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DISCIPLINE AND SHARING

Jeannette Armstrong

**INDONESIA, BANGLADESH: DISGUISED
INVASION OF INDIGENOUS NATIONS**

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Center for World Indigenous Studies

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The Center for World Indigenous Studies is a non-profit research and education organization dedicated to wider understanding and appreciation of ideas and knowledge originating from Indigenous peoples and from the reality of Indigenous Nations.

More than 8000 Indigenous Nations play a major role in the life of the natural world and in relations between more than 160 states. With rich cultures and a wealth of creativity, Indigenous nations have tenaciously held their ground despite centuries of colonization and repression.

Frequently misunderstood by the modern world, and often misrepresented by observers, the peoples of Indigenous Nations rarely have the opportunity to directly contribute to the world's better understanding of their spiritual, historical, political, economic, social and philosophical thinking. Fourth World Journal is one of several Center for World Indigenous Studies publications produced to elevate the visibility of Indigenous people's ideas and knowledge, and information about the circumstances of Indigenous Nations. _____

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Discipline and Sharing

Education in the Indian Way

Jeannette Armstrong
 Director of Programs
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When a person starts the lifelong task of living, from being new born all the way to being an elder ready to return to the spirit world, there are certain things he must go through to get from one stage of growing to another. First he must learn the things he needs to do to feed and make his body grow and then he must be able to recognize and do what he needs for it to grow strong and keep it that way. Finally, he must find and fulfill his reason for being here in order to reach a final balance of health in the mind, body and spirit. This whole process, aimed at the final goal, which is happiness, is what education is. The traditional systems of our people follow closely the natural stages for growth and they produce people and communities which are happy with who they are and what they do.

LEARNING AND NATURAL GROWTH

How we learn as children is important in how we learn as adults. The natural way a baby learns is through getting what he needs to live from loved ones right from the time the baby is conceived to the time he is born. First, he needs food, warmth and shelter in

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order to live. He learns that mother provides those things. He learns that he is dependent on mother for those things. Without her he will die. He learns that she provides those things for no other reason that that she loves and cares for him. He learns everything from learning to talk and walk to all the social disciplines and habits from this fact of dependence upon loved ones, or "mother", for basic needs. So he learns from loving and caring parents at this stage. "Parents" are all relatives in extended family units; that is grandparents, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters and cousins. So caring and teaching by caring relatives is very important for the child to grow right in his body, mind and spirit at this stage, so that he will be strong, healthy, confident and happy. He will then have the tools he needs to move on to the next stage.

If these things are missing either by parents not living up to their responsibilities or by children missing out on love and care by parents because of time spent away at school, serious damage is done. He will not be equipped to deal with the next stage of growth.

When a child reaches puberty, his mind and body undergoes certain changes. He is then ready to learn new things in a new way to get him ready for adulthood. He learns that his body can now do things it couldn't do before. He learns that he can now use his body to do things for himself that he needed mother for. He learns that he can use his mind together with his body to make things easier. This is the stage of growth where he sharpens up all the physical skills he has play-trained his body to do. This is the stage where patterns that he will use in everyday life are set. Training at this stage is very important for the mind, the body and the spirit.

How he will be as an adult depends very much on the training he gets at this time. It is during this time

that elders work with children to help them get special skills for whatever work they are to do as adults. This is the time in many tribes when children are trained to get up early and swim or seat and exercise. This is also the time when they are sent into the mountains alone to find their inner power and strength. This is also the time when children turn inward and start questioning who they are and where they fit in. This is natural.

Guidance by elders of the community is important at this time to help a child through this hard time, for it is the time of change over from child to adult. It is the time when a child wants responsibility for himself, but sometimes doesn't know how to go about it. It is the time when love and caring and understanding by the whole community is needed.

If understanding and caring by people in the community is not there, the child can become bitter, confused and unwilling to do anything about himself. This when drugs or alcohol or crime—thrills become an answer to the hurt and confusion these children can go through. Serious damage to the child can happen at this time, damage that can remain the rest of his life as an adult.

