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ON THE COVER:
Miskitu Woman photographed by Jose Coleman Hendy

Lukanka

Lukanka is a Miskito word for "thoughts"

RUDOLPH C. RŸSER
Editor in Chief
Fourth World Journal

Development is the byword of "progress" in the world that has been swept over by starry claims of neo-liberal economics. In this issue we focus on the governments of Nicaragua and China pushing forward the development of a new canal across Central America cutting through the Miskitu and Rama territories in utter disregard of these nations' consent. This "progressive change" comes more than twenty years after a ten years war against the Miskitu, Sumo and Rama peoples prompted by greed in Nicaragua's capital Managua headed by Daniel Ortega. We see the influences of economic change in India on Fourth World peoples and the consequences of those changes on the millions of Fourth World peoples' lives and property in reports appearing in Intercontinental Cry Magazine (https://intercontinentalcry.org/), The Guardian (https://www.theguardian.com/international), Aljazeera (http://www.aljazeera.com/topics/regions/us-canada.html) and The Ecologist (http://www.theecologist.org/).

Rampant forest destruction by "logging" in the Brazilian jungles is not merely an environmental and climate disaster, but the essence of violence against Fourth World peoples who live in those jungles. States and corporations offer "development" with the help of the UN Development Program and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as if building highways, railroads, canals and cities in the midst of Fourth World territories is a positive good while the peoples and territories of Fourth World peoples are torn asunder.

The PR Chinese government has begun plans to build a high-speed railway across Central Asia to Europe through hundreds of Fourth World Territories. The destruction to these peoples and their territories can only be measured by the levels of destruction suffered my many nations as a result of more than 70 years of "development"—expansion beyond the capacity of nature to renew.

The life ways, philosophies, sciences and knowledge systems of Fourth World nations are under perpetual stress and violence from state and corporate development energized by neo-liberal economic concepts that are neither workable nor sustainable—for any of the world's populations.

Rolling back the unsustainable "development madness" of states and corporations seeking to expand their power and enrich the 1,810 billionaires (Forbes: http://www.forbes.com/billionaires/) who have amassed $6.5 trillion from their development investments is a priority agenda item for Fourth World nations. Leadership among Fourth World nations in coalition has become essential to avoid the growing human catastrophe many nations face.

In this Issue of the Fourth World Journal our authors offer some

perspective as well as answers to the burning question: What can we do?

Mr. Joseph E. Fallon discusses the "development syndrome" from an historical and strategic perspective as he considers British, US and other state efforts to intervene in the world of the Miskitu, Sumo and Rama peoples on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. In ***"that we poor Indians may receive our rights:" U.S. Strategic Interest in Central America and the Dispossession of the Miskito Kingdom*** Fallon's historical narrative examines in some detail the efforts of the United States to become a regional power by dominating and seeking to destroy the Miskito Kingdom—a state existing for more than two and a half centuries. US interventions in Central America are recounted and the most recent interventions into Yapti Tasbia (the mother land of the Miskitu, Sumo and Rama) by the US war against Nicaragua and now the Nicaraguan and Chinese governments' efforts to develop a canal across Nicaragua inundating Rama peoples and Miskitu territory.

Ms. Ercell Valcina Monica Hendy Clarence Tawska Fleurima, is a daughter of the Miskitu Nation, artist, entertainer and human rights activist and committed to educating the world about "plight of the Miskitu Nation" complements Mr. Fallon's essay by presenting an intimate narrative about her mother, Miskitu Matriarch Reverend Josephenie Hendy Hebert Clarence Tawaska De Robertsn. Ms. Fleurima's narrative in ***Miskitu Matriarch in Exile from Yapti Tasbia*** tells the story of her Mother's efforts to defend her beloved Miskitu Kingdom against the Nicaraguan Somoza government's depredations in the 1950s. The Somoza government gave Matriarch Fleurima the choice of death or exile in 1959—she chose exile to the United States. She continues to seek freedom for her nation.

In ***Economic and Political Perspectives of Fourth World Populations in India*** head of the Department of Economics at Shri Mata Vaishno Devi Unversity **Dr. Kakali Majumdar** examines the indigenous economics of India's Fourth World nations such as Naga, Kuki, Bhil, Santhal and Gond. Her essay clearly illustrates the social and economic distance between the state economy and the economy of Fourth World peoples—often clashing at the boundaries of social definition. She points to "poverty" among Fourth World peoples in India, but curiously uses the United Nations Development Programme's definition of "poverty." Dr. Majumdar stresses that "absence of economic opportunities and autonomy, lack of access to economic resources, including credit openings, land ownership and inheritance" and "limited ability to participate in political decision-making processes." India's response, Dr. Majumdar reports, was to identify "target groups" and expose them to market economics to generate money—a classic neo-liberal solution, but the "untouchability" of these populations continues to undermine Fourth World land, food and shelter access.

Dr. Tony Benning, consulting psychiatrist in the Fraser Valley of Canada's British Columbia and a practitioner of adult psychiatry as a visiting psychiatrist to Seabird Island and Sts'ailes First Nation returns to the FWJ reporting his findings about the significance of "collaboration" as a deeply engrained social practice in a First Nation in his ***"Envisioning Deep Collaboration Between Psychiatry and Traditional Ways of Knowing in a British Columbia First Nations Setting: A Personal Reflection."*** Benning explores the differences and similarities between what he refers to as "Western bio-medically oriented explanations" and "indigenous conceptualizations." He reveals the points of similarity and difference…and one might suggest that a deeper sense of collaboration is understood asymmetrical domains be-

tween cultural perspectives. This is an important concept that may help us understand the clashes between "development" ideologies and the ideas of balance and respect characteristic in many Fourth World nations.

In her essay ***Jaqin Uraqpachat Amuyupa*** – the Aymara cosmological vision, **Dr. Amy Eisenberg**, an Associate Scholar at the Center for World Indigenous Studies describes a cosmological and knowledge system that sustains "a relationship of mutual respect and exchange with the earth and one another" among the Aymara people in Chile. Indeed, like Dr. Benning the essay by Eisenberg reveals the fundamental conceptual realities of a Fourth World people that are at significant odds with the development ideologies of the states and corporations. So intimately connected with the cosmos and the earth are the Aymara, Eisenberg explains how the state of Chile's road constructions violently disturb the Aymaran cultural and social space.

Journalist and researcher **Ms. Courtney Parker** takes another approach to the gap between the development ideologues and Fourth World peoples in her exploration, ***Indigenous Environmental Health Disparities Literature Review: Assessing and Addressing Environmental Health Disparities with Indigenous Communities***. Parker explores the larger context of environmental health outcomes disparities among Fourth World peoples as she examines the crosscutting issues of "climate change, environmental justice and pollution," and how the need for "evidence based planning data" and methods to be used in Fourth World communities. She suggests that "disruptions in codified rights to natural resources, and a lack of fortification in laws concerning indigenous health and human rights" undermine efforts to tackle local level Fourth World and environmental health problems. One of the bi-products of development—threats to biocultural resources and greater risks to people as a result of environmental toxins demands, as Parker suggests "unprecedented cooperative efforts between indigenous communities, trained researchers, and health practitioners."

Dr. Janaka Jakawickrama, an Associate Scholar at the Center for World Indigenous Studies reviews CWIS Research Director and Center for Traditional Medicine Director Dr. **Leslie E. Korn**'s new book **Multicultural Counseling Workbook—Exercises, Worksheets & Games to Build Rapport with Diverse Clients** published by PESI Publishing & Media (2016). He applauds this important new work writing: "… this unique and innovative approach to multicultural counseling to improve wellbeing facilitates the reader to understand themselves before understanding others." Research Associate and FWJ Editor **Dina Gilio-Whitaker** recommends A**llan G. Johnson**'s book **Not From Here: a Memoir** describing the authors consideration of questions "about belonging, relationship to land and the ethics of American history and the way it is told." Comparing Johnson's work with Philip Deloria's journey into **Playing Indian** (Yale University, 1998) where he discusses the "uniquely American identity crisis" where the "settler population" cannot resolve the fact that it is from other lands and cannot actually be native to the lands of America. Gilio-Whitaker refers to Johnson's "brutal honesty" describing the American deception claiming the identity of native peoples while practicing "white privilege." CWIS Ethnobotanical Fellow **Ms. Elise Krohn** reviews **Suanne Unger**'s book **Qaqamiigux: Traditional Foods and Recipes from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands** beginning with her preamble, "… when people are estranged from the source of their food, and when chronic diseases including diabetes, heart disease and cancer are rampant, Native elders echo a common message: Your

culture is your medicine." Krohn engages her topic and the author's words to reveal the gifts of the Unangan people and the "longest and most difficult history of contact with foreigners among Alaska Native people."

Be sure to look up my book **Indigenous Nations and Modern States** (Rutledge, 2012). This issue reflects the tangibly difficult conflict between the ideology of development and the persistence of bedrock Fourth World nations drawing on their own knowledge systems, their cultures and their tenacious efforts to stand on their own land. The authors of this issue directly and indirectly reveal the challenges of this struggle—this clash between unsustainable development and sustainable balance and respect for the earth.

“that we poor Indians may receive our rights:”
U.S. Strategic Interests in Central America and the Dispossession of the Miskito Kingdom

By Joseph E. Fallon

ABSTRACT
This article examines how U.S. strategic interests in Central America motivated by a fierce anti-British sentiment and the imperative to become the regional power in North America led Washington to destroy the Miskito Kingdom, a two and half centuries old, stable, and prosperous indigenous state.[1] I discuss Nicaragua’s ongoing—internationally ignored—genocide of the Miskito Indians and the accompanying exploitation and environmental devastation of their lands. I conclude by urging the U.S. and the U.N. to immediately enforce international laws prohibiting the crime of genocide[2] and supporting the right of national self-determination[3] that have been applied to East Timor and Kosovo to Nicaragua to save the Miskito people and to restore their political independence.

Key Words: MISURASATA, Yapti Tasbia, geopolitics

The title of this article, “that we poor Indians may receive our rights,” comes from a petition, dated October 8, 1929, that the Miskito people sent to U.S. President Herbert Hoover imploring him to rescue them from exploitation and extermination at the hands of Nicaragua. They wrote:

> *… realizing that our beloved country and ourselves are practically going to ruin, and desiring for ourselves and children and the generations to come the blessings and privileges now enjoyed by modern civilized counties (sic). And that our heartfelt desire is to be released from the yoke of the Nicaraguan Government…we humbly pray that your most esteemed and Honorable Government will intervente (sic) on our poor Indians’ behalf and take up the matter with the Nicaraguan Gov’t and adjust same so that we poor Indians may receive our rights, as are put forth in our despatch (sic) to the Nicaraguan Government. We the Mosquito Indians - hereby too, beg respectfully to express our sincere thanks and heartfelt gratitude to your Excellency and Government for the timely and kind protection offered to us during the recent revolution in this country—for had the United*

1. Miskito Kings (Mosquitia), AD 1631 – 1894. (1999-2016). The History Files, The Americas: Central American Native Kingdoms. http://www.historyfiles.co.uk/KingListsAmericas/CentralMiskito.htm.
2. The Genocide Convention (1948), Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm
3. Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960), http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx; Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (1970), http://www.un-documents.net/a25r2625.htm; United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1970), http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf; ILO 169. (1989). International Labor Organization (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969), http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/d1cerd.htm; Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities (1993), http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/d5drm.htm; Vienna Declaration, World Conference on Human Rights (1993), http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/l1viedec.html

States Marines, not been seen here many, yea; many of us poor Indians would not be alive to-day.[4]

The U.S. government did not release the Miskito from the yoke of Nicaraguan oppression for it was a yoke that Washington had fashioned.

Miskito, Political History

By the mid-nineteenth century, much of the Yucatan Peninsula and Central America constituted a British sphere of influence. There was a British protectorate (the Miskito Kingdom), a British colony (British Honduras, now Belize), and a British- supported independent, indigenous, Mayan state (Chan Santa Cruz). This British presence was unacceptable to the U.S. government.

Since the early days of the American Republic, U.S. Presidents pursued a foreign policy that was more and more aggressively anti-British. It was marked by war (1812) and threats of war (1839[5], 1844-1848[6], 1849-1850[7], 1852[8], 1854[9], 1856[10], 1859[11], and 1894[12]). While actual war with Britain was over Canada, most of the threats of war with Britain were over Central America and the British protectorate of the Miskito Kingdom.

The aim of U.S. foreign policy was, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "…the final expulsion of England from the American continent[13]." Its purpose was to insure U.S. political independence from the British, achieve U.S. economic independence from the British, and establish the U.S. as the unrivaled political and economic power in North America

For the U.S., Canada was the political prize, Central America, the economic prize. To this end, the Miskito Kingdom would be a pawn in the geopolitics pursued by Washington. As a Wea Indian ally of the British in the American Revolution said, "In endeavoring to assist you it seems we have wrought our own ruin."[14]

It would be echoed by Miskito Indians whose "Miskito kingdom aided Britain during the American Revolutionary War by attacking Spanish colonies to draw off their forces and

4. Michael Schroeder, PhD., "So that we poor Indians may receive our rights," The Sandino Rebellion, Nicaragua 1927-1934: A Documentary History, the Atlantic Coast, October-December 1929B, p. 2. Retrieved from http://www.sandinorebellion.com/EastCoast/EC1929B-p2.html
5. Aroostook War (2016). Maine: An Encyclopedia. http://maineanencyclopedia.com/aroostook-war/.
6. Establishing Borders: The Expansion of the United States, 1846-48, The Oregon Question. Smithsonian Center For Education and Museum Studies, http://www.smithsonianeducation.org/educators/lesson_plans/borders/essay3.html
7. Spencer C. Tucker (2013). Almanac of American Military History, Volume 1, 1000-1830, Santa Barbara, California, ABC-CLIO, p.761, https://books.google.com/books?id=TO2mx314ST0C&pg=PA761&dq=1850,+us,+uk,+war,+tiger+island&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjH-PfJvMDKAhUGRiYKHZE_BbYQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=1850%2C%20us%2C%20uk%2C%20war%2C%20tiger%20island&f=false
8. Alan L. McPherson. (2013). Encyclopedia of U.S. Military Interventions in Latin America, Volume 1, A-L, p. 55., https://books.google.com/books?id=utC5YT7wFgAC&pg=PA55&dq=1852,+us,+uk,+war,+miskito+kingdom&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiJzoukvcDKAhVBRiYKHdVTB_QQ6AEIIjAB#v=onepage&q=1852%2C%20us%2C%20uk%2C%20war%2C%20miskito%20kingdom&f=false
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. The Pig War (2016). National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, http://www.nps.gov/sajh/learn/historyculture/the-pig-war.htm
12. Thomas W. Walker and Christine J. Wade (2010). Nicaragua: Living in the Shadow of the Eagle. [Fifth Edition]. p. 24. https://books.google.com/books?id=6dmRzouzCiMC&pg=PA24&dq=1895,+miskito+coast&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiK-bDGwMDKAhXI4SYKHXo2ClQQ6AEIIzAB#v=onepage&q=1895%2C%20miskito%20coast&f=false. Book.
13. National Archives, Founders Online, Thomas Jefferson to William Dunne, 4 August 1812, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-05-02-0231#TJ878033_4

Map 1 CANADA, MEXICO, AND CENTRAL AMERICA

gained several victories alongside the British”[15] only to have their political and cultural independence destroyed by the successful American Revolution decades later. In seeking to expel the British from North America, Washington would adopt two different strategies. They would be shaped by geography and the U.S.’s view of indigenous peoples.

To America’s north lay Canada, which until 1867 consisted of three separate British provinces, Rupert’s Land and the North-Western Territory. Here the U.S. objective was annexation.Canada was that part of the British North American contiguous colonies that did not secede. To Thomas Jefferson and other American Revolutionaries, the American Revolution was incomplete as long as Canada remained independent of the United States. Since the political and economic centers of Canada (as well as most of the population) were near the U.S. border, it would be relatively easy for Washington to invade and annex Canada (Map 1).[16]

To America’s south, however, the situation was dramatically different. The U.S. was separated from British Central America by nearly one thousand miles of Mexican territory (Map 1). There it would be easier for Washington to pursue its objectives through “indirect rule” and a policy of “dual colonialism.”

In addition to geographical constraints, U.S. policy toward the British protectorate of the Miskito Kingdom would be shaped by its policy toward the indigenous nations within its own borders.[17] Washington’s policy toward American Indians consisted of broken treaties[18], expulsions[19], land seizures[20], and at the best of times viewing indigenous nations in the words of Chief Justice John Marshall as ‘domestic dependent nations’ whose ‘relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.’[21]

U.S. policies toward its indigenous populations were based on the conviction that indigenous nations were “uncivilized,” a view shared by Nicaragua. Nicaragua and other Spanish-speaking states had seceded from Spain politically, but not culturally. They had officially abolished the sixteen Spanish legal classifications of racial preference [22] in law but

14. Revolutionary Limits: Native Americans (2008-2014), Pre-Columbian to the New Millennium, U.S. History.Org. http://www.ushistory.org/us/13f.asp
15. Miskito (2014). New World Encyclopedia, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Miskito
16. 2011, North America (1842-1860) Manifest Destiny [image],http://omniatlas.com/maps/northamerica/18470914
17. Christine Haug (1996-2016). Native American Tribes & U.S. Government. Victoriana Magazine, http://www.victoriana.com/history/nativeamericans.html
18. Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy. (2008). Treaties Between the United States and Native Americans, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/ntreaty.asp
19. The Library of Congress. Primary Documents in U.S. History (2015). Indian Removal Act. Government Documents, https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Indian.html
20. The Harvard Project of American Indian Economic Development. (2007). The State of the Native Nations Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination. p. 99, http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic177572.files/SONN_Final_01_09_07.pdf
21. Andrew Boxer (2009). Native Americans and the Federal Government. History Review, Issue 64, History Today, http://www.historytoday.com/andrew-boxer/native-americans-and-federal-government

not in practice. Whites and Mestizos remained at the top of this enduring race pyramid; indigenous peoples were at the bottom, subject to ongoing exploitation and dispossession. This shared view of indigenous nations as uncivilized would enable the U.S. to more easily harmonize its policy toward the Miskito Kingdom with Nicaragua.

Canada and Central America were interrelated. Failure to annex Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century would prompt the U.S. to redirect its energies to ousting the British from Central America, specifically from the Miskito Kingdom. To achieve this Washington would pursue two complementary, diplomatic policies:

1. Internationally, it would align itself with dictators (such as Napoleon[23]), autocrats, and Russian Czars, against London.[24, 25, 26]
2. Locally, it would support the territorial claims of Nicaragua to the British protectorate of the Miskito Kingdom. A "dual colonialism" would be created whereby Washington would exert indirect political, but direct economic control over Nicaragua; in return, Nicaragua would exercise direct political and cultural control, but indirect economic control over the annexed Miskito Kingdom.

By the time of the 1895 Venezuela Boundary Dispute with British Guiana[27]
, this policy had been so successful, Richard Olney, U.S. Secretary of State, could publicly proclaim "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."[28]

But in 1848, the focus of U.S. foreign policy would shift southward with the objective, whenever practicable, of expelling the British presence from Central America and replacing it with an American one. The Miskito Kingdom, an independent indigenous nation under the protection of the United Kingdom, became the center of Washington's attention.

Contrary to the polemics of the U.S., the Miskito Kingdom was neither a British invention, nor a stalking horse for British imperialism. "The major native figures of the Miskito Kingdom were individuals who filled the position of 'king.' These Miskito kings have been portrayed in the literature as puppets of the English, put into and out of office at their whim. During historical research on the Miskito, a different picture of the kings emerged. A single line of succession has been pieced together, from 1655 to 1894, in which the eldest son of their primary wife succeeded most kings. In the few exceptional cases, the succession passed from older to younger brother. For at least the last 239 years of the kingdom, the kingship was controlled by a single family

22. Roland Soong (1999). Racial Classifications in Latin America. http://www.zonalatina.com/Zldata55.htm
23. Office of The Historian, U.S. Department of State. War of 1812–1815. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1801-1829/war-of-1812. Journal Article.
24. Eufrosina Dvoichenko-Markov (1954). "Americans in the Crimean War", The Russian Review, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 137-145. http://www.jstor.org/stable/125706?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
25. Webster G. Tarpley (2011). U.S. Civil War: The US-Russian Alliance that Saved the Union. Voltairenet.org. http://www.voltairenet.org/article169488.html
26. Webster Griffin Tarpley (2013). [Video] "Russia's Participation in the U.S. Civil War," C-SPAN, http://www.c-span.org/video/?315198-1/russias-participation-us-civil-war
27. Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State. Venezuela Boundary Dispute, 1895–1899. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/venezuela
28. George C. Herring (2008). From Colony to Superpower : U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776., p. 307, http://honors290-f12rivera.wikispaces.umb.edu/file/view/The+War+of+1898,+The+New+Empire+and+the+Dawn+of+the+American+Century+1893-1901.pdf

group."[29] The Miskito Kingdom was already an independent state when England officially recognized it in 1689. Twenty-one years later, in 1710, London concluded an official treaty of friendship and alliance establishing a protectorate over the kingdom.[30] The Miskito Kingdom adopted a flag, royal standard, and royal coat of arms heavily influenced by those of the United Kingdom.

For Washington, the prize in Central America would be the financial rewards of constructing, operating, and owning a proposed inter-oceanic canal stretching from Nicaragua's Pacific coast to the Atlantic coast of the Miskito Kingdom. To accomplish this, the U.S. objective expanded from just expelling the British from the region to extinguishing the independence of the Miskito Kingdom.

The justification for this U.S. policy was the 1823 Monroe Doctrine.[31] Its then unenforceable rhetoric articulated the U.S.'s stated position, "The American continents…are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."[32] However, as the U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian observes, this meant that "The independent lands of the Western Hemisphere would be solely the United States' domain."[33] The irony of the Monroe Doctrine was the British Navy defending British trade with Latin America could only enforce it.[34]

The disingenuousness of the Monroe Doctrine was asserting Latin America was now free and independent of European colonial control. Latin American states remained European colonies. In most, a European minority ruled an indigenous majority. Instead of power residing in Madrid, it now resided in colonial capitals. Nicaragua, like most of its neighboring Spanish-speaking states, was simply a "Rhodesian republic." The Miskito Kingdom, whose independence the U.S. opposed, had successfully exploited both geography (the formidable mountains, forests, and deep valleys of the Central Highlands that separated it from Nicaragua) and European technology (the Miskitos had procured muskets) to defend its freedom from the Spanish, which the Spanish acknowledged in their official maps (Map 2).[35]

In territorial size, the Miskito Kingdom was quite large as the Spanish map of 1780 attests. When Spanish Central America fragmented into five separate countries in 1841, the Miskito Kingdom was larger than either Honduras or Nicaragua. It was nearly as large as Honduras and Nicaragua combined.

Sixty years later, in 1840, Heinrich Berghaus in his map of Central America in *Die Vulkanreihe von Guatemala, die Landengen von Tehuantepec, Nicaragua und Panama, und die Central Vulkane der Sud* depicted the Miskito Kingdom with virtually the same borders.

The size of the Miskito Kingdom was, in fact, even larger than these maps depicted as London's official borders of the British protectorate included not just the Caribbean Lowlands, but the Central Highlands.[36] Together, it encompassed

29. Michael D. Olien (1983). The Miskito Kings and the Line of Succession. Journal of Anthropological Research, Vol. 39, No. 2. New World Ethnohistory. p. 198, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3629967?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
30. Miskito Kings (Mosquitia), AD 1631 – 1894. (1999-2016). The History Files, The Americas: Central American Native Kingdoms. Retrieved from http://www.historyfiles.co.uk/KingListsAmericas/CentralMiskito.htm
31. Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy. (2008). Monroe Doctrine. Government Document, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp
32. Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State. Monroe Doctrine, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1801-1829/war-of-1812
33. Ibid.
34. Monroe Doctrine (2016). Monroe-Doctrine.com, http://monroe-doctrine.com/
35. Image from Unwillingly Africanicity: Zambos and their problem of identity in the Central American Caribbean. http://www.ariadnatucma.com.ar/?p=2312

Map 2 THE MISKITU KINGDOM - SPANISH MAP 1740. Realizado a partir de Eugenia Ibarra: "Mapa N.o 8. Costa de Mosquito en 1780" del fuente original: Public Record Office Foreign Office 137/78, fol. 148. Cartografía: Luis Pablo Cubero. IBARRA ROJAS Eugenia, Del arco y la flecha a las armas de fuego. Los indios mosquitos y la historia centroamericana. Editorial UCR (San José 2011) p. 229. http://www.ariadnatucma.com.ar/?p=2312

Map 3 BERGHAUS Miskitu Map 1840

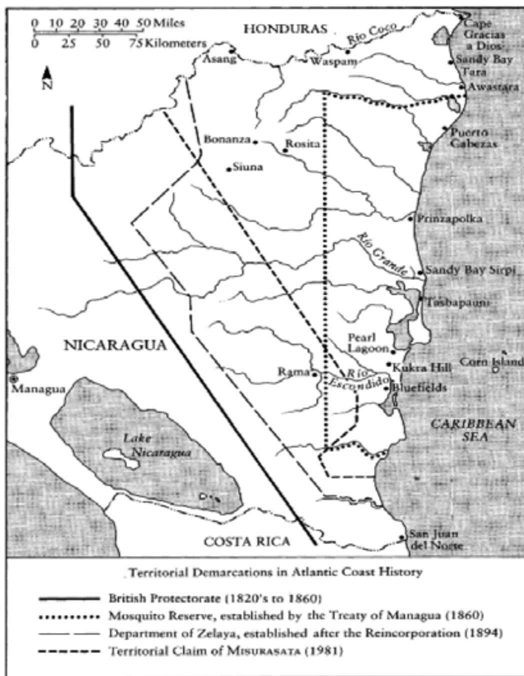
nearly sixty percent of the territory of present-day Nicaragua. The historic Nicaragua was confined to the Pacific Lowlands and extended only seventy-five kilometers inland from the Pacific Coast.

With the start of the California Gold Rush in 1848, three U.S. geopolitical objectives converged in Nicaragua: 1) expanding American business interests in Central America, 2) evicting the British from Central America, and 3) extinguishing the independence of the Miskito Kingdom. For the Miskito Kingdom, the critical years were 1849-1850. At that time, Ephraim George Squier,[37] a key figure in the developing field of American Anthropology, and ardent opponent of the British and the Miskito, had been appointed U.S. Charge d'Affairs for all Central America to negotiate treaties with Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador. He adapted the idea of Manifest Destiny to Central America, an adaptation that envisioned "dual colonialism." Squier adamantly rejected the legal existence of the Miskito Kingdom or any right of Miskitos to have a separate state independent from Honduras and Nicaragua; his views colored subsequent U.S. policy.

In his book *Notes on Central America*, Squier challenged the legitimacy of existing U.S. maps on Central America:

> *Nearly one third of Central America is assigned to the 'Mosquito Shore', which is represented as a distinct and sovereign state…. The Indians known as 'Mosquitos' are only a few thousands of miserable savages…. Even if these savages were entitled to rank as a nation, they have not, nor could they ever have the shadow of pretense of sovereignty over the fractional part of the wide expanse of territory, which this map assigns to them…. The portion of territory assigned*

36. Charles R. Hale (1994). Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894-1987,. p. 3.
37. E.G. Squier, "American Archaeologist," (2016). Encyclopaedia Britannica. http://www.britannica.com/biography/E-G-Squier



Map 4 MISKITU British Protectorate Territory 1820-1860, Treaty of Managua borders, 1860 and MISURASATA boundary 1981

> *by this map to the fictitious Mosquito nationality above the Rio Wanks or Segovia belongs to Honduras; the part below pertains to Nicaragua" (p. xi).*[38]

Squier continues, "The nearest approach to a nomad life is found among the mongrel savages of 'Moscos' or 'Mosquitos', on what is known as the 'Mosquito Shore'. They are a mixed breed of negroes and Indians...."[39] doomed to extinction.[40] At that time, 1849-1850, Nicaragua offered a safer, shorter route for Americans wishing to reach California than by traveling overland or sailing around Cape Horn to San Francisco. Ships would depart New York and travel to the Miskito Kingdom's port of Greytown; from there Americans would sail up the San Juan River to Lake Nicaragua, sail across the lake, then travel by railroad to the Nicaraguan Pacific port of Brito. The sole means of transportation for this trek was Cornelius Vanderbilt's Atlantic and Pacific Steamship Company.[41]

To increase travel and thereby increase revenues for his company, Vanderbilt proposed a canal from Lake Nicaragua to the Pacific Coast. Nicaragua agreed to the terms and conditions submitted by Vanderbilt, but the British government objected to an exclusively U.S. controlled and operated canal. Without the Miskito Kingdom's port of Greytown as the Atlantic Coast terminus, the proposed canal could not be constructed (Map 3).[42]
Control of Greytown would become a pretext for Washington to threaten war on the British protectorate of the Miskito Kingdom.

As U.S. Charge d'Affairs, Squier pursued negotiations with Nicaragua over the proposed canal, for which he was a fervent supporter. "Its general benefits to mankind, from the augmentation of commerce, the opening of new markets, the creation of new sources of

38. E. G. Squier (1854). Notes on Central America: particularly the states of Honduras and San Salvador: their geography, topography, climate, population, resources, productions, etc. etc, and the proposed Honduras inter-oceanic railway. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044051113264;view=1up;seq=11
39. Ibid, p. 48.
40. Terry A. Barnhart (2005). Ephraim George Squier and the Development of American Anthropology. p.241, https://books.google.com/books?id=PWm-6-ZgHTcC&pg=PA241&dq=ephraim+george+squier,+mosquito+Indians,+%22doomed+for+extinction%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjBpcyMh5TLAhUEbiYKHRKKCksQ6AEIHTAA#v=onepage&q=ephraim%20george%20squier%2C%20mosquito%20Indians%2C%20%22doomed%20for%20extinction%22&f=false
41. "Nicaragua Railway & Canal 1849-1871," (2011). Global Security.Org, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/panama-canal-nicaragua-1.htm Journal Article.
42. Proposed Route of the Nicaragua Canal, 1849–1902. Image retrived from. http://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/10200/10259/10259.htm

demand, and the cheapening of all articles of import, with the consequent increase in manufactures and agriculture supplies, cannot be calculated by the narrow standard of dollars and cents."[43]

Later, Washington exploited its advantages in treaties with Nicaragua and Honduras to persuade London to have the *Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*, which ended their dispute over construction of a transoceanic canal, include the "neutralization" of the Miskito Kingdom. This was set forth in Article I:

> *The governments of the United States and Great Britain hereby declare, that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal; agreeing that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast [the Miskito Kingdom], or any part of Central America…(p. 44).*

Although the *Clayton-Bulwer Treaty* clearly "defined Mosquitia [the Miskito Kingdom] as a political entity independent of Nicaragua,"[45] this was a diplomatic deception. The article on the *Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*, in the Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, 1910, described Washington's political objective in signing the treaty:

> *[A]s the United States had no de facto possessions, while Great Britain had, the clause binding both not to "occupy" any part of Central America or the Mosquito Coast necessitated the abandonment of such territory as Great Britain was already actually occupying or exercising dominion over; and the United States demanded the complete abandonment of the British protectorate over the Mosquito Indians… inasmuch as a protectorate seems certainly to be recognized by the treaty, to demand its absolute abandonment was unwarranted…*[46]

The key words are the phrase "…as the United States had no *de facto* possessions." True. What the U.S. had was a de facto alliance with Nicaragua against the British and the Miskito, and the continuing right and ability to trade with and arm Nicaragua. "Abandonment" by Great Britain meant "annihilation" of the Miskito Kingdom.

