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Yuguai'yak in his home from Eisenberg's article on page 63 (photo by John Amato)

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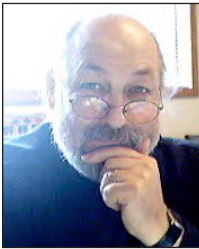
RUDOLPH C. RŸSER
Editor in Chief
Fourth World Journal

Fourth World nations repeatedly declare claims to their land, resources, cultural practices, and the power to decide. They now claim the "right to free, prior, and informed consent" before a state government can implement policy or practices that may have an affect on the rights and interests of a FW nation in accord with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) and the UN World Conference on Indigenous Peoples (September 2014). These are central themes as nations seek to meet the challenges of states, corporations, organized crime, non-governmental organizations, and transnational religions—all of which want control over Fourth World wealth. All five of these challengers to the interests of nations are corporate constructs that do not have land or people that is legitimately under their control. Each corporate entity—whether a state, business, transnational religion, organized criminal group, or non-profit organization—essentially becomes wealthy and powerful by stealing Fourth World land, resources, and people. In the absence of a better expression and owing to their generally destructive influences on Fourth World Nations, the environment, and living things, I refer to the five challengers as the "Five Horsemen of the Apocalypse." What they seek to claim is what each Fourth World nation has: land, resources, and people. The "Five Horsemen" are instruments of wealth confiscation in the modern colonial era.

Most Fourth World nations are located in relatively remote areas of the world and host 80% of the world's remaining biodiversity. A significant number of Fourth World peoples, however, are either forced to relocate to urban areas or have migrated to these areas due to land dispossession. The result is that instead of relying on their lands, resources, and governing authorities they are either in enclaves or living as single-family units. These circumstances radically alter the nature and character of Fourth World peoples, constituting further challenges. Forced from their original territories Fourth World nations, nevertheless, remain persistent, bedrock nations.

Fourth World nations located in their ancestral territories, Fourth World peoples located near their ancestral territories, and Fourth World peoples located in distant urban or suburban locations possess different political and cultural characteristics that are still products of their interpersonal relations and relationships to the land and the cosmos. These are evolving circumstances that beg for better explanations and understanding.

The United Nations frequently refers to the combined Fourth World population as no more than 350 million people—a figure offered by the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs

(Denmark) and echoed by the United Nations. Admittedly, the definition of "indigenous peoples" is controversial since states tend to minimize the number of people recognized by the government or "scheduled", which explains the UN aggregated number.

The Center for World Indigenous Studies applies this definition:

> *The term indigenous peoples refers to people living in countries which have a population composed of differing ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area and who do not as a group control the state government of the countries within which they live.*

Given this definition we arrive at a different number considerably.

The Center for World Indigenous Studies Fourth World Atlas Project projected, in 2005, a global combined population of 1.3 billion people on six continents and in Oceana. If one does not count the Han, who dominate the Peoples' Republic of China, but rather counts the fifty-five other indigenous nations in China, one finds that there are more than 105 million people in the combined indigenous population, not to mention the estimated 135 – 225 million indigenous peoples in India (the Indian government claims 130 million "scheduled" Fourth World peoples). In Russia there are 185 distinct indigenous nations and communities with a combined population of more than 35 million. Iceland, Tonga, and Papua New Guinea ae indigenous "nation-states." In Mexico the state wishes to minimize the Fourth World population by claiming that "mestizos" are transitioning to become "Mexicans"—a new people. This is hardly sensible since the definition we use (and asserted by Fourth World nations) recognizes "descen-

dants" as a key factor. In other words, Fourth World nations are persistent in their ability to meet colonization in the modern era, even as the definitions are changed to create the state population out of Fourth World peoples.

It is, I think, fair to say that the 350 million indigenous people figure is a "state-derived" figure that benefits states by allowing them to claim the territory on which "indigenous peoples are not present." This is clearly a hugely political number, but in China, India, and Russia alone one can nearly reach the UN number. Africa, all of East Asia and Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and Oceana would have to have very few Fourth World peoples at all. Colonial numbers speak volumes about the extent that information is critical to achieve Fourth World political, economic, social, cultural, and strategic renewal.

Contributors to this issue of the Fourth World Journal touch on the modern era of colonization from a variety of perspectives and intellectual angles. Of critical importance, each of the authors offers alternatives and processes for reversing the colonial impulse of the "Five Horsemen of the Apocalypse."

Dina Gilio-Whitaker is our Peer Reviewed contributor, offering **Fourth World Nations' Collision with Capitalism in the United States**. Gilio-Whitaker is not only an Associate Scholar and Research Associate at the Center, she is also a freelance author and an intrepid researcher. In her essay, she considers a topic touched on by many writers over the last forty years, but in this article explores in depth the influence of capitalism as a "subordinate process to colonialism" in American Indian nations. Her analysis opens the door to viewing these nations' "ongoing political development" in spite of the colonial process.

A scholar of Fourth World literature on the Spanish and Hispanic Studies Faculty at Texas A&M University-Kingsville (USA),

Roberto Vela Cõrdova engages readers in an intensive analysis of Fourth World literature and philosophy as "inextricably bound to pre-Columbian sources, as well as to American traditions and evolutions in their philosophy that have continued since the conquest. In **Fourth World Peoples: Continuity, Philosophies, and Sources** Vela considers how contemporary Fourth World literature remains profoundly defined by antecedents that stretch deep into times preceding the current colonial era.

Valerie E. Nguyen, a Center for World Indigenous Studies Associate Scholar, has undertaken to expose the Buddhist militarization of Burma (Myanmar) and the resulting attacks on a vulnerable Fourth World Muslim population in her essay **Towards Buddhist and Islamic Coexistence: Indigenous Thought as a Conduit for Conflict Transformation**. Ms. Nguyen began this study as a CWIS intern last year to reveal the situation of the Rohingya and explore how conflict transformation might serve as a method for changing the strategic, economic, political, and cultural balance to the benefit of the more than 1.3 million Rohingya in southwestern Burma.

A CWIS Scholar with extensive experience in China, the upland Aymara region of Chile, the Federation of Micronesia, and now in Yup'ik territory in Alaska, **Dr. Amy Eisenburg** has written a brilliant essay entitled Y**up'ik-aaq Piyualriaruuq Qiaryigluni.** This is a study of the world as seen by Tan'iq, a Yu'pik man and knowledge holder.

FWJ Managing Editor and CWIS Associate Scholar/Researcher **Heidi Bruce** recalls the utter reliance that states retain on Fourth World nations for their stability and often their continuity in her reflective piece **Fourth World Theory and State Collapse**. Bruce discusses the stability of states as she reviews New Scientist author Deborah MacKenzie's article End of Nations: Is there an alternative to countries? She employs Fourth World theory in her discussion and analysis that adds to the literature about collapsing states (Joseph Tainter, Leopold Kohr, Bernard Nietschmann, Rudolph Ryser, Richard Griggs, etc.)

Rudolph Ryser offers an essay demonstrating the application of an indigenous knowledge system approach in change the title to match the article: **Applying Fourth World Diplomatic Knowledge and Implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.**

The piece is prompted by the United Nations consideration of an optional protocol or other methods to monitor implementation of the UNDRIP. It raises questions about the capacity of Fourth World nations to engage at the international, regional, and sub-regional levels to implement the UNDRIP.

Wilson Manyfingers returns to the FWJ after many years to offer a **Book Review of Research for Indigenous Survival: Indigenous Research Methodologies in the Behavioral Sciences**. Manyfingers considers Lori Lambert's anthological narrative where representatives from several Fourth World communities comment on the effects of colonialism on them personally and in their communities. He comments on Lambert's recommendations for conducting research in the behavioral sciences in search of how research is "for indigenous survival."

Bertha Miller, a student of anthropology going back more than thirty years, considers the reemergence of pre-contact histories of Fourth World peoples as she conducts a **Book Review of Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology**. Miller's thoughtful review considers the significance of pre-contact colonization of Fourth World peoples and the modern colonial era as she reviews the narratives of archaeologists located in several different countries.

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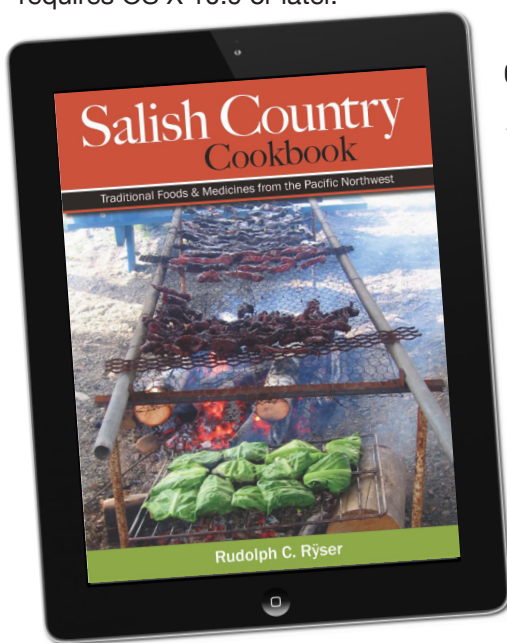
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Fourth World Nations' Collision with Capitalism in the United States

Dina Gilio-Whitaker

Abstract

In broad strokes this study traces the history of capitalism's merge with Fourth World nations in the United States as a tool of settler colonialism and as a "case study" for capitalism's infiltration of all Fourth World peoples. As a subordinate process to colonialism, capitalism was deployed in service to settler colonialism's imperative to eliminate Fourth World peoples. At the same time, paradoxically, Fourth World nations in the United States have endured, and can be seen to be in a process of ongoing political development. Four examples of changing modes of political economy are considered as a demonstration of agency and Fourth World peoples' ability to adapt to changing political and economic circumstances, while disrupting narratives of native savagery and romanticized depictions of Fourth World peoples as always "pure," "authentic," and unchanging. The essay then examines the history of federal Indian policy from the Progressive Era forward, identifying the economic imperatives at the root of each twentieth century policy. While many complex processes are involved, including ideological commitments to Social Darwinism and progressive reformers' commitments to improve indigenous lives by bestowing upon them civilization, these processes can be seen to be mediated by imposed economic conformity to the capitalist state, even in the current moment of self-determination. Fourth World nations' decolonization projects, however, reveal certain tensions between the concept of settler colonialism and Fourth World political development.

Keywords: Fourth World nations, American Indians, political economy, settler colonialism, capitalism, decolonization

Settler colonialism proposes that colonialism is more than just a historic event, but is a social structure that continually reproduces itself in order to accomplish the elimination of the "Native" (Wolfe, 2006). Its goal is always access to indigenous territories. Built into state governing structures, technologies—aimed at eradicating indigenous populations by absorption into the body politic of the state—become culturally normalized and so common they are hardly questioned. Acculturation through state education systems, socially encouraged miscegenation, resource extraction, multiculturalism, citizenship, and the breakup of indigenous lands into alienable land titles are some of the more common elements of settler colonial practices. They are deployed in dozens of states where Fourth World nations still maintain separate identities and claims to land within state borders. Perhaps the most insidious form of all colonial systems is capitalist economics. No nation is immune to its assimilative force and all nations must adapt while they simultaneously struggle to maintain their own traditional cultures and economies. This case study examines how capitalism seeped into Fourth World nations' realities in the United States and what some of its effects have been.

Applying the lens of political economy to today's indigenous social and governing institutions allows us to understand how capitalism was deployed in service to settler colonial processes. Within the larger context of thousands of Fourth World nations and peoples globally and their collisions with capitalism, studying

Fourth World nations in the United States collectively as an example of how capitalism infiltrated the Fourth World admittedly risks an oversimplified, universalizing narrative that can only pay passing glances to the nuances inherent in historic and nations' specificity. It also risks a lack of attention on how other processes worked to discipline Fourth World nations into their incorporation into the state, and ways they resisted. Risky though it may be, I attempt a "heavy lifting" approach to understanding the infiltration of capitalism and its use as a tool of settler colonialism. My hope is that it can be productive in helping to construct a counter-narrative that de-naturalizes capitalism in Fourth World political economies and opens space to think beyond a sense of the hegemonic inevitability of global capitalism.

To the degree that Fourth World political economies in the United States were co-opted by capitalism in service to the settler state, John H. Moore contends that the conflict between indigenous peoples and European invaders was not a "a *cultural* conflict…but an *economic* conflict between precapitalist or communal modes of production and capitalist modes."[1] This point is debatable since all political and economic systems are based on the dominant philosophical frameworks of a culture, and as has been amply demonstrated by indigenous studies scholars (Cordova, 2007; Cajete, 1994 & 2000; Smith, 1999; Meyer, 2008;), the epistemologies and foundational philosophies of indigenous cultures are profoundly different—at times even diametrically opposed to—those of settler colonialism's dominant culture(s). If economy is a function of culture then economic conflict must have at its roots a conflict of culture. Either way, the conflict is still very much alive among Fourth

World peoples in the United States today. Whether or not we agree that the conflict between indigenous peoples and European systems is better qualified as economic than cultural, they are clearly connected. The principles of capitalism have become normalized in Fourth World governance, often compromising traditional indigenous values, with devastating effects to communities.

This study interrogates colonialism's collusion with capitalism in the context of Fourth World nations in the United States. It explores distant and recent histories of indigenous sociopolitical and economic processes and sees them in terms of processes of political development within a globalized world and in which they are (however imperfectly) still evolving. As part of larger, more complex global processes we can observe ways they were hijacked by federal Indian policy and remolded under the trust doctrine. Capitalism's collision with Fourth World nations profoundly altered their governing systems and has ongoing ramifications, just as capitalism's neoliberal agenda has brought the world to a critical tipping point environmentally, socially, politically, and economically. The study of reservation economies as discreet economies (separate from larger economic processes) is embryonic but clearly inextricable from the trust relationship. Tracing even a rough historical trajectory of the economies of certain Fourth World nations in the United States reveals the complex ways they have been politically evolving since well before European contact; in this context colonization was not simply a force of destruction, but presented new circumstances to which they have been forced to adapt even as the world around them was changing and evolving.

Changes in Indigenous Political Economy over Time

Settler colonialism's logic of the elimina-

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1 John H. Moore, "Political Economy in Anthropology," in *The Political Economy of North American Indians* (Oklahoma University Press, 1993): pp. 3-19. 15.

tion of Fourth World nations birthed a myriad of technologies (Wolfe, 2006) designed to subsume indigenous peoples within the multicultural state (Champagne, 2005), as part of the state's homogenizing project. Joanne Barker (2011) observed that [Fourth World] "tribes" were reconstituted through the processes of federal Indian law, which automatically assumes the inauthenticity of the individual Indian, as well as the "tribe." Demanding that they meet the state's (always restrictive) definitions for Indian identity and thus the entitlements afforded them to their own lands, resources and other "special benefits," Fourth World identity is always in service to the state. The implication is that Fourth World peoples are non-existent until and unless they can prove otherwise (based on the state's criteria). The foundational legal concepts which construct the now non-existent authentic "Indian" are grounded in the ever-familiar narratives of the savagery and inferiority of Indians (Berkhofer, Jr., 1978 and Williams, 2005) who "lacked the essential qualities—such as belief in a Christian God or a capitalist free-market economy— that would prove they possessed a status equal to that of the 'civilized world.'"[2] Contributing to the savagery narrative is the "description of the character of tribes and the authority of the United States over them…by their *usufruct* relationship to the lands on which they 'roamed over' to satisfy their immediate needs" which circumscribes the notion of aboriginal title based on the right to occupy and use lands, as opposed to preeminent title or ownership of the lands by the United States.[3] Barker further notes that the perpetually-lacking Indian has been shown to be "a complete fabrication or 'simulation'…of dominant ideologies of race that rationalize the still-colonial and imperial

relations between the United States and Native peoples."[4]

A survey of particular pre-and post-European contact Fourth World economies reveals a far more complex and nuanced picture of indigenous commerce, trade, use of the land, and how all those elements interacted with each other and other peoples throughout time to form sophisticated (and not necessarily always wise) use of those lands and resources in some ways eerily reflective of today's globalized mega-economies into which they have been swept. It simultaneously disrupts the savagery narrative, challenges notions of authenticity demanded by the state (i.e. the concept of a pure, original, and unchanging culture), and sees Fourth World peoples as active agents in historical processes rather than perpetually disempowered victims.

Although indigenous peoples generally evolved epistemologies that reflected their relationships with the world based on respect and reciprocity (Cajete, 1994 and 2000), at times they produced hierarchical, inegalitarian social systems. In a post-European contact world, however, when they evolved stratified systems it was largely in response to their contact with the Western world. The study of Fourth World political economies is at present under-theorized and emergent (and whose scope is ultimately far beyond one essay). But by looking at the historical record—both in the distant and recent past —we can come to certain assumptions that contradict the master narrative of Fourth World nations' static and unsophisticated economic practices and how they inform an analysis of Fourth World political development today. Four examples of pre-and post-contact indigenous economies are explored through processes of historical evolution and their contemporary effects: the

2 Joanne Barker, *Native Acts: Law, Recognition and Cultural Authenticity* (Duke University Press, 2011): 84.
3 Ibid., 32.

4 Ibid., 12.

Mississippian Mound Builders, slavery in the southeast, Plains horse cultures, and disenrollments in today's indigenous gaming era.

The Mississippian Mound Builders

Between A.D. 900 and 1400 the ancestors of Cherokee and Choctaw people evolved a thriving civilization in the southeast region that spanned today's Florida, northward to the Ohio River Valley, and as far West as the Great Plains.[5] Three major centers revolved around Cahokia in today's southern Illinois, Moundville in Alabama, and Etowah in Georgia—with Cahokia exhibiting the highest population density. The archaeological record renders enough information to theorize a highly developed society reminiscent of the Meso and South American civilizations of the Aztec and Inca. The Mississippian culture is probably most comparable to the Toltec capital in Mexico.[6] Cahokia is thought to have encompassed approximately 3 square miles and supported a population density of between 20,000 and 50,000 people at its height in around 1250 to 1300 A.D.[7]

A plethora of scholarship contends that the Mississippian civilization formed a highly complex social structure based on the production of surplus food, extensive trade networks, and technology. Quoting Boserup, Barrington argues that the production of surplus food and manufactured goods signals development "inasmuch as it requires technical and social change" compared to "primitive" societies who produce only for their own consumption.[8] Based on Boserup's framework, urban populations require food production to happen outside the city centers and can indicate the importation and exportation of food for local and distant consumers.[9] Specialized food production in Mississippian culture exists alongside evidence of specialization of labor production and trade; this presumes people employed in full time craft-making occupations, absent the need to hunt for themselves.[10] At the site known as Mill Creek in southern Illinois, for instance, there is evidence that suggests an annual surplus production of over 392,000 kilograms of bison meat which could easily have been transported to Cahokia where there seems to have been a short supply of protein in proportion to the population.[11]

High population densities, food surplus, and specialized production create the conditions for a highly stratified social order characterized by a small elite class. According to Barrington, "the record clearly identifies the existence of such an elite Mississippian class, who extracted tribute in both goods and coerced labor in order to support themselves and direct the construction of large public structures. And at mound centers, luxury goods were imported and consumed by the few."[12] Barrington wonders that given the degree of stratification in Mississippian civilization, to what extent did early indigenous institutions

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5 Linda Barrington, "The Mississippians and Economic Development before European Colonization," in *The Other Side of the Frontier: Economic Explorations into Native American History* (Westview press, 1999): pp. 86-102.

6 Ibid., 98.

7 Ibid., 92.

8 Economists and historians tend to use the problematic terms "primitive" and "developed" to distinguish between

those who practiced hunting and gathering as their main modes of economy versus those more oriented toward agriculture and technology development. These are of course loaded terms for American Indian peoples who are still entrenched in the colonial language of domination. The continued use of such troubling terms only reinforces the tropes of superiority and inferiority.

9 Ibid., 88.

10 Ibid., 93.

11 Ibid., 94.

12 Ibid., 90. Eyewitness accounts from 16th century Spaniards who encountered the Mississippian culture in its waning days attest to the hierarchical system maintained by regional paramount chiefs and lesser, subjugated tributary chiefs in which tribute was requested (96-7).

of southeastern North America influence that regions' later development of slavery?[13] She also concludes that:

> the hierarchy of Mississippian society may not have been as multitiered as that of the Incan, Aztec, or Mesoamerican civilizations, but neither was it as egalitarian as either the Canadian fur-trading tribes or the tribes of the eastern seaboard, woodlands, and plains that survived into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While the degree to which the Mississippian civilization influenced colonial institutions requires further analysis, we can conclude that, like the encomenderos of Latin America, the plantation owners of southern colonial America were not the first in the region to benefit from exploitative institutions restricting equal access to economic resources. [14]

Slavery in the Five Civilized Tribes

As one of the foremost scholars on Cherokee history, Theda Perdue has written (1979), "the institution of slavery fostered the growth of modern capitalism in the Western world."[15] She traces the first accounts of slavery in the Cherokee Nation to 1540 when the Spanish explorer Hernando DeSoto encountered them (citing the same accounts as Barrington, although Barrington refers to the indigenous population more generally as Mississippian civilizations or cultures, rather than specifically Cherokee). During this time period Fourth World nations in the Southeast were not only

practicing slavery but were also subject to capture by invading Europeans in the earliest incarnation of the transatlantic slave trade in North America. DeSoto, for instance, wrote of his capture of a slaveholding woman with great power and wealth, the Lady of Cofitachequi,[16] demonstrating the Southeast nations' complicated relationship with slavery. Perdue attributes Cherokee slavery to colonization; she invokes Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized*[17] which explains that the colonized man reproduces oppression in his attempt to divorce himself of his own culture. But given the evidence of pre-contact forced labor in Mississippian society(s) it seems premature to attribute Cherokee (and other Southeast nations') slavery practices entirely to colonial domination. Although it is clear that Fourth World peoples were for centuries victimized at the hands of European slave raiders, it appears to be entirely possible if not likely that the descendants of Mississippian cultures practiced their own forms of slavery uninterrupted from pre-contact times, even after the collapse of that civilization from its apparent peak over two centuries years before.

The literature on the connection between pre- and post- contact slavery in the Southeast is scant. However, Christine Snyder, in the book *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (2011) sees post-contact Indian slavery as an adaptation of the long standing practice of captive-taking which was a "normal accompaniment to warfare" (4) and more a tactic for gaining political power, vengeance, or to replace lost family members than as a tool of economy. However, in the first chapter dedicated to the Mississippians, Snyder (like Barrington) notes that luxury items drove the economy with captives likely being the most valuable of all "goods" (38).

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13 Ibid., 98.

14 Ibid., 99.

15 Theda Perdue, Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979): pg. xii. Doran (1978) however, places the first mention of slavery among Indians in the later part of the eighteenth century.

16 Ibid., 3.

17 Ibid., xiii.

Allan Gallay's book *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* contends that Indians who were slave traders (versus simply slave owners) were the first Indians to be introduced to the international market economy.

According to Perdue, Cherokee slaveholders acquired slaves almost entirely through warfare rather than direct purchase;[18] Doran (1978) wrote that by and large slaveholding among the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole) was practiced primarily by mixed-bloods mainly for the purpose of helping with farm labor, as opposed to the production of agricultural surplus for sale,[19] i.e. for the market economy. Much of the rest of the literature on slavery in the Five Civilized Tribes produced since the 1970s has focused on the differences in slavery as practiced by them and white southern plantation owners, and between each other. Fourth World peoples, for instance, are said to have been less brutal as slave owners compared to their white counterparts (Doran, 1978; Miles, 2005). Arguably, the larger differences between indigenous and white slavers might be attributed to whites being more driven by the economic imperative of transatlantic markets. In the book *Ties that Bind: the Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (2005) Tiya Miles emphasizes the sometimes-blurry lines between servitude and kinship. Yet, like Perdue and indeed much of the scholarship on slavery in Southeast nations, she attributes Cherokee slavery to the pressure of the American government's civilizing mission,[20] outside

the context of the historical practice of captivity and forced labor in Mississippian cultures.

Slavery and captivity was not a phenomenon unique to the Southeast in pre- and post-contact Fourth World nations. Less generally known is the history of slavery and its role in the economies in the coastal Salish nations of the Pacific Northwest (Donald, 1997; Ruyle, 1973; Chun, 1980; Mitchell 1985). There is also a dearth in the literature on bondage in the American southwest; James Brooks, however, intervened with his award-winning book *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002). There he gives an exhaustive account of the "slave system" (31) that developed as a result of the colonial encounter between Fourth World nations, Spanish and Mexicans, but reminds us that "Indigenous peoples like Apaches, Commanches, Utes, Navajos, Pawnees, and Pueblos (to name but a few) had practiced the capture, adoption, intermarriage, and occasional sacrifice of outsiders since well before European entry into the region" (33). The articulations of slavery in indigenous communities at times reflected different values and objectives compared to European chattel slavery as it was more bound up with and complicated by kinship practices; but overall, slavery in those communities was as much a function of local economies as the transatlantic slave trade was a function of an emerging international economy.

Although arguments can be made that slavery as practiced by the Five Civilized Tribes was blunted by indigenous proclivities toward making relations, their histories of slave-owning have nonetheless produced contemporary repercussions. Even the extensive intermarriage of slaves into the nations would not prevent the systematic exclusion or marginalization of Black Indians in their societies. This is most obvious in today's Seminole

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18 Ibid., 4.