As an adult, the person, if he has been properly guided through childhood and being a teen, he will now have all that he needs, mentally, physically and spiritually, to go through life choosing and throwing away things, continuing to learn in a good way while he takes his place as a parent and as a teacher of anything he has learned to that point. Everything he does as an adult is a part of the community he lives in, and it is in that way he shares his knowledge and wisdom. He shares his good feelings and his hard times are everyone's. Pity for one another, is respect for one another. That is what a strong community is based on.

That is what the government of our nation is all about. Each person interacting in a good way with others. This is where we get our power and strength as Indian people. So education from childhood to adulthood is at the centre of everything we are striving for. How we "educate" ourselves determines how we live in our communities. Therefore, education in the Indian way is everybody's business, not just teachers, committees or leaders.

But, we have had troubles in our communities which have blocked our education in the Indian way. Two things working together have created most of our educational problems. These two things are mistakes made by us, and planned actions by non-Indian governments.

MISTAKES AND OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

Our mistake, where all problems being, is that we as parents, within families, clans, bands and tribes, gave over some of the education of our children to outside people. We can look back on our history that some families did successfully resist handing over responsibility for their children's education. But many simply gave up their children.

But, even has we made this mistake there were many outside our communities who planned actions which have worked against us. Outside influences worked to assimilate and manipulate our people. More specifically, their actions are:

Planned Assimilation – the kind of treatment in all areas of education of Indian people by an outside government that says, "We will do what's best for you because you are too stupid to know." This kind of treatment is aimed at eventually turning us

all into brown-colored whitemen.

Planned Manipulation – the kinds of ways things are taught in public school systems to all students which is a kind of brainwashing that makes you want to be only a certain kind of person. Because the outside government system of a country depends on people who will be greedy to make as much money as they can, they must have systems which will produce people who will think it's good and right to have more than those around them. In 1947, the Canadian government wrote the paper called **The Plan to Liquidate Canada's Indians in 25 years** and in 1969 Canada's government issued the **White Paper Policy** the plan to terminate Indian rights and status through transfer of all programs based on rights either to the Canadian government departments besides the Department of Indian Affairs or to provincial government departments. In these papers, "education" is only one, if not the most powerful way to assimilate Indian people into the non-Indian society.

If we put these things together and understand them, we can see why we are having problems. We at home teach our children to share and thing of one another, while at the same time they are being told through their non-Indian system that the only way they will be recognized as being successful, is if they are better at being selfish and using selfishly or disrespectfully everything around them. Now there are a lot of confused Indian people because of that; confusion because of a conflict of values and understanding. This has come to be known as an "identity crisis". These confusions and identity problems lead to high drop-out rates, high alcohol and drug abuse, high numbers of

family break-ups, marriage break-ups, high unemployment and high welfare leading to high numbers of people incarcerated in non-Indian jails; and sometimes leading to high suicide rates.

The plan which would serve us best in the long run, would be one which causes the outside government to simply give total recognition to the validity of education in the Indian way. We would once again control our own education and our communities. There is a long hard process that we have to go through before we get to that goal: From strengthening our own education and un-brainwashing ourselves as parents, trainers and leaders and putting together strong educational units at home and in our communities based on our own ways and only using what we need from outside.

Alien Systems of Education

In outside systems of education, in public schools and other ways, children are taught, many times parents and people of the community are not involved in any way with what their children are learning. First of all, the nine o'clock to four o'clock classroom routine, can take the interest out of anybody. Children's bodies cannot tolerate sitting in one place all day, this is unnatural. Being kept quiet without any reason other than that the teacher might go crazy is also unnatural.

Children learn through play and enjoyment of everything new. Public schools have taken that away. They learn best when doing things through experience. For example, you can make him put numbers down on paper, but they won't mean anything. Counting dogs, horses and cows and how many of each sure means something, especially if they are all in front of your house at one time. Public schools take away that kind of learning that sticks with you. Reading, writing, and

math may come in handy later on in the work you do as an adult, but they have little to do with growing up right in a good way, so that you can become a useful happy adult. These things are missing from education systems and are very important to our communities having strong, creative people.