Without British legal and military protection, the Miskito Kingdom was exposed and vulnerable. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was the first step in abolishing the independence of that indigenous country. The end of the Miskito Kingdom came within ten years and in two stages. First, in 1859, London, under U.S. pressure, and militarily and financially weakened by the 1857-58 Indian Mutiny,

43. E.G. Squier (1852). Nicaragua, its people, scenery, monument and the proposed interoceanic canal, p. 281. https://archive.org/strea.m/nicaraguaitspeo05squigoog#page/n322/mode/2up. Book.
44 Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy (2008). The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, British-American Diplomacy, Convention Between the United States of America and Her Britannic Majesty, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/br1850.asp
45. Marie Leger (1994). Aboriginal Peoples: Toward Self-government. Retrieved from: https://books.google.com/books?id=EGRVxZ0ZAt8C&pg=PA41&lpg=PA41&dq=miskito+kingdom&source=bl&ots=R4-sOLxjE9&sig=Oe241sSaAOo_iH2-3eBUEDNvkw4&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjBhtKkz7vLAhVIYyYKHa1WAuI4FBDoAQguMAQ#v=onepage&q=miskito%20kingdom&f=false
46. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1910). Encyclopaedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, Volume VI, p. 475, https://archive.org/stream/encyclopaediabrit06chisrich#page/474/mode/1up

signed a convention officially surrendering the Bay Islands and the northern third of the Miskito Kingdom to Honduras.[47] Second, in 1860, London signed the *Treaty of Managua* transferring the bulk of the protectorate of the Miskito Kingdom to Nicaraguan control while establishing an extensive autonomy for the Miskitos, but in a drastically reduced enclave—a reservation.[48]

It was now but a sliver of land on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.[49]

London's abandonment of its traditional ally was due in large part to its weak military position in North America and the Caribbean and fear the U.S. would take advantage of its defenselessness to declare war and seize Canada and the Miskito Kingdom. With Southern States seceding from the Union, the belief in London, and among many in Washington, was that Lincoln's Secretary of State, William Seward, who had been championing the annexation of Canada since 1850, "was still clinging to the illusion that conflict with foreign nations could bring the South back into the national fold."

In 1866, H.R. 754 would be introduced in the U.S. Congress to officially annex Canada. In the situation they faced, the British were as exposed and vulnerable as the Miskito Kingdom. "… [N]one of Great Britain's North American and West Indian possessions was adequately garrisoned. At the end of March 1861 there were rather less than 4,300 regulars in British North America, 2,200 of them in Canada and the rest in Nova Scotia, together with a few weak and scattered garrisons in British Columbia, Bermuda and the West Indies."

Possessing a severe military disadvantage at a time the U.S. was hastening toward civil war, London tried to cobble together a treaty that would deny the Americans an excuse for declaring war on the British Empire, while protecting, to some degree, the independence of the Miskitos. It would be a temporary fix.

Nicaragua sought to annul the provisions on Miskito sovereignty established in the 1860 *Treaty of Managua*. Nicaragua and the United Kingdom submitted their conflicting interpretations of the treaty to international arbitration. Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph I was to hear the case. His legal decision rendered July 2, 1881 upheld the British and Miskito interpretation.

The Emperor's ruling declared:

- ARTICLE I: The sovereignty of the Republic of Nicaragua, which was recognized by Articles I and II of the Treaty of Managua on January 28th, 1860, is not full and unlimited with regard to the territory assigned to the Mosquito Indians, but is limited by the self-government conceded to the Mosquito Indians in Article III of this treaty.

- ARTICLE V. The Republic of Nicaragua is not entitled to grant concessions for the acquisition of natural products in the territory assigned to the Mosquito Indians. That right belongs to the Mosquito Government.

- ARTICLE VI. The Republic of Nicaragua is not entitled to regulate the trade of the Mosquito Indians, or to levy duties on goods imported into or exported from the territory reserved to the Mosquito Indi-

47. Stephen Luscombe, "Bay Islands, Brief History," The British Empire, http://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/bayislands.htm
48. 1894, The Mosquito Coast. Image retrieved from.http://www.sandinorebellion.com/eastcoast/ATL-1927/LOC-Mosquito-Shore1894.jpg
49. 1920, Proposed Isthmian Canal Routes, 1848-1884. Image retrieved from. http://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/3300/3363/3363.pdf

ans. That right belongs to the Mosquito Indians.

- ARTICLE VII. The Republic of Nicaragua is bound to pay over to the Mosquito Indians the arrears of the yearly sums assured to them by Article V. of the Treaty of Managua, which arrears now amount to $30,859.

- ARTICLE VIII. The Republic of Nicaragua is not entitled to impose either import or export duties on goods which are either imported into or exported from the territory of the free port of San Juan del Norte (Greytown).

"The Austrian award practically established Mosquito independence of Nicaragua, and after it was given foreign influence increased. Extensive banana plantations were established by American immigrants, and a thriving commerce developed, particularly with the United States."

U.S. Logging and Gold Mining companies also began establishing themselves in the Miskito Reserve. Within 10 years, these businesses were thriving, run by a "new class of white resident-entrepreneurs."

Numbering about 300, half came from the United States. "In 1894 it was reported that ninety-four per cent of the wealth, enterprise, and commerce of the reserve was American. Bluefields was 'American to the core'."

The U.S. Minister to Nicaragua, Lewis Baker, reported "no Americans here (Miskito Reserve) has denied to Nicaragua the sovereign power over this territory."

The reason for this was "the attempts of the 'Reserva' government to protect [local] small holders and middle-range entrepreneurs clashed with the interests of foreign companies and the growing colony of frequently racist U.S. whites, who mostly welcomed Nicaragua's annexation of the 'Reserva.'"

These Americans, as well as Washington, opposed any British presence or influence in the Miskito Reserve. In 1888, U.S. Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard declared of the Treaty of Managua, "… the stipulations of that instrument relative to the Indians were not made for the benefit of Great Britain nor enforcible by her."

Secretary Bayard was being duplicitous. He chose to ignore the 1881 International Arbitration Award, which emphatically rejected this contention when it was first raised by Nicaragua. In that ruling the international arbiter declared:

> *In regard, however, to the affairs of the Mosquito Indians, it is true that England, in the Treaty of Managua, has acknowledged the sovereignty of Nicaragua and renounced the protectorate, but this still only on condition, set forth in the treaty, of certain political and pecuniary advantages for the Mosquitoes ("subject to the conditions and engagements specified in the treaty, Article I.")*

England had an interest of its own in the fulfillment of these conditions stipulated in favor of those who were formerly under its protection, and therefore also a right of its own to insist upon the fulfillment of those promises as well as of all other clauses of the treaty. The Government of Nicaragua was wrong in calling this an inadmissible "intervention," inasmuch as pressing for the fulfillment of engagements undertaken by treaty on the part of a foreign state is not to be classified as intermeddling with the internal affairs of that state, in which intermeddling has unquestionably been prohibited under penalty. No less unjustly did

the Government of Nicaragua seek to qualify this insistence on treaty claims as a continued exercise of the relinquished protectorate, and on that ground wish to declare England's interposition inadmissible.

Finally, the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua also expresses the desire (Réponse, p. 17) that the award should declare that the Treaty of Nicaragua [Managua], as having accomplished its purpose, is annulled in respect of Mosquitia, and that in future the parties concerned are bound in this respect to comply solely with the decisions adopted and enumerated in the award. This desire militates against universal principles of law, and therefore cannot be acceded to. The interpretation of a treaty can never supersede the treaty interpreted, and the judicial decision creates no new right, but only affirms and establishes the existing right.

The U.S. maintained the position that the Miskitos had to submit to all the laws Nicaragua enacted regardless of Miskito legal rights established in the 1860 Treaty of Managua and confirmed by the ruling of the International Arbitration. Two factors influenced Washington's policy toward the Miskitos. First was the resurrection of the dream of building a Nicaraguan transoceanic canal. In 1887, the year preceding Secretary Bayard's letter, Nicaragua had signed a concession with an American firm to build a canal through Nicaragua and the Miskito Reserve. An Act of Congress would incorporate the American firm, the Maritime Canal Company, in 1889, the year following the Secretary's letter. Second was domestic U.S. legislation, the Dawes Act of 1887.

This act dissolved many tribes as legal entities, wiped out tribal ownership of land, and set up individual Indian family heads with 160 free acres."

Supporters claimed the legislation was a progressive and humanitarian act, which would integrate, enable, and enrich American Indians. Colorado Senator Henry M. Teller declared in his opposition to this legislation, "… the real aim [of allotment] was "to get at the Indian lands and open them up to settlement. The provisions for the apparent benefit of the Indians are but the pretext to get at his lands and occupy them. ... If this were done in the name of Greed, it would be bad enough; but to do it in the name of Humanity ... is infinitely worse.

As Senator Teller foretold, "… the result [of the Dawes Act] was the passing of nearly two-thirds of Indian lands—90 million of 138 million acres—into non-Indian ownership between 1887 and 1934. In addition, the land remaining in Indian hands typically was of lower quality, with 20 million of the 48 million acres of Indian lands classified as desert or semi-desert."

Washington would simply be applying the purpose of the Dawes Act to the Miskito Indians. There would be legal expropriation of the most valuable Miskito land, especially for the canal (as was done in the U.S. for the railroads), which would then be sold to Americans and Nicaraguans, individuals and corporations.

This required the complete elimination of British influence from the Miskito Reserve. In 1894, U.S. Secretary of State, Walter Quintin Gresham wrote to London, without any sense of inconsistency, that the U.S. "'wanted no foreign intervention in control of the reservation', nor resident aliens controlling the administration of affairs…Nicaragua had 'paramount rights' in the region."

And by the Secretary's implication, so did Washington.

Washington's attitude toward the British pleased Managua, which that year, 1894, repudiated the Arbitration Decision and invaded

the Miskito Reserve. Its annexation of the Miskito Reserve was claimed to be a "reincorporation" of the land into Nicaragua. The area was renamed the "Zelaya Department" after the general/president who had so successfully violated an international treaty, international arbitration, and international law.

Despite disapproval in some quarters of Washington, the U.S. supported the annexation. "American residents [of the Miskito Reserve] indicated their satisfaction with the settlement as two of their numbers entered the [Nicaraguan-controlled] local government." Here is the first example of "dual colonialism." "Thus, the year 1894 not only marked the triumph of Nicaraguan nationalism but also, and possibly even more so, the victory of foreign companies."

Washington was not interested in the opinions of the indigenous population, which opposed the invasion by Nicaragua. "The Creole leadership of the Miskito Reserve resisted Zelaya's forces when they occupied Bluefields in 1894 and the 'Reincorporation' was always referred to as the 'overthrow.' Even in 1924, Creoles complained to a Government Commission that 'the Atlantic Coast is a conquered, disaffected province … governed by a hand of iron and obliged to pay tribute ... in certain districts [government administrators] are looked upon by the people as their natural enemy. Establishing a distrust which extends to any person or thing related to government."

Without British power or influence to counter its actions in Central America, the U.S. would exert indirect political control over Nicaragua, installing and deposing "presidents," while exercising direct economic control over its economy including that of the annexed Miskito Kingdom. The extent of control was demonstrated in "the Reyes uprising of 1899, the Emery claim of 1903–1909, and the United States and Nicaragua Mining Company claim of 1908–1912."

In return, Nicaragua would exercise political and cultural domination over the Miskitos, and be able to colonize Miskito lands. The "… administrative institutions established by the Nicaraguan government after 1894 … were held by Mestizos from the Pacific areas of the country…Creole culture and the English language also came under attack from the Nicaraguan government, which tried to generalize the Spanish language and Hispanic culture among the inhabitants of the Mosquitia. In Bluefields, for example, special policemen were sent to scout for school children to put into Spanish public schools."

The last hope for the Miskitos ended in 1905, when London faced a potential conflict with Germany over Morocco and possible regional instabilities in Europe and the Middle East with the outbreak of revolutions in Russia and Persia, signed the Harrison-Altamirano Treaty and Mosquito Convention.

Article 1, abrogated the nearly half century old *Treaty of Managua*.

Article 2, declared "His Britannic Majesty agrees to recognize the absolute sovereignty of Nicaragua over the territory that constituted the former Mosquito Reserve as defined in the aforesaid Treaty of Nicaragua."

Article 3, provided the legal cover for Nicaraguan expropriation of Indigenous land. Section b stipulates "The Government will allow the Indians to live in their villages enjoying the concession granted by this convention, and following their own Customs, *in so far as they are not opposed to the laws of the country and to public morality*.

Section c stipulates "The Nicaraguan Government *will concede a further period of two years for them to legalize their rights to the property acquired in conformity with the regulations in force before 1894 in the Reserve*. The Government will make no charge to the said inhabitants either

for the lands or the measurement thereof, or for the grant of title deeds. For this purpose the title deeds in the possession of the said Indians and Creoles before 1894 will be renewed in conformity with the laws, and, *in cases where no such title-deed exist, the Government will give to each family at their place of residence eight manzanas of land, if the members of the family do not exceed four in number and two manzanas for each person if the family exceeds that number*."

A manzana is equal to 1.727 acres of land. What Nicaragua offered the Miskitos was notably less than the 160 free acres the U.S. offered "American Indians" under the Dawes Act.

Article 5 established the legal cover for Nicaraguan colonization of Miskito land. "The Mosquito Indians and *other inhabitants* [Nicaraguan colonists] of the former Reserve *will enjoy the same rights as are secured by the laws of Nicaragua to other Nicaraguan citizens*."

The British had completely surrendered the Miskitos to U.S. "dual colonialism" To insure this system ran smoothly, Washington utilized economic investments and military interventions. The years 1904-1933 saw adoption of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1904-5), implementation of "Dollar Diplomacy" (1909-1913) and the outbreak of "Wilsonian Idealism" (1917-1933).

The U.S. impetus for fashioning "dual colonialism" was explained by Woodrow Wilson in 1907 when President of Princeton University. He wrote, "Since trade ignores national boundaries and the manufacturer insists on having the world as a market, the flag of his nation must follow him, and the doors of the nations which are closed against him must be battered down. Ministers of state must safeguard concessions obtained by financiers, even if the sovereignty of unwilling nations become outraged in the process. Colonies must be obtained or planted, in order that no useful corner of the world may be overlooked or left used."

When Washington decided intervention or occupation was necessary, the American public would be assured U.S. motives were noble—opposing an oppressive regime, supporting democracy, or promoting fiscal responsibility. The reality was different. Intervention was simply to protect this "dual colonialism."

As USMC General Smedley Darlington Butler, one of the most distinguished Marines in Corps History, observed: "War is just a racket. A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of people. Only a small inside group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few at the expense of the masses…. I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefits of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. *I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912* (where have I heard that name before?). I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916…" (emphasis added).

U.S. military intervention in 1912 began an occupation that lasted until 1933—often employing a force as small as 100 men. The pretext for the invasion that enabled Washington to assume direct control of Nicaragua's finances was the execution of two U.S. citizens by the Nicaraguan government. However, U.S. Secretary of State Philander C. Knox, who ordered the intervention, was legal counsel to the U.S.-owned Rosario and Light Mines Company which contributed financially to the exercise and was a major investor in Nicaragua.

In the 83 years since the departure of the

U.S. Marines, Nicaragua has had four different ideological regimes—right, left, center, and left. Each succeeding regime has further assaulted the liberties, the land, and the physical existence of the Miskitos.

Nicaragua, the Somoza Family Project

Washington placed the first, the Somoza family right-wing dictatorship (1933-1979) in power when the U.S. occupation ended and it maintained the dual colonialism. The economic policies the Somoza regime implanted on the Pacific Coast precipitated large-scale colonization and exploitation of the Atlantic Coast by the displaced Nicaraguans. In many ways, Nicaraguan colonists in the former Miskito Kingdom resemble American filibusters in Nicaragua in the 1850s. Since World War II, over 100,000 Nicaraguan Mestizos have moved onto Miskito land. Originally, a spontaneous movement, this colonization was soon supported by Managua.

"Over the past century, the central government, primarily through its agrarian institutions, gave out thousands of hectares of lands in the Caribbean region to colonists. From 1963 to 1979, the Nicaraguan Agrarian Institute (IARN) distributed almost[77] thousand hectares in private titles to colonists (PNUD 2005)…. In addition, throughout the country, local judges were permitted to authorise titulos supletorios (temporary titles) until recently, meaning, first, that there is no consolidated record of all these titles and, second, there are overlaps among existing claims (Larson and Mendoza-Lewis 2009)."

In addition, companies jointly owned by Somoza and U.S. interests disastrously exploited the environment and the coastal fisheries. Growing resource breakdown accelerated as coastal indigenous peoples were forced to search for new lands along the rivers. "The inevitable friction [between Nicaraguan and Miskito] resulted in some deaths prior to 1979, *specifically of Indians killed by Spanish-speaking migrants....*" (emphasis added).

In response to the deteriorating situation, Miskitos established organizations to defend their legal rights such as those listed here—without success.

ACARIC – Association of Agricultural Clubs of the Rio Coco: 1967-1972

The second regime was the left-wing Sandinista dictatorship (1979-1989) sympathetic to advancing a "socialist" revolution. Styling itself as "a popular, democratic, anti-imperialist national liberation struggle," the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (*Sandinista National Liberation Front)* (FLNS) pursued colonization with plans to "integrate" the Miskito people as well as the Sumo and the Rama people and their territories into the Nicaraguan state. When conflict arose with the Miskitos, Sumo, and Rama over such policies and Managua's growing military presence aided by the Cuban and Russian governments on the Atlantic Coast, the Sandinistas responded with "arrests of the entire Indian leadership; banning of the Indian organization MISURASATA; forcible relocation of over 15,000 Miskitos; total destruction of 39 villages, including livestock, personal effects, crops, fruit trees; killing, arrest and torture of hundreds of Indians; and the imposition of harsh military rule on the entire Indian region."

Confronting threats to its political survival from U.S. economic restrictions, the CIA-backed Contra war, and the Miskito war, the Sandinistas changed its policy toward indigenous peoples and accepted autonomy for the Miskitos. But it would be an autonomy defined and implemented by Managua. In 1987, Autonomy Law 28 was passed.

Autonomy is not an end in itself, but simply a process to facilitate integration into

Nicaragua. It is colonialism by another name. It resembles what Morocco offered the Western Sahara[1] and Indonesia offered Dutch New Guinea.[2] In all three, the more numerous Nicaraguans, Moroccans, and Indonesians threaten the smaller indigenous populations with dispossession through the colonization of their lands.

“Autonomy” is, therefore, a public relations tool employed by Managua to soothe the conscience of the international community while insuring the dispossession of the Miskito people continues. The nature of Nicaraguan colonialism can be seen in the implementation of “autonomy.” First, autonomy was not given to the former Miskito Kingdom or even to the Miskito Reserve. Instead, the historic territory of the Miskito Kingdom was divided into two parts (Map 5). [3] The names bestowed upon these two autonomous regions, and their inhabitants, are devoid of all ethnic connotations. The regions are the Northern Atlantic Autonomous Region and the Southern Atlantic Autonomous Region. The inhabitants are referred to as “Costeños”—a Spanish term for coast dwellers.

The Sandinistas advanced this autonomy at a time they were a Marxist organization, dependent on support from the Cubans and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union with its equally empty system of self-government for Union Republics and Autonomous Republics still labeled these administrative units after the name of the largest indigenous group. The Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, for example, was named for the Uzbeks who constitute the largest, indigenous group in that republic. Within Uzbekistan, itself, there is the autonomous republic of Karakalpakistan named for the largest, indigenous group in that territory, the Karakalapks. That the Sandinistas refused even this symbolic acknowledgement of the existence of the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama peoples reflects the hostility most Nicaraguans, regardless of ideology, have toward the indigenous population. It expresses itself in many ways including the continual attempt to reduce, if not deny, the existence of the Miskito people as much as possible.

The creation of the Northern Atlantic Autonomous Region and Southern Atlantic Autonomous Region not only partitioned

The AUTONOMY STATUTE FOR THE REGIONS OF THE ATLANTIC COAST OF NICARAGUA as it is entitled defines “autonomy” as a:

- “process…whereby the political, economic, social, and cultural rights of its’ inhabitants are recognized, and which ensures equality in diversity, strengthens national unity and the territorial integrity of the nation (Article IV)
- “…enriches our national culture; recognizes and strengthens ethnic identity; respects the particular aspects of the cultures of the different Communities of the Atlantic Coast and preserves their history; recognizes the right to religious freedom; and, without deepening differences, recognizes the different identities which lay the basis for building national unity. (Article V)
- “…to create programs which further their development and ensure the rights of these Communities to organize themselves and to live in the ways which correspond to their legitimate traditions. (Article VIII) (Italics added).

1 Abdelhak El Fadli and Hamid Belhouari (2016). The Autonomy Plan for the Sahara. http://autonomy-plan.org/the-autonomy-plan-for-sahara

2 John Ahni Schertow (November 25, 2005). Special Autonomy: Indonesia and the Natives of Papua. IC Magazine, https://intercontinentalcry.org/special-autonomy-indonesia-and-the-natives-of-papua/

3 2007, Nicaragua. Retrieved from https://web.archive.org/web/20120916224139/http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/info-ngos/mrginicaragua39wg.pdf

the former Miskito Kingdom; it divided the Miskito people into two different, administrative units, and separated part of them from the other indigenous communities with whom they were historically connected—Rama, Mayangna, and Creole (Map 6).[4]

With the assumption of power by the Sandinistas, the traditional workings of dual colonialism ceased. But the conflict between the U.S. and the Sandinistas highlighted the key component of dual colonialism that transcends all their political and economic differences—it is their shared commitment to colonialism, to the rejection of the Miskitos' right to national self-determination.

In seeking to end the history of pro-American governments in Managua, the Sandinistas did not repudiate the annexation of the Miskito Kingdom by those very governments. Instead, the Sandinistas sought to exploit that annexation to their own advantage. And while the U.S. sought the overthrow of the Sandinistas, arming the Miskitos to that end, Washington would not support Miskito independence. The U.S. is as committed as its adversary, the Sandinistas, and the Sandinistas are as committed as their adversary, the Somocistas, in opposing the restoration of the independence of the Miskito Kingdom. Yet, Washington, the Sandinistas, and non-Sandinista governments of Nicaragua officially recognized the restoration of the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from the Soviet Union and that of Montenegro from Serbia.

The situation for the Miskitos continued to deteriorate under the next two regimes, the center-right government beginning with Violeta Chamorro (1990-2006) and then the return of the Sandinistas (2006-present). In

Map 5 Miskitu, Sumo and Rama Autonomous areas. Source: https://web.archive.org/web/20120916224139/http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/info-ngos/mrginicaragua39wg.pdf

2000, Nicaragua's Supreme Electoral Council attempted to prevent the Miskito organization, YATAMA, from running in local elections. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights eventually overturned its decision.[5] The Court's ruling, however, was a temporary victory that could not disguise the fact the Miskito territory is a colony of Nicaragua.

Overlapping local jurisdictions that require a two-third vote of Nicaragua's National

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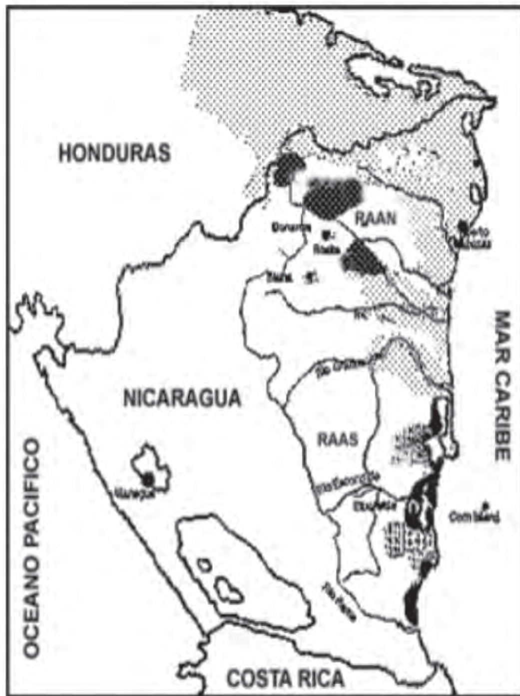
4. 1993, Mapa demográfico y lingüístico del Caribe nicaragüense. Retrieved from **https://ncela.ed.gov/files/rcd/BE021534/Contested_Ideological.pdf**

5. Sandra Brunnegger (2007). From Conflict to Autonomy in Nicaragua: Lessons Learnt. *Minority Rights Group International*, p. 7. **http://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/old-site-downloads/download-105-From-Conflict-to-Autonomy-in-Nicaragua-Lessons-Learnt.pdf**



Adapted by the Center for World Indigenous Studies 2016

Map 6 Atlantic Coast linguistic group locations- Source: https://ncela.ed.gov/files/rcd/BE021534/Contested_Ideological.pdf

Assembly to change plagues the autonomous regions. Exacerbating all of this is the fact that "in the 1990s, the National Agrarian Reform Institute (Institutio Nacional de Reforma Agraria) (INRA) gave out titles in collective blocs to former combatants (some indigenous, some non-indigenous), as well as private titles to non-indigenous households, but specific data are not available."[6] This has resulted in confusion, conflict and "intrigues involving the disposition of natural resource in the territories."[7] It is the natural wealth of the Miskitos, land and sea, which all Nicaraguan governments have coveted.

In 2005, nearly twenty years after the adoption of the Autonomy Law, the United National Development Program report avowed "… the central governments did not support the strengthening of autonomy but rather sought to maintain "the political, economic and cultural subordination" of the Caribbean Coast and its existence as a natural resource reserve at the service of primarily national interests...One survey found 66 percent of those interviewed [in the autonomous regions] agreed "the principle problem is that the central government 'from Managua' has not wanted to support autonomy."[8]

Three years later, in 2008, The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights noted in its concluding observations that the Atlantic autonomous regions had low rates of food security, literacy and basic services: The Committee expresses its concern at the existence of racial prejudice against indigenous people, especially in the Atlantic Autonomous Regions and in particular against indigenous and Afro-descendant women. The Committee also regrets the many problems affecting indigenous peoples, including serious shortcomings in the health and education services; and the lack of an institutional presence in their territories; and the absence of a consultation process to seek communities' free, prior and informed consent to the exploitation of natural resources in their territories.[9]

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Anne M. Larson and Jadder Lewis-Mendoza (2012). Decentralisation and devolution in Nicaragua's North Atlantic autonomous region: Natural resources and indigenous peoples' rights. *International Journal of the Commons*, pp. 179-199 . **https://www.thecommonsjournal.org/articles/10.18352/ijc.315/.** Journal Article.

9 Poverty in Nicaragua's Autonomous Regions. (2014). Human Rights and Business Country Guide, Danish Institute for Human Rights. **http://hrbcountryguide.org/2014/03/poverty-in-nicaraguas-autonomous-regions/** Journal Article.

Two years after that in 2010, the International Federation for Human Rights reported,

> *Despite having the title deeds to their lands, the communities involved were not consulted about various projects planned to be built on their territory.*

That same year… the Inter-American Court of Human Rights decided that Nicaragua […] has not adopted the measures needed to ensure the effective participation of the autonomous regions' indigenous and ethnic communities in electoral procedures, taking into account their traditions, usages and customs.[10]

Also in 2010 the Nicaraguan organization SIMAS reported "that extensive mono- cropping of export commodities has reduced small-scale diversified food production, impacting food availability in poor communities. The report noted that as a result of poor harvesting and cultivation practices, the possibility of natural disasters increased, endangering food supply to local communities."[11] In 2011, The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights reported "that the right to education was also limited by lack of schools, materials and human resources in the Autonomous Regions…"[12] The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights also noted "the autonomous regions are the poorest in Nicaragua."[13]

That same year the Centro para los Derechos Humanos, Ciudadanos y Autónomos reported: "the unemployment rate of Afro-descendants [in Autonomous Regions]… was close to 90 percent."