19 Michael Doran, "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Sep., 1978): pg. 338.

20 Miles recounts the Treaty of Holston signed in 1791 at the end of the Revolutionary war as a turning point at which the Cherokee submitted to pressure to adopt slavery as necessary to a sedentary life and thus the civilizing project of the United States (pg. 35-36).

Nation and Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma with the expulsions of Freedman descendents in 2000 and 2007, respectively. The banishment of the Freedmen in both cases was mired in the way racism informs the justification of the withholding of material benefits to which they would otherwise be entitled as nation citizens. Ultimately, it was the racialization of Freedmen based on their blackness that led to their expulsion (Sturm, 2002; Robertson, 2006; Miles, 2005). In other words, it appears that the denial of wealth-sharing is a weapon deployed by the Cherokees and Seminoles through racialized exclusion developed over centuries of human exploitation based only minimally on the need to adapt to change, but more perhaps on greed itself.

Plains Horse Cultures

Few images in popular culture have represented Fourth World nations in the United States more ubiquitously than the horse-mounted "Indian." In reality the horse was a newcomer to Plains cultures, having proliferated in its northward trajectory from Mexico from around 1600 to 1740[21], owing to their importation by the Spanish. For thousands of years Plains peoples maintained their lives without the utility provided by the horse; the horse thus introduced a level of change unparalleled up until that point, ranging from change in diets to changes in social structures. Analyzing it from an economic perspective, Anderson and Lacombe contend that it "produced a variety of institutional arrangements as varied as any found in human history."[22]

Prior to the horse's arrival Plains peoples were more sedentary and agricultural, cultivating corn, beans, and squash part of the year

and following the vast herds of buffalo in the summer and fall months. With the horse came greater mobility and the ability to hunt more easily; diets previously more balanced between vegetables and meat became dominated by protein provided by buffalo.[23] Permanent earthen lodge homes were traded for teepees (covered by buffalo hides now more readily available), portable on larger travois outfitted for horses compared to the previously smaller ones reserved for dogs. Buffalo hunting became more efficient and less wasteful than pedestrian hunting in which entire herds could be run off a cliff, resulting in killing far more buffalo than could ever be used.[24]

Nations became more dispersed because of the enhanced ability to harvest game, but also because of the need for adequate water and pasturage for the horses. Increased mobility also increased intertribal conflict and warfare, owing to territorial infringements and with this more centralized political structures.[25] Prior to the horse intertribal warfare was uncommon. Quoting Steward, Anderson and Lacombe surmise that "the horse and the accompanying warfare transformed the organization of Plains Indian tribes into political bonds that 'interlocked in all directions… Previously indepen-

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21 Terry L. Anderson and Stephen Lacombe, "Institutional Change in the Indian Horse Culture," in *The Other Side of the Frontier,* pp. 103 – 123:115.
22 Ibid., 103.

23 Ibid., 115.
24 Even mounted bison hunting, however, could be wasteful, according to Andrew Isenberg. He argues that the trope of the "aboriginal ecologist" whose use of land has been upheld as the model of sustainability has sometimes advanced "without regard to historical accuracy… Insofar as the nomads of the Western Plains are concerned, the notion of aboriginal environmentalism holds that the Indians hunted bison only when necessary and wasted no parts of their kills. Mounted bison hunting was not a time-honored practice, however, but rather an 18th-century improvisation that the Western Plains Indians continued to revise during the 19th century. Moreover, like other Native American groups that relied on the hunting of large mammals – whales, seals, and caribou, for instance – the nomadic bison hunters sometimes wasted large amounts of their kills." *The Destruction of the Bison* (Cambridge University Press, 2000): pp.10.
25 Ibid., 117.

dent villages, now traveling with horses, united into military bands under high commands.'"[26]

Horses thus became a symbol of wealth (and power) in Plains cultures and with that wealth came uneven distribution and greater social stratification. Nugent (1993), for example, writes that the introduction of the horse to Blackfeet culture in 1730 resulted in increased economic inequality as well as the rise of greater power differentials between men and women. Prior to horses, Blackfeet society was more egalitarian where property ownership was based on reciprocal social relations. Property ownership was vested in the individual. Once horses were introduced this tradition continued, but horses being the property of men (for hunting) meant that more horses produced more buffalo meat. The wealthiest families could own several hundred horses, "middle class" families had between 5 and 40 horses, while the "poor" were those families who owned less than 5 horses and accounted for 25 percent of the population.[27] What guarded against starvation of the poor was the high value placed on generosity and sharing as the wealthy were seen to be responsible for the poor; they were obliged to loan horses for hunting and moving camp, to provide food when necessary, and for gift-giving. Increased horse wealth for the men, additionally, perpetuated and intensified the practice of polygyny (enabling a wealthy and thus powerful chief to have multiple wives) which produced a social class of subsidiary wives who were referred to as "slave" wives. Nugent argues that "reciprocal obligations concerning the social use of property defined the uses to which horses could be put and thus the social significance of

wealth in horses,"[28] helping to create a new political economic structure in Blackfeet society.[29]

Gaming Nations and the Problem of Disenrollment

The passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988 paved a powerful new path to economic development for Fourth World nations in the United States. Today, 224 nations have casinos[30] representing slightly less than half of all federally recognized nations. Contrary to popular myths that perpetuate a "rich Indian" stereotype (Corntassel and Witmer, 2008) most casinos are only marginally financially successful with the vast majority of them providing little more than jobs in terms of substantial wealth. Still, according to Cornell and Kalt (2010) Fourth World nations in the United States overall are experiencing a trend of economic growth and a closing of the income gap per capita between indigenous peoples and the U.S. on the whole. They report that while income on reservations remains less than half of the U.S. average, since the 1990s it has been growing approximately three times as fast as the national average. While non-gaming nations experienced a 30 percent growth, gaming nations fared only a little better with a 36 percent growth rate (9). What Cornell and Kalt's report doesn't reflect is the dramatic explosion of nation disenrollments that roughly

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26 Ibid.,117-8.

27 David Nugent, "Property Relations, Production Relations, and Inequality: Anthropology, Political Economy, and the Blackfeet," American Ethnologist, Vol. 20, No. 2 (May 1993): pp. 336-362

28 Ibid., 347.

29 The changes brought to Plains cultures by the horse stand in contrast to the changes experienced by Plateau peoples. On the Plateau horses were likewise associated with new wealth but rather than causing revolutionary changes in lifestyle as it did for Plains peoples, horses simply reinforced already existing patterns of subsistence and gender relations. Because Plateau peoples did not replace their subsistence diets based on roots and other plant gathering (traditionally women's work) women on the Plateau maintained their high status compared to Plains women whose status deteriorated with the acquisition of horses and increased reliance on buffalo (Cebula, 2003: 19).

30 *Native Gaming Resources*, Tribal Clearing House, http://www.tribal-institute.org/lists/gaming.htm.

parallels the growth in gaming.

The disenrollments were at first most visible in California where much of the gaming wealth is concentrated.[31] Interrogating the role of national narrations of cultural authenticity on disenrollment, Joanne Barker (2011) provides an extensive account of how the disenrollments have played out in California. The Pechanga Band of Luiseño Indians has been one of the most high profile, having disenrolled 223 individuals, or 16 percent of the population (147), beginning seven years after the establishment of its gaming facility in Riverside County. She writes:

> *it appears that of the 108 federally recognized tribes in the state, between fifteen and twenty have disenrolled four thousand to five thousand members. This is fairly significant in a state where the overwhelming majority of tribes have fewer than two thousand members each. Since 1988, about 10 percent of the membership of California tribes have been disenrolled. But, for each of the fifteen to twenty tribes who have disenrolled, it has meant a loss of anywhere between 10 and 50 percent of their total membership (163).*

David Wilkins notes that disenrollments have expanded throughout Fourth World nations in the United States, comparing to it a virus that has spread to at least seventeen different states.[32] He writes that:

> *Tribal governments justify disenrollments on several grounds: fraud, documentary errors, insufficient blood quantum, and criminal activity are frequently cited reasons. Disenrollees, on the other hand, often assert that their tribes' official rationales are mere pretenses that conceal the real motivation for disenrollment—the casting out of members who challenge tribal political figures who appear intent on expanding their own economic and political empires.[33]*

Tellingly, Barker's research revealed that when per capita distribution of gaming revenues at Pechanga began in 2003 payments were around $10,000 to $12,000. When the disenrollments were completed in 2006 the checks had skyrocketed to approximately $40,000 (179).

Ultimately there may be no way to prove that gaming nations are systematically disenrolling members to increase the wealth and political power of those that remain. Even if it could be proven, while it may be a gross violation of the rights of the disenrolled, to argue for legal intervention by the federal government presents a whole host of other problems related to Fourth World nations' self-determination. That the disenrollments are correlated to the rise of gaming wealth seems obvious, and it also seems obvious that there needs to be some kind of mechanism that can either prevent or remedy this kind of apparent corruption. Any potential solutions, however, must take into account the complex histories that occurred at the intersections of sometimes multiple colonizations.

The preceding examples of Fourth World nations' political economies is not intended to paint a complete picture of the variations

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31 The Native American Indian Gaming Commission compiles reports of revenue generation based on seven regions. The California region (which includes Nevada gaming tribes) in 2012 reported the highest revenues at $7 billion, followed by the Washington D.C. region at $6.7 billion.

32 "Two Possible Paths Forward for Native Disenrollees and Federal Government?" Indian Country Today Media Network, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/06/04/two-possible-paths-forward-native-disenrollees-and-federal-government.

33 Ibid.

of political economies that evolved over time, but to illustrate specific ways nations adapted to the changes they encountered. Between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries vast changes occurred all over Fourth World lands that reflected the grinding onslaught of the American capitalist machine; the transition from subsistence to agrarian economies; the allotment and privatization of lands; resource extraction-based economies, cultural tourism, renewable energy, and other innovative economic development endeavors. Many of those changes were thrust on nations, while others were adopted as strategies for economic and political survival, and can even be seen as decolonizing projects. There is a certain inherent paradox of today's indigenous economic development that suggests the complexities of capitalism's influence and the interrelationship between hegemonic power and subaltern agency.

Nor is it my intent to moralize about the ways indigenous nations perpetuate social inequality either in the past or present. I wish to emphasize that these examples are not indicative of an overall larger pattern of inequality among Fourth World Naions. It is rather to: 1) illustrate how some nations have independently evolved ways of adapting to changing circumstances throughout their various historical continuums, pre and post-colonization; and 2) to disrupt romanticized notions of indigenous peoples as always equitable and non-hierarchical, always environmentally sensible, always pure and unspoiled. Like all peoples throughout history, for survival's sake, they adopted new elements into their cultures while they also maintained old traditions in ways that have had lasting repercussions.

Addressing the temporal dimensions of Fourth World nations' adaptation to change challenges conquest narratives that cast them as people without agency in historical process-es thrust upon them. At the same time, however, there are moments of profound dispossession of both culture and land. They stand out in specific eras where indigenous power and agency are at low points, creating vacuums that federal policies and legislation would fill, which along with a complex array of social, cultural, religious, and legal ideologies fuels a system of Fourth World dispossession, mediated by economic mechanisms. Thus historical processes crystallize into structures built into the settler state and become normalized in the cultural imaginary of its citizens.

Capitalism and Federal Indian Policy

It's clear from the historical record that Fourth World nations in the United States evolved complex economies with and without outside influences. In the case of the Mississippian Mound Builders, although they were a pre-capitalist civilization, their economy displayed some of the common core elements of what we today think of as a capitalist economy, including an exploitative work force, specialized labor, surplus production, the production of luxury goods, and a system of taxation in the form of tribute-paying. Even with the collapse of the culture, remnants of that society seem to have survived into post-contact Southeastern cultures, most notably in a system of forced labor. In general, however, in post-contact Fourth World nations subsistence economies were the norm (leading to the European discursive of "Indian" primitiveness and savagery). Comparing historical and contemporary Fourth World economies, Champagne (1992) wrote that traditionally their societies did not have a value system rooted in capitalist accumulation. While some cultures like Pacific Northwest Salish peoples did value wealth accumulation within the potlatch economy, it was in the service of the prestige associated with generosity through the redistribution of

that wealth to the community, or what he calls "cultural capitalism" (200). This dynamic, he argues, contributed to nations like the Tlingits' relative ease of entry into the labor market, based on their independence within a subsistence economy. He also notes the entrepreneurial spirit of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creeks whose dependence on slavery created an Indian planter class; while the Indian planter class only amounted to 4 or 5 percent of the families in their nations, they nonetheless were influential in their communities for the rest of the century (199). In general, however, Champagne laments the inherent lack of acquisitive values and market participation as at least partially responsible for the state of persistent poverty of contemporary Fourth World peoples.

It wasn't for lack of trying on the part of the federal government to systematically instill those values in Fourth World individuals and governments. In broad strokes I want to argue here that once nations came under the domination of the United States, the project to civilize them was a mechanism guided by the state's capitalist economic agenda, bolstered by ideological frameworks rooted in Social Darwinism. Particularly in the Progressive era, the prime directive of federal Indian policy was to promote indigenous participation in the free market economy upon which the United States' political philosophy was based. Eventually even the concept of self-governance became wedded to economic independence. It was mediated by the trust doctrine which was bound up with narratives of wardship from which Fourth World nations needed to be liberated, to be achieved through the individual values of productive citizenship. Even when self-determination resurrected the concept of self-governance after termination, it came to be defined in decidedly economic terms.

The government of the United States, as Eric Cheyfitz (2011) reminds us, was formed on the premise of the protection of the propertied (landowning) class.[34] Property invariably means the commodification of land for the benefit of exploitation by the individual (whether in the form of a person or corporation), or in Marx's terms, commodity fetishism. In this sense government is simultaneously the arbiter and protector of material accumulation in a capitalist state. Cheyfitz characterizes this as the "naturalization of class", which he argues, "is the severance of economic conditions from the consideration of political justice" (294). Said another way, governance in a class-based system is only good to the extent that it upholds the class-based structure of society. It is juxtaposed, as Cheyfitz points out, to indigenous relationships with land and nature which are rooted in kinship networks. He writes that:

> *From an Indigenous perspective, we can understand commodity fetishism as the displacement of kinship relations by object relations, particularly in the severance of kinship ties between consumer and producer, the latter being assimilated into the object consumed. Commodity fetishism, the heart of capitalism, is cannibalism. What, then, is the West's historic imputation of cannibalism to the Indigenous (archetypal rationalization for the category 'savage') but a projection of its own exploitative socioeconomic relations? (pg. 303).*

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34 Cheyfitz makes his argument based on James Madison's Federalist Paper 10 which of all the Federalist Papers became the most foundational to the Constitution. While it recognizes and decries the limits to capitalism's imagination Madison nonetheless presupposes the inevitability of unequal property distribution. "What Is a Just Society? Native American Philosophies and the Limits of Capitalism's Imagination: A Brief Manifesto", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Spring 2011.

This displacement of kinship relations through the cannibalism of commodity fetishism constitutes the paradigm shift that became the objective the U.S. sought to impose in its relations with Fourth World nations, as the balance of power shifted in its favor. Indigenous peoples were to be remade in the white man's image, with his devotion to the commodification of life as his defining social ideology. It was cast as "self sufficiency" and coded in the language of civilization. It can be traced back as far as the earliest Europeans who were confounded by the predominantly communal values they observed in Fourth World cultures—the "barbarity" that needed civilizing—and became woven into the very fabric of federal Indian law and policy that came to determine Fourth World peoples' lives. By 1887, with the passage of the General Allotment Act (aka the Dawes Act), the imposed paradigm shift was perfected with its goals to assimilate indigenous peoples through the allotment of lands. It would be guaranteed through the granting of citizenship and a system of education that would cement the new (capitalist) ideals in the hearts and minds of new generations of Fourth World peoples.

About Henry Dawes and the indigenous reformers who sponsored the General Allotment Act, Deloria and Lytle (1984) wrote, "private property, they believed, had mystical magical qualities about it that led people directly to a 'civilized' state" (9).[35] They appear to be referring to a clause in the 1928 Meriam Report which rebuked the idea that individual property ownership would civilize Fourth World peoples; it speculated that "…the government assumed that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational civilizing factor…"[36] The clause

may have been an oblique reference to the "invisible hand of the market" theory espoused by the eighteenth century writings of the father of modern economics, Adam Smith. Reminiscent of the failed twentieth century concept of trickle-down economics (or Reaganomics), the theory is a metaphor for the idea that the maximized self-interest of individuals in a free market economy can benefit all of society, as the market (substitute individual property ownership for market) has almost magical self-regulating qualities. The nineteenth century industrial-era indigenous reformers were deeply committed to the principles of free market economics. In Tom Holm's in-depth account of the Progressive Era's Indian policy (2005), the key to assimilation was the idea of competition (p.14); "Through the Indian schools, allotment in severalty, and the abandonment of tribal cultures, American Indians would be on a level playing field with whites," he wrote. That playing field was clearly economic. He goes on to say that:

> 'Reformer' was something of a misnomer for these activists. They believed in economic orthodoxy, limited government in the Jeffersonian mold, and laissez-faire capitalism. They were individualistic to the core, leaned toward the evangelical side of Protestant ideology, and held an all-consuming optimism concerning the future of mankind…Their attitudes toward competition and individualism were confirmed in the classical economics of Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Say in the most advanced scientific thought of the day (p.15).[37]

Reyhner and Eder (2004) show how Fourth

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35 Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (University of Texas Press, 1984).
36 Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Balti-

more: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928): 7.
37 Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

World nations became pawns in political power struggles between factions (in this case, Protestants versus Catholics for the control of the Indian schools) who all had the same agenda at the root of their advocacy for the allotment policy: the opening of the West to white settlement (85), Adams (1988) concurs. He wrote that the deeper meaning for Native American schooling in the period between 1880 and 1900 was grounded in a trifecta of Protestantism, capitalism, and republicanism. The making of good citizens—defined by a commitment to the principles of market economics, shored up in Christian dogma (whether Protestant or Catholic)—ultimately served the state's primary objective which was the securing of more lands. Indian Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan, in 1889, made no secret of it:

> *[The] great economical fact is that the lands known as Indian reservations now set apart by the Government for Indian occupancy aggregate nearly 190,000 square miles. This land, for the most part, is uncultivated and unproductive. When the Indians shall have been properly educated they will utilize a sufficient quantity of those lands for their own support and will release the remainder that it may be restored to the public domain to become the foundation for innumerable happy homes; and thus will be added to the national wealth immense tracts of farming land and vast mineral resources which will repay the nation more than one hundred fold for the amount which is proposed shall be expended in Indian education. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889; quoted in Adams, p. 19)*

Viewing indigenous education through the prism of political economy, Littlefield (1993)

goes so far as to say "'proletarianization' better characterizes the efforts of the federal Indian schools than assimilation" (p. 43).[38] Assimilation as the solution of choice to the country's "Indian problem" was parallel to unfolding changes in the American economy. With the shift from agrarianism to industrialism, indigenous youth would be conscripted into the new economy through a blue-collar oriented education. Along with allotment, boarding schools were able to accomplish the twin goals of separating Fourth World peoples from their means of production and expose children to a money-based, material standard of living (p. 48). Littlefield notes that the outing system that provided vocational training in manual trades for boys and domestic work for girls amounted to "little more than a means of providing child labor to area employees" (p. 50).

The importance of delivering Fourth World nations from subsistence to a cash-based economy would figure prominently after citizenship was granted to them in 1924. In a bizarre citizenship ritual conducted by the Department of the Interior the values of hard work and money were symbolically enacted by men and women. In the male ritual a man was handed a bow and arrow that he was instructed to shoot after stating his indigenous name. After shooting the arrow he was told: "You have shot your last arrow. That means that you are no longer to live the life of an Indian. You are from this day forward to live the life of the white man. But you may keep that arrow, it will be to you a symbol of your noble race and of the pride that you feel that you have come from the first of all Americans." He then states his white name and is told "Take into your hand this plow [he takes the handles of the plow]. This

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38 Alice Littlefield, "Learning to Labor: Native American Education in the United States: 1880-1930," in *The Political Economy of North American Indians*, (Oklahoma University Press, 1993): pp. 43-59.

act means that you have chosen to live the life of the white man—and the white man lives by work. From the earth we all must get our living and the earth will not yield unless man pours upon it the sweat of his brow. Only by work do we gain a right to the land or to the enjoyment of life." The women were inducted into citizenship by a similar ritual and both men and women received a flag and a purse. The recitation went: "I give you a purse. This purse will always say to you that the money you gain from your labor must be wisely kept. The wise man saves his money so that when the sun does not smile and the grass does not grow, he will not starve." The flag was presented as a "badge of honor" as an emblem of citizenship. At the end of the ritual the audience rose and shouted the white name of the individual followed by "is an American citizen."[39]

Fourth World Self-governance

The capitalist paradigm imposed by the federal government to displace kin-based social and economic systems in Fourth World nations during the Progressive Era signaled the depth of entrenchment of the paradigm shift. Throughout subsequent policy eras it can be seen as a central organizing principle dominating discourses on federal Indian policy. It began as a thinly veiled mechanism ultimately designed to benefit the state (through land acquisition), cloaked in the language of civilization (for the nations' own benefit). But the rationale for policy change would become more conspicuously defined by economics with (among other things) the Meriam Report in 1928, driven by the trust relationship, still known in this era by its earlier incarnation as guardianship. Guardianship assumed that Fourth World nations were under federal

tutelage[40]; we can see this tutelage, arguably, as a state of political development within the context of the capitalist state to which indigenous peoples were being conscripted. Fourth World nations as wards of the government were still subject to the strict control and discipline of the Department of the Interior under the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its individual agents. The abuses of the system and corruption of individual agents would become the target of a new generation of legislators and indigenous advocates who pushed for reform on the heels of the disastrous allotment policy. The Meriam Report, which named the failure of assimilation, recognized the failure measured by health, education, and economic standards. It begins by stating:

> *The poverty of the Indians and their lack of adjustment to the dominant economic and social systems produce the vicious circle ordinarily found among any people under such circumstances. Because of interrelationships, causes cannot be differentiated from effects…Recommendations: The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian Service be recognized as primarily educational, in the broadest sense of that word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, **devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or befitted to live in the presence of that civilization** at least in accordance*

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39 Department of the Interior. Ritual on admission of Indians to full American citizenship.

40 The terms "tutelage" or "pupilage" appear in various congressional hearings, Supreme Court opinions and other federal documents during this era. It appeared, for example, in the language of John Collier's original bill, H.R. 7902 which later became the Indian Reorganization Act. The opening sentence of the bill read: "A bill to grant to Indians living under Federal tutelage the freedom to organize for purposes of local self-government and economic enterprises…" *The Indian Reorganization Act: Indian Congresses and Bills*, ed. Vine Deloria, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

with a minimum standard of health and decency[41] *(bold italics mine).*

It goes on to criticize the Indian Service's "tendency…toward weakening Indian family life and community activities than toward strengthening them."[42] While the report comes close to acknowledging the government's deliberate displacement of kinship systems it frames the solution to the Fourth World nations' problems in socioeconomic terms. The passage is also striking for its articulation of the government's goal of assimilating Fourth World peoples into the "prevailing [settler] civilization," and is an excellent example of the way the settler paradigm crystallized into a structure, and became encoded into law and policy.

Contrary to popular understanding, the Meriam Report was only one factor leading to the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act (aka the Indian Reorganization Act) in 1934 (Deloria and Lytle, 1984). The IRA would come to encompass a far more sweeping vision of policy reform than the Meriam Report offered, thanks to the appointment of John Collier as Indian Commissioner with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. The Indians needed some form of self-government, Collier argued, in order to gain economic independence and thus counteract the other social ills they were experiencing. This was achieved through the establishment of "tribal governments," organized by an experimental form of incorporation called a federal municipal corporation.[43] The issuance of corporate charters served to enable nations to manage a range

of financial affairs, highlighting the distinctly business-oriented nature of the organization. The preambular statement of the Wheeler-Howard Act reads:

> *An Act to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes.*[44]

Thus the IRA vision for at least a modicum of Fourth World self-governance was framed in decidedly economic terms. It provided for other functions of nations' organization, including land transfers and congressional appropriations, but overall it extended to nations the governing principles of the United States grounded in the centralizing language of economic development—those normative values for proper government inherent within the capitalist state.[45] The result was "cookie cutter" tribal constitutions that to this day still govern many Fourth World nations in the United States, legally organized as corporations.

The stage was set: the imposition of the settler state-structured paradigm shift from indigenous kin-based relationships with land and the natural world to a commodity-fetishized concept relative to self-governance was made. Not that kin-based world views disappeared,

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41 Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*: 7 and 21.

42 Ibid., 15.

43 Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984): 68.

44 *The Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act), June 18, 1934*: 1.