Other ways a child is educated in outside systems is through what they read about, what they hear on radio and what they see on television and movies. All these things are designed to entertain white people, it isn't real about the real world. These things talk mostly about sex, crime and all kinds of sick living. Television is the worst because it is around the most. It shows kids how to be a rat in the big rat race for wealth. It tells kids if they don't have flashy clothes, take drugs, and be in, as far as sleeping around, that they are nothing. It educates them in an unhealthy way to be dissatisfied with who they are. It confuses and brainwashes them into believing that being an Indian is shameful. Sometimes a child goes through life feeling that way through the education he gets at school and what he picks up from television, radio, magazines and movies. Also, a child may be spending time at home, but he is really spending it with a television and not with his parents, so between the time spent at the public school and spending time at television, the child can become a stranger to the parent. If the parents and the community do not restrict these things and do not offer him opportunities to learn that being an Indian is a special gift, that it is a good life and that we have many good things that are better than discos's and drugs, then we will continue to see our people live and die hard. The Indian way is our education.

Residential schools have done their damage by taking away the language, customs and beliefs of the past generations. Now public schools and television are

doing their part in making sure our kids become brown whitemen. We do have a gap that we will have to work together to bridge before it widens to the point of no return. The damage that has been and is being done to our people through outside systems of education is still at the root of all our problems in our communities.

BREAKING UP OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Our systems of education were in place for thousands of generations. Our people were strong, happy and wealthy. Each person knew what his job was and was good at it. We had leaders, trainers, healers, storytellers, musicians, artists, craftsmen, hunters, fishermen and food providers. We had good communications and relationships. Our communities were tied together through customs, language and beliefs, so that the education system was based on that for each one.

When the non-Indian came, he told us in many ways that his system was better than ours, that we had to change. We believed him for awhile because he seemed to have magic things like rifles and wagons and later on cars, television and jets. But we have found out that our people are not happy being whitemen. We like to be Indians, we like to share with each other, we like to practice our customs and our religions, it makes us strong inside. We understand that we can use things they have, like cars and typewriters, but we want to keep our ways. Some people have a hard time to come to that understanding because of the brainwashing they have been forced to go through. Some of our people still feel ashamed to practice Indian ways because of that. Some lost their language and hardly know what the customs of their people were.

The language is very important in the education of all the ways, customs and beliefs of the tribe. Without it some things don't make sense. If we talk about the retention of our ways it is not possible without language. Language is really important in how we value and understand things around us. It is a key to a way of understanding, important to a way of thinking that is ours. How can English talk about things like spirit songs and dances? How can English describe an attitude of respect, compassion and pity all together upon which our communities are built and kept?

The spiritual base or belief of a tribe is another important foundation where our strength comes from that has seriously been damaged through the non-Indian education of our people. We know that our people were capable of doing many things through their understanding and working together with nature in a good way instead of against it or ignoring it. This was a strong part of their education and their everyday life. This is the foundation of self-responsibility which is the basis of community life and our ability to govern ourselves.

The steps we must take to implement good education within our nations must begin with the correction of our mistakes. We must be able to face up to them and each one of us being to make those changes. We need *unbrainwashing* and the understanding of what education really is, and what it should do. This means that systems that are accepted have to be changed. This means that we need to change our ideas about outside systems first. How do we do that?

Because our education systems fell apart at the household or family level through loss of our language, customs and beliefs, this is where our first effort must be. As difficult as it may sound, it can be done through help in the *re-education* or strengthening of

parents. We can do this ourselves in many ways, but as long as we overlook this task, we will continue to fail in our efforts to change. Once this is done we will already have changed.

Next we need to group together as communities and work out what our education is going to be for. What tasks do we train people for in what way, using all avenues and resources, regardless of outside government rules and regulations. Once these things have been worked out, we will already have made lasting changes. After that we will have to work together throughout our territory to keep these things going and improving them so that we will have education systems in place for each tribe and nation that will be their own. That is how we will shape our own future and regain discipline and sharing.