In 2012, the UN Development Group reported, "Areas more vulnerable to food insecurity are located in the Autonomous Regions."[14] Also in 2012, the U.S. Department of State reported on the situation of the Miskitos and other indigenous peoples of the Autonomous Regions "that their rights to land, natural resources and local autonomy were violated by private firms and government-affiliated businesses that have been granted concessions in violation of national autonomy laws."[15]

Nicaragua's exploitation of the natural resources of the Miskitos has been devastating to the people and the environment. The Miskito rainforests constitute nearly 7% of Nicaragua's total land area, "making it the largest rainforest north of the Amazon in Brazil."[16] In 2011, "[t]he news service Indigenous Peoples Issues and Resources reported…that due to leases on pasture to Honduran livestock companies, the protected forest on the Autonomous North Atlantic Region has been reduced by 20 percent in the core zone and 60 percent in the buffer zone, threatening the livelihoods of indigenous and Afro-Caribbean communities in the area, including the caring and management of forests with their ancestral practices."[17]

The plight of the Miskitos and their neighbors continues to deteriorate. The 2014 findings of the U.S. Department of State reveal the increasing devastation, discrimination, and death Nicaragua is inflicting upon the Miskito

10 Ibid.

11 Nicaragua: Region Profiles. (2014). Human Rights and Business Country Guide, Danish Institute for Human Rights. http://hrbcountryguide.org/countries/nicaragua/region-profiles/#fn14-4734. Journal Article.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Nicaragua: Caribbean Lowlands. (2016). Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicaragua#Caribbean_lowlands

17 Nicaragua: Region Profiles. (2014). Human Rights and Business Country Guide, Danish Institute for Human Rights. http://hrbcountryguide.org/countries/nicaragua/region-profiles/#fn12-4734. Journal Article.

people:

> *The Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua is plagued by unemployment; over 55 percent of the population is without regular work, and crime. The refusal of Managua to establish any effective law enforcement institutions in the two autonomous regions has allowed international crime cartels to flourish. The Atlantic Coast has become both a major transit route for cocaine flowing from South America to the United States and for the trafficking of indigenous women and girls as sex slaves to foreign "buyers."*
>
> *Indigenous peoples in the rural areas of the autonomous regions not only lack the legal protection of official government documents, such as birth certificates, identity cards, and land titles, they lack access to public services. The Nicaraguan government refuses to invest in the local infrastructure resulting in deteriorating roads that place many indigenous lives at risk by making medicine and health care almost unobtainable. Managua, likewise, does not provide educational materials in the indigenous languages, as required by law, insuring high levels of illiteracy in indigenous communities.*[18]
>
> *The indigenous communities are under-represented in the legislative branch and decisions, ensuring that the exploitation of the energy, minerals, timber, and other natural resources of their lands are often reached without their participation or input. Even though the proposed Nicaraguan Canal will be built on and through indigenous land, indigenous groups are not members of the Grand Canal Authority, which oversees the implementation of the canal project. In violation of the Nicaragua's Constitution and Autonomy Law, Managua is unwilling to prevent, if it is not actively encouraging, land grabs of indigenous lands by Nicaraguan colonists and illegal logging operations and other exploitation of natural resources of indigenous land by Nicaraguan allied businesses.*[19]
>
> *The Nicaragua Grand Canal, cited by the US Department of State, and billed by its contractor, the Chinese firm, the Hong Kong Nicaragua Canal Development Group (HKND), as "the largest civil earth-moving operation in history,"*[20] *includes numerous sub-projects, including industrial centers, new railways, oil pipelines, two deep water port (Brito on the Pacific Coast and Punta Gorda on the Atlantic Coast), an airport, a free trade zone, upmarket hotels, electricity plant, and cement and explosive factories,*[21] *and poses immediate and long-term threats to the environment and to the rights of indigenous peoples of the former Miskito Kingdom, including the Rama, Garifuna, Mayangna, Creole,*

18 U.S. Department of State (2014). Nicaragua. http://paei.state.gov/j/inl/regions/westernhemisphere/219175.htm

19 U.S. Department of State (2015). Nicaragua: **Trafficking in Persons Report. http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2015/243503.htm**

20 Josh Ferry Woodard. (October 23, 2015). Waiting for the Canal: A controversial $50 billion, Chinese-built construction project will upend life in Nicaragua. Slate, **http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/roads/2015/10/a_50_billion_chinese_built_canal_will_transform_life_in_nicaragua.html**

21 Nina Lakhani. (November 30, 2014). China's Nicaragua Canal Could Spark a New Central America Revolution. The Daily Beast. **http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/11/30/china-s-nicaragua-canal-could-spark-a-new-central-america-revolution.html**

Miskito, and Ulwa. [22]

Nicaragua, China, the United States and the Grand Canal

Nicaragua's Grand Canal is being built to accommodate the next generation of super-sized container ships, the Triple-E, which cannot fit through the Panama Canal. Even after the current expansion of the Panama Canal that canal will only be able to accommodate ships carrying a maximum of 13,000 containers. In comparison, Nicaragua's Canal will accommodate ships carrying 23,000 containers. Illustration 123 shows the evolution in the size and carrying capacity of container ships, while Illustration 224 provides a comparison of the handling capacities of the proposed Nicaraguan Grand Canal versus the extended Panama Canal.

For such a monumental engineering project as the Nicaraguan Grand Canal, it is remarkable that questions as to its practicality, feasibility, and legality have not been adequately addressed. First and foremost, the need for building a Nicaraguan canal is dubious. Bruce Carlton, CEO of the shipping industry advocacy group, National Industrial Transportation League, expressed the opinion of many experts when he said "I don't think there's enough ship traffic to warrant the construction of another canal."[25] Michael Storgaard, spokesman for Maersk, the world's largest container-shipping company, stated that for his firm, "It's not something we have a demand for, and we're not able, at this point, to tell whether we will use it."[26] As a transportation expert, Professor Jean-Paul Rodrigue of Hofstra University, explained "The shipping industry is bleeding… The current volume is not conducive for this type of investment."[27]

Second, no ports in North or South America are able to handle the new Triple-E super-container ships.[28]

As for feasibility, there are three serious problems with constructing a canal through Nicaragua. First, it lies in the middle of the Hurricane belt.[29] According to Robert Stallard, a research hydrologist with the U.S. Geological Survey and the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute: "You're likely going to be looking at hurricanes vastly more powerful than anything that ever hit Panama, and ever will;" a storm like Hurricane Mitch, which killed 3,800 people in Nicaragua in 1998, would probably cause the canal to flood, triggering mudslides that would breach locks and dams. Communities, homes, roads and power lines would be swamped."[30]

Second, the canal will run through Lake Nicaragua, which is home to two active volcanoes. There are 19 volcanoes in Nicaragua, a

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22 Rachel Nuwer (February 20, 2014). Nicaragua Plans to Bisect the Country With a Massive Canal. Smithsonian.com. http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/nicaragua-plans-bisect-country-massive-canal-180949838/?no-ist Electronic article.

23 2013, How much bigger can container ships get? Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-21432226

24 2013, The Grand Canal of Nicaragua: A Question of Adding and Subtracting or a Geopolitical Equation? Retrieved from http://www.oilamerica.com.pa/en/news/2013-08-14.html

25 Silvana Ordoñez (February 25, 2015). Who's behind the 'Nicaragua Grand Canal'—and why? CNBC. http://www.cnbc.com/2015/02/25/nicaragua-grand-canal-chinese-built-waterway-generates-lots-of-questions.html

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Rupert Neate (March 6, 2013). Size matters as Triple E container ships sail for Europe. *The Guardian*. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/06/triple-e-container-ship-europe

29 Matthew Shaer (December 2014). A New Canal Through Central America Could Have Devastating Consequences. Smithsonian Magazine. http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/new-canal-through-central-america-could-have-devastating-consequences-180953394/?no-ist

30 Ibid.

total of eight of which are active.[31,32]

Third, the canal is being built through a land noted for significant seismic activity.33 Nicaragua has experienced nine major earthquakes since 1931. [34] In some cases, the initial damage is exacerbated by the resulting tsunami, which follows in the aftermath of the earthquake.

Then there is the lack of transparency and legality in the awarding of the contract to the Hong Kong Nicaragua Canal Development Group (HKND) to build and operate the canal.

1. "The consortium in charge — the Hong Kong Nicaragua Canal Development Group (HKND) led by Beijing-based telecom billionaire Wang Jing - has little experience with these sorts of projects" 35 In addition, "The chairman, Wang Jing, has so far failed to follow through on developing a telephone company he bought concessions for in Nicaragua last year, and there is likewise no signs of progress in 12 of the 20 countries where Wang has committed to other large-scale projects, the South China Morning Post reports." 36

2. The bill authorizing the canal project was pushed through the Nicaraguan Parliament by President Ortega "with scant debate and no bidding."[37] It grants HKND "exclusive rights to land along the canal route, fifty two percent of which passes through indigenous territories,"[38] and "allows HKND to 'design, develop, engineer, finance, construct, possess, operate, maintain and administer' the canal project for 50 to 100 years[…] most of the economic gains will be directed to the Chinese investment company rather than the people of Nicaragua." [39] In return, "Nicaragua will receive only $10 million annually for the first decade while controlling no ownership. Following the first decade of operation Nicaragua will be granted a ten percent increase in ownership stake every 10 years."[40] In addition, HKND "is indemnified against any delays caused by protests or legal challenges, but Nicaragua would not be compensated if the canal is abandoned."[41]

31 "Volcanoes of Nicaragua." Volcano Discovery. http://www.volcanodiscovery.com/nicaragua.html

32 1997, Major Volcanoes of Nicaragua. Retrieved from http://www.vulkaner.no/v/volcan/map_nica.html

33 Historic Earthquakes. U.S. Geological Survey. http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/world/events/1972_12_23.php

34 List of earthquakes in Nicaragua (2015). Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_earthquakes_in_Nicaragua

35 Brad Plumer (February 26, 2015). The fiasco that is the Nicaragua Canal, explained (Updated). Vox. http://www.vox.com/2015/2/26/8114151/nicaragua-canal

36 Rachel Nuwer (February 20, 2014). Nicaragua Plans to Bisect the Country With a Massive Canal. Smithsonian Magazine. http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/nicaragua-plans-bisect-country-massive-canal-180949838/?no-ist

37 Chris Kraul (May 5, 2015). Nicaragua Canal: A Giant Project With Huge Environmental Costs. Yale Environment 360. Retrieved from http://e360.yale.edu/feature/nicaragua_canal_a_giant_project_with_huge_environmental_costs/2871/

38 Eva Hershaw (September 15, 2015). A Mega-Canal In Nicaragua Could Kill Off Jaguars and Indigenous Groups. Vice News. https://news.vice.com/article/a-mega-canal-in-nicaragua-could-kill-off-jaguars-and-indigenous-groups

39 Josh Ferry Woodard (October 23, 2015). Waiting for the Canal: A controversial $50 billion, Chinese-built construction project will upend life in Nicaragua. Slate. ,http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/roads/2015/10/a_50_billion_chinese_built_canal_will_transform_life_in_nicaragua.html

40 Daniel Runde (May 26, 2015). Should the U.S. Worry About China's Canal in Nicaragua? Foreign Policy, http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/26/should-the-us-worry-about-chinas-canal-in-nicaragua/

41 Nina Lakhan. (November 30, 2014). China's Nicaragua Canal Could Spark a New Central America Revolution. The Daily Beast. http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/11/30/china-s-nicaragua-canal-could-spark-a-new-central-america-revolution.html

3. "No environmental reviews were conducted beforehand, even though the project runs through Lake Nicaragua, the country's main source of drinking water."[42]

4. "No one knows how HKND will actually finance the project."43

For the Sandinista Government of President Ortega, the stated purpose for pursuing construction of such a controversial project is the belief it will reduce unemployment and poverty among Nicaraguans by creating 250,000 jobs,44 doubling the GDP, 45 making Nicaragua the maritime capital of the world46 that will eventually account for five percent of global commerce that moves by sea.[47] AND the canal project will "further integrate Nicaragua´s autonomous regions on the Caribbean coast into its economic and political centers in the Pacific region."[48]

Add to that admission the estimate by the UN Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) that the number of Nicaraguans, 353,200, who will enter the work force between 2015 and 2020[49] exceeds the combined population of every man, women, and child of the indigenous inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast,[50] and the canal serves to advance the ongoing Nicaraguan colonization and exploitation of the land and natural wealth of the occupied Miskito Kingdom to the detriment of the very existence of the indigenous peoples.

The anti-indigenous sentiment among Nicaraguan officials favoring the canal was given voice by Manuel Coronel Kautz, head of the canal authority. In an interview with *The Guardian* newspaper, he exclaimed, "It's like when the Spanish came here, they brought a new culture. The same is coming with the canal…It is very difficult to see what will happen later—just as it was difficult for the indigenous people to imagine what would happen when they saw the first [European] boats."

Guardian reporter, Jonathan Watts, added the history behind Mr. Coronel Kautz's words. "For the native Americans, of course, that first glimpse of Spanish caravels was the beginning of an apocalypse. Columbus's ships were soon followed by waves of conquistadores who's feuding, disease and hunger for gold and slaves led to the annihilation of many indigenous populations."

Map 7[51] shows how the canal carves up the

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42 Brad Plumer (February 26, 2015). The fiasco that is the Nicaragua Canal, explained (Updated). Vox. **http://www.vox.com/2015/2/26/8114151/nicaragua-canal**

43 Ibid.

44 Nina Lakhani (November 30, 2014). China's Nicaragua Canal Could Spark a New Central America Revolution. The Daily Beast. **http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/11/30/china-s-nicaragua-canal-could-spark-a-new-central-america-revolution.html** Electronic Article.

45 Greg Miller (February 26, 2014). Why the Plan to Dig a Canal Across Nicaragua Could Be a Very Bad Idea. Science. **http://www.wired.com/2014/02/nicaragua-canal/**

46 Nina Lakhani (November 30, 2014). China's Nicaragua Canal Could Spark a New Central America Revolution. The Daily Beast. **http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/11/30/china-s-nicaragua-canal-could-spark-a-new-central-america-revolution.html**

47 Ishaan Tharoor (December 23, 2014). Why the Chinese-backed Nicaragua Canal may be a disaster. Washington Post. **https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/12/23/why-the-chinese-backed-nicaragua-canal-may-be-a-disaster/**

48 Florian Doerr (Winter 2014/2015). Peasant Resistance Against Expropriations for Nicaragua´s Great Interoceanic Canal. Future of Food: Journal on Food, Agriculture and Society. p. 83. **https://kobra.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/bitstream/urn:nbn:de:hebis:34-2014082545960/1/fofjVol-2No2S80.pdf**

49 The Nicaragua Canal and jobs: how many and for whom? (January 15, 2015). Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign..Retrieved from **http://www.nicaraguasc.org.uk/news/article/106/The-Nicaragua-Canal-and-jobs:how-many-and-for-whom**

50 International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) (2015). Indigenous peoples in Nicaragua. **http://www.iwgia.org/regions/latin-america/nicaragua**

51. 2014, Nicaragua Carve-Up. Retrieved from **http://www.wired.com/2014/02/nicaragua-canal/**

two autonomous regions, the Northern Atlantic Autonomous Region and the Southern Atlantic Autonomous Region, and "will destroy about 400,000 hectares of rainforests and wetlands [approximately one million acres out of a total of 7.9 million acres], including parts of the Mesoamerican Biological Corridor, which acts as a natural land bridge from South to North America for wandering animals such as ocelots and jaguars."52 This is in violation of the International Convention on Biodiversity, which Nicaragua ratified in 1996.53

Jorge A. Huete-Pérez, vice-president of the Nicaraguan Academy of Sciences, writing in *Nature*, outlines the potential environmental hazards posed by the construction and operation of the canal. "[T]his canal could create an environmental disaster in Nicaragua and beyond." [54]

Traffic using the canal would endanger the Colombian biosphere reserve and the Seaflower Biosphere Reserve, the second largest coral reef ecosystem in the Caribbean. Professor Pedro Alvarez notes in addition to potential oil spills, and introduction of other containments into Lake Nicaragua by cargo ships, the "Invasive species brought by transoceanic ships…could threaten the extinction of aquatic plants and fish, such as the cichlids that have been evolving since the lake's formation."[55]

In addition, there is the question of what toxins the canal dredging will unleash from the bottom of Lake Nicaragua. According to Victor Campos, director of the Humboldt Center, "What could happen is that contaminants like mercury, arsenic, and heavy metals that lie beneath the lake bottom, which were put there by volcanic activity, will be brought to the surface by the digging. This could alter the natural composition of the water."[56] Contamination of water and soil risks serious health hazards for people dependent on the water and farming.

An evaluation of the serious threats the canal poses to the environment and the indigenous peoples of the former Miskito Kingdom appeared in *Environmental Science and Technology*, entitled "Scientists Raise Alarms about Fast Tracking of Transoceanic Canal through Nicaragua." The scientists call attention to the fact "More than 50% of the canal will cut through communal indigenous and Afro-descendant territories…one obvious consequence of the canal and subprojects is the expropriation of a vast amount of land. A likely outcome is forcing indigenous people off their land and the displacement of at least 277 communities and more than a hundred thousand people, including settlements from protected indigenous territories such as the Rama and Creole."[57]

As currently proposed, the canal project will destroy the cultural, if not the physical, existence of the Rama, the smallest and most

52. Josh Ferry Woodard (October 23, 2015). Waiting for the Canal: A controversial $50 billion, Chinese-built construction project will upend life in Nicaragua. Slate. **http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/roads/2015/10/a_50_billion_chinese_built_canal_will_transform_life_in_nicaragua.html**

53 Convention of Biological Diversity. Nicaragua—Country Profile. **https://www.cbd.int/countries/default.shtml?country=ni**

54 **Taylor Butch.** (July 20, 2015). Nicaragua Canal: Major Project and Major Impact. International Policy Digest. **http://intpolicydigest.org/2015/07/20/nicaragua-canal-major-project-and-major-impact/** Journal Article.

55 Sumit Passary (March 5, 2015). Scientists Wary About Environmental Effects of Canal-Building Project In Nicaragua. Tech Times. **http://www.techtimes.com/articles/37433/20150305/scientists-wary-about-environmental-effects-of-canal-building-project-in-nicaragua.htm#sthash.szxYPEJa.dpuf:" http://www.techtimes.com/articles/37433/20150305/scientists-wary-about-environmental-effects-of-canal-building-project-in-nicaragua.htm**

56 Chris Kraul (May 5, 2015). Nicaragua Canal: A Giant Project with Huge Environmental Costs. Yale Environment 360. **http://e360.yale.edu/feature/nicaragua_canal_a_giant_project_with_huge_environmental_costs/2871/**

57 Sumit Passary (March 5, 2015). Scientists Wary About Environmental Effects Of Canal-Building Project In Nicaragua. Tech Times. **http://www.techtimes.com/articles/37433/20150305/scientists-wary-about-environmental-effects-of-canal-building-project-in-nicaragua.htm**

vulnerable of the indigenous peoples of the former Miskito Kingdom. The Rama population is just 2,000 people.[58] "'Only several dozen people still speak the Rama language, one of the most endangered in the world…. If this project gets implemented, there is a strong possibility that the Rama language spoken in Bankukuk Taik will disappear as the last people who speak that tongue get forcibly displaced from their land,' McCray, the Rama tribe's first lawyer, told the Washington, D.C.-based Inter-American Commission on Human Rights…." [59]

Carlos Billis, president of the Rama community at Bangkukuk Taik articulated his people's concerns: "I'm 100% against the canal. It will destroy the nature that we are as much a part of as the trees that grow here and spread their seeds. The government wants to move us for a project that has nothing to do with us. There's been no consultation, but they are going ahead regardless. This is discrimination against Indians, the same discrimination that's been seen all over the world for so long."[60]

"The Rama's territory, along Nicaragua's Caribbean coast, stretches roughly from the Costa Rican border north to just south of Bluefields (Map 8).[61] Their territory is shared with the Kriols, descendants of Africans who adopted the Rama way of life centuries ago. The Rama-Kriols hold a communal title not only to the nine settlements where community members live, but also to the 4,843-square-kilometer territory where they fish, hunt, and farm. If current construction plans for the canal go ahead, that territory will be severed in two."[62] And "[t]he Rama way of life, dependent on small-scale farming, fishing and some hunting, is likely to end forever if the project goes ahead."[63]

Map 7 [64] shows the canal project bisecting the Southern Atlantic Autonomous Region, includes creation of an artificial lake, Atlanta Lake, new deepwater port, and "new tourist spot or infrastructure." In addition to endangering the environment, these sub-projects will adversely impact the demographics of the region in two ways. The first is the forced relocation of the Rama and Creole peoples from their homelands. "There are sacred grounds with ancestral burial sites. There are tombs. Hundreds of years ago, the ancestors lived here."[65] Remarkably, Managua has "no clear relocation plan to deal with the tens of thousands…who will be displaced by the canal."[66] Second is the introduction of Nicaraguan

58 Nicaragua (2014). International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), p..93. Retrieved from **http://www.iwgia.org/images/stories/sections/regions/latin-america/documents/IW2014/NicaraguaIW2014.pdf**

59 Tim Rogers (March 17, 2015). Death of a Language: Nicaraguan indigenous group fears Chinese canal will be a death sentence. *Fusion*. **http://fusion.net/story/105156/nicaraguan-indigenous-group-fears-chinese-canal-will-be-a-death-sentence**/ Electronic Article.

60 **Jonathan Watts** (January 20, 2015). Land of opportunity—and fear—along route of Nicaragua's giant new canal. The Guardian. **http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/20/-sp-nicaragua-canal-land-opportunity-fear-route**

61 2015, The proposed route of the Nicaragua Canal cuts across the country and bisects Rama-Kriol territory.Retrieved from **http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/how-indigenous-group-battling-construction-nicaragua-canal-180956418/?no-1st**

62 Emily Liedel (August 27, 2015) How an Indigenous Group is Battling Construction of the Nicaragua Canal. Smithsonian Magazine. **http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/how-indigenous-group-battling-construction-nicaragua-canal-180956418/?no-ist**

63 Tim Johnson (June 18, 2015). A Vanishing Culture: Nicaragua's Rama Indians Face Peril from Canal and Migrants. McClatchy Report. **http://media.mcclatchydc.com/static/features/NicaCanal/RAMA.html**

64 2015, Canal, Blind to its Environmental Cost. Retrieved from **http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/nicaragua-constructs-enormous-canal-blind-to-its-environmental-cost/#**

65 Ibid.

66 Tim Rogers (March 17, 2015). Nicaraguan indigenous group fears Chinese canal will be a death sentence. Fusion. **http://fusion.net/story/105156/nicaraguan-indigenous-group-fears-chinese-canal-will-be-a-death-sentence/**

Map 7 NICARAGUA CARVE-UP. Source: http://www.wired.com/2014/02/nicaragua-canal/

National Geographic warns "At risk are 'some of the most fragile, pristine and scientifically important' regions of Central America...The effects of construction, major roadways, a coast-to-coast railway system and oil pipeline, neighboring industrial free-trade zones, and two international airports will transform wetlands into dry zones, remove hardwood forests, and destroy the habitats of animals including those of the coastal, air, land, and freshwater zones." [1]

1 Brian Clark Howard (February 22, 2014). Nicaraguan Canal Could Wreck Environment, Scientists Say: A planned rival to the Panama Canal carries environmental consequences. National Geographic.
http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/02/140220-nicaraguan-canal-environment-conservation/

Map 8 Canal through Rama Territory

colonists into the region. Employment at these sub-projects will introduce Chinese workers and attract Nicaraguan workers. "Typically, Chinese firms not only invest in the host countries, but also bring workers and supplies with them."[67] The Chinese workers will leave at the completion of their work, but the Nicaraguan colonists will stay.

Even before the proposed canal, Managua encouraged Nicaraguan colonization of Rama and Creole lands. "The [Nicaraguan] government does little to prevent the encroachment, even rewarding the settlers with corrugated zinc roofing. Politicians come calling, trying to capture the votes of the colonists and promising that they won't be removed, even though they've squatted and clear-cut land that is declared a federal nature reserve and legally bequeathed to indigenous groups." [68]

This follows the same pattern or plan employed by Managua against the Miskito and Mayangna peoples in the Northern Atlantic Autonomous Region. "The indigenous authorities intend to intensify this kind of legal process against the invaders. It is notable that, during these processes, the FSLN's political secretary for the Mining Triangle in the RAAN promised the mestizos that no-one would be evicted from the lands they were in possession of because it was not the policy of President Ortega's government to do so."[69]

The proposed canal through Rama and Creole lands violates Nicaraguan and International law. It is in violation of Nicaragua's Constitution (Articles 5 and 89),[70] Nicaragua's Autonomy Statute, (Law 28),[71] Nicaragua's Law 445, "Law of Communal Property Regime of the Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Communities of the Autonomous Regions of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and of the Rivers Bocay, Coco, Indio and Maíz,"[72] the International Labor Organization Convention 169 [73] and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[74]

"According to the 1987 Nicaraguan Constitution, the land which includes much of the proposed route is home to and owned by hundreds of indigenous tribes including the Rama

67 Wharton School of University of Pennsylvania. (July 7, 2015). A Canal to Nowhere? Weighing the Risks in Nicaragua. http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/a-canal-to-nowhere-weighing-the-risks-in-nicaragua/

68 Tim Johnson (June 18, 2015). A Vanishing Culture: Nicaragua's Rama Indians Face Peril from Canal and Migrants. *McClatchy Report.* http://media.mcclatchydc.com/static/features/NicaCanal/RAMA.html

69 International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) (2014). Nicaragua. http://www.iwgia.org/images/stories/sections/regions/latin-america/documents/IW2014/NicaraguaIW2014.pdf

70 Nicaragua's Constitution of 1987 with Amendments through 2005, http://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Nicaragua_2005.pdf

71 Nicaraguan Law No. 28. (1987). Autonomy Statute for the Regions of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. http://www.calpi-nicaragua.org/the-autonomy-statute-law-28/

72 Nicaraguan Law 445, Law of Communal Property Regime of the Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Communities of the Autonomous Regions of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua and of the Rivers Bocay, Coco, Indio and Maíz. https://ihrfg.org/sites/default/files/Law%20445.pdf

73 ILO 169 (1989). International Labor Organization (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention. http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314

74 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. (1970). http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

Map 9 NICARAGUA/CHINA CANAL THROUGH RASS

and Creole. Nicaraguan officials unilaterally sidestepped this roadblock in December 2013 by passing Law 840.”[75] This legally permits the Hong Kong Nicaragua Canal Development Group (HKND), “the ability to expropriate land and resources as the company deems necessary to complete its work, which include among other smaller projects like creation of railways, factories, and an airport....” [76]

“Those displaced by the canal would be paid for their property according to June 2013 assessments of the land’s value; while they can contest the amount offered as compensation, they cannot complain about the land being expropriated from them..”[77]

The Rama, Creole and Miskito peoples sought legal redress, first with the Supreme Court of Nicaragua. According to the IWGIA,

In order to facilitate the [canal] project, Law 840 was approved, published on 14 June 2013. This is the ‘Special Law for the Development of Nicaraguan Infrastructure and Transport Specific to the Canal, Free Trade Zones and Associated Infrastructure’, which repeals various other legal provisions. Authorities from the Rama-Kriol territory, the Miskitu community of Tasbapounie in the territory of the Cuenca de Laguna de Perlas and the Black Creole Indigenous Community of Bluefields, all in the South Atlantic Autonomous Region (RAAS), submitted an appeal to the Supreme Court of Justice—one of a total of 31 appeals for unconstitutionality—claiming that the law violated 23 articles of the Political Constitution and other international instruments promoting and protecting indigenous peoples ratified by Nicaragua. The Supreme Court of Justice, however, rejected all these appeals in just one ruling, claiming that the consultations of public officials from the autonomous regions supplanted the property rights of indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples, thus prioritising the investment of a private equity-backed transnational corporation over the traditional and historic collective ownership of the indigenous peoples of Nicaragua.[78]

The indigenous communities have appealed to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. In the opinion of Thomas Antkowiak, a Seattle University law professor, who is a specialist in the Inter-American human-rights system “the Rama’s case against the canal is, under international and even Nicaraguan law, ironclad. But that doesn’t mean the IACHR [the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights] will halt canal construction, which officially began in December 2014 on the Pacific coast, or order that the concession law be changed or overturned.”[79]

75 Taylor Butch (July 20, 2015). Nicaragua Canal: Major Project and Major Impact. International Policy Digest. http://intpolicydigest.org/2015/07/20/nicaragua-canal-major-project-and-major-impact/
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.

78 Nicaragua. (2014). International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA). P. 98. http://www.iwgia.org/images/stories/sections/regions/latin-america/documents/IW2014/NicaraguaIW2014.pdf Web Page.
79 Emily Liedel (August 27, 2015). How an Indigenous Group Is Battling Construction of the Nicaragua Canal. Smithsonian Magazine. http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/how-indigenous-group-battling-construction-nicaragua-canal-180956418/?no-ist

Transparency International rates Nicaragua as a highly corrupt country, where the rule of law is problematic.[80] It is ranked 130 out of 168 with a score of 27 out of 100.[81] What the legislative and judicial process involving the Nicaraguan Grand Canal demonstrated is that the indigenous peoples of the former Miskito Kingdom—including Miskito, Mayangna, Rama, Garífuna, and Creole—have no legal rights or protection to their lands, lives or culture as long as the Nicaraguan occupation of their ancestral homeland continues.