45 It is fair to note, however, as legal scholar Dahlia Tsuk Mitchell has argued, that one of the prime architects of the IRA, Felix Cohen as a legal pluralist was deeply committed to the principles of collective self-government and property ownership as a way to empower tribes in their economic affairs. At its core, legal pluralism acknowledged the limitations of the liberal state and reflected the progressive ideological commitments of Indian reformers of the time.

they hadn't; but they did assume a different place in the face of the capitalist agenda that came to dominate indigenous governance. A new generation of Fourth World peoples emerged, outfitted with a new way of doing things, and robbed of much of the traditional life of their parents. Wanting to retain as much of their traditions as possible, they were what Deloria and Lytle (1984) referred to as "quasi-traditional." As the authors observe, "…the revolution that Collier had wrought, when it reached the reservations, manifested itself in new economic activities, not political sophistication" (p. 170).

The IRA's delegation of new governing powers[46] to Fourth World nations (however limited) paved the way for the discourse of guardianship to be understood in terms of trust.[47] By the 1940s a conservative government looking to cut federal expenditures and dismantle New Deal programs targeted Fourth World nations for termination, recasting the government trust responsibility as government "restriction" from which nations needed to be liberated. Dozens of nations lost their federal recognition and lands, their sovereignty was erased, and the trust relationship between them and the government was eliminated.[48] At the same time, the efforts of Democrats to fend off termination during the 1950s and 1960s increased through economic development partnerships with corporate America in the form of land leases and resource develop-

ment on reservations,[49] and this became the focus of indigenous governments' assertions of self-government. By the 1960s, with the civil rights movement in full swing and a new liberal agenda established, another shift in the direction of greater Fourth World independence emerged. Over a period of several years laws were enacted that enhanced nations' political standing as a result of the activism of indigenous leaders who asserted nations' inherent sovereignty and right to self-government (Rÿser, 2012). The passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (aka Public Law 93-638) in 1975 is typically regarded as heralding a renewed U.S. commitment to fostering indigenous self-government, now framed as self-determination. But once again, the policy shift was more about money, as its primary objective was to allow nations to contract directly with the BIA to provide funds for programs rather than to refine self-government as a political process.[50]

The conservative backlash of the 1980s, during the Reagan and Bush years, delivered crippling budget cuts to indigenous communities and entertained ideas reminiscent of termination and forced assimilation.[51] It did this at the same time it affirmed the "government-to-government" relationship with Fourth World nations, all the while emphasizing

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46 The IRA was amended on October 25, 1934 with a document called The Powers of Indian Tribes. It represents the beginning of the sovereignty discourse by recognizing a host powers that were inherent, i.e. powers that were not delegated (Deloria and Lytle, 1984).

47 The trust responsibility was articulated as early as 1921 with the Snyder Act which "gave the secretary of the interior general authority to expend federal monies for Indian 'benefit, care, and assistance…" (Deloria and Lytle, 1983): 242.

48 Ibid., 20.

49 Deloria and Lytle, *The Nations Within* (1984): 196. They cite the passage of the Act of August 9, 1955 as signaling in earnest this trend (194).

50 Deloria and Lytle (1984) assert that "[t]ribal governments became surrogates for the federal government during the sixties, and this trend extended into the seventies, clothed ironically not as termination but in the new language of self-determination" (197).

51 For example, on the TV talk show *Conservative Counterpoint* on January 19, 1983 Secretary of the Interior James Watt was highly critical of what he saw as "socialistic government policies on the reservations" which exaggerated all Indians' social problems. He advocated giving Indians "freedom" and "liberty," ostensibly by dissolving the reservations and assimilating Indians into the urban masses (Castile, 2006: 58).

economic development via private enterprise on the reservations.[52] The federal government's apparent ambivalence sent the message that if nations were to continue existing they were going to have to pay for it themselves, implying that self-governance was synonymous with capitalist development. By 1987 allegations of budgetary mismanagement, waste, and fraud in the federal Indian bureaucracy had surfaced in the media.[53] The now normalized language of self-determination, self-governance, and a "government-to-government relationship" with the United States produced a response to the fraud allegations with the amending of P.L. 93-638. The Tribal Self-Governance Act (P.L. 102-184) was passed in 1994 to give Fourth World governments even greater leeway to control fiscal resources and redesign federal programs to better serve reservation communities and minimize BIA control through compacting. While the self-governance compacts minimally advanced relations between federal and indigenous governments by formalizing the government-to-government relationship (Rÿser, 2012), overall self-government compacting falls short of providing a full measure of self-governance for many reasons, not the least of which is its primary focus on subvention. Moreover, with almost 40 percent of federally recognized nations participating in self-governance,[54] it is considered a "program" with the Office of Self-Governance housed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[55] Like the IRA constitutions, the self-governance compacts are implemented in cookie-cutter fashion and are drafted by the United States with little reflection of the character and needs of individual nations.[56]

Conclusion

The prism of political economy provides us with the clearest view into indigenous histories of uninterrupted existence as political players on the world stage and is a living example of how Fourth World nations are always in a process of political development. It reminds us that as nations they have always exercised their collective will in relation to each other and foreign peoples, both within and beyond the boundaries of the North American continent. From this birds-eye view, the current Westphalian state system is only a blip on the temporal radar into which Fourth World nations have been swept, due to the aggressive migrations of European peoples who respected no boundaries. The existence of the United States is an even briefer moment in the grand scale of time, despite the continental amnesia induced by settler American master narratives. Indigenous memories, on the other hand, are long and at times surprisingly clear and where they do lack, good scholarship helps to fill in the gaps

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52 It is no coincidence that tribal gaming was initiated during the Reagan years.

53 *History of the Tribal Self-Governance Initiative*, http://www.tribalselfgov.org/red%20book/the%20history%20&%20goals/history_of_the_tribal_self.htm.

54 Bureau of Indian Affairs website, http://www.bia.gov/WhoWeAre/AS-IA/OSG/index.htm. Accessed April 2, 2014.

55 Office of Self-Governance website, http://64.58.34.34/osg/Default.aspx?Info=BackGroundInformation. Accessed April 2, 2014.

56 "The compacts themselves were essentially drafted by the United States which means that the instrument of agreement (like most of the treaties) was inspired by US government interests" (Personal email communication from Rudolf Rÿser, April 1, 2014). Dr. Rÿser was involved from the beginning of the self-governance project as an advisor to Quinault Indian Nation President Joe DeLaCruz. In the same stream of communications with me he asserted that the BIA has basically hijacked many of the Compacts and turned them into variants of PL638 contract programs. Funds in the Compacts are supposed to be used as General Funds or however a Council chooses to use them. The problem is now the BIA prescribes boundaries and uses in the self-governance program. This has confused many tribes to believe they are self-governing when in fact they are merely functioning as extensions of the BIA. This is not true of all Indian governments, but it is true of MOST Indian governments.

and debunk entrenched narrations of native primitiveness and savagery. Only by shattering these fallacies can Fourth World nation histories be taken seriously and gain legitimacy as counter-narratives to those privileged by dominant settler societies.

Through the lens of political economy, understanding Fourth World nations in terms of their political evolution over time recognizes the agency they have exercised, even in moments of monumental constraint. It also reveals a certain tension when we contextualize the exercise of that agency within settler colonialism as a structure rather than an historic event, and it raises questions. How do we conceptually reconcile the temporal aspects of Fourth World political evolution with the theoretical commitment of settler colonialism as a structure, not a historic event? And how are we to understand indigenous resistance, empowerment, and agency—the fact that they haven't gone away—within settler colonialism's project to eliminate the "Native"? Both phenomena are true; Fourth World nations evolve over time, and settler logic demands the acquisition of Fourth World lands and maintains technologies for their elimination. It may be enough in the short run to think in terms of Fourth World "agency within constraints" but I suggest these are questions that will continue to demand scholars' attention in the future.

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Fourth World Peoples: Continuity, Philosophies, and Sources

Roberto Vela Córdova

Abstract

This essay establishes a critical inspection of the notion of Fourth World as it pertains to its continuity in terms of historicity and cultural presence in the Americas. In doing so it argues that such a historicity is to be found first and foremost in prioritizing an until recently much neglected, account of Fourth World Peoples' sources of writings and cultural records. Recent exploration into these records has led to new critical ventures that open new dimensions in the narratives of intercultural encounter from the past five hundred years between America and Europe. A dimension that Brotherston surmises echoing the words of the early Mesoamerican historiographer, Chimalpahin in response to the European conquerors, "Who entered whose history?" Such inspection, the essay argues, allows us to hisotricize a narrative of social, economic, ecological and cultural diversity and richness that critically contributes to current modes of sustainability and models of production in late capitalist societies.

Keywords

The rigorous inspection of Fourth World Peoples' philosophies and writings in the past decades has opened new inquiries, not only in regards to Fourth World theory's own long history, but also in its relation to, and problematization of, the cultural logic of capitalism and late capitalism. Arguably one of the single most important arguments could be the notion of "Fourth World continuity," carried throughout most notably in the work of Gordon Brotherston. Critically pivotal in various respects, the notion of continuity arrests mysticism by prioritizing an understanding of forms of writing that allow a move into the past through a sense of history broader than that which nineteenth century Western empirical articulations sometimes offers, and in turn also arresting the discourse of pre-historicism so vulgarly attached to Fourth World Peoples' cultures. But more importantly, the question of "continuity" is beset by a historical dialectic. Thus, while allowing for this movement of the preterite through concrete sources of knowledge, the concept is carrying an argument in regards to the present living and evolving Fourth World communities throughout the Americas. Within this dialectical articulation the idea of Fourth World continuity argues against the notion of "speaking for" a community, and embraces the fact that there is a source material through which a historical community can be understood, above all, through its own texts. There is no metaphysical movement in which existence predates essence, but rather a dialectic dimension of the theoretical and the political, the abstract and the practical as represented through lived experiences. If that formation allows us to penetrate the notion of continuity, articulating the notion of the Fourth World is in order to clarify its formation in relation to a broader but more specific historicity.

Conceptually, the notion of the Fourth World can be thought of as carrying a Gramscian articulation of both the organic and the epistemological. On the one hand its formation is genealogically traversed with a cosmological view that profoundly differs from its

methodological usage as a term that provides for an organizing principle. On the other, the definition of the Fourth World has to be taken as a signifier for Native America, established through arguments that affirm a profound philosophical tradition, a political coherence, a historical continuity, and most importantly through the authoritative literary sources that corroborate each of those aspects. This last formulation grounds the concept methodologically, thus allowing us to inspect the epistemological and ontological implications linked to the experiences of the Fourth World.

In order to approach an understanding of the Fourth World in these terms, one has to confront the logics that have shaped its articulations. The categories that have defined the term in many instances, while pointing towards different methods and analyses, all pertain to the notion that there is an operating world division structured by an analysis of what we consider real and imaginary. In this sense the most pervasive of these logics has linked its definition to geographical demarcations. Marxist thought initiates a historical use of the term Fourth World, drawing on an analysis of the organization of capital and its monopolistic tendencies in late capitalism, which also informed the contemporary discussion of imperialism. Nonetheless, recent inquiries have unearthed other histories of the term which may prove pertinent to its critical contribution.

The first two known uses of the term show a significant contrast in its concrete and metaphysical conceptualization. Thus, while an early use of the term appears in Hopi cosmogony to signify a transcendental and metaphysical plane of existence, after 1492 the hemispheric reshaping of world geography will fit the term into more material geographical articulations (Brotherston, 1992; Waters, 1963). After those two formations, it won't be until the twentieth

century when the term is reshaped. Suswap Chief George Manuel gives prominence to the concept following the appearance of his work, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*. Although his use retains the previous geographical use, throughout his work Manuel establishes geopolitical implications by alluding to a history of shared experiences among the indigenous communities of the world struggling for self-determination. In his narrative, Manuel also registers the language used to divide the world systematically according to a variety of empirical formulations that adhere to notions of economic development. This description of the Fourth World at times falls into generalities as it is often used to define any community that is marginalized economically and politically. These categories establish hierarchies according to different economic prescriptions, such as developed or underdeveloped countries, of which the most empirical and recent formulation is the notion of emergent markets. In contrast, another historical definition was articulated during the Cold War as a way to refer to the body of states positioned outside the aligned nations. In the past two decades, the use has been taken by the social sciences to refer to those communities, or states, that are not on equal technological footing with other so-called "advanced" nations. Alternatively, a case had been made that defines the Fourth World as a geo-strategic construct for Native America.

In this last respect, the Fourth World is predicated by an articulation of hemispheric coherence and continuity that is corroborated politically and through a rigorous methodology stemming from, and allowing for, the reading and understanding of indigenous sources. As theoretical and historiographical arguments regarding the Fourth World find a basis in studies that privilege these sources, a more complex horizon of organized understanding

and praxis has been ascertained. A corpus of recent works on Amerindian literatures has posed theoretical and practical challenges to different fields of study. As Brotherston and Sá remark in opposition to the stance taken by the 1992 philosophy congress in Argentina, which continues to assert a history of denial of indigenous philosophy, the story in these texts "place different emphases on such notions as the feat of imagining and conceiving reality in the first place—the 'authorship' of creation, as it were: the plurality of creation and the catastrophic endings of previous world ages; the articulation of time, with astronomical precision and over vast spans; the evolution and metamorphosis of life forms; the relationship between humans and other species; and, cumulatively, the achievement of agriculture" (2002, pp. 2-3). This particular research affirms a coherence and continuity in the Fourth World that broadens current analysis of Latin America in light of the contribution of Amerindian communities to their places, and to the world in both the politics of culture, and the culture of politics. One that is "in many ways a blueprint for modern notions of ecology" (Brotherston and Sá, 2002, p. 3).

These formations find further pre-Columbian continuities throughout the Latin American territories in ways that not only question "Old World" authorities, but also echo through the intellectual history of Europe. Key to the understanding of these continuities and their formations are examples of what Brotherston and Sá have termed "classic" texts of the Americas. Through the diverse textual examples one is able to trace geo-cultural demarcations of major civilizations, and understand the deeper foundational contributions to American philosophical and cultural history, and its profound reflective, representative, and expressive implications. Major regions such as Mesoamerica, with its complex pictographic and alphabetic

textual traditions found in codices and such sites as Monte Alban, and Tahuantinsuyo, with the knotted scripts called *quipu*, find continuities with surrounding narratives such as the *Diné bahane* in the territory known as Anasazi in the Southwest of the United States, the rainforest narratives of the Carib, such as the *Watunna,* and the Huinkulche narrative of the Mapuche, among many other extant examples. As these key narratives demonstrate, a geographical map follows a complex recording of both genesis and history that not only pre-dates the European experience in the Americas, but also expound on the complex relations of both the Americas and the broader world's cultural and intellectual history. Further inquiry on the significance to both literary traditions and culture in specific and broad contexts may be found in a long tradition of studies established by indigenous scholars, and continued by indigenous and non-indigenous researchers. Crucial to this history is the work of such native historians as Chimalpahin, Guaman Poma, and Ixtlilxochitl, among others whose work of inquiry and preservation established the road for new schools, traditions, and intellectuals, such as Nowotny, Kosslerg, León-Portilla, Reyes, Rowe, Abercrombie, Sá, and arguably the most rigorous of inquiries, that are found in the work of Brotherston.

In order to reach more comprehensive political and cultural analyses of Latin America, it seems important to underscore how political coherence is asserted by such events as the *First Gathering of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas* in Ecuador. Quito's gathering underlined the deeper historical horizon claimed in records of memory and chronology that spans millennia (Brotherston, 1992). The significance of this continuity and coherence appears even more crucial when considering the political impact movements such as the Aymara in Bolivia and the Mayas in Chiapas, Mexico have had in current political

history. An understanding of the forms of organizations and claims taken by these movements is only enriched by a deeper comprehension of the textual resources found throughout the Amerindian Fourth World. Through these sources foundational continuities are provided to the organizing principles, as is demonstrated by the Declaration of Quito and the declarations of the Lacandon jungle. If these appear as declarations of justice, they also contain an accumulation of histories and philosophies that define the struggle and the claims of the people of the Fourth World. These are inextricably bound to pre-Columbian sources, as well as to American traditions and evolutions in their philosophy that have continued after the conquest. Of equal importance, nonetheless, is to ascertain a critical analysis of the totality of reality in order to move politically in relation to capital's hegemony and domain. It is in this respect that the questions posed by the philosophies of the Fourth World must meet on equal footing with the critique of political economy, and the philosophy of praxis expounded on by Gramsci. Current events in the experience of Chiapas, and particularly the experience of Bolivia, where capital is redrawing its hegemony over the democratic forces in play by the Aymara, make this philosophical gathering a necessary experience (Beverly, 2011; Petras & Veltmeyer, 2009). Equal footing means that the historical continuity of Fourth World Peoples' philosophies and praxis has to be understood with rigor, and with intellectual severity. That rigor has to account for the fact that centuries of intellectual neglect towards those philosophies must be redressed.

The first theoretical study of the Mesoamerican codices, undertaken by Karl Nowotny, did not appear until 1961. This fact is symptomatic of the historical denial and dispossession, not only of territories, but also of access to the imagination and philosophy behind native resources. An important inquiry posed by recent studies, particularly Brotherston's *Book of the Fourth*

World: Reading the Native Americas Through Their Literature, is how an understanding of these sources enriches our understanding and our methods behind the historical conversation with colonialism, postcolonialism, empire, and even European cultural and social history. As George Manuel suggests, once the Fourth World enters the historical consciousness of the globe, it arguably beacons the most dramatic history of transculturation ever witnessed, carrying within constitutive forces that shape the post-Columbian world in all its manifestations. The project undertaken by Brotherston and Sá goes beyond Manuel's argument, by mapping the specific history of the intellectual traditions of the Fourth World as they inform other intellectual traditions, particularly that of Europe.

Drawing a cartographical configuration within the tradition of the Babylonians' *mappa mundi,* which is inherited by Medieval Europe from the Romans, the seminal work of Gordon Brotherston, *The Book of the Fourth World* points to a geographical "identity analogous" to the other three worlds (p. 9, 82). Geographical and historical coherences are continuously corroborated through extensive political legacies that predate Americas' inclusion on western cartography and have continued until today. This kind of transnational collaboration, which again predates modern formations, is central to postcolonial historicization of transnationalism and to a deeper understanding of colonial and postcolonial histories. Among its various contributions, Brotherston's work makes two key contributions. First, to challenge the inherited linguistic privileging of the script as espoused in Derrida's *Grammatology* and Levi-Strauss's structuralist framework; and second, to illustrate through the literary sources of the peoples of Native America, and in their own right, a coherence and continuity of the Fourth World far beyond that expounded by any other critic (Brotherston, 1992, pp. 42-45). A fundamental consequence of the method

behind the latter is exposing a methodological decoding that opens what had been a limited access to a corpus of literature, now coherently and continuously structured in a way that redraws the roadmap we have used to navigate transatlantic history, and Amerindian imaginaries and philosophies. At this juncture, of utmost importance within this contribution is the recognition of the authority and self-referentiality of these Amerindian texts, a recognition that allows for an understanding of their methodology within their own right and reflectivity.

Understanding the sources of historical accounts recorded through both verbal and visual languages in the Americas has led not only to fundamental questions of epistemological difference, but also to the clarification of various traditions that have impeded the kinds of transcultural understandings that Anglo and Latin American studies must excavate. Among these traditions is the science and social science discourses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which, confounded by the difference and the claims of American Indian societies, generated a transcontinental reactionary impoverishment of cultural history and historiography by crystallizing the peoples of the Americas within the perpetual motion of natural history. This reduction led to a homogenous reading of American Indian traditions, both political and intellectual, that robs historical agency and political strategy. As Stephen Conn demonstrates in *History's Shadow*, this exclusion from human history has impressed in the consciousness of societies an imaginary of static peoples who exist "with a past, but without a history" (2004, p. 21). This imaginary, in Conn's view, has affected European and Euro-American scientific and social scientific methodologies. In this respect postcolonial studies, to the extent that it concerns the subjective and objective formations of structural and imaginary constructs of colonialism and empire, must inquire into the construction of an Amerindian imaginary and its

philosophical inquiry. For Latin American studies, this inquiry demands an expanded roster of sources within its horizon of study, particularly American Indian ones, as well as an expansion of methodological frameworks for understanding genre, reading practices, and modes of recording memory and chronology. Brotherston's suggestion that Fourth World Peoples texts contain a "self-definition or ontology [which] corroborates political self-determination" facilitates a discussion on transcultural phenomena (1992). In this process, it is possible to trace different hermeneutical formations crisscrossing into what Brotherston calls an American palimpsest, one that unsettles the exceptional position provided to script and to the authorities of "Old World" Classical and Biblical sources, and contains not only American formations, but also European ones.

This new horizon of investigation provides another venue in which to challenge the implied ownership by dominant societies over fundamental historical formations, such as modernity. The Fourth World provides a contribution to the understanding of structures of subjectivity pertaining to thinking and feeling that allow for deeper and more thorough inquiries sought within the dialectics of the subjective and objective at play in Marxist thought, and which inform traditions such as Cultural Studies. In the context of global formations as they relate to the Americas, the United States has inherited a privileged position as a new steward over the ownership of intellectual production, particularly the legacy of protectorate of specific economic and cultural structures that are not always congruent with the formative experiences that shape the coalesced modernities that are lived.

One of Anthony Hall's salient points in *The American Empire and the Fourth World: A Bowl With One Spoon*, illustrates how histories of contact between Indigenous and Euro-American communities contributed to the formation of one of capitalism's critical documents, in many ways

also a foundational document for postcolonial societies. According to Hall, the *Declaration of Independence* beacons the economics of neocolonialism, and with it, a continuity of the project of colonization of the Americas. In its wake, it left the need to contend with a complex tradition that simultaneously opened new structures and forms of liberation, as it also renovated, continued, and initiated new structures of domination. Anthony Hall's argument regarding the United States also opens a way to establish a historical continuity between economics and imperialism, as "capitalism found its most efficient engine of expansion in the polity associated with the Declaration of Independence" (2005, p. 6). The most radical shift is the new realm for property relations and for the radical reorganization of capital on a global scale that is strengthened with this new manifestation. To a great extent, the "United States concentrated and distilled the expansive corporate culture it inherited from Europe", and opened a global space for new forms of property organizations and divisions of labor that ignited the dynamo of a global economic system at the core of the critical issues pertaining to both the Fourth World and lines of inquiry such as cultural studies, and colonial and postcolonial studies. (2005, p. 6).

In its effort to understand the political structures of domination that are exercised from classic and modern forms of empire against American territories, the Fourth World provides foundational and continuous sources of knowledge and history. Hall's interrogations of U.S. relations with indigenous liberation movements and confederacy movements in 1812 fuel an important discussion regarding the development of subsequent national politics by the U.S. towards other countries, particularly in its consequent doctrinal elaboration as redacted by James Monroe in 1823, and used extensively throughout the Americas into the twenty-first century. In addition, Hall points to the historiographical

"weakness" of not recognizing "the nature of 'so-called' Indian Affairs as a precedent-setting continuum of relations establishing underlying paradigms and patterns of broader complexes and relationships between colonizers and colonized" (2005, p. xxiv). A second weakness underlined by Hall is "the failure to situate the American Revolution" in the proper context of modern empire relations (2005, p. xxiv).

In its hemispheric configuration, political and intellectual tendencies in the Fourth World share with various traditions inherited from Marxist thought the preoccupation of understanding the subjective and objective exchange of forces that continue to result in profound injustices and continue to threaten the rights to self-determination, economic and otherwise. Postcolonial Latin America, for example, establishes methodologies and tendencies that are bound to different loyalties and interests, and that demand new approaches for examination. At times, these tendencies adopted reductive national representations, as exemplified in the Arielista tradition, that impoverished political liberation agendas and promoted historiographical and anthropological practices in the modes discussed by Conn. Another tendency, however, claims a different position, particularly regarding Fourth World Peoples sources. In the Caribbean, for example, Eugenio María de Hostos, refused to yield to the myth of extermination, while José Martí claimed at different moments that the study of the Mesoamerican códices should be a scholarly requirement for anyone interested in the Americas. José Lezama Lima introduces his essays on "La expresión americana" with a brief reading of the Boturini códice, one of the surviving pre-Columbian sources studied and preserved by Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, already suggesting other ways of reading the languages of the Americas. As mentioned above, Native scholars have a historical tradition of their own, one that transmigrates between scholarly traditions, of

which Chamalpahín, the sixteenth century historiographer, and Luis Reyes, the twentieth century scholar, stand as examples. Brotherston's work expounds Nowotny's theoretical tradition to indicate how a general historiography and theoretics of the literatures of the Americas is prefigured in its literature, thereby shifting our imaginary of Latin American postcolonialities and Amerindian colonialities. This scholarly tradition has sought to illustrate the complexity and permeability of human understanding within these literatures, affirming in its wake strategy and agency, while asserting links to political memory and historical continuity.

The Fourth World reaches an hemispheric articulation through the specificity of its examination, determining forms of authority, coherence, continuity, and memory that have driven a critical wedge into the fundamental organization of capital as it relates to labor, ecology, and property. Our current difficulty in confronting many of the questions posed by Fourth World Peoples is symptomatic of the impoverishment of imagination, philosophy, and methodology that coloniality effected. Such systematic impoverishment also indicates that there has also been an understanding by the dominant, regarding radical tendencies and manifestations of the politics and philosophies that the Fourth World asserts. As the Fourth World's continuity, coherence, and forms of authority establish a history, not a mythology, that has proven politically effective in defying modes of reification, commodification, and the organization of capital, it then provides a critical and radical instrument for transformation that inheres in the subjective formation which traditions of thought invested in political and economic injustice seek to divest. As the intellectual tradition in Brotherson, Sá, and Hall demonstrate, critical in this process is the methodological grounding of the term Fourth World in order to demonstrate its epistemological efficacy to map its intellectual history within other traditions, in turn weaken-

ing the impoverishment of dominant intellectual paradigms that close out foundational and pivotal philosophical inquiries.

