of the Hawaiian Nation. Organisational efforts have been supported by donations of food, facilities and money from individuals, community associations and church groups

The constitution of *KA LAHUI HAWAI'I*, which is amendable, currently provides for initiative, referendum and recall. It confers citizenship on all Native Hawaiians regardless of blood quantum and is founded upon principles of peace, disarmament, equity and justice. The goal of *KA LAHUI HAWAI'I* is to form a democratic Native government to petition the United States Congress for federal recognition. *KA LAHUI HAWAI'I* also seeks an equitable division of Native trust lands and assets; membership as part of the 300-plus independent Native nations which exist in the United States; and Congressional reforms needed to accomplish these goals.

Commercial/Industrial Development Assaults Rural Hawaiian Communities

Hawaiian rural communities are the heartland of *KA LAHUI HAWAI'I*, the Hawaiian Nation. These Hawaiians who live in remote valleys and isolated rural pockets have provided for their large families through traditional subsistence farming and fishing for generations. There they have planted and fished according to traditional methods in harmony with the changing seasons and the moon phases; practiced traditional methods of healing from native plants; and in many cases continued to honor their ancestral gods or *'aumakua*. These families have maintained and perpetuated the cultural base of the Hawaiian people through many generations by living our culture on the land, practising our traditional values and speaking our native language. They have provided an unbroken continuity for us from our ancestors to our present generation.

While the agricultural resources in these communities were too marginal for sugar and pineapple plantations or ranches in the past, they are ideal areas for tourist resorts, spaceports, geothermal energy development and hydro-electric plants today. We as Native Hawaiians are challenged to turn back the waves of development upon our lands in order to protect our living culture with the land that is practised by families of planters, fishermen, gatherers and healers. We seek alternative, island-appropriate, community-based economic development that will benefit the Native Hawaiian and their neighbours. The following outlines the major areas of concern at this time.

- Geothermal Development

The Federal, State and County governments of Hawai'i seek development of the geothermal energy source of Hawai'i's volcanoes to produce electricity for new industrial activities on the island of Hawai'i and the island of O'ahu. They want to make Hawai'i self-sufficient in energy by developing geothermal electricity, hydro-electricity, wind power, solar energy and ocean energy. Consumers have been led to believe that these sources of energy will lower utility rates. However, our investigation shows that they will actually raise rates. The cost to invent, research and develop geothermal energy and deliver it via cable under the ocean to O'ahu will be between \$4 billion and \$6 billion.

Native Hawaiians view geothermal development as an arrogant desecration of the god *Pele*. *Pele* is the magma, steam vapour, heat and lava of the volcano. Developing geothermal energy will dig into *Pele*, her life body and life blood, and destroy her. Geothermal development will destroy the land and our religious right to worship and honor *Pele*. This development is a first step for massive industrialisation of the rural, agricultural and subsistence based communities on the island of Hawai'i from Ka'u to Hilo. In addition to geothermal production, these plans for industrialisation include a missile launching complex, a manganese processing, smelting and refining plant, and associated industries which will devastate Native Hawaiian communities.

- Spaceport Plans

Because of its closeness to the equator and the fact that it is the only region in the United States from which both polar and equatorial orbits can be achieved without overflying land, the Ka'u region on the island of Hawai'i is considered one of the best sites in the world for a commercial launch facility or spaceport.

In recognition of the sacredness of the district, we call it *Kapu Ka'u*. One of the earliest migrations of our people came through Ka'u. Many of the families who trace their genealogy to *Pele* have lived in Ka'u throughout the generations since they first migrated and settled in Hawai'i. Ka'u has many historic sites. Much of the recorded traditions of Hawaiians is based on the lifestyle, practices and beliefs of our Ka'u ancestors. The Native Hawaiian community in Ka'u would be destroyed if a spaceport is constructed there. The entire community of Ka'u would be displaced to create a buffer zone of a nine to ten mile radius around the spaceport and the 11,000 acres of Hawaiian Homelands in the district will never be settled by Native Hawaiians.

- Hydroelectric Development

Hydroelectric power plants are part of the scheme to make Hawai'i energy self-sufficient. These power plants are planned for running streams which are essen-

tial for the maintenance of a Hawaiian lifestyle in many rural areas. These streams make possible the growth of wetland taro and the survival of native species which require fresh running water as well as those which also require access to fresh and sea water in order to complete their life cycle. Development of the hydroelectric plants will divert almost all of the water from the streams creating drought conditions below and severely limiting the habitat for native stream life. It will also destroy the surrounding native forests. Overall, the hydroelectric plants which are being planned for Maui and Kaua'i island streams will limit Native Hawaiian cultural practices, including the gathering of medicinal plants and food, fishing and the practice of religion to the deities in the mountain and forest areas.

- Tourist Resort Development

Tourist Resort developments continue to assault rural Hawaiian communities from the island of Hawai'i to the island of Kaua'i. In many cases rural communities of Hawaiians and other local people are evicted to make way for hotels, condominiums and golf courses. In other cases fishing grounds are destroyed by pollution from sewage or increased soil run off from inadequate drainage systems. Farmers, especially taro farmers, are often deprived of their traditional water rights from streams as water resources are diverted for resorts. Traditional access to mountain areas for hunting and gathering food, medicinal herbs and plants for other purposes are often cut off. Access to the ocean for fishing, gathering and swimming is limited. Of special concern is the destruction of irreplaceable sites of historical, cultural and religious significance - *heiau* or traditional temples, *ko'a* or fishing shrines, fishponds, house sites, burial grounds and caves, and cultivation complexes. Moreover, the Hawaiian culture in a bastardised form is commoditised for sale in these resort areas to tourists who visit Hawai'i and patronise the hotels that are assaulting our communities.

Hawaiians and Self-determination

Self-determination became a principle of international law after the Second World War demonstrated that international peace depended on the emancipation of colonies, peoples, and other ethnic populations. Thus the United Nations Charter (1948) enshrined the right of universal self-determination specifically to help ensure world peace.

For countless peoples, however, the post-war achievement of autonomy has been an unfulfilled dream. Through economic and political dominance by the industrial world, many former colonies became clients of other, more powerful nations. Swallowed up by incorporation without even an appearance of control over their own futures, such peoples fall far short of independent status today.

This last condition characterises the situation of Native Hawaiians. Although constituted in the 19th century as an internationally recognised nation (the Kingdom of Hawai'i), the Hawaiian people had their nationality forcibly changed to that of the United States when their land base was annexed in 1898. All lands taken by the US at annexation were *illegally transferred* by the Republic of Hawai'i which was itself *illegally established* and *illegally maintained* by the United States as a convenient, *haole* (white) controlled client state. The illegality of these acts stems from the lack of Hawaiian consent to them.

Since Hawaiians never surrendered their political rights through treaties, nor voted on annexation, they fall under the United Nations category of a "non-self-governing people". This dependent status has been maintained through State (rather than Native) control of Hawaiian trust lands (see the Federal-State Task Force report, 1983). These lands consist of Hawaiian Home Lands and ceded lands. The first trust is controlled by the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands and the second by the Department of Land and Natural Resources, both State agencies. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs, which receives 20 per cent of the revenues from ceded lands, is subject to the laws of the State and Federal governments. Thus, none of these institutions can be said to constitute Hawaiian self-governance.

As a "non-self-governing people", Hawaiians occupy a category recognised by the United Nations as eligible for the right of self-determination. But this right is continually denied Hawaiians for several reasons.

First, there is the claim that Hawaiians are the same as immigrants to Hawai'i. Apart from denying Hawaiians their *indigenous* history, this position also equates *voluntary* status (immigrants) with *involuntary* status (a forced change in nationality).

Unlike immigrants to Hawai'i (Asians, Whites and others), who *voluntarily* gave up the nationality of their homelands when they became permanent residents of Hawai'i, Hawaiians had the nationality *forcibly changed in their own homeland*. This *involuntary* change can be compared, say, to the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviets who then claim the same rights to Afghani soil as the Afghans themselves. This is exactly what Americans have done in Hawai'i.

Secondly, there is the allegation that Hawaiians are "equal" to other Americans since Hawaiians have "their own State" and are American citizens. Both these points are irrelevant here because Hawaiians *never were* members of America until they were forcibly annexed. When American citizenship was conferred on Hawaiians, it was done so unilaterally; that is, without Hawaiian consent. Statehood was a condition which came long *after* annexation, not prior to it. For Hawaiians, the fiction of "equality as Americans" obscures the historical

reality that America has no claim – except one based on aggression – to control the lands and Native people of Hawai‘i.

A third argument for the continued denial of Hawaiian self-determination is the notion of “prescription”. Here, a right peacefully exercised for a long time can no longer be questioned. Prescription has sometimes been advanced by colonial powers, such as the US, as a source of legal title to overseas possessions, like Hawaii.

In the first place, it should be pointed out that, contrary to popular opinion, Hawai‘i has not been controlled by America for “a long time”. It is, in 1988, less than a hundred years since Hawaiians lived in their own country. When compared with Hawaiian self-governance for over 1500 years prior to annexation, the 90 years of American control is paltry indeed.

In addition, while American occupation of Hawai‘i certainly prevents colonising attempts by other powers, it does not extinguish the rights of indigenous Hawaiians. On this point, the International Court of Justice has declared that the emerging principle of self-determination supersedes states’ historical claims to territorial integrity.

Finally, there is the argument that America and the American way of life are superior to native countries and native ways of life. This argument is constantly advanced to justify the American annexation of Hawai‘i and continued American control over Native history: throughout the 19th century American proponents of slavery advanced it to claim that blacks were better off as slaves in “civilised” America than as free people in “primitive” Africa.

Similar to notions of White supremacy (and, ultimately, “The White Man’s Burden”) that accompanied European conquest of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania from the 15th through to the 19th centuries, the idea that one culture is better than another, and thereby has rights to dominate it, has been thoroughly repudiated by international law as a “matter of imperial policy masquerading as historical fact”.

Furthermore, the right of self-determination exists for all peoples regardless of race, creed, or culture, and includes the right to territorial integrity. A legal theory of dispossession based on racial or cultural distinctions is not acceptable under international law.

But in Hawai‘i, it is particularly important that we understand the exact nature of this argument. Based on assumptions of Native Hawaiian inferiority and of White American superiority, the argument that American control of Hawaiian lands was, *and continues to be*, preferable to Native control is a *racist argument*.

As a racist argument, the position that the American way of life is somehow the “best” in the world and that Hawaiians should be grateful for the “opportu-

nity” to enjoy it, flies in the face of historical evidence to the contrary. After more than a century of American contact – including the “benefits” of disease and a 90 per cent decline in the Hawaiian population; the “joys” of repressive Christianity; and the loss of lands through private property to the *haole* – the Hawaiians at the turn of the century clearly preferred to be Hawaiian citizens. In international legal terms, they preferred self-determination to American control. It was the *haole* elite (missionaries and businessmen) who wanted Hawai’i to be a possession of America, and it was they who prevented Hawaiians from voting on annexation. All this was done, of course, with the active support of the American government.

In the context of international law, the continued American claim to political and cultural superiority is seen as merely the ideology of a colonising power. This ideology has been condemned by the United Nations as wholly unacceptable in relationships between peoples and states. Because the American government persists today in its justification of the overthrow and of forcible annexation (see Vol. 1 of the Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report, 1983), it is in violation of international norms of human rights. These rights include self-determination and territorial integrity for indigenous people – rights which, not incidentally, the US accuses the Soviet Union of violating in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

From the perspective of Hawaiians active in the contemporary movement for native rights, the question of self-determination can be understood on many levels. The most basic, perhaps, is the assertion of collective rights to land. The occupation of land by Sand Island and Makua Beach residents in recent years is an example of the *practice* of self-determination. In these cases, Hawaiians asserted cultural rights to live as they wish (semi-traditional fashion) on aboriginal lands. Further, many of those arrested argued a “sovereignty” defence. While varied in form, this defence arises out of the illegal taking of Hawaiian nationhood in 1898. Asserting “sovereignty” is a way of refusing to acquiesce in America’s illegal presence.

On another level, questions of Native control over Hawaiian trust lands and revenues are questions of autonomy. How can Hawaiians stop the State from continuing to lease, exchange, and otherwise alienate nearly three quarters of the trust lands to non-beneficiaries (i.e. non-Hawaiians)? How can Hawaiians reclaim the trust lands controlled by the military? How can Hawaiians protect their lands from developers?

The problem for Hawaiians, then, is how to proceed politically to achieve an independent land base. Several suggestions have been put forward by various movement leaders and organisations which can be grouped under the following strategies: active education of Hawaiians about their history and native rights,

and about the need for a land base; litigation against the State and Federal governments for abuses of trust lands for reparations; offensive political demonstrations such as land seizures, illegal protests at restricted places, and disruptions of institutional activity; offensive cultural actions such as religious worship on sacred sites closed to such worship, the construction of fishing villages and taro patches on lands scheduled for other economic activity, and the disruption of tourist attractions which commodify and degrade Hawaiian culture. The purposes of offensive action are threefold: they awaken both Hawaiians and the general public to Hawaiian problems; they assert rights through direct actions against abuse or in support of cultural practices; and they reinforce the practice of self-determination

Finally, theoretical enunciations of self-determination include arguments for the alternative of *Aloha' Aina* in opposition to resort development, industrial parks, upper-income residential subdivisions, and military use. Arguments for restitution and for international adjudication of the territorial conflict between Hawaiians and the State and Federal governments are also examples of the sovereignty question in theoretical form.

At the largest level, discussions of Hawaiian sovereignty entail a choice between self-governing structures: a completely independent Hawai'i under the exclusive or predominating control of Hawaiians; "limited sovereignty" on a specified land base administered by a representative council but subject to U.S. Federal regulations; legally-incorporated land-based units within existing communities linked by a common elective council; a "nation-within-a-nation" on the model of American Indian nations.

In the on-going assertions by Hawaiians of their native rights to land and culture, several realities need to be kept in mind by the general public. The call for separatism by many Hawaiians is a call for the internationally-recognised right of a people to govern themselves. (For a thoughtful attempt at formulating principles of self-government see "Towards Reparations/Restitution" by Melody MacKenzie, Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation.) Separate, land-based units *now exist* under American law for the use of Hawaiians. These units, along with any land and monies from American reparations for the overthrow, are sufficient to anchor a form of Hawaiian self-government. Because these lands have been, and continue to be, abused by the State and Federal governments, there is an historical reason to transfer their control to Hawaiians. But the primary reason for transfer of control is the inherent right of self-determination for all peoples.

Until now, Hawaiians have only had the forced alternative of American control. With autonomous control over their own lands and policies, they will have a true alternative of self-determination. Hawaiians who wish to remain American, may do so. Those of us who wish to be independent may choose otherwise.

This alternative calls Hawaiians out of an oppressed past into a liberated future. It is the promise of this future that keeps every new generation of independent Hawaiians set on the path of self-determination.

Ethno-development – a Native Perspective

The ability to determine how financial and land assets shall be used is a component of sovereignty for native and non-native alike. If self-determination is to mean anything practical it must include the right of the citizens of a nation to determine what economic pursuits and projects will further their cultural and political goals.

Economic self-sufficiency is the goal of the Hawaiian Nation. In Hawaii this means that projects dealing with self-help housing, cottage industries for traditional craftsmen and “appropriate technology” should be supported and directly funded as a *component of self-governance*.

The current practice of American and European corporate and private givers is to fund non-profit organisations and governmental agencies to design and maintain programmes *for* native people. This paternalistic approach prevents native governments from participating in the actual process of economic planning and implementation and often results in the implementation of projects which are geared towards fulfilling the assimilationist goals of the non-native groups or governments who receive the funds.

This means that funding agencies should fund 1) self-governance of native peoples and 2) projects which are designed by native people for their communities to implement the financial goals of the native nations. Economic self-sufficiency requires planning and implementation. The process, like all other learning experiences, is greatly enhanced by hands-on participation. Unless native nations are provided with financial resources to develop their own mechanisms for economic self-sufficiency through the governance process, they will remain victims of their past colonial histories.

There are many practical problems which arise. If native nations do not have a long history of economic planning they may not have the technical skills to manage their monies or to structure and implement projects. Grant givers should encourage the appropriate development of these skills in native nations by providing funds for technical assistance in these areas and requiring accountability for disbursements. In some instances, it may be necessary for the funder to require a work plan and to release finances incrementally as the project proceeds. Funding agencies should realise that people learn from their mistakes. If problems arise, they should be corrected so that the project can proceed. At present, many funders refuse to continue funding once a problem surfaces with

a project. Unless there is a strong commitment to continued funding as well as to a procedure to cure defects in the process, native nations and other native groups will not be able to make mistakes and learn to correct them thereby improving their own ability to be self-determining and self-sufficient.

Funding agencies need to realise that they are really funding a social process and that the process is one of self-determination, self-governance and self-sufficiency. The process is a precedent to economic self-sufficiency.

(1) The historical and self-governance sections are excerpts from the Position Statement of the Hawaiian Delegation to the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference held in Manila, 1987.

Central America

Development Aid – An Indigenous Perspective

By Primitivo Coc

As I speak here, over 1,000 people in this world will die of hunger and malnutrition. 150 children will die from whooping cough, polio, measles, and other diseases that can be prevented by timely action.

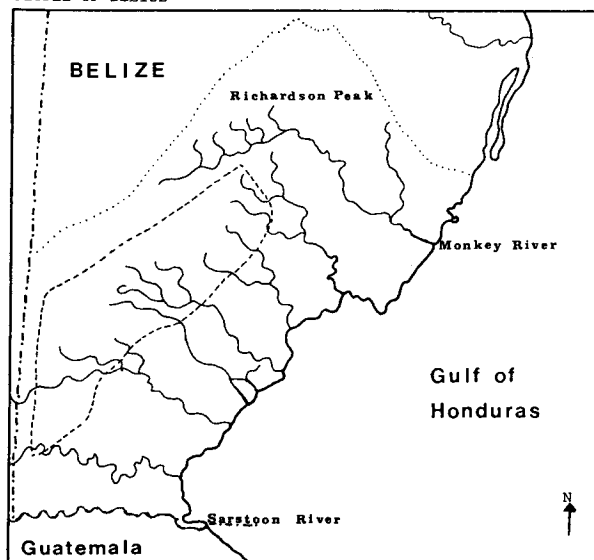
The fact is that we are living in a world where over one billion people live in extreme poverty and over 500 million go hungry; yet enough food is produced in the world to feed everybody. UNESCO estimates that there are 814 million illiterate adults, mostly in underdeveloped countries. By the year 2000, this figure will go up to one billion. These things are not just happening because they are destined to happen – these are the results of decisions made by rulers in nations throughout the world.

Poverty in Central America is very extensive. Guatemala, with an approximate population of 7 million and an external debt of \$3,000 million, has the highest rate of poverty in the region – 71.1 per cent. Indigenous peoples account for 60 per cent of this figure. Honduras, Belize's neighbour to the south, has a population of 4 million, most of them living and working on land as 'landless' peasants for large foreign interests. The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America reports that the average life expectancy in Central America is 51 years, low compared to other parts of the world.

Central America has also had its share of environmental disasters – the oil spills, diseases, the denuded slopes, the vanishing forests, the floods, and the earthquakes. Everyday, more real threats of disaster hang over our heads. The region's cultural landscape is itself being rapidly transformed, in a way and at a rate which is unprecedented in the history of Central America. The superficial nature of many imposed values and the deficiencies of the many proposed models has caused the loss of a rich tradition and cultural heritage, – a loss which can only push the region closer to disaster. The outlook of an accelerating population growth in the world's poorest and most neglected areas of Central America, combined with the destruction of irreplaceable resources for feeding the population and reproducing mankind is extremely alarming. The point is that there are choices to be made and these choices need to be made urgently. There is still time to reconcile the plight of the landless farmer and the need for forest and water conservation. There is a need to mobilise the genius of the people of the region for a future development that respects human dignity and nature's gifts.



MAP SHOWING THE PROPOSED CULTURAL HOMELAND OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF BELIZE



- International boundary with Guatemala
- Proposed Homeland
- Cayo boundary

*Map showing Belize and proposed Mayan reserve land or homeland
(map: Sheila Aikman)*

In the young Central American nation of Belize, my country, there is growing unemployment and hundreds of families cannot provide a good diet for their children. Many of our problems are a direct result of the policies pursued by the developing countries and their lending agencies: high interest rates make it impossible for poor families to achieve an acceptable standard of living and the bad terms of trade are crippling our farmers. All these and the lack of new economic opportunities result in cut-backs in government expenditure on social services and the maintenance of the infrastructure. Also resources which would, in good faith, be devoted to economic and social development, or to the co-operation with people in great need, have a way of being diverted to other areas than those for which they were originally targeted. In this situation it is the indigenous people who suffer the most.

Let me outline a few brief examples of Development Aid in Belize. In most of these projects, we were not consulted for our views nor do we have any participation, much less control. It is something imposed upon us. This is common throughout Central America where the views of indigenous peoples are ignored entirely.

TRDP – Toledo Research and Development Project

The Toledo Research and Development Project, a British Government supported project, spent millions of dollars to improve the quality of life through new agricultural practices. The overall effect has been zero except for the minor employment available during the short period the project was operating. The primary reasons for this failure was that the TRDP only utilised modern equipment and chemicals. Indigenous people do not use this equipment or chemicals and they do not have the resources to obtain them. TRDP did not have to worry about the financial consequences of the money it continually poured into the project.

USAID – The United States Agency for International Development

Between 1983 and 1987, USAID poured US\$ 44.363 million into Belize, a large figure for a country our size. This money was for both loans and grants for the construction of roads and bridges and the development of programmes. It has had a degree of success but the money spent is so large that the results are not justified. A major problem has been the upkeep of these projects over the long term, when there is no more money from USAID.

UNICEF

UNICEF, jointly with the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the Pan-American Health Organisation (PAHC) has focused upon health and education in Belize. These programmes have had some limited benefits for the indigenous Mayas of Belize. The focus of the Primary Health Programme has been an immunisation campaign which has had some success. In addition, the focus has been on drilling water wells in villages which has also achieved some success. The major problem is that these programmes have been successful only in communities which are accessible by road. However, many villages are not connected by roads and have been isolated by these programmes. Generally, these programmes have been a success but more needs to be done.