As the conditions of life worsen for the Rama and Creole with the approaching canal, Nicaraguan colonization of Miskito lands in the Northern Atlantic Autonomous Region continues as does the exploitation and destruction of their environment. The ancestral lands of the indigenous peoples "harbor some 80% of Nicaragua's overall wealth of natural resources."[82] Brooklyn Rivera, leader of YATAMA explained the "chronology" of this invasion. Nicaraguans "began by first extracting and stockpiling precious timber, especially mahogany and cedar of indigenous territories. Subsequently, these groups involved wealthy settlers (invaders and traffickers of indigenous lands) from the rest of the country for logging to extract all precious woods from indigenous areas of the region. Over time, the presence and activity of the settlers became overwhelming. These settlers came from all areas of the national territory, invading ancestral lands, pillaging community property, and preying on the habitats of indigenous peoples…"[83]

Next came the ranchers and the mining companies. According to the same article,

> *[G]roups of invading settlers funded by ranchers and national landowners, have become dedicated to the usurpation of large expanses of indigenous lands by planting grasses, fencing pastures, and introducing large amounts of cattle. Meanwhile, the landowners are accumulating large expanses of indigenous land for the purpose of driving megaprojects and investments in the future. Parallel to the increased livestock activity, other groups of settlers sponsored by the mining company, HEMCO, with an office in the region, has become dedicated to the extraction activity of alluvial gold from rivers and other indigenous areas. Clearly, these extractive activities are executed and have a direct detriment to the rights, and the very existence of, indigenous peoples.*[84]

And in another article the author writes,

> *[T]he flow of new colonists continues with virtually no effort to stop it by state entities. In fact, in the territory of Tasba Pri, which is in an advanced state of demarcation… municipal government officials continue to authorise changes of residence that allow new colonists to obtain local identity cards and to vote in their district…The territory of Matungbak hired a lawyer to carry out*

80 Dr. Jean-Paul Rodrigue (1998-2016). The Geography of Transport Systems: The Nicaragua Canal Project. **Dept. of Global Studies & Geography. Retrieved from https://people.hofstra.edu/geotrans/eng/ch1en/appl1en/nicaragua_canal.html**

81 Transparency International (2016). Corruption By Country/Territory—Nicaragua. Retrieved from **http://www.transparency.org/country/#NIC**

82 **Courtney Parker** (May 12, 2016). Miskito Political Leader Brooklyn Rivera Denounces violent 'Pillage and Dispossession in Nicaragua.' Intercontinental Cry Magazine. **https://intercontinentalcry.org/miskito-brooklyn-rivera-denounces-pillage-dispossession-nicaragua/**

83 **Brooklyn Rivera B.** (May 12, 2016). Pillage and Dispossession in Nicaragua. *Intercontinental Cry Magazine*. **https://intercontinentalcry.org/pillage-dispossession-nicaragua/**

84 Ibid.

> *a census of the colonists and their legal documents for the land in their possession, but the municipal government forced a halt to the process, arguing that the territorial government did not have jurisdiction… Finally, though the state presumably no longer authorises individual titles in the areas titled or in process of demarcation as indigenous territories, researchers identified pockets of land that had not been included inside the demarcated areas. In at least one case this land had been assigned to a group of colonists by high-level political leaders…*[85]

The objective of Nicaraguan colonization is to alter the demography of the autonomous regions. It is to establish a Nicaraguan "majority," so if the regions were allowed to vote on independence if could be defeated "democratically." This is the same strategy being employed by Morocco in the Western Sahara today.[86] It is the same strategy that was previously employed by Saddam Hussein in his "Arabization" campaign of Iraqi Kurdistan.[87]

Further, In the past 10 years, approximately 100 people—many of them leaders in their communities—have been killed during confrontations with *colonos*, according to CEJUDHCAN, a human rights organization based in the northeast city of Bilwi, the capital of the North Caribbean Coast Autonomous Region that is located near the Honduran border and also known as Puerto Cabezas. Over half of the victims—54—were killed in 2015. 'It's a form of genocide,' says Dolene Miller, a member of the National Commission for Demarcation and Titling, which has been fighting for a more stringent method of keeping track of land titles for indigenous and afro-descendent people. 'Just like the Spaniards came to this land hundreds of years ago and committed genocide against the natives, the mestizos are trying to get rid of us to colonize the land…'

In addition to a rising death toll, people are being displaced from their communities. According to local news reports, armed bandits have stormed into several villages, forcing those residents to flee and seek safety in larger towns waiting until it's safe to return home. 'It's a human rights crisis," Lottie Cunningham, director of the Bilwi-based rights group CEJUDHCAN says of the nearly 1,000 displaced people currently living in tent camps in the city. 'These people are living without sanitation and poor shelter. They can't keep going on like that and they just want to go home, but they don't know if it's safe to go to their own homes.'[88]

The Nicaraguan military has been alleged to be complicit in the activities of the colons.[89] "Today the Miskito are dissolving [a]s their rainforest home is stripped away by illegal logging and human encroachment…"[90] "If left

85 Anne M. Larson and Jadder Lewis-Mendoza (2012). Decentralisation and devolution in Nicaragua's North Atlantic autonomous region: Natural resources and indigenous peoples' rights. International Journal of the Commons, pp. 179-199. X close

IREMADES-URACCAN

https://www.thecommonsjournal.org/articles/10.18352 ijc.315/

86 **Akbar Ahmed** and Harrison Akins (March 14, 2012). Waiting for the Arab Spring in Western Sahara. Al Jazeera. **http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/03/14-western-sahara-ahmed**

87 Hania Mufti and Peter Bouckaert (August 2004). Claims in Conflict: Reversing Ethnic Cleansing in Northern Iraq. Human Rights Watch. Vol. 16, No. 4(E), **www.hrw.org/reports/2004/iraq0804/4.htm**

88 Ibid.

89 **Courtney Parker** (May 12, 2016). Miskito Political Leader Brooklyn Rivera Denounces violent 'Pillage and Dispossession in Nicaragua'. Intercontinental Cry Magazine. **https://intercontinentalcry.org/miskito-brooklyn-rivera-denounces-pillage-dispossession-nicaragua/**

90 Endangered Living (September 10, 2013). Miskito to Mosquito. Retrieved from endangeredliving **http://endangeredliving.com/2013/09/10/miskito-to-mosquito/**

unchecked, this human rights crisis runs the risk of spawning a physical genocide of the Miskito Peoples."[91]

In April 2009, exercising the right to self-preservation, the Miskitos declared their independence.[92] The words of their 1929 petition to President Hoover are haunting in their relevance today: "…That we Indians, being unable to fight for our rights and could never think of raising up in arms against the Nicaraguan Government, being extremely powerless to do so…. And that our heartfelt desire is to be released from the yoke of the Nicaraguan Government…we humbly pray that your most esteemed and Honorable Government will intervente (sic) on our poor Indians' behalf…." A defenseless people, seeking to insure their survival, appeal for outside help and received none—then or now. The U.S. and International Community ignore the ongoing genocide of the Miskitos, as both initially ignored the genocides in Bosnia[93] and Rwanda.[94]

The death and misery being inflicted by Nicaragua upon the indigenous peoples of the former Miskito Kingdom—Miskitos, Mayangna, Rama, Garífuna, and Creole— is genocide as legally defined by the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Article II, declares "genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." Each act listed is an act of genocide by itself.

The acts Nicaragua is perpetrating against Miskitos and indigenous peoples violate the following sections of Article II –

Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.[95]

It is legally and morally incumbent upon the international community, and the U.S. in particular, to stop this genocide and end this colonial occupation through the establishment of a UN Interim Administration to govern the two autonomous territories as was done in East Timor [96] and in Kosovo. [97]

The UN interim administration must first address the urgent social and economic needs of Miskitos and indigenous peoples. Then after consulting with indigenous organizations and the municipal and territorial governments, the UN Interim Administration must establish the "legal framework, [for the] electoral system and boundary delimitation, election management, voter registration, voter education, candidacy and campaigning, the media, voting operations, vote counting and tabulation, electoral dispute

91 Courtney Parker (May 12, 2016). Miskito Political Leader Brooklyn Rivera Denounces violent 'Pillage and Dispossession in Nicaragua'. Intercontinental Cry Magazine. https://intercontinentalcry.org/miskito-brooklyn-rivera-denounces-pillage-dispossession-nicaragua/

92. Blake Schmidt and Marc Lacey (June 9, 2009). An Independence Claim in Nicaragua. The New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/10/world/americas/10nicaragua.html?_r=1

93. History.Com. (2016). Bosnian Genocide. Retrieved from http://www.history.com/topics/bosnian-genocide

94. Human Rights Watch (March 1999, updated April 1, 2004). Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda. https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/10years.htm

95 The Genocide Convention (1948), Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Retrieved from http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm

96. United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/etimor/etimor.htm

97. United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmik/

resolution,"[98] and provide the security necessary to insure a free and fair election on independence. Nicaraguan colonists must return to Nicaragua. The precedent for reversing Nicaraguan colonization is the international community's support for reversing Saddam Hussein's "Arabization" policy of moving Arab colonists into Iraqi Kurdistan.[99]

98 EOS—Election Obligations & Standards Database. The Carter Center. Retrieved from https://eos.cartercenter.org/
99 Roberta Cohen (January 4, 2009). Disputed Territories in Iraq. Kurdistani Nwe. http://www.brookings.edu/research/interviews/2009/01/04-kurdistan-cohen.
[1]94 2012, History of the Coast. Retrieved from https://bluefieldsrights.wordpress.com/history-of-the-coast/ QQ6AEIIjAB#v=onepage&q=1852%2C%20us%2C%20uk%2C%20war%2C%20miskito%20kingdom&f=false

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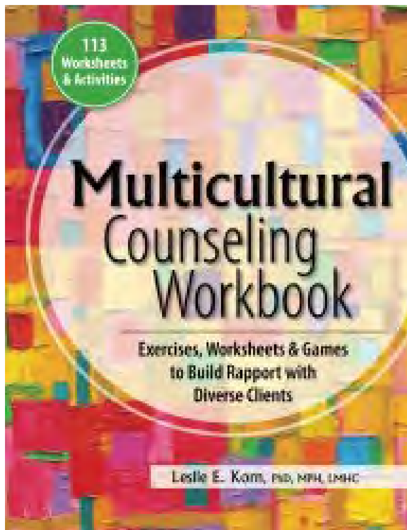

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Economic and Political Perspectives of Fourth World Populations In India

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Introduction

The Fourth World concept is an expansion of the "Three Worlds" model of economic classification of states that emerged after World War II when the world split into large geopolitical blocs and spheres of influence with contrary views on government and society. Three Worlds Theory, developed by Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong, posited that international relations comprise three politico-economic worlds: the First World consisting of the bloc of democratic-industrial countries within the American sphere of influence (e.g. United States, England, Canada), the Second World of communist-socialist states in the Eastern bloc (e.g. Soviet Union China, North Korea, North Vietnam), and the remaining Third World was three-quarters of the world's population in states not aligned with either bloc.

However, unlike the three classifications, the Fourth World is not geographically and economically bounded in terms of performing state economies and does not map onto citizenship regimes of a specific state. It refers to original populations, often excluded from global society and living outside of the modern industrial norm. It can be said that the Fourth World is a special world within the other worlds.

The concept of Fourth World emerged with the publication of the book The Fourth World: An Indian Reality by George Manuel and Michael Posluns. Both leaders in the North American Indian movement, this book presented an informative and important historical document that traces the struggle for Indian survival as distinct nations and cultures (Slowey, 2005). Dyck (1985) describes the Fourth World as original populations who have been politically weakened, economically marginalized, and culturally stigmatized by members of the state societies that have overtaken them and their lands. The Fourth World (usually referred to as native or first peoples) consists of the ancient nations from which the patchwork quilt of states was stitched, yet who have no internationally recognized sovereignty (Griggs, 1992). Thus, the peoples of the Fourth World have only limited or no influence in the states to which they belong (Šavelková, 2011).

Fourth World Populations of India and their Socioeconomic Conditions

In India Fourth World peoples are those having historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories and who consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies (Erni, 2008), such as Tribals, Dalits, Adivasi communities, and other so-called "low caste communities." The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are official designations given to various groups of historically disadvantaged peoples in India. The Simon Commission in 1935 first coined the term 'Scheduled Castes.' All the so-called untouchable castes, listed in the 1931 Census of India, came under the category of 'Scheduled Castes' through the Government of India Act of 1935. Scheduled Castes are sometimes referred to as Dalits (Das & Mehta, 2016), while 'Scheduled Tribes' is used as an official term for Adivasis. The popular tribal communities of India are Naga, Kuki, Bhil, Santhal, and Gond. In India, 461 ethnic groups are recognized

as Scheduled Tribes.

Scheduled Tribes are often conflated with Scheduled Castes in development literature, although they are completely different social categories. Scheduled Tribes do not fall within the caste hierarchy and have distinct cultural and religious practices and social mores. Also, they do not face ritual exclusion, like untouchability, etc. However, Scheduled Castes or 'Dalits' are so-called lower class, untouchable sometimes, in the caste hierarchy (Beteille, 1991). Until the eighteenth century the tribe and caste were used synonymously (Xaxa, 1999). The bifurcation was basically constructed as a census method and it was shown, even if not very clearly, in the 1901 census. After independence the distinction was officially clarified. Scheduled Castes were living in the same society of the existing Three Worlds with certain social restrictions, but Tribes, as mentioned earlier, were in absolute isolation and in a system of absorbing into their own traditional society in terms of all living activities.

The terms are recognized in the Constitution of India and the various groups are designated in one of the categories. During the period of British rule in the Indian subcontinent, they were known as the Depressed Classes. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes comprise about 16.6 percent and 8.6 percent, respectively, of India's population (2011 census).

Gandhi named the untouchables as 'Harijans.' 'Hari' means 'God' and 'Jan' means 'People;' i.e. 'People of God.' Dr. Ambedkar, a reknown leader of Dalit and low caste exploited people of India, strived hard for the recognition of Dalit identity because they are victims under the name of vulnerable caste in Andhra Pradesh.

Fourth world populations in India are socially, religiously, and economically deprived. They are given a very low position in society. In most of the areas of India, they have no right to worship in the temple. Education and health facilities are utterly inadequate for these deprived nations, even today. The economic characteristic of these Fourth World peoples is largely measured in terms of traditional ways of living, specific to the societies. The position of the Scheduled Castes has a bearing on the division of Hindu society into caste groups. Brahmanas are at the top of the caste hierarchy and 'Untouchables' come at the bottom. Nearly ninety per cent of the Scheduled Caste people live in villages, and work under the command of the dominant castes and landlords. They continue to be economically dependent on the upper castes and because of that they remain exploited.

The Indian Tribes, in comparison, live in the forests and hills. Their occupations or sources of livelihood are hunting and food gathering, cattle rearing, cultivation, and small industrial activities. Often described as "primitive," (implying inferiority) their ancient modes of production mean that little is left for surplus accumulation and exchange with outside groups With no regulated markets and little motivation for profit, the barter system is still dominantly present within these nations.

The Scheduled Castes constitute a significant demographic strength in India. In 1935, the Scheduled Castes were estimated at about 5 crores;[1] in 1981, they were estimated at 10.475, crores; and in the year 1991, the population was estimated at 13.822 crores—a 36 percent increase in 10 years. According to the 2001 Census, the Scheduled Caste population in India was 166,635,700 people, constituting 16.2 per cent of the country's total population. In 2011 the proportion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population were 16.6 and 8.6 respectively. The 2011 census data of

1 Five crores=50,000,000 (one=10,000,000)

Table 1: Population of Scheduled Caste & Scheduled Tribe in India (in millions)				
	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe	
Year	2001	2011	2001	2011
Persons	166.6	201.4	84.3	104.3
Male	86.1	103.5	42.6	52.4
Female	80.5	97.9	41.7	51.9

Source: India Census 2011

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes population, gender-wise, are shown in Table 1.

In India the largest concentrations of Fourth World populations are found in the Northeast states. Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Haryana are the top five Scheduled Caste - populated states of India. Lakshadweep, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh are at the top five states in terms of Scheduled Tribal population in India (Table 2).

Poverty is a worldwide phenomenon but is particularly prevalent within Fourth World populations. According to the United Nations Development Programme (2010) thirty seven percent of the population in India lives below the national poverty line. Of this, the rural population accounts for 41.8 percent and within this group, eighty percent of the rural poor belong to the marginalized caste and tribal nations. According to a 2014 report to the Ministry of Minority Affairs, over 44.8 percent of Scheduled Tribes and 33.8 percent of Scheduled Caste populations in rural India were living below the poverty line in 2011-12.

In recent years, however, there has been a slight decrease in the overall poverty levels of Fourth World peoples in India—with the steepest reduction seen in the case of Scheduled Castes, both in urban and rural regions. The Planning Commission data showed that the poverty level among Scheduled Castes was closer to that among the overall population (Table 3). In 2004-05, more than half the Scheduled Casts and Scheduled Tribal population in rural areas was below the poverty line. By 2011-12, poverty among Scheduled Castes in rural areas fell 22 percentage points

Table 2: Top Five Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Populated States				
1. No.	**Scheduled Caste**		**Scheduled Tribe**	
	State	**Percentage**	**State**	**Percentage**
	Punjab	31.9%	Lakshadweep	94.8%
	Himachal Pradesh	25.2%	Mizoram	94.4%
	West Bengal	23.5%	Nagaland	86.5%
	Uttar Pradesh	20.7%	Meghalaya	86.1%
	Haryana	20.2%	Arunachal Pradesh	68.8%

Source: India Census 201

Table 3: Poverty Level of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Categories								
Year	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribes		Others		Total	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
2004-05	53.5	40.6	62.3	35.6	27.1	16.1	41.8	25.7
2009-10	43.5	33	47.1	28.8	21.1	11.9	33.8	20.9
2011-12	31.5	21.7	45.5	24.1	15.5	8.2	25.5	13.7

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs

from 53.5 per cent in 2004-05 to 31.5 percent. During this period, poverty among the overall rural population fell 16.1 percentage points to 25.7 percent. For Scheduled Castes in urban areas, the decline was 19 percentage points from 40.6 percent in 2004-05 to 21.7 percent in 2011-12.

For the overall population in urban areas, poverty fell 12 percentage points to 13.7 percent. The figures are based on the poverty line drawn by former National Statistical Commission Chief Suresh Tendulkar. According to this methodology, a person spending more than Rs 33.33 a day in urban areas and Rs 27.2 in rural regions is considered above the poverty line. After this methodology drew flak from many sections, the government appointed a committee under C. Rangarajan, chairman of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, to revisit poverty estimation.

In rural areas, the number of Scheduled Tribes below the poverty line fell 17 points from 62.3 percent in 2004-05 to 45.3 percent in 2011-12. During the same period, the number of such STs in urban areas fell 11.4 percentage points from 35.5 percent to 24.1 percent.

As shown in Table 4 there is a significant improvement in the literacy rate among both the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes populations. Despite developmental policies undertaken by Indian states and the central government, the vulnerable socioeconomic conditions and livelihoods of Adivasis are alarming. This is clearly reflected in their poor access to health services, education, employment opportunities, and to various public welfare programmes (Nayak, 2015).

In some areas the Scheduled Castes are still not allowed to access temples, stalls, and public wells or water taps. Sometimes they are not allowed to wear shoes in the presence of an upper caste. Separate areas on the riverbanks (or 'ghat')[2] are reserved for the upper castes and the Dalit community. In some places Dalits are not allowed to enter the temple. Offerings from Dalits are left at the temple entrance to be picked up later. Separate crematoria for Brahmins and non-Brahmins are still in existence. In some states, 'chamar toil,' a segregated place for the Dalit community, is observed, even in the present era of global liberalization. Dalit children are made to sit separately in schools. Dalits are discouraged from contesting elections. The so-called high caste groups, Thakurs, do not take food cooked by Dalit.

In the ancient period of India, the "primitive" castes were denied all kinds of social and economic endowments. Hence, they lagged behind in the process of "development." The reason for this economic gap is absence of economic opportunities and autonomy, lack of access to economic resources, including credit openings, land ownership, and inheritance, lack of access to education and support

2 River bank is popularly known as ghat in local vernacular.

Table 4: Reservation Status of Scheduled Castes in Central Government Recruitment (%)				
Year	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1953	00.35	01.29	04.52	20.52
1995	10.13	13.13	15.46	20.46
2004	12.20	14.50	16.90	18.40

Source: 1. Department of Personnel, Government of India, Report-1993 2. Social Welfare Committee for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes Report-99-2000, 2004.

services, and their limited ability to participate in political decision-making processes. Since independence, special emphasis has been given to improve the economic conditions of this group because most of the people under this group are below the poverty line.

Special Measures for Fourth World Populations

Indian independence brought with it special emphasis on improving the livelihoods of Fourth World populations in India. It was reflected in the First Five Year Plan[3] in the 1950s in the form of welfare programmes by different government initiatives such as the Elwin Committee (1959), and the Scheduled Areas and Tribes Commission (1961). In the eighties and nineties, more specific types of developmental projects like Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAPs) and the Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) were launched for some 'target groups' such as Scheduled Castes and Tribes. These schemes were meant to expose the communities to markets, and products of these schemes could receive monetary value leading to decline in poverty, unemployment, and migration. In the later stage of development a reservation system[4] was introduced and modified from time to time. Various movements were also initiated by the leaders of these communities. The Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe Act of 1989 was enacted to protect these classes, under which any type of activities mentioned in the previous section like exploitation, untouchability, etc. are considered punishable crimes. Article 15(4) and 16(4) of the Indian constitution has made provisions of reservation for "backward classes" in educational institutions and public employment. The reservation policy is supposed to be adhered to by both central and state governments.

Conclusion

The social and economic inclusiveness of Fourth World populations in India have improved but the perception of their "untouchability" persists like an incurable disease. Fourth World populations are still struggling for the inclusiveness that has become more challenging in the era of globalization. Despite increased incomes, the economic gap between upper caste and lower caste communities continues to remain discriminatory. Even if the institution of untouchability is no longer functioning in rigid ways, it still exists in birth and marriage practices, and community feasts and festivals. An evaluation of target programmes shows only partial, minimally significant results over the years. The lack of recognition as disctint nations with political sovereignty is one of the greatest obstacles facing Fourth

3 After independence India had started development of the country through five year planning. The first five year plan was for the period of 1951-56.

4 Special opportunities for the said group remain reserved.

World peoples in India.

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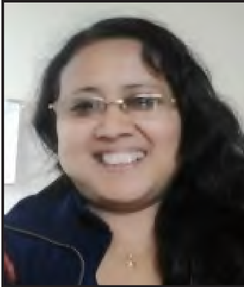
About the Author



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Envisioning Deep Collaboration Between Psychiatry And Traditional Ways Of Knowing In A British Columbia First Nations Setting: A Personal Reflection

Dr. Tony Benning MBChB, MSc, PgDip, MRCPsych (UK), FRCP(C)

Abstract:
In this paper, I draw on my experiences of providing psychiatric outreach services to indigenous communities near Chilliwack, B.C. over the course of a two and a half year period. The principle aim of the paper is to critically examine and reflect on the concept of collaboration as it pertains to psychiatric services on Canadian First Nation communities. The hope is that doing so will inform the work of others engaged in service development and delivery in similar settings. The analysis proceeds through a combination of personal reflection and critical reading of pertinent literature. Emerging from the analysis is a tripartite conceptualization of collaboration that recognizes the value of structural or organizational collaboration but which, at the same time, acknowledges the possibility of and calls for a deeper level collaborative approach. A multi-level conceptualization of collaboration then is envisioned in this paper; one that encompasses the notions of collaboration at 'deep' and 'ideological' in addition to 'surface' levels. Barriers to the realization of such a multi-level collaboration are examined and discussed.

Key words: collaboration, Western psychiatry and traditional/indigenous healing asymmetrical relationships, Western and traditional medicine

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 2012 I was fortunate enough to be invited to start up a psychiatric clinic on Seabird Island, a First Nation close to Chilliwack, in British Columbia, Canada. My understanding was that the leadership at Seabird had approached the local health authority to inquire about possible provision of psychiatric services following a recent spate of adolescent suicides. There had also been a longstanding recognition of the existence of an unmet need for mental health services at Seabird and in neighbouring First Nation communities. I responded eagerly to this invitation, knowing from the outset that this would be a great opportunity not only to contribute to the mental health needs of indigenous communities but to further my knowledge and understanding of indigenous culture, something I had been interested in for several years. I went along to meet key personnel at Seabird in December and the psychiatric clinic became fully operational by February 2013. Three years later, the clinic is thriving and its basic structure is as follows: I see patients at the Seabird Island Health Centre on alternate days. All the patients I see are referred to me by one of two family physicians, both based at Seabird, and my clinic accommodates new patients as well as follow ups. The clinic has received much positive feedback from the key stakeholders. This includes the local community, the band chief, the patients, and both of the referring physicians. Drawing on my three years of experience at Seabird, what I aim to do in this paper is to critically reflect on the concept of 'collaboration' – especially the way in which the concept applies to the specific context of a psychiatric clinic in First Nations communities. As I do so, I intend to draw on my personal observations and reflections as well as relevant literature. The guiding questions in this paper are: *What*

is really meant by the concept of collaboration in the context of psychiatric services in indigenous communities such as Seabird Island? What are its terms and limits? And to what extent are we realizing the full potential of collaboration with the present model of service delivery?

WHAT IS THE COLLABORATIVE IDEAL AND HAVE WE ACHIEVED THIS ON SEABIRD?

Ruiz and Langrod[1] published a compelling paper in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* in 1976 called "Psychiatry and folk healing: A dichotomy?" reporting an interesting collaboration in the South Bronx whereby professionals from a mental health center visited *centros* to observe folk healers (*curanderos*) practicing on members of the Hispanic communities, mainly of Puerto-Rican descent. Such a collaboration transcended the dichotomy that was otherwise held to exist between psychiatry and folk healers allowing for a reciprocal exchange in which Western mental health professionals came to be convinced of the value of folk healing and in which the curanderos came to be informed of the sorts of things to watch out for that might indicate the presence of a serious illness requiring Western style medical intervention.

This strikes me as a great example of collaboration. It is one that involves a direct face-to-face encounter between folk healers and professionals from a mental health center in which there is mutual, reciprocal learning. Has this type of collaboration been achieved at Seabird? The answer is a clear "no." I have never met a traditional healer at Seabird. They exist but do not seem to be easily accessible. My impression is that some members of the community are engaged in traditional healing practices but they are not the ones who generally come to see me. This, for me, epitomizes what Ruiz and Langrod describe as a 'dichotomy'. Even if my clients were accessing traditional healers without me knowing (as many do[2]), this would still represent a dichotomy□ and could not be regarded as 'collaboration'.

Another example, one that feels much more close to home, is Jilek and Todd's (1974)[3] paper, *Witchdoctors succeed where doctors fail*. This paper reported a collaborative endeavour describing the outcomes of twenty-four individuals from a B.C. Coast Salish community who, over a four year period, had gone through a 'winter spirit dance initiation'. The sequence of events in the winter ceremonial was described: symbolic clubbing to death of the initiate in the smokehouse, followed by relative seclusion for at least four days before a symbolic rebirth in the presence of cheering crowd and rhythms of drums. Out of eleven cases of anxiety or depression or somatic illness,seven showed significant improvement. Out of thirteen cases of behavioral disturbance or aggressive tendencies, 13 were rehabilitated and 4 were described as having improved remarkably. The authors claimed then that collaborations between Western psychiatrists and traditional healers were associated with empirically demonstrable favorable outcomes. This quantitative information was complemented by five detailed case reports and ethnographic descriptions of indigenous healing (including the spirit dance initiation) and this made for what was a methodologically eclectic paper. The case reports suggested that indigenous healing led to clinical improvements in many cases where the efforts of Western psychiatrists had failed. I find this to be an elegant demonstration of collaboration possible with Canadian indigenous communities—one that has not yet unfolded at Seabird.

BARRIERS TO COLLABORATION

(i) Dichotomy and Hierarchy

Western biomedicine has traditionally endorsed the position that only it is good and true. Waldron4, writing specifically about

the marginalization of African healing traditions within Western medicine, echoes those sentiments. She writes about the devaluation and de-legitimization of non-Western forms of knowledge and also refers to a dichotomy separating Western medicine and indigenous healing as well as a hierarchical relationship between them. Such factors, for Waldron, serve to "obscure opportunities for alliances" [4](p52)

Yen & Wilbraham[5] contend that initiatives to nurture collaborations between indigenous healers and Western practitioners are often fraught with challenges because the moral space in which psychiatry is located is characterized by a discourse that construes indigenous healing as unprofessional and naive. Moreover, they argue that the professional discourse within which Western medicine and psychiatry are couched marginalizes and stigmatizes indigenous healing as 'the other'. The authors observe that such discourse is characterized by sharp boundaries between professionals and non-professionals and perceived rationality of professional discourse due to their membership in institutions that regulate medical knowledge and practice. The existence of negative and dismissive attitudes among medical professionals has recently been given empirical support in at least two studies (one from Germany[6], the other from the United States[7]) of medical students' attitudes towards complementary and alternative medicine. A South African study[8] reported the results of individual and focus group interviews with service users and providers in order to explore their perceptions of the interaction of the traditional and Western systems of care. Traditional healers expressed a lack of appreciation from Western health care practitioners but were open to training in Western biomedical approaches and establishing a collaborative relationship in the interests of improving patient care. Western bio-medically trained practitioners, in contrast, were less interested in such an arrangement.

(ii) Fear Among Traditional Healers

Several authors [9,10] write about the history of governmental attempts to suppress traditional healing. The so-called "potlatch ban" or "potlatch law" was an infamous piece of Canadian legislation enacted in 1885 outlawing native ceremonial practices. It led to many of them being eroded altogether and some of them being forced underground. In recent years, I have been privileged to have had numerous informal conversations with elders in the communities where I have the good fortune to work. During those conversations, the nature and extent of that governmental suppression has been conveyed to me by individuals who witnessed it first-hand. Upon hearing such first person accounts and upon learning about the sort of systematic and sustained subjugation that local indigenous culture was subjected to at the hands of colonial agencies over many decades, one cannot but fail to be deeply moved. Additionally, several elders have shared with me that a culture of fear in local indigenous communities□ one that had become entrenched over the course of a century or so□ persisted for decades, even after the repugnant potlatch law was repealed, in 1951. It has often been shared with me that it wasn't until the 1970s that the icy fear within BC Coast Salish communities started to loosen its paralysing grip, emerging from which was a cautious confidence that participation in traditional ceremonial practices could take place without reprisals from the authorities. Given that historical reality, it is hardly surprising that many keepers of traditional knowledge today continue to be guarded about sharing it with Western professionals.

(iii) Current Models

The two elegant examples[1, 3] given in the introduction would appear to go against Waldram's[11] contention that true collaboration between Western biomedicine and traditional healing has never occurred. As well, there are a handful of supposed holistically oriented health services around Canada such as the Anishnawbe Mushkiki Aboriginal health centre in Thunder Bay, the Anishnawbe health centre in Toronto, the Eskasoni community health centre in Nova Scotia, the Noojmowin Teg health centre in Mantoulin Island, Ontario, and so forth.[12] These are not, however, systematically described, which means that there is no description of referral pathways, no reference to either the numbers or types of patients seen, no referral criteria, and no mention of whether or not psychiatrists are involved.

A few exceptions to the above demonstrate similar problems to the Seabird Island Health Centre in terms of setting up collaborations with traditional healers. For example, Wieman [10] provides a description of Six Nations Mental Health Services in Southwestern Ontario (running since 1997). The team is comprised of four mental health nurses and two part-time psychiatrists. The most common presenting problems are mood disorders and 'disruptive behaviors'. Of particular interest to us is the fact that the author describes having had difficulties in establishing collaborative working relationships with traditional healers in the community speculating that "due to discrediting of traditional healing in decades past, many traditional healers in the community work 'underground' and are difficult to access."[10(p184)] The author goes on to hint that the development of collaborative relationships with traditional healers is a work in progress.