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Following undergraduate studies in Puerto Rico at the Universidad del Sagrado Corazón and doctoral studies at Indiana University in Bloomington Indiana, Dr. Roberto Vela Córdova accepted a position at Texas A&M University-Kingsville where he is now Associate Professor of Spanish and Hispanic Studies in the Department of Languages and Literature. His research has focused on the intersection of culture and political economy in Latin America, and he has published several articles on Latin American and Caribbean literature and culture. Dr. Vela Córdova has conducted various graduate seminars on the influence of Amerindian literatures in Latin American and Caribbean culture.

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Towards Buddhist and Islamic Coexistence: Indigenous Thought as a Conduit for Conflict Transformation

Valérie E. Nguyen

Abstract

This paper seeks to answer the question: "What optional steps may Rohingya leaders take to resolve their troubled relations with the Burmese government through conflict transformation and relations normalization while meeting the health and nutritional needs of the population at risk?" Short and long-term recommendations, towards opening channels of communication are discussed through the dual lens of ecology and food justice, based on the weaving of an indigenous "Fourth World" transnational network that emphasizes the importance of traditional sacred space. Its goal is to remediate the alienating perception of Rohingya people specifically as "invasive land-grabbers" by proposing a shift of emphasis that could potentially unify all stakeholders: a deepened concern about the land and the environment as a basis on which government, religion, and enterprise can mutually move forward.

> *"WE STAND BEFORE this great world. The truth of our life depends upon our attitude of mind towards it—an attitude which is formed by our habit of dealing with it according to the special circumstance of our surroundings and our temperaments. It guides our attempts to establish relations with the universe either by conquest or by union, either through the cultivation of power or through that of sympathy. And thus, in our realization of the truth of existence, we put our emphasis either upon the principle of dualism or upon the principle of unity."*
>
> *– Rabindranath Tagore, Bengali Poet, The Religion of the Forest (1922)*

Recalling Buddhism's Beginnings

Out from the dense ancestral jungles—profoundly dark, impenetrable canopies thrumming with the diversity of sense-organs belonging to a fully-sentient biosphere—Buddhist spirituality arose from meditation to return back to the heart of the ancient cities[1], where the sheltered Siddhartha Gautama ("the awakened one") first witnesses the ultimate expressions of human suffering and injustice. This is the legend underlying the footsteps of every Buddhist monk, who retreats into sacred forest pilgrimage to dwell on the philosophy of dharma[2] and consciously limits their political participation in order to better serve the social wellbeing of their local communities.

In approaching the precarious movements

1. "Buddhism arose in north India in the fifth century BCE at a time when the region was undergoing a process of urbanization and political centralization accompanied by commercial development and the formation of artisan and merchant classes. The creation of towns and the expansion of an agrarian economy led to the clearing of forests and other tracts of uninhabited land. These changes influenced early Buddhism in several ways. Indic Buddhism was certainly not bio-centric and the strong naturalistic sentiments that infused Buddhism in China, Korea, and Japan appear to have been absent from early monastic Buddhism, although naturalism played a role in popular piety. Nonetheless, the natural world figures prominently in the Buddhist conception of human flourishing perhaps, in part, because of the very transformation of the natural environment in which it was born." Donald K. Swearer, *Buddhism and Ecology: Challenge and Promise* (*Earth Ethics* 10, Fall 1998).
2. Dharma: foundational Buddhist teachings rooted in the simple observation of phenomena as they reflect the flowing dynamic organization of natural law.

of Buddhist extremism and the fear-based militarization in present-day Burma (Myanmar)[3] against Rohingya Muslims—recognized by the United Nations as one of the world's most persecuted peoples—this paper suggests that this mythical account of original enlightenment represents an invaluable recognition of the matrix of interrelationships at the heart of an indigenous-inspired spiritual consciousness. In light of the humanitarian conflict underway in a majority Buddhist country, reflecting on the recognition embodied in original Buddhist lore inspires us to ask: How do communities and nations cultivate a sense of place and a primordial respect for living beings? How might such a question potentially metabolize a transformation of the visceral, lethal reality expressed in the conflict between Muslims and Buddhists, particularly in the westernmost state of Rakhine?

The Interpersonal Relevance of Crisis Transformation: Beyond the Fourth World

Why do ethnic conflicts matter? What comes out of contemplating the grim reality of ethnic elimination policies and genocide? Reflecting on the ongoing crisis in Burma (Myanmar), among the most significant contemporary efforts of ethnic cleansing— we are also called to consider a historical narrative that we all share, either through our own ancestry or lived experience. Acknowledging the greater undercurrent of conflict between various global forces and indigenous knowledge systems has widespread relevance because it is through the multiplication of local and marginalized perspectives that such larger-picture

problems are most appropriately addressed. Global citizens are all at different stages of reestablishing healthy subsistence. Not to be overwhelmed by despair and indifference, this recognition may, as its ultimate expression, inspire the individual to hold space within his or her own communities wherein they have the greatest impact.

For the purpose of this discussion, the word indigenous invokes a dialogue based on reciprocal and ancestral land relationships. As a legal term, "indigenous" refers to culturally distinct people who, by the legacy of their ancestors, have lived in resilient stewardship within a unique natural environment. The legal history ("discourse") of indigenous nations speaks of those people who have been affected by the ongoing violence of colonialism that has alienated and physically displaced them from their maternal earth and implies the struggle of affirming/restoring such a relationship. As a counter to the indigenous/colonizer dichotomy that pervades the rhetoric against the people who call themselves the Rohingya, whose ancestors migrated across the porous borders of Bangladesh—both peacefully during ancient kingdoms and out of political duress, during the British colonial coercion— this paper serves to raise awareness of the "Fourth World," a term popularized by Secwepemc Chief George Manuel which includes state recognized and unrecognized original indigenous peoples.

It is important to note that the Fourth World remains defined by its relationship to colonialism. Indeed, the theoretical three-world divisions organizing the world signify

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3. This paper use both "Burma" and "Myanmar" to alternatively name the same country, reflecting international indecision: whereas the national military authorities have formally promoted "Myanmar," "Burma" is the name used by opposition groups in defiance of the current political state. Not to lose sight of history, "Myanmar" refers to a political strategy for a military regime's international recognition.

degrees of control in the neocolonialist divide-and-conquer imagination whose treacherous game ("modus operandi") is strategic resource exploitation and wealth concentration. The term "Fourth World" as a political expression is both a product and a reaction to the language of transnational industry and the peculiar picture that it weaves which captures but an aspect of a certain limited sense of reality that may or may not be true to those whom it claims to include. What this term expresses differently is its location on the sphere of political power and economic development (within the particular realm of global transnational industry), where the first world is leading and the third world is (likewise, within the limited possibilities of industry) economically disadvantaged and dependent on first world infrastructures to access the global market and international mechanisms for expansion. First world nations form what some human rights activists perceive as predatory alliances (such as ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations) against the sovereignty and local livelihoods of third world nations. But whereas third world nations are viewed as subjects of their concerned economic superiors, Fourth World nations (nations colonized by first, second, and third world states) do not even receive this level of international rec-

ognition because they are still entrenched in a colonialist reality of being deprived of not only their own territories and ancestral wealth but the continued existence of their cultural identity.

Fourth World nations exist without an internationally recognized political status on the peripheries and outside of the first world imagination—making it the case that the surviving Fourth World, made up of tightly-bound human communities, theoretically represents one of the greatest decentralizing forces and sites of resistance threatening the very self-legitimizing world order that refuses to include them as participants in the human political family.

Crisis Transformation: An Overview

This study is framed by the philosophy of "conflict transformation" and the research of international peace-building scholar Tatsushi Arai, whose focus on grassroots initiatives displays a fundamental commitment to a community-oriented framework. As opposed to mere "conflict management"[4] (metaphorically, only treating the symptoms) and "conflict resolution"[5] (treating the disease on an isolated case-by-case basis), conflict transformation is an expanded interdisciplinary approach of theorizing about conflict which aims to do

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4. "Conflict management theorists see violent conflicts as an ineradicable consequence of differences of values and interests within and between communities. The propensity to violence arises from existing institutions and historical relationships, as well as from the established distribution of power. Resolving such conflicts is viewed as unrealistic: the best that can be done is to manage and contain them, and occasionally to reach a historic compromise in which violence may be laid aside and normal politics resumed. Conflict management is the art of appropriate intervention to achieve political settlements, particularly by those powerful actors having the power and resources to bring pressure on the conflicting parties in order to induce them to settle. It is also the art of designing appropriate institutions to guide the inevitable conflict into appropriate channels." From Hugh Miall, Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004).

5. "Conflict resolution theorists, in contrast, reject this power-based political view of conflict, arguing instead that in communal and identity conflicts, people cannot compromise on their fundamental needs. However, they argue that it is possible to transcend conflicts if parties can be helped to explore, analyze, question and reframe their positions and interests. Conflict resolution therefore emphasizes intervention by skilled but powerless third-parties working unofficially with the parties to foster new thinking and new relationships. They seek to explore what the roots of the conflict really are and to identify creative solutions that the parties may have missed in their commitment to entrenched positions." From Hugh Miall, Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004).

greater justice to the complex global context of contemporary violent conflicts "fueled on the one hand by local struggles and on the other by global factors such as the arms trade and support for regimes or rebels by outside states" (Miall, 2004, pg. 3). The practice of transformation requires viewing conflict as an extraordinary anomaly that requires attending to the worldview, or paradigm[6], from which it emerged.

Buddhist nonviolence and religious ecology, as ritually practiced across generations of Southeast Asians and widely respected as a contemplative practice throughout the world, lends itself as a distinct ally to the goals of conflict transformation. Traditional principles such as Mett (loving-kindness and compassion), Dharma (teachings of interconnectivity based on the natural order), Karma (transpersonal extension of history) and the Eightfold Noble Path offer an ethical framework that is particularly centered on guiding the individual within their community in their moral and spiritual transformation. These principles share many parallels with conflict transformation models for nations in strife as described by Notre Dame Professor of International Peacebuilding, John Paul Lederach (A Handbook of International Peacebuilding: Into The Eye Of The Storm, 2002).

The Paradox of Buddhist Extremism: Identity Crises in Context of Social Unrest

Perplexingly, a radical faction within Burmese Theravada Buddhism has emerged: an anomaly that appears to contradict the foundations that it shares with other sects of Buddhist spirituality (Mahayana, Tantric Vajrayana, and Soto Zen, among others). The militarization of Buddhism and persecution of Rohingya Muslims in present day Burma/Myanmar is a direct historical product of evolving imperialistic power structures and abuses. In order to better understand its genesis, a brief overview of historical narratives is in order.

Who are the Rohingya? Within a self-identified Buddhist country, it is said that the Muslim Rohingya have no history; indeed, they are refused any enduring or legitimate grounds to maintaining a relationship with the land. According to the dominant political narrative, the Rohingya do not exist as a collective identity—and should not be able to exist, out of fear of the political and social changes that the meeting of stories, spoken from different perspectives, might imply. Towards Islamic and Buddhist coexistence, the purpose of this paper is to envision a meeting harmonized from a tense and complicated confrontation into a complex, resonating interweaving without suffering from a loss of complexity.

In their philosophical statement of purpose, the Center for Narrative and Conflict Resolution (CNCR) at George Mason University sets fourth:

> Conflict is the discursive process in which people struggle for legitimacy, caught in stories they did not make (by themselves) and all too often, cannot change—the network of social relationships, histories and institutional processes restrict the nature of stories that can be told. Conflict, from this perspective is a narrative process in which the creation, reproduction and transformation of meaning itself is a political process—a struggle against marginalization and delegitimation, for legitimacy, if not hegemony. Narratives matter. [7]

6. See Thomas Kuhn, Structure of Scientific Revolutions. A paradigm describes how a particular individual or collective perspective is framed by natural and cultural history.

7. Statement retrieved from CNCR's website (www.cncr.gmu.edu/about-cncr.htm).

Cycles of Revenge and Reconciliation

Constructing meaningful history together

Establishing justice/ Institutionalizing political, economic and social reform

Toward Reconciliation

Joint problem solving

Acts of Aggression

Act of "justified" aggression, often in the name of self-defense

Re-engagment with the "other"/ Commitment to a shared future

Development of good vs. evil narrative/Dehumanization of the enemy

Injury, pain, shock, denial

Manipulation by leaders

Realization of loss – Panic

Promoting tolerance/ Encouraging coexistence

Desire for revenge

Suppression of grief, fears

Self-blame, shame, humiliation, guilt

Understanding root causes/ Rehumanizing the enemy

Anger: "why me?"

Managing anger/ Confronting fears/ Accepting loss

Memorializing losses

Mourning/ Expressing Grief

Training Activity

Objective: To understand the ways conflicting groups get caught in cycles of revenge and the necessary steps to break this cycle and move towards reconciliation.

Method: Present the stages of the inner and outer cycle. The inner circle represents the cyclical nature of conflict and the emotional realities that fuel it, while the outer cycle suggests interventions to escape this cycle and move toward sustainable peace. Allow ample time for small group work on how these stages have shown up in the participants' own contexts. In a bonded and safe group, the model may then be placed on the floor with masking tape and sheets of paper. Ask participants to find the spot where they would place themselves in terms of their own experience and feelings. Invite those who wish to share their reasons for choosing a particular place on either inner/outer cycle. Remember that emotions are not static like a diagram, but move constantly.

Note: This activity is adapted from a model by Olga Botcharova, published in "Implementation of track two diplomacy: developing a model of forgiveness," by O. Botcharova, 2001, in Forgiveness and reconciliation: religion, public policy and conflict transformation, R. Helmick and R. Petersen, Eds. Radnor, Pennsylvania: Templeton Foundation Press.

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Above: Conflict Analysis Tool drawn from Paula Green's Peacebuilding in Divided Communities: Karuna Center's Approach to Training, page 80.

The following historical overview should therefore be read as a non-definitive map of events that only identifies potential primary sources of interethnic conflict in Burma from past to present. The function of this paper's historical narrative of the Rohingya genocide is to foreground the vicious "cycle of revenge and reconciliation" (see previous page) within which all parties, regardless of political or religious affiliation, are implicated. The purpose of delving into the emotion-fraught territory of contested cultural identities is to recognize the mutual traumas on both sides as workable platforms for coexistence.

Before going any further, it is essential to define this ideal of coexistence. Coexistence does not mean assimilation, the loss of shared cultural practices, and individual uniqueness. Within an oppressive political rhetoric, the cost of diversity or inclusion can be forced annihilation. Genuine coexistence is not an annihilation of margins and marginalized; it is the "giving of space" which inspires peace

and allows people to come together on interpersonal, international priorities. It also means respecting boundaries, recognizing common need, and celebrating diversity as united and sacred—as well as remembering the countless ways in which we are all profoundly interconnected. Moreover, this encompassing work can be achieved through science, philosophy, and art, among other symbolic and material ways of sharing meaning in non-monetary economies of exchange.

Ultimately, coexistence sets the following goal: to circumvent the brambles of identity issues to the transpersonal focus of land health stewardship issues in order to finally approach personal health of our physical bodies so vulnerable to disease in times of great instability.

A Brief Introduction to the History of a Two-Named Country

Nestled between Bangladesh, India, China, Laos, and Thailand, Burma (Myanmar) shares a transnational relationship through the Bay of

Bengal (see map). As a result of its geographical proximity to the ocean, the western part of the country has invited a remarkable wealth of intercultural exchange across the ages: a history that has scarcely been recorded but shines through example of the archeological recovery of pre-fifteenth century coin currency simultaneously bearing Islamic (Bengal) and Burmese characters. According to Dr. Moshe Yegar, scholar of Islamic relations in Asia:

> Bengal became Muslim in 1230 but it remained the furthest eastern point of Islam's expansion. Muslim influence in Arakan (today known as Rakhine) was of great cultural and political importance. Ancient Rakhine was the beachhead for Muslim penetration into other parts of what is now called Burma[8] even if it never achieved the same degree of importance [as it did when it was known as Arakan].

Today, Rakhine State is one of the least economically developed regions in modern Burma, defined by minimal infrastructure, subsistence agriculture, and mostly unexplored potential natural resources. Due in part to its proximity to Bangladesh, a predominantly Muslim nation, Rakhine also has the largest population of Muslim Rohingya ethnic communities who are currently subject to government regulations that limit their living conditions and push them into conditions of genocide and further diaspora. Within the Burmese state, the Rohingya community's presence is subject to an extreme range of interpretations. According to the research of Dr. Jacques P. Leider, scholar on Rakhine history:

> There is no doubt about the influence of the Sultanate of Bengal on Arakanese kingship [since antiquity]. The open debate is about the nature and the importance of the influence exercised. Interpretations reach from political ascendancy over intermittent cultural prevalence to virtual rejection of any specific cultural identity (Leider 1998).

Legacies of Colonialism

Although both living and historical accounts[9] of the time have reported the Rohingya[10] having long-participated in ongoing cross-cultural exchange, trade and inhabitation of Burma's territories prior to colonialism, beginning in the British colonial regime (1824 until Burma's political independence in 1948) the national population—consisting of more than one hundred unique national identities[11]—was arbitrarily polarized into the local Buddhist

8. The geopolitical entity known as Burma was preceded by 1,500 years of dynastic emergence—among them, the Pyu city-states (200 BCE to 1050 CE), the period of warring states (1297 to 1824) Myinsaing and Pinya (1297 to 1364) and Rahmanya (1287 to 1539)—up to the British colonial period (1824 to 1948). The Union of Burma emerged as an independent state in 1948.
9. For a concise and eloquent summary of the cultural history of Muslim presence in Burma, see Steffan Balsom's article, "Rohingya: A Nation Orphaned by History" in Intercontinental Cry Magazine. In his paper The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar) (2005), reports that "[t]he Muslims in the Arakan State can be divided into four different groups, namely the Chittagonian Bengalis in the Mayu Frontier; the descendents of the Muslim Community of Arakan in the Mrauk-U period (1430-1784), presently living in the Mrauk-U and Kyauktaw townships; the decendents of Muslim mercenariesin Ramree Island known to the Arakanese as Kaman; and the Muslims from the Myedu area of Central Burma, left behind by the Burmese invaders in Sandoway District after the conquest of Arakan in 1784."
10. Out of the 1.33 million Rohingya in Burma, all but 40,000 are stateless due to the country's 1982 Citizenship Law, which denies Rohingya equal access to citizenship rights.
11. Among these are the Shan, Karen, Rohingya, Karenni, Chin, Kachin and Mon. Burma is an example of a consolidated indigenous nation (Burmans) essentially colonizing other fourth world nations. Britain's decolonization of what became the Union of Burma permitted the re-colonization of more than 100 fourth world nations, including the Rohingya.

Burmese nationals and Muslim Rohingya immigrants who had been encouraged to migrate from India to British-occupied Burma in order to supplement "the lack of labors and cultivators in order to develop the country under the colonial system."[12] Like elsewhere in the world, colonialism—more specifically, imperialist trade and empire-driven agriculture—acted as the primary destabilizing force of traditional culture, introducing a foreign rift within the complexity of indigenous identities. According to Dr. Kei Nemoto, whose research specializes in the modern history of Burma,

> *It is also important to indicate that the Buddhist Arakanese adopt the same criterion as the present military government of Burma does: recognizing the people who came into Burma after 1823 (a year before when the First Anglo Burmese War began) as non-indigenous people. In other words, the year 1823 is understood by both the military government and the Buddhist Arakanese as a meaningful criterion to differentiate the people residing in Burma between "us" and "them," which is the same standard shown in the 1982 Burmese Citizenship Law (Nemoto). "*

The driving force behind this perpetual polarization, which ejected the Rohingya ethnicity into decades of abject statelessness (formally acknowledged by the UN as "Internally Displaced Person"), is twofold: a desire to maintain and the fear of losing control. In the words of Aung San Suu Kyi, Burmese democratic activist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate who had been imprisoned under house arrest

by the Myanmar military government for 15 of the past 21 years since her release in 2010,

> *"It is not power that corrupts, but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it" (Freedom From Fear 1991). Out of this fear of losing power, the first polarizing force was expressed in the imperialistic need to externally "contain" ethnic strife and separatism that was carried on by Myanmar's authoritarian regime as a reason to justify their 50-year military totalitarian dictatorship. The second part directly follows from the first and persists into the present Rohingya genocide: the Buddhist majority's internal desire to affirm a pure unified nationalism in order to reclaim a sense of sovereignty beyond the unspoken collective traumas brought on by foreign rule. In the perspective of conflict transformation, such "[i]nternal conflicts are increasingly associated with fragile states and maladaptive reactions to the impact of globalization" (Miall, 2004, pg. 8).*

Buddhism and the Saffron Revolution

During the 1930s, the Rakhine monk Ashun U Ottama (known to the Burmese state as "the light of Asia") was the first person to be imprisoned, repetitively over the course of several years, in British Burma as a result of his anti-colonialist political speeches; after years lost in solitary incarceration, he perished while on a hunger strike and awakened a generation of politically inclined Buddhist monks. Following U Ottama's legacy of dissent, Buddhist na-

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12. Kei Nemoto, "The Rohingya Issue: A Thorny Issue Between Burma (Myanmar) and Bangladesh". According to Dr. Aye Chan, in his paper "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)" (2005), [t]he flow of [Bengali] Chittagonian labor provided the main impetus to the economic development in Arakan within a few decades along with the opening of regular commercial shipping lines between Chittagong and [the capital of western Rakhine state Sittwe, formerly known as] Akyab. The arable land expanded to four and a half times between 1830 and 1852 and Akyab became one of the major rice exporting cities in the world."

tionalism ushered an exponentially larger revolutionary movement when it emerged again in 2007, braving the contradiction of Buddhist political engagement and fearlessly leading the people in a non-violent uprising against the oppressive and morally corrupt government defended by the military dictatorship.

The peaceful demonstration, known as the Saffron Revolution (for being led by tens of thousands of crimson-orange robed monks), resulted in torture, incarceration, and fatalities of Burmese civilian protestors, as well as the death of an international journalist documenting the unprecedented procession of monks with downward-turned alms bowls—a symbol of their silent refusal to accept offerings from officials of the Myanmar regime. Outside of the public eye, countless monks were threatened with public defrocking, arrest or assassination, alongside the sacking of Buddhist temples in brutal crackdowns conducted by government officials. The march was as much a resistance to the political military rule as it was a campaign for democracy, insisting on the liberation of democratic leader and political prisoner Aung San Su Kyi who was unjustly imprisoned under house arrest, due to her overwhelming electoral success, on behalf of National League for Democracy in the 1990 election, that was nullified by the regime.

In the wake of the latest evolution of Buddhist nationalism moving towards political reform— celebrated in the release of Aung San Su Kyi, who intends to run in Burma's 2015 presidential elections—a more prolonged social protest movement arose in 2012: the "969 Movement." Unlike the Saffron Revolution, this provocative monk-led campaign stands to defend the institution of Buddhism itself. Its leader, Ashin Wirathu Thera, asserts that national Buddhism has been victimized and is under immediate threat by the socially marginal Muslim community (mostly

Rohingya) who, from the outset, lack political representation. Fueled by dehumanizing rhetorics depicting Rakhine state Rohingya communities as invasive scourges that threaten to overrun Myanmar, local Buddhists have incited numerous atrocities against the "uncivilized" Muslim community. Anti-Muslim propaganda has so far led to changes in the national government, itself undergoing radical restructuring, to further disable the Rohingya: such as restrictions on freedom to travel, access to healthcare and humanitarian aid, reproductive rights, limitations on economic market access, policies on interfaith marriage (specifically targeting Buddhist women marrying into Islam), and limitations on education. Since the surge of interethnic violence in the Rakhine state began in mid-2013, the Buddhist group has formed an Association for the Protection of Race and Religion (known in Burmese as Ma Ba Tha) through which it is pressuring the Burmese national parliament to adopt bills perpetuating the persecution that Burma's minority faiths have historically experienced by the former military regime. The parliament began its debate about the proposed legislation in January 2015.

In nearly every respect, the Rohingya are shackled by national denunciation. The majority Buddhist population, traditionally inclined to revering monks as beyond reproach, now enforces racist polemics out of an exacerbated fear for religious purity and of different faiths commingling. Muslim people have consequently responded to such insecurity with violence and through mobilizing their own reactionary groups.