RECLAIMING OUR FAMILIES

Because education starts at home and belongs there, we must look at steps to strengthen and maintain family units. Parents have the choice. Families strengthen the community.

Parents and families should gather to talk about what can be done; what each can contribute and how. This can be a good beginning for pulling ties together and bridging communications and lost relationships. This can become a regular enjoyable thing. Each family, with grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, has people who are skilled in many areas. Ways can be figured out how to share those skills and the knowledge to the young ones and to each other. Discipline and customs can be shared at these gatherings.

Sharing

Sharing is an important discipline in the keeping of the ways of our cultures alive. It is important that we get this back. One way of sharing that is traditional is inter-family visits. This must be brought back and strengthened so that knowledge and things between families can be shared. This is an old custom and belief of our people, we must take this responsibility and begin to practice it again. Sharing food and traditional medicines, songs, dances, games and sharing our good time as well as our work. Especially helping to provide for elders and disabled people.

Our children especially need constructive direction and training in learning to grow up naturally and this can be done through us giving that example by doing it ourselves as much as possible. It is important also that we give people the opportunity to be able to share. We should not let each other shut people out just because we use *programs*, we have to help each other allow everyone to contribute when they want to and can.

In Our Homes

We can strengthen ourselves to understand the use of our houses or our homes. Even though we live in single family houses, we can begin to use our homes in the way that our people did traditionally. For gathering to gather in, for special ceremonies, a place that we use to share our knowledge, our skills, our beliefs and values and a place that we can strengthen ourselves and each other. Every house has its own spirit. How we take care of that spirit is important. We can use our knowledge of special ceremonies for the spirit of the home for all reasons whether a family is

experiencing problems or a loved one has left the home.

The setting up of the home for uses is also one of the things that can be re-done to assist families in re-educating themselves. Common rooms or living rooms that are now simply being used for watching television can be used for talking, visiting and sharing. The television should be moved to a not so easily accessible room so that it is not sitting there in the middle of the room saying, "Turn me on!" or it can be removed completely from the house.

Attitudes Toward Each Other

We need to change our attitudes towards each other. We must all take the responsibility, young and old, to take the time to work with other people in the family in teaching all of the knowledge and skills to each other. This can be done through simple things first, spending time with one another, with each other's children, young people with old people, to learn from each other. We can do this on an everyday basis; sharing baby-sitting, visiting elders and having fun through various recreation and sports with each other.

Adults impose television on children because they don't do things with their children and at the same time, elders can be left alone with only television to visit. This can be changed if we take the responsibility to start doing things for and with each other. Children, especially, can be shown that the work that they do is appreciated, that they are important members of the family. Family members can help each other in many ways, with transportation, meals, and special gifts to each other and not to carry the negative attitudes while we are developing our re-education of ourselves.

Families must take the responsibility to strengthen the family in the knowledge of the spiritual ways of their people. This can be done in many ways where these things have not been practiced for a while, like talking together about the ways these things were done and then starting out with some of the simpler things. Elders or spiritual leaders, whether they be young or old, can be brought in to help with these things where most of the ways have been forgotten.

Indian power has been given to Indian people on this island for their help and well-being. We will all become stronger and better through practicing good ways. It need not be in conflict or against non-Indian religions, because all good things work together. Also where the family, the clan, or the nation has forgotten most of its ways, someone can be brought in from another nation, as long as the family likes, trusts and can work with that person. Because, no matter what tribe the good ways come from if it will strengthen you and your family and make you healthier, then it is yours. This is all important in the education of our people in the whole sense, right from the beginning.

Language Is the Foundation

Our language is an important part of our learning and sharing in how we live with each other, how we do things, how we understand things. Without the language it is easy for us to think in the White-man's way because our language has our way of knowing.

Language should be spoken and taught to each other in the home and in the community. Not only for young ones, but for other members of the family. In that way we can also reinforce our trust and respect towards each other. We have to re-train our thinking

about learning and teaching one another — no one should laugh at another for trying to use the language.