IFAD – International Fund for Agricultural Development

In 1982, IFAD proposed to set-up model farmers in each indigenous community. In our view, such model farmers would not solve any problems. These farmers would have all the support financially which would not be available to the others. It would only have served to create an elite group and create tension within the communities.

In 1988, IFAD is again proposing to give out loans with an interest rate of 11 per cent. Their programme is to develop agricultural diversification in order to move away from the traditional slash and burn system toward cash cropping. In developing this programme, they have insisted that indigenous farmers move into the private property system in order to provide collateral for the loans. This proposed programme has stifled the indigenous people's demand for a Cultural Homeland. Because the Maya reservation system does not permit the people to own the land, the IFAD project will not benefit them. We assume that the 1,100 farmers mentioned by the government for participation in the programme have already been identified. I will not be surprised if only a small number or no Maya are included in this programme. IFAD does not seem to entertain suggestions from indigenous peoples.

For any development project to be successful, it must consult with, have the meaningful participation of, and obtain the well-informed consent of all the people. The best way to achieve this is through the people's representative non-governmental organisation (NGO) such as the Toledo Maya Cultural Council (TMCC). This is the basic and fundamental issue. You can keep pouring money into a development project but it will very rarely achieve its goals and objectives without these very important elements. If these elements are not taken into con-

sideration, it can lead to extreme radicalism as we now see in many parts of Central America.

Generally, we indigenous people do not participate in making decisions that affect our lives. Apart from the one minute spent in the polling booths every five years (where ever this may exist), we allow a few leaders to make decisions for us. This method is a system which allows the leader to decide what is best for his children. It reinforces the society's habit of submission – it rewards conformity and punishes initiative.

In simple words, you do not help us by giving us hand-outs. All you do is make us more dependent on you. By treating us as a passive object, really as a beggar, you rob us of the dignity and the opportunity to participate in our own salvation. In other words, do not give us the fish so that we may eat, rather give us the tool so that we may learn to catch the fish.

We have learned that in order to accept responsibility and to take action to direct our own lives, we must be able to question and to make rational decisions rather than submit to the decisions of others. In simple words, we must be able to choose – this means the right to self-determination, the right to live, work and eat, the right to a safe and honorable existence.

In exercise of these rights, the Toledo Maya Cultural Council, a non-governmental organisation, representative of the grassroots Maya people of Toledo, has a new development programme of its own. The programme, a solely indigenous initiative, will be under the direct control of the people and is expected to benefit a vast majority of the Maya population.

The project will include the development of a land-use programme to:

1. Create a better incentive for the people.
2. Develop opportunities, both educational and agricultural, for the economic future of the people.
3. Identify possible agricultural systems and crops available to the people without the use of modern equipment, chemicals or large quantities of money.
4. Identify primary rain forest and archaeological sites for future preservation.
5. Develop these preserves, both archaeological and ecological for small-scale, controlled tourism.

The primary goal of the Toledo Maya Council is to preserve Maya culture for future generations. Hopefully, by way of this plan, the Council can set-up a credit union, a revolving fund system, so that money and land can remain within the hands of the Maya. The success of the project can readily be recognised as it is a grassroots initiative and does not come from a large, impersonal organisation.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the world and that is the nation I live in. What should you do about it? What can you do about it? Will it be possible under these conditions and circumstances to find a common language?

I believe that it is possible, necessary, and what is more, indispensable.

Responsible leaders of the world recognise that, at present, mankind is living through the most complex and serious situations, yet all is not lost. The trials are many. In the end, the reward is great. This reward is the satisfaction of playing a part, no matter how small, in reducing the misery of a people, in creating in Belize and in the world, a free and just society.



*Belize delegation after meeting with the prime minister, 5th February, 1988
(photo: Toledo Mayan Council)*

Indigenous Resistance and Self-management

By Manuel Ballesteros

Our presentation at this international symposium covers the continuing struggle of the indigenous communities of the northern zone of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. We are defending our natural and cultural values and our community self-management. It is very important to be clear about this long process of resistance, and to consider the serious political, social and ecological crisis through which we are living.

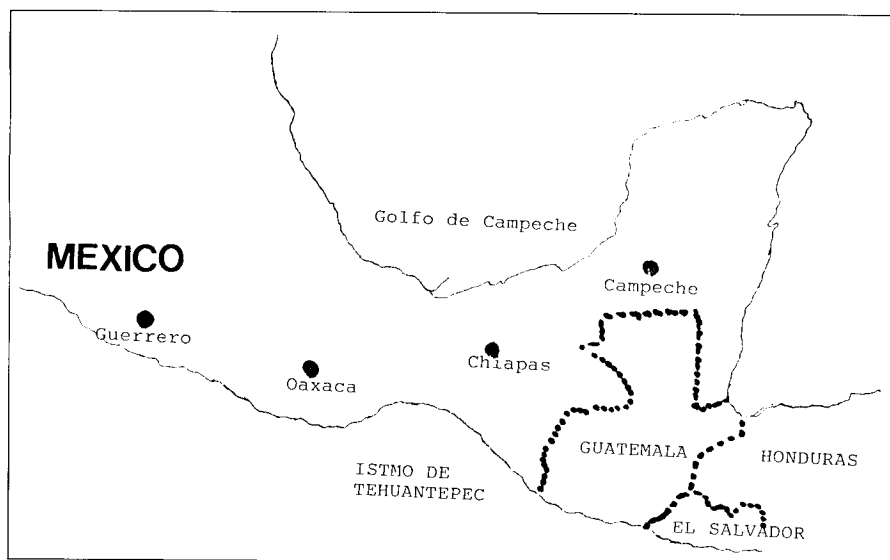
The present work is written in the Castilian language as we are still refining systems of writing in our own language.

Background

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is the beginning and the end of Central America. The northern zone of the Isthmus is situated in the heart of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the State of Oaxaca, Mexico. It is a zone very rich in natural resources and cultural values. Here is the last great tropical jungle in Mexico, the Selva de los Chimalapas, where the dry winds which rise from the Pacific Ocean meet the cold and humid winds which come from the Gulf of Mexico. Each year they provide a long and abundant rainy season. Since ancient times, the region has been inhabited by native nations, the Zoque, Mixe and the Zapotecs. Recently communities of Mixtecos and Chinatecos, displaced from their lands because of prolonged droughts and because of the construction of large hydraulic works, have settled in the region. That is to say, we, the majority of the inhabitants of this rich region, are indigenous peoples and peasant farmers.

We produce corn (maize), beans, tomatoes, coffee and fruits. In this work the participation of the family is very important. In our communities we still firmly maintain the ancient custom of carrying out communal work which we call, *tequio*.

Nevertheless, in spite of the abundance of natural resources and the industriousness of the inhabitants of our villages, there is need and there is misery. Our production is monopolised by gangsters (*coyotes*) and the local political bosses (*caciques*); malnutrition slowly kills our children; during the rainy season our villages are without communications and medical attention is almost non-existent.



Map of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec

History

An old and painful history tells of the plundering which we indigenous peoples have suffered for nearly 500 years. When the Spanish imposed their domination, a dark and sad period began for our ancestors who, after being the owners of the land, were turned into slaves and subjected to a merciless exploitation which systematically looted their riches, both material and spiritual.

We have few facts about the struggles of resistance carried out by our peoples during the colonial epoch. We know that in 1660 the peoples of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec participated in a long and violent rebellion against the payment of excessive tributes.

In the beginning of 1723 the functionaries of the Royal Spanish Court of Justice, the maximum tribunal of colonial justice, closed their ears to the denunciations of the peoples of the Guienagati, Lachiguiri, Guevea and Guichicovi against the brothers, Don Pedro and Don Antonio de Sarabia Cortés, respectively the Chief Mayor and the Lieutenant General of the Province of Tehuantepec. The denunciations increased and the long and heavy chain of abuse and injustice was stopped temporarily. The terrible Sarabia Cortés brothers had to abandon their posts and leave the region, forced by the general clamour rather than by the slow and torturous Spanish justice.

The 19th century arrived. With the independence movement, the State of Oaxaca was created. This social movement brought only slight political readjustments which did not stop the plundering of the communal lands, the exploitation and the injustice against the rights of the Indians. The Hidalgo and Morelos families (leaders and martyrs of the war of Mexican independence - 1810-1821), were supported by thousands and thousands of indigenous peoples who gave their blood in vain in this struggle.

The triumphant Creoles (the white ruling class) were only interested in having power in their hands, not in social change.

The gringo invasion of 1847 did not hinder a young Zapotec Indian, Benito Juárez, becoming governor of the State of Oaxaca. Three years later, this Zapotec governor did not hesitate to repress the Zapotecs of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec when they rose in one of the many uprisings against the central power; the city of Juchitán was burned.

Six years later the liberal worthies, with Juárez leading them, decreed the famous law confiscating the property which the Catholic clergy had accumulated throughout three centuries. But at the same time, this decree signified a hard blow to the traditional indigenous system of land tenure because with a stroke of a pen Juárez took away the indigenous peoples' communal rights to their lands.

In 1856, as the President of the Republic, Benito Juárez, demonstrated by his actions that Indians could be unjust towards other Indians; he strengthened the national system of domination over the indigenous peoples and, for his leadership of the Mexican nation, Juárez won a place in the country's official history.

Nevertheless, the worst was yet to come. Before the end of the 19th century indigenous peoples experienced a violent increase in the process of plundering. Suddenly one day our grandparents discovered that the government had sold their lands to foreign capitalists, Europeans and North Americans, who came to satisfy their hunger for quick riches without work. During this period violations of the rights and customs of the indigenous peoples was systematic and brutal.

The 20th century arrived. In 1906 the Nahuatl Indians in the south of the State of Veracruz joined the national rebellion incited by the Magonistas of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM).

One year later the trans-isthmus railroad, which connects the ports of Coatzacoalcos (on the Gulf of Mexico) with Salina Cruz (on the Pacific coast) was inaugurated. The realisation of this capitalist project further intensified the process of plundering indigenous lands and forests.

In 1910 the social movement, known as the Mexican Revolution, was initiated. The fall of the dictator, Porfirio Díaz, did not signify an improvement in the

conditions of life for the indigenous population. The best lands were again monopolised, now by the victors of the revolution and their allies. The winners and holders of local power, the so-called caciques, were those responsible for mistreating the indigenous peoples, razing their forests and taking the produce of their work away from them.



Mixe Indian (photo: Fernandez Benitez - Los Indios de Mexico)

The State which emerged from the revolution tried, at all costs, to assimilate, incorporate and integrate the Indians into the capitalist system which drove the country. From this zeal arose the Mexican Rural School, the House of the Indigenous Student, the Cultural Missions and the Cardenist Autonomous Department of Indigenous Affairs, which permitted and supported the *introduction* into the country of the noxious Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), and finally, the National Indigenous Institute, which is still charged with executing government policies in our communities.

This process of modernisation and integration, of political control and economic privatisation in the Isthmus, has met with different responses from the indigenous nations. In the coastal plains of the Oaxaca Isthmus, the Zapotecs forcibly pursued the resistance struggle, particularly during the 1970s. The coalition of workers, peasant farmers and students of the Isthmus (COCEI) is leading the struggle in the cities of Juchitán, Ixtepec and Atempa, among others, to wrest the offices of the municipal presidencies from the control of the government. This struggle continues and until now has cost numerous arrests, injuries and deaths.

The Zoques of San Miguel Chimalapa, for their part, have for three years sustained a bloody war by means of which they have managed to expel the *ladinos* (mestizos) who have monopolised municipal power and looted their natural resources.

In the coastal region to the south of the State of Veracruz, the Nahuas, organised themselves in a pact and prevented construction work on an oil port planned by PEMEX, the Mexican para-state oil corporation.

Organisation

The Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus (UCIZONI) is an association of the indigenous Zapotecs, Mixes, Zoques, Mixtecos, Chinantecos and Barreños, which emerged in the heat of the struggles of the 1980s. During this time, our companions of the municipality of San Juan Guichicovi managed to put an end to the long and bloody rule of the local political cacique, Maclovio de Leon, better known as “the tiger”; similarly our Mixe companions of San Juan Mazatlán managed to stop the destruction of their forests by a government forestry company; and also our companions of Santo Domingo Petapa formed the Popular Front “Domingano” to defend their communal lands, rich in forests and minerals.

The immediate background to the establishment of UCIZONI is to be found in the meeting held in Rio Pachiñé, Guichicovi in 1983 by a group of indigenous authorities from the lower Mixe region. In this meeting it was made

clear that, in order to come forward and find a solution to their problems, it was necessary to march together, united in thought and actions. Two years after this meeting, in 1985, we legally registered our union.

The Problems of the Communities of the Northern Zone of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec

At this time our principal problems are:

Land – at the present time many of our peoples do not have agrarian documentation which establishes their ownership of the land. The landlords and the caciques take advantage of this situation in order to monopolise lands. Instead of solving problems, the government functionaries try to work against the peasant farmers.

Production and Commerce – to cultivate the jungle requires much labour and investment and good commercial channels. It does not help us to obtain a good harvest if the prices which the monopolists pay are low. On the other hand, when we ask for credit they pay no attention to us and if they give us credit they charge us very high rates of interests.

Forest – the plundering of our forest resources continues. At the present time, private companies and para-state bodies, in collusion with forestry officials, continue their irrational plundering of the forests, the heritage of our ancestors. Our peoples are making an effort to mobilise themselves and to utilise the wood for the benefit of the community, but they are kept back by government bureaucrats who do not provide the necessary documentation permits and do not give credit. Now the government wishes to initiate a forestry programme with large corporations without consulting the members of the Indian communities and the indigenous co-operative farmers (*ejidatarios*), who are the owners of the resources. We wish to utilise the forests, but by means of small communal enterprises. We do not want to deliver wood as logs.

Caciquismo – this problem is serious and difficult to solve, because the local bosses (caciques) are people with economic and political power who dominate our villages by means of violence, imposing authority and monopolising lands and produce. When the villages rebel, these caciques persecute the representatives of the people; they are murdered or imprisoned.

Poor Living Conditions – the great majority of our communities do not have systems of safe drinking water. The education which is offered is deficient and on occasions the teachers themselves encourage the depreciation and rejection of our way of life. There are no hospitals or clinics. There are few roads and they are unusable during the rainy season.



Working in the fields (Diego Rivera/Instituto Nacional Indigenista)

Cultural aggression – the customs of our peoples are not respected by foreigners. During the last 30 years many Americans from the Summer Institute of Linguistics have arrived. They say that they have come to study our languages, but what they do is introduce religious ideas to divide our peoples. There are *sabáticos* who do not wish to participate in the communal work, the *tequio*. These people ridicule our beliefs and customs. They say now that one should not offer a chicken to the land, and that it is better to go to the church and sing. These religions have brought divisions within our peoples.

Human rights – the prisons of the region are filled with indigenous people, many of them falsely accused of crimes. As they do not understand the language of the judges and as they do not have money to hire lawyers, they are imprisoned for years and their families suffer in the meantime. The constitutional guarantees and the human rights of our peoples are not respected. At the present time, using as a pretence the fight against drugs (marihuana), soldiers enter our villages detaining and torturing the inhabitants, even though they are innocent; they eat our chickens and corn, and do not respect the communal authorities.

For our part, the indigenous communities organised within UCIZONI, are defending the land, and we have regained many hectares, sometimes with the

law in our hands and sometimes by force and the will of the people. We have organised ourselves to defend the forests and stop the timber companies. We have also promoted within our peoples the capacity to cultivate the forests and the fields as well as promote health care. At present we have nearly 30 communal mills for grinding corn (maize) which is our principle food. We have also organised ourselves to market our agricultural and handicraft production and to demand from the government the introduction of electricity, safe drinking water, schools, clinics and roads. In recent years we have also been directly confronting the human rights violations of our indigenous brothers; in this manner we have obtained the liberty of many indigenous persons unjustly imprisoned, often because of land problems involving foreigners, cattle ranchers and landlords.

Our Proposal

We, the indigenous peoples, have the right to organise ourselves in an independent manner and to struggle to build the future which we want and need. There are still people who consider us ignorant and think that we do not know what we want. These people are wrong, we know what we want and how to obtain it.

We want to plant various crops and to market them directly. We want the legal guarantees of our peoples respected. We want our customs, beliefs and forms of organisation respected. We want safe drinking water, electricity and roads. We want an education in our own languages, because these respect the values which we inherited from our grandparents. We demand that the forest resources be utilised in a manner which respects the forests and which benefits the indigenous peoples themselves. We do not want foreigners to dominate our lands. We want the Great Assembly of the Regional Authorities to point out the road which we shall follow. We want the voices of our elders to be respected.

Today, nearly 500 years after the brutal arrival of the Spaniards to our lands, the indigenous peoples associated in UCIZONI repudiate all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination and divisiveness in our communities.

We demand the expulsion of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and likewise we demand respect for the rights of we indigenous peoples to govern ourselves.

Indigenous Peoples in the Face of Development

By Hazel Lau

Introduction

When talking of development for indigenous peoples it is pertinent to ask – what development? What concept of development is being used and what are its practical implications for our peoples?

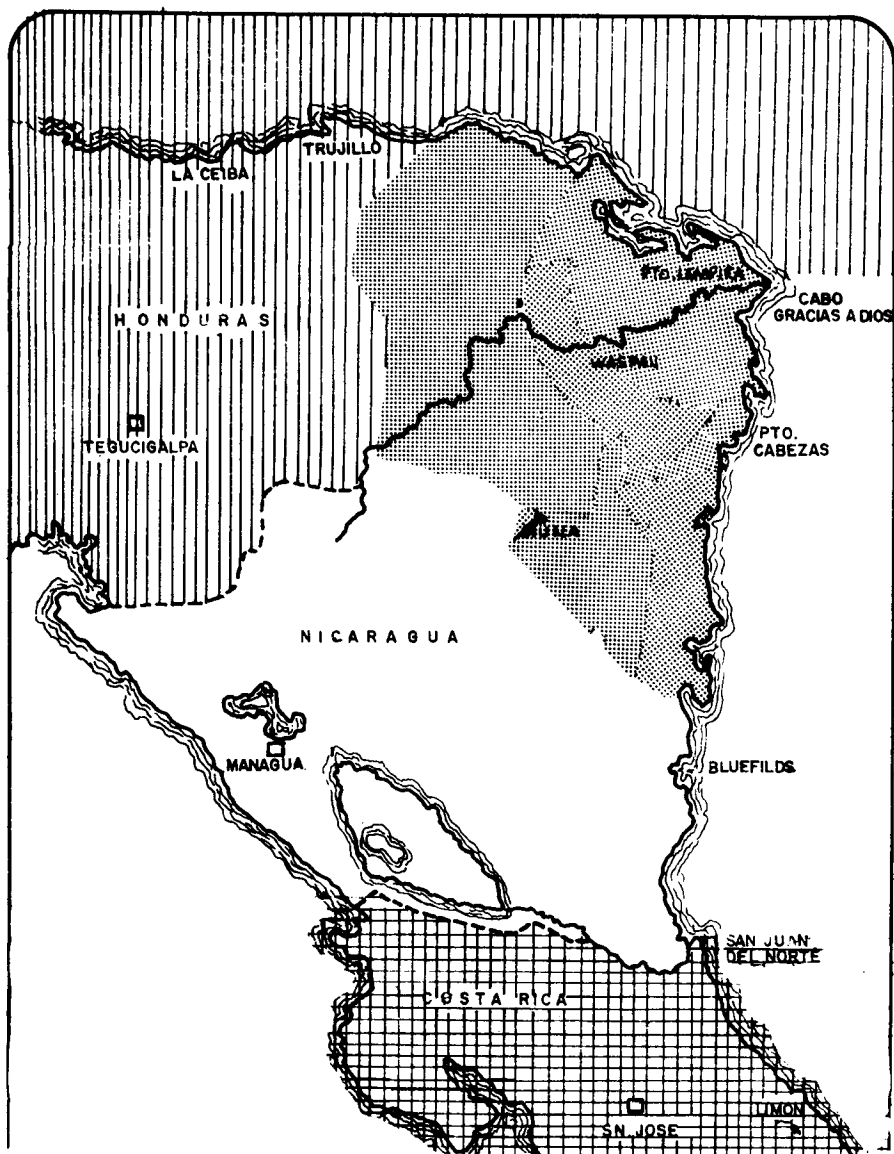
For some, the concept of development implies integration, assimilation or synthesis. But those who use development in this sense follow indigenist or paternalist policies which consider indigenous social structures to be “refuges of backwardness” which ought to be done away with. They also pursue policies which, in the majority of cases, treat indigenous people as children on whom a determined way of life has to be imposed through educational, agricultural and housing programmes, among others.

In examining this concept, we recall the names of what were termed “development projects” and can picture our silent indigenous brothers and sisters who were children 20 years ago, suffering cultural castration in schools, and the parents of these children, our parents, speaking Spanish to us, even though their command of the language was poor, in order to protect us from the teacher’s whip.

So much more could be said about the way development was put into action in indigenous communities, but we will suffice by showing how, faced with development imposed from above, the historical conscience of the Indian peoples, the sources of the anti-colonialist struggle, is today energetically anti-imperialist. It is searching in Indian America for its own alternative and for a social, economic, political and cultural reordering within our countries. We can affirm that, faced with these development policies, we indigenous people are establishing Indian Organisations.

The Origins and Rise of the Indigenous Movement

The history of the first destruction and the current the oppression, marginalisation and social inequality of Indian peoples, is the cause of the claim by we in-



Map showing distribution of the Miskito population (source: CIERA 1981)

indigenous peoples for recognition of our right to land, language, culture and decision-making.

Indian people have seen their right to land threatened by multinational companies, state institutions, landowners and others. They have looked for mechanisms to defend themselves which range from associations of a legal character, armed organisations, alliances with national liberation movements and massive participation in legal projects, as was the case with the formulation of the Autonomy Law in the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.