Subjected to an era of military dictatorship and corruption, the survival of Buddhism as a social cornerstone has in part depended on its ability to maintain a strict sense of internal hierarchy. Holding to certain exclusionary practices birthed a form of hyper-conservative

preservation of identity—manifesting most blatantly in the contemporary attitude of the 969 Movement. By denying the existence of Rohingya people, the movement's anti-Muslim historical narrative can be seen as an effort to assertively inject Buddhist spiritual supremacy into the past in order to purchase a greater sense of rootedness to offset its own traumatizing history of displacement by the military regime. However much an expression of non-Buddhist attachment such a strategy may be, seen through a broader non-judgmental lens allows us to understand more about Burmese Buddhism's own suffering. Burmese Buddhists, as human beings, are also reactive subjects who are striving towards restoring a certain neutral-mindedness through obtaining an uncontested national sovereignty that would grant them the illusion of a new beginning, a blank slate (tabula rasa). However, the shared experience of Burmese citizens (and non-citizens) that permeates the layers of race, gender, and belief, cannot be simply erased; indeed, many are the closest witnesses to each other's suffering.

Burma as it Opens

Before 2011, Burma/Myanmar was a closed country, with activists and reporters risking their lives to disclose any evidence of human rights violations to the international media. The loosening of policing of media and documentation comes as a direct result of welcoming international evaluation, presumably for the primary purpose of initiating trade agreements. The indirect result is that uncensored representations of the Burmese citizen's experience is coming out and other countries now have the possibility to also hold the coun-

try of Myanmar to human rights criteria as they choose. The upside of this "opening up" is that it is now vulnerable to external evaluation from a strictly economic standpoint.

Since 2011, President Thien Sein has pushed for economic and political reforms, in line with the European Union's trade sanctions, ending half a century of military rule in order to "open up Myanmar" to international investment. Under the banner of the economic development coalition of leading political figures known as ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), state-to-state negotiations are currently underway. Meanwhile, Myanmar's history of severe human rights abuses by political authorities—including forced labor, torture, displacement, rape, and extrajudicial killings—remains unaddressed, both nationally and, under the pretext of non-interference of internal affairs, internationally. Beyond the international pretense of democratization and development, violence continues in Burma's ethnically-based internal states, where most of the country's abundant natural resources reside.

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) refuses to even address the deplorable situation of the Fourth World Rohingya, who suffer from mass evacuation into internment camps and from what Burmese scholar at the London School of Economics and activist-in-exile Maung Zarni calls the "slow-burning genocide" that consists of starvation and political blockades of international humanitarian groups such as Doctors Without Borders.[13] A pervasive refusal of recognition of Rohingya genocide is expressed in the outright denial of President Thein Sein: "We don't have the term Rohingya.[14]" As the bureaucrat-

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13 The Nobel Prize winning medical charity Medecins Sans Frontieres Holland (MSF-H) and Malteser International—two of the largest charities that supplied healthcare in northern Rahkine state—are banned from returning by local authorities. After having treated Rohingya Muslims, victims of a massacre in early March 2013, the government, who outright denied that killing ever happened, ordered MSF to suspend all activity in Myanmar. Though the government allowed the group to resume its work,

ic infrastructure is actively seeking to eject a population of people within a greater political body, the task of regenerating links as they are being cut resides in the people themselves: more specifically, in the resilient solidarity that has historically liberated indigenous peoples and indigent minorities from their oppressive governments who aggressively assert supreme authority over the land and its natural and human resources.

Caught between Burma and Myanmar, the country's government finds itself at a pivotal time in defining its identity. This can be accomplished through a philosophy of exclusion or inclusion. By exclusion, the Buddhists possibly broadcast a powerful message of Burmese identity and make a forceful political and spiritual statement. By continuing its policy of exclusion, it attempts to shrink the population. By being inclusive, and allowing diversity, it minimizes disturbing its people. By granting citizenship rights to the Rohingya, it does not commit to the arduous bureaucratic work of executing a sort of ethnic cleansing that can be seen as a militarized state's legacy. By prioritizing peaceful integration and allowing the Rohingya people to affirm their distinct cultural community, the Burmese government chooses to frame a national identity in positive terms.

Though it is not completely out of the question, Rohingya autonomy as a sovereign nation would require the declaration for self-determination come from the Rohingya ethnic minority themselves – a determination which could be reinforced with the supportive pressures from Burma's neighbors to the North and South (Bangladesh and Thailand) whose governments have mutually-held stakes in their rejection of Rohingya refugees fleeing the

genocide in Burma. However, such a declaration of complete autonomy (in the larger sense of religious and political independence) has not been a statement that any Rohingya leader has been willing to dare. Until the basic rights and protections are afforded to them, however, efforts towards self-governance are limited to the work of individuals and citizen groups on a localized scale.

Conflict Transformation Evaluation

How can those individuals who courageously position themselves as peaceful leaders in this crisis begin to address the underlying concern and legacy of fear that involves all parties embedded in the hegemonic structures of the oppressive militarized state which notoriously fends for its supremacy by means of economic and political subversion? And who will be the first to make reparations when both parties suffer from loss of faith and injury?

In order to clear the grounds for peaceful dialogue, communities must be brought to mend the severed dialectics that have contributed to ethnic genocide of the Rohingya. How might this process begin? It is imperative that genuine efforts are made by regional stakeholders to ground the discussion about the country of Burma/Myanmar not merely as an abstract political entity, a disjointed representation, but as a land, a sentient part of Earth, with rights and limitations. This is where indigenous philosophies that have emerged out of territorial conflicts between communities and economic interests can help move the conversation in a mutually beneficial direction. In this light, conflict transformation views this conflict as being less about religious and ethnic differences and more about social imbalance and a genuine

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14. Chatham House, London, 15 July 2013. Politically Rohingya do not really exist and are considered either illegal immigrants from Bangladesh or Bengali settlers who had been brought in by the British Raj in 1951.

fear of resource scarcity.

The price of sustained conflict comes at the cost of natural and human resource degradation—and with war, external intervention—whereas the price of peace can be sought internally. Discussions about ecological economics should be kindled in order to establish the conditions for caretaking the land—and the consequences of transgression. The concept of economics can be restored to its original sense of "the laws [nomos] of our home [oikos]" if communities choose to relate more deeply to the ecological undercurrent running through an earth-based human existence. At this crossroads, anti-corruption measures could be elaborated to regulate the extent of economics with sustainable national ecology in priority. With these conditions enumerated, it will become clear that the most dangerous plagues that have beset Burma are, and have been, the militaristic authoritarian figures that seek to control the national opinion of the masses through the manipulation of non-essential differences. *These differences only serve to distract from the serious task of restoring a damaged connection to the land—of which extreme territoriality, on one side, and hostile alienation, on the other, is a life-threatening symptom.*

Interethnic solidarity can be restored through promoting an indigenous position on land issues. Without a stable and sustainable connection to the land—which the Rohingya are deprived of, just as other Myanmar national citizens have suffered in the past—physical and mental health is critically endangered. Viewed through this ecological understanding, the political perceptions of the Rohingya people's "parasitism" on national identity is allowed to finally emerge as a failure of the state itself, as it is undergoing radical social upheaval, to integrate a population of willing human participants into a greater plan of restorative sustainability that begins with basic nutrition

(irrefutably essential to personal health) and extends to compassionate resource management (equally as essential to the collective health of human populations). As a state that is still in the throes of emerging from colonialism and the ensuing national fascist regimes, such complex and evolving challenges are perhaps almost inevitable: whether it can move past its reactionary extremism is a question of translating defensiveness into solidarity. In the words of comparative indigenous literary studies Professor Chadwick Allen, beyond the "vertical binary" of conventional transnational theories that subordinate indigenous peoples, we may at any time choose to follow a vision of "transindigenous alliances" that inspires us to work towards transcending "the national borders of contemporary" states to engage with direct indigenous-to-indigenous relationships instead (*Trans-Indigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies*, 2012).

It is precisely the socially marginalized who should be positively involved in social stabilization projects, given that it is they who are usually the most vulnerable to being adversely affected. This entails decentralizing natural resources and encouraging basic nutritional sovereignty instead of globalizing resources in the international market in order to support and depend on political party infrastructure (with its notorious vulnerability to corruption), which frequently reproduce conditions of dependence. What this could require is a concerted effort towards a redefinition of the convention of "economic land concession" (a pro-development government policy of giving away land to agricultural corporations for resource exploitation), not merely as a commercial enterprise in a politicized (militarized) economy but as a compassionate enterprise that holds the promise of promoting the conditions of sympathetic symbiosis.

Part of the conflict transformation process

is the art of reframing "the context of conflict [so] that [it] may radically alter each party's perception of the conflict situation, as well as their motives" (Miall, 2004, pg. 9). The transformational element essential to alchemize such a change is a shift in individual social consciousness that fosters a psycho-spiritual sense of love over one based on fear. In the conflict between the Rohingya and Burmese nationals, the capacity of religion to motivate social cohesion around humanitarian values can be drawn from in order to unite people around components that are absolutely vital to human life, whose very absence are the conditions of disease and poverty, such as clean water and nutritive foods free from the high costs of importation and industrial chemical contamination.

Without Land, Nothing: Struggle of Internally Displaced People

If the source of bigotry originates in a fear of overpopulation and cultural dilution, as the 969 Movement maintains, then a radical strategy could be to grant the Rohingya community, in parts or as a whole, the protection of temporary autonomy over a tract of continuous land in Burma/Myanmar –instead of the Rohingya state being broken apart and concentrated in genocidal "refuges" for Internally Displaced People that morbidly reflect the short-term nature of the relationship that the nation of Burma projects in the lack of basic facilities and inadequate resources for livelihood. Autonomy, notably, does not necessarily mean complete authority over the land and permission to abuse its resources beyond reasonable need. Effectively, this reinterprets the practice of naturalization by focusing on a citizen's commitment to non-exploitative investment in a sustainable economy that is the broader goal of nation-building. Recognizing the political identity of the Rohingya state through conced-
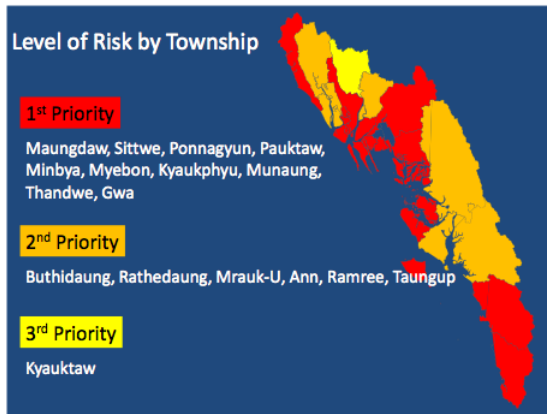
Source: Hazard Profile of Myanmar

ing land to the community would form a non-dependent relationship between the two populations where mutualism and equal exchange can take place – while satisfying the Burmese nationalist's prerogative to preserve Buddhism as a fixture of the Burmese national identity. Likewise, the aggressive and violent enforcements of the threat of arrest experienced by any Rohingya currently travelling beyond Rakhine state does not consist in providing a safe haven. Rather, it is an act of corralling them into more vulnerable refugee communities that can be displaced at the government's discretion, such as for economic and electoral convenience. The Rohingya people utterly lack a safe common space where education and healthcare are freely available to those who are willing to engage on a level in which all parties can agree would be mutually beneficial without coercion. Indeed, in Tatsushi Arai's strategic evaluation, *Transforming the Cycle of Violence in Rakhine State: Towards Inter-Communal Peace in Myanmar* (2013), he prioritizes the national commitment of guaranteeing the displaced Rohingya people a provisional safe haven as a necessary preliminary peacekeeping measure underlying all further work that must be made towards conflict transformation.

In order to secure the commitment of individuals to such a vision, the government would benefit from working with Rohingya community leaders towards establishing an Islamic Protectorate of Myanmar to register citizens so as to restrict entry of individuals that would otherwise have another optional home (such as Bengali Muslims who some Myanmar nationals argue might take advantage of the chaos to emigrate as Rohingyas). Alternatively, the government may reconsider the Organization of Islamic Co-operation's rejected proposal to open an office to help Rohingyas due to the current Burmese government's injunction against any organization that may choose to focus on the Rohingya community, even though they may have greater need at this time.

However, the development of a Muslim enclave would require a mutually-held commitment to peaceful resolution—the very obstacle holding the crisis in force. Paralleling Buddhist social engagement, there has also been a history of political interventions of Rohingya leaders towards the creation of a Rohingya State since the Union of Burma's independence in 1948 from British colonial administration into a succession of military regimes: in 1951, not long after Burma's independence, an Arakan Muslim Conference was held in Ale-thangyaw Village and published The Charter of the Constitutional Demands of the Arakan Muslims, which demands that "North Arakan should be immediately formed [as] a free Muslim State as [an] equal constituent Member of the Union of Burma like the Shan State, the Karenni State, the Chin Hills, and the Kachin Zone with its own Militia, Police, and Security Forces under the General Command of the Union (Department of the Defense Service Archives, Rangoon: DR 1016/10/13). When the 1982 Citizenship Law was put into place to restrict citizenship to any ethnic groups who were recognized to have lived in Burma before

the First Anglo-Burmese War began in 1824, the Rohingya voice was publicly disqualified throughout its continued efforts to organize under other political banners (such as the National Democratic Party of Human Rights) that sent some underground and others into exile.

In the long term, the creation of a separate refuge state based on religious creed (such as in the case of Israel) risks perpetuating and accentuating the friction between Buddhism and Islam in Burma. Not only that: the creation of an exclusively Rohingya territory may be a detriment of Rakhine state's many indigenous inhabitants who might resist, either immediately or later down the road when their respective communities are impacted by land issues and affected by evacuation justified by economic development.

Current Land-Based Emergencies in Burma

Given the political history of closed attitudes of land concession, the resistance from the Burmese Union to restore Rohingya's rights and the urgency of the crisis, this paper will continue by suggesting less radical approaches in favor of workable suggestions that consist in more grassroots interventions.

According to the document entitled "Inter-Agency Preparedness/Contingency Plan—Rakhine State, Myanmar", immediate action must be taken to protect the 140,000 displaced people during the monsoon season beginning in May:

> *[a] critical decision is required from the Government for the allocation of suitable land for shelter … which will in turn influence planning on provision of services and access to livelihood. For those IDPs [Internally Displaced Peoples] living on land that will flood during rainy season,*

> *they must be moved to safer locations in*
> *appropriate temporary shelters that will*
> *not flood before the rains start.*

The document delineates a clear plan of actions that must be prioritized, including: the "construction of temporary learning spaces," the need for the government to "address the issue of scarcity of manpower, logistic and communication means, as well as referral and threats to health and humanitarian workers," and the need for "government, community, and religious leaders [to] take firm action against those who are intimidating humanitarian workers." In order not to unpredictably extract members of Burmese society that would otherwise offer valuable services to the Buddhist community, the document recognizes that there needs to be practical incentives to keep a dedicated force of doctors and other social servants within the Muslim communities so that they can lift themselves out of the coercive limbo of dependency on obstructed social services.

Since the beginning of the 2014 rainy season, more than 30 have died from cholera and dysentery due to inadequate waste management; many tent encampments are located in rice paddies where improvised latrines have poor drainage, arising in overflow and water contamination issues and a shortage of safe drinking water. Suspended in a state of abject poverty, countless small camps barely sheltering the 140,000 Rohingya refugees—who have for decades, if not centuries, called Rakhine their home—are increasingly vulnerable to the impact of natural disasters brought by heavy monsoon floods and cyclones. Engaging with organizations focused on providing access to hot water for sanitation purposes and treating (by ecological remediation strategies) contaminated water ("grey-water" or "black-water") will ultimately serve the Rohingya people more

than indirect appeal to unsympathetic and unaffected authorities who coldly rely on the suffering of the Rohingya as a way of evacuating them from the country by any means necessary.

Sumatran Connections through the Darwin Initiative Project

Outside of Burma/Myanmar, neighboring Malaysia has the highest population of resettled Rohingya refugees. Sumatra—and, to a lesser degree, Malaysia—stands to offer proof of Islamic responsible land stewardship. If the Burmese government can be convinced to allow external participation to resolve its internal conflicts, then it is through the encouragement of its national neighbors with which the stakes of relationships are higher and where, moreover, further negotiations and collaborations on connected issues can take place. In order to involve the Rohingya Muslim population as active participants in the collective healing of national trauma, joint symposiums between Sumatran Islamic ecological scholars and organic farmers and Rohingya leaders in ecological sustainability programs could be facilitated.

The largest following of Islam in the world is found in Indonesia and it is in Sumatra where the Darwin Initiative Project, with the theme of "*Integrating Religion Within Conservation: Islamic Beliefs and Sumatran Forest Management,*" took place as a way of investigating and encouraging the connection of Muslim and indigenous people as they strived to establish food sovereignty in rural communities both towards the benefit of, and building upon, productive interfaith relationships. According to Professor Stuart R. Harrop, Director of the Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology, University of Kent:

> *One of the prime purposes of the project*

was to build local capacity by empowering and educating local teachers, religious leaders and community members to spread this important message in addition to putting the Islamic precepts and traditional knowledge into practice. These principles, found in customary law, stories and myths within local traditions and within the precepts and sacred texts of global religions, provide us with a heritage of sustainable practices that can potentially operate without the help of the state. Moreover, because of the strength of belief behind these ethics, there may be no need to strengthen their effect by bolstering them with obligations in national or international legal instruments. The power of religious belief may be all that is required to put conservation into effective practice…. [Likewise, if] behaviour patterns are to change, this may be more efficiently facilitated through ethical propositions that are meaningful rather than by calling on remote institutional precepts that may not resonate as strongly at the local level (McKay, 2013, p. 12).

In his article *The Globalization of Muslim Environmentalism*, Dr. Richard Foltz, editor of Environmentalism in the Muslim World (2005), contributes an insightful complexity as he cautions such human rights projects addressing basic human needs as nutrition and agroecology—specifically, those involved with Islamic communities—against perpetuating what some have called the NGO-Industrial Complex:

It hardly comes as a surprise, then, that environmentalist policies and initiatives in the Muslim world are often seen as merely another example of Western imperialism, an attempt by foreigners, foreign interests, or foreign puppets to meddle in the affairs of Muslim communities for purposes of exploitation and control. It would seem that under such circumstances, environmentalism in Muslim societies would have to develop in an indigenously-derived form seen as locally-relevant, if it hopes to take root and flourish [emphasis added]. Unfortunately examples of home-grown environmentalism are not yet easy to find in the Muslim world, though they are not non-existent (Foltz).

Foltz's point reinforces the level of sensitivity required to respond to the unique characteristics and conditions of the conflict as well as to the indigenous socioecology within which a project is physically nested. In reality, there are no quick solutions: ample monetary and technical assistance are by themselves insufficient to confront such intractable problems and complex conflicts perpetuated by Burma's particular challenge of ethnic conflict and religious extremism. Though a concerned international organization might be compelled to set, as its first goal, the project of developing culturally appropriate solutions that draw from the existing resources, if its ultimate objective is to liberate affected citizens from unnecessary and harmful dependency, its principal responsibility is to be a patient and attentive midwife to change, to help ask the right questions that will create the conditions for self-understanding, to supply desired information, and to keep the conversation going when real or imagined fear paralyzes progress.

Concrete Examples of Ecosocial Transformation Projects

Conflict transformation could be also achieved by way of a practical issue-based campaign focused on neutralizing racial violence by addressing the environmental

imbalance—and the economic interests behind contested physical and political borderlines—affecting a profound sense of personal mindfulness based on a shared respect of natural global interdependence. *Such an effort would require an intercultural study in consultation with constitutional and customary indigenous governments who have restored food and livelihood sovereignty from degraded environmental conditions and nonfunctional social infrastructure left by colonialism.* On-the-ground projects of this nature should appropriately reflect the needs of the community as much as the actual availability of physical resources and the pre-existing capacity of local food sovereignty and livelihood training organizations so as to broaden a network of expanding place-based practices.

For example, the popularity and success of edible mushroom cultivation workshops in Southeast Asia can be accounted for by a few considerations. Firstly, the knowledge of how to draw from byproducts of existing agricultural practices, such as identifying free substrates for mushroom production like rice straw after the grain has been harvested, or creative uses of available mediums as water hyacinth[15] (*Eichornia crassipis*), an invasive plant that is rapidly clogging up rivers and waterways of countries such as Africa and Cambodia. Secondly, the preexisting presence of wild-foraged and cultivated mushrooms in local food lore makes it an appealing product that is easily brought to the market without creating confusion over its value as a highly nutritional food and medicine. Thirdly, mushrooms are a post-harvest supplementary crop that follows the seasonal cultivation cycle without requiring much adaptation to create a favorable environment.

Another example can be drawn from the prolific Non-Timber Forest Product (NTFP) workshops that are given by conservation-focused organizations to support indigenous peoples who are still drawn to maintain the ancestral lifestyle of gathering traditional craft materials, such as bamboo and native tree resins, and edible species like rattan vine and jungle honey, in spite of economic pressures. Such workshops serve the dual purpose of educating interested communities in legal mechanisms for the protection of existing resources under threat and reinforcing traditional knowledge as a nation-building activity.

Though they take place in different social and environmental settings, both organic mushroom cultivation and non-timber forest product education are appropriate examples of projects that do not create additional needs but instead respond to local availabilities and serve to further social justice causes. In the case of mushrooms, the availability of growing food out of reclaimed excess "wastes" and the rapid production of potent compost as its byproduct, and in the case of non-timber forest products, the validation and further elaboration of pre-existing knowledge of native ecology with the understanding of contemporary systems of sociopolitical organization and conservation protocol.

For internally displaced peoples, such as the Rohingya, whose very issue is that they are denied a relationship to the land, *bioremediation* stands to be the most successful out of the many different kinds of workshops and practical on-the-ground trainings that would be most appropriate to their unique situation. An appropriate focus is determined both by the needs that characterize their physical location and by the social and environmental relationships that they decide to reinforce.

Bioremediation works with plants, fungi, and microorganisms to accomplish restoration of degraded or polluted land and contaminated water exclusively through natural processes

15. Water hyacinth spawns mushroom enterprise: http://www.new-ag.info/03-3/develop/dev04.html

and low-tech techniques that have little to no environmental impact of their own. Though industrial bioremediation has become an intricately researched scientific specialization in its own right, the basic practice of bioremediation can be accomplished by starting with the foundational building of healthy soil and water flows through the use of composting techniques and essential endemic micro-organisms. The technique of harnessing microorganisms in order to naturally increase the quality and nutrient value of the soil (and therefore the health of the plant and planet) has been extensively developed by the international organization Effective Microorganisms (EM). Developed by Professor Dr. Teruo Higa, Effective Microorganisms (EM) has decades of experience in offering capacity-building workshops dealing specifically with their trademarked process to rural farmers interested in smaller scale organic farming. Indigenous Micro-organisms (IMO)[16], a closely related technique belonging to Korean traditional farming, equally offers the opportunity to boost soil biological activity through the intentional harnessing of only regionally-sourced microorganisms to catalyze the chemical processes in the soil on an extensive variety of available substrates that would otherwise be discarded as byproducts.

Moreover, as an inclusive practice, participation to such workshops would be indiscriminately based on any individuals who currently have a relationship to the land entity known as Burma/Myanmar.

However, though such an educational-based approach could also exert a positive influence on the lives of neighboring populations, it would only be a secondary long-term recommendation and would not by itself initiate an immediate crisis-mitigating measure that the Rohingya desperately need. What

is essential for such projects to take place is beyond resolution by physical means alone because of the unaddressed disembodied collective trauma that governs the minds of all parties involved in the genocide-by-neglect.

In order to address extreme malnutrition in the short-term, human health measures must include an environmental vision for cultivating a sustainable restorative relationship. Such an effort would also require a national ecology-based educational movement facilitated by third-party mediators trained in peace-building and cultural sensitivity in which Buddhist ecological philosophy and its insight into human suffering could be an indispensable ally. Reminding Buddhist extremism of these roots—and therefore popular concerns—could redirect their strong feelings in a way that could work in consonance with their care for the land as a nation. An emphasis on environmental education would include the topics of Soil Rights and Conservation, Water Rights and Conservation, Forest Rights and Conservation, and other natural rights guarding against resource exploitation and exponential unsustainable population growth including Food Justice and Environmental Remediation. Such information would model a constructive stance against the type of "third world" transnational economic development that is harmful to the self-reliance of a local community.

Complementary Elements Supporting Local Dialogue on Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation, in its integrative perspective, offers a way to address more fully the structures of oppression, exploitation, and environmental degradation. Towards this greater goal, the first step in tending to this conflict would be to bring Rakhine Buddhist community leaders and Rohingya Muslim

16. See Dr. Hoon Park III's presentation: http://www.kswcd.org/conference/Dr%20Hoon%20Park%20III%20-%20Indigenous%20Microorganism%28IMO%29.pdf

community leaders in serious conversation about the naturalizing subject of land restoration as a shared platform to work on repairing deeper relationships *within the framework of conflict transformation:* what are the conditions of the water, forest, and soil that the ecological fertility and longevity that the security of Burma depends on? In order to diffuse interpersonal tension within such a gathering, this paper suggests the presence of two neutralizing elements.

First element: the presence of Sumatran Ecological Islamic leaders, to hold neutral sacred space for the Muslim Rohingya, and Buddhist monks of the Thai forest tradition, to hold neutral sacred space for the Rakhine Buddhists. With these two pillars binding and complementing the dualism, a ceremonial gathering can take place where traditional rites honoring both Buddhist and Muslim traditions can be conducted for a unified audience expressed as:

- A Buddhist Meditation for Metta (Metta-Bhavana).