We should always use as much as we know every day. One of the ways that teaching language can be done for a person to learn to speak is to use the "baby" method — what a baby goes through to learn a language. As you would do with a baby, give praise and encouragement to the person learning to speak and understand.

Strength Through Health

Re-educating ourselves as parents for proper health is important. Mental or emotional health is an important thing in our daily lives. Caring for one another in a positive sense and working together to overcome the negative things is important. Respect and pity for one another is the basis of emotional and mental health. The spiritual health of the family is another area that we must take the responsibility over. The physical health and well-being of the family includes eating good and proper foods whether they be bought or gathered traditionally. Physical activities to keep the body fit is also important in maintaining physical health as a prevention. It is important that we begin to take Indian medicines that our people used before more seriously and begin to use them to heal our sicknesses or our wound, because these medicines work with all three aspects of the mind, body and spirit. These are things that we must re-learn when all three things are tied together.

Doctorings for the individuals as well as the whole family should be used to bring health and good feelings so a person and the family can grow back together in a good way. Re-educating ourselves to accept and use the power and the strength that we have been given is

important in overcoming problems related to addiction of all forms. Other methods are there for our use but we must use all that we have.

Parental Guidance

One of the important things that our families are based on is the fact that parents are the main influence for the young peoples' learning. Because of a lot of things that have happened during our past, and that are continuing to happen, the family unit is breaking down and some parents have a hard time being parents and a healthy influence to the family. Some parents themselves have been influenced in white foster homes, in white residential schools and in other situations, and don't have the strong Indian life skills that are necessary for parenting and making a strong home.

There are many things that we can do together to help with these situations, but most of it must be done by parents themselves. Husbands and wives in their treatment of one another; in their attitudes towards one another, can be helped by elders of the family or spiritual leaders if they begin to take the responsibility as they did in the past to offer advice and support to parents in how they make their home life. This was an important part of our traditions. Child care and home-making and the traditional roles of husband and wife can be a part of the education of the family. The family is at the centre of our communities and the strength and well-being of the family is the most important step in regaining our self-responsibility.

Our education about babies from the time that they are conceived onwards is important. We must care for mothers who are carrying babies as well as caring for young children. Our attitudes towards the unborn must change in that they are all our responsibility and we

must all help in the care for the unborn within families and within communities. Special help can be set up for single parents before and after birth of the baby. This can be done within the family by grandmothers, aunts, cousins, or can be done from outside of the family in the community.

All of those steps will depend on people doing things. Inter-tribal organizations, tribal leaders and the nation can help by assisting in organizing family gatherings and by putting together re-training sessions. A lot of it can be done by clans or families themselves. That in itself will be a big step ahead toward re-education, and self-reliance.

The author is a member of the Okanagan Nation located in the southwest of Canada. She received her Bachelor of Fine Arts at the University of Victoria and is currently the Director of Programs at the En'owkin Center in Penticton, British Columbia - in the heart of Okanagan Territory. She recently authored a paper entitle "New Structures in Indian Education" for a conference in London, Ontario and she is currently planning a six-month research project on traditional forms of Indian education the results of which will be presented at a 1987 World Indigenous Conference in Canada.

Indonesia, Bangladesh: Disguised Invasions Of Indigenous Nations Third World Colonial Expansion

Bernard Nietschmann
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Third World colonialism has replaced European colonialism as the principal global force that tries to subjugate indigenous peoples and their ancient nations. European colonial empires became powerful through the forced incorporation of distant peoples and territories. Wars of independence and national liberation and post-World War II decolonization created today's Third World countries largely on the artificial outlines of the vanquished colonial empires.

Invasion and occupation of indigenous nations once done by foreign white expansionist powers are now done by foreign brown expansionist powers. The majority of these artificial Third World states can only be maintained by the invasion and physical incorporation of lands and resources of hundreds of indigenous nations. What is called "economic development" is the annexation at gun point of other peoples' economies. What is called "nation-building" is actually state expansion by *nation-destroying*. Territorial consolidation, national integration, the imperatives of population growth, and economic are phrases used by Third World states to cover up the killing of indigenous nations and peoples.