Maar & Shawande[9] describe some aspects of an integrated mental health clinic on Manatoulin Island in Lake Huron, Ontario—in existence for 10 years. There is a weekly central intake meeting attended by a psychologist, a mental health nurse, a traditional coordinator, two social workers, and a case manager. The authors share some practical tips/suggestions about factors that facilitate integration such as all team members sharing the same office space and having an open door policy. They write that as the service has developed, increasing numbers of clients have been able to access traditional healing resources and moreover are willing to report having done so. One issue that is emphasised is the fact that not all Aboriginal people want to be able to access traditional healers, implying that referrals should be sensitive to individuals' needs. Another suggestion is that forums and educational events should be facilitated where Western clinicians and traditional healers can come together to learn from each other.

Although at the service-delivery level, things are in their infancy, there is much interest in identifying and understanding barriers so that they can be overcome. A great example of this comes from Crowe-Salazar's[13] impressive study from Southern Saskatchewan, eliciting the views of a psychologist, a psychiatrist, and a traditional healer on the subject of working together and of forging partnerships between different systems of healthcare. All the participants identified the need to know each other's perspectives in a more meaningful way and the researcher suggested directed talking circles in which such a dialogue could unfold. One of the striking features of this study is its optimism and hopefulness. Crowe-Salazar identified differences in the respective worldviews, training and so forth of the Traditional healer, the psychiatrist and the traditional healer but also identified the fact that there is much common ground and it is important to bring attention to these as a starting point. These included a sense of humility, a desire to help others, and

Case Vignette 1

An illustrative case of collaboration is Wendy (pseudonym), a 50 year old female who I am treating for depression. As a child she had witnessed significant violence between her parents and then sudden abandonment by her mother as a 13 year old. In addition she was separated for several years from her siblings when she was sent to a series of residential schools. At her own request I referred her to a residential treatment program near Nanaimo - Tsow-Tunlelum (Healing house) which incorporates Traditional healing into its program. She recently returned after a 4 week period of treatment telling me that she feels that this program helped her to "get to the root" of her trauma. She reports some cathartic healing experiences, telling me that she cried for the first time since she was a girl, and that, as a result of this, she feels "emotionally unblocked" and that her depression has lifted significantly. While in treatment she participated in several sweat ceremonies, a pipe ceremony, and had dialogues with elders.

an impulse to give. In commenting on the values that are important in services that effectively manage to integrate indigenous and Western models, the importance of the concept of an 'ethical space' defined as a space of possibility that emerges when two groups with distinct worldviews engage with one another in mutual collaboration and respect was highlighted by Tait[14]. Pakula and Anderson[12] argue that successful integration depends on validation and co-existence of two different epistemologies of health rather than the one subsuming the other in the name of integration.

Sts'ailes

In February, 2015 I started another psychiatric clinic in the community of Sts'ailes, not far from Seabird Island. Again, I was delighted to be asked to do this. Several meetings took place between key people on Sts'ailes and professionals from the local health authority over a period of almost a year before I started seeing my first clients. My two years at Seabird have not only helped form a vision of what collaboration should look like but also better recognize the obstacles that get in the way of the realization of this vision. I have been reaching out to traditional healers at Sts'ailes and have met with one of them three times, including participating in a Sweat ceremony that he led. We have spoken about referral pathways (both directions) and exchanged general knowledge in which (much like the Bronx study quoted above) I am learning about the forms of traditional healing available to members of the Sts'ailes community and I am advising them about the sorts of circumstances where I think Western medical intervention would be helpful. We are also exploring the feasibility of an innovative model of service delivery in which the traditional healer and I see clients together. On both our parts, there is a strong appreciation of the importance of data collection ('collecting stories') from the outset. This will assist us not only in quantifying the extent to which traditional healing is already utilized by those attending the psychiatric clinic but in determining if our efforts to forge collaborations prove to be effective.

CULTIVATING A DEEPER COLLABORATIVE ATTITUDE

I have come to appreciate that there is another area that falls under the general rubric of 'collaboration,' albeit a qualitatively distinct type of collaboration from that which I've

discussed so far. It entails the assumption of a collaborative attitude towards the perception of mental illness. For me, it's about building bridges between Western bio-medically oriented explanations of mental disorder and those that are more congruent (and not necessarily in conflict) with indigenous conceptualizations. It is beyond my scope here to review the indigenous conceptualizations of mental disorder in great depth but I can at least acknowledge that indigenous concepts stress such notions as 'loss of balance' and 'loss of harmony', themselves thought to result from some sort of disconnectedness from the land, the family, or the culture. Such terms as 'loss of balance' and 'loss of harmony' themselves transcend the mind-body distinction, something that is widely considered to be an artefact of Western enlightenment logic and as such, incongruent with most indigenous conceptualizations of the mind-body relationship. When I conduct psychiatric interviews with clients, I attempt to bridge this divide by asking a question such as "from your own cultural perspective, how do you make sense of/explain the difficulties you are having?" I have invariably found that an openness and receptiveness to clients' own explanatory model (explanatory story) is informative.

Asking clients about their spiritual practices in an interested, non-judgemental manner can positively affirm their spirituality. I learned this when I saw a 40-year old woman recently on Sts'ailes, suffering from depression. During what I recall was our 2nd meeting, I inquired about her previous spiritual practices and by the time she came back to see me for the 3rd meeting she had for the first time in several years gone and had a 'spiritual bath' on 2 separate occasions—telling me that she had found them to be very therapeutic and rejuvenating.

It took 2 years before I began to envision what a truly collaborative project could and should look like. It took the same amount of time to realize that simply providing 'psychiatric outreach' to First Nations communities in itself represents only the most surface level of collaborative endeavours and that there is so much more that can potentially be achieved in the name of collaboration. I would contend that collaboration should be thought of as a broad concept, perhaps as a spectrum, one that has many facets and dimensions. Tentatively, as guides, I have used the categories of surface level (or structural) collaboration, deep collaboration, and deeper (or ideological) collaboration – but I do acknowledge the arbitrariness of these terms. I would suggest that our understanding of the collaborative approach can be sharpened through a kind of dialectal comparison with a non-collaborative approach. In other words, we gain an understanding of that which is collaborative when we bring to mind that which is evidently non-collaborative.

The different levels of collaboration may also be depicted on a pyramid or 'iceberg' diagram (see Figure 1 below). Surface collaboration (or Collaboration I) refers, in settings such as ours, to a Western physician providing clinical services in a First Nations community.

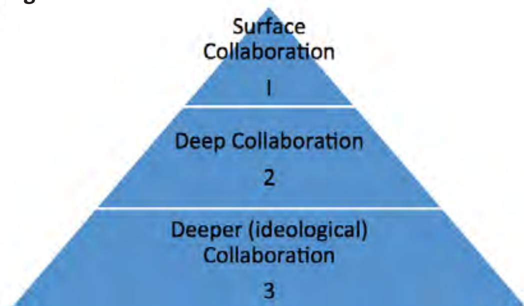
Case Vignette 2

A 52 year old man who I am treating for depression told me that he was 19 when he first came to know of what he calls his 'gifts'. These mostly revolve around a precognitive awareness of the fact that someone close to him is about to die. From the beginning he regarded these gifts as a mixed blessing: It was a gift but it was also a burden and he admits–as a 19 year old–to have been thrown into conflict. This conflict was a significant factor behind his heavy drinking which also began at age 19. He was in his 40s when he embarked on a 20 year period of sobriety and he tells me that this coincided with his full embrace and acceptance of his gifts.

Collaborative approach (Symmetry)	Non-Collaborative approach (Asymmetry)
Psychiatry and traditional healing are equally valued	Psychiatry is superior to traditional healing
Psychiatry complements traditional healing	Psychiatry excludes traditional healing
Biomedical and traditional explanatory models complement one another	Biomedical explanatory models exclude traditional ones
Humility (Western ethno-psychiatry is 'culture bound' and is not universally relevant)	Arrogance (Western psychiatry is universally relevant)

As has been argued in this paper, this level of collaboration merely scratches the surface of collaborative possibilities and so it should prefigure the realization of deep collaboration (Collaboration II) in which the Western clinician and traditional healers interact, mechanisms and pathways for reciprocal referral become established, and mutual knowledge exchange takes place in which the two sides learn from each other about each other's therapeutic approach. Collaboration III goes deeper still for it creates space within the Western clinician's understanding of illness for the client's own – culturally congruent or 'emic' perspective. This is likely to be challenging for Western practitioners whose training, in most instances, has not equipped them with the countenance of non-Western, non-DSM conceptualizations of illness or its causation—some of which, in invoking supernatural causal ideas or concepts such as disconnectedness, imbalance, inter-generational trauma, historical trauma, and so forth, invite Western clinicians to undertake a fundamental re-think of their conceptualizations of the nature and causes of mental illness.

Figure 1



An Asymmetrical Relationship

Asymmetry frames the relationship between Western psychiatry and traditional healing. The former, rooted in and committed to European enlightenment values, has often stood accused of conceptualizing human concerns in overly narrow terms, within a positivistic paradigm whose culturally specific nature often goes unacknowledged. For some commentators, this tendency on the part of psychiatry has been explained as a sort of "science envy"[15 (p114)] in which psychiatry, perhaps because of the inherently ambiguous and contested nature of its subject matter, aims to seek legitimacy through identification with the so-called 'hard' or 'natural' sciences and its methods. Psychiatry's uncritical appropriation of 'evidence based medicine' constitutes, to my mind, a gilt-edged example of this science envy. Yet the evidence based medicine movement is increasingly under scrutiny.[16,17] The prohibitively expensive methods used to legitimize therapeutic interventions in the

West (double blind, placebo controlled randomized controlled trials as a 'gold standard' for instance) are unlikely, realistically speaking because of barriers that are conjointly pragmatic and epistemological to ever legitimize most forms of traditional healing. It is essential then, in my view, that when embarking on the sorts of collaborative ventures that have formed the subject matter of this paper, we adopt a critical relationship towards such concepts as 'hierarchy of evidence', 'outcome', 'efficacy' 'evidence' and so forth. Implicit to these concepts and imbued within them are assumptions about what does and what does not legitimize any given therapeutic or healing practice.

I find support with regards to these concerns in Waldram[11] who says that the sorts of concerns with efficacy that define western medical outcome research should not necessarily be assumed to translate to the sphere of traditional healing. Waldram writes "What science cannot see, is not allowed to see, or is incapable of seeing, is invariably condemned as unscientific. Such is the legacy of positivism." [11(p96)] Waldram admits that when traditional healing has been subject to efficacy research, the results have been "ambiguous"[11(p93)] and I share what I understand as Waldram's lack of confidence about the prospects of traditional healing thriving if it were subject to the prevailing evaluative procedures and technologies of Western biomedicine. This speaks to the asymmetrical relationship between Western medicine and traditional healing—the manifestations of which, though often unacknowledged, remain pervasive.

Describing it as "one of the festering irritants for indigenous peoples" [18(p198)] Ermine [18] decried the Western assumption about the presumed universality of Western thought—what he calls the "God's eye view of humanity" [18(p198)]. Psychiatry is not at immune from such 'God's eye' assumptions of its own universality. I believe that psychiatrists, especially those working in culturally diverse settings, must keep in mind the fact that psychiatry itself is a culturally specific practice, a form of 'ethnomedicine' whose values, premises, and commitments themselves reflect local and contested truths as opposed to universal ones.

Conclusion

What I have come to appreciate over the course of the last 3 years, more than anything else, is that Western psychiatry is forced into a mirror-like confrontation with itself when it comes up against a boundary with another culture whose epistemological and ontological premises, and whose cosmologies are different from its own. I would contend that this boundary also constitutes what we may conceptualize as a 'limit situation' since it is at this interface that Western psychiatry's conceptual limitations become particularly exposed and its assumptions of universality particularly problematized. As a psychiatrist steeped in the Western medical culture for almost 20 years, my recent work with Canadian First Nations communities behooves me to 'question everything' about psychiatry and to be unceasingly self-reflexive and critical about Western psychiatry's conventions and dogmas, its diagnostic categories, its evaluative procedures, its theories of causation of mental illness, its healing modalities, and so forth.

Psychiatry has been guilty of engaging in a systematic negation of the cultural other,[19] often deploying pathologizing language in the service of this invidious undertaking. My hope is that the professional climate is more ripe now for what has historically been an uneasy relationship between Western psychiatry and traditional ways of knowing to move towards

a place of symmetry and of mutual respect. Perhaps I am being naïve and/or idealist, but in the absence of such a vision, the prospects of anything other than the status quo remain slim at best and non-existent at worse. Crowe-Salazar[13] emphasizes that though there are differences, it is more important and more relevant to our task to focus not on them but on commonalities, of which there are many. If we heed Crowe-Salazar's advice, the realization of our collaborative vision is eminently possible.

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Miskitu Matriarch in Exile from Yapti Tasbia

by Miskitu Matriarch Reverend Josephenie Hendy Clarence Robertson
as told to and elaborated by Ercell Valcina Monica Hendy Clarence Tawska Fleurima

"In 1957, my brothers and uncles were killed by the Somoza Government and upon the demand of the Council of Elders and Miskitu Royal family of Kuum and my people, I declared the independence of the Miskitu Nation from Nicaragua and Honduras. In 1960, I was given the option to be exiled permanently or face death. With 72 hours to leave my beloved remaining family and friends in Mosquitia, I left with the belief I would be of better service to my people alive. Ever since, I have been pursuing the full sovereignty and international right to self-determination for the Miskitu People."

— Rev. Josephenie Robertson, Matriarch of the Miskitu Nation

This story begins with an indigenous princess from a wealthy kingdom. Her kingdom has been living under oppression and threat of extermination since 1894. She dared to speak out against her oppressors and rebuked the atrocities they were committing against her nation. Her bravery was ill received and the Somoza government (Nicaragua) jailed her. She was given the choice of death or exile. To save her life so that she could continue to fight for her people, she went into exile—57 years and counting. The princess, now a matriarch, continues addressing the plight of the Miskitu Nation. Her mission is to strive for a free and independent nation for her people.

I am Ercell Valcina Monica Hendy Clarence Tawska Fleurima, born Princess (in exile) in 1970 to the Miskitu Nation. The princess in the above story is my mother. For a 12-year period, I was also exiled from my family. I chose to not have anything but harsh words for my mother. When I was reunited with my son I chose to make an effort to fulfill his wish of family unity. I gave my relationship with my mother another chance. She and a couple of her close friends were planning a fundraiser to raise awareness for her people. I watched this 70-year old woman tirelessly give out pamphlets, flyers. My heart broke when I saw how the stress of her mission has exhausted her and affected her health. From that moment, I rediscovered my forgotten purpose on this planet. Indigenous issues have always impassioned me. I did not know why until I joined her steadfast fight for freedom. Blood does call and I am answering it.

A Matriarch in Exile

My mother, Rev. Josephenie Hendy Hebbert Clarence Tawaska De Robertson, Matriarch of the Miskitu Nation, was born in Silver City, Mosquitia on December 10th, 1943. She grew up with her mother, the Crown Princess of Miskitu Nation and father, originally from Sudan. Her parents and the elders taught her the oral history of their nation (in the past, her grandfather, Sir. Andrew Hebbert Sumito Sumu, had a library containing books on the history of the nation but Somoza had it burned down.) Her home was filled with love and respect--a stark contrast to the oppression and neglect by ruling governments both in Nicaragua and Honduras. Her mother was a midwife and holistic healer who traveled from town to town helping those in need. My mother liked to pretend she was a doctor, curing people like her mother did, she also loved to read, write, and sing. Her family - especially her brothers -were the heirs of the Miskitu Kingdom, with

rightful claims to all its mineral resources such as gold, silver, pearls, mahagony, cedar, rubber, and lumber. In 1957 her brothers and uncles were killed by the Somoza Government. She was appointed to take staff in 1960. From town to town she proclaimed the full rights and independence of her nation. She was arrested and sent to jail, where she was treated cruelly. Rather than deterring her efforts, it deepened her conviction and she continued awakening her people to their rights. Again she was arrested and was put in front of a firing squad, given the option to be exiled permanently or face death (since 1894, the Nicaraguan government has murdered, recruited, threatened, bribed, or exiled Miskitu leaders, members of the Royal family, and gifted people – trying to keep the majority of the people "dumbed down" and with no sense of ancestry, dignity, or history). With only 72 hours to leave her remaining family and friends in Mosquitia/Miskitu, she left for Guatemala (were she worked for president Arana and met my Father, a French/Haitain/Arab exiled by François Duvalier who also worked for Arana) with the belief that she would be of better service to her people alive. Ever since, she has been pursuing the full sovereignty and international right to self-determination for the Miskitu People.

Her 2014 book, Yapti Tasbia: The Miskitu Motherland, acts as a guide to her people in their struggle. By presenting the state of affairs and sovereignty of the inhabitants of the nation in the book, she emphasizes to her people that they have no choice but to demand their rights through the international referendum or plebiscite decolonization process.

Miskitu History

The Miskitu are the original people on the Moskitia/Mosquito (Miskitu) territory on Central America's Atlantic Coast. Our history dates back to the Mayan civilizations. The Northern Nahuatl speaking indigenous peoples of Aztec Mexico who accompanied the Spanish to the Moskitu kingdom referred to the Miskitu as "chontal" or "foreigner", indicating that the inhabitants of the Miskitu Coast were not the same racially as the Aztecs who lived just north of the Mayans and Miskitu peoples. Cristóbal Colón (Christopher Columbus), himself wrote about his 4th voyage in 1502 to the Americas, where his journals described the Miskitu Coast also being inhabited by "dark skinned" people who wore golden circular medallions and dwelled by a large river where there was lots of gold in the sands.

The Mayan culture, which spanned from southern Mexico to El Salvador, recorded history and people in their murals. In those murals, some people have found it strange that the Mayan artists portrayed both black and white people. For example, a Pre-Columbian mural by Mayans who lived in the very same region as the Miskitu there is a depiction of three black skinned men with gold medallions around their necks as referenced in Yapti Tasbia: The Miskitu Motherland (Vance, 2012).

The first European reference in 1685 to the Miskitu indigenous peoples as a "small nation" [1] came from English, Dutch, and French pirates who visited the area in the 1660's and 1670's. They noted the well established social, commercial, and military ties between European pirates and the inhabitants of the Cape Gracias a Dios area. Nowhere had it been explicitly acknowledged as fact that black people had arrived in the New World before Christopher Columbus, and so they created a "story" of shipwrecked slaves to accommodate the presence of human beings they never expected to meet.

The Miskitu nation, long before democ-

1 Alexandre Exquemelin was a dutch pirate who regularly stopped at the Cape Gracias a Dios with the intention of safely Acquiring provisions.

racy was a word in the Americas, was a nation made up of 12 different peoples—with individual languages and customs—and one primary spoken and written language. They coexisted and honored Mother Nature. Their people included holistic and natural scientists who studied the ancestral knowledge of Mother Earth's natural medicines.

One English trader that visited the Cape, in 1699, described the Miskitu Indians he'd met in the following manner: "They live peacefully together in several families, yet accounting all Indians of one tongue, to be the same people and friends, and are in quality all equal, neither King nor Captains of families bearing any more command than the meanest, unless it be at such times when they make any expeditions against the Alboawinneys at that time they submit to the conduct, and obey the orders of their Kings and Captains" (Olsson & Robertson, 2014).

They also were great fishermen, ship makers, storytellers, and warriors. Mosquitia was a kingdom with land and water stretching from Columbia to Belize. Miskitu warriors met and defeated Christobal Colombo (Columbus) invaders in 1500. Christobal Colon and his men ran for their lives after the brutal beating they took from the Miskitu warriors. When he reached the other side, now known as Honduras, he exclaimed "Thank God!" The legend says this is how the Miskitu territory beside Honduras "Cabo Gracias a Dios" received its name. The Miskitu were never conquered by the Spaniards.

Author Grin Olsson states in Yapti Tasbia, "Many times historians, nations, governments, and victors of war saturate the real truth of a matter. They use stories to conceal, lie, and deprive people and nations of their rights and dignity."

The European nations, particularly Great Britain, had a military and government strategy of divide and conquer. Yapti Tasba details the atrocities that have occurred within the Miskitu Nation. The conquerors saturated the records with false stories. The Treaty Of Versailles granted recognition of Mosquitia as a sovereign, self-governing nation. This continued until 1821. Great Britain, Austria--Hungary, Bohemia, and the United States, in what has been described as a kind of "Imperium in Imperio," adopted a position ignoring the sovereign rights of Mosquitia.

This treaty did not weaken the claim by Spain to title over all of Central America. In the Treaty of 1850, between Nicaragua and Spain, the title was officially renounced by Spain. Nicaragua then claimed sovereignty over Mosquitian territory.

According to British Rule and the British Parliament, the British have a responsibility for the Miskitu Nation. According to article II of the Agreement between Great Britain and Honduras on 27th August 1859, Her Britannic Majesty's Government recognized the middle of the river Wanks or Segovia. This river flows at Cape Gracias a Dios as the boundary between the Republic of Honduras and the territory of the Mosquito Nation. Regulation 4 of Article II of the GamezBonilla (also known as the Tegucigalpa Treaty) provided to fix the boundaries between both Republics. Yet Great Britain continually renounced dominion over the Miskitu Kingdom.

Dating as far back as 1893 the practice of oppression by force has been the people's reality. Government manipulation continues still today. The Miskitu people are supposed to be protected by the various treaties that have been drafted and forced upon them. Yet none of these treaties have produced meaningful results for them. Permanent policies of the governments of Nicaragua and Honduras helped in the forced annexation in 1894. The result of their policies has been an ecological, environ-

mental, and human tragedy.

The Miskitu Nation Today

The Miskitu Nation rejects and condemns the arbitrary and illegal actions of the governments of Nicaragua and Honduras. It rejects their feudalistic effect on the people and their landmass: the mortgage of natural resources of the Caribbean Sea (belonging to the Moskitia) in exchange for war tanks from the Russians, negotiations of the Rama and Creole territory to the Chinese, the continued unjustified use of precious metal mines to the Canadians, and supplying Iran with uranium from Miskitu land.

In addition, the governments of Nicaragua and Honduras have promoted the invasion of settlers, aka "Colonos". They provide the Colonos with weapons (prohibited by state law and UN resolution 650). The Colonos pose as farmers and military civilian clothed soldiers in the Moskitia territories. They kill, maim, kidnap, rape and displace the Miskitu people. They kill livestock and destroy their ability to harvest produce. Since there is no economic and social development for the Miskitu nation, they are left at the mercy of the Colonos.

Author's Account of Atrocities:

While in Mosquitia, I personally witnessed attacks by Colonos (former and present Sandinista commanders posing as farmers) on Miskitu Communities. My colleague Laura Charmaine, an R.N. from Houston, our guides, and I were present when Colonos surrounded our vehicle at gunpoint. We were posing as journalists making a documentary. We conducted interviews and, by the grace of God, were able to gather source evidence. The following day the Colonos attacked Santa Clara Wawa, Wisconsin, and Wawa Esperanza - Mosquitian sovereign territories beside Nicaragua. Shortly thereafter I contracted parasites and became very ill, resulting in my departure in September 2015. I returned to the Mosquitian Territories with my colleague and filmmaker Saycsar Nehemiah Fleurima in December 2015. Our goal was to begin a documentary about the injustices and the people of the nation. We were met by another attack and kidnapping threats. In addition, Saycsar and I volunteered to sponsor villagers fleeing from attacks. Men had been shot and treated very poorly at the Hospital Regional Bello Amanecer, in Bilwi, Puerto Cabezas, in the north caribbean region of Nicaragua. Some were denied pain medication and others refused treatment altogether.

In 1894 false treaties and forced annexation of Miskitu territories to Nicaragua, Columbia and Honduras began, followed by mass murder and exile. Later the Somozas tried to erase their history and identity, giving them Spanish and English surnames. Since the 1970's, the Miskitu Nation has been fighting to protect itself from Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's Sandinista Army. This army is dedicated to the extermination of the original nations of the Atlantic Caribbean Coast.

In the 1990's, in order to bring peace between the Sandinista and the Contras, the Miskitu Warriors gave up their arms and accepted the protection of the United Nations charters. Today, the Miskitu people have no weapons. They are regularly shot at and are dying from contaminated waters (that run into the Rio Grande) and food[2]. The people are left

2 1848-1860 - The Miskituseize the colony of Greytown (now renamed as San Juan del Norte), with British support. The event was noticed by the United States, but the minor action of reprisal in 1854 achieved nothing. The 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty ensures that neither power would fortify the coast or attempt to colonize it and, in 1859, Britain delegates a portion of its Miskitu "protectorate" to Honduras. The Miskitu people

without protection. They are now at the mercy of Daniel Ortega, the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) dictatorship, and the government of Honduras. Their armed forces occupy the sovereign domain of Miskitu territory. Determined to take this land for profit from its natural resources and for political advantage, President Ortega is committing war crimes against the Miskitu Nation (all tribes) that are not unlike those previously committed in the last century.

Miskitu weapons fashioned to defend villages against Nicaraguan attacks

People are being starved and/or exterminated by companies owned by Nicaragua, Honduras, Venezuela, Canada, Scandinavia, Europe, China, Iran, Russia and Colombia. These companies have illegal possession of natural resources. They have acquired them through the protection of the Government of Nicaragua, FSLN and Honduran forces. They continue to refuse to provide funds for the rehabilitation of Miskitu Nation's land. Instead they have invented laws. These laws are created immorally and illegally to justify the invasion by settlers—and claim to promote a "peaceful coexistence" with the Miskitu. Their goal is to move Nicaraguan citizens displaced by the Interoceanic Canal[3] into Miskito territories, thereby claiming sovereign Miskitu land as Nicaraguan property.

The Miskitu Nation rejects the current regimes of Nicaragua and Honduras—who do not recognize its historical political rights. Thus, at home and in exile, the Nation is seeking a peaceful political referendum. United through mutually cooperative agreements, they wish to see a return of their resources, lands, and autonomy.

Miskitu and the Forest

The Miskitu nation (all tribal languages) does not subscribe to overuse or abuse of the land. We believe in gentle and respectful treatment of Mother Nature and her gifts to us. The words 'Mother Nature' is very heartfelt in our shared culture. Like their own human mothers we give the earth the same love and respect. We aren't explicitly against modern development but we do have reservations because of the arrogance that "developed" nations exhibit. Others regard our connection to the earth as "rubbish, witchcraft, savage, superstition or bush medicine." We want the traditions and knowledge of our indigenous world and it's people to be respected. We are treated as fourth class—as small thinkers. Yet our "primitive" knowledge is the root of modern medicine and technology. We hold knowledge that could be

revolted against this decision the following year, when the entire Miskitu coast, less that portion given to Honduras was passed to Nicaragua, with the Miskitu confined to a limited Miskitu Reserve and their kings now recognized only as chiefs, a dictate which has little effect as no outside power was able to exercise its authority along the coast. The British Union Flag is lowered on the Coast for the last time but the Miskitu people continued to de facto rule themselves.

3 The Interoceanic Canal is a planned shipping route through Nicaragua to connect the Caribbean Sea (and therefore the Atlantic Ocean) with the Pacific Ocean. Its viability has been questioned by shipping experts and engineers.

the key to our future.

Illegal logging and land seizure by multinational corporations–and corrupt governments that support them—are a regular part of the Miskitu Nation's reality. For example, the Venezuelan lumber company Alba Forestal, America S.A, Mapenic S.A, Prada S.A (in Betena) (Chinese) and HEMCO manipulate the Miskitu, threatens them, harasses landowners to either give or sell them their land for an unfair amount and then forces them off their land altogether. If the people resist the company has resorted to using a 'land dispute' excuse. They unleash armed pacific coast settlers—some farmers and former/current soldiers—to attack them. These armed settlers shoot, raid, rape, kidnap, and torture the people. They have taken over lands of the Garifuna, Miskitu, Rama, Pech, Tawaska, Creole, Sumu, Prinzapolka, Sambos, and more. These actions are condoned and promoted by the government of Nicaragua, the FSLN, and Honduran Forces. My sources (who will remain anonymous for their own protection) say, President Daniel Ortega, his partner Rosarillo Murillo, and hand picked Miskitu Sandinista leaders (who have been bribed and/or threatened to side with them) authorize these land seizures and killings.

In Nicaragua, new laws that restrict indigenous people's access to the forest are constantly being made. They are not allowed to cut their own wood or lumber (especially mahogany and cedar). If they do they are in danger of being punished by having their limbs broken or cut off, having their lumber/wood confiscated, and/or serving jail time. They are forced to buy their own wood at an unfair rate—driving them into poverty. Since they cannot afford the government hikes in prices, they are forced to live in substandard shelters.

The Alliance for Global Justice 43 intervened in March of 2014 and was assured by the government that the practices would be stopped. As soon as they left the area, the injustices continued. The Nicaraguan government gives unlawful permits to lumber companies. They cut trees on Miskitu sovereign land without consent or ordination by a democratic people's vote. Illegal loggers and land grabbers have invaded the land. They are responsible for massive deforestation. The Miskitu Nation once had pristine nature reserves. The government is ruining their land and threatening the tranquility of the indigenous territories.

My team of activists and journalists recorded forest fires that were created by the Nicaraguan Government and logging companies. They start these fires and then they lay blame them on the indigenous people. The history of the native people is that they burned brush and created clearing for harvesting. The government uses the farming traditions against the people. They create forest fires and after the fires burn out, their workers dig up the roots of the pine and rubber trees. They do this to assure that nothing grows back. These are hate tactics. Their goal is to assure extermination of the Miskitu people. They do not even realize that, without trees, it will be their extermination as well. The only ones that will profit are the company owners.

Despite an abundance of natural resources in their lands, the condition of the Miskitu Nation is unnecessarily poor. They are taken advantage of and/or persecuted by illegal settlers, the military, illegal miners and loggers, and drug traffickers. These problems are compounded by climatic instability.

4 This AFGJ Alliance (http://afgj.org/) and all people who want to help the Miskitu Nation must understand that Nicaragua has no authority to make any comments or laws that pertain to the Miskitu Lands. The Miskitu Nation is demanding that they listen to the cries of the people who are living this horror that has been created by Mr. Ortega's and Honduran forces terroristic behavior. Their illiteracy, poverty, and ignorance come from oppression and not genetics!

Miskitu protests go ignored by the government and logging companies.