- An Islamic Meditation for Water (See Darwin Initiative Project appendix 1 and 2, documenting Islamic "Sermon Appreciating and Conserving Water as a Show of Our Gratitude" and "Ceremah Ramadhan Sermon, 1432 H/2011 M Grateful for God's Favours: Water").

Metta is the Buddhist principle of "compassion" and "loving-kindness", that begins in the practice of cultivating benevolence in meditation. One starts compassion with the self, then with a beloved friend, a neutral person, and then a hated foe – then, all four equally, before gradually proceeding to the whole universe of sentient and non-sentient beings. Metta is used as a rite for mental purification and freedom from the corrupting influence of anger.

Water, vital to all life on earth, is highly symbolic in the context of the Rohingya refugee experience, where a lack of access to clean water is the most formidable health challenge experienced in the Burmese camps for Internally Displaced Persons. Water oscillates between death and rebirth, where a treacherous oceanic passage across the Bay of Bengal to unknown shores becomes a last desperate effort for the persecuted minority praying to drift into the Indonesian island archipelago where there is the change of encountering a compassionate Muslim community that might take pity on them instead of imprisoning their entire family.

A grieving or mourning process recognizing community trauma—both recent losses to ethnic violence and losses further in the past—would further serve to connect individual experience with the broader message. Whatever therapeutic structure is selected must also have an intergenerational dimension (including children and elders in the community) to address the multifaceted collective trauma and its diverse individual expressions. What this would look like is the intentional amplification of love and life at the root of fear and suffering that could reassure people of the security of their burdened emotions within their social network. Affected individuals can come together to address fundamental moral precepts based on basic human needs only when the solitude of trauma becomes mutually intelligible.

Second element: *a resolute and highly explicit bioregional focus for the purpose of grounding the ceremony with genuine care towards a sacred sense of place.* Beyond blessing the people and recognizing their suffering, both Buddhist and Islamic holy leaders can offer a blessing to the Rakhine state as the geographical epicenter of the conflict, where violence cracks and

surges like lightning and the sheer expression of unharnessed energy expresses itself physically across the restlessness of the people. This might include vows of protection of local natural sites essential to the wellbeing of the community to raise environmental consciousness of shared resources beyond the quarrel of differences. This approach would draw upon older traditions connected with their land and the spirits that guarded it—many of which still survive in fertility and animist cults, or have been absorbed into local Buddhist legends and continue to thrive in countryside folklore today. Far from being mere superstition, the act of engaging with local spirits and calling upon non-human guardians of the land mystically summons a space where a discordant collective may be allowed to access a transcendent impersonal "we" that would otherwise be locked up in the separateness of individuality.

Pragmatic aspects of the second element would follow in community-oriented projects, such as soil rehabilitation and microorganism diversity educational workshops, welcoming participation across Rakhine-state Fourth World communities. The key element to be addressed would be the question of establishing a politically neutral location(s). Other than location questions, the infrastructure constraints would be minimal because the purpose of such workshops would be increasing biodiversity and soil regeneration within local means. Potential short-term effects that could carry on into longer-term benefits would be the construction of basic public health and sanitation facilities with clean water access in order to accommodate an audience, which can be built for long-term use in commemoration of the ceremony.

Synthesis of the two elements: The rationale behind these two levels of participation is to empower local knowledge systems that have been corrupted over time through widespread trauma and the resulting progressive alienation that have created an effect of cultural amnesia. This practice of acknowledging the legacies and reclaiming the traditional practices that reinforce complex, place-specific wisdom which comes about when people have complex relationships to particular places and ecosystems, are part of the shared genealogy of indigenous people.

Mrauk U Convergence for Religious Peace

It is in the spirit of cooperation that the initial peacebuilding ceremony would ideally take place on land located in Rakhine state that is already considered sacred. Mrauk U, the ancient capital city in northeastern Arakan State in Burma, is one of the most endangered cultural heritage sites in Asia, according to the Global Heritage Fund and UNESCO (who still has yet to establish a working relationship with Burma).

What is unique about the ancient temples of Mrauk U is that it is located in Rakhine state and therefore reflects a history of intercultural diversity because of its antiquity (1430-1784 CE). In an essay entitled *These Buddhist Kings with Muslim Names* (1988), Rakhine history expert Dr. Jacques P. Leider writes: "The fact that an impressive number of Arakanese kings [in the ancient kingdom of Mrauk U] were apparently using so-called Muslim titles and names [well into the 16th century] has been used as a most convincing argument to prove that there has been a steadfast Muslim influence at the Arakanese court." Mrauk U, whose dynasty many consider as "the golden age of Arakan," holds a fertile symbol of Buddhist and Islamic peaceful coexistence, hidden in plain sight.

In this effort to prioritize the environment and set aside differences, it is conceivable that this ceremonial approach might be agreeable to Buddhism (the voice of the Burmese major-

Sacred Mrauk U, located in the Northern Rakhine State. Photographer unknown.

ity) on the basis of its spiritual relationship to nature. Rohingya Islamic people might agree on the basis of the urgency of their situation, if only out of a desire to seize the rare opportunity to relay their roots in a good way. With the increasing attention that the Rohingya genocide is receiving, the government—ideally under the influence of Aung Sang Suu Kyi—will stand to gain tourism and accompanying infrastructure based on the attraction of Rakhine's Mrauk U as a living place of peace.

By including Indonesian Islamic religious leaders in the opening conversation, such ceremonial, peace-making measures have the potential of making a difference in the mounting tension that has also spread across the ocean to distant relations who must contend with the feeling of being helpless witnesses from afar. On March 5th, 2013, incarcerated Burmese Muslims killed their Myanmar Buddhist compatriots in a Sumatran detention center, in reaction to photographs the prisoners saw of Muslim homes and mosques on fire in central Myanmar that resulted in over 43 Rohingya deaths. Here, the nature of the prisoner's detention is also significant: the

Buddhists were incarcerated as illegal laborers on a fishing boat escaping lack of livelihood on their native soil and the Muslims were floating refugees in search for a new life, both victims of a socio-economic reality that transcends their respective ethnicities. Where a few images can passionately inflame, for the worse, a group from two thousand miles away, such an incident serves as a reminder of the deep interconnectedness of humanity that transcends physical distances.

Such a ceremonial gathering would be merely an activation of the grounds with intention—a metaphorical rainfall on scorched earth—on which seeds can later be sown. Peace is an art of cultivation, requiring patience, care, and attention to a diversity of elements. The Rakhine state does not require the Rohingya to be "weeded" out and exterminated, especially when it is shown that the region has the possibility of flourishing once animosity is set aside. Attention can then be redirected to restoring a healing relationship to the earth that has the power to sustain all, in a wealth of physical health and inner simplicity, if the conditions of destruction are set aside

for the greater good.

Subsequent actions would need to follow the tripartite model of the ceremony, where the land is seen as a medium joining and transcending Buddhist and Islamic disparity. The focus should be set on growing food sustainably and achieving independence from military presence (which conflict and instability only further justifies). The assistance of international human rights groups could be mobilized to support the transition into a self-determined community, unified in its ecological concern, by offering trainings in organic cultivation techniques that value traditional knowledge, community seed banks, and installing small-scale energy solutions (such as community biogas digesters). Inspired by the model of Dr. Vandana Shiva's Bija Vidyapeeth (Earth University), also envisioned by Bengali poet laureate Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), a School for Environment and Economy can be started in a central location where trainings can take place and research documentation can be collected.

Towards such secondary projects, the assistance of successful nature-oriented humanitarian projects in neighboring Thailand and aspiring permaculture projects in Burma can be called upon to support petitions to the local authorities. More valuable than financial support are the quality connections between organizations and the infrastructure in which these groups have an important foothold. It stands to reason that important lessons could be learned by working alongside such organizations and relating to how aid has been successfully established in nearby regions that follow similar premises (in terms of ethnic diversity and geographical climate).

Engaging the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

The pragmatics and organization of the above suggestions are determined by the willingness of experts and teachers to spearhead such a movement as well as the ability to link the Rohingya community to the international grassroots network in order to bypass the inefficiency of governmental administration. Likewise, further consideration must be put into the transgovernmental mechanisms of conflict transformation that must be periodically re-engaged in order to keep dialogue open on various and increasingly encompassing degrees of involvement: specifically, of traumatized individuals, paying special attention to not only integrating Muslim and Buddhists alike but women and children whose voices are often marginalized, irrespective of their social status.

The Center for World Indigenous Studies' *Joint Statement of Constitutional and Customary Indigenous Governments*[17] comes at a crucial time to offer unprecedented support to the Rohingya nation, which shares a collective voice with 11 international indigenous nations through the peaceful cause of peoples marginalized by states' governments and within the global political economy. These struggles include confiscation and loss of ancestral territories through states' governmental legal proceedings and, in the case of the Rohingya, preventable health epidemics due to active discrimination in the highly-politicized Myanmar medical infrastructure. Stateless and disenfranchised, lacking any national identity, the participation of Rohingya people propels the multilateral dialogue on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples into another domain which holds the potential to even im-

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17. Introduced on behalf of the endorsing governments from four continents by endorsing government leader of the Yamasi, Ms. Lori Johnston to the 13th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 12-23 May 2013. United Nations, New York City.

plicate self-identified non-indigenous[18] peoples from the Fourth World who nevertheless have an ancestral responsiveness to the land. Such a collaborative network has the power to draw from the local traditional knowledge systems across the world, adapting an appropriate strategy to attend to, according to their respective capacities, whatever course of action Rohingya leaders feel most confident to pursue.

Short-term Recommendations

In order to even approach neglected basic needs, a respectful public context (such as the imagined Mrauk U Confluence for Peace) must be created for the purpose of airing grievances, because without first clearing the grounds for dialogue, no message of concerted compassionate action can be effective and simultaneously coordinated and received. Pressure must be put on the government to permit a cooperative, incorporative event that transcends the violated "inviolable" rights of the individual (as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). In service of the dire need for broadcasting a mechanism for the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which has, so far, not been implemented or engaged, the rights of every individual regardless of ethnicity must be informed by the UNDRIP to the unprecedented benefit of the ongoing conflict negotiation process gaining indigenous dimensions.

By digging deeply enough with the techniques of conflict transformation, one can see that the imperialistic impulse of ethnic cleansing can be derived from a lack of a certain quality of indigenous connection to the land that necessitates human cooperation. Civilization, as a cosmopolitan convergence, has

always been faced with challenges of consensus such as:

- How do we reach a true and mutual understanding with others?

- In the face of mutual unintelligibility or mental blocks, how can we reach another way of speaking amongst ourselves and work from there to communicating outward through whatever nonviolent levels of translation necessary?

- If we are beyond dialogue and risk disintegrating into violence, how can we adapt to coexist clearly within ourselves where the metaphysical attraction towards a paradise of peace manifests thorough the fulfillment of larger goals within the local matrix of our familiar individual relationships?

It is time to channel and challenge the storytellers and mythmakers of the modern world to weave the connection between past and future. There is great hope in the storytelling spirit: the people's self-documentation of personal cartographies (what might be thought of as sacred texts in the making) as place-making alternative histories wherein relationships mapped by abstract symbols that can coexist on different temporal planes. It is essential to emphasize that these three questions of communication exist on a recurring continuum such that everywhere is the right place to begin. Such a statement is not mere rhetoric if the intended purpose of these words is to establish practical actions towards caretaking of the land as our home in which we are (com)passionately dedicated to making better. By setting the funda-

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18. The dispute on whether or not the Rohingya people are indigenous is based on the confusion of two distinct groups: those with long-established ancestors dating from pre-colonial eras (whose presence is manifest in the sacred Mrauk-U) and those whose ancestors were brought as laborers by the British imperialist administration from neighboring Bangladesh. By association of religious belief, both groups became known as Rohingya.

A novice monk at Mrauk U, ancestral land of religious confluence. (April 2010). Photo courtesy of David Lazar

mental focus on the natural sources of health and prosperity that nourish the human family by honoring the extended community of inter-relationships, such questions have the power of being transformed into practical courses of action on a plurality of levels.

Long-term conclusion

A long-term approach should incorporate a land-based healing approach following a methodology which prioritizes direct consensus (consensus heard as unified sense or feeling) among the grass-roots majority and honors the intuitive gifts of local people who know and love the land and all that it grows.

This study proposes but one aspect of livelihood rehabilitation—a drop in the churning ocean of conflict. In the spirit of conflict transformation, its scope is holistic and ambition for change is horizontal in its growth pattern. It proposes an example of a small—and symbolic— industry (soil health remediation and natural fertilizer production) that is based on an upheld conversation flowing from the

imaginary Mrauk-U Confluence for Peace and Understanding. The ecology workshops it proposes should be taught therapeutically, as a medium through which traumatized persons can work out their concerns as they holistically come to light.

Epilogue

The silence of Aung Sang Suu Kyi does not discriminate against the Rohingya: as a sensitive poet, philosopher, and politician, her wordlessness powerfully echoes the absence of rights of all Burmese people oppressed by the military regime. The stakes are too high to risk certain incrimination with shifting her focus on this fiery controversy. As the presidential election approaches, the government in place has amended the constitution to disqualify her participation on the basis of her personal relationship to the West; Suu Kyi's late husband was British and their two children hold British passports. The democratic platform has crumbled; but, as a woman of fierce hope and resilience, she has joined the parliament to give

her dissident democratic voice as a beacon of difference undoubtedly standing out amidst the monotony of the military junta majority. With Buddhist patience, she waits for the balance of power to turn. Suu Kyu is reported to have recently confided in an unnamed political analyst:

> *"I am not silent because of political calculation. I am silent because, whoever's side I stand on, there will be more blood. If I speak up for human rights, they (the Rohingya) will only suffer. There will be more blood."*

In this bleak political and legislative reality, she stands alone; like the Rohingya Muslims, in their situation, are alone. But the admiration and hope of millions of people who immaterially gather around her representation belong to another more mundane reality—of intergenerational education, of personal belief and of many individual choices towards greater independence from governmental instability—that slips between the cracks of the wide-cast net of military dictatorships.

At the tail end of 2014, Indonesian religious leaders from both Buddhist and Muslim communities arrived in Yangon to meet with their Burmese counterparts. Though muted within the country itself, the great suffering of the Rohingya has a far-off audience. After tension exploded in Rakhine in 2013, thousands of Rohingya have fled by boat to the shores of Indonesia, Sumatra, and Malaysia, where they face utter uncertainty and vulnerability. With compassion towards these refugees, a documentary film has been made in Indonesia with the distinct intention to illustrate the possibility of peaceful Buddhist and Muslim coexistence in their Muslim-majority country. More interestingly, this documentary parallels the central

spire of this paper: the power of sacred sites to manifest interconnectedness. The essential difference between this paper and the documentary is the specific site held in common by ancient Muslim and Buddhist traditions: Borobudur temple is located in Central Java instead of the volatile Rakhine state's Mrauk-U, where Muslim and Buddhist faiths anciently intertwined.

Social media and the internet has become a safe haven for documentation and organization. The diligent efforts of the Rohingya Bloggers (a collective of journalists, scholars, and laypersons independent from international media) has been the most persistent outlet giving voice to the unspoken news of this genocide. In early November 2014, a colloquium on "Four Decades of Systematic Destruction of Burma's Indigenous Muslims" was convened by Harvard at Cambridge University, where Maung Zarni (a founding scholar of the Rohingya Blogger) and Indian philosopher and economist Amartya Sen spoke alongside Rohingya refugees who had come to present their direct experience.

The UN continues to speak out for the Rohingya as one of the most persecuted minorities in the world. On December 28th, 2014, the U.N. General Assembly approved a resolution urging Burma to provide "full citizenship" to the Rohingya Muslim minority and to allow them to travel freely throughout the country. The resolution also urged the government to give the Muslim minority the righto to call themselves Rohingya instead of categorizing them as "Bengalis"—a name that implies that they illegally migrated from Bangladesh. Nevertheless, international economic sanctions have already been lifted from the developing Burmese economy—specifically, ones enabling foreign banks to do business in the country—rewarding the military before having actualized its promises to reform human rights policies.

The Rohingya remain systematically denied of public services, education, health care, and the right to travel beyond their displacement camps and detention centers. Absent from the census of their Burmese homeland, subject to violence and hate speech, the Rohingya are nonetheless recognized as global citizens with an undeniable relationship to other unprotected peoples, near and far, who belong to the acutely Fourth World awareness of historical suppression by inhuman economic policies put into place by oppressive governments.

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About the Author

Proud granddaughter of Buddhist monks and Vietnam war survivors, Valérie E. Ng. recently returned from three years living in rural Cambodia in the outskirts of the temple city of Siem Reap and near the retreating jungle's edge bordering Laos and Vietnam. She joined the Center for World Indigenous Studies as an associate scholar with the intention of continuing with what had originally called her back to Southeast Asia: the desire to honor global interdependence and the shared interests of humanity. Over the last several years, she has been actively engaged in biological remediation projects (regenerative degraded landscapes through only natural means), food resiliency workshops, and the knowledge of traditional medicines. As a French-language translator and amateur mycologist, she spends her time inspired by her maternal grandparents, who passed on to her a lifelong love of languages and forest mushrooms.

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Yuguai'yak in his home.

photo by John Amato

Yup'ik-aaq Piyualriaruuq Qiaryigluni

Amy Eisenberg, Ph.D. with Tan'iq, Larry Bartman

Yup'ik is the sound of ice crunching beneath my steps. It is the language of the ice floes on the Bering Sea as I walk among its frozen waves. It is the cracking of the tundra ice as I ski over its thawing pools. While working at Kanakanak Native Hospital in the bush of Alaska on Bristol Bay and the Bering Sea, I nominated beloved and respected Yup'ik elder, Yuguai'yak, Gust Bartman of Curyung (Dillingham) for an honorary Doctorate of Letters through the University of Fairbanks, Alaska. He will be awarded in May 2015.

Gust taught me some basics of his Nushagak River Yup'ik dialect. In Yup'ik language, Nushagak River is Iilgayaq – river with a place of hiding. Gust and I would often meet and discuss Yup'ik linguistics and cultural heritage preservation. He studied Yup'ik linguistics at the University of Fairbanks, Alaska and was a major contributor to his Professor Jang H. Koo's book, "A Basic Conversational Eskimo", published by the University of Fairbanks in

1975. Gust was trained as a translator during WWII and served in the Alaska Territorial Guard. He has been a devoted and passionate teacher, storyteller, and mentor of Yup'ik language and heritage for decades. Up on the Kuskokwim River in Kipuuk (Bethel) he is called Nayuumiqan – one who supports an elder – a person to depend on. Gust is a powerfully inspiring Alaska Native spokesperson for abstinence from alcohol and substance abuse, which plagues so many of his people.

Gust Bartman was a Featherweight Champion professional boxer and boxing instructor who studied and boxed with Joe Lewis. He is an excellent speaker who often presented Yup'ik language and culture on KDLG radio, in schools throughout the region and in the Dillingham Senior Center, etc. Yuguai'yak speaks the Iilgayaq (Nushagak River dialect of Yup'ik) and understands other Yup'ik dialects including Cup'ik as well as Alutiiq language and some Inupiaq. His aana (mother) was from Iggneq (Nelson Island) and his nephew

related that today, many members of his family are teachers because of Gust's generous guidance and traditional knowledge sharing. Tan'iq means a young boy in Yup'ik language. Tan'iq, Gust's nephew Larry Bartman teaches Yup'ik Studies with the South West Regional School District in the village of Manokotak, Alaska. He is also the Technology Liaison for the SW Regional School District at the Manokotak site. He shared, " My uncle is an amazing man. I have always enjoyed being around him."

Gust explained that "Nelson Island is Iggneq, meaning wind that is pressing down from the mountain; downdraft. Iggnenmiut are the people of Iggneq. In addition to his Yup'ik language contributions and extensive specialized traditional cultural knowledge of Yup'ik toponyms, Gust is an exceedingly important spokesperson for inspiring his people to abstain from alcohol and substance abuse. He is a deeply committed leading speaker for those who are struggling with this serious disease that afflicts First Peoples of Alaska and their remote indigenous villages and families. A prominent language specialist at the University of Fairbanks used to drink with the Yup'ik people. Gust stated, "Whoever is involved in education should never have bias. This affects how people learn."

"I was born into this land", Gust shared with me when I visited his home on February 1, 2014. He came into this world on February 18, 1924. His mother died of tuberculosis when he was in the first grade and his aata (father) died before he was born. "My father, who raised me told me that he did not want me to forget my mother tongue. He respected the native people." In Yup'ik language, aana is mother and aanaka is my mother. Aata is father and aataka is my father.

As a boxer, people called Yuguai'yak, "Little Gusty Bartman – small and scrappy";

"Little Gusty Bartman - Small and Scrappy (with Joe Lewis in the photo) by John Amato

Gusty because he was fast! "In boxing, we had to learn strategy and discipline. One can apply this in learning Yup'ik language. If young people can point their mind in the right direction then maybe they can learn with great interest. "

Gust is a genuinely spiritual man. He conveyed to me that Hlam Yuaa (G-d) is guiding him in his research of the roots of Yup'ik language. "Accuracy and discipline are important so the young people will learn the right way. Some are ashamed learning by rote. Some say, it's good enough but if one wants to get into literacy then it's another thing. I would rather see young people learn the proper way. Once they learn, they can progress if they realize

Yuguai'yak in his home by John Amato

Gust would work for the schools. He is a humble man of integrity, wisdom, and kindness who is actively engaged and generous with his time in sharing knowledge of Yup'ik language and heritage. Gust Bartman is truly a blessing for our local and international community. His breadth of understanding of Yup'ik cultural mapping, toponyms, storytelling, boxing, and wisdom sharing, and the kindness and patience he demonstrates, as a teacher and leader are quite extraordinary. Gust served as Bristol Bay Native Association Coordinator, KDLG translator and Kanakanak Hospital interpreter. Yuguai'yak is a gentle person who has many friends. He is highly respected and beloved in Bristol Bay and in his honor, some have named their new babies after him!

I ran into Gust on a chilly winter afternoon when he was returning home after kindly transporting an injured man to the Emergency Room at Kanakanak Hospital. The University of Fairbanks requested a rationale for the recommendation of nominating Gust Bartman for an Honorary Doctor of Letters degree; I have had many meaningful and informative conversations with Gust. He is my teacher and friend. Recommending Yuguai'yak is a way to honor this beloved elder for his dedication, contributions, and achievements in actively teaching, sharing, and preserving Yup'ik cultural heritage and values.

When I visited Gust in his modest home on January 12, 2014 he affirmed, "I am not interested in the money. My interest is in researching the roots of Yup'ik language so that young people can learn something right and be proud of their language and heritage." He added, "G-d is the one who gave us our Yup'ik language." He explained that, "Dillingham was formerly called Snag Point - Niaggnaq Nuuk", which is a meaningful Yup'ik toponym "because fishnets and boats would often become stuck or snagged here." In addition, he

they are learning the proper way and their eagerness will be emphasized. If the Yup'ik word is spelled properly, they will have more faith in getting into the proper education of literacy and their learning will have more power and progress. There was some secrecy and shame involved in learning our language and some of the words would not be brought out. We were ordered not to speak our native language, and thus were deprived of speaking it. Yup'ik people need to learn our indigenous roots."

Director of the Dillingham Senior Center, Paniguaq - Ida Noonkesser, who has known Gust for many years, speaks with great respect and admiration for her teacher, Mr. Bartman is always willing and able to answer her questions about Yup'ik language. "If I don't understand something in Yup'ik , I always ask Gusty and he has an answer." Paniguaq wishes that

continued, "Curyung is the place above Snag Point, where people would stop for water. The name means strong water, like a brew."

Yuguai'yak discussed how "the Gold Rush was the raping of indigenous peoples' riches. They used to call us Siwash", which is a derogatory noun and adjective relating to American Indians of the northern Pacific coast. Its origin is Chinook Jargon from Canadian French meaning savage or wild. "Yup'iit means indigenous people and Yuppik was one whole tribe. Miuut is tribal people in Yup'ik language." "Regarding Pebble Mine", Gust stated, "The government wants to dictate, disregarding the people. The people's money is being spent to straighten this out... The Yup'ik law has never been told. Bring it out in reference to the mine. The Yup'ik law can have some weight. "

Gust, a strong and determined man with a vision, uses an inhaler and nebulizer because he has asthma and part of his lung was removed in 1952 when he had tuberculosis, yet he came to my home at Kanakanak on January 18, 2014 during a fierce blizzard and casually mentioned, "I have been in worse weather than this when I was caribou hunting. When we hunted caribou with dogsled, we would be able to know where we are by looking at the grass with snow, to get our location."

"Kanakanak is not a Yup'ik word", he indicated. "It is Qengarqnak, which means ridge complex because the ridges are like those of a nose."

Spring is Upenakeq and April is Tekiiyut'iit – arrival of the migratory birds. Spring is the preparing for summer subsistence activities. " Melucuaq is iqalluarpak, Pacific herring – *Clupea pallasii* spawn, elquaq on *Fucus* kelp, qelquaq. *Uquq*, seal oil served with melucuaq, is quite delicious.