If we examine briefly the evolution of indigenous movements, we see that in Nicaragua, for example, the Miskito and Sumu peoples organised themselves into ALPROMISU from 1973-1979 in order to get legal recognition of communal land titles and the right to education in their mother tongue. This was in response to the Somosa regime which was "converting" all the communal lands into state land by means of the National Institute of Promotion (INFONAC) and the Agrarian Institute. Moreover the regime was prohibiting education in our mother tongue.

In Colombia, indigenous people are victims of abuse and their lands are invaded by wealthy landowners. The indigenous organisations defend and reclaim their lands, though at the cost of their own lives, in an environment of institutionalised violence.

In Panama, the expediency of the interests of the North American enclave led to the demarcation of a Reserve for the Kuna People. However, the manner in which this happened promoted the folkloric aspects of Kuna culture which resulted in a weakening of Indian peoples' general demands. The Kuna Youth, aware of this situation, are directing most of their efforts into helping their younger members overcome these existing barriers and promoting indigenous education. Also in Panama, the Guaymí people have the demarcation of their lands (the Comarca) currently under debate in the Legislative Assembly.

In Costa Rica the organisation TALAMANCAS strongly opposes the state's granting of exploration rights to the company Sixada Ltd. and is demanding that the government respects Reserve Law No. 6172. In Paraguay, Law 904/81 of the Indigenous Communities Statute means nothing when the indigenous people continue to be plundered of their resources. In Chile, the Mapuche people's organisation is persecuted; in Guatemala, the Indians are fighting for national liberation; in Nicaragua, since 1984 there has arisen the Autonomy Law and the Indigenous Organisations are in dialogue with the Revolutionary Government.

Here I have given an outline of the reality we face when talking of development; it is a mixture of drama and hope, but above all of struggle! – our peoples will never tire of demanding what is just.

Formulas Imposed with Regard to the Indian Problem

The strategic interests of the United States in Latin America and the Caribbean are expressed by an enclave economy which still exists in the majority of indigenous territories. This enclave economy is dominated by what in the early 1980s were called transnational companies, and are today called "multinationals".

The United States' interest in the Panama Canal is worthy of particular mention here, and its power which determined the creation of the "Kuna Reserve" in the image of, and similar to, the reserves imposed in its own country. In the same way, the majority of countries in the continent have passed laws to create reserves. These laws are applied one moment and violated the next, according to the US example. In some South American countries the term *Resguardo* is used to mean Reserve.

It is worth mentioning that the Indian lawyers of Panama, aware of the negative and unfavorable character of the word *Reserve*, themselves prefer the term *Comarca*. The Reserve is contrived precisely to favour the enclave system, and to give the state the ability to change the boundaries, concede them or repudiate them. In Latin America, the form Reserve, far from protecting Indian rights, has contributed to accentuating the fight against continuous plundering and oppression from the might of the wealthy landlords.

There are other types of state imposed interference in the affairs of indigenous peoples. The creation of state controlled bodies such as Indigenous Affairs Commissions, Offices of Indigenous Populations etc. are rejected by indigenous peoples who demand full participation in decisions on issues concerning their affairs.

The Indian organisations of the American Continent are aware that certain specialised centres from North America have elaborated up a model of "Indian ideology". They export this model to organisations in our countries using legal advisors or financial assistance. The obvious aim of this is to weaken the indigenous struggle and it is easy to see the effects: the breaks between leaders and the grass-roots (a separation of the organisation's interests from those who they represent), and a division of the national and international indigenous organisations.

Thus we see today two different Regional Co-ordination Organisations for Central American Peoples and two South American Indian Councils in Peru.

We indigenous peoples have been gradually learning how, in so-called "Latin America", Romano-French law and Anglo-Saxon law prevail and largely condition the framework for Indian peoples' fundamental demands for land and natural resources. At the same time, this framework determines the strategies of our organisations striving for our claims.



House of a Miskito family in Bluefields, 1983
(photo: Klaudine Ohland)

The process of conformation to the interests of nation states grew out of roots planted by the Spanish colonists. The lack of original thought and the subsequent social forms which emerged explain to a large extent the marginalisation and domination imposed upon Indian peoples. The dominant social classes and the intellectual elites of the Latin American countries elaborated their nationalist ideologies and excluded the Indians from their model of nationhood which began to appear during the 19th century.

The continental indigenous movement took the position of calling for a recognition of our conditions by means of fundamental demands. We talk of self-determination as a right to choose our own political, social, economical and cultural framework, corresponding to our identity and ensuring harmony with the rest of the national society.

The establishment of self-determination as a necessary condition for the future of indigenous peoples has evolved according to the maturity of our organisations: initially we talk of management, of specific, current programmes where there is space for indigenous participation in the construction of a more just society. So that there can really be an alternative indigenous development we outline our own models of development and realisation of human rights which apply to our peoples.

A Brief Chronology of the International Indian Movement

Indian mobilisation in seeking recognition of rights on the international plane first began in 1975 during the UN decade of action against racism and racial discrimination. In 1977 the International Conference for Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) took place with more than 250 delegates. The final resolution established a “Brief Declaration of Principles for the Defence of Peoples and Indigenous People:

that it is recognised that all indigenous nations and peoples have the right, as a minimum, to regain control of sufficient and appropriate land to permit them to live and maintain an acceptable subsistence economy in accordance with their own customs and traditions and that their development and peace are made possible. In some cases it is completely possible to gain areas of more extensive terrain.

This principle, in itself, only explains the legal aims which guide indigenous action. Today, however, indigenist organisations, through the interventionist policies of the North American administration, try to undermine this statement by assuming ahistorical and unpatriotic positions which are an insult to the tradition of the anti-colonial struggle of our peoples.

The same declaration also states:

that the right of indigenous peoples to hold land communally and to administer it according to their own tradition and culture, ought to be recognised nationally and internationally and ought to be completely protected by law.

Notice the demand with respect to communal ownership of land. The 1977 conference pays no attention to questioning the sovereignty of nation states but, nevertheless, almost all governments refused to recognise it.

And so it was in the 1970s, that the national Indian organisations of Central and South America, apart from defending the right to communal land, demanded opportunities for self-development.

After this conference, institutions specialised in indigenist politics from North America and Europe undertook work in the heart of the United Nations to influence the meetings of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. They emphasised concepts of self-determination, people-nation and self-management. At the same time they distributed their "aid work" in areas of Latin America. Several of these organisations have the anthropological tendency to write about cultures and speak on behalf of the Indians themselves.

In Central America, the Indian Movement focuses around the Regional Co-ordination of Indian Peoples (CORPI), a member organisation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), an organisation which defines its ideological line as the "Fourth World". This is a concept being questioned by some Indian organisations who follow another line within the fight for indigenous rights.



Hazel Lau

(photo: Mauricio Duarte from Wani)

In addition to this there are indigenist organisations which specialise in national problems of the Indians of Central and South America, trying to impose not only their anthropological-juridical thesis but also ahistorical alternatives, concepts and categories in the face of the international factors affecting the social processes of our countries.

The main international Indian representatives with whom we have had the opportunity to join at the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations have been the Indian Law Resource Centre, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the International Indian Treaty Council. They compete to determine the themes to be treated and the theoretical resolutions to be drawn in the name of the Indian peoples and nations of the world. They categorically demand self-determination for Indian peoples. Yet, because of internal differences, they operate separately.

From a broad perspective, little has moved forward since the principles of 1977 were proposed. In practice, the plundering and genocide of the Indian peoples who defend their lands continue. And meanwhile theoretical concepts advance in line with indigenist trends.

The United States exports its current ideology through indigenism, guaranteeing the permanent exploitation and plundering of Indian resources on our lands at the same time as:

- it does not subscribe to any change in Human Rights;
- it forces our Indian brothers into reserves or removes them from their lands;
- it calls them "tribes" as if we were still five centuries behind nations;
- its Constitution only accepts the term tribe and not community which is more human;
- it refines mechanisms for de-personalising the Indian or leading us to self-destruction, degrading us in their militaristic policy against our own peoples;
- it comes between and divides national and international movements with its specialised agents.

The permanent repression of the Indian peoples in America, in the face of the silence of the organisations which say they represent these peoples on the international plane, is today a reason for divisions and concerns of the representative Indian organisations of each people. The policy of the Reagan administration in Central America has also led to the leaders of international Indian organisations to take positions for or against them. This has had the effect of eroding the image of those organisations which have supported the military action.

This internal polarisation of international structures can also be seen in the network of national organisations which are attached to them; thus, the division of the Miskito organisations of Nicaragua, some for peace and others as in-

struments of the war (though today those which are instruments of the Reagan war are in the minority) is not an isolated situation. The same occurs with the Mapuche and the Kuna for example, in their respective organisations.

But what is being discussed here is the indigenous situation in Nicaragua. The only reason that the North American administration is intent on justifying its aggression towards the Sandinist Peoples' Revolution, which belongs to all the Nicaraguan People, is because in the context of the Revolution, in spite of the errors of the period 1981-83, it has been possible to embark on an Autonomy Project with large scale participation by the Indian peoples and ethnic communities of the Atlantic Coast.

Autonomy and its Process in Nicaragua

Because of their tradition of community, all the Indian communities have been able to conserve certain levels of autonomy in spite of the action of colonisation and neocolonialism. What is missing is to guarantee the legal instruments and materials so that this autonomy can be substantiated.

We understand the Autonomy as a field for exercising our economic, political, social and cultural rights in a process which begins by recognising the land titles and natural resources of our communities. Autonomy is the strengthening of national unity deriving from respect and, above all, the participation of our own historical and cultural identity in the transformation of Nicaraguan society. Indians, Creoles and Mestizos opt for Autonomy as an alternative solution to the problem of inequality and marginalisation and as a formula with which to gradually make our rights more concrete, through a fundamental guarantee: the participation of all individuals.

The establishment of the dialogue for peace with the communities and a dialogue with the armed indigenous groups of MISURASATA and KISAN makes way for better relations between the Government and the Indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and makes the beginning of a process of Autonomy possible.

In November 1984, Regional Autonomy Commissions were formed in Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields through the spontaneous initiative of professionals and students of the region, mainly the Miskitos. In the following December, the President of the Republic created the National Autonomy Commission to help the Regional Commissions, whose participation is essentially that of the people, and fusing them together for the formulation of a work schedule which gave the process a stamp of authenticity.

The announcement of a process of Autonomy awoke new hopes in the network of Miskito and Suma communities. These hopes gave a special and neces-

sary significance to the problem: to widen the dialogue for Peace and Autonomy with the indigenous peoples who have taken up arms.

The Andean Region

Communal Self-management: Considerations for Better External Aid

By Salvador Palomino Flores

Introduction

As an orientation for those who provide aid for Indian peoples, I shall explain who we are, how we are and what we want. First I shall make it quite clear what our fight is, then our understanding and our strategy of work. This will lead us to, finally, the consideration that the aid should be fair and beneficial to all, to the complete satisfaction of both sides. This inquiry can be summed up in the following set of questions: "Aid from whom for whom - why, wherefore and how?"

Aid to Indian peoples, as Indian peoples, is very recent. The perspectives of Western donor agencies, when considering and understanding the peoples of South America, completely accept the validity of the new nation states as definite realities. Within this context aid has never been disinterested and has always been paternalistic. The motto seems to have always been "saving and maintaining the existence of the poor within the system and only alleviating their cold and taking away their hunger".

If this really serves to solve immediate urgent problems, in the longer term it leads to habitual beggary and not to a future solution. This type of aid comes from governments, state institutions, particular groups (national or foreign), religious sects or political parties who always condition aid to their own interests and not to those of the receivers. And so, all we have learned is to reach out our hands, regardless of whether, in order to receive this aid, we have to de-Indianise ourselves, become acculturated, integrated, alienated or assimilated while accepting or abetting alien political and cultural proposals for running our lives.

All this contributes towards the loss of our identity, of our own cultural values, of our historical awareness and the disappearance of our ancestral models and institutions which are not only beneficial for us, but are also a contribution towards a better organisation in co-existence with non-Indian societies.

Nevertheless, should we completely refuse the types of aid described above? Would this be expedient for our Indian peoples in their present circumstances? Would this be fair treatment for those who do help us honestly and with good intentions? No. So where is the problem? What is needed is a reconsideration of the forms and objectives of the aid in the hope that we can give some explanation of what we are and what we want.



Salvador Palomino Flores (photo: Helge Kleiven)

There are already countries and institutions which are themselves giving more consideration to providing fairer forms of aid, with the awareness that they do not only have to support the poor but also the original peoples (indigenous or non-indigenous) and, in the specific case of the Indian Peoples who recognise

their ancestral rights, their validity today and their future protection as free, authentic and coexisting peoples in a just and pluricultural world.

The Historical and Social Situation of the Indian in Peru

South America today consists of ten countries called "nation states" which are characterised by a predominance of Creole governments (Westernists and Westernised) as a historical result of the Lusitanian-Spanish invasion 496 years ago. These nation states, since their own "independence" (which is still not even 200 years old), today have geographically defined frontiers and are themselves "Mestizos, Castilian- or Portuguese-speakers, Westerners and Christians". This situation takes no consideration whatsoever of the territories and cultures of the hundreds of Indian peoples and nations which have enjoyed these lands since the very beginnings of human life on this continent.

From the perspective of the indigenous peoples, Peru is a land with a pluri-national, pluri-cultural and multi-lingual character, which has recently begun to build a national identity and, thus, establish a Peruvian Nation from the dedica-



*Indian wife, mother and guide in the unique development of our peoples
(photo: S. Thissen)*

tion of a plurality and not from any type of ethnic, cultural or political hegemony. Indian peoples are in the majority in Peru; in the Peruvian Amazon there are more than 64 different nations (with 64 different languages). In the highlands and slums of the cities we are millions of members of the Quechua and Aymara Nations. With the Creoles who are a new nationality (and just as Peruvian as we Indians are) we total 67 different peoples-nations who have to learn to live in "Unity within Difference" in order for there to be a just equality between us. Only this way will enable us to find the just democratic spirit of the new Peruvian nation.

Many activists today fight for, and defend the idea of, intensifying interaction between indigenous and non-indigenous people. But they understand this idea in a biological or racial context and not culturally. In the context of culture, this type of interaction is completely different because of the inequalities between the peoples interacting. Mixing, symbiosis and juxtaposition are, in effect, a process of superimposition of Western cultural elements on top of indigenous culture in a relationship of dominant culture to dominated culture. This relationship consists of mechanisms of destruction and distortion stemming from the non-indigenous culture and mechanisms for survival and existence *sui generis* among indigenous cultures.

Though very unequally, both cultures preserve their own characteristics. Often there is confusion between them which prompts us to think of "cultural mixing" as a "third culture" and the definitive result of the negation of the first two (cultures). Both cultures are in a situation of systematic struggle, the Western system on top of, and against, the Indian system. What is the solution? We are still not in a position to provide answers, but we believe that this is a socio-economic and cultural problem that transcends the simple declaration of class struggle, which the revolutionary component of the West proposes as the only alternative for our liberation.

The Indians of America, who have had scientific civilisations and advanced cultures since 10,000 years before Christ, continue to co-exist with the world at the close of the 20th century. We are denied, marginalised, exploited, killed, persecuted, discriminated against or forgotten, but are always forcefully claiming autonomy and liberty, and moreover still offering all of humanity some models of life which, being in harmony with mother nature and father cosmos, can really lead us to a future of peace which we all yearn for.

The fundamental characteristic of Indian peoples is their organisation by **Community**. Today in Peru we can count more than 6,000 communities which are either recognised or unrecognised by the state. There is no doubt that the present form of the Indian community in Peru is the indigenised survival of that

founded and organised by Viceroy Toledo in the 16th century according to Spanish models, but here, based in the Andes, it is also the continuation and force of the Tawantinsuyu and pre-Tawantinsuyu *ayllu*. The community is the structural and functional survival of the *ayllu* and its pattern and spirit continue throughout the territory of Peru today.

The *ayllu* has come to mean the primary minimum cellular unit of human organisation (in the same way as the *Callpulli* among the Mexicans, the *Lofche* among the Mapuches or the *Tobo* among the Shipibos of the central jungle). It is the focus for about 100 families and its territory borders with other *ayllus*. *Ayllu* lands and resources are communal property where rights, and only usufruct rights, are held by families. It was governed by a *Kuraka* (or Pachak Kamayuq) and by the *Hatun Kamachikuy*, the grand assembly of the *ayllu*. No one possessed more than anyone else and all the members participated in family work and *ayllu* work through systems of mutual aid: the *ayni* and the *minka*. By means of its systems of land control and by the distribution of labour, the *ayllus* came to constitute collective social units where there were no social classes and hierarchisation was by age, work and activities completed in the service of the *ayllu*.

The alliances of *ayllus* in large units came to constitute nations, and the alliance of nations constituted *Wamani* or provinces, and further still, the alliances of these provinces constituted the *Suyu* governed by the *Suyuyuq Apu*. Finally, *Tawantinsuyu* was the largest unit consisting of the alliance of the four *Suyus*: *Antisuyu*, *Chinchaysuyu*, *Kuntisuyu* and *Kollasuyu* which came to signify “the great confederated state of plur-inational, pluri-cultural and multi-lingual character and the collectivist plural society which reaches the four parts of the South American world”, and not only the Andean part constituting “an empire”.

The community which was structured by Viceroy Toledo still continues at the heart of the *ayllu*, and the major part of its elements, primarily Spanish, have been Indianised through the centuries of cultural defence. The *Varayuqs*, for example, are today the indigenous authority though their names “*Alguaciles*”, “*Regidores*”, “*Campos*” and “*Alcaldes-Mayores*” remind us of their Peninsular origin. Within the community, the *ayni* and the *minka* are still forms of collective work which today have extended to the “*Pueblo Jovenes*” (slums) of the cities as the Indian people’s communal social form within the Western individualistic form of economy.

Ayllu – the Community and Peruvian Nation-State

Since its formation, the community has maintained communal ownership to

land. The Spanish owned the land and the people. They retarded and spoiled Tawantinsuyu's own development, enslaving the people, and they were the first, in every aspect, to Westernise America; but we do not know why they maintained the essence of collective land tenure within the ayllus and communities. It was Simon Bolivar after "Peruvian national independence" who decreed that communal land should be parcelised and handed over to the community members as private property with the option to buy or sell it in a familiar or individual form. This is exactly what Pinochet is doing in Chile at the moment with the intention of destroying Mapuche communal organisation, and also in introducing non-Indians onto community lands. However, the Mapuche people of Chile with their force of resistance are putting up a great fight to maintain their communal form. We know that they have behind them the success of 496 years of continual resistance. Their continual existence demonstrates this success.

Nevertheless, the 6,000 Andean communities are still not very uniform. Four hundred and ninety-six years of economic-cultural aggression from the West has not been without effect. We have transgressed and transformed and made ourselves different from each other. Today we can classify our communities into a typological continuum from the most Westernised (which often are communities only in name) to the mostly indigenous which survive in the most distant parts or the "areas of refuge".

In the light of this we can conclude that Peruvian independence was not independence for the Indians. It only substituted the Iberian-Peninsular rulers with their Creole children who, in the new Republic, exercised a more drastic rule and a more recalcitrant Westernism. We were never the model for the Peruvian Republic's identity or transformation; we were only dispossessed and defenceless beings who found salvation in the Western models of the left or right. From a painstaking analysis of the effects of external aid, we see that this aid hypnotises into the snare of Westernisation. Indeed Westernisation is accelerating for this very reason. Who, of all those who help us, understand our own development? Is it not true that much of the money which comes from outside becomes simply an agent of our own Westernised and Westernising governments?

Theories, Concepts and Indigenous Realities

The view of social scientists is very important for the interpretation of the character of our Indian peoples. Those concepts which emanate from the most fashionable theories are usually the most popular. All those scholars who deal with our peoples, for one reason or another, look at us and define us from outside

without any real understanding of our being, of our essence. Thus they try to “transform” us, mostly in order to satisfy their own interests, their own ideology, their subjectivity or because of their dreamlike model. But very few make the sacrifice to learn our language, and be able to understand our reality more authentically and look together with us for a just solution to our problems.

They call us primitives, savages, autochthonous, aborigines, natives, indigenous people or Indians (this last term is used by ourselves) though we are fundamentally, nations of Quechua, Aymara, Ashaninka, Yanesha, Aguaruna, Guajiros or Mapuche. To blur the notion “country of Peru” with “Peruvian nation” we are simply called “ethnic groups”, “ethno-linguistic groups”, “cultural groups”, “nations” or called by the generic term “campesinos” – peasant. Whatever our number and whatever the size of our territories, we have all the requisites to be nations, and, as our brothers the Canadian Indian peoples say, we are the *First Nations* of this continent. History itself confirms the process of our alienation: from ayllus and Tawantinsuyu we have been transformed into “communities” (free or captive); from Indian communities into indigenous communities, and finally we are formed into the so-called campesino (peasant) communities.

The communities are named “campesino communities” so that we can fit into the class scheme which the neo-liberals and marxists propound. From this perspective, the choice is for us to continue being exploited or marginalised and hope that we will receive help, or to look for a limited liberation within the parameters of the Western Left. We would then find ourselves without identity and without the strength of our own races, cultures, civilisations and nations that we are.

Without doubt, revolutionary theories deny the collectivist and community character of our civilisations and pre-Spanish peoples, and always try to convince us that we had class empires, enslaving “Asiatic” systems, and class societies, none of which deserve further attention as models for our claims. In a unilineal and unilateral (Eurocentric) way of thinking, the happy society will exist only in a Western transformed future, the “primitive” and the “indigenous person”, deceased or contemporaneous, is still of no interest and worth for this new situation.

If the financiers are not bringing us yet another trap (with good intentions of course) and they only want to help us as “poor peasants” who need nothing more than to increase production and productivity in order to be able to compete in the market system, how can we avoid seeing that all this help does is to finance the capitalist system?