The capture and control of geography, not the extension of politics or economic philosophy is the objective of the Third World invasions. Most Fourth World indigenous nations have maintained the quality of lands, waters and resources while Third World states have not. Systems that do work are being destroyed to prolong systems that don't work. Over one-half of the world's conflicts are being fought over Fourth World geography, not East-West politics, or North-South economics.

DEVELOPMENT BY INVASION

The development and modernization of Third World states is heavily dependent upon the invasion and annexation of Fourth World nations. Duplicating the experience of First and Second world states, exported European socialism and capitalism have both failed to sustainably develop the internal resources within Third World territories. Unable to limit fast-growing populations, unwilling to reform elite-dominated land ownership, and incapable of dramatically increasing food production with more *green revolutions*, many Third World governments promote development by invasion. "New" lands and resources are freshly invaded lands and appropriated resources. The ex-colonial Third World is doing to the indigenous Fourth World what First and Second world states did to it.

Most of the world's largest countries are expansionist and use "nationalized" populations - backed by an army and programs of forced allegiance - to occupy and annex indigenous territory and to claim Fourth World resources. All of the 10 most populous countries are waging expansionist cold and hot wars against indigenous nations. Much of this violence against indigenous nations is hidden by common agreement

among states to alter the terminology of conflict: Aggressive conflict between states is called war; a nation's defense against aggression by a state is called *terrorism*; and the aggressive invasion and occupation of a nation by a state is called *development*.

Development by invasion is done by all of the most populous states that together lay claim to 63 percent of the world's peoples and 43 percent of the land area. However, in many of these states, sovereignty and allegiance are only obtained by the use of state army and security forces against nations of peoples (ironically called citizens by the states) who seek to maintain their own distinct and sovereign identities, governments and territories.

STATE	CLAIMED POPULATION 1985	CLAIMED AREA (1000s mi square)
1. China	1,042,000,000	3,705.4
2. India	762,200,000	1,269.3
3. Soviet Union	278,000,000	8,649.0
4. United States	238,900,000	3,615.1
5. Indonesia	168,400,000	735.4
6. Brazil	138,400,000	3,286.5
7. Japan	120,800,000	143.7
8. Bangladesh	101,500,000	55.6
9. Pakistan	99,200,000	310.4
10. Nigeria	91,200,000	356.7
	3,040,000,000*	22,127.1**

* = 63% of world's 4,845,000,000 in 1985

** = 43% of world's land area, excluding Antarctica

Of the world's 168 internationally recognized states, these 10 assert sovereignty over 63 percent of the world's inhabitants and 43 percent of its land area. All of these states are economically, politically and territorially expansionist. Hundreds of the world's more than 3000 nations are to be devoured to fuel but these ten political and economic entities. Resources, lands and peoples will be incorporated — forcibly if need be — to maintain the viability of the state. All have programs and policies to annex indigenous nations by occupation through the assisted and subsidized relocation of some of each state's populations.

Brazil, India, Bangladesh and Indonesia each have large-scale programs for the relocation of massive numbers of their citizens across borders and onto the national territory of other peoples. Mistakenly called "transmigration", meaning the internal relocation of people within a state's borders, these migrations are really state sponsored invasions by "surplus" populations and transnationals. Two of the most destructive *development by invasion* transmigration programs are directed by the governments of Bangladesh and Indonesia, and financed by international development and agencies.

The Backup and Spread of Indonesia and Bangladesh

Indonesia and Bangladesh are poor Third World states with extremely large, fast-growing populations. Even when discounting the populations of the many nations claimed to be part of these states, both Indonesia and Bangladesh have huge numbers of people.