Miskitu Medicine

The Miskitu Nation is well known for its geographically humid tropical forests—that provide a myriad of foods, medicines and other resources. The Miskitu want to work consciously and scientifically to preserve the natural resources for future generations. Their medicinal plants have the potential to solve some health problems and cure diseases that pharmaceutical drugs cannot. In 2005, a study at Purdue University recently found that leaves from the Graviola tree killed cancer cells among six human cell lines and were especially effective against prostate, pancreatic and lung cancers; The National Cancer Institute performed the first scientific research in 1976. The results showed that Graviola's "leaves and stems were found effective in attacking and destroying malignant cells." Since 1976, Graviola has proven to be an immensely potent cancer killer in 20 independent laboratory tests. The soursop (a fruit native to Mexico and Central America), for example, kills cancerous cells. In fact, it kills, 10,000 more cancer cells than chemotherapy and other natural health remedies.

We have medicines that can aid in the treatment of tumors, diabetes, cancer, nervous and respiratory diseases, inflammation, and skin disorders. The unjust laws of Nicaragua prevent us from sharing this wealth of knowledge with the world. The deputies working for the government victimize our healers and throw them in jail for practicing ancestral medicine. Human beings with age old traditions that never once shifted or endangered the planet in any way, are being treated as if their lives and knowledge do not matter. We have a duty to these human beings to help them. We should be learning from them-exchanging knowledge.

Conclusion

The displacement and robbery of the Miskitu Nation and its lands are unacceptable. The continued tradition of conquering and taking land by force must change. History is studied for us to learn from. My hope is that by sharing the story of my mother and her nation, others will join us in efforts for recognition, respect, and political self-determination. The inalienable political, cultural and human rights of the Miskitu Nation can no longer be denied, regardless of state government laws. I believe that the Creator has a positive plan for the Miskity Nation and will see it carried out.

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About the Author:

I am Ercell Valcina Monica Hendy Clarence Tawska Fleurima, born under thunder, hail, lighting, under the sign of the warrior February 8th 1970 and Princess (born in exile) to the Miskitu Nation. I reside in California. As an artist, entertainer, and human rights activist, I am constantly growing and changing, and advocate for the change I want to see in the world. I am committed to educating the world about the plight of the Miskitu Nation.

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Jaqin Uraqpachat Amuyupa

Amy Eisenberg, Ph.D.
Photography by John Amato

"K'utarapxiw quqanakasxa, ukatxa phichantapxarakiw, quqa tunu lawanaks jik'irapxi, ukatsi janipuniw jik'supkit qhuya tunu saphanakasxa."

"One should take pride in one's land and culture. There is a popular saying in Aymara, 'They cut our branches, they burn our leaves, they pull out our trunks… but never could they overtake our roots.' This was addressed to the Spaniards."

- Aymara agriculturist of Chile

Introduction

Jaqin Uraqpachat Amuyupa is the Aymara cosmological vision - Aymara people's thinking about the world (Justino Llanque-Chana, personal communication, 26 April 2002). The Aymara, who for centuries have lived in one of the most extraordinary landscapes on earth, amid glaciated peaks and active volcanoes, have developed and continue to sustain a relationship of mutual respect and exchange with the earth and one another. The Aymara cultural landscape is alive with vitalizing energy and infused with powerful spiritual beings whose presence the people must acknowledge in all their activities. The Aymara are socially enmeshed in their environment and share a perpetual dialogue with the supernatural beings that govern the forces of nature. The Aymara cosmological vision is one in which humans, environment, and the entire cosmos work together simultaneously and cooperatively within a network of reciprocal relations. The spiritual dimension in Aymara culture penetrates every sphere of life (Kolata 2004:98; Albo 1996:119–126; Ruiz-Tagle 1989:6).

Aymara Traditional Knowledge

Aymara people respect and maintain the knowledge and way of life of their ancestors, which is a continuum of their social responsibility, solidarity, and reciprocity. Vicenta Mamani stated, "The sacred permeates Aymara culture. We manifest our religiosity through ceremonies" (1993:391). In the Andes, Aymara rituals are grounded in the daily and seasonal activities and realities of life—living on the land, planting, irrigating, weeding, and harvesting—hence the people's very existence involves ritual (Kolata 1996:8; Castro-Lucic 2002:190). Aymara ceremonial activities are strongly associated with social and economic phenomena (Mamani M. 1989:106). The Aymara give *wax'ta* (offerings), *wilancha* (llama sacrifices), and *ch'alla* (libations of alcohol) to the earth for the *achachilanaka* (protective spirits of the family and community) and *Pachamama* (Mother Universe, *Madre Cosmo*, or *Madre Tierra*) (Silva Araya 1998:71).

Pachamama is the spirit of the uncultivated earth, who occupies a very privileged place in Aymara culture because she is the intermediary for production and the generative source of life (Mamani 1993:393). The achachilanaka are the grandfathers; ancestor spirits that reside in preeminent places and outstanding objects and exercise a constant influence over people (Figure 1). The mountain peaks are *wak'anaka*—places of spiritual power; shrines to the personified forces of nature that influence human destiny (La Barre 1948:165). The

Figure 1. Taapaca, mountain achachila overlooking and protecting Puxtiri. Photograph by John Amato

ancestors help the Aymara orient themselves within their holy land. They are masters of the clouds, water, snow, and hail. If they are not fed and feted, they will bring disaster to fields, canals, pastures, and animals (Albo 1996:126, 132; Kolata 1996:9, 20). The achachilanaka control meteorological phenomena by sending rain, hail, or frost, but winds are sent by spirits that inhabit volcanoes. Every extraordinary element in nature contains a spiritual essence that plays an active role in the existence of all that surrounds it, including people (Metraux 1934:79; Tschopik 1946:559).

Aymara *yatirinaka* are wise ones (Yapita 1994:177), leaders in ritual and wisdom (Mamani M. 1989:115). They know intimately each of nature's features within their sacred landscape and recount the unique history that is inscribed there in great depth. The yatirinaka feel the life forces that perfuse the physical world (Kolata 1996:243), and they are the cultural guardians of the people. They determine what belongs to Aymara culture and what is intrusive (Quispe Fernandez and Huanca Laura 1994:155). Yatirinaka make offerings to the achachilanaka asking for their blessing and protection in times of struggle (Albo 1996:146). Recognized as mediators between the supernatural and human beings, they intercede with the invisible forces of nature. In trance, they look into the numinous world of spirits (Kolata 1996:177).

Yatirinaka and the Sacred Leaf

Yatirinaka use *kuka* (coca) leaves (Erythroxylum coca Lam.), an oracle of the earth, in

Figure 2. Fiesta de San Andres - Pachama and coca leaves

divination (Bastien 1978:55). This sacred leaf is a cornerstone of Andean culture and serves as medicine and as a way of communicating with the supernatural (Healy 1996:245). Coca is used at all fiestas and ritual occasions to promote goodwill (**Figure 2).** At these ceremonial events, people beg one another's pardon, as ill feelings are believed to destroy the efficacy of the rite. Kuka is invariably part of every ceremonial offering (Tschopik 1946:556, 561), and *ak''ulli* (Yapita 1994:140) is the ceremonial sharing of coca leaf (Silva Araya 1998:74). By chewing coca collectively, one calls for unity and communication within the community, and one's body is united spiritually with the earth (Bastien 1978:56). Currently, coca leaf is being condemned, threatened, eradicated, and persecuted because of drug trafficking. However, for the Aymara, kuka is the symbol of life and hope (Mamani 1993:393).

Apachita

For the Aymara, the most holy places are the high mountains, where the earth shrines are fed. Apachita are cairns, or mounds of stones (Yapita 1994:142), on a mountain pass or the highest point of a trail, which are venerated by hikers, truck drivers, and all who travel that way. The spirits that reside in these places are the special patrons of traders and travelers (Tschopik 1951:194). When Aymara people go on a long trip, they must pass by the apachita, and as they do, they show great respect by removing their hats and kneeling down in prayer. With this offering, they can continue on their journey with confidence that they can overcome any difficulties that might obstruct their path (Mamani 1993: 392). Everyone gives salutation and supplication to the spirit of the place for a good journey. People rub their bodies with a stone in order to transfer their weariness to the stone and renew their strength, and then they place the stone on the mound (La

Barre 1948:166). Travelers rest at these sites, leave their quid of coca, and pray, "With this quid of kuka may my tiredness leave me and strength return. Be gone pain, hunger, and tiredness. Mother Earth, give us health, food, and strength" (Bastien 1978:211; 1987:9). Refreshed, they depart one world and enter the new one that is before them (Albo 1996:131).

Upon arriving at the summit of a steep hill or mountain, those who travel with llamas place a stone on the apachita as a token of thanksgiving for having arrived so far with their animals without being weakened by fatigue. Some Aymara offer feathers and plucked hairs from their eyebrows or eyelashes at these ceremonial places. Apachitanaka were considered remnants of pagan worship by evangelists and extirpators of idolatry, who pronounced against, and destroyed them. Some investigators thought they were originally instituted to mark the line of a road (Forbes 1870:237–238; Bastien 1978:60).

In northern Chile, near the Precordilleran village of Puxtiri (Putre), apachitanaka were destroyed by road construction. An Aymara resident of Puxtiri lamented, "It is difficult to recover the ceremonial places and return them to their original condition…The apachita are places where the people pass during their travels. They make offerings and leave signs of their presence while climbing, desiring to encounter good fortune on their journey and in life. These places were destroyed because the new roads were planned, designed and traced in accordance with the ceremonial places. This caused the loss of these places for the people. Losing these places and the uses of the apachita thus signifies our traditions being diminished." If people did not leave a stone and some coca on the apachita, they would become fatigued and might die (Tschopik 1951:194). The Aymara word apachita is the substantive of the verb *apachiway*, which means "remove this burden from me."

Evangelization and Exploitation

With the opening of new roads into the Andes, a proliferation of evangelical denominations and their exogenous beliefs continues to promote confusion and division within Aymara communities of the interior. Amid this avalanche of religions, among some missionaries is a lack of respect for the Aymara belief system. Aymara people expressed that such internal strife created a war within each Aymara person: "It is a sin that crusaders come in without knowledge of, or being acquainted with our reality, without the ability to speak our language. It is a continual invasion that we Aymara suffer" (Albo 1996:153–154).

Vicenta Mamani (1993:397–399) articulated that the theological colonialism of western Christianity has served as an ideological and political instrument with which to destroy Aymara cultural identity, customs, and our communal way of life. Ethnocide and genocide were committed through the so-called evangelization of the American continent. Protestant proselytization announced an escapist, individualistic, and conservative message that lacked concern about social, political, and cultural issues, leading to the condemnation of the great Andean tradition and belief system. Branded as pagan and anti-Christian, the Aymara religion is still practiced underground and has resisted more than 500 years of invasion and exploitation. It is a reflection of the interdependence and reciprocity between human beings and supernatural forces (Castro et al. 1984:215; Buechler and Buechler 1971:90).

The Aymara term *q'ara* refers to those who exploit Indian people. Q'ara means bare or bald, referring to one who does not fulfill his or her responsibility of reciprocal work and has no reciprocal relations. The Aymara are confronting their oppressors in order to

defend their resources, and traditionally, these struggles have had strong religious references (Albo 1996:144). Vicenta Mamani (1993:400) explained, "We ask the governments to recognize us as a 'people' with all that this term implies, and that they listen to us. We condemn the persecution that our leaders are being subjected to; we defend our right to freedom of expression; we want them to give us more opportunities to speak out about ourselves, and not have others speak in our name . . . The fundamental thing is that all people have access to life in equality of conditions, based on mutual respect and an acceptance of the diversity of cultures."

Plants, People and Pachamama

In Aymara society, solidarity, reciprocity, and reconciliation are practiced between people and the entire cosmos of beings. The Aymara try to keep themselves in harmony with the supernaturals and are careful not to offend them. They invoke these forces for health and assistance (Dobyns et al. 1964:126) and communicate with their external world in a profoundly intimate manner. The supernatural world, people, and the natural sphere are strongly intertwined (Buechler and Buechler 1971:98), and there is a constant dialogue between them (Poma 1995:445; Ruiz-Tagle 1989:4; Kolata 2004:98).

There is an intrinsic connection between people and plants. The Aymara believe that if plants and people are to mature and reach their full potential, they must be assisted by fiestas and rituals concerned with the maturation and fertility of crops. Traditionally, pregnant women work in the field to ensure its fertility as well as their own. The human life cycle and agricultural cycle merge, underscoring the mutual necessity of people and crops in each other's development (Bourque 1995:75–86). Progression from one stage of development to the next requires the support of human beings and supernatural powers. Rites of passage in human lives are analogous to those of the agricultural cycle (Albo 1996:163).

Sukullu, the Aymara childhood rite of passage, is performed at the moment of the potato harvest. The calendar of this vital agricultural plant punctuates the flow of time. On the day of the sukullu fiesta, highland children are marked with the blood of the *wari* (vicuña), a wild camelid of the cold land above the limits of agricultural cultivation. The Aymara say that the wari "only weeps when the time of the bitterest frosts approaches." Sukullu represents the child's passage into the state of social being and signifies her integration into the Aymara civilized world of plant domestication and the art of weaving (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:213–214).

Religion, ritual, and agriculture are closely linked. An important feature of Aymara agriculture is the care lavished upon the earth. Libations and propitiatory practices ensure the earth's fertility and serve to protect the soil. Animal blood and *k'usa* (maize beer) are spilled to stimulate the reproduction of crops and herd animals. Neglecting to perform rituals according to custom has had nefarious consequences on Andean agropastoral existence and community production (Murra 1984:120; Castro-Lucic 2002:189).

The Aymara always ask permission of Pachamama before working the soil or planting a seed (Kolata 1996:43). As the principal Aymara deity, with the achachilanaka, Pachamama is the guardian and caretaker of Andean people. She is an elderly mother who protects the Aymara and provides them with all that is necessary for life (Mamani 1993:397). Pachamama is the mother of Aymara culture because existence itself is made possible through this inexhaustible source of life. With Pachamama are all the generative

Figure 3. Water is the creation place of Aymara camelids. Photograph by John Amato

spirits connected with the animals and crops (Albo 1996:133). Mamani (1993:393–394) elaborated: "We believe the land is for all people—that it is meant to be shared and not used only for the benefit of a few. Land is life, because it produces all that we need to live… Water emanates from the land as if from the veins of the human body. There is also the natural wealth of minerals, and pastures grow from it to feed the animals…Pachamama is sacred . . . she is like a mother who nourishes us with the milk we need. She is not meant to be exploited, or to be converted into merchandise. She is there to be cared for . . . Respect for Pachamama is respect for ourselves, after all she is life."

The Aymara and Their Camelids

The Aymara dearly love their llamas and alpacas as a grant from the mighty. *Qarwa* (llama) is at the heart of Aymara culture. It is an avatar of the supernatural, a divine creature that represents the vital life force of all animals. Andean people recognize the llama as a constellation in the evening sky (Kolata 1996:84). According to Andean tradition, the llama is a prophetic animal that can speak to humans and warn them about great events beforehand. Llama saves humans by coming from the place of creation, the *uma pacha*, shedding his blood for all the parts and returning to the mountain. Llamas originate in the highland waters (Bastien 1973:203–204), and springs give life and strength to animals (Mamani M. 1989:74) **(Figure 3).** Remarkably, the magnificent form of a huge, richly detailed llama is clearly visible and well defined in the architectonics of some Aymara terraced fields and irrigation channels (Castro-Lucic 2007:147–148).

The Aymara are loath to sacrifice their llamas except for an extremely serious purpose (La Barre 1948:185). Llama sacrifices mark critical events and the passage of time in the human life cycle. When a llama is sacrificed, the head of the beloved creature is extended to

Figure 4. Puxtiri Aymara pastoralist with newborn animals

face toward the rising sun in order to facilitate reincarnation within the herd. The llama's body is positioned toward the place of origin and return. The blood from the Aymara's most cherished animal flows to all parts of their holy land, vitalizing and empowering it to produce more life (Bastien 1973:210; 1978:77). The lungs and entrails are scrutinized for omens, and seed potatoes are immersed in llama blood before planting (Murra 1965:186). *Qarwa sullu*, the llama fetus, is used in sacrificial offerings to Pachamama. *Illa*, the unseen spirit of Andean domestic animals, is petitioned annually for abundance in the herds (Quispe Fernandez and Huanca Laura 1994:155; La Barre 1951:173; Albo 1996: 133).

Aymara camelids are honored in elaborate rituals concerned with water, fertility, agriculture (Castro-Lucic 2007:147), healing, divination, and weavings created from their wool. Mamani M. (1989:76) shared that every animal species is dignified, valued, and symbolized through music and dance specific to that creature, each with its own song or a song dedicated to it, characterized by melodies and words that allude to the animal and honor its reason for being (**Figure 4**). Aymara songs for animals are from remote times and have been transmitted orally from generation to generation. Rituals integrate animals, herders, pastoral ecosystems, and the pantheon of supernatural powers of the highlands, where herds are closely adapted to a highly specialized ecological niche.

The Bofedales, Place of Creation and Ceremony

Glacial runoff and seepage, rich cushion bogs, and specific microclimates sustain the bofedal plant communities upon which alpacas depend for optimum health and reproduction. Herding in the Andean *Puna*, the high, cold arid plateau, centers around the bofedal, an area with an elevated water table, dominated by cushion plants. This pastureland, which is the natural habitat and creation place of llamas and alpacas, is essential for all herbivores of the Puna because of its high-quality forage (Kuznar 1991:371–372) (Figure 5). Efficient mastication, fine fleece, and disease resistance are attributed to wetland pasture composed of *qhach'u paqu* (Distichia muscoides Nees & Meyen) (Castro et al. 1982:177; Spotorno and Veloso 1990:23), which forms thick mats, and the rosetted Plantago barbata G. Forst. (Castellaro et al. 1998:195). Qhach'u paqu grows in tough, dense cushions close to the ground in

Figure 5. Juq"u -Bofedales with Aymara camelids on the high plateau. Photograph by John Amato

a peaty substrate that conserves water like a sponge. Bofedales are peat bogs, which often form layers of vegetation that are several feet thick (Wright 1963:190). This unique habitat occupies about 5 percent of the total land area of highland Parinacota (Bernhardson 1985:173).

Alpacas require the soft, moist cushion bogs of the bofedales wetlands on the Altiplano. These places are considered ritually pure and sanctified (Webster 1973:120). Bofedales plant communities in this semiarid region are precariously tied to supplies of emergent water. Unless there is flowing water, bogland vegetation is unable to develop. Relatively small changes in the hydrology of any part of the ecosystem can lead to degeneration of vast areas of bofedales—places of creation and ceremony, centers of nourishment for flocks of camelids, and the mainstay of the pastoral livelihood. The Aymara have devised finely tuned resource management techniques that have kept the bofedales in good health for centuries. They create shallow channels that draw water from the parent spring to the peripheral parts of the bofedales where cushion plants may be languishing (**Figure 6**). These channels reduce saturation around the springs and prevent the formation of ice sheets over the bofedal at night. The Aymara practice sustainable pastoralism, which includes careful attention to grazing management and herd movement (Wright 1963:190–191) employing the Andean system of complementarity in herding (Mamani M. 1989:96).

The Aymara maintain and expand the bofedales through their irrigation channels, which are fed by springs and snowmelt. Their

Figure 6. Juq"u - Bofedales wetlands with Aymara water channel system. Photograph by John Amato

ingenious water distribution system improves the bofedales by encouraging the colonization of bogland species. The extensive network of water channels along the margins of the bofedales attempts to ensure a dependable water supply for the winter. The rainy season in the highlands is usually from December through March. Pastoralists depend on the summer rains to revitalize the bofedales that have declined during the long, dry, cold winter (Bernhardson 1985:173). These floristically diverse wetlands of aquatic and semiaquatic plants must be inundated with water plentifully and permanently. If water is diverted or reduced, the bofedal will decline dramatically from insufficient moisture, as high evapotranspiration rates will deprive the native vegetation of the water it requires. Without adequate water, the sun will burn the vegetation to the roots (Binford and Kolata 1996:46–47), causing irreparable damage to this specialized ecosystem and creation place. The growth and development of cushion bog plants depends directly on the availability of spring water. Water diversion and cycles of drought can cause the bofedales to dry up (Wright 1963:191).

Uma—Water

> *"Water is everything, for us it is as important as the earth. " – Aymara pastoralist*

"We are defending the watersheds – the source of life, from its birth in the Andes to its mouth in the sea." – Coordinadora Aymara de Defensa de los Recursos Naturales, Region Arica y Parinacota.

Aymara agropastoralists regard water as

the most precious of the natural resources on which they depend for survival. Highland springs specifically define village membership and are central in the Andean system of reciprocity (Mamani M. 1989:106). Springs are where the llama is born (Castro-Lucic 2007:147) and where his image, illa, is reflected. Illas are the watery images giving rise to llamas. From reflections within the spring emerge all living creatures. The water's reflections are animals and people returning from inside the earth (Bastien 1978:47). Springs and mountains are associated with raising animals. Mountains are the source of irrigation waters for parched fields and pastures, to which the mountain spirits are connected in a most intimate way. This network expresses the unity of communities with the supernatural (Kolata 1996:22; Mamani M. 1989:107; Castro-Lucic 2007:145; 2002:189–190).

Physiographical spirits govern the water supply and carry away burned offerings that are made on numerous ritual occasions (Tschopik 1951:196). Andean origin stories emphasize water as places where creation occurred (Rivera 1991:4). *Tici Wiraqucha Pachayachachic,* creator of the world, rose from the deep, cold waters of the inland sea, high in the Andes. He commanded the various tribes to emerge from the sacred landscape of springs, rivers, valleys, caves, trees, rocks, and hills. Andean identity is inextricably bound to sacred places and names, and a story is connected with almost every toponym. An Aymara elder reflected, "The name of many places; the places here have names as persons" (Bastien 1973:299).

Humanity emerged from the living rock and water of the natural world (Kolata 1996:65–67; La Barre 1948:208). Aymara stories explain that after the river flows down the mountain it circles underground to return to the uma pacha, its source; the place of origin for llamas and people. According to the teachings, the uma pacha is in the Andean Cordillera. People originate from the highland lakes, then walk down the mountain during their life, and after death return along the underground aquatic routes to the highland lakes, where they are born again. This journey is the passage from birth to death, and the return from death to life, which is embodied in the Aymara cosmology (Bastien 1987:42).

Springs, as the source of animal life, are considered the center of equilibrium of the Aymara community (Mamani M. 1989:92). Aymara ritual performances that are associated with water are absolutely necessary to attract all the bounties of nature and to ensure their entitlement to resources (Castro-Lucic 2002:190). In the story of *Wallaqiri P"uju*, the Roiling Spring, when people do not fulfill their reciprocal relationship with the spring through ceremony and ritual offerings, the spring gathers its animals. All of the animals disappear into the spring. Petrification of humans and animals arises from the disarticulation of the natural balance and principles of Andean reciprocity. When members of the earth distort these laws, such distortions can have disastrous consequences. Aymara teachings recount that those who misrepresent such norms are punished. Unity and the multiplicity of elements of the cosmos vitalize nature, and through this unification, the ideals of Aymara society and community are manifested. Coexistence in the reciprocal system is a value in which humans, nature, and all entities are nurtured and their reason for being is strengthened. The Aymara cannot abandon these principles or separate, divide, or minimize their true meaning by transforming them into mere objects lacking mutual relationship as active entities of the cosmos (Mamani M. 1996:235; 1989:122).

Chungara

Aymara tradition relates that in ancient times, the Altiplano sector of Chungara had its time of grandeur. With vast social and economic growth, a rich and significant bofedal existed. The inhabitants were dedicated to raising camelids in the excellent pastureland and the area was endowed with vast mineral wealth. Old Chungara was populated by bearded men in fine attire, but it was the resources of nature that supplied their wealth. Chungara was part of a complex system of ecological complementarity within a network of communication among the life zones of the region. One day this great district and bofedal were suddenly destroyed by an earthquake and devoured by fire, transforming the bofedal into a lake. The destruction was caused by a being sent by the divine protectors of the summits, to examine the behavior of the denizens of the highland districts. Current residents of Chungara say that it was a rich man's caprice, vanity, and lack of human feeling for the people of the community, much less for elders, that the messenger of the sky was sent to punish. Aymara society acknowledges that human behavior may cause serious disasters and violent destruction. Aymara stories enable the people to feel the continuum of the past with the present, making possible their continuity in time and space (Mamani M. 1994:121–123).

Mountain/Body

Bastien (1987:67–85; 1978:25–56) discussed telluric symbolism in the Andes, the Aymara people's reciprocal relationship with the earth. The Aymara reflect the mountains, waters and land for understanding their being, and perceive their cultural landscape as a body with distinct parts. Their toponyms correspond to different levels and segments of a mountain/body form, with which they identify. The Aymara explain that Pachamama and people have fluids that circulate in a hydraulic cycle of centripetal and centrifugal movement. Fluids of the body are governed by dynamics as those in nature and flow between the body and the mountain.

The top of the mountain is the *uma pacha*—the head, the place of origin and return for animals and humans. Highland lakes are the eyes where reflected images of creation emerge, and rivers are the body's vessels. The anatomical mountain/body paradigm personifies the complex kindred qualities between Andean people and their environment. The Aymara are one with the hydrographic homologies that reflect their bodies, surroundings, and social organization. Their homeland is holistic with their physiology and entire being, derived from an historical and reflective relationship between the Aymara, the earth and water, which reflect each other and are interconnected within a reciprocal system.

The community and mountain are inextricably united with the Aymara person, and disturbance in one is associated with disorder in the other. Illness is often linked with social dissonance or a land dispute, whereas the well-being and life energy of the ayllus are fluid. Rivers define the body of Aymara communities and are associated with boundaries that have been invaded. Bodily illnesses mark disorders between a person and the land, and is also associated with the river, which washes away existence and returns it. The river corresponds with places, time and history, communities and land loss. The mountain/body has enabled the Aymara *Marka* (Nation) to maintain cultural unity amid destructive external forces (Bastien 1973:162, 227–251). The Chilean government's political and economic manipulation of Aymara land and water without regard for, or understanding of the vital, culturally well-defined reciprocal relations, practices and the inherent homeostasis in their way of life has

caused tremendous hardships for the Aymara people (Castro-Lucic 2002:190).

Desecration of a Sanctified Ceremonial Place

In northern Chile, within *Parque Nacional Lauca*, the UNESCO International Biosphere Reserve, diversion and canalization of the highland waters of the international Río Lauca for hydroelectricity and irrigation on the arid coast have severely undermined the subsistence livelihood of Aymara agropastoralists whose lands the reserve occupies (Choque Blanco 2004:292–294; Santos Huanca 2004:387–388). Ecological damage caused by diverting the waters that feed the bofedales has contributed to the economic marginality of the Aymara people, who have suffered the lamentable consequences of this development without compensation or benefit (Bernhardson 1986:317). There have been strong economic and political pressures to reevaluate park boundaries to permit further drilling of wells and the mining of groundwater, a nonrenewable natural resource with a very limited recharge rate, within the park. This unsound plan has the potential to cause significant social and ecological impact (Rundel and Palma 2000:268). Diversion of the Río Lauca and dewatering on the Altiplano signify the desecration of ceremonial places of creation, return, and ritual for the Aymara Marka.

Land is the very breath of life for the Aymara, who perceive misfortune, illness, and loss of land as the dissolution of their sacred territory and corporeal body. Geographically, adversity is associated with disequilibrium in body, land, and communities. Harm to the geographical body is associated with dissolution in the physical body and disruption of the social and ecological order. By their activities, humans can restore the body, land, and society to equilibrium. Andean corporeal life depends on environmental life (Bastien 1973:235–250;

Figure 7. Diminishing water resources on the Altiplano. Photograph by John Amato

1978:129).

Highland Aymara people indicate that the once-rich and diverse avifauna of the wetlands greatly diminished because of the manipulation of water levels in the bofedal ecosystem and the deterioration of wild avifauna habitat (**Figure 7**). Mamani M. (1989: 34–37, 74–75) noted that the *chullumpi*, an aquatic bird that inhabits the area around springs and rivers, is highly venerated during the *Uywa K'illpaña* ceremony, the ritual of animal marking, and specifically in the *Samayaña* ceremony, meaning "to cause to breathe." The chullumpi represents the spring deity, *Samiri*. This wetland bird is about the size of a small gull, and when people are present, it submerges rapidly into a spring or river, resurfacing a considerable

distance away. In the Aymara cosmovision, the chullumpi is associated with the procreation of animals. Uywa K'illpaña is a most important ceremony in the highlands of northern Chile with all its ancestral power because it represents the principal beliefs of the Aymara world about nature surrounding animals. The earth and the aquatic realm are concerned with the raising of animals. Through the ritual, equilibrium is established between humans and the powerful places of the earth that control animal life cycles.

Empresa Nacional de Electricidad (ENDESA), the national electric company of Chile, and the *Dirección de Riego* (Department of Irrigation), shortcut the natural flow of the Río Lauca on the high plateau. Water diversion to the arid coast for irrigation and hydroelectricity has threatened the natural and cultural hydrologic regimes of the bofedales. As a result, pastoralists have had to reduce their flocks of camelids because the springs dried up (Bernhardson 1986:315–317). Smaller herds mean fewer animals are celebrated and honored in the Uywa K'illpaña ceremony, which used to last for two or three days. A pastoralist explained, "When there are many animals, they bring a lot of young, then those young are marked . . . They no longer hold the ceremony as before. It is being lost" (Mamani M. 1989:149).

Calling the Rain

Rain is the source of all life for the Aymara and is associated with lakes, rivers, mountain peaks and animals. Rain and mountains are indissolubly linked. Various rain and water rituals are performed in the Andes. The Aymara of Chile know each and every source of water within their territory, and all are used for religious or practical purposes (Castro-Lucic 2002:191). Before sacrificing for the rains, the yatiri voices a long litany recalling the names of the ancestor spirits. The Aymara beseech the achachilanaka to bring the rains. Spring waters are very special and yatirinaka use them in ritual offerings for calling the rains. Sometimes waters from springs, streams and marshes are joined together as in a wedding. Stream water from marshes and mountains are merged and poured over the newly planted crops to bring rain (Kolata 1996:36).

Rosing (1995:73–85) discussed the scarcity ritual for rain, which is performed far from the village in a remote and holy place. Rain lake rituals require sacrifices for springs and mountains and against wind, lightning, and other numinous powers in times of endangering drought. Yatirinaka offer incense and kuka to the water, imploring the lake spirit to send rain, and sacrifices are submerged deep within the lake. Waters are honored and are carried with aquatic plants to the center of the village and springs. In rain lake rituals, the lake must be provoked so that black clouds will rise from it and release rain. Rain lake ritual performances exemplify reciprocity between deities and humans, and reciprocity of giving is an essential value in Aymara life.