Our situation is becoming complex. We do not deny that through the influence of the Western system we are part of the class system, but we would point

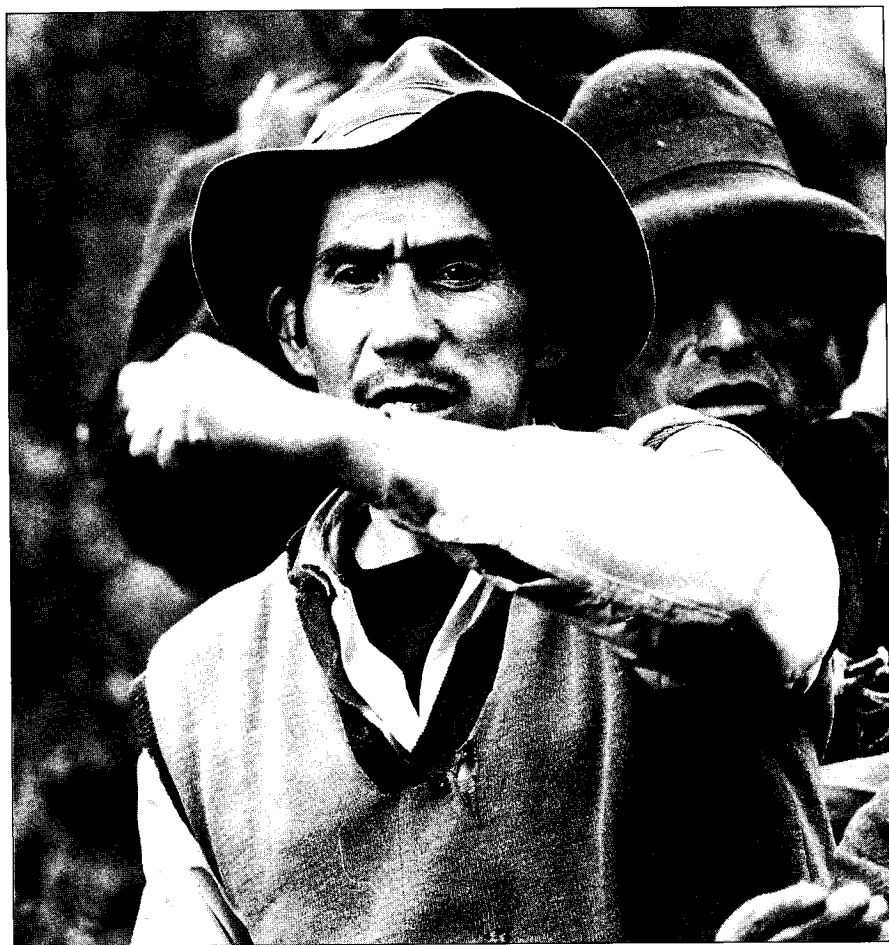


The work is done collectively and happily because this is a festival of life out of respect for Mother Nature (preparation for the Inti Raimi festival, Cuzco, photo: S. Thissen)

out that, in the first place, this class division has not arisen out of our Indian societies (though the opposite is believed and spread). On the contrary, it is something brought in and imposed and, above all, someone else's system. Nevertheless, for our liberation we still have to advocate its negation or change. In the second place, we must always consider that, as a Bolivian Indian brother might say "we are not simply a social class but a people, a civilisation".

Land, Culture and Community – One Complete Unit

The indigenous community and its members cannot exist without land, and this is why it is always said that "an Indian without land is a dead Indian". The centuries testify to the fact that since the invasion, our fundamental concern has always been to preserve the land, regardless of whether the invaders enslaved. Yet we continue to cultivate our sacred mother earth, which is still mostly in somebody else's hands today. Since Manco Inca, the first resistor, millions of our



We have had the strength and we will always have it, but we lack the freedom of mind and the freedom of our people today because of the oppression and colonisation (photo: Niels Nyholm)

brothers have fallen defending the land for the ayllu, for the community. And we are all united to the cosmos and to the sacred Pacha Mama, Mother Nature, by a knowledge and understanding of the laws which have incited us to be collectivists and communitary. Consequently, collective ownership, work on the land and the fair use of the land between members of the ayllu-community (and above all without ownership) makes our cultural responses collective and communal.

Therefore, those who want to destroy Indians' and the community's collectivity and communality always go for what is most vital and effective: the compulsive expropriation of land or, at all events, its conversion into private property through decrees or laws from the central government.

Indigenous Science and Technology

Western science and technology is without a doubt oriented towards the depreciation and destruction of nature, while indigenous science and technology have always striven for harmonious equilibrium with Pacha Mama. Indigenous science and technology have always been considered primitive, simple or empirical while Western science is seen as more modern and the only approach open for consideration. The difference between the two forms is not simply their location in time (the old simple and the modern complex) but, rather, in their characteristics and quality as correct responses to the laws of nature and the beneficial consequence for harmonic survival that they can offer humanity and all beings in their daily relation with mother nature herself. Geodesy, hydraulics, architecture, genetic engineering, pure mathematics, astrophysics, natural medicine and the development of agricultural science, have been the dominion of our predecessors since 2,000 B.C., according to the architect Carlos Milla Villena in his book "Genesis of the Andean Culture". Europe only discovered that the earth revolves around the sun and not the reverse in the 18th century.

All aid and development programmes within our communities should not blindly follow Western science and technology. For example, why is the indiscriminate use of synthetic fertilisers and insecticides encouraged when we know and have natural ways of working the land so that it preserves and regenerates its fertility. Why should we not use our own knowledge, such as how to prepare organic fertilisers which biologically control insects? In this way, what is harmful could be converted into something beneficial. The increasing infertility of our lands is today due mainly to foreign interference and the way outside interests experiment on us in ignorance and contempt of our own customs. For example, they induce us to large scale and immediate production of mono-cultigens for the market, with ever increasing use of synthetic fertilisers and insecticides and which later, on average 7 years, force us to abandon our lands because of exhaustion. In many cases the lands remain completely infertile for many years. The Indian is accustomed to rotational land-use according to scientifically established cycles. We practice pluri-cultivation, combining plants which are mutually beneficial; we control and use different ecological zones (ecosystems) of the Andes and the jungle with plants and species which have been adapted for centu-

ries and, finally, we prefer to produce principally for the family and communal consumption and recently (this is attested) have exchanged products throughout the region (through the system of barter) and also market sales – but only of surpluses.

Finally, concerning science and technology we ought to add: first get to know the people where the aid is directed (this concerns us too) in all cases, then make it compatible with our own ways and save the good and throwing away the negative of both forms. This situation produces a harmonious assemblage of the positive forms of Western science and technology with indigenous science and technology, which could lead us to greater achievements in our objective of a better life for everyone.

Autonomy, Self-development and Communal Development: Recommendations

All aid in the Andes should include:

1. The practice of a socio-agrarian policy which defends and strengthens the community as a model and sees to the restructuring of those already in existence.
2. The co-operative is a way towards the community, and the community towards the ayllu. The co-operative is organised where there is no community and nothing within it. Where there is a community it should be restructured to encourage communal or multi-communal economic activity as a necessary step in the present circumstances.
3. Recupérate sufficient land for the community from whatever circumstances and situations.
4. Completely favour collective and communal forms of work such as the ayni, the minka and the mita.
5. Commerce between communities ought to be an exchange of products, that is, barter.
6. All economic activity within the community ought to be communal and not individual, familial or by associate forms which benefit only parts of the population and not all.
7. In communities to which roads will be built, the communal organisation of property and administration of shops, hotels, transport offices and restaurants, should be set up before the arrival of foreigners who become bosses through the introduction of external capital.
8. The purchase of goods and the sale of products ought to take place directly through the community avoiding all types of intermediary.

9. A deeper knowledge of what the ayllu and the community is should be gained from studies.
10. Studies should be carried out to gain deeper understanding of indigenous science and technology and its practice should be encouraged. There should also be an attempt to adapt Western science and technology when it is convenient for communal practice and life.

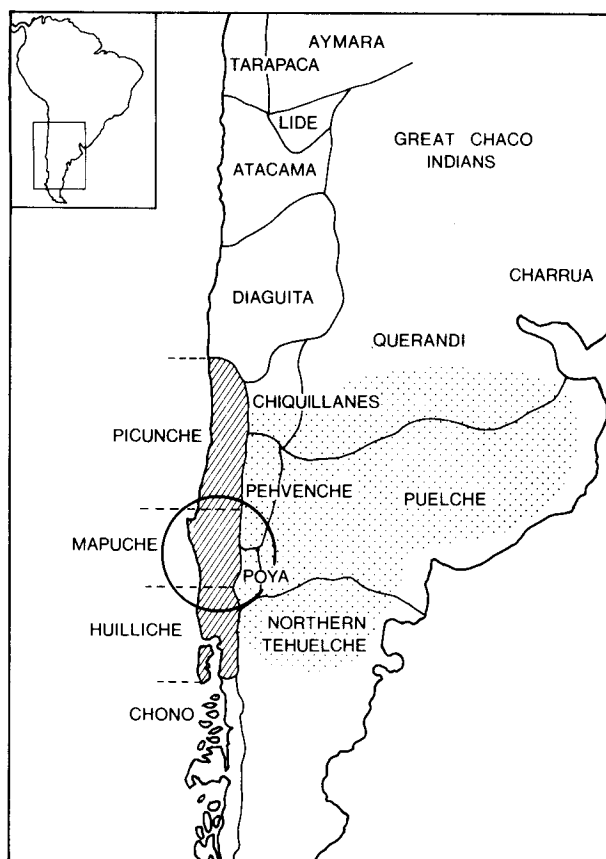
The Ethno-development of the Mapuche People

By Reynaldo I. Mariqueo




When the Spanish colonists arrived in 1540, the Mapuche Nation was one of the great societies of South America. Its population oscillated between one and a half million and two million occupying an immense territory from the River Maule in the north of Chile to the extreme south. On the Argentinian side, Mapuche territory included a large part of the present day provinces of Mendoza, San Luis, Cordoba, Santa Fé and almost all of the province of Buenos Aires, continuing down to the extreme south of the continent. This territory was approximately 1,200,000 km.sq. of which 260,000 km.sq. corresponds to Chile and 960,000 km.sq. to Argentina. (1)

This vast territory, with a dramatic diversity of landscape, was inhabited by the Puelche, Ngoluche, Leufuche, Picunche, Huilliche, Pehuenche, Molulche, Ranculche, Teheulche, etc., names which indicate or describe the geographical area or environmental characteristic of the region. For example, Puelche means “people of the east”; Pehuenche – “people of the Pehuén region (Araucan pine)” and Huilliche – “people of the south”.

Until recently the Spanish and Creoles (non-indigenous peoples born in South America) thought that these peoples had different ways of life and languages and that culturally they had little or nothing in common. In order to spread unrest among the indigenous peoples, to sow the seeds of distrust and undermine the unity of the Mapuche Nation, they constructed artificial boundaries and they insisted that these peoples were in constant internal war before and after the colonist invasion. Some historians have even declared that the Araucanians (2) of Chile were insatiable warriors, fighting among themselves and with Christians. They even claim that the Mapuche invaded Patagonia and the Pampa at the beginning of the 17th century and liquidated all the native populations. Other historians state that the Mapuche colonised these peoples and imposed on them their “savage customs and culture”, and in this way totally assimilated or *Araucanised* them; meanwhile others resuscitate and revive these native peoples in the 19th century and see them, together with the Mapuche “their ancient masters”, as forming a fortuitous union with the peoples of the Pampas and invading the Argentinian provinces of Cordoba, Santa Fé, Buenos Aires and San Luis. (3)



*Map of Chile and Mapuche territory
Distribution of the Araucanian and Araucanised groups and their
neighbouring Indian groups in Chile and Argentina*

-  The three main Araucanian ethnic groups in the 16th century.
-  The araucanized tribes to the East from the 17th to the mid-19th century.
-  The habitat of the only two contemporary Araucanian groups.

History is written by dominant cultures, the oppressors and victors, and fits harmonically with their interests, fulfilling a role of complicity, justification and endorsement of invasion and colonisation. We can see this practice in the official history of the *huinca* (non-indigenous) society which is a manipulated history, brimming with stereotypes and racist asides about the defeated people. We need not be surprised to find that these texts treat the Mapuche in a manner characterised by cheap propaganda – “brain washing” – which is an effective instrument in the oppressing society’s process of acculturation.

After Chilean and Argentinian independence from Spain in 1810, the Creole government planned the military invasion of the then independent Mapuche nation. At this time the Mapuche were still not integrated into any state. The Creoles became the colonisers of our people and the treaties between the Spanish Crown and the first Republican governments were quickly forgotten. The territorial frontiers were violated and the Chilean and Argentinian armies together began the most bloody and cruel war of occupation. Under the pretext of “civilising” and “integrating” they declared a merciless war on us; their methods fully excelled those of their Spanish predecessors in their cruelty and barbarity. This war acquired its maximum expression in the middle and end of the last century when the invaders applied the odious and cowardly military strategy of “destroying the land”. Our land witnessed some of the most abominable crimes in the history of America and the world. The armies burned houses and crops; they executed captives and seized any people they found; they murdered old people, women and children and took animals and valuable objects as war booty. (4)

The Chileans ironically called this “integrationist” process the “Pacification of the Araucanians”, a process which was concluded in 1887. The “formal” incorporation of the provinces of Cautín and Malleco as national territory took place in 1883 and finally concluded the heroic armed resistance which had been carried out by the Mapuche for almost three and a half centuries. In the struggle our people forced the invader to respect the boundary treaties and fervently fought to safeguard their sovereignty, liberty and self-determination.

On the other side of the Andes range, the Argentinian Creoles made a series of incursions between 1832 and 1885. On the 10th of May 1832, Brigadier General D. Juan Manuel de Rosas set off on an expedition which culminated in the Argentinian army’s first “Great Victory”. The Buenos Aires Mercantile Gazette of the 24th December 1833 reported the results of the “campaign”: “3,200 Indians dead and 1,200 men and women taken prisoner”. When the “campaign” ended, they signed a peace treaty with the Mapuche ceding to the new-born Argentinian Republic some 3,000 square leagues and extending the frontier to the coast of the province of Buenos Aires. (5) Since then Brigadier Rosas has been called the “Desert Hero”. In March 1872, at the battle of San



Red Lolcura, near Minuico during Ngillatun (photo: Helmut Schindler)

Carlos, the Argentinian army, equipped with new Remington breech-loading rifles, under the command of General Rivas, won its second great victory against the Mapuche resistance forces, led by the heroic *Toqui* (highest military leader) Calfucura.

The Argentinian Creoles, assured of imminent victory, proclaimed themselves the legitimate heirs to the land and argued that “this Spanish soil is a Papal donation” and “it is included in all the royal agreements as part of Nueva Andalucia and Nueva Leon”. According to the maps designed solely by the Spanish and supplemented and complemented by the Creoles, these areas were part of the Spanish American possession.

1885 marked the beginning of the end of the then independent Mapuche Nation; the territory was distributed and the people sent into slavery. Many were sent to the north to work as forced labour on sugar plantations, while in the south, the “Indian hunts” began: the reward for a man was one peso. Others were forced into the army, while the remainder were herded like cattle to Buenos Aires and then divided out like objects to become servants for wealthy families. Those who escaped changed their names and went underground after indigenous names were also outlawed. Mapuche presence on their own ancestral *mapa* (territory) was no longer tolerated by the Christian society and in 1902, through the mediation of the British Crown the Chileans and the Argentinians, Mapuche territory was divided, taking the Andes mountain range as the natural frontier. In spite of military defeat and limitless suffering, our forefathers refused to recognise this frontier and even in the 1950s travelled freely from one side of the Andes to the other. Today Mapuche can only cross the frontier with work permits, with the necessary papers for tourism or with permission to travel for commercial reasons. All of this makes it difficult for Mapuche to keep together and as a result, family ties are broken.

General Pinochet and the Mapuche Problem

General Pinochet seems to have found the “magic formula” for the solution to the now centenarian “Mapuche problem”. A Decree with the force of a Law (No.2568), with characteristics that are unique in the history of the Republic, encapsulates the magic ingredients for the solution to the “problem”. This decree divides all the Mapuche communities into individual allotments. Rural property resulting from this division “will stop being considered indigenous land with indigenous people the owners”. In this way, through Decree Law 2568 of 1979, we were declared “technically non-existent”.

One year later, the State Political Constitution of 1980 robbed the word *Mapuche* of any legal content, ignoring the existence of indigenous peoples in Chile. This was the final solution. Vainglorious in his exploits, the General declared and declares to the four winds that “Chile does not have Indians, we are all Chileans!”.

On the other hand, in Argentina, influential media of communication are renewing their anti-Mapuche campaign and flying in the face of Mapuche claims for justice and a more human and civilised treatment. They point out that: “the Mapuche question is a Chilean problem not an Argentinian one”, arguing that the Mapuche are indigenous to Chile and that the problem is artificially fuelled in Santiago in order to take possession of Argentinian territory.

In this state of affairs, we are declared non-existent on one side of the Andes and foreigners on the other; our communities are divided up, we are confined to minuscule pieces of land, our indigenous names are forbidden, and we are harassed and unattended (in public offices) because we wear our traditional clothes. Nevertheless, in spite of this, the million Mapuche are on their feet fighting in defence of their historical rights with more vigour than ever, demanding what is justly theirs: the restitution of their territory, the right to participate in aspects of the law which affect them, in defence of their liberty; demanding respect for their right to practise and develop their culture, and in demand of their inalienable right to autonomy and self-determination.

The Republic and Mapuche Development

After the Pacification of Araucania and the Desert Campaigns of 1885, the domination of the Mapuche took on a new character. It was replaced by legislation committed to continue the plundering of Mapuche territory: legislation on indigenous issues about which our people had neither a say nor a vote. Indeed, only the colonisers “understood how easy it would be to rectify, complement, implement and even decree a new law” if the existing laws were found to be inconvenient once they were made. (6) In fact, even in 1866, the Chilean State, by making use of these juridical “legal” instruments, unilaterally proclaimed themselves by decree controllers of all the Mapuche territory south of the river Bio-Bio (then the boundary line) – even though the land had not been conquered lands and the Chilean state exercised no control over the inhabitants.

Development and progress in the name of national interest, was, and is, one of the pretexts used to confiscate our land and natural riches. “National interest”

was used as justification during the Pacification of Araucania in the middle and end of the last century to exterminate the Mapuche and to usurp more than 9,500,000 hectares of their lands. The result, by the turn of the century was, as the state authorities had intended, the deaths of tens of thousands from plague, sickness and malnutrition. According to estimates, "between 1881 and 1907 some 20,000 to 30,000 indigenous people died as a result of sickness and plague". (7) The Mapuche were considered an obstacle to progress. They had to be "Chileanised" or "Argentinianised" according to the conditions, projects and value system of the dominant society. Our resources and means of subsistence were seized from us, depriving us of our capacity to defend ourselves and thus restricting our own process of development.

The Agrarian Reform, the Indigenous Laws and the Legalisation of Plundering

On the 16th July 1967, during the Christian Democratic government and under the direction of the then Minister of Agriculture, Sr. Hugo Trivelli, the Agrarian Reform Law No. 16.640 was passed. This law, which was applied on a huge scale during the government of the Popular Unity of Salvador Allende, was extremely damaging for the interests of the Mapuche People. The large estates in the territory of Araucania had been increasing in size during the decade through open and underhand robbery, by fencing off land and through fraudulent deals. However none of these expropriated estates were returned to the Mapuche communities and Article 72-A stipulated that certain prerequisites had to be fulfilled by people applying for land: they had to have "worked permanently on an estate for at least three of the last four years before the date agreed for expropriation or acquisition of the said estate by the Agrarian Reform Corporation". (8)

The Mapuche people did not characteristically work on farms, and in practice only a small percentage participated in agrarian production. There were various reasons for this, including a lack of information and no incentive from the agrarian institutions. The Mapuche's natural mistrust of the *huinca* is understandable considering the constant policies of assimilation, lies and trickery to which they have been subject throughout history. The Mapuche could not therefore benefit from this Law, and the few who took part, unlike most Chilean peasants, proved to be the most adaptable to the system of collective work because, quite simply, collectivism was, and still is, part of the socio-cultural condition of Mapuche life.

The number of Mapuche communities which regained part of their land bears no resemblance to the amount of land which changed hands between impor-



Red Lolcura, near Minuico during Ngillatun (photo: Helmut Schindler)

tant non-Mapuche landowners and many Chilean small-scale agriculturalists. So, by means of a civilised and popular Agrarian Reform Law, and by ignoring the natural rights of our people to their territory, our ancestral land was once again “legally” taken.

In spite of the euphoric propaganda and the promises of what the Allende Government would do when the Popular Unity’s Indigenous Law 17.729 was finally brought into being, the law lacked the necessary financing for its practical implementation. The Government, following the historical norm of its predecessors, chose to focus its attention on the national priorities of the moment, which has always resulted in the exclusion of the desires and interests of our people. In other words, “the Mapuche can wait...”. The land which the Mapuche managed to get was minimal; land which, with the advent of the present regime, in many cases returned to the usurpers.

There were many criticisms of the above law. Nevertheless, there was some symbolic participation by Mapuche organisations in the discussions prior to its passing. This has led to many Mapuche insisting that it was one of the best laws made in the history of the Republic. Taking this into consideration we should

understand how many of the weaknesses in the law came about as a result of drastic modification by a Congress controlled by the Opposition.

If Law 17.729, drawn up during the Government of Popular Unity, was one of the more positive pieces of legislation, then Decree Law 2568, introduced in March 1979 by the Chilean Military Junta has proved to be one of the most negative. Under the pretext of "ending discrimination and boosting indigenous progress", as it assures in point 2 of the considerations which justify its existence, it states that:

the fact that so-called 'indigenous property' has been at the root of many problems, and has created serious barriers to the progress of the indigenous population...from the time of their inscription in the Property Register of the Conservator of Real Estate, the property resulting from the division of the reserves will no longer be considered indigenous land under indigenous control.