Yuguai'yak has been a bilingual interpreter for many decades. He learned literacy and it was the roots of his bilingual understanding. He underscored, "Learning by literacy is more effective than learning by rote. Don't let these people ruin our language."

Tan'iq, Larry Bartman kindly translated the title of this article into Yup'ik language and carefully edited this paper. Tan'iq, Larry Bartman teaches Yup'ik Studies with the South West Regional School District in the village of Manokotak, Alaska. He is also the Technology Liaison for the SW Regional School District at the Manokotak site.

About the author

photo by John Amato

Amy Eisenberg is an ethnoecologist, botanist, scientific artist, and organic sustainable agriculturist and agroforestor who conducts collaborative research with indigenous peoples of Asia, the Pacific, South America, and North America. "Aymara Indian Perspectives on Development in the Andes" is her new book; a collaborative project with the Aymara people. She became an Associate Scholar with the Center for World Indigenous Studies in 2006 while serving as an International Expert at Jishou University's Research Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology in Xiangxi Autonomous Prefecture in Hunan with ethnic minority graduate students of China. She conducted participatory research with the Kam people of China through the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and UNESCO - Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Photos of her work by professional photographer John Amato, RN can be viewed at: www.pbase.com/jamato8

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Fourth World Theory and State Collapse

by Heidi Bruce

The world of internationally recognized states may well be on its way out. With roughly 200 entities describing themselves as authentic states and more than 5,000 nations existing in the world, the current configuration of the international community is under significant stress. It's getting to the point where we could see the collapse and disappearance of many states and the emergence of nations as internationally recognized entities in their own right. Fourth World theory may well serve as the best way to understand shifting political realities of the 21st century.

Fourth World theory has long asserted that a re-ordering of the geopolitical world—a "collapse" as some view it—is necessary to mitigate global conflict and escalating challenges such as climate change and food insecurity.

Yet, because of its criticisms of the international state system—a system with deeply entrenched state and corporate interests—Fourth World theory has been marginalized by academics, governments, and the media, much to the detriment of humans and the planet.

A 2014 article in the *New Scientist*, however, shows inklings that there are in fact others out there beginning to wake up to the reality that the current amalgamation of geopolitical borders does not serve humans' nor the earth's long-term aspirations and needs.

In *End of Nations: Is there an alternative to countries?* Deborah MacKenzie (2014) begins her article with the following statement: "Nation-states cause some of our biggest problems, from civil war to climate inaction.

Science [now] suggests there are better ways to run a planet" (para.1).

Not typically considered a "scientific" topic (much to political scientists chagrin), the notion of geopolitical reorganizing is considered by many complexity theorists, social scientists and historians as a necessary means for addressing global challenges. MacKenzie discusses a growing feeling among economists, political scientists and national governments that the nation-state is not necessarily the best scale on which to run human affairs.

To a Fourth World theorist, this article is a welcome surprise—yet long overdue.

Nations and States Clarified

Though complementary of much of Fourth World theory's assertions, a few key terms in MacKenzie's article need clarification.

The modern *state* is the principal political unit in the international political system, corresponding to a specific territory (Barrington, 1997). It is an arbitrary, legal creation that emerged as an outgrowth of European kingdoms, colonialism, and the division of large colonial empires into smaller neocolonial pieces. Conceived at the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), a state has five essential requirements: central authority, internally enforced universal law, police/military powers, defined boundaries, and is recognized by other states. These constitute a useful construction for organizing political and lethal power (Rÿser, 2011).

A *nation,* on the other hand, is a people sharing a common language, common territory, common culture, or common heritage. It is self-identifying and dynamically evolved over time—responding to natural and induced changes. Nations evolve as a set of relationships between a people, the land and the cosmos (Rÿser, 2011). What makes nations

unique is that they are collectives united by shared cultural features (origin stories, values, etc.) and the belief in the right to territorial self-determination (Barrington, 1997).

Despite popular usage of the term *nation-state* to define a political unit, there are, in fact, only a few true nation-states in the world. While some nations that have formed a state and can be referred to as a nation-state (Iceland, Vanuatu, Kiribati and Korea for example), no state has formed a nation—even though many (e.g. the US, Australia, Namibia, Lebanon) think they have. States may acquire their identity from nations (Russia from Russians, France from the Franks, México from the Méxica), but states do not define nations.

State-Centrism

Since its inception, the modern state system has been viewed (mostly by states) as the quintessential political unit to which all societies should aspire—with representative democracy and the rule of law as its prized characteristics.

Yet, as MacKenzie (2014) acknowledges, the modern state is a recent phenomenon. In Europe, before the late 18th century, there were no real nation-states [states]. "Neither passports nor borders as we know them existed. People defined themselves vertically by who their rulers were and people and territories often came under different jurisdictions for different purposes" (para.10). Indeed, the modern state system that now comprises more than 200 entities did not really begin to form until the early twentieth century during and after the 1914 – 1918 Great War (The War to End All Wars). Empires of previous centuries began to crumble under their own weight, while the s*tate* identity was forged through expansion, industrialization and war.

MacKenzie (2014) writes, "In 1776 and 1789, revolutions in the US and France created the first states, defined by national [state] identity rather than bloodlines" (Simple societies, para.6). At the time, almost no one in France thought of themselves as French. But by 1900, allegiance had shifted from the Fourth World nation level, such as Brittany, to a state-constructed sense of being "French."

Through colonization, similar patterns happened across the world. This new state ideology and the military and economic forces that enforced it thwarted pre-existing Fourth World nations, unique in their cultural, linguistic, and political attributes.

Kohr Revisited

In his seminal book, *Breakdown of Nations* (1957), the Austrian economist and political scientist Leopold Kohr (1909-1994) argued that Europe should be reconfigured into smaller political regions (cantons). He saw the model for such a new political configuration had existed in the past and that still persists in true democratic holdouts like Switzerland.

As state structures were built (literally and figuratively), the scale at which people were governed changed. Regarding the creation of states in Europe, MacKenzie (2014) writes that part of their diffusion was a "pragmatic adaptation to the scale of political control required to run an industrial economy" (Simple societies, para.8). As empires industrialized they needed more internal governing, which meant more hierarchical control structures.

"It all comes down to scale," Kohr asserts (Price, 2014, para.5). What matters in the affairs of a nation, just as in the affairs of a building, say, is the size of the unit. "A building is too big when it can no longer provide its dwellers with the services they expect—running water, waste disposal, heat, electricity, elevators and the like…A nation becomes too

big when it can no longer provide its citizens with the services they expect—defense, roads, post, health, coins, courts and the like—without amassing such complex institutions and bureaucracies that they actually end up preventing the very ends they are intending to achieve, a phenomenon that is now commonplace in the modern industrialized world" (Price, 2014, para.5).

Similarly, MacKenzie (2014) writes that bureaucracy, rather than a shared sense of national [state] identity, is what actually brought people together at the scale of nation [state]-sized unit. "As people do more kinds of activities, the control structure of their society inevitably becomes denser" (Simple Societies, para. 15).

Folded into this bureaucratic control, citizens begin to feel personal ties to the state, especially as family, spiritual and cultural ties diminish—at least on the surface. As governments exert greater control, people get certain rights (such as voting) in return. This, in turn, leads citizens to feel as if the state is their own.

Retreated Nations

While MacKenzie, herself based in Brussels, focuses on Europe's state-centric unfolding, the story is true for Fourth World nations the world over. Much of the challenge that Fourth World nations face is, in fact, their own internalized connection to—and dependence upon—the state entity that occupies them.

Economically, legally and politically, Fourth World nations find themselves in a frustrating bind with states. And, unfortunately, most still insist on using state-derived structures (e.g. laws, constitutions, and free-market enterprises) to achieve their self-determination ends.

Embedded within this reality, however, is the fact that allegiance to a nation (as described by Fourth World theory) will, in the

long run, trump state allegiance. Nations may retreat during certain time frames (often as a survival tactic)—yet, according to geographer Bernard Nietschmann, they are the world's most enduring, persistent and resistant organization (Nietschmann, 1994).

Fourth World nations, from which the patchwork quilt of states was stitched, currently have no internationally recognized voting status (compared to the 193 Member States of the United Nations), but their geopolitical force, through self-determination movements, is challenging the entire state system (Griggs, 1992).

And this challenge is not only necessary for the survival of Fourth World nations, it also holds tremendous potential for the increasingly complex global challenges faced by all humans.

Nations and Climate Change Mitigation

Arguably the most critical of these global challenges is climate change mitigation—which begs the inclusion Fourth World nations, given their empirical knowledge and emphasis on contextual and scale-appropriate solutions.

Biological and cultural diversities are the building blocks of life. Yet, in the global arena, bio-cultural diversity is just now beginning to be equated with geopolitical strength. Where there is a concentration of nation-peoples, there is typically a concentration of species, genes and ecosystems; indeed the vast majority of the world's 5,000 nations (with the land, freshwater, fertile soils, forests, minerals, fisheries and wildlife) are centers of surviving biological diversity and ecological variety—Fourth World Environments (Nietschmann, 1994).

In contrast, the world's states begin without environments or resources. As such, most exist only by the invasion and takeover (otherwise

called nation-building, political integration, or economic development) of unconsenting nation environments and resources. "Following an ideology of centrifugal expansion to fuel unchecked growth, many states commonly use environmental and resource-destroying methods and often military force to extract the biological wealth and suppress the culture of nations" (Nietschmann, 1994, p.240).

The history and geography of state expansionism has resulted in two disparate types of organizational environments in the world: *state environments*—usually characterized by "large and dense numbers, environmentally unsustainable centrifugal economies, and biological impoverishment and *nation environments*—historically populated by nation peoples and characterized by ecologically adapted, centripetal cultures and economies, surviving biological richness and variegated, healthy landscapes" (Nietchmann, 1994, p. 240).

The Global Need for Nations

MacKenzie's article briefly mentions climate inaction by [states], but overlooks another global challenge: "the conflict between bio-cultural diversity and standardization; a contest between the diverse nature of human beings and the compression by corporations and states to standardize everything" (Rÿser, 2011, personal communication).

Put simply, the state system doesn't look, taste, smell, sound or feel appealing.

For example, it doesn't take science to recognize that food produced by the mechanized industrial food complex—a by-product of the state system—tastes horrible. Or that suburban growth, characterized by poorly constructed, bland housing tracts does not appeal to human's inherent need for aesthetics.

If current globalization patterns persist, in every niche of the world—where unique cultural expressions (food, language, built en-vironment, philosophy, etc.) once flourished—one will find only monotonous buildings, bland food and ideologies and policies that do not serve the human need for beauty, thriving biodiversity and quietude.

What Would Collapse Look Like?

As frightening as geopolitical change can be (especially given the media's emphasis on revolutions, civil wars, etc.), breakdown does not require violence, anarchy, or war.

MacKenzie (2014) notes that because humans are drawn towards being around people like themselves, smaller political/ethnic enclaves—especially those in close proximity—may be part of the solution. Using mathematical models to correlate the size of enclaves with the incidences of ethnic strife in India, Switzerland and the former "Yugoslavia," Ya-neer Bar-Yam of the New England Complex Systems Institute in Cambridge, Massachusetts found that enclaves 56 kilometers wide or more make for peaceful coexistence, especially if they are separated by natural geographical barriers (e.g. Switzerland's 26 cantons).

Lars-Erik Cederman of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich is noted, however, as arguing that Swiss cantons have "achieved peace not by geographical adjust-ment of frontiers, but by political arrangements giving cantons considerable autonomy and a part in collective decisions" (MacKenzie, 2014, Natural state of affairs, para.15)

Therein lies the key, he notes. "Conflict arises not from diversity alone, but when certain groups are systematically excluded from power" (Natural state of affairs, para.16).

Such has been the case of Fourth World nations. When they speak of self-determina-tion—as in Article 3 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples—they are demanding a need for politi-cal recognition. But this recognition does not,

in most cases, include the goal of secession.

Maori scholar Makere Stewart-Harawira (2005) writes that indigenous responses to state imperialism are emerging through an increasingly broad range of political formations, yet to be determined. She invokes the concept of nested forms of governance within and across nations and states, based on cooperative power at every level of political life. Similarly, political theory professor, Iris Marion Young (1949-2006) envisioned a decentralized democratic federalism patterned on Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) concepts of federalism (2000).

Similarly, MacKenzie (2014) writes of *neo-medievalism* and *networks*—with overlapping authorities, divided sovereignty, multiple identities and governing institutions, and fuzzy borders—as the next wave in geopolitics.

She refers to Anne-Marie Slaughter, a former US assistant Secretary of State, who sees hierarchies giving way to flexible global networks primarily of experts and bureaucrats from nation-states [states] (e.g. the G7, G8, G20) and Ian Goldin of the University of Oxford, who believes "existing institutions such as the UN and the World Bank are structurally unable to deal with problems that emerge from global interrelatedness, such as economic instability, pandemics, climate change and cybersecurity—partly because they are hierarchies of member states which themselves cannot deal with these global problems" (MacKenzie, 2014, Ethnic cleansing, para.14).

Such networks may prove to be an improvement upon the current global operating system—but only if they are inclusive of Fourth World nations, who are the on-the-ground agents for issues such as climate change and food production. Without their active political involvement (meaning the right to decide/vote) in the mitigation of global challenges, these networks will miss the geopolitical and bio-cultural mark entirely.

Recognizing their importance, Rÿser (2012) identifies alternative Fourth World nation political statuses (current and emerging) such as *autonomous nations* (limited internal sovereignty; no external sovereignty) and *associated nations* (full internal sovereignty, limited external sovereignty, partial economic self-sufficiency) as scale and political rights-appropriate ways of managing human and ecological affairs.

Final Thoughts

Though never referencing it explicitly, *End of Nations: Is there an alternative to countries?* creates a context for applying Fourth World Theory. As economists, political scientists and governments increasingly recognize that the hyper-state system does not serve human and ecological needs in the long run, there may finally be a willingness to imagine and create geopolitical arrangements that are more reflective of and responsive to Fourth World nations and the bio-cultural needs of all humans.

As George Manuel writes in *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality,* (1974) "Once the Fourth World enters the historical consciousness of the globe, it arguably beacons the most dramatic history of transculturation ever witnessed" (Vela, 2014, p. 6).

Note: A version of this article was recently featured in Intercontinental Cry—now a publication of the Center for World Indigenous Studies.

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Applying Fourth World Diplomatic Knowledge and Implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

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Abstract

Fourth World knowledge systems vary widely but in the contemporary international environment nations may be seen as engaging neighboring nations, states and international institutions with differing capacities. Understanding the different diplomatic capacities and levels of knowledge is critical to the process of implementing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Mechanisms for implementing the UNDRIP must be nation specific and state specific agreeable to both sides. Forty or more years after "indigenous rights" was sounded as a human rights goal, and indigenous nations are now obliged to take diplomatic initiatives employing their history of diplomatic experience.

Keywords: *indigenous rights, human rights, diplomacy, Fourth World, UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, asymmetrical diplomacy*

At the conclusion of the United Nations High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly named the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) on 22 September 2014, United Nations (UN) Members States adopted an action oriented Outcome Document (A/69/L.1). Without objection from the Assembly, the Outcome Document committed the UN Member States to "consult and cooperate in good faith with indigenous peoples through their own representative institutions … to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures" that may affect them. This was the culmination of more than forty years of diplomatic efforts by non-governmental organization (NGO) advocates of indigenous rights, leaders of Fourth World governments stressed by violent and political conflicts with UN member states, and academics interested in the evolution of international human rights law.

Former UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations Special Rapporteur and Chair Dr. Erica Irene Daes of Greece remarked in an interview after the UN adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 how remarkable it is that the topic of "indigenous peoples rights" did not in 1968 exist in international discourse. And, she was essentially correct.

During the 20th century, the voice of Fourth World nations was indeed little if at all heard in international discourse. Apart from the Haudenosaunee in the 1920s speaking for themselves as they sought a seat in the League of Nations, Kurds demanding their own country, and Palestinians seeking their own state, Fourth World nations surrounded by states had no voice and no champion in international relations until the 21st century. Like refugees in their own lands Fourth World nations remained before this time a topic for academics studying "peasants" or "natives" and occasionally non-governmental organizations advocating native rights to states' governments that rolled over Fourth World communities in search of natural resource wealth.

Remarkably, few diplomats, scholars, or activists considered that much of international law before 1948 was based in the relations between Fourth World nations, empires, caliphates, and ancient states. They certainly did not take into account the influence of the "laws of nations" (not Vatell's tome) in the slow emergence of what is now called the modern state system. So-called new international law emerged after the formation of the UN and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is based in that body of law. Fourth World nations practiced international relations for thousands of years before the present era. They have much on which they can base their diplomatic, political, and legal thinking as they work to present their voice in the international arena of the 21st century.

The Center for World Indigenous Studies estimates[1] there are between 5000 and 6000 Fourth World nations representing an aggregation of 1.3 billion people (18% of the world's 7.213 billion [2012]) on six continents. These nations range from about 450 people to more than 25 million people and they occupy territories where 80% of the world's last remaining bio-diversity is located. Nations represent the "seeds of humanity" and constitute the world's remaining cultural diversity. Between cultural diversity and bio-diversity the combined result is the world's bio-cultural diversity that sustains all life on the planet.

Experienced and Inexperienced Modern Nations in Diplomacy

The world's Fourth World nations are located in remote jungles, high in the mountains, on ice fields, in deserts and they are located in small towns, villages, medium sized cities and megacities such as Mexico City, Tokyo, Moscow, Legos, and Jakarta.

The consequence is that some Fourth World nations have a great deal of experience dealing with more metropolitan societies and others rarely experience large social aggregations typical of states and cities. Given the variety of locational circumstances Fourth World nations may generally function as communitarian, federated, and mini-state societies.

Consider for example the Chứt people in Vietnam, the Jarawa people of the Andaman Islands with 330 people, and the Yanaigua of Bolivia with about 150 people as among communitarian peoples. The Noongar in southwestern Australia, Sami of Norway, Haudenosaunee in North America, and Otomi of central Mexico may be grouped as federated. And, the Naga of northeast India, Kurds bordering Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran, Tibet bordering the Peoples Republic of China, and the Euskadi and Catalans bordering Spain and France can be considered mini-states or largely autonomous nations. Some nations have populations greater than many Member UN states, while others have populations equal to small villages or even extended families.

Fourth World Diplomatic Engagement Levels

The variations between Fourth World nations are generally reflected in the extent and degree of international engagement. Some nations engage in essentially localized relationships—one level of international relations with other nations. Other nations engage in a second level of relations with local and more distant nations and states. Still other nations engage in political relations with nations, states, and external states—three levels of engagement. These three levels of political/cultural engagement have been clearly exhibited in the last forty years since the UN began expressing an interest in Fourth World peoples.

Each level of international engagement by Fourth World nations requires different capabilities, levels of organization, and experience. These levels of international engagement also determine the measure of influence nations experience in modern international relations.

Fourth World diplomacy at each of the three levels of international engagement is qualitatively and substantively different. At the *communitarian level*, the ability to deal with inter-national problems (social, economic, political, and cultural) involves a collection of known and understood standards of behavior. This is so since participants in this level of international relations evolved practices, rituals, and ceremonies that produced regularized outcomes acceptable to affected parties. Totem relationships as well as extended family relationships define and determine how diplomatic relations can be conducted. Knowledge about diplomacy is known and understood throughout each community so that there is no mystery concerning diplomatic outcomes. The topics of diplomacy may involve use of land or resources, family relations, property ownership, status, and cooperative efforts. These topics involve social and political decisions and perhaps more rarely may involve decisions about managing violence. Diplomacy is viewed as "personal affairs" that demonstrably affects the lives of community members. Externally inserted influences (remote nations, corporate entities such as cities and states) can corrupt any balance achieved between nations and cause semi-violent or fully violent confrontations between nations.

Fourth World nations are not, of course, all equal in their capacity to reach into the international arena to express their political will. Indeed, most nations located in remote regions of the world have only a very limited projection of their political existence beyond their core community(s). There are nations that conduct social, economic, and political relations only with their neighboring nations and accordingly practice what may be referred to as *communitarian diplomacy*. Family (totem and genetic), community, and extended family relations concerned with social practices, cultural exchanges, economic mutual benefit, and political security dominate the diplomatic sphere of communitarian relations. The language of diplomacy is filled with ceremony, song, story, social respect, symbolism, and demonstrations of strength and weakness in the form of confrontations, dance, dramatic speeches, and exchanges. If there are violent conflicts between these nations or communities such violence is focused and limited intending to achieve replacements for losses or substitutions for losses.

The involvement of Fourth World nations practicing communitarian diplomacy is least likely to engage the state-driven international system that currently dominates international discourse. Indeed, when the state-driven international system seeks representation from indigenous peoples it is least likely to engage nations at this level. As a consequence little or nothing is heard directly from communitarian Fourth World nations.

At the second or *institutional* level Fourth World nations may engage neighboring nations, but more frequently international relations requires engaging distant nations and corporate entities such as cities and states (federated and unitary). These nations practice a second level of diplomacy that uses a combination of communitarian practices with state-driven diplomatic practices. For these nations there is a constant process of "projection and review." There is more likely to be a single leader or a very small core of

leadership who engage their community with ritual, ceremony, dance, song, social respect, while engaging other nations with more truncated versions of these behaviors.

Customary practices become more specialized and limited dealing with outside political parties (nations and states). If a nation has developed experience dealing with more remote nations and states they find that their selected spokespersons may exercise more limited capabilities. Unless the outside parties are familiar with the "internal" practices of a Fourth World nation, then the nation adapts to the behaviors of the outside party. Adaptation becomes the usual response instead of the outside party adapting to the Fourth World nation's diplomatic practices. Such adaptation arises from the perceived differential of political power between the parties. If two nations engage each other and they have limited experience with such contact both sides adopt behaviors of respect emphasizing good health (individuals and communities), honesty and decency, and a willingness to exercise power (economic, physical, or political). There is a strong emphasis on sharing, expressions of respect, and demands for fairness and justice. If the Fourth World nation engaged in international relations is the weaker, then appeals for compassion, tolerance, and good-will are made with the expectation that the more powerful party will extend respect and beneficence in exchange. While these are similar to international engagement at the communitarian level, the ultimate goal is protection of the weaker nation from depredations by the more powerful nation. Diplomatic exchanges are based on a perception of unequal power when focused on the outside parties, and otherwise focused on equal power when focused internally.

The third level of diplomatic engagement

may be referred to as the *conventional* level. Customary behaviors and practices of communitarian diplomacy and institutional diplomacy are mainly ritualized in the form of demonstrations of apparel and public rallies where singing and dancing may occur. The dominant diplomatic practice is reflective of the institutional practices of states and their multi-lateral organizations. Non-governmental organization representatives, academics, and occasionally Fourth World nation political leadership, mainly practice this form of diplomatic engagement. The conventional international environment largely determines the language of diplomacy. Practitioners of the third level of diplomacy rarely have the ability, capacity, or inclination to communicate with the respective communities that may be affected by or benefit from decisions resulting from diplomatic activity. The main emphasis is to employ conventional diplomatic norms to secure outcomes that may benefit a broad constituency.

The significance of these three levels is that at the communitarian level whole communities understand and experience the results of diplomatic activity. At the institutional level there is less understanding within a community concerning diplomatic activity, though trust is conveyed by the community to a core of individual leaders who then speak on behalf of the community. At the conventional diplomatic level, diplomacy is decidedly specialized and largely disconnected from the community on whose behalf practitioners present themselves as representative.

Individual communities do not and cannot actually see the benefits from conventional diplomacy whereas such communities may occasionally witness the benefits of institutional diplomacy. In all instances of communitarian diplomacy, individuals in the whole community will understand the

consequences of diplomatic activity.

The Challenge of Asymmetrical Nation and State Relations

Increasingly we see Fourth World peoples practicing institutional diplomacy extended into the broader international arena. This may be readily seen by reviewing how this plays out when Fourth World NGO activists, diplomats, and nations' government representatives from perhaps a dozen different locations in the world conducted an International Indigenous Peoples' Technical Workshop[2] over two days before the UN 20th Conference of Parties. Without identifying themselves or the peoples they represent, the outcome statement from the workshop begins: "We, the indigenous peoples from all over the world are in the frontline and pay the highest price of climate change." The purpose of the workshop was to determine the feasibility of including "indigenous proposals" in the climate treaty agenda.

Instead of convening sub-regional meetings and then regional meetings and finally an international workshop to consider proposals that would be discussed, the main process for determining such proposals involved just those persons who could travel to Peru on the dates of the workshop. Admittedly many of the proposals had been discussed for years by many of the people participating in the workshop at different venues, but actual awareness of these proposals and their meaning to Fourth World nations around the world must be understood to be nil.