Kolata (1996:95) recorded that in some Aymara rain rituals, there are wailing, hungry black llamas; thirsty, rainmaking frogs and toads crying for rain; and weeping children crying out with all their hearts for water from the skies. Toads are a sign of fertility and the rainy season, and they travel between the spirit world in the heart of the earth and the visible world of humans; hence they are mediators between people and spirit. Toads are associated with great pools in the Altiplano pasturelands where the generative power of water is analogous with fecundity.

In the Andes, *pinkillu* flutes, which are duct or recorder-like wind instruments, are played at the start of the growing season and throughout the rainy season to call the rain and to help the crops grow. If not tended properly, plants

weep like young children. Pinkillu are said to have their own voice, which is like the mating sounds of llamas and the wailing of llamas crying for rain. Pinkillu music is vividly associated with the reproduction of llamas. The passage of water between the inner sea and the human world is strongly linked with powerful and enchanted sound, which results in rainfall and renewal. Water rises from the inner sea to form clouds, and rain from the clouds travels to the inner sea during the rainy season. Regenerative waters flow from the perpetually verdant land of the ancestors into the world of the living. In the land of the souls, there is continuous singing and dancing to the music of the pinkillu, and in the season of rains, the souls help the crops grow (Stobart 1996:471–475; Kolata 2004:111; Mamani M. 1989:74).

Aymara and Supernatural Beings

For Aymara people, music, song, and dance in a ritual context are important elements in the relationship and communication between humans, plants, animals, and the supernatural. Music is intimately connected with Aymara religion. The Aymara faithfully maintain the musical heritage of their ancestors as a continuance of the relationship between past and present (Mamani M. 1989:67–68). The Aymara, and all of us who live on *aka pacha*, the earth, are continually exposed to *manqha pacha*, the ancestral world that is below and within, and *alax pacha*, the world above whose forces are controlled by what has gone before. We must learn to live in a respectful manner with both worlds. Enduring social ties between the living and the departed are demonstrated through ceremonies. The dead, if attended properly, become protective beings for the living and have everything to do with the growing season. They are the seeds of the future for Andean society because they engender new life (Albo 1996:148–149; Kolata 1996:11–12). The living feed the dead, who push the crops out of the ground and feed the living, and the living inherit the land from the dead. If souls do not push up the plants from the soil, and there is not ample rain and sun, human work is in vain. For supernatural beings to provide assistance, they require input from humans (Bourque 1995:79–84; Kolata 2004:111).

In the Andes of Arica y Parinacota, elements endowed with supernatural power assist in agropastoral production and control pasturelands and the behavior of humanity. The *uywiri mallku* and *t'alla*—hills, volcanoes, and mountains—are the powerful protectors of livestock and are greatly honored. They are witness and observer of the inhabitants of the region (Mamani M. 1994:118; 1996:222). These spiritual beings can punish the people if they are not given their necessities. As long as they are duly recognized and served, they will protect the Aymara and grant them favors. If they are ignored and not given the affection they deserve, they can react and withdraw their assistance (Albo 1996:128). The awatiri mallku and t'alla are natural elements that are responsible for raising animals. The p*"uju mallku* and t'alla, the powerful spring, is the place of origin of animals represented by Samiri. Samiri, Uywiri, and Awatiri are the deities of the animals who are strongly extolled ceremonially through complex rituals (Mamani M. 1989:90-94).

Supernatural beings are associated with nearby glaciated peaks, volcanoes, hills, and promontories. Place spirits inhabit springs, lakes, rivers, and mountains (Lewellen 1978:90). Prominent and influential are the spirits that inhabit mountains, rivers, springs, lagoons, and lakes (Tschopik 1946:559). Although benevolent by nature, these forces are capable of retribution and malice and are therefore dangerous and must be treated with due respect. They all have great hunger and

must be well cared for (Albo 1996:132). Divination, libations, burned offerings, and presentations are performed to propitiate and enjoin the assistance of beneficent forces. Aymara deities act on the basis of reciprocity; if they receive offerings, they will provide protection, well-being, health, rain, and abundant harvests (Rosing 1995:76).

Jawira - River

Bastien (1973:220–226; 1987:42–44) discussed women diviners who work with the rivers that flow down the mountains. Women and rivers have the power to transform adversity into good fortune. Misfortunes and the misfortune ritual are associated with the river. Women divine and remove misfortune, thereby depositing it in the river, which washes it away and helps the community become whole again. Regenerative forces of life and completion are associated with the highlands, where mountains and rivers are restorative. The river descends through various ecological zones and is continuously restored, originating from and returning to the uma pacha, forming one continuous link. The river connects Aymara communities and traverses the heavens and the netherworld. The Aymara call the Milky Way galaxy "river," which connects the stars across the sky. Rivers are ritual sites where the ancestors and *wak'anaka* (sacred shrines) are fed. Ancestor mummies are associated with the river. Veneration of ancestor mummies was transferred from their gravesites to the river after missionaries burned the mummies and threw their ashes into the water. Misfortune can befall the people if the river is not able to complete its restorative cycle.

Samiri, Breath of Life

According to the Aymara of northern Chile, *p"uju* (springs) are the source from which animals emerged from the innermost part of the earth to the surface. The spring deity is Samiri, breath of life. Samiri encompasses springs, bofedales, lagunas, rivers, small lakes, and streams and is revered as generator of life and strength for animals (Mamani M. 1989:90; 1996:229). Springs are keepers of the aura of animals (Rosing 1995:77). Mamani M. (1994:120) discussed *Wallaqiri P"uju*, the Roiling Spring, which is the place where Samiri creates animals and ritual elements such as gold and silver. In the highlands of Arica y Parinacota, toponyms and their relationship with the surrounding world embrace a range of meanings that are linked with symbolic, mythological, and ecological elements intrinsic to Aymara cosmology. Springs bear names that characterize the murmur of the swirling water and are connected with the reproduction of animals, as in the creation story of Wallaqiri P"uju, the Roiling Spring.

If the people do not perform the offering rites, the p"uju deity, a large woman who lives beneath the spring, can order the gathering of livestock back to the spring. Samiri, as creator of livestock, can call the animals to submerge and remain submerged under the spring. Aymara pastoralists possess a profound knowledge of the spring's power, which is revealed through stories (Mamani M. 1996:224). Springs are associated with *Wiraqucha*, Creator of the Universe, and the underground aquatic route between the Cordillera and the Pacific Ocean (Osborne 1968:87; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:208).

Springs or lakes surround the world and lie beneath it. Highland springs are considered the center of each community, and the source that encourages the unity of people and supernatural powers within the Aymara reciprocal system. Ancient Andean people understood the subterranean hydrographic relationships and communication between water sources

and developed techniques to utilize these complementary networks. Deities travel along watercourses and rivers and distribute lands and *juq"u* (bofedales) to each family. Deities of the spring are surrounded by gold and silver and are associated with the veins of the mountains (Mamani M. 1989:90–94). Springs are the place of origin of ancestors, humans, and animals; hence a vital life force remains localized there. Samiri are resting places and when the Aymara visit them, they receive a vivifying breath and return with courage. Samiri are the places from which each *ayllu* or clan sprang; thus they are hallowed and revered by members of the clan (Metraux 1934:80–83; Tschopik 1946:571).

Samayaña

The Aymara word *samayaña* has symbolic and mythological meaning derived from the verb *samaña*, which means "to expel air" and "to rest." According to Bertonio (1612:869), samaña is breathing, courage, spirit, and rest. Samayaña is to give rise to the expulsion of air. In the Aymara livestock marking ritual, samayaña signifies "to cause the fertility and fecundity of animals through the medium of air, as a fountain of life and strength of Andean livestock." Aquatic supernatural powers expel animals through deities that supply the source of life and strength of livestock (Mamani M. 1989:80–81; 1996:228). Breathing on offerings is an element of many rites and is used to cure disease (Tschopik 1946:561). Breath is employed in rituals to communicate with air and wind, which are animating principles of the universe. The Aymara conceptualize samay (breath) as a life force that animates them, and as a fluid element that connects them with the vitalizing principles of the environment. Diviners communicate with the earth by blowing on their ritual offerings for the earth. Breathing is the means by which Aymara people become united with their animals, land, and plants. Yatirinaka are the "people possessing breath," who breathe on an offering to bond themselves with the recipient. They commune with hill spirits by breathing deeply, and knowledge and power are received from the spirit. In ritual, breathing out places oneself in the offering for the earth (Bastien 1987:16, 70).

Mamani M. (1996:229) described Samayaña as one of the most important ceremonies through which the balance of forces of the animate and inanimate are encountered. This rite attempts to find a just equilibrium between people, the natural environment and supernatural forces. Samayaña, with its mythological symbolism, seeks reconciliation for any disequilibrium involving animals, family, or community. Each geographic point is referred to by its toponym or function. Awatiri, supernatural powers manifested as mountains, hills, knolls, and pampas receive honors. *Samiri*, the aquatic realm, which includes springs, bofedales, lagunas, rivers, small lakes and streams, is highly venerated. Samiri is responsible for maintaining and augmenting the herds and is given recognition and praise for the invaluable work they performed during the year. Animal losses may be attributed to predators such as pumas, foxes, and condors or may be considered punishment by the deities for failure to fulfill the corresponding ritual offerings. The ceremony of Samayaña involves a dramatization or simulation of the expulsion of air from Wallaqiri P"uju, the Roiling Spring, over symbolic objects from the ritual bundles and animals. *Wistalla* and *ch'uspa*, woven ritual bags, are raised and passed around to participants in a circle. Each partaker breathes (samaña) into the bags. A profusion of flowers and miniature chullumpi are given to the people, symbolizing animal fertility. Animal fecundity is ascribed to water sources, and springs supply the necessities of Aymara communities. They

are the breath of life. The river network and its *palqanaka* (branches) express the complementarity of the intricate living system of highland springs. A fundamental premise of Andean logic is that social and economic organization comes from water sources (Mamani M. 1996:233; 1989:81–85, 96).

Kuti

In the Aymara cosmovision, the social order of humans is linked with the natural order of the universe. A disturbance in the equilibrium calls for all means to restore the broken balance. Family and community are sacred; thus one's commitments concerning them must be honored. The performance of each member of the community affects the well-being of the whole. Every misdemeanor requires reconciliation to reestablish equipoise. *Kuti* is a return to the point of departure and is used during times of crisis or to call upon a spirit. Kuti is present in many rites in which something is done in reverse. Blood offerings and elaborate sacrifices are required in life crises and life-threatening situations. They serve as a kind of shield. If a llama is sacrificed, it can make kuti and hence strength and spirit can be restored for the entire community. In 1927, an Aymara revolt against an abusive landowner led to his execution and sacrifice on a sacred mountain, which was the border between ayllus that reclaimed the land (Albo 1996:142–145, 161).

For the Aymara, the tightly coiled helical seedpods of *kuti waynitu*, Prosopis strombulifera (Lam.) Benth. (Aronson 1990:80), have a strong association with the concept of time. Kuti means to turn back. Time is perceived as a continual return, an eternal renewal of seasons and cycles. Each time one returns to the beginning, there is hope that the outcome will be better than before—that the harvest may be more bountiful, the weather more favorable. It is all a repetition in the helix of time; thus the future is always turning back into the past as a spiral. Kuti waynitu is used in sacrificial bundles and is carried as an amulet with the hope that the future will reflect the past with greater prosperity (Gifford 1986:3).

Health, productivity, and survival depend on an enduring vision of reciprocal relations among humans, nature, and the supernatural, whose roots reach deeply into the past. As Quispe Fernandez and Huanca Laura (1994:147) maintain, "Our ancestors are still present and alive." The Aymara perceive that their ancients are embodied in the landscape to which they orient themselves; the achachila of the steep and tortuous folds of the mountains remind them that they are part of a living, eternal history (Kolata 1996:8, 12; 2004:111) that holds the seeds of the future. The Aymara celebrate the hope that this present world of imbalance and inequity will turn right side up and a new kuti or *pacha kuti*, that which is presently below and hidden, will soon emerge. The driving force will come from the ancestors (Albo 1996:149–150) and the will and determination of the Aymara people.

Jaqin Uraqpachat Amuyupa and Disequilibrium

An understanding of the Jaqin uraqpachat amuyupa and the cultural significance of Aymara sanctified and ceremonial places are essential for effectively assessing the social and environmental impacts of deleterious, externally imposed development within the Aymara holy land. The Aymara people continue to proactively defend Pachamama and their natural and cultural heritage from further toxic mining, water appropriation, geothermal, and hydroelectric development within their enclave. The destruction of Aymara resources and ceremonial places raises human rights and legal concerns. It violates Chilean constitutional and indigenous laws, international indigenous laws,

and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The dynamics and intricacies of Andean traditional systems are seldom comprehended and respected, making it difficult to realize the consequences of unsustainable development, the gravity of the desecration of Aymara sacred resources, and the disequilibrium of the homeostasis in their way of life. The Aymara define themselves in terms of their cosmological universe and local geography. Their homeland is imbued with cultural significance and the meaning of places, lineages, history, oral tradition, and teachings that permeate their territory. The Jaqin uraqpachat amuyupa serves to keep their world—and beyond—in balance.

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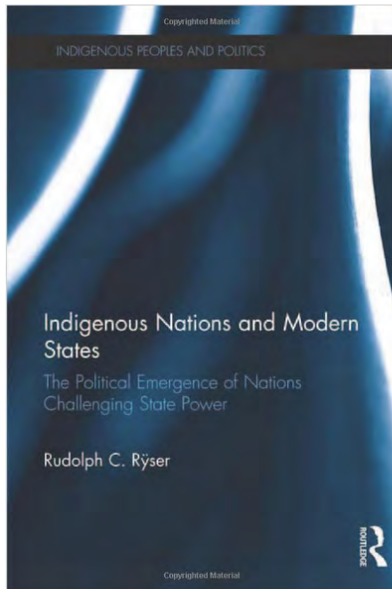

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Indigenous Nations and Modern States

by Rudolph C. Rÿser

Indigenous peoples throughout the world tenaciously defend their lands, cultures, and their lives with resilience and determination. They have done so generation after generation. These are peoples who make up bedrock nations throughout the world in whose territories the United Nations says 80 percent of the world's life sustaining biodiversity remains. Once through of as remnants of a human past that would soon disappear in the fog of history, indigenous peoples–as we now refer to them–have in the last generation emerged as new political actors in global, regional, and local debates. As countries struggle with economic collapse, terrorism, and global warming, indigenous peoples demand a place at the table to decide policy about energy, boundaries, traditional knowledge, climate change, intellectual property, land, environment, clean water, education, war, terrorism, health, and the role of democracy in society.

In this volume, Rudolph C. Ryser describes how indigenous peoples transformed themselves from anthropological curiousities into politically influential voices in domestic and international deliberations affecting everyone on the planet. He reveals in documentary detail how, since the 1970s, indigenous peoples politically formed governing authorities over peoples, territories, and resources raising important questions and offering new solutions to profound challenges to human life.

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Assessing and Addressing Environmental Health Disparities with Indigenous Communities: An Environmental Health Disparities Literature Review

Courtney J. Parker, MNPO

Introduction

The concept of this literature review emerged from a need to holistically address the nature of environmental health disparities impacting indigenous communities; and as well to inform strategies of intervention through community based participatory methods; and further, to inform future research that will help close the gap in access to evidence based planning data for indigenous community based environmental health monitoring and evaluation activity.

Background

Indigenous peoples experience disparities in environmental health outcomes when compared to settler populations in a myriad of compounding ways. A larger picture emerges when considering the intersecting issues of climate change, environmental justice and pollution, and a gap in evidence based planning data for monitoring and evaluation methods appropriate for use with, and within, indigenous communities. This lack of access to evidence based planning perpetuates an ongoing lack of fiscal resources from being allotted to address matters. Localized disruptions in codified rights to natural resources, and a lack of fortification in laws concerning indigenous health and human rights, often create shortcomings in attempts to address issues of indigenous and environmental health at the local level.

Methodology

The questions driving this collection of literature were: What issues define the current state of environmental – and related – health disparities in indigenous communities? What are the emerging evidence-based strategies to assess and address these issues? Search criteria included: 1)‘environmental health disparity’ (all fields) (AND) ‘indigenous people’ (all fields); ‘environmental health’ (all fields) (AND) ‘indigenous’ (all fields); ‘monitoring and evaluation’ (all fields) (AND) ‘indigenous’ (all fields); ‘indigenous’ (in title) (AND) ‘public health’ (in all fields) AND ‘environmental’ (in all fields) AND ‘law’ (in all fields); and, due to mounting calls for policy approaches at the international level, also included was ‘indigenous rights law’ (all fields) in a strictly medical and public health database.

Results

Climate change quickly emerged as a broad theme of environmental health disparity and environmental injustice – encompassing present and unfolding impacts, as well as imminent future impacts on the indigenous environmental health disparity at a global level. Other abstracted themes from the overall literature were: affecting sustainability through community-based participatory research methods; culturally appropriate monitoring and evaluation methods; and, community-based risk assessments and reporting strategies.

Conclusions

Attempts to address the systemic issues that manifest as threats to biocultural resources in indigenous communities, and a heightened vulnerability of indigenous peoples to environmental toxins, will require unprecedented cooperative efforts between indigenous communities, trained researchers, and health practitioners. The situation calls for a social

ecological approach with a multifold focus on merging local community knowledge systems and values – it might surprise some public health researchers to learn that many indigenous communities have been monitoring their community's environmental health for quite some time – with scientific methods (particularly in determining causation) and support for policy shifts in environmental health law and indigenous rights law at the international level.

Indigenous People and Climate Change

Indigenous peoples are living at the forefront of global climate change. Whether related to residing in high impact coastal regions, or depending more on the natural environment for personal subsistence or cultural and spiritual continuity, the increased impact climate change will have on indigenous communities around the world should be garnering due attention. Webb, Bambrick, Tait, Green, and Alexander (2014) explored one way to predict future impact from climate-change driven temperature increases on hospital visits (acute health crises) in indigenous and non-indigenous populations in Australia's Northern territory. Their analyses of admisson rates confirmed that indigenous peoples of the region were more vulnerable to negative impacts on morbidity rates (experiencing an increase in illnesses) associated with climate change related temperature increases. Furthermore, the negative effect was even stronger for indigenous youth, which unfortunately mirrors the devastating suicide epidemic currently endemic to global indigenous populations.

Saxena, Fuentes, Herbas, and Humphries (2016) examined what implications climate change had on traditional indigenous crops in the Colomi, Cochabamba region of Bolivia. Indigenous Colomi agricultural farming exists as part of a broader network of 'indigenous food systems' which are largely ignored in most aggregations of climate change impact data regarding global agriculture. Yet, they are likely more vulnerable to immediate and direct threat from climate shifts. The overall health status of food production – as well as processing activities and environments – in this larger context requires more practical research to determine which of the harmful consequences might be mitigated or avoided. A coalition of research institutions, including the Yale School of Public Health, sponsored the efforts to collect this mixed methods data. Their joint analyses suggested that the impact of climate change on indigenous agriculture is vaster than just issues of yield; and, can be determinative of choices farmers have to make regarding planting times, management of soil, and the spacing of various crops. Even more micro-level household practices of preserving and detoxifying food may be reliant on environmental resources that are vulnerable to a shifting climate.

Unlike the indigenous suicide epidemic – which research has shown might be better addressed through an increase in protective factors – Knibbs and Sly (2014) described the importance of developing a greater focus on environmental risk. Crucial to this approach are scientific efforts to isolate and definine the causal mechanisms that are producing the environmental health impacts and manifesting in the indigenous environmental health disparity.

Responding to observations recorded by tribal elders concerned with decreasing measures of annual snowfall, as well as an observation of overall milder winter temperatures, Doyle, Redsteer, and Eggers (2013) spearheaded a local investigation of climate and hydrolic data from the Tribal College of the Crow Reservation in south-central Montana. Stemming from the inherent and unique vulnerabilities indigenous communities often embody in terms of climate change – due to ecosystem interconnectivity, nature-based cultural practices, larger

ongoing challenges to public health, and a lack of access to resources for beneficial, adaptive, infrastructure – the community on the Crow Reservation is concerned about future impacts from climate change and what it all will mean for local ecosystems and community health. The team's analysis confirmed the elder's observations regarding a decline in snowfall, and measured an increase in frost-free days as well as other shifts in precipitation and temperature. Stream flow is declining; and elders reported such changes as disruptive to fish distribution and food-providing plant species. There were also concerns among the community about dangerous heat exposure that could disrupt cultural activities like ceremonial fasting; concerns about alternate flooding and susceptibility to fires; and concerns about declining water quality. The researchers issued a call for even more localized research to document current – and predict future – impacts in order to better inform adaption-based strategic planning.

Lauer and Aswani (2010) have provided examples from an indigenous community-based management operative founded on traditional ecological knowledge and customary sea tenure governance. Included in their paper is a discussion on how local observers of ecological change shape the way marine resources are used and also provide a means for adaptation centered management to be conducted by sovereign indigenous or pluralistic governance systems. By comparing data from two villages, the authors documented how local indigenous resource centers can provide community members with the ability to monitor ongoing ecological changes in their community; while also impacting their understandings of what drives these changes; and as well, increasing understanding about the ecology of the region, in general. Local records were compared with historic aerial photography and IKONOS satellite images over the past fifty years. The results confirmed that tribal record keepers had effectively documented the long term ecological shifts in their ecological communities.

Risk Assessment and Reporting

Review of the risk assessment literature reveals a need to increase support for community-based risk assessments and protocol development related to indigenous environmental health in order to assess disparities in health outcomes related to environmental toxins. Pan, Erlien, and Bilsborrow (2010) adopted Poisson regression to compare data on morbidity between indigenous and settler populations in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Taking a probability sample of land plots to obtain a sample of colonists, the indigenous data was collected from a representative sample of the five largest indigenous nationalities in the region – Quichua, Shuar, Huaorani, Cofan and Secoya. Results demonstrated undeniable differences in health outcomes between the two population groups. Indigenous peoples in the region suffered a third higher probability of mortality (death), and a two-thirds higher incidence of all-cause morbidity (illness) compared with the settlers. Adding to these statistics, the research team noted that exposure to environmental toxins was increasingly identified as the source of various morbidities. Particularly, petroleum contaminants were linked to increasing cancer related mortality rates, spontaneous abortions, as well as various skin and respiratory ailments. The authors of the study noted that debate surrounding the health impacts of petroleum extraction continued against the backdrop of a multinational case the Ecuadorian govenrment filed against Chevron. The study is fairly sound, but their logic was questionable when they attempted to link findings that indigenous groups were 2.5 times more likely to associate adverse health effects to petroleum

toxins than colonists—possibly being attributed to indigenous political movements. Their tacit assumption is indicative of a false baseline. Why would colonist data automatically be the standardized norm or automatic reference group? Why wasn't it framed as colonists being 2.5 times less likely to associate adverse health effects to petroluem? Surely, the colonists have their own potential biases and political movements (not to mention potential ties to the peteroleum industry.) This inherent distrust and bias towards indigenous data sets unwittingly highlights the need for a more evolved and conscientious approach to collaborative efforts.

Castro, Savage, and Kaufman (2015) assessed these ultimately discriminating views that indigenous peoples can face in health and health research settings. Their team noted how discrimination can present as patient-blaming – such as in the study above, where indigenous objectivity is questioned over the variance of their monitoring and reporting data compared with settler populations – disregard for traditional values, and disregard for language barriers in communications. The latter point is a huge issue in the emerging narratives of forced and coerced sterilizations from indigenous woman around the world, as consent was often sought in languages not familiar to the men and women receiving the life-altering procedures. Such deeply ingrained attitudes and negligence on the part of researchers and health workers – which are sometimes masked by feelings of righteous paternalism – can end up perpetuating the very disparities they seek to address, resulting in ineffective treatment; and in severe cases, verbal and physical abuse. Being treated in such a manner can further discourage indigenous people from seeking appropriate and timely clinical care; and, concurrently create a sense of shame or distrust that could obstruct their participation in future collaborative health initiatives.

Discussion of the study in the Ecuadorian Amazon also brings in the emerging theme of multinational stakeholder involvement in intersecting issues of indigenous and environmental health. The team of researchers, King and Furgal (2014)conducted a literature review using the terms: "Indigenous, Aboriginal, Inuit, First Nation, Native peoples, land…and 2013 available in English" among a relevant selection of electronic databases. Acknowledging both an uneven regional emphasis, and a gap in wide-ranging analyses of interdisciplinary or 'cross-ecozone' evidence to assess the intersections of benefit and risk in individual and environmental health, their paper describes a new model developed to faciliate deeper acknowledgment of the complexity of issues playing out on a global scale.

Gaydos, Thixton, and Donatuto (2015) address challenges related to multi-national ecosystem risk management, while simultaneously recognizing the merit of local ecosystem approaches. Their study looks at energy development intiatives that would increase levels of marine vessel traffic, and evaluates the individual threats each project posed to the area's natural resources. Their preliminary evaluation confirmed and demonstrated the importance of an international perspective and approach to ecosystem management; and, highlighted a vital need for collaboration and management at this macro level to evaluate large scale ecosystem threats. Beyond this, they also recognized a need for imminent risk assessments to be conducted at a similar scale. Included in their text is a usedful table outlining wildlife risk assessment strategies which could be appropriate for use in efforts to legally address large scale threats to indigenous environmental health – like in Guatemala where, recently, an indigenous-led movement produced a charge of ecocide against a multinational palm oil company.

Holistic risk based assessments must be approached through a new paradigm, more completely conceptualizing these intersecting themes of indigenous and environmental health according to research collaborators, Arquette, Cole, and Cook (2002).Cultural and subsistence practices of indigenous peoples tend to increase their overall exposure to environmental contaminants; and any disruption to these activities can produce further negative impact on individual and community health.

A holistic approach must incorporate risk assessment within a socio-cultural framework, and this will require interdisciplinary (ecological-biological and social sciences) and meta-disciplinary (united practical and theoretical) approaches. An appropriate mixed methods design might include embracing scientific disciplines such as epidemiology, toxicology, and ecology, and combining them with collaboratively conducted qualitative research. Arquette, Cole and Cook concluded that there were serious limitations to purely quantitative risk assessments.

Flores-Ramírez, Pérez-Vázquez, and Cilia-López (2015) assessed the exposure of Mexican indigenous children to a mixture of pollutants in three communities, while operationalizing a community-based health model. The strength of their study lies in the way it assessed exposure to toxins using indigenous-specific indications of risk to inform interventions intent on managing risk at the community level. Their results confirmed the unfortunate theme that children in indigenous communities are exposed to elevated levels of environmental pollutants; and also reiterated the need for more evolved approaches and mixed-method assessments involving culturally specific protocols.

Sustainability and Community-Based Participatory Approaches

Sustainability can be a rather slippery term; it is often used almost arbitrarily in discussions about environmental health and program management. However, in terms of assessing the benefits of community-based participatory approaches to assessing and addressing the environmental health disparities common to indigenous communities, the term has due place. Again and again, researchers are finding that involving indigenous communities in the conception, application, and evaluation of environmental health research and interventions can provide a degree of stakeholder buy-in that helps insure any relevant findings will be absorbed, maintained, and even built upon in the community, once the initial research has run its course.

Researchers, McOliver, Camper, and Doyle (2015) revealed a number of initiatives sponsored by the United States Environmental Protection Agency's (USEPA) Science to Achieve Results (STAR) environmental research grants programs which allotted funds to tribal communities for self-addressing disparities in environmental health. The STAR program was spearheaded in accordance with the knowledge that tribal populations are likely at an increased risk for environmental health related morbidities. The team asserted that two of the most crucial steps for validating and advancing community-based participatory research in tribal communities are: outlining the sustainablity of strategies to produce long term impact; and, increasing the capacity for indigenous communities to form partnerships and knowledge-sharing cooperatives with other communities, therefore empowering tribes to meet long term goals themselves. Supplemental – or perhaps even foundational – to this process are efforts to support access to information initiatives that connect indig-

enous communities both with each other and with relevant streams of culturally appropriate information in order to increase potential for the sharing of research designs, implementations, and results.

Another researcher, Cook (2008),identified original articles that reported results on community-based participatory research applications in occupational and environmental health in the U.S., accommodating various inceptions, processes, methods, and outcomes. Cook revealed that in 14 out of 20 systematically reviewed reports, community-based participatory methods led to community-based action, which led to improvements in community level indicators of health and wellbeing. More likely to produce community action, were studies that investigated problems which had been identified by the communities themselves. Coalition-building between scientists, university researchers, community partners, and government entities, emerged as a new model of community-based participatory research capable of unifying the research process with community-based action. In order to capitalize on this value, Cook recommended a shift towards 'community-initiated and action-oriented studies'.

Friendship and Furgal (2012) conducted forty-one partially open-ended interviews with people they deemed as 'Traditional Food Knowledge Holders' and 'Health and Environment Decision-makers'. The duo also analyzed and reviewed organizational records regarding past risk management events relative to these issues. Theirs was a project exploratory in nature, qualitative in deisgn, with an intent to investigate what role indigenous knowledge plays in the management of environmental toxins through consumption of traditional foods in Yukon First Nations (YFNs.) Efforts to include indigenous communities in cost-benefit analyses were shown to have a significant impact on the community's perception of results. Researchers concluded that a responsive set of guiding frameworks, intent to unite people and knowledge systems, could achieve more progressive results in the contexts of multi-cultural research initiatives than would attempts to implement rigid, preconcieved strategies of researcher(outsider)–prescribed frameworks.

Another review, conducted by Ahmed, Shahid, and Episkenew (2015), assessed various theoretical approaches to treating disparities in indigenous health through medical and public health interventions that target areas such as the environment. The authors describe how current health disparities are rooted in centuries-old patterns of colonlialism and assimilation policies that have shaped social and health determinants through the social and physical environment, and are evident in intersecting markers such as unemployment, poverty, and pollution. Especially important to understanding indigenous health disparities, they point out, is the analysis of issues through the lenses of critical theory, postcolonial theory, and the social-ecological model. Perhaps the least well known of those, postcolonial theory, is actually a family of theories based on an ethically motivated sociopolitical focus on how the legacy and history of colonialist policy continues to mold indigenous peoples' experiences, opportunities, and general health outcomes. The team reinforced the mounting conclusions that community-based interventions are necessary to the achievement of sustainable and impactful shifts in health outcomes; further emphasizing how they are specifically imperative to reducing the rising burden of cancer, in particular.