As we can see, Pinochet found not only the motives but also the formula for solving the so-called 'indigenous problem': the breaking up of communities into individual titles and the declaration that both the lands and the peoples were no longer *Mapuche*. This, among other means, was the solution to the 'problem'. It seems that the Dictator's slogan was: no more Indians, no Indian lands, no more Indian problem.

In spite of the illicit appropriation of our territory and natural resources, the Chilean State today, far from bringing justice and considering the restitution of our lands or compensating our people, is still punishing the Mapuche. One of the most unjust legal measures taken by the present regime is forcing the Mapuche to pay taxes, tribute to the State, on their scarce, eroded and over-exploited land. In fact, as a result of the application of this law, many families have lost their land, while many others are threatened with eviction. An example of the disastrous consequences of the application of this law can be seen in the province of Osorno. The Provincial Treasurer has put 600 indigenous properties, inhabited by 1,500 families, up for compulsory auction (mainly located in the communes on the coastal sector) because of debts owed to the Provincial Treasury for the years 1982-1988. Furthermore the IPC (Consumer Price Index) earns interest and fines from this debt which in many cases doubles the amount owed. To be precise, a total of 9,000 people could be affected. Moreover, this is only one example from one of the seven Chilean Provinces still inhabited by a significant number of the historical and legitimate owners of these territories, the Mapuche.



Near Lumaco (photo: Helmut Schindler)

Development and Paternalistic Action

As a result of the occupation of Mapuche territory and the appropriation of natural resources, our People have been subject to misery and abandoned. Since then the State and private organisations have given aid to the Mapuche and now there are several development and research organisations which are supported by both national and international development aid agencies working with the problem and trying to alleviate the misery of our people. In spite of financial aid from development agencies and its investment in indigenous training courses, consultancy, etc. it has proven to be insufficient and, on the whole, inefficient.

The Chilean political situation and the lack of respect for the Mapuche has lead to a paternalistic and discriminatory approach, preventing the Mapuche from programming and planning their own development. This is clear from different public declarations made by Mapuche organisations. A recent example is the Public Declaration of the *Coordinadora Unitaria Mapuche* (an organisation which draws together the main Mapuche organisations) on the 26th March 1988. Part of the declaration states:

The Coordinadora Unitaria Mapuche announces that it is disposed to denounce and withdraw support from all kinds of individual and state organs, which, under the ill-named banner of "aid" for indigenous people, have found in the Mapuche peoples a meaning and justification for themselves and which during recent years, have increased beyond all measure.

The declaration adds:

We declare that the Coordinadora, with its integral organisations, is assuming the work of preparing the way towards the development of the Mapuche People (...) without giving way to, or taking pressure from, governmental political parties, support institutions, non-governmental organisations, or any organ foreign to indigenous peoples and organisations. (9)

This declaration is the result of a feeling which has been contained for years and is the consequence of an opportunist and foolish policy pursued by certain Chilean organisations which keeps our people eternally dependent and stops them from "standing up and walking on their own feet".

A government policy which is responsible, just, and reconciles the history of our people, our identity, culture and self-determination, would permit the Mapuche Nation to organise its own development policy and plan its own future. Moral and material solidarity with our people and their organisations will help us arise from the degrading state of prostration which the Chilean and Argentinian States have cold-bloodedly and calculatingly submitted us, the Mapuche People.

Notes

1. Araucano is the name given by the Spanish and which their descendants have insisted on attributing to the *Mapuche*. *Mapu* = land, *che* = people: people of the land.
2. Esteban Erize, 1960: *Diccionario Comentado Mapuche-Español* Cuadernos del Sur, Instituto de Humanidades Universidad Nacional del Sur, Buenos Aires.
3. Oscar L. Garcia Massa, 1987 "Los Mapuches", *La Prensa* Buenos Aires, 2nd May.
4. Imelcan Marhiqueo, 1988: 'Transculturización Mapuche', *Aukin* no. 13 (First Trimester) Boletín del Comité Exterior Mapuche, Bristol, England.
5. Curruhuinca - Roux, 1984: 'Las Matanzas del Neuquén', *Crónicas Mapuche*, 3rd edition, Editorial PLUS-ULTRA, Buenos Aires.
6. 'Una Sociedad Sobreviviente e Ilegalizada' in *Aukin* no. 12 May, 1986, Boletín del Comité Exterior Mapuche, Bristol, England.

7. Jose Bengoa, 1987: *Historia del Pueblo Mapuche*, Ediciones SUR Coleccion Estudios Historicos, 2nd edition, February 1987 Santiago, Chile.
8. *Ley de la Reforma Agraria No, 16,640*, Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario, Prensa Latinoamerican Root 537, Chile.
9. Public Declaration by the Coordinadora Unitaria Mapuche, Temuco, Chile, 26th March 1988

Indigenous Peoples, Oppression and Coca

By Domitila Chungara

My contribution to this symposium is to denounce the suffering, repression and murder which a neo-liberal and supposedly democratic government is carrying out on the people of Bolivia. In Bolivia there exist more than thirty indigenous nations. Two of the largest are the Quechua and the Aymara. We also have Guaranies and other nationalities. In addition, Bolivia is a country very rich in raw materials which it exports such as all types of minerals, gas and oil. Bolivia is favoured with a varied climate which allows us to grow a great variety of crops. During the colonial period our country was heavily enslaved. The people were condemned to the mines to dig for minerals such as in the silver mines of Potosi, where miners were forced to work in chains for years.

Our peoples always had their own cultures, music, customs and languages, even today there are those who do not wish to recognise this. Even though we are denied education in our languages, Quechua and Aymara, fortunately we still speak them. We have managed to preserve our languages through 500 years of exploitation.

When the supposed liberation from Spain came, other types of slavery and plundering replaced the earlier oppression such as loans and the intervention of great transnational corporations. We are curiously suffering incursions from religious sects which exploit the wisdom of our peoples.

In Bolivia, we indigenous peoples know how to cultivate our lands, to conserve them, and to make them productive without the need for chemical substances to produce more. Our peoples produce foods which are unique in their variety and quality.

We have also a great knowledge of medicine. Our parents have taught us from childhood ways of curing illness with local plants. One of the examples which I can give here is a plant called, *el alcabon*, an artichoke. This plant is good for disorders of the gall-bladder. We take it in infusions and, with just a few leaves, we are well. Scientists in their big laboratories have mixed this plant with sugar and have made a granulated substance which they sell us in bottles. Then the religious sects come and realise that our indigenous shamans have knowledge of this medicine. These Jehovahs' Witnesses then say, "these people are sorcerers, they are witches, they are against God, you should have nothing to do with them." Nevertheless, they use our culture, the knowledge and the wisdom of our shamans in their laboratories to make business. What I do is, instead



Domitila Chungara (photo: Richard C. Smale)

of buying a bottle of artichoke, I serve a tea with fifty centavos worth of artichoke leaves and cure gall-bladder complaints.

The problem of religion and of language is the same. There have been many organisations which have come to learn our languages. There are foreigners who

can read and speak them. These are the Quechua and Aymara languages which have been taught to us by our parents. For example, I speak Quechua, but I do not write it nor read it because the schools never taught me how. However, foreign religious sects have invented a system of writing which they read. Imagine therefore, how they take advantage of our peoples and can easily confuse them. They begin through the Bible and write hymns in Quechua and Aymara. In this way they take our language, communicating with and confusing our peoples.

Nevertheless, we have survived more than 500 years because our ancestors have used their knowledge. Our ancestors learned to dry food and to preserve it. Potatoes were converted into *chuño* and meat was converted into *charqui* (dried and salted meat). Peas and beans can be dried too, for preservation. For this reason we have been able to survive in the mountains. The wisdom of our peoples does not need technology which other peoples in industrial societies have.

We live nowadays, after a history of struggle and deception, in an occupied country, and I want to stress this very clearly. In the year 1985 the government of Victor Paz Estenssoro (who says that he is the saviour of mankind of the century) said it had stopped monetary inflation in Bolivia – this is how the press put it. But it is necessary to see what has really happened in our country. We the Indians, the Quechua and the Aymara, are the majority, at least 70 per cent of the population. We work in the fields, in the mines, in the factories and in construction, i.e. we produce the income and the wealth of our country. And not only of our country, but also the wealth of foreigners who have earnings from Bolivia. This elected government of Estenssoro established Decree 21060 which closed the mines providing 70 per cent of Bolivia's earnings. What sort of solution is this when thousands and thousands of workers are thrown onto the streets?

The National Labour Federation (COB) has indicated that in just one year more than 100,000 workers from the mines have been dismissed. Workers from the factories and from building construction have been sacked; the government is condemning our people to die of hunger in the streets.

But the government is not satisfied with this. When I was in Europe in 1980, there was a military coup, and I was informed that General Garcia Meza, the President at that time, and General Hugo Banzer Suarez (a former President), and Mr. Arce Gomez (a former President) were narcotic dealers.

About one year ago, the might of the US army intervened in our country, supposedly to combat trafficking in narcotics. However these North American troops, summoned by the DA (a security force), are organising some special troops called COBRA (which are troops consisting of our own sons, which are fighting against and killing our own people). The most recent crimes which this

government has committed include imprisoning innocent civilians and mass killings by the DA (they are called the Leopards) for which they have been rewarded.

We condemn the narcotics trade; we know that narcotics harm these countries, as well as our own. We know that our sons are also involved in this problem of narcotics, therefore I wish to refer concretely to the problem of cocaine. Cocaine is a drug which we Indian peoples did not invent and which we Bolivians did not invent. But we have a plant called coca, and this plant is sacred to us. We consider it as Catholics consider the host and wine, which they say shares the body of Christ with all. Coca leaves have enabled us to live for centuries. We have chewed it since childhood, but it is not we who die in the streets because of poisonous drugs. We have survived. North Americans have studied the leaves



*A family relaxes during a coca break in the afternoon
(photo: Catherine J. Allen/Cultural Survival)*

of the coca and have discovered that these leaves contain many nutritious substances which have permitted the miners to work many years in the mines. Chewing these leaves we forget about our hunger, our exhaustion, our sleepiness and our fatigue. For us it is sacred. Our ancestors, our parents, always took some coca leaves before starting a task. We take some sweet leaves, wring them and invite *Pacha Mama* (which in our language is the earth mother). We love her because she gives us our food and thanks to her we survive.

Coca is part of our culture, our life. We defend chewing coca because it helps us when we have no food. There is a legend which says that this coca was a gift to us from our gods, and it also says that when the usurper wishes to take it from us, that signifies death, because he does not want to chew it with us, but wishes rather to poison himself. For this reason to mix it is harmful.

The government knows who the drug dealers are, as there are always video films on the TV which show who they are. Everyone knows, but instead of combating them the government does nothing. The government has singled out the poor peasant farmers. The DA is using toxic substances to kill their coca plants, but they do not only kill the coca, they also kill the soil. This produces nothing but sickness. There are places where coca is planted but where they also plant fruits, oranges, mandarins, bananas, food plants. The people then say, "Why? What are we going to live from if the soil is poisoned?"

And then what does the government do to our indigenous people? These people go to talk to the DA, and they ask, "why are you poisoning us with these gases?" There should be an agreement that the government has to provide some kind of substitute crop. The government might eliminate the coca plant, but it has to replace it with something which will provide an income for the peasant farmers.

The DA has already begun spreading toxic gases over our land. When the peasant farmers went to talk, the DA attacked them and killed several people; many others were taken prisoner or wounded. In the press, they try to justify these murders, showing some "weapons" which ridiculously enough resemble toys. They write that the peasant farmers have attacked the powerful MOPAR (another armed force which has been created and armed by the USA).

The government is not only trying to exterminate coca plantations, but also the Indians. It has destroyed the mines, killed many people, produced bad living conditions and thrown many people onto the streets without any possibility of work. It has also destroyed the land where so many Indians in Bolivia live.

Meanwhile, transnational companies move hundreds of foreign families into the country and provide them with all the comforts of advanced technology. They give them land where the colonists begin to take away our timber indiscriminately. Furthermore, the government is preventing the education and



*Making a new door from pieces of wood and hammered out tins
(photo: Lisbeth Overgaard)*

the health care of our peoples because there are currently labour conflicts within the education and health sectors. Today health is very poor and education is very poor also. Nevertheless the government is ordering every municipality to take charge of education itself. In Bolivia we have been told that there will be no more public education. The government intends to privatise both the education and health of the people.

Because of these issues we wish to take advantage of this symposium to denounce the course of action of a democratic government against the people.

We know this USA, and I am not referring here to the people, but to the great and powerful interests there. Evidently this Coca Cola is a very popular drink but it causes many indispositions in the organism and is killing many people. The USA produces bombs, sends rockets to the moon, produces tanks, and makes toxic gases.

When has Bolivia ever invaded one of your industrialised countries for an exercise, knowing what harm it causes to the people? Nevertheless in Bolivia, the US is attacking the peasants because it says that the coca plants are killing their own people and those in Europe. It is possible that coca plants, when converted

into cocaine, are harmful, but the coca plants when converted into drugs save many lives because it also serves as an anesthetic utilised in medicine.

The problem is that the Western world has gone to extremes. We are not with the drug dealers. We also denounce those who have violated our culture and denigrated our coca plant. But the people have the last word. You know that a little animal, however defenceless, will try to defend itself when another tries to kill it. We are a people who want to survive. We want to ask the people of the USA, "what do you think when your country, with a democracy, invades our villages with poisonous gases without even asking us if we are in agreement or not?" Therefore, we call for reflection, attention and solidarity.

Ethno-development is another connection between Bolivian Indians and outsiders. We know that much help has been sent to Bolivia, many projects with different names. I have also worked in some of these projects. I have held talks, conversed with our brothers, trying to explain our situation. Now, we have seen earlier that cultural interference is very great in Bolivia. Aid projects often work like religious sects deceiving and confusing us.

When women begin to organise themselves they say their struggle is against men, and that it is not necessary to join any other movement than the fight against husbands. When we start to organise ourselves in the fields, we often fight against those exploiters in the city, therefore we fight against all white men. But the exploiters try to confuse us by splitting our movement. But we know that while we fight only in terms of white and black or women against men, the oppressors will be delighted, because they want our extermination.

Our oppressors are only interested in how they can use us. For example, if the means had existed during the colonial era, Europeans would have obtained a drug to make women give birth ten times ten. They would have surely given it to us because they needed to put us to work. Instead they brought negro slaves to Bolivia. It is not so now, however, as technology has "advanced". I have been visiting mines in Europe and I was astonished to see that there was only one machine working in a mine with one skilled worker. In Bolivia, on the other hand, there would have been 200 miners working. This European machine functioned with electricity and oil. It did not need to marry because it wasn't going to have a wife; it wasn't going to have children. The costs of upkeep will be less for the boss, because there is no need for schools, no need for housing, no need for clothes. This machine is not going to go on strike, nor have its wages regulated. Therefore it is better for the boss to maintain this machine than to maintain 200 workers with social, economic and political problems. The countries of the Third World, Indians and workers are not needed now because they have machines.

They are replacing us and therefore they are trying to exterminate us.

Therefore I would wish to suggest that development projects, which are sent with good will should stipulate clearly who controls the aid. I would wish that the projects were designed by the people who are to benefit and not others.

Aid agencies should try to control development aid. Millions of dollars enter Bolivia and we do not know what is happening to it. There are many institutions in Bolivia which receive aid for sanitation or for literacy, but until now we have not seen anything productive. Our country continues dying, continues to be backward. Therefore we wish that aid agencies would ensure that their money goes to benefit the recipients, and that it goes directly to the target groups. The programmes should be elaborated by Indians and indigenous peoples themselves, for whom it is destined. Why should I, for example, a Bolivian from the mines, come here to organise your lives? I do not know how you people live, I do not know your needs, I do not know your concerns, and I do not know how you want to live. For this reason it is correct that each people should programme their own affairs in agreement with their own needs.

The Amazon

Murder, Slavery and Development in Surinam

By Els Wolff

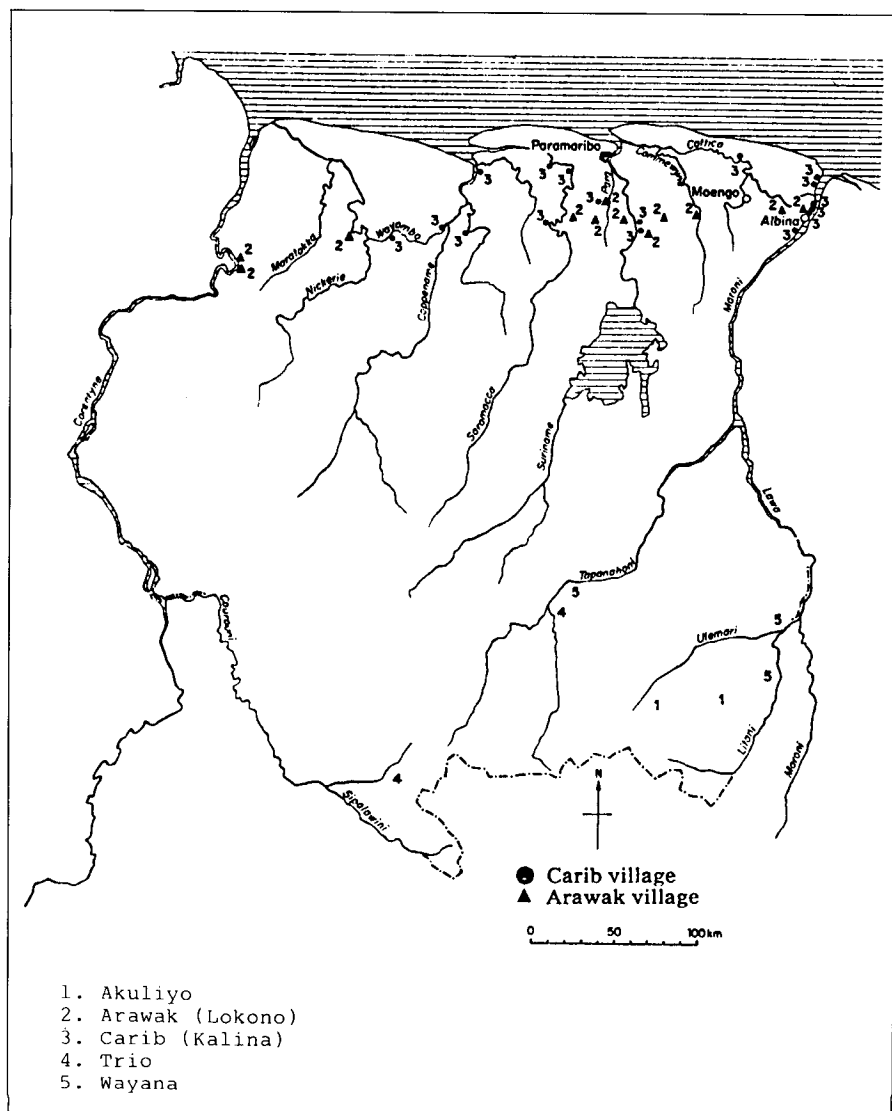
We salute our brothers and sisters of the American continent present here and consider them as our friends.

I am going to speak about the historic debt which the Netherlands has in regard to the native population of Surinam.

Surinam is located on the northern coast of South America, bordered on the east by French Guyana, on the west by Guyana, on the south by Brazil and on the north by the Atlantic Ocean. The original population consists, at present, of some 16,000 persons: the Trio, Akoerio, Wayana peoples in the south and the Lokono and Karinja peoples on the coast. The total population of Surinam is some 400,000 persons.

The Netherlands, and not least this city of Amsterdam, owes much to the original population of Surinam. In 1667 the Netherlands reconquered the territory of Surinam, which had been occupied by England, and began to colonise the country. The actions of the colonisers had repercussions in the native languages. The name which the Lokono gave the Dutch was *fareto*, which means literally, "those who murder". The open sincerity of the native population speaks for itself against the barbaric methods of the intruders.

The indigenous resistance to the Dutch resulted in 1686 with a peace treaty between the two sides. Among other conditions, the treaty included statements distinguishing the residence of the conquerors and the native peoples. We were therefore surprised when the Netherlands, in 1975, declared the independence of Surinam as a whole, without communicating anything to us. The colonisation on the part of the Netherlands has left historical wounds upon us, the original peoples.



Map of indigenous areas of Surinam

1. Murder

Before colonisation, there was a population of half a million persons. The direct murders, plus the diseases which the Dutch brought, especially in the 19th century, were the cause of a massive decrease in population.

2. Cultural Destruction

In the footsteps of the conquerors came also their religion, in particular the Roman Catholic Church. The priests kept away from the villages and because they worked slowly and did not immediately destroy the native religion, they were more easily accepted. In this subtle manner, they brought and implanted the religious thinking of the west into indigenous thinking. The peoples of the south first came into contact with Christianity in 1963. Two protestant missionary organisations, the West Indian Mission and the Medical Mission of Surinam, attempted to convert the indigenous Trios, Wayanas and Ahoerios. The West Indian Mission (W.I.M.) works with Protestant missions and is principally financed by North American Churches. The medical work of the Medical Mission of Surinam (M.M.S.) is subsidised by the government of Surinam, while the evangelising work is financed by the Reform Churches from the Netherlands. The W.I.M. and the M.M.S. work in close cooperation with the Missionary Aviation Fellowship (M.A.F.) which is supported by church organisations and which has its airplanes stationed in various countries.

In the course of the years the Churches have greatly increased their activities. In addition to the construction of churches, they also build schools and polyclinics. The Catholic and Protestant missions have become so strong that they can do whatever they wish, as the government, because of its neglect of the interior region, has neither the means nor personnel to solve the problems. These matters are particularly apparent in the south of Surinam where the Trio people exist in a type of small mission state within the state of Surinam.

The W.I.M. has concentrated the Trio people in three villages; Alalaparoe, Tepoe, and Kwamalasamoetoe. This form of settlement divides the Trio, who perhaps also see the medical help as a solution to their health problems. But it must be said that this concentration was stimulated by the W.I.M. in order to improve their control and proselytisation.