How do peoples of the Fourth World understand in concrete terms the "Key Messages from Indigenous Peoples" (see below) issued by the workshop outcome document intended for states' governments?

i.   Overarching human rights approach to all climate change interventions - with specific provision for recognition, respect and promotion of Indigenous Peoples' rights as provided in the UNDRIP, International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 and other international human rights instruments.

ii.   Recognition, respect and promotion of the traditional knowledge of Indigenous Peoples, including their cosmovisions, and its contribution to global efforts to mitigate and adapt to climate change, including community- based monitoring information systems.

iii.   Full and effective (sic) participation of indigenous Peoples, including Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) – in all climate change related structures of decision-making, UNFCCC subsidiary bodies, financing mechanisms, and capacity building and access to appropriate technologies. Space for IPs to exercise their own decision making processes–right to say NO; and/or to set their terms and conditions for partnership with other entities. FPIC is a substantive mechanism to ensure the respect of Indigenous Peoples' collective rights undertaken in good faith to ensure mutual respect & participation.

iv.   Recognition & integration of collective rights to territory, autonomy, self-representation, exercise of customary law, non-discrimination, and customary Land Use principles.

v.   Safeguards: Indigenous Peoples' historical marginalization and exploitation must not be compounded through unsafeguarded climate change intervention measures. Clear and robust safeguards,

building from the Cancun agreement, must be integrated in any future global climate change post-2015 agreement.

vi.   Synergies and consistency in the provision regarding Indigenous Peoples' rights within and across relevant UN bodies/agencies, especially the human rights system and environment and climate change related agencies, i.e. CBD, UNFCCC.

vii. Indigenous Peoples' lifestyles are integral strategies for mitigation and adaptation to climate change.[3]

The first observation one can make about these "Key Messages" is that they are very general. This may be largely due to the asymmetrical power relationship between nations and states. But, to many communities and nations they may be quite obscure—making it difficult to understand how these ideas have benefits at the ground level. The conventional reply is that "in time, people will feel the consequences of these important ideas."

Here are a few problems the "Key Message" list encounters:

1. Human Rights

What is the meaning of human rights at the ground level? Are all or even some of the principles laid out in the UN Declaration on Human Rights applicable or even relevant in the context of the many different Fourth World cultures? Are the governing institutions of Fourth World nations obligated to implement human rights including women's rights, rights of the child, political rights, social, economic, and cultural rights? Given limitations of economic, human, and institutional resources that may characterize many Fourth World

constitutional and customary governments, how are these nations expected to implement their side of the human rights process? The same question may be asked about more than half of the world's state governments that also have limited resources. Human rights as an approach to climate change intervention, is unenforceable for Fourth World nations' or states' governments. While all states' governments and many Fourth World nations' governments use the phrase "human rights" they use it to make radically different arguments about how countries (states or nations) should behave.[4] These top-down policies receive lip service from states' governments, as well as many Fourth World governments—giving strength to the notion that the idea is accepted "in principle," but that actual application varies widely.

Again, it is noteworthy that just as Fourth World nations vary widely in their cultural practices (social, economic, political), so too do states' ideologies. These cultural differences and ideological differences significantly influence behavior and responses to internationally established standards. Some observers make the observation that in the case of western states that heavily influence and even define the standards set out in instruments such as the Human Rights Declaration, their governments need not make significant adjustments in their behavior since they essentially extended their own constitutional laws into international instruments. The states that have not had their ideologies extended into international instruments are put at a disadvantage (Indonesia, India, Saudi Arabia, China, Pakistan, and Russia to mention a few). Is it any wonder that some of these states abstained from voting in favor of the Human Rights Declaration? Several of these states also abstained from the vote on the UN Declaration

on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. If told that they must implement the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples many Fourth World nations would also abstain to avoid disruption of their cultural practices.

The concept of human rights contains both political and social implications reflecting an earlier diplomatic time when communism and capitalism were seen as the ideological opposites. Language from both ideologies is built into the UN Declaration on Human Rights and in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. No consideration was given to societies that were as small as 100 people, nor larger Fourth World Societies essentially occupied by newly created states (independence movements) after 1948. The question is, do all nations actually subscribe to the principles contained in the Human Rights Declaration? It is fashionable to advance the idea of human rights, but it is more difficult within the context of many different cultures to implement it.

The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) seeks to develop an Optional Protocol to monitor implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, emphasizing implementation of the Declaration by focusing on land, territory, and resources. The premise is that the UN Declaration is a major human rights instrument and it should have an enforceable mechanism. In their study reviewing optional protocols and their utility for enforcing international instruments, UNPFII Chair Dalee Sambo Dorough and Forum member Megan Davis argue that there is "a need for the establishment of a mechanism to monitor both the content and the weight of the Declaration."[5] This top down approach has been tried with human rights instruments over the last sixty years without success. The key to implementation is active diplomatic initiatives

by Fourth World nations discussed below and the recognition that optional protocols such as proposed here must be state-specific and nation-specific. Such specificity becomes possible if and only if both states' and nations' governments formally agree to an optional protocol, and the protocol provides a general outline for nation and state mechanisms for dialogue and negotiations. Without the paired agreement at the optional protocol level, neither the state or nation will freely move to a negotiating table to obtain the free, prior, and informed consent needed to determine land, territory, nor resource uses.

2. Respect Traditional Knowledge

Recognition, respect, and promotion of "traditional knowledge" have been repeated with redundant frequency. The problem is that there are, as we might suggest in the context of different diplomatic behaviors, many different knowledge systems that are expressed in different ways among Fourth World nations. When the authors of the workshop document wrote "Key Message Two" they were not considering the varied forms of knowledge practiced by many different nations. Indeed, there is no specificity about the knowledge that should be respected. How are states to show respect if they don't know what the specific knowledge system actually is? How will people in nations know that a state has shown respect? What exactly are they respecting? The cited instruments of international agreement are so general as to be essentially useless when applying the notion of respect and recognition. Each nation and each state will have its own approach.

3. Full and Effective Participation

"Full and effective participation of indigenous peoples," in all climate change related

(read any international body) decision-making raises enormous complications. Consider the different diplomatic levels discussed above. How exactly will 5000 – 6000 nations located in nearly as many different microclimates presumably engage in full and effective participation? This is, of course, impossible for a myriad of reasons—not the least of which is cost, capability, inclination, languages, or community awareness; and certainly since Fourth World nations occupy territories with one or more microclimates. There are literally hundreds of international decision-making bodies that could conceivably serve as venues. Who will be the personages engaging in full and effective participation and who/how will they represent indigenous peoples? The notion of free, prior, and informed consent has a greater likelihood of becoming operationalized since a question logically following this idea is: "What mechanism(s) will make this possible? Dina Gilio-Whitaker and Heidi Bruce and I discuss this very proposition in an essay appearing in Intercontinental Cry Magazine entitled: "Nations and States will be Tested."[6]

Emphasis was on the development of a *Protocol on Intergovernmental Mechanisms to Implement the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (a draft of the instrument was included) to create a mechanism to establish bilateral mechanisms that are country-specific—allowing for variations for Fourth World governments and states' governments. Unless there is a deliberate and concrete mechanism for undertaking dialogue and negotiations it will be impossible to obtain free, prior, and informed consent under terms acceptable to Fourth World nations.

The remaining Key Messages involve institutional-level diplomacy where requests are made of states to behave and be nice to Fourth World peoples. Since there is really no evidence in the last one hundred years that

states and empires are interested in making nice to recognize collective rights, non-discrimination, and the like, Fourth World nations will have to take another approach to diplomatically achieve what they cannot now secure from states. The most reasonable approach is for those nations capable of engaging states' at an equal diplomatic level to take the initiative and build the capacity to achieve political equality. Forming an intergovernmental or diplomatic commission between a state and nation may be the most appropriate mechanism. In practice, this would involve a relatively small fraction of the world's Fourth World nations, as those unable (or unwilling) to exercise institutional or conventional diplomatic capabilities would either accept the protection of other Fourth World nations or the protective control by a state. The realities of Fourth World nations throughout the world demonstrates the commonplace practice of extending protections of more powerful nations over weaker ones—or completely absorbing them. Historical mechanisms for negotiating such relationships between powerful and less powerful nations remain in place in many parts of the world. The Haudenosaunee, Cree in Canada, Naga in India, Maya in Southern Mexico, Kurds in Iraq/Syria, Diné in the United States of America, Pashto in Afghanistan/Pakistan and the Igbo in Southern Nigeria are among the many nations drawing on their diplomatic roots to engage in asymmetrical negotiations.

Nations are Now Obliged to Take Diplomatic Initiatives

Fourth World nations, non-governmental organization leaders, and academics must come to grips with emerging circumstances: They have the international community's limited attention. Now what will they do with

it?

It is critical to address the problem of communications from the ground-up, instead of the confusion caused by top-down pronouncements. Fourth World nations must begin to engage themselves and their neighbors to discuss what common political aims they may have in their future relations with a corporate state system that is rapidly enveloping them. Such discussions need to be in concrete terms—at the community level—so that members of each nation grasp the problems they face. This will require fruitful cross-communication that translates what is happening outside the nation to the people inside.

Human rights institutions (international and domestic) and NGOs also need to do a better job of communicating to Fourth World nations about the work they are conducting on their behalf, at the UN and other international meetings. There is a paucity of information shared with Fourth World nations and it is often only provided in English. Documentation is disseminated without substantive analysis, and efforts to reach out to constitutional or customary Fourth World nations are limited if existent at all. Much of the information that has been made available is technical in nature and without a clear analysis of why the ideas or information matter. Fourth World governments would benefit from information so they could convert the generated ideas to useful information at the community level.

Fourth World nations do not actually have a clear means to determine how or whether they represent all or a portion of the world's 1.3 billion indigenous peoples. Unless and until this is resolved, states' governments and multi-lateral organizations will simply claim the right to represent these people. How that is done from the ground up is a matter of urgent concern. If it is not resolved it will be possible for external diplomats to simply ignore Fourth World diplomats as frauds without constituencies.

New agreements and conventions between indigenous nations must be forged and enforced to establish Fourth World nations as actual parties in the international arena. Such agreements must emphasize political equality, no mater the size of the participating political entity. Population size, territorial size, or economic character must not determine whether agreements are negotiated. These agreements begin at the ground level and then build to sub-regional, regional, and global levels (if they are focused globally). Including all Fourth World nations in the dialogue and negotiations over time is essential.

Finally, Fourth World nations must begin to form mutually beneficial agreements with states (domestic) and states (international, [federal, and unitary]), but to do so each nation must define for itself what will constitute their political goals and an acceptable framework for engaging these states. It will be difficult and time consuming, but essential.

Endnotes

1. The Center reported the results of the Fourth World Mapping Project completed in 2005 and this figure is an updated estimate. While the United Nations describes the total figure of 370 million the Center believes this number is used since many states do not count Fourth World peoples as distinct from the main population of the state, e.g., Russian Federation, Peoples Republic of China, Nigeria, South Africa, Namibia, Saudi Arabia, etc.

2. International Indigenous Peoples' Technical Workshop With State on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Negotiations. Lima, Peru, November 26-28, 2014.

3. IBID, page 2-3.

4. In his insightful essay, "The Case Against Human Rights" (2014, The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/news/2014/dec/04/-sp-case-against-human-rights) Eric Posner of the Chicago University Law School makes this argument and further holds that the evidence is that "top down" international policy attempting to regulate government behavior (economic development and human rights policies for example) have utterly failed since adoption of the 1948 Human Rights Declaration.

5. Dorough, DS. and Davis, M (2014) "Study on an optional protocol to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples focusing on a voluntary mechanism." United Nations Economic and Social Council (E/C.19/2014/7).

6. The possibility of implementing provisions of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Studies prompted this essay and the proposal for an international protocol to implement the Declaration preceded the UN World Conference on Indigenous Peoples in September 2014. https://intercontinentalcry.org/nations-states-will-tested/

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Book Review:
Research for Indigenous Survival:
Indigenous Research Methodologies in the Behavioral Sciences

Lori Lambert, Ph.D., © 2014 Salish Kootenai College Press, Pablo Montana, USA, ISBN 978-1-934594-12-4

Book Review by Wilson Manyfingers

I come to reading this book with my eyes wide open, interested in the research strategies of peoples whose experiences with colonization command them to investigate paths to survival. I have ancestors among the Cree, Anishinabe, and the Dené so my interest in this book has been especially urged along since some of the entries come from these regions. But I am surprised to discover that the main contributions of Aboriginals in Queensland, Australia, and Cree country are really about the terrible experiences with colonizers and relocations and changes in diet as a result. Reading these stories of trauma, stress, and discontent I arrive at a place where I think the stories must be told, but I want to know, *how research leads to survival?*

Eduardo Duran, the noted clinical psychologist who is well experienced working among American Indian populations offers the book's preface. He gives credit to the importance of "the deep imprint of internalized oppression and identification with the oppressor" (xii) that in some instances indigenous contributors to this book reflect in their words. They are clearly hurt by the sustained adverse effects of colonization. Duran and the author/editor of this book argue persuasively in favor of decolonizing research (meaning changing the
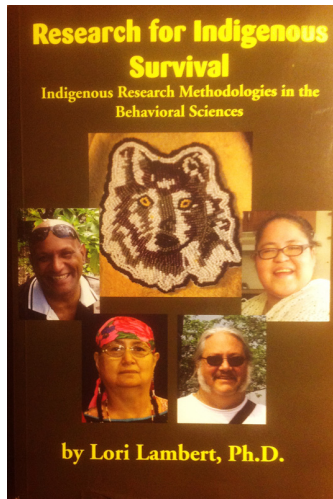
researchers), and the author Lori Lambert does offer a prescription so I am moved to read on.

Like Duran, I think that indigenous researchers must take a step back and become the ones who ask research questions and then turn to the epistemology of their culture or society to undertake investigations for the benefit of their people. Both Duran and Lambert are offering a gentle nudge to student researchers at the Salish Kootenai College in Pablo, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Nation (USA) to certainly learn Western approaches to research. But, as Duran writes, they want native researchers to "turn to traditional indigenous epistemologies" rooted in metaphors that have served as "the driving force behind Indigenous research for millennia" (xii). One friendly nudge urges indigenous researchers to turn to creation stories since "they remind us of who we are and of our belonging" (30). Using stories of human beings and animals and animals and spirits serve as "our primary means of relating to each other" (30). According to Lambert, oral histories and stories are data. She goes on to explain, "Stories as data are important and one key to collecting these data is hearing the stories" (30). She also sug-

gests engaging the people in the society as ones who are participants in the research. Along with this prescription, locating the researcher in place is also offered. And I can pretty much accept these initial prescriptions.

Here is where I begin to get lost: how does the researcher retrieve the epistemology on which one bases the conduct of an investigation? And, much of the book deals with the consequences of "outside researchers" not really understanding the community or the society as a whole as they go about collecting data and then offering their analysis and conclusions without consulting the people. This is merely picking up where Linda Smith (Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. London Zed Books, 1999) left off. There is no doubt that there are consequences, but the book seems to have two parallel commentaries that do not resolve each other.

I searched the book for an epistemological framework that was either specific to Salish and Kootenai, Cree, aboriginals in Queensland, or a generalized indigenous science that might lead to an investigative strategy for survival. I couldn't find one. The book then leaves me with a mission to find an epistemological framework that may well be embedded in origin stories or other stories and oral histories as is frequently suggested "in the people"—the community. This seems to be a shortcoming of the book that should be repaired or perhaps will be repaired by Salish Kootenai student researchers. Dr. Lambert offers ten themes at the back of the book that may lead the reader to investigate potential solutions to the dilemma I think this book poses: how to understand and characterize a particular indigenous epistemology (the theory of a people's knowledge) and how to understand and explain a particular ontology (understanding a people's being and categories

of relations).

Dr. Lambert's seventh theme calls for a researcher to "do the work with an understanding of the community's epistemology and ontology" (213).

Other themes include those that demand of the community more than the researcher, such as theme #3: "The researcher must contribute to community empowerment and self-determination" (209). I would agree with this thematic suggestion, but wouldn't the researcher be motivated to conduct an investigation if the community, the leaders of the community, or a family in the community initiates the research question? Research, it seems to me, empowers and promotes self-decision-making if and only if the people have the question that needs answering. If they don't have a question then where does the impetuous for investigations begin? Usually a community or leaders have a problem they want to solve (e.g., building a road without damaging a water way and plant and animal life, or building a structure from available materials that will benefit the society.) Isn't the essential point of investigation to answer questions and explain phenomena? If the community is the originator of the epistemology and ontology as well as "the question" then it would seem Dr. Lambert's theme #9 takes care of itself: "The researcher must disseminate the data in ways that the community can understand" (215).

The premise of the book is to encourage indigenous research and that is one of its strengths. But, I think its weakness is that it presumes the researcher is "outside the community" when in fact the researcher must be from within the community—of the community. It makes no difference if the researcher is an indigenous person. If the researcher's epistemological framework is not the same as the community then the research will be a distortion of that community. One of the

contributors to the book, from Alaska, asserts there is no word for "research" in his language. That is well taken. But, it is very likely that each indigenous society has a tradition of solving problems, explaining reality, contributing new ways to benefit individuals, families, and whole communities in terms of their social, economic, and cultural well being. Asking others to respect what is not defined (epistemology, ontology—traditional knowledge) is absurd. How can they respect something they do not understand?

This is a useful book as a starter of a discussion. I would urge reading it from that perspective. But, the reader should be prepared to become a serious investigator into the topic of "Research for Survival". It would seem to me that Dr. Lambert has begun a discussion that needs more elaboration by student researchers to discover the language of their traditional knowledge and then figure out how to organize that knowledge so it is useful in the 21st century. Clearly, both Dr. Duran and Dr. Lambert want to know. Salish Kootenai researchers and researchers in every indigenous community will need to define what is meant by this book. Get and read this book and then do more work on the topic. Lambert's book is useful for emerging researchers, but she will need to investigate the epistemologies that can ground researchers seeking to conduct research for indigenous peoples' survival.

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Book Review:
# Decolonizing Indigenous Histories
Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology

Edited by Maxine Oland, Siobhan M. Hart, and Liam Frink
© 2012 The Arizona Board of Regents, ISBN 978-0-8165-0408-4

Book Review by Bertha Miller

Fourth World peoples experienced invasions into their territories, occupations, and colonization long before the arrival of the Portuguese, Arabs, Han Chinese, and eventually the more recent British, Spanish, German, Portuguese, and French joined in the process of invading various populated lands on six continents. The movement of peoples over the last 50,000 years forced already-settled peoples to adjust their social, economic, political, and cultural lives to small waves of invading forces every bit as strange and threatening as the more recent invasions. Most contemporary analyses of colonization and decolonization pay attention to colonization by "Europeans" beginning 1492 as if the Genoans, Castillians, and Basque who sailed their ships to the Caribbean, the Russians who sailed to what is now Alaska and the northern Pacific Coast of North America, and the English and French later entered the North Eastern coast of North America were specific events of colonization that demand our sole attention. Invasions occurred incrementally, and they occurred in a relative flash of time, but it is clear that human patterns of invasion and colonization indicate a process of transition instead of an "event" that has had very specific effects on small societies extending back in time well before the "modern era of colonization."
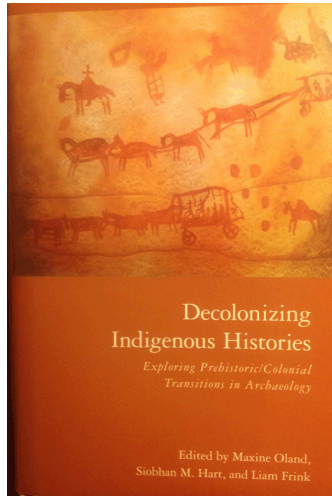
The Oland, Hart, and Frink anthology of ten authors takes a different tack from the "decolonizing" literature. First of all, the pieces are arranged in groups permitting the reader to compare similar types of approaches to the question of "how have peoples transitioned?" in the face of colonial intrusions. The book covers a wide cultural and geographic expanse including colonial experiences in North America, Africa, Australia, and Central and South America. While by no means comprehensive, the range does give the reader a powerful sense of the many variations of Fourth World nation response to "modern colonization" since the 15th century of the Common Era. Importantly, the editors have chosen contributors who avoided examining colonization as an event experienced over an expanse of time. They favored reducing their emphasis to scale of social memory, practice, tradition, and community in the various colonial and postcolonial contexts as one essay author, Steven Stillman insightfully suggests (p. 214). This approach avoids the consequences of conventional social research (anthropological, archaeological, historical) that lead to emphasizing the perceptions, ideas, and assessments of French, Spanish, English, Dutch, and other colonizers while shrouding pre-European colonization in structured epochs that bear no relationship to the lived experience of the

indigenous peoples—tending to dismiss these earlier periods as unrelated. Reducing the scale to particular communities and their records tends to reveal early social, economic, political, and cultural dynamics that may directly explain responses of the recently colonized to the colonizers.

Many archaeologists still cast their eyes exclusively "on Europeans and their descendants or on the effects of European colonization on indigenous peoples," write the editors (p. 3). Their expectation is that the authors of this volume emphasize the concept of "transitions" as "a heuristic device for understanding broad cultural processes" (p. 3). Prominent among the views presented is Enrique Rodriquez-Alegria at the University of Texas who challenges the idea that indigenous peoples are homogenous in their response to colonization. He argues that various peoples organize public and private strategies that define and extend their power to act in diverse and effective ways in the face of colonization. It could be argued that these strategies inherently reconstruct unequal power relationships.

One can readily notice this outcome by considering the century-long México (Aztec) colonization of the Xaltocan before Spanish colonization. Rodriquez explains that the economic life of Xaltocan changed radically resulting in significant wealth decline, as the people of this nation became vassals paying tribute to México. As with the pattern of colonization experienced by many other peoples, México tribute demands essentially impoverished Xaltocan. Xaltocan was forced to produce larger quantities of cotton while maize production continued. Still, hunting, salt production, and essential supports for the Xaltocan population declined.

When the Spaniards took over from the México, Xaltocan patterns of behavior seeking to acquire the external appearances of elite Spaniards, Rodriquez explains, repeated what had been practiced with the México overlords. The Spaniards relocated the Xaltocan population into a central location from small villages to exact more efficient control over the population. Land ownership struggles developed between the Xaltocan people now concentrated in a single location, and to resolve these disputes (between elites and commoners) the Spanish administrators issued land deeds. While reducing conflict between the Xaltocan people, conflicts arose with the Spaniards themselves. The patterns of conflict tended to reflect differences over status and the distribution of shortage (bureaucracy) that favored either commoners or elite.

Alistar Paterson of the University of Western Australia undertakes to compare rock art as a communications device in East Timor (2000 BP, CE 1977), Arnhem Land, Australia (CE 1600s-1900s) and Matadi on the Congo estuary (CEW1488) and North America. As Paterson notes, these sites and peoples are quite different; however, they have rock art that was produced in territories threatened by occupation by outsiders. As sources of information Paterson readily explains that he doesn't "read" the markings, he merely attempts to interpret them. What he discovers is that (like his contributing colleagues) evidence emerges demonstrating that the makers of the rock art describe the Dutch and English, or other more recent arrivals, but extending back in time depictions illustrate the arrival of foreign invaders before the Europeans. Pastoralists appear in San depictions as herders of animals.

Northern Central plains in North America receive Patterson's attention as he points to rock depictions of Spaniards, French, British, and American settlers. Paterson points to the transitions occurring with the introduction of the horse and the appearance of guns, wagons, and metal objects. The seventeenth and

eighteenth century introduction of horses from Europe receive prominent attention and illustrate a major change for societies in that time. Transition as a result of invasion and occupation are clearly illustrated.

Paterson engages in cross-cultural analysis by comparing what he perceives as significant concentrations by rock art makers on the introduction of animals in Australia, North America, and in Africa. He stretches to suggest that the importance of these animals "may relate to aspects of society related to belief and power" (p. 67). I must say this is not a surprising interpretation since social researchers reliably turn to such an observation when they have no direct or even indirect evidence for a phenomenon.

To my eye Stacie King, an anthropologist at the University of California-Berkeley, captures the essence of the book and the manuscript collection of the ten authors. She flatly asserts that while the arrival of the Spanish marked an historical shift for peoples in Europe and in the Americas, they had already experienced dramatic invasion and occupation before the Spanish arrived. She points to previous experiences with the "Aztec" and the "Inca" (and I would add the Heron and Illinois with the Five Nations Confederacy, the Snohomish with the Chimicum, and the Yamasi attacks and occupations in southeastern North America) affecting trade, migrations, militaristic expansions, and occupations long preceding the Russians, Spanish, English, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Swedes. I would extend Dr. King's observation of short-term incursions in the Nejapa region of Mexico having less significant effects than the many earlier incursions. It seems reasonable to suggest that the widely practiced intrusions and occupations of many societies throughout the ages long before the incursions and occupations by European kingdoms significantly changed economic, social, and cultural life of Fourth World nations as an extended process.

Pre-European, Arabic, or Han Chinese encroachments may be better considered part of the chain of incursions and colonization reaching well back before the current era. This observation does not excuse the adverse effects of invasions and occupations by European kingdoms and states into Fourth World nations' territories and societies. Nor is there a rejection of the transitions made by Fourth World societies that define their present condition or character. The particular circumstance of each nation as we now understand them may well be understood more accurately by considering the public and private strategies creatively developed as a response to internally evolving changes as well as the processes that reflect the colonizing impulse.

I genuinely enjoyed reading this collaboration of participants who attended the American Anthropological Association annual meeting in 2008. While the techniques of these social scientists still cause them to struggle to understand that which stands beyond their reach, they are clearly making earnest efforts and some progress to open a dialogue that Fourth World peoples must now join.

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