Hankivsky, Grace, and Hunting (2014) presented a framework developed especially to embrace the overarching theme of intersectionality in order to produce more socially just and inclusive health outcomes. The framework they

propose is called Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis (IBPA). To promote the merits of the framework, the analyses of each case study was approached through the idea of providing an innovative structural policy analysis while capturing varying and intersecting dimensions of policy contexts (i.e. politics, experiential realities, history, biocultural diversity, sociocultural places and networks). Also part of their intent, was towards generating paradigm shifts regarding the lenses through which knowledge and policy solutions are transformed into action (with the aim of transcending other policy frameworks currently aimed at measures of equality.) The authors define intersectionality through a set of central tenets: 1) human lives cannot be reduced to demographics or singular characteristics; human experience cannot be understood through the abstraction or prioritization of any single trait; many organizing traits are socially constructed to begin with (i.e. race, gender, sexuality, ability, etc.); and interactive social realities are generated by intersecting social processes and structures – which are then shaped further by influences such as power structures, time and place. All of these factors combine to constitute the need to approach health and social problems via a lens that promotes social justice and equity of outcomes and impact.

To close out this section, let's take a look at a specific community-based approach that aims straight at the heart of many collaborative and ethical issues: involving indigenous community elders in the research process. Flicker, O'Campo, and Monchalin (2015) examined what role indigenous elders can play in making sure research methods and concepts are aligned with community and individual ethics, values, and traditions. The team concluded that indigenous elders are important keepers of knowledge, and valuable consultants on ethics – protective, knowledgeable, and credible concerning community issues. Their abilities to offer counseling and support, while mediating any conflict – and providing place-based context while fulfilling traditional ceremonial roles – make them vital conduits of intent and relationship-building within the communities, and potentially, within the research process. Potential challenges the authors cited involved finding culturally appropriate ways to initiate contact with community elders while operating through sometimes seemingly incompatible bureaucratic systems.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation initiatives that address the intersecting themes of indigenous and environmental health are in dire need of attention and development. Bainbridge, Tsey, and McCalman (2015) concluded that the development of a strategy for systematically assessing benefits – in a manner also deemed beneficial by the indigenous peoples involved – in terms of monitoring and evaluation systems, planning, and research prioritization, was imperative to the implementation of indigenous health research projects. The team also posited that this will likely involve efforts to embrace alternative research methodologies in a benefit-led (and therefore, benefit-defined) approach. Benefit analyses should be routinized from the conception of research projects and the processes must take into account the varying perceptions of value – regarding both outcomes and the nature and purpose of the research in general. Moving forward with these intents will involve collaborating with, and taking into account the experiences, values, and perceptions of indigenous communities; and as well, making an effort to better demonstrate – as well as measure – the benefits and positive outcomes along the way.

Continuing in the vein of study about increasing indigenous community stakeolder

buy-in, Gray, Saggers, Drandich, Wallam, and Plowright (1995) reinforce these burgeoning themes of reciprocity in approach. The researchers assert that evaluation strategies must adopt a broad and responsive system that employs both qualitative and quantiative methodologies, is malleable to sociocultural factors unique to each indigenous communitiy, and is operable in terms of limiting research infrastructures like administrative, technological, and information systems. The authors also echoed the notion that indigenous peoples must be consulted through every part of the evaluation.

Identifying a gap in research and empirical data regarding the monitoring and evaluation of community health coalitions (which are, as previously described, often central to crucial collaborative, multinational efforts) Francisco, Paine, and Fawcett (1993) identified eight key measures of coalition process and outcomes along which evaluations should occur: 1) number of members; 2) planning products; 3) financial resources generated; 4) dollars obtained; 5) volunteers recruited; 6) services provided; 7) community actions; and, 8) community changes. By evaluating community health coalition activity and output along these measures, the development process is well documented, and empirical information regarding key outcomes associated with the group's mission is well preserved. The authors added that other scientific strategies should be applied to assess any causal impacts related to an intervention; and, that assessments for overall impact at the community level will require baseline (pretest) data relevant to community wide factors.

Monitoring and Evaluation – Community-Based Participatory Research and Sustainability

One of the sub-themes generated by this review involves the intersection of appropriate monitoring and evaluation strategies with CBPR and sustainability. Jollands and Harmsworth (2007) tackled the broad subject of sustainable development and the growing body of evidence that identifies a need to evaluate the progress of sustainable development policies at the community level. Indigenous communities, they note, are often notably and disproportionately left out of these evaluation processes. They sought to understand how sustainability monitoring systems might be approached in a participatory, community-based fashion amongst other themes of ecological economics and transdisciplinary research. The authors further isolated the need for the development of sustainability indicators – and reinforced the call for focus on an appraisal of benefits – to offer as rationale in garnering participation from indigenous stakeolders. The researchers noted that present participation rates are low; and, efforts to increase them are under-funded, and subsequently not achieving full potential. Jollands and Harmsworth (2007) concluded that addressing factors significant to this lack of participation on the part of indigenous stakeholders is key to improving the impact of sustainability indicators, globally.

Research team, Danielsen, Mendoza, and Tagtag (2007) isolated a need for better understanding the status of environmental vulnerability, while at the same time safeguarding against alienating the local populaces and stakeolders from involvement in key environmental decision-making processes. One solution proposed, again, was embracing a strategy of participatory environmental monitoring. The authors included that scientifically guided community based participatory biodiversity monitoring techniques could be quite valuable in conceptualizing new approaches; and, also valuable as complimentary approaches to existing schemes of environmental monitoring and evaluation. The important distinction made

here is that previous methodologies and initiatives don't have to necessarily start over from scratch or reinvent the proverbial wheel; more collaborative methodologies can be introduced effectively, in a supplemental manner, at varying junctures and trajectories.

Another team responded to barriers of indigenous support for scientific research and the need to hone themes of monitoring and evaluation already in use. Jollands and Harmsworth (2004), offered their approach that science is expensive and nature is vast; and building upon these barriers is the fact that "customary users of wildlife" may not always be welcoming or trusting of researchers, research, or research intent. With this in mind, they recommended adopting pre-existing traditional monitoring methods – specifically, in this case, to peform spot analyses regarding prey population dynamics. Their paper analyzes methods of traditional indigenous stewardship and includes monitoring techniques of "catch per unit effort and body condition." Broader findings showed that the combination of modern scientific and traditional indigenous monitoring methods can not only serve to build ongoing partnerships between researchers and communities, but can also foster consensus and sustainability regarding resource management at the community level. Since most traditional methods of monitoring already operate on a scale of practicality and low fiscal burden, they can be, and often are, incorporated into other traditional activites, like hunting. In all of the cases they examined, the researchers discovered a surprising level of congruence and agreement between modern surveillance methods and traditional indigenous ecological knowledge frameworks. Problems do tend to emerge in disagreements over causality, and in determining problem solving strategies; there can also be conflict in overall approaches to population monitoring. The authors assure though, that embracing an alternative viewpoint could be key to overcoming any perceived differences and finding ways for unique approaches to compliment each other rather than contradict. To this end, Jollands and Harmsworth suggest that scientific methods can be applied to test causation in accordance with the observation methods and history central to the approaches of indigenous stakeholders. Involving indigenous stakeholders, they concluded, is more likely to lead to the actual application of research results.

Natcher and Hickey (2002)go against the general grain to take issue with the way advocates of community-based resource management often tend to depict indigenous communities as 'homogenous sites of social consensus'. While strides are made in garnering local support and participation in management and decision making processes, this good intent can also fail communities by failing to represent the full spectrum of values and interests amongst different segments of the community itself. If left unchecked, this can lead to a perpetuation of the dysfunctional 'top-down' model which is often a byproduct of the institutionalization of resource management. With this kept in mind though, such strategies can indeed nurture new and innovative community based resource management approaches. The team identified a model for such innovation in the Little Red River Cree Nation currently residing in what is now Alberta, Canada. Adopting specific, community-generated criteria and performance indicators, the Little Red River Cree Nation has honed a self-sustaining – and even self-improving – system of forest management that is demonstrating repsonsiveness to the shifting needs, expectations, and differing underlying values of community stakeholders. The Little Red River Cree Nation model shows how community-based resource management systems can adopt and

fuse cultural, ecological, economic, and social criteria into the assessment processes, while implementing a self-improving monitoring and evaluation strategy that manages conflict by simultaneously serving as a venue for the full spectrum of values within the community. The core theme of their paper is to demonstrate the necessity of more pluralistic representation methods when working with indigenous communities to explore sustainable and alternative approaches to environmental resource management.

A study conducted by Nanyunja (2006) in Uganda also aimed to isolate appropriate indiciators for participatory biodiversity assessment and monitoring through the knowledge of local people to determine trends in natural resources in the fifty years prior. Results of this study indiciated consistent measures of biodiversity loss – as is thematic at a global scale – that was due mainly to changes in peoples' livelihoods related to over-harvesting, as well as to broader political and institutional failures. Their takeaway point was that the use of indigenous knowledge proved to be a cheaper, and thus more pratical, method of biodiversity monitoring that also empowered local communities to better and more sustainably manage local natural resources. While Nanyunja concluded that these methods are important in biodiversity monitoring systems based on human perceptions; a concurrent caveat was issued that it would not be wise to rely on only one data source in general. To this end, there is found here a reiterated call to combine participatory biodiversity monitoring systems with other surveillance methods – both on the ground and by air.

Stem, Margoluis, Salafsky, and Brown (2005) cited an increasing consolidation of views among conservation scholars and practicioners that effective project management is infinitely tied to aptly designed systems of monitoring and evaluation. A problem many organizations face in trying to develop such systems lies in misguided efforts to reinvent the wheel in terms of approach instead of drawing benefit from the preexisting evidence and outcomes of other efforts. In addressing this, the team took to reviewing monitoring and evaluation approaches in conservation, as well as in related fields such as public health, international development, family planning, education, business and social services. Based on their findings, the team concluded that the conservation community must continue to support community-based collaborative endeavors towards improving monitoring and evaluation techniques by including qualitative and social factors; while, jointly making sure to establish replicable systems through careful clarification of key terms and components.

Another researcher put together a paper to address the present failings of monitoring and evaluation systems in adequately serving disadvantaged groups like some indigenous communties. Elias (2014) outlines the historical foundations of infant mortality assessments, locally and globally, and decries an underlying lack of uniformity in the way vital events are collected in indigenous communities. The conclusion, not surprisngly at this point, is that indigenous leadership is required to improve indigenous identifiers for better representation in vital statistics systems.

O'Neill, Harding, and Harper (2012) reviewed issues of research ethics, data sharing, and indigenous sovereignty in the processes of community-based participatory research in matters of indigenous health and natural resources with American Indian nations. In their article, they present a model and contract for data-sharing that is in accordance with both tribal and university requirements. The team reccomends developing agreements with indigenous community partners that reflect IRB

concerns in both areas of health and natural resources. To do this, they further recommend that researchers working with indigenous communities become aquainted with the concepts of indigenous sovereignty and informed consent. Since the community itself likely has the best foresight concerning potential negative impact and outcomes, they must be involved in any cost-benefit anlyses – which requires they be made familiar with the themes and methods of any proposed research designs. The authors here reiterated the broadening theme that indigenous communities must be truly equal partners in research conception, data collection, data interpretation, and even publication.

Orozco, Cole, Forbes, Kroschel, Wanigaratne, and Arica (2009) adopted the constructs of the WHO's Food and Agriculture Organization's Code of Conduct and re-framed them in terms of farmers' rights. Drawing on survey and focus group data, as well as participatory observation methods, indicators were constructed to reflect the status of such rights. Operationalizing a framework of farmer's rights as a guiding theory, their ultimate strategy included questioning powerful forces of industry and government regarding pesticide use – and overuse – and urging reformations in codified laws concerning pesticides. They were concerned as well with evolving more sensitive and sophisticated surveillance structures. Their overall strategy involves – and here we see this theme again – coalition building; as well as code-promoting and monitoring; and larger advocacy efforts towards mitigating the health and social risks of current and past hazardous levels of pesticide use.

Intersecting Issues

At this point the notion that indigenous communities face disparities in health and environmental health risks and outcomes, compared with settler populations, has been supported. Hoover, Cook, and Plain (2012) make the case that these health impacts constitute issues not just of environmental justice, but also of reproductive justice. Reviewing five indigenous communities conducting environmental health research at various stages, the authors discussed the points of intersection in environmental health and reproductive justice, including options and limitations to legal recourse. Noting that health disparities impacting reproductive function and life expectancy rates in indigenous communties are a manifestation of environmental, social, and economic factors, the researchers revealed that many indigenous communities have an interest in developing research partnerships towards conducting environmental risk and impact assessments that can help mitigate or prevent further damage. And once again, the research team reccomends continued research undertaken collaboratively with community members and health care providers in determining impacts of environmental contamination and ascertaining what to do about it.

Issues of environmental justice and indigenous health also collide with issues of biopiracy, when bioprospectors seek to copyright and profit from traditional indigenous knowledge or resources. According to Mackey and Liang (2012), there are global health consequences to biopiracy that include lack of access to traditional medicines and depletion of biocultural resources (without due compensation, if and where possible) and this all compounds to impact entire systems of health care and ethnomedicine. Many of the affected communities are already experiencing health disparities; therefore the compounded impact of biopiracy can be especially problematic. Once again, we see researchers calling for an international approach to issues of environmental protection and indigenous health. Because of the multinational nature of bioprospecting

and biodiversity; the authors conclude that management might best occur through global governance – though conceding that attempts to protect biodiversity through global governance have not been effective enough thus far. While recognizing bioprospecting as important to fields of medicine, the authors of this paper propose the need to share the benefits of a region's biodiversity equally among stakeholders in a manner that promotes environmental health and justice for all whom are impacted. In order to achieve this, they call for a health–economics policy capable of addressing issues of biopiracy and allowing the responsible development of medicines to promote local and global health.

Discussion and Conclusions

The main limitation of this review is that findings are possibly skewed due to publication bias, as well as the availability of free access to research data online. However, given the overwhelming support uncovered for community-based risk assessment and reporting strategies, as well as monitoring and evaluation methods, it seems likely that the results are sound – the overwhelming uniformity making up for a larger margin of error. To this end, future research might be needed to focus more on identifying and strategizing to overcome potential problems and divides in implementing these approaches. The consensus is there; so, perhaps it's time to dissect the approach on a deeper level, (and efforts to begin this – as described in this review – are already being initiated.)

Also overwhelmingly evident, is the need for a social ecological approach to data collection and assessment methods that incorporates both local and international perspectives and partnerships. Coalition building between local and global stakeholders, as well as researchers and indigenous communities, would need to come into focus more in order to operationalize a lot of the findings detailed in this report.

Climate change is demanding special attention; it will take the combined vigilance of local community traditional techniques and up to the minute scientific surveillance methods to stay on top of strategy development with focuses on both prevention (first) and adaptation (second.) International laws and the validation of international jurisprudence concerning indigenous land and resource rights should be viewed through a social ecological approach to change – change coordinated and enforced at local, national and international levels. A subtheme to this is the need for more defined trajectories to address conflicts between corporate and pharmaceutical stakeholders in issues of resource extraction and bioprospecting. As has been detailed time and again, industry activity that causes shifts in indigenous ecosystems can have immediate and long-lasting effects on indigenous communities whose traditions mandate a closer relationship with the natural environment than most other groups due to both cultural and subsistence activities. It should be reinforced again that international efforts will need to be developed collaboratively with local communities to ensure that their rights to health, and the environmental health of their territory, are increasingly and concretely codified into international jurisprudence. The continued push for creating an International Environmental Court would probably be met with support from advocates of the international approach.

Again, research gaps seem to exist in addressing barriers to community-based participatory research projects with indigenous communities. The benefits of such approaches have been confirmed time and again, yet not much research has explored existing barriers. Important themes have emerged, such as: accommodating native languages, adopting a clear

benefit-led approach during initial contact (i.e. 'these are the benefits that will come from this research' rather than 'this is the problem that will be addressed by this research'); and attempting to access indigenous community elders or indigenous community media as a conduit to the community; still, more specific themes could benefit from further attention and research. Ironically, this sort of research – to address potential barriers to the CBPR approach – would also best be carried out using a CBPR model. Initial focus groups might generate some ideas about what particular issues are important to indigenous communities, which researchers might then choose to address (flipping the script on the standard narrative of researchers approaching a community with an idea already intact). Initial ideas could be tested in the larger community through intra-tribal surveys and ethnographic data. At some point, an aggregation of results should be published concerning the research needs, and desires for collaborative projects, from participating indigenous communities. Considering how studies aimed at investigating problems identified by indigenous communities themselves have been demonstrably more likely to generate ongoing community action, recognizing a community's original call for research might indeed be the best 'approach strategy' of all.

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About the author

Courtney Parker is a PhD student in Health Promotion and Behavior at the University Of Georgia - College Of Public Health. She holds a master's degree in nonprofit organizations (MNPO) through the University Of Georgia - School Of Social Work. Courtney was selected as a Goizueta Foundation Graduate Scholar and Federal Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellow in Quechua. Her current research interests have shifted to community based participatory research in indigenous communities, indigenous refugees, indigenous community media, and qualitative research methods. Courtney's writing on indigenous issues has been featured in venues such as Intercontinental Cry Magazine, Truthout, and the Fourth World Journal. Most recently, she traveled through the Miskitu territories of Nicaragua and worked with the Miskitu community to coordinate a multi-media news series for Intercontinental Cry upon return. Email: courtney.parker.tcc@gmail.com

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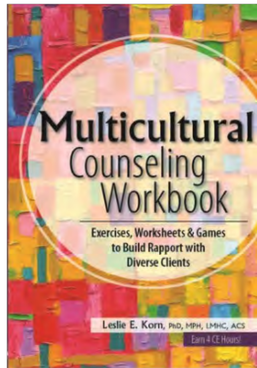
Book Review: Multicultural Counseling Workbook – Exercises, Worksheets & Games to Build Rapport with Diverse Clients

By Leslie E. Korn, PESI Publishing & Media, 2016, 234 pages

Reviewed by Janaka Jayawickrama

> *Those who understand others are intelligent.*
> *Those who understand themselves are enlightened…"* —Lao Tzu, Tao Te Ching, Chapter 33

Beyond clinical psychology and healing in the contemporary world, multiculturalism has become a buzzword in politics, business, management, and many other fields. The world today has become a clash between cultures – Western, Eastern, Christian, and Islam, to name a few. In this world we are trying to understand others without understand ourselves. This has created many divisions and not harmony.



Being a community care practitioner that collaborates within and between cultures, I find Leslie Korn's Multicultural Counseling Workbook a delight. It encourages the readers to engage with the exercises, worksheets, and games to understand themselves. In her own words in the Introduction, Leslie says "Knowing one's heritage provides an opportunity to expand one's own knowledge and appreciation of other cultures and to find a balance in life" (pp.xvi). In many ways this unique and innovative approach to multicultural counseling to improve wellbeing facilitates the reader to understand themselves before understanding others.

The Workbook is divided into seven chapters, where Leslie masterfully weaves different angles such as culture, ethnicity, sexual orientation and (dis)ability to build awareness and competencies in multicultural counseling to understand the individual within communities and cultures. Throughout the chapters, the stories, explanations and exercises provide the opportunity for the reader to think about concepts within their own lives as well as professional experiences. It is very clear after engaging with the Workbook that all human beings are products of their culture and each culture has its own uniquely acquired ways of construing its own world(s), which give meaning to their lives. What is striking is that Leslie managed to skilfully encourage the clinicians and healers to understand that each culture has something of value to offer to another culture and, equally importantly, something of value to learn and absorb from another culture. All the cultures in this world are in some ways imperfect because no culture has all the answers to the question of what constitutes a good life and how it should be lived.

In most clinical trainings there is a lack of learning about cultures and diversity. Regardless of the theoretical or research-based learning on cultures and diversity, the academic and clinical training seldom provides the opportunities for clinicians to explore their own cultures and traditions as they inform their attitudes and values. This Workbook fills this gap and encourages the reader to understand more

deeply who they are and where they come from. The exercises and worksheets encourage the clinicians to create new paths of insight and learning to use with their clients. Apart from a learning tool for clinicians, this Workbook also can be used as a 'refresher' for many kinds of helping professionals.

Leslie's use of language and presentation do not intimidate or overwhelm the reader with clinical jargon. The Workbook engages with its readers as equal partners in collaborative learning. The Workbook is open and accessible to a wide audience, not just clinicians or other academics.

Leslie is a clinician with a solid base in behavioral medicine, public health, traditional healing approaches and psychotherapy. She has been collaborating with various traditional healing approaches for over 40 years. She is also a seasoned writer of books such as Rhythms of Recovery: Trauma, Nature and the Body and Nutrition Essentials for Mental Health: A Complete Guide to the Food-Mood Connection. She has been on the faculty of Harvard Medical School, California Institute of Integral Studies, the New England School of Acupuncture and the National College of Naturopathic Medicine. Leslie is currently Core Faculty at Capella University.

This Workbook should be a required read for students of counselling and psychotherapy. This Workbook reiterates the fact that a mixture of cultures is more likely to lead to an improvement of one's own intellectual, emotional, artistic, spiritual, humanitarian, and moral vision.

About the reviewer

Janaka Jayawickrama, *PhD* is an academic and community practitioner from Sri Lanka. He has been collaborating with conflict, disaster, and uneven development-affected communities in Asia, Africa and the Middle East over 20 years on mental health, community wellbeing, humanitarian responses, and community-owned development. Currently Janaka is the Programme Leader of the MSc in International Humanitarian Affairs and Lecturer in Community Wellbeing at the Department of Health Sciences of the University of York, UK.
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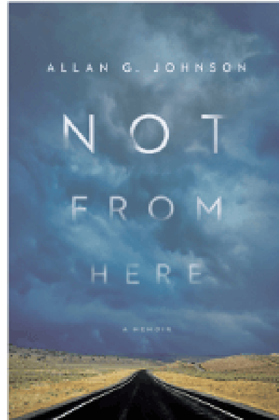
Book Review: Not From Here: A Memoir

By Allan G. Johnson, Temple University Press, 2015, 176 pages

Review by Dina Gilio-Whitaker



Allan G. Johnson is an acclaimed sociologist, public speaker, and author of several books, both academic non-fiction and fiction. He is best known for his critical work on systemic white privilege and power. *Not From Here* is Johnson's latest offering, a deeply personal, self-reflective treatise on what it means to be "American"— specifically, an American of immigrant stock— in a country built on the dual oppressions of slavery, but especially colonization.

The book is a chronicle of the author's journey to find a final resting place for his deceased father's ashes several years after his passing. Having not left any specific instructions about where to be placed (because it "didn't matter") the decision about what to do with the ashes has fallen to the son. This raises for him troubling questions about belonging, relationship to land, and the ethics of American history and the way it is told. The father's family had been Norwegian immigrants that came to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century four generations back. Johnson's mission takes him on a road trip from his home in New England to various places in the Midwest, but ultimately to the original family farm in Iowa where he meets relatives he's never met before and finds the family cemetery. The book is sometimes cumbersome and slow, having been written in a semi-stream-of-consciousness style, but despite these drawbacks the book is remarkable. It is brutally honest about the kinds of narratives Americans tell themselves about the "American Dream," where America is upheld as the beacon of democracy and justice in the world in the face of its history of ethnic cleansing. What makes the book noteworthy is the way the author personalizes this history. There is none of the usual dismissal of history as something created by someone else in some other time that has no relationship to the present, and the kind of denial of accountability that inevitably comes with history-telling in a state founded by foreign settlers. Instead, the author's family history weighs heavily on him as he acknowledges the generations of his family as the beneficiaries of genocide.

As a Native American studies scholar, I am naturally inclined to put this book into conversation with other work done by scholars of settler colonialism. I see Johnson's perspective particularly resonant with Philip Deloria's classic work Playing Indian. Drawing on the work of D.H. Lawrence and other American writers, Deloria deftly argued (and he is not the only one to do so) that Native American cultural appropriation is the product of a uniquely American identity crisis, the irresolvable anxiety of a settler population who desperately needs to but can never be truly native to the land of their in-migration, no matter how long ago in the past their ancestors came. This ongoing crisis comes out in the kinds of twisted and fraudulent claims to indigeneity that we see in things like sports mascots, fraternal organizations, spiritual movements (New Age), fashion, and other representational phenomenon. It also

fuels the arrogance of exceptionalism and the rhetoric of rugged American individualism, which is inherently exclusionary, not inclusive. As Johnson writes:

‘We are all Americans’ is another way of saying we are all eligible to engage in the same self-interested pursuit in the same political and economic landscape, a bunch of individuals out to achieve the American Dream for ourselves, and everyone else is on their own. And anyone who doesn't like it is told to go someplace else, not getting the irony of it, that this is how it all began, hundreds and then thousands and then millions of people all going to the same somewhere else.

Johnson's brutal honesty about the European settlers who created the United States is not just an intellectual exercise in liberalism, but is something he experiences viscerally as a sense of profound loss. He feels the loss of an ancestral homeland, of not really being Norwegian, and not belonging to a definable "people." Perhaps unintentionally, in this regard he echoes Benedict Anderson who argued that today's nations (more accurately viewed as states) are imagined communities coalesced around little more than things like a common language, shared symbols, and pride generated by public holidays or by the rallying effect of a national crisis. This is especially true in the U.S. For Johnson this loss is a sense of abandonment to which a narrative of self-sufficiency can be attributed. "In such a land," he writes, "it is possible to indulge the illusion of being self-made, of self-invention. The wealthy and powerful in particular can imagine they do not need anyone at all and never did, that it's the other way around, the great mass, needing them."

Not From Here is an important text not only in the emerging literature on white privilege, but in settler colonial studies. For the tenets of settler colonialism to be meaningful in settler populations—not just to indigenous peoples—it needs to be relevant to them. It needs to speak to them in ways that they can relate to, and I believe this book is a big step in that direction.

About the reviewer

Dina Gilio-Whitaker (Colville Confederated Tribes) is an independent writer and researcher in indigenous studies, having earned a bachelor's degree in Native American Studies and a master's degree in American Studies from the University of New Mexico, and also holds the position of research associate and associate scholar at the Center for World Indigenous Studies. Her work focuses on issues related to indigenous nationalism, self-determination, and environmental justice, and more recently the emerging field of critical surf studies. She is a co-author (with Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz) of the forthcoming book from 'All the Real Indians Died Off' and 20 Other Myths about Native Americans. An award-winning journalist, she is a frequent contributor to Indian Country Today Media Network. Email: dina@cwis.org

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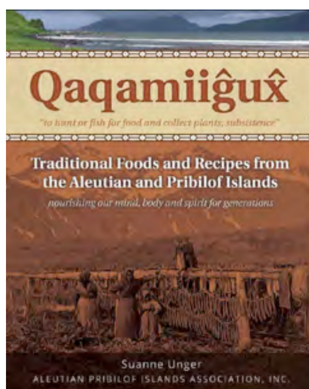
Book Review: Qaqamiigux: Traditional Foods and Recipes from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands

By Suanne Unger, Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, Inc., 2014, 381 pages

Review by Elise Krohn
[Originally published in the Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education, Volume 27 No 4.]

In this time when people are estranged from the source of their food, and when chronic diseases including diabetes, heart disease, and cancer are rampant, Native elders echo a common message: Your culture is your medicine. If you want to be well, eat your native foods, for they feed your body and they also feed your spirit. In the book Qaqamiigux, meaning "to hunt or fish for food and collect plants; subsistence," we learn about the rich food traditions of the Unangan People from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands of Alaska. While many books on indigenous foods have surfaced in recent years, few have the magnitude, beauty and completeness of Qaqamiigux. Rather than sharing recipes from an individual or a small group, the book documents a community-wide movement in revitalizing food traditions. Aleut language is included along with stories, myths, photographs, contributing writers, and featured chefs. Creating a book like this is not an easy task, but the reward is that the whole community "owns" the book and uses it. It becomes a source of pride.



The Unangan have the longest and most difficult history of contact with foreigners among Alaska Native people because of their unique geographical location. The first part of the book explores the historical, environmental, socioeconomic, and environmental factors that have led to an increased reliance on store-bought foods and the development of barriers to utilizing native foods. Helping younger generations to understand this story is an important part of healing generational trauma, which includes the choices that we make about what we eat. Environmental contaminants and food-borne illnesses are also covered along with useful recommendations for safe food handling and preparation.

The second part of the book details over sixty types of marine mammals, fish, birds, caribou and reindeer, plants, and tidal foods. Seasonal harvest diagrams offer a visual representation of foods eaten throughout the year. Methods for harvesting, preparing, nutrient information, and recipes are included. Easy to read charts compare the nutrient density of native foods verses contemporary foods. For example, just three ounces of seal meat provides the same amount of iron as twenty-four hotdogs or sixty-eight chicken nuggets! While you may not need to know how to butcher caribou or harvest nagoonberries, many of the featured foods are found throughout Alaska, British Columbia, and the United States.

Qaqamiigux is a testament to the gifts of the Unangan People, and it will serve to perpetuate their cultural wealth into the future. The community-based model utilized to develop the book along with the beautiful format will help other Native communities to

create their own successful traditional foods resources. I recommend this book for students pursuing studies in native science, nutrition, community health and tribal food sovereignty.

About the reviewer

Elise Krohn, M.Ed. is an educator, author, herbalist, and native foods specialist in the Pacific Northwest. She is committed to cultivating healing relationships between people, plants, place and cultural traditions. During her 15 years of experience teaching in tribal communities, she has worked with elders and cultural specialists to create successful community gardens, food sovereignty resources, a program on healing addiction, and curricula on chronic disease prevention. Through leading 'train the trainers' workshops, Elise has multiplied the number of educators who are teaching about native foods and herbal medicines in tribal communities. She also has over 10 years of experience as a clinical herbalist, and has authored two books and numerous articles on this and related topics. Elise is currently a Fellow in Ethnobotany and Ethnonutrition at the Center for World Indigenous Studies. Email: elise@cwis.org

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