In addition, these W.I.M. missionaries have their own landing field in the south, where no one can enter without their official permission. The argument which they use is that indigenous people have to be protected against the infectious diseases of Whites. We see the great danger of these diseases, and this argument is reasonable. But it is unusual that all of this type of work is left to private foreigners, even though W.I.M. has influence with the Trio.

W.I.M. is translating the bible into the Trio language, in collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, an institution known for its relations with the powerful and with foreign corporations in different countries of South America. A strong discipline dominates among the Trio at present and many of their traditional customs are being forgotten and laid aside. Some Trio are sent

out as missionaries to spread Western evangelism, based upon the principle, "with a captive bird one can catch other birds". Looking closely at the monopolistic position of the W.I.M. in the south of Surinam, its mission installations and landing field, and in view of their relations with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, we should question whether this mission has other alternative motives in its work.

3. Slavery

One of the cruel practices which was used in the beginning of colonisation was the imposition of slavery upon the native population. Although this was prohibited in a treaty of 1686, the Dutch violated it until well into the 18th century.

4. Economic Destruction and Negative Policies

The increasing accessibility to the interior of our country by Western companies is accompanied by the trampling underfoot of the rights of the indigenous peoples of Surinam. After the conclusion of long wars, the natives of Surinam signed many peace treaties.

Actually, the villages of the indigenous peoples of Surinam have never been legally considered as indigenous territories. On the contrary, in a Decree from 1937, it is specified that the inhabitants of the interior of Surinam have the right to their traditions, but not the right to land. There are no other areas in the laws of Surinam which describe any right for indigenous peoples to their lands.

Pierrekondre, a village in the north of Albina, was affected by companies and nearly totally divided. The same fate threatens the villages of Langamanhoudre, Christiaankoudre and Biginston.

In 1986, one of the ex-bodyguards of the leader of the government started a rebellion against the national army. The guerrillas attacked our villages looking for arms and food. The native men were mishandled and the women raped, with the result that 8,000 of our brothers and sisters had to become refugees in French Guyana and on the outskirts of Paramaribo. Some villages were evacuated by the government. Again there were peace negotiations between the government and the leaders of the "marrones". But the native population, which had been affected by the violence of the war, was again forgotten. Another injustice was that the humanitarian help to the native refugees, principally from the Netherlands, arrived in an extremely unpredictable manner.

5. Development Assistance

Before independence in 1975, the Netherlands provided the development assistance. With independence it was agreed that Surinam should still receive three thousand million Dutch Guilders. When, in 1982, development assistance was stopped, as a consequence of the murder of 15 members of the opposition to the regime, about half of the amount had been paid to Surinam. In reality, of the millions of Guilders which had been spent in Surinam, very few, nearly none, have come to benefit the indigenous communities.

It is very sad that by means of development assistance native villages and communities are destroyed. Due to a project in West Surinam, the villages of Apoeva, Sekton and Washabo have been literally razed to the ground, together with their cultivated fields. In place of the villages there are now houses for the directors and workers who are constructing a railway line. In this manner, the basic economy of these villages and their way of existence has been destroyed.

Game animals are hunted in these places or killed in a savage manner by hunting parties. They are frightened away by the sounds of motors or by the felling of trees.

For a long time we have resisted injustice. The government of the Netherlands is still not aware of their historic debt to our peoples. Currently, there are negotiations about development assistance to Surinam. I repeat again, today, the demand which we made on the 26th of February 1988 to the Minister of Foreign Relations and to the Minister of Mutual Development Assistance of the Netherlands, that in negotiations with the government of Surinam it is essential to be concerned about the native population within the society of Surinam and that they should receive equal treatment.

This can be expressed in practice by:

1. Equality of treatment within the health services.
2. Equality in distribution of humanitarian aid.
3. Equality in distribution of prosperity and in the right of participation in political decisions.



Communal village work in the Embera-Waunana region, Colombia
(photo: Unidad Indigena)

The Recuperation of Land and Culture: Colombian Indigenous Development over Twenty Years

By Anatolio Quira

Brief History

Before the Spanish reached our lands which lie in the territory today called Colombia, we aboriginal peoples lived as hundreds of different cultures. Some of these already had a sophisticated knowledge of mathematics, weaponry, social organisation and religion. Authority was vested in traditional leaders known as *Caciques*, *Curacas*, *Payes* and *Jaiwanas*. We practised our own medicine and respected our mother earth – which has been a constant factor in our communal lifestyle. We also had great architects, metalsmiths, sculptors, agriculturalists and craftsmen.

Our history does not begin in the year 1492, as many people think. We are people with a history that goes back to our creation. After the arrival of the Spanish everything began to change. Indigenous cultures suffered a breakup of their normal life style. They were submitted to slavery and forced labour in the mines and *haciendas*. After their land had been plundered, they were turned into servants, purely for the benefit and maintenance of the invaders' wealth. This summarises the genocide which was common to those indigenous communities which did not bow to the wishes and caprices of the Spanish. Many people moved to the mountains in order to avoid surrender.

Accompanying the Spanish military came the Church. Evangelisation has had important consequences. The change from indigenous beliefs with their own rites and ceremonies to a destructive and exploitative Catholicism, bred conformity and submission among our ancestors which were increased by the system of tributes, tithes and offerings.

In the middle of the 20th century, North American Protestant sects, such as the New Tribes Mission and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, have penetrated our communities in complicity with the National Government. Under the guise of investigative linguistics, they have been using both cultural and medical contraceptives consisting of religious proselytisation, in order to prevent the continuing rebirth of our people and their culture and to displace the religious practices of the communities with the argument that they are clearly manifestations of the devil.

We can identify two aspects to the Churches, one which is on the side of the poor and the other which, in the name of Jesus Christ, defends the interests of the state and land owners, who, for the most part, are implicated in assassinations, tortures, hunger, malnutrition, misery and illiteracy which thrive amongst the Colombian people. I would like to quote some words of our martyr, Father Alvaro Ulcúe Chocúe, indigenous Priest: "If Christ came to the earth today, the first thing he would do is reform the Church, and for its defects, crucify it".

Today, 500 years since the ill-named "Discovery and Conquest of America", our situation has not changed. We continue to be objects of marginalisation, discrimination, oppression and assassination. Our lands are in the hands of big landowners some of whom have militarised areas against our permanent struggle for our right to territory. There are no concrete governmental policies to solve our most urgent needs. On the contrary, the laws the government has created are directed towards our integration into national state life, completely ignoring the cultural particularities of each ethnic group.

For this reason we have been organising ourselves locally, zonally and regionally and have now formed the National Indigenous Organisation of Colombia, ONIC.

The Creation of the National Indigenous Organisation of Colombia, ONIC

Our people have been waging a struggle against respective governments' attempts to do away with our reservations, indigenous territories, our cultures, traditions and way of life. Out of this history, in some communities, there has arisen a way to unify ourselves in order to defend the rights of our indigenous communities.

In 1970, the National Association of Peasant Farmers (ANUC) was established by the government of Carlos Lleras Restrepo with the aim to campaign for the implementation of the agrarian reform in Colombia. This peasant farmer organisation included the indigenous communities of Cauca, Nariño, Putumayo, San Andrés de Sotavento and the Kuna of Antioquia. They, in their own territories, could see that their reserves were being plundered and thought that civil servants who preached that the land should be given to those who did not have any would do something. The indigenous peoples took part in ANUC through the national indigenous secretariat, but after one year we noticed that the leaders of the organisation were trying to make the indigenous peoples into peasants and were not recognising the cultural characteristics which we had begun to reassert.

On the 24th February, 1971, in Toribio (Cauca), the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) was established. Two thousand indigenous people



gathered on that day and it was important that we all knew our rights. The rich people were surprised and tried to get the state to imprison the town council of Toribio.

The first programme which was presented to this assembly was the following:

1. Non payment of rent for land.
2. A demand that INCORA (Colombian National Institute for Agrarian Reform) expropriate the land that had been reservations from the *haciendas* and hand it over free of charge to the indigenous families.
3. Extend the indigenous reservations.
4. Change Law 89 of 1890 which recognised indigenous communities and legalised an agreement to place all non-Christians under missionary supervision.

After analysing this first programme we noticed some errors and called a meeting which took place on the 16th September 1971 on the reservation of La Susana, where CRIC's programme was changed to the following:

1. Recuperate (regain) the lands of the reservations.
2. Extend the reservations.
3. Strengthen the indigenous councils.
4. Do not pay rent for land.
5. Get to know the laws on indigenous peoples and demand their just application.
6. Defend indigenous history, language and customs.
7. Train indigenous teachers.

The Creation of Other Indigenous Regions in Colombia

In November 1974, the Indigenous Regional Council of Vaupes (CRIVA) was formed. In the same year the Arhuaco community consolidated and organised the Arhuaco Indigenous Organisational Council, COIA. In 1975, on the 28th and 29th of July, the first meeting of the Council of Ortega in the Department of Tolima. In 1977, the first assembly of the Llanos Orientales (Eastern Plains) took place where a regional organisation called UNUMA was formed. In 1976, the Commission of Vichada met in their first assembly and formed the Sikuanidel Tuparro Regional Organisation (ORIST). On January the 10th and 14th, 1981, the first Indigenous Regional Council of Tolima (CRIT) was formed. In 1981 the Embera Waunana Organisation of Chocó was established. All these organisations began to fight for territorial rights.

There were also other organisations fighting to reclaim rights, and among these were guerilla groups. The government, using the robbery of arms from the Canton Norte in Bogota by the 19th of April Movement as a pretext, invaded our indigenous reservations and persecuted the councils, some members of the executive committee and collaborators of CRIC. They were taken to a military court and one year later set free because they were not found to have been responsible for these deeds.

In spite of the repression we suffered, our organisation strengthened and the recuperation of lands continued.

The liberal leader, Turbay Ayala, who had inaugurated his government with the disastrous security statute, wanted to stop the indigenous peoples with legal means by using the indigenous statute. He tried to disintegrate the organised communities and convert our councils into "communal action boards", ending collective property in the reservations by using Law 89 of 1890.

In 1980, thanks to the national and international solidarity which we received, we managed to go to Bogota in solidarity with CRIC and CRIT, whose organisations were also the victim of official repression. We managed to have a first National Indigenous Meeting from the 8th to the 12th of October in Lomas, Tolima, where the above mentioned organisations took part and also other regional organisations such as the Western Caldas Indigenous Regional Council (CRIDEC) and the Orteguasa Medio Indigenous Regional Council (CRIOM). At this assembly, with the participation of 8 regional organisations and some councils, it was agreed to create a national organisation which represented the interests of the communities and reclaim our rights for what we had been losing.

The First National Indigenous Congress

From the 24th to the 28th of February 1982, more than two thousand indigenous people, delegates from communities and organisations throughout the country, took part in the Congress and the Indigenous National Organisation of Colombia, ONIC, was created.

ONIC continues to try to bring together more indigenous councils from ethnic groups which are still not organised and still do not have their territory and communities recognised. Since 1986, there have been serious abuses in the indigenous communities which have been reclaiming their rights to land, natural resources, education, health and housing. The abuses have been carried out by foreign companies involved in mineral exploration in their territories with the approval of the government without consulting the communities. Other abuses have been the militarisation of indigenous zones where armed forces have sacked the communal houses and destroyed all kinds of crops leaving the communities without food. The government has been cheating the indigenous peoples with programmes which never comply with the National Rehabilitation Plan, or the national plans for education and health.

The defence of indigenous autonomy, history, culture and traditions has become our organisation's programme, in the same way as indigenous territories are defended through the recuperation of reservation land which has been usurped. We must promote community economic organisations, bilingual and bicultural education under the control of indigenous communities, courses on indigenous legislation and publicly denounce the problems that the indigenous communities suffer, while negotiating with institutions for the creation of indigenous reserves and reservations.

This programme was developed before the Second National Indigenous Congress which took place from the 18th to the 22nd February, 1986.

Since this meeting we have continued working on the problems of UNITY, CULTURE and AUTONOMY based on the 9 points made by the National Indigenous Congress. Lately there have been four regional congresses, some concerned with the work they are already developing, and including new organisations which have only recently begun work.

Autonomy and the Relationship with the Public Sectors

We consider that our struggle is related to the struggle of the rest of the Colombian population, taking into account that we, the indigenous peoples, have some political and economic rights of our own which this system has denied us. We are fighting so that they do not disappear and furthermore so that none of the government's schemes deny them to us.

We are fighting for something integral which, for indigenous peoples, relates the land to our religious beliefs.

- Recognition and respect for our lands;
- Respect for and strengthening of our own forms of organisation;
- The strengthening and recognition of the different languages and dialects of indigenous peoples;
- A history which recognises our struggles and the life of our indigenous peoples;
- Diffusion and respect for the knowledge which we indigenous peoples have in different areas: weaving, traditional medicine, education, communal work, etc;



*Traditional dress of the indigenous peoples of Antioquia
(photo: Unidad Indígena)*

- Relations which should be based more on co-operation, voluntary work and exchange of products - which are normal among indigenous communities;

These and other claims belong to our communities and are what differentiate us from the rest of the Colombian people, though this is not to say that they are only our problems. We also believe that the Colombian people ought to be aware that this wealth should not disappear because it is part of the social life of our country.

Colombia is a country which recognises different forms of lifestyle and where there is a capitalist system which imposes certain norms and lifestyles with social differences on us. Our struggle is linked to the struggle of the exploited classes in our country.

- Just as with the poor of Colombia, we are fighting for a dignified life which permits us to have all that we need;
- We are fighting for a real democracy, one in which we can express ourselves;
- We are fighting against cultural, political and economic impositions and striving for the autonomous development of our communities and country;
- We are fighting against norms and laws which prevent us from expressing ourselves.

These and other points together make our struggle a unified struggle with poor Colombians, but this does not mean that we are going to disappear as indigenous peoples. On the contrary, we are strengthening our organisation in an autonomous way and the relations we make are made as organisations and not on the individual level.

The Campaign for the Self-discovery of our America

This is a major campaign for National Organisation. With various organisations and institutions we are trying to show the public what the arrival of the Spanish to our America really means and the real experiences which we and the rest of the Colombian people are suffering at this time. As everyone knows, there are great preparations being made by the Spanish Government, with the help of others, for the celebration of the 500 years anniversary of, according to them, "the discovery of America"; for us it was an invasion, genocide and evangelisation.

The Campaign for Self-discovery of our America is a campaign which is led by all the Colombian people so that it focusses and reflects on the 500 years. It has the following objectives:

1. To carry out a campaign which reflects the present situation in all social sectors of our land, especially that of the indigenous peoples after 500 years of invasion, genocide and evangelisation;

2. To carry out a campaign of historical recuperation of the cultural values and autonomy of the different sectors of the country;
3. To denounce before the world the situation of human rights, political liberties and the external debt in Colombia;
4. To call for the Church to avoid confrontation and discrimination in its work with ethnic minorities and understand cultural and religious differences. To get it to work for the strengthening of indigenous peoples and not for their extinction as has been happening for many centuries;
5. To combine forces with brothers in other countries of America in the search for common objectives.

A co-ordination committee has been formed which is integrating the non-governmental organisations interested in promoting the campaign and which is in charge of formulating the objectives of the campaign itself. Activities and information will be diffused throughout the country and also at the level of Latin America. Work teams are meeting on the first Wednesday in every month in the headquarters of the operative secretariat to organise this. Up until now they have formed several committees of which we can mention the following:

- Academic committee.
- Committee of Cultural Workers.
- Committee of the Pedagogical and Educational Movement.
- Committee of Popular Organisations.
- Finance Committee.
- Communications Committee.

A week of activities has been organised for the 9th to the 16th October, 1988, so that the campaign can be officially launched. During this week a programme will be developed to include cultural acts, conferences, teaching activities etc. in Bogota and the regions.

We believe in this symposium where we can inform you of our problems and learn of the problems of other indigenous territories in other lands. We are searching for solidarity. Together we will denounce the governments which continue abusing our indigenous communities and we will consolidate into a single united force, making contact with other countries, in order to tell of the different problems which harass us and try to find better conditions of life for indigenous communities.

The Huaorani Nation and the Defence of their Territory

By Cristobal Naikiai

The main force of the indigenous nationalities' struggle in Ecuador has concentrated on the recuperation and defence of their territories. These territories constitute not only our material sustenance, which makes present and future development possible, but they are also the foundation of indigenous history and the permanent reference of our system of knowledge.

The Huaorani are an indigenous nationality who, until recently, were numerous and distributed over a large Amazonian territory. Now they have been reduced to some 2,500 to 3,000 inhabitants. About 90 per cent of the Huaorani live in an area of 66,570 hectares. Originally the missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) designated the territory a "reduction" (an area of Indians converted to Christianity). However, apart from the Huaorani in this reduction, there are indications of groups not yet contacted which are being displaced towards the interior of the forest near the border with Peru.

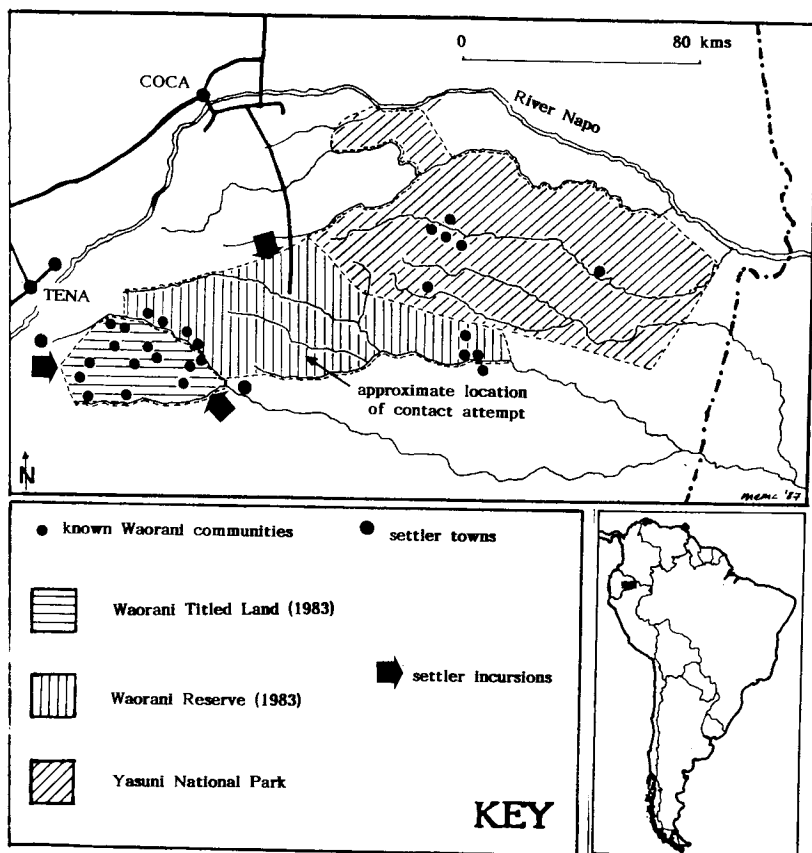
This sudden drop in the Huaorani population and the dramatic decrease in their territory occurred in the present century is attributable to the expansion of industry into the tropical forest zones, together with a dispute for control of strategic natural resources.

State policies have done little or nothing to defend the indigenous nationalities of Ecuador. What is more, in the case of the Huaorani nationality, the state has posed a permanent threat of genocidal practices. In addition, financial interests are closely connected with those industrial powers which claim access to the natural resources.

The indigenous nationalities, organised within the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon region (CONFENIAE) have taken up the defence of Huaorani territory. This represents an important milestone in the struggle for the defence and recuperation of our territories, which are the lands of our ancestors and which we owe to our future generations.

This paper first of all details the arguments which support the legitimacy of the Huaorani nationality's territory. Secondly, we present a overview of the different factors which have contributed to the conflict over the plundering of Huaorani resources. Finally, we set forth the arguments made by indigenous organisations in various national and international fora, concerning the Huaorani territorial question.

WAORANI LANDS



Huaorani lands (source: Survival International)

The Historical-Judicial Arguments

There are three sources of documentation concerning the territorial, demographic and cultural profile of the Huaorani people in this century. First, there are maps which clearly indicate the extent of their territory. Second, there are testimonies collected throughout many decades by missionaries and travellers in the region. Third, there are definitions of state policies related to the colonialist process which have affected the historical trajectory of the Huaorani nationality in several ways.

Maps

The maps by Manuel Villavicencio (1858), B. Fleming (20th century) and, above all, Alberto Arcos (1922), are based on meticulous recording from field work, consultation of documents compiled from the colonial period, and contemporary documentary sources. They agree to the presence of various Huaorani local groups in an area bounded by the Napo and Curaray rivers.

The Huaorani have been, and still are, known by various names such as the Aushiris, Avishiris, Avijiras and Aucas. The ethnic limits of their territory register the existence of a contested boundary with the Záparo people, of which a few families survive settled along the mid-course of the Curaray river, and a boundary which differentiates the current territories of the Cofán, Siona and Secoya peoples, located in zones between the Napo and Aguarico rivers. Therefore, from the legal point of view, these maps should be considered as documentary evidence of the historical rights of Huaorani territorial occupation as well as proof of the boundaries, which in most cases can be established with absolute precision.

Testimonies of Missionaries and Travellers

The chronicles of the Jesuit missions of the 16th century are an important source. For the last century and the beginning of this century we turn to the writings of the missionary Francoise Pierre and those of the writer Henry Michaux, among others, and, in recent years, the chronicles of the missionary, Juan Santos Ortiz de Villalba, the reports of the Inter-Institutional Commission and the Chronicles of Monseñor Alejandro Labaka, etc.

The account written by Pierre confirms the existence of a conflict between the Záparo and the Huaorani peoples, and shows how the former were used by rubber gatherers to enter Huaorani territory with groups of armed peasants, where they found extensive areas of rubber trees. This account agrees with the information of Henry Michaux which he collected on a canoe trip from the Napo river to the Amazon.

We should add to these sources, the oral traditions of the Huaorani themselves and that of the Quichuas, who live along the banks of the Napo and Putumayo rivers. These sources refer to the period of the boom in rubber exploitation and provide invaluable historical arguments which confirm the cartographic information for the same era. At the same time, they establish that one of the factors which partly explains the dramatic reduction of the Huaorani population was the violent invasions of rubber gatherers who were only able to establish a plantation (hacienda) system on the left bank of the Napo river.

Thus, during the period of the exploitation of rubber, there was an implicit recognition of the territorial boundaries of the Huaorani. Their sense of territory can be seen in the way they defended their lands against the violent offensive by the rubber gatherers. It is very probable that during this period the boundary maintained with the Záparo people was modified, as they took an active part in the rubber gatherers' armed incursions.



Huaorani family (photo: Alejandro Hirtz)

The first recorded oil explorations were conducted by the Leonard Exploration Company in 1923. Some years later, in 1936, oil exploration was recommenced by the Shell Company, which established its camp at Arajuno, a strategic point in Huaorani territory. For this reason the company's workers were the objects of numerous attacks by Huaorani warriors, which resulted in the partial paralysis of the exploration activities and military intervention.

The Shell company organised some punitive expeditions so that it could begin its operations again and forced the Huaorani to retreat. The photographer and journalist, Rolf Blomberg, witnessed these actions and established a register of reports which reaffirms the limits then recognised by the Huaorani people, as well as the location of some of their settlements.

The next reference is the long and dramatic confrontation between the Huaorani people and the SIL missionaries, who began their operations in the Amazon region in 1952. After 1956, when five SIL evangelical missionaries died in an armed confrontation with the Huaorani, there began a prolonged period during which new colonised areas were titled and the missionaries made incursions into Huaorani territory to "pacify and reduce" them. This provoked a series of counter-offensive actions along the whole length of their territorial frontiers. In the case of the pioneer settlement of Francisco de Orellana, a permanent settlement was established which reaffirmed the limit of Huaorani territory on the right bank of the Napo river.

The persistent actions of the SIL missionaries culminated in the forced settlement of some Huaorani families in a "protection zone". This was an area which comprised the hydrographic system of the upper Curaray river. When this "reduction" system began to operate, Texaco and Gulf soon resumed oil operations which had been paralysed after Shell abandoned their explorations. In this manner, the "reductionist" practices of SIL left large areas free for oil exploration and exploitation, especially for Texaco, which began their operations in 1967 and have intensified them since 1971.

Though very little has been publicised, it is known from this period that there were many attacks organised by the Huaorani against the camps of the exploration companies, especially the Compañía Generales Geophisique (CGG), which had contracted the majority of the exploratory work in the region. Due to this active and systematic resistance by the Huaorani and the consistent pressure by the organised indigenous sectors, in 1980, (that is to say after nearly ten years of oil company activities, the state agreed to create a commission to report on the situation and propose an alternative policy to the SIL "reductions".

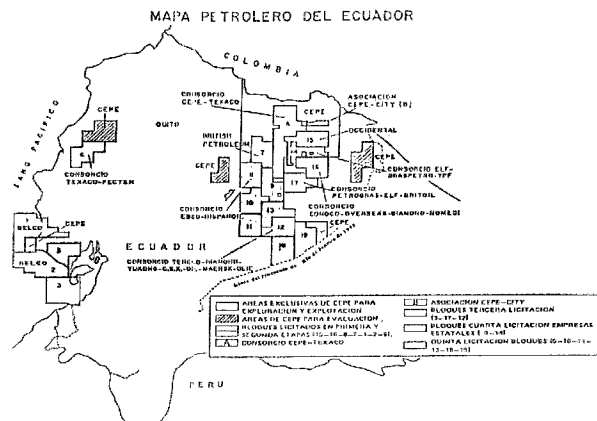
The Inter-Institutional Commission established as its objective the award of 650,000 hectares (which corresponds to 32.5 per cent of their original territo-

ECUADOR MAKES FIFTH CALL FOR OIL TENDERS AND FULFILLS ITS HYDROCARBON EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION GOALS



Doctor Fernando Gortázar
Ministro de Energía y Minas

and the foreign enterprise, as well as the oil potential, the Government of Ecuador trusts that the fifth Call for tenders will be of interest to a great number of oil companies and lead them to present their tenders on October 15, the last day for the presentation of same for the fifth Call.



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT THE OFFICE OF COORDINATION OF PETROLEUM CONTRACTS, TELEPHONES: 544-909, 544-888; TELEX: 2061 (CPE ED)

ry) to the Huaorani nationality. This area comprised the hydrographic system of the upper and middle regions of the Curaray river, and was notably greater than the area of the "protectorate", which was legalised by the IERAC (Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonisation) in 1983. Since the Inter-Institutional Commission first began its studies, the state has proceeded to delimit the Yasuni National Park, which comprises the courses of the Tiputini, Yasuni, Cononaco, and Cercenaba rivers, in reality a considerable part of Huaorani historical territory.

The lack of a political decision prevented the Inter-Institutional Commission's recommendation from being put into practice. For this reason, in spite of the insistent demands made by our organisations before the state bodies, it has not been possible to resolve this aspect of the Huaorani territorial question.

At the same time, to the extent that the oil operations have intensified and expanded and that the opening of the agricultural frontier lands are operating within Huaorani territory, the situation has become so critical that it is a continuing genocidal offensive of systematic violence against these people.

The Present Day Conflict

During the last twenty years, the economy of Ecuador has evolved into a situation of nearly exclusive dependency upon the exploitation of hydrocarbons and minerals. The Amazon region is the source of many of these minerals and this has prompted a massive and violent offensive into the area. One of the consequences of this has been the gradual plundering of the territories of the indigenous peoples.

This economic model is an example of the consequences of Ecuador's foreign debt and of the state's need for money. During the last four years, the neo-liberal policies of the government of León Febres Cordero has provided notorious support for the mining sector and has opened up mining to transnational investors.

During this period, in Ecuador, five international sales of areas for the exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons have resulted in the granting of 24 oil contracts. At the present moment, 28 companies are involved in oil exploration or exploitation in an area of approximately 33,660,000 hectares, which com-

prises the total of the 15 oil blocks offered and contracted by the government (including two blocks on the coast and two blocks off-shore).

Of the companies at present operating in the eastern region, the following are to be found within the traditional territory of the Huaorani:

- Esso-Hispanoil	Block 8
- PetroCanada	Block 9
- ”	Block 10
- ”	Block 13
- Elf-Braspetrol-YPF	Block 14
- Conoco-Overseas-Diamond-Nameco	Block 16
- Braspetrol-Elf-Britoil	Block 17

The destructive effects of oil exploration and the development of permanent settlement have harmed the ecology of the area. These were described in detail by the Director General of the Environment on the 9th May, 1988.

In the same way, the opening of roads generally becomes the mechanism which leads to the penetration of indigenous territory by colonists. The waste from oil exploitation contaminates the river systems, which eliminates a major source of protein from fish and makes the water unusable and toxic. The soils of the upper Curaray river valley are hilly and not suited to the development of agriculture which, added to increasing pressure on resources for hunting and collecting, results in a low demographic carrying capacity – probably less than the present existing population.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that in the same territories as the “protectorates” or “reductions” there are oil concessions, such as Block 8 of the Esso-Hispanoil and Block 9 awarded to PetroCanada. The latter began exploratory activities which are still being carried out by the CGG. The operations camp is located on the Tiquino river which is outside the “reduction” but still forms part of Huaorani territory in two separate areas.

The activities of the consortium, Braspetrol-Elf-AquitarBritoil, (their concession corresponds to Block 17) have dealt the most recent blow against the Huaorani. As with PetroCanada, the CGG has intervened during the exploration phase. Their operations camp is located on the Shiripuno river. It is precisely in this Block where in July 1987 two Catholic missionaries died at the hands of the

Huaorani. They entered the area to try to prevent the petroleum operations harming the Huaorani.

In spite of public demonstrations favouring the Huaorani cause and opposing the resumption of the oil activities in their territory, the companies continue their activities. This has produced some recent attacks from Huaorani warriors in a desperate attempt to defend their territory. These attacks have had little publicity due to the interests of the oil companies. The latter have pressured the state to evict the indigenous population on the contested territory; they have argued that their investments are at "risk". From the legal point of view, the state and the oil companies only recognise the hydrocarbon law and so avoid all responsibilities for native territories, protection of the environment and the liquidation of available resources. Even the Ecuadorian State Petroleum Company, IERAC and the Corps of Engineers (which is in charge of the construction of penetration roads) actively violate legal statutes and have been converted into supporters of the oil companies.

No decision was ever taken on the recommendations of the Inter-Institutional Commission to grant the Huaorani people approximately 650,000 hectares of their original territory. This has further aggravated the situation.

The construction of a section of 27 kilometers of new road into the area has facilitated the settlement of approximately 2,500 families of colonists. These settlements require a relatively high investment as the colonists are not families of poor immigrants from other regions of the country but land speculators who are often in the service of local wealthy persons. These speculators drive the indigenous peoples away from their lands.

At present, these "colonists" settle along the road as far as the third or fourth sections. They are preceded by advance groups which take possession of the land for at least 4 kilometers from the point at which the new road construction has reached. The advancing construction, planned to Punto Curacay and later to Montalvo, will produce an irrevocable incursion into Huaorani territory and will result in the total separation of Huaorani groups settled in the "reduction" from those in El Cononaco, El Yasuní and El Tiputini. That is to say, it will have incalculable harmful consequences for the survival of the Huaorani people.

IERAC has not yet granted the corresponding property titles to the colonists who are settled in the above territorial district. This means that, considering the delimitation and legalisation of Huaorani territory in conformity with the recommendations of the Inter-Institutional Commission, the colonial settlements are in fact illegal.

In short, the Huaorani are currently facing a new offensive against their

own development. On this occasion, the oil corporations associated with the state, and the massive penetration of “colonists”, together with the incalculable destructive actions of the lumber companies, threaten to liquidate the Huaorani.

This difficult situation requires today, more than ever, national and international statements of solidarity.

Analysis and Proposals Concerning Development Assistance and Ethno-development

By Evaristo Nugkuag

Introduction

This paper is not designed to be strictly academic, but attempts to reflect the preoccupations and concrete suggestions of the organisations of the indigenous peoples of the Peruvian Amazon region regarding ethno-development.

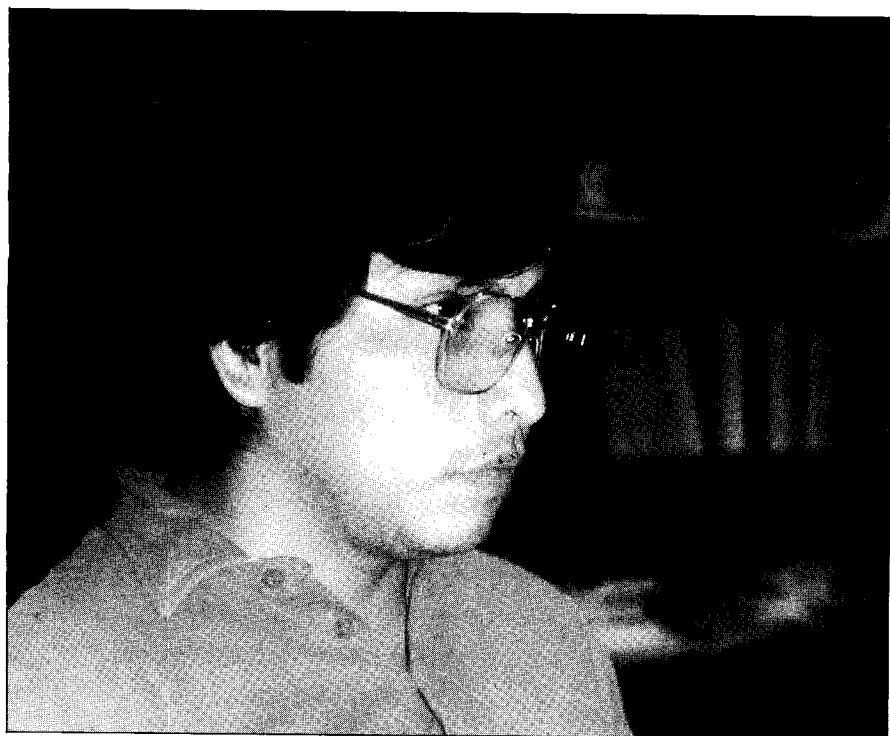
However, a “concrete” approach is not useful if it is only a recounting of cases and details of our experiences with development aid. Rather, we have chosen to present what could be called the “conclusions” of our observations and experiences in relation to the important question of development assistance and ethno-development.

The Present Situation

The channelling and implementation of international development aid for the indigenous peoples of the Peruvian Amazonian have the following main characteristics:

1. In the majority of cases, aid is channelled through intermediary organisations and not directly to the indigenous organisations. As a result, the main recipients are: the state, various religious organisations and the so-called non-governmental organisations (NGOs) concerned with promotion, training and investigation. We can also include within the “intermediaries” the nominally indigenous organisations at the international level; they are, however, often bureaucratic and have weak connections with our people.

2. International aid covers areas which we consider important and necessary, but it does not cover everything; indeed there are urgent questions which arouse very little interest or financial priority. Among these are: territorial stabilisation (recognition of land rights, granting of land titles, land invasions); general and integrated legal defence (police, judicial, penal); support to autonomous base organisations and training and promotion of new indigenous leaders.



Evaristo Nugkuag (photo: Teresa Aparicio)

3. There are difficulties and operative or administrative restrictions on supporting unforeseen questions or emergency actions which occur in our villages. These are common in underdeveloped countries such as ours (land invasions, floods, etc.).

4. In implementing development work there are differences in the treatment of participants. Discrepancies in remuneration, honoraria, and environmental and social conditions of work can be extreme, which may create many problems.

5. We have observed a lack of studies or knowledge on the part of many financing agencies about the areas where they carry out their projects, in particular, regarding ecological and social effects. Furthermore, agencies may also be deficient in their information and analysis, as seen in their poor understanding of questions of continuity, consequences and contradictions in projects.

Problems Generated by Aid

These characteristics of development aid generate various effects and problems concerning indigenous organisations such as:

1. In many cases, development or promotion means not so much the strengthening of base indigenous organisations, but rather the bureaucratisation or formation of bureaucracies. These can be based on particular interests such as those of technocratic institutions, state institutions, the subtle mediation or dependency created by religious centres, “centres of promotion” (which in reality become centres of control), research institutions (aiming for scientific prestige rather than support for indigenous peoples), local political figures or political parties. All of these interests are foreign to the basic decisions and interests of indigenous peoples.

2. The weakening of indigenous organisations provoked by a variety of problems detracts from the main priorities of indigenous peoples. Examples of this are the emergence of paternalism, corruption and divisions between leaders or even between indigenous organisations themselves.

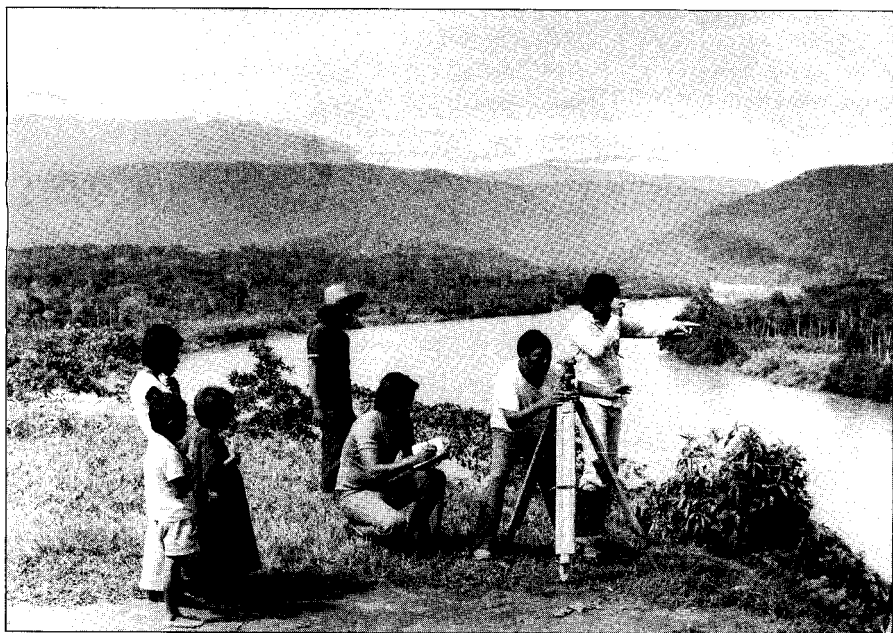
3. Although some organisations strengthen themselves in spite of these problems, there can still be too much dependency on the continuation of international aid, which, in some cases, becomes dangerously connected to the ideology or political priorities of the aid agency.

New Experiences

However, not all of our experiences have been negative. We can stress that, even though these problems have been our predominant experience, they are being corrected and replaced by alternative experiences in development aid and above all in ethno-development. The positive aspects of development projects and activities can be summarised as follows:

1. Aid has recently been channelled directly to AIDSESEP in its capacity as an authentic Amazonian indigenous organisation. The projects are carried out under its auspices. The fundamental requirement is that the projects are created and elaborated directly from the indigenous organisations, which amplify and develop their own initiatives through AIDSESEP. Here we destroy the myth of the supposed incapacity of the indigenous peoples to administer resources which has been used to justify intervention by outside organisations.

2. The health programme of the Aguaruna and Huambisa Council (CAH), which was initiated in each native community on one river, now covers five rivers



*Delineating indigenous communities on the River Tambo
(photo: FECONACA)*

with a radius of 200,000 square kilometers. This programme has also trained 150 indigenous health promoters and their replacement leaders. It respects the development of so-called “traditional medicine”, and, after initial hostility from the Peruvian state, it even managed to receive partial financial support without the CAH losing indigenous autonomous control of the programme.

3. The snake venom project of CAH is providing training and infrastructure for the production of venoms for the antivenom serums. Although this is clearly a project which is new to the Aguaruna, it does not produce any ecological or cultural deterioration of the Amazon region. Here too, the state has been pressured by indigenous peoples to change from its initial bureaucratic obstruction to provision of partial support. The CAH preserved its autonomy in managing this large project.

4. The CAH commercialisation programme was formed to confront the commercial monopolists who were impoverishing the Aguaruna and Huambisa

people of the Upper Marañon river. The project included the commercialisation of routes linking the communities by river and throughout the province. Furthermore, it included community organised marketing and we built up our own river transportation, storage centres and finally, after pressuring the State, received some support to complete the transportation of merchandise by means of a cargo lorry of 20 metric tonnes.



*Road construction in the Peruvian Amazon
(photo: Jørgen Brøchner Jørgensen)*

5. AIDSESEP's ethnic legal defence programmes are characterised by training leaders in legal activities in the defence of their rights as indigenous peoples. The programme is organised by our legal adviser as a natural complement to the direct action which indigenous organisations develop in the defence of their rights. The idea is to work within the framework of various types of political action: police and judicial action, public opinion, pressuring state institutions, political pressure, alliances with other Peruvian popular sectors and direct mobilisation.

Proposals for Aid to Ethno-development

This rapid inventory of what we consider to be important aspects of international aid brings us to some general proposals. These should help aid to contribute effectively to the organisational and ecological development of our peoples, that is to say, to ethno-development. In these proposals we also bring together the concrete demands of the organisations affiliated with AIDSESEP, which we have formulated in various project initiatives and discussions.

1. Generally, aid for ethno-development, and in particular finance, should be channelled in its entirety, or at least primarily, directly to the indigenous organisations at their respective levels (community, river, ethnic, federational, national).

2. In the case of aid to state or private bodies, at present "intermediaries" to us, this should be conditional upon the said bodies operating only as "technical advisers" to projects, which in all cases should remain under indigenous control.

3. In general, the projects (whether of training, promotion or investigation) should always be based upon the indigenous population knowing openly what is happening in their name. Projects should be dependent for execution upon requirements of the indigenous population itself and depend clearly upon its approval, active participation and supervision.

4. All projects should include areas or objectives directed in some manner towards the strengthening of indigenous organisations, this also includes so-called research or "investigation" projects (pure or applied).

5. Projects which evade, divide, or do not commit themselves to the solution of conflicts (permanent, predictable or even those which suddenly appear) in

indigenous communities should not be given priority or support. Among the problems which all projects should address are genocide, racism, territorial plundering, ecological destruction, labour or commercial exploitation, repression, cultural ethnocide, etc.

6. If development priorities are to be established for ethno-development, we propose that the central principles of the projects must refer to *self-organisation and indigenous autonomy*, utilising for this end various means such as:

- a) the organisation of indigenous commercialisation in order to confront the external monopolies over commerce, transportation and services;
- b) systems of primary medical attention based upon indigenous promoters and operators which respect the traditional medicine;
- c) defence of ethnic rights, combining training in integrated legal defence with political pressuring, including pressuring the state, while promoting the direct action of indigenous organisations;
- d) reorganisation of educational systems, reformulating curricula and promoting both the training of bilingual teachers and the participation of the community in education work;
- e) the industrial transformation of secondary products of the Amazonian forests, flora and fauna, without altering its ecological equilibrium; among these products are resins, rubbers, dyes, roots, poisons, mushrooms, etc.; and
- f) the organised intervention of indigenous peoples in the exploitation of wood and minerals, in order to stop the anti-ecological penetration and domination on which capitalist companies develop.

7. It is also necessary to set out clearly the areas of projects which are negative for ethno-development. They are somewhat better known and we only wish to specify some areas based upon our recent experience in Peru, where they still continue to receive international support.

- a) The expansion of mono-cultivation such as rice and coffee.
- b) The expansion of cattle raising in the jungle.
- c) The promotion of bank, agricultural or industrial credits for individuals or groups, which are then pressed upon indigenous organisations.
- d) The introduction of organisational or business methods which are outside direct indigenous control.

- e) Work of training, investigation or diffusion carried out without the control of the respective indigenous organisations.

These seven proposals for ethno-development aid make up the conclusions which we, as an indigenous organisation, have reached after many year's experience.

Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Organisation and the Problems Facing Ethno-development in Eastern Bolivia

By Evelio Arambiza

The Centre for Indigenous Peoples and Communities of Eastern Bolivia (CIDOB) is an autonomous organisation whose membership comprises representatives of the main indigenous peoples of Eastern Bolivia. It was founded on the 4th October, 1982, at the first Meeting of Indigenous Peoples and Communities of Eastern Bolivia by an assembly composed of 70 delegates from 30 indigenous communities of Izoceño-Guarani, Gaurayos and Chiquitanos peoples from the Department of Santa Cruz. One year later, after evaluating the work done by the leadership in relation to the communities, CIDOB was ratified.

CIDOB developed after the long years of dictatorship in the 1970s when the state intensified its exploitation of natural resources and penetration of areas where indigenous groups live. The exploitation of wood and forest animals, the building of roads for oil exploration, and the increase of colonisation by peasant farmers displaced from areas of *altiplano* and valleys for economic reasons, were all elements which contributed to the growth of an indigenous peasant organisation in the region.

On the level of organisation, CIDOB has moved from initially representing groups of indigenous peoples from the Department of Santa Cruz in 1982, to representing the whole of the lowlands of Bolivia, encompassing at present both majority and minority groups in terms of population. Today CIDOB also has bases in the Departments of Beni and Chuquisaca and contacts with groups in the Departments of Pando, La Paz and Tarija. It has also been proposed that CIDOB should work on a model for the re-grouping and alliance of those indigenous peoples whose lands are now broken up and dispersed as a result of the historic process of colonisation.

For the purposes of this paper we want to point out that CIDOB has been recognised as the representative entity of the indigenous peoples of lowland Bolivia by the Co-ordination of Solidarity of the Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia, an entity which was founded by the National Secretary of the Social Pastoral and Methodist Church of Bolivia in 1985. CIDOB has also co-ordinated with Monseñor Tito Solari for the defence of the indigenous Yuqui people. At present the Yuqui are harassed and in danger of becoming extinct as a people because of business interests which are exploiting the natural resources on their ancestral territory.



Delegates at the 7th Indigenous Meeting of CIDOB 1988
(photo: Oyendo Indígena)

The Objectives of CIDOB

In its capacity as a grassroots organisation representing the most marginal indigenous peasant sector in the country, CIDOB's main objective is defending the fundamental human rights of our people with an emphasis on the defence of *collective rights* which are due to us as nations.

For this reason we are establishing a defence for the territories of each of the different indigenous nations, and consider that this is the only way to defend our cultures and our language. This is the only way to exercise our *self-determination* within the state of Bolivia.

We know that our objectives of achieving respect for our collective rights have to be made within a pluri-national state. It is for this reason that our task is to contribute to the construction of this new Bolivian state, strengthening our people and demanding our economic, political and social rights from the state. At the same time we shall propose the essential form that the legal recognition and respect for the autonomy of the organisations of the indigenous peoples and

communities of the East and Amazon areas of Bolivia should take. The communal character and the inter-communal centres of our traditional organisations should be recognised.

We propose:

1. The legal recognition of our organisations on the communal, the inter-communal, the regional and/or national level.
2. Recognition of our territorial rights including: soil, forest, fauna, subsoil and sources of water.
3. Recognition of the regional and national autonomy of our peoples with respect to our own forms of authority, customary law, language, identity and customs.
4. Subordination of local authorities, municipal entities, mayors and magistrates to traditional authorities and collective forms of decision making.
5. Support for our own proposals for economic and social development.
6. Support for our own proposals for education based on our languages and our cultures, support for fundamental services, for example health, and also based on our knowledge of traditional and natural medicine.

The Situation of the Indigenous Peoples of the Lowlands of Bolivia (the East and the Amazon)

History

Faced with the conquest and colonisation of our communities, our peoples initiated a varied and difficult process of resistance. This was a resistance to the domination, the centralising “reductions” which forced our communities together, the murder of our people, and the plundering of our territories and goods. The Republic did not signify liberty for us, on the contrary, in many cases the situation worsened. One need only recall the rubber “boom” and the extermination of our peoples by Bolivian industrial companies with the help of the state.

But our resistance was strong. At the end of the last century our indigenous peoples rose in rebellion for liberation against the might of the Republic and its armies, the power of the Church, the rubber companies, ranchers, etc. These were the rebellions of Apiaguayqui Tumpa and the great Guaraní rebellion of 1890; there was Andrés Muiba the Moxeño chief; and there were the movement of our peoples “searching for the land without evil; the *loma santa* (Sacred



Indigenous community of Eastern Bolivia (photo: Oyendo Indigena)

Hill) as an alternative to the exploitation and the terrible “benefits of civilisation”.

We were clearly defeated militarily, but we did not yield and we took to the path of survival and of maintaining our forms of organisation, our own resources and economy.

The Present Day Situation

At the beginning of the 20th century, Bolivia was a country dominated by an oligarchical group (consisting of three families) whose position was founded on the exploitation of Brazil nuts. The country had a distorted economy based largely on the population of the rural peasant sector in the western region of the country and a mining economy controlled by 80 per cent of the oligarchy. The Chaco Wars (1933-1935) between Bolivia and Paraguay over the oil interests of two transnational companies, precipitated the crisis in the oligarchy system and saw the rise of the first workers organisations and peasant unions. In Eastern Bolivia, the Chaco War was responsible for the incorporation into the army of

sectors of the indigenous population, which for the first time gave them a notion of belonging to the Bolivian nation.

Given the economic structure of the country up to the 1950s, there were practically no middle classes, but instead a small elite, a massive peasant sector and a worker sector. Nevertheless, since 1825, Bolivia has had a representative democratic political system which has not functioned. (Bolivia is known as the country with most political coups in the world.) In 1952, all citizens got the vote; before, only those who could read, write and had an income of 200 Bolivianos could vote.

In 1952 there was a revolution which nationalised the mines and set up the Agrarian Reform, due to pressure from the miners and the dispossessed peasant masses. It led to universal suffrage and the statutes of Education Reform (1954) which attempted to improve rural education. Nevertheless, the political power remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the economy under the control of the United States, which pushed a stabilisation plan through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to save Bolivia from total collapse. With regard to the East of the country, the government followed the suggestions of the US government's "Bohan Mission" and put a plan of colonisation and population into action. This was consolidated by the Mennonite colonisation of 1954 and the Japanese colonisation of 1955. Both these groups received land and were equipped with both an agricultural infrastructure and roads leading to good lands. During the same period, the "Bohan Mission" encouraged the setting up of settlements by peasant colonists from the western regions (1952).

The Agrarian Reform which created small-holdings in the western region of Bolivia, resulted in the formation of enormous cattle ranches in the east, which further reduced the territories of the indigenous peoples. The law, which is still in force, classifies the indigenous peoples who live in communities according to their own culture as "savages" and expresses the need to protect indigenous peoples through institutions with a mandate to integrate us into the national society. Therefore it denies those individual rights which the law provides for Bolivian citizens.

Parallel with this attitude, the Educational Reform Statute gives no consideration of the introduction of bilingual and bicultural education.

Over the last 40 years, since the end of World War II, the fundamentalist missionaries, the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the New Tribes Mission, have established themselves with the endorsement of the Government. These missions have penetrated indigenous areas and denied the peoples their own culture. They have imposed values and practices which, in the majority of cases, have resulted in the division and destructuring of the peoples and cultures. They have assumed guardianship of the indigenous peoples and, in the case of various

groups with a small population, have taken over the lands. The linguistic work of the missionaries has produced basic bibles and introduced conflicting symbolic graphic systems, restricting future forms of communication between the indigenous people.

During the 1970s, an authoritative and bureaucratic regime (1971-78) denied the labour organisations and the peasant and political organisations any legality and, at the same time, passed the Forestry, Fauna and Woodland Life Law which legalised intensive capitalist exploitation of these resources and, in fact, negated the territorial rights of the indigenous peoples.

The present system of ownership allows concessions to be granted for forestry and hunting in community lands, in the same way as the mining legislation authorises surface and subsoil exploration for minerals. In total, indigenous peoples probably have 500,000 hectares, while cattle concerns have 100,000 hectares, forestry concerns have more than 500,000 hectares and agro-industries have 9,000 hectares.

The capitalist method of exploitation of natural resources is completely destructive and there are neither policies nor legislation oriented towards conservation, protection and nationalisation of the environment.

The present democratically elected government has at its head the leader of the 1952 national revolution. Nevertheless, his present politics are totally opposed to those of 1952 and aim for the total privatisation of all the economy. At its inauguration, the government passed Decree 21060 which included a complete package encapsulating the classic demands of a liberal economy. The present government has established a tribute scheme which taxes the property of community land and enforces the agrarian, forestry and rural legislation made during the period of the dictatorship, favouring even more the mining companies and the agro-industrial sector.

Population

When we refer to the population of the indigenous peoples of the East and Amazon areas of Bolivia as 280,000 people, we refer to the population living in communities, not those who have migrated, become "mestizados" and integrated into urban and semi-urban sectors. Forty-six per cent, which is approximately 130,000 inhabitants of villages and communities (some 21,000 families) are located in Santa Cruz de la Sierra. There is also a large percentage in Beni and a small percentage in Pando and the low zones of Chuquisaca, La Paz and Tarija.

In Eastern Bolivia there are indigenous groups which number more than 40,000 (Chiriguano and Chiquitano) and others comprising no more than 8 (Pacahuaras). In the middle are groups of 40, 100 and 2,500 persons (Araonas,

Chacobos, Chimane or Ayoréode). These extremes are explained by the Spanish conquest, the early evangelisation by the Jesuits (1691-1776) and the contact made since the last century.

Today, the large majority of indigenous peoples are sedentary and practise a tropical slash and burn agriculture. Only a few practise, in part, a semi-nomadic or fishing lifestyle. The last group of tropical nomads, the Yuqui, are at present (1988) being forcibly removed from their habitat.

Economic Situation

Our economic situation is, quite simply, disastrous. As peasant workers and producers, and as consumers of products which are increasingly expensive in comparison with the worth our own production and labour, it is the poor who are being most cruelly affected by the crisis. The present economic policy gives priority to factors which are either very removed or sometimes even close to our situation, but which never correspond to our own basic needs and desires. Exports are given priority at the cost of produce for the internal market and food production. Repayment of the external debt is given priority and we will be using the most expensive dollars in the world in order to pay these debts, which were taken out in our name but without our participation, and without our receiving any benefit from them. Investment in basic education and health services is being reduced as well as possibilities to improve ourselves as real producers.

Our needs for investment are not attended to – our needs to generate work, training to improve production, developing companies with socialist forms of ownership and development. No attention is paid to the fundamental need for the protection of, and for the integrated use of, natural resources. These resources are now being given over to an irreversible process of destruction which promotes an irrational economic system with unplanned consequences from which we all suffer.

Territorial Situation

The problem of the destruction of our ethnic groups, of their “reduction”, fragmentation and eventual destruction, is essentially articulated in a model which is destroying the natural system of sustenance. This can be seen in an accelerated and accumulative form in the logic of the dependence and inequality of capitalism.

Colonial and commercial dependency has now been subordinated to the development of world capitalism, both nationally and regionally. Thus capitalism has become the basis of the regional economy and the redefinition of territory



Members of the Directive of CIDOB – Evelio Arambiza, José Urañavi and Miguel García (photo: Oyendo Indígena)

and conditions of production. This process began between the Chaco War and the Revolution of 1952.

We are talking about a model oriented to the exportation of hydrocarbons and an agro-industry supplying the internal market as a substitutions for imports. This will work towards a process of migration from zones of high population and conflict and towards the “empty Amazon”.

This “empty Amazon” is now the focus of an investment in infrastructure and settlements for extractive production and speculation. The same Amazon is also extremely vulnerable ecologically and is gradually deteriorating because of all the different forms of production and the large scale human settlements.

The fundamental claim of our peoples is our right to land. The Agrarian Reform resulted in a large concentration of property in the hands of a few and the destruction of our communities. Among all the families and communities of the Indians of Santa Cruz – which amount to approximately 46 per cent of the indigenous population of the East and 23 per cent of the rural population of the department – we have a mere 400,000 hectares. Nevertheless, the minimum necessary for us, for our communities, to establish a system of conservation and integrated use of the natural resources in the long term under collective forms of management, is 200 hectares per family. Through communities and community centres we would plan adequately the use of the different resources: agricultural, fishery, forestry, sub-soil etc. This means that our 21,000 families, organised in communities and association centres, ought to have a minimum of 4,200,000 hectares of land including the soil, forests and sub-soil.

In Santa Cruz de la Sierra, which has 37 million hectares, land is being accumulated: 12 million hectares are in the hands of 59 large lumber companies. Some of these companies have almost a million hectares. And they also have concessions in Santa Cruz, Beni and La Paz Departments. The families of large landowners or “groups” have more than 400,000 hectares, which is more than all the land for the communities together.

Of the 9 million hectares distributed by the Agrarian Reform in Santa Cruz, almost 8 million hectares belong to 1,500 owners. Of this amount, 5 per cent of the owners hold more than 60 per cent of the land. This concentration is based in a process of ‘triple concessions of property’.

Of the 33 per cent of the rural population of the Department who form the original population and the only “legitimate owners”, we have only 1.08 per cent of the total area.

CIDOB claims, as a minimum for the indigenous peoples and communities, 4,200,000 hectares which amounts to 11.35 per cent of the 37 million of hectares of the Department of Santa Cruz.

Main Problems

- The state’s disregard of our cultural and educational rights, our language and our traditional internal political structure and, above all, the lack of implementation of adequate educational policies and administration.
- The disregard for our inter-communal territories and the imposition of individual land titles for parcels and individual property ownership.
- The denial of our rights to the natural resources on the land.
- Legislation which is contradictory and based on protectionism and tutelage and which hinders the autonomous development of our peoples.

- An economic policy which affects popular and rural sectors negatively.
- The absence of development programmes oriented towards the indigenous population which is the most marginalised and poor sector.

These problems are the main obstacles to the promotion of indigenous peoples' development in the Amazon and Eastern regions of Bolivia.

Conclusion

The participants summarised their conclusions to the symposium on the morning of the last day and together they worked on a series of resolutions which were approved by consensus:

Resolution

The participants at the symposium *Ethno-development, development and self-determination*, organised by IWGIA at its 20th Anniversary during the 46th International Congress of Americanists, resolve:

1. To denounce that a common denominator in the oppression of the indigenous peoples of the Americas is created in the role played by instruments of North American imperialism, such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, religious sects, advisors and others.

2. To repudiate the shameless invasion by the North American administration through the drug enforcement agency in Bolivia and the South American Amazon, in the troop movements in Central America and the militarisation of the Hawaiian Islands.

3. To call for the defense of Mother Earth and for the legitimate right of our peoples to cultivate the coca plant which is:

a) a sacred plant,

b) a socialising element and essential part of our culture,

c) food for our people,

and to condemn drug traffickers for degrading its use.

4. To denounce and condemn the ecological destruction and the poisoning of the soil and the environment with chemical products under the pretext of fighting drug trafficking.

5. To establish a "Continental Front" out of the organisations represented here, to promote indigenous unity and solidarity in all aspects of our struggle.

6. To strongly condemn the celebration of the 500 Years, because this date was the beginning of the war, the grief and the establishment of a long indigenous resistance which has lasted to today. This is because the conquest has meant, for us the indigenous peoples of the Americas, the genocide and extermination of our peoples.

7. To insist that financial support which comes from support agencies ought to be controlled and managed by the indigenous organisations themselves.

8. To express solidarity with all the indigenous peoples who suffer repression in the claiming of their right to land in the South American Amazon, particularly in Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Surinam and in the rest of America.
9. To condemn the exploitation of indigenous land and labour by the multinational SHELL in Peru.
10. To reaffirm our recognition of the indigenous organisations which are members of the Coordinadora of the Amazon Basin, as well as the other authentic organisations in other countries of the Americas. We also do not recognise and we reject all pseudo-organisations which try to claim the representation of our peoples, while following outside economic interests.

Signed in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 7th July, 1988.

Evaluation

The final hour of the symposium was an evaluation designed to help the organisers and participants in future work. While all participants felt that it had been a valuable experience several suggestions were made for the future:

1. It would have been useful to have more information on the background to the conference, its position in the Congress of Americanists and how the symposium was to be organised prior to the meeting.
2. Some Indians were criticised for taking too much time for their presentations at the expense of others.
3. The Indians living in Europe who had interrupted the preliminary meeting and been disruptive during the first few hours of the symposium were criticised by the indigenous participants.

Apart from these points the participants commented:

1. That IWGIA was the first non-indigenous organisation to arrange a meeting entirely for indigenous peoples at this international congress and that this was a historical event.
2. The points raised by the peoples from different parts of the Americas were a valuable contribution to increasing understanding between the participants.
3. The symposium set a precedent for what constitutes an indigenous symposium and thus indigenous research. Whereas most symposia consist of presentations of papers, in the IWGIA symposium the relationships between the delegates were an integral part of the understanding and communication potential. This, for the participants, was the major "finding". This finding is explored the following conclusion.

Conclusion

Organising an indigenous symposium presents certain challenges which are different to other non-indigenous meetings on similar topics. Unlike academic symposia the personal inter-relationships between indigenous participants are crucial to its success. In order to gain anything from the symposium, a simple accumulation of information is not sufficient because the participants are looking for something else. The "something else" is an understanding of each other as persons and members of a people.

All conferences, to some extent, operate on both intellectual and personal levels, but in Amsterdam's indigenous symposium several differences from the more usual academic variety can be seen. The indigenous participants in Amsterdam were taking part in a common experience – the symposium; yet the symposium itself, as an institution, is a non-indigenous phenomenon. Academic delegates at a symposium are usually drawn together by a common discipline which is based on premises and expectations and founded on internationally accepted criteria. For indigenous people, on the other hand, academic disciplines, their premises and international institutions are part of an "alien" culture, not only foreign, but in many cases opposed to their cultural principles.

The element on which the participants inter-related in Amsterdam was not, therefore, their membership of a common intellectual discipline, which for academics provides the basis for discussion. On the contrary, the common feature of their identity was that they were indigenous peoples taking part in a non-indigenous institution, namely an academic conference. In this way, as a part of the expression of their identity, they created their own form of symposium.

In academic symposia, it is usual that mutual understanding arises through appreciating differences of opinion, regardless of cultural considerations. For indigenous peoples, however, the culture of which they are a part is so deeply embedded in their identity as indigenous peoples, that their cultural differences are essential elements of their own inter-relationships. For this reason, the way in which the indigenous participants grew to know and understand each other over the days of the Amsterdam symposium meant as much to them as the intellectual information they were receiving from each other.

On the first day of the IWGIA symposium all the participants met and began to get to know each other. The initial feeling of being part of the same meeting drew participants together.

However during the first day, and as the symposium progressed, cultural and political differences became clear. Apart from the initial interruption to the meeting by outsiders, there were three areas of distinction:

1. Different stylistic approaches to the presentations according to language (Spanish and English).
2. Different approaches based on ethnic distinctions (highland and lowland differences in South America, for example).
3. Different approaches to making the statements which related to gender.
4. Different political approaches – some took differing views on the merits of Indianism, while another area of discussion was the extent to which indigenous peoples should ally themselves with non-indigenous liberation struggles.

These differences had the effect of breaking up the original unity of the meeting and some of the participants did not immediately appreciate the manner or approaches of others. The spectrum of participants was broad and it seemed as if communication between the participants was fragmenting as they clustered into groupings. The symposium was, in fact, unique in that so many indigenous peoples from different political organisations and from diverse geographical zones had the chance to meet and thrash out their differences.

On the final day, however, after the conclusions, the participants asked for a closed evaluation. Here the differences were expressed openly and each person explained his or her opinions and feelings. The evaluation had the effect of drawing together an overall consensus.

As a mark of this consensus the participants formed a small working committee which wrote the resolutions. In these resolutions (*see above*) the differences fitted together in such a way that consensus became possible. Even those outsiders who had initially been opposed to the symposium, joined in the discussion of the resolutions and gave their comments and support. On the final day there was a gathering at the hotel where all indigenous peoples at the symposium, both delegates and those in the audience, met and expressed their solidarity. At this meeting IWGIA was asked to try and write, in the form of a conclusion, the process whereby this had come about. As one participant said:

We came to this meeting not knowing each other, we learnt much from the papers and their comments, but the main impact of the meeting was to learn to appreciate each other through our differences, express our feelings to each other and gain a strong sense of solidarity with our brothers and sisters. We can find unity through understanding our differences and not through covering them up.

The measure of a successful indigenous symposium is the extent to which people pass through a fruitful common experience. The Amsterdam symposium was not only a forum to increase knowledge, it was about understanding each other. During the three days the participants broke down barriers and created relationships of mutual understanding. Out of this came a new unity in diversity.

For the representatives from IWGIA and the indigenous participants, the symposium at the International Congress of Americanists demonstrated that there is such a thing as an “indigenous symposium” which has clearly marked characteristics. The intellect and experience are frequently separated in academic symposia where the former attribute is emphasised over the latter. For indigenous peoples, the intellect and experience are bound together in inter-personal understanding – the producers or presenters of papers are just as important as their products. The added element of being indigenous, yet expressing this through diverse cultural manners makes such a symposium distinct. Through recognising this, we can appreciate and begin to understand the dimensions of indigenous peoples’ approach to knowledge.

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IWGIA LOCAL GROUPS:

Copenhagen: Fiolstraede 10,
DK-1171 Copenhagen K.
Denmark

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Norway

Göteborg: c/o Institute of Social Anthropology,
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This document, the first of two volumes, is a collection of articles comparing the problems and issues facing the indigenous nations of North America. Loss of lands and resources at the hands of contemporary nation-states such as the U.S. and Canada, as well as cultural "assimilation" policies undertaken by these states, have placed Native North America in grave peril. Both the nature of the threats and the forms of native resistance are examined in this collection of essays.



IWGIA
INTERNATIONAL
WORK GROUP FOR
INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

The International Secretariat of IWGIA
Fiolstræde 10
DK-1171 Copenhagen K
Denmark