	INDONESIA	BANGLADESH
1985 Population	168,400,000	101,500,000
World Ranking	#5	#8
Natural Increase	2.2%/yr.	2.8%/yr.
Pop. Doubling Time	32 years	25 years
Est. Pop. Year 2000	226,900,000	146,200,000
% Rural—Agricult.	78%	85%
Pop. Density	229/sq. mi.	1800 / sq. mi.
G.N.P. per capita ('85)	\$560.00/yr *	\$130.00/yr *

* U.S. dollar value.

An Indonesian Fatherland

Indonesia is a post-World War II state imposed over the artificial outlines of the Dutch East Indies colonial empire. Spread across a 3000-mile arc of 13,700 islands and at least 300 distinct nations and peoples, the government and army are controlled by Javanese, a people from but one island and one nation. Java has almost 100 million people, some 80 percent of whom live in rural areas where one-third of the land is controlled by only one percent of the land owners. These conditions place further pressure on the agriculture-based peasantry whose population density reaches 5000 people for each square mile in some areas. With Java's population growing at the rate of two million per year and with similar growth rates on the adjacent island-nations of Bali and Madura, the Jakarta-based Javanese government has instituted a state policy of expansion to redirect the backup of the

ruling population and to consolidate Javanese control beyond the island of Java.

Aided by the slogan "Unity Through Diversity," Java has moved to expand its domination over unconsenting nations by military invasion and occupation, deployment of Javanese settlers, and compulsory "Javanization" programs to change religion, nationality, language, and allegiance. This has and is being done, for example, in the South Moluccas (invaded in 1950), West Papua (invaded 1962), and East Timor (invaded 1975). Another aspect of Javanese territorial consolidation of huge portions of insular Southeast Asia and Melanesia, is the declaration of an Indonesian *land-and-water fatherland (tanah air)* united by the state doctrine of *wawasan nusantara*, Java's concept of an "archipelagic state." This means that Java-controlled Indonesia asserts authority over a vast expanse of ocean waters by claiming 200-mile exclusive zones around each of the more than 13,000 islands within Indonesia's colonial boundaries. These extensions of Jakarta's territorial land and water claims mean that Indonesia has become the world's seventh-largest state in area, potentially sealing off international access to island straits and sea lanes. These commercially and strategically important sea lanes connect the Pacific and Indian oceans and the Asian mainland and Australia. Furthermore, Java's archipelagic "fatherland" is a military-backed geopolitical net that has been cast over hundreds of distinct nations and peoples. Jakarta effectively strips these nations of their own self-determination, land and sea territories and resources, and freedom. The backup and overflow of Java is resulting in the destruction of multitudes of nations, peoples and environments.

Java's population problems and geopolitical aspirations have resulted in a campaign of military-assisted movements of millions of people, island-hopping, and

island takeovers, and environmental damage on a geographical scale verging on the 1941-1945 War of the Pacific.

THE CREATION OF BANGLADESH

At the height of its colonial grip of Asia, Britain controlled one fifth of the world's land area and one fourth of its people. Part of that overseas empire was the British creation of India: A foreign dominated, artificial territory of different peoples, nations, languages and religions. Stretching between British-controlled Burma and Afghanistan, India was the keystone in the British colonial arch in Asia. It served as a source of immense profits, and a buffer against Russian expansion from the west and French expansion from Indo-China to the east. Never a nation of single people within an historic homeland, India was a creation forced from distinctly different entities. Strachey remarked during the turn of the century high-tide mark of British colonialism, "There is not, and never was, an India, or even a country of India, possessing - according to European ideas - any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious: No Indian nation, no people of India."

International pressure and internal dissent forced Great Britain to pull out of its colonial empire of India on August 15, 1947. Continuing clashes between Moslems and Hindus led to the 1947 Partition that divided the empire into Moslem East and West Pakistan separated by 1200 miles of Hindu India. The eastern wing of the new Moslem state was formed from the earlier East Bengal area of colonial India. Disputes between Pakistani-dominated West Pakistan, and Bengali-dominated East-Pakistan led to a brief "civil war" in 1971 during which India sided with the Bengali

forces. Already once-divided from British-created Indian, the state of West and East Pakistan was again divided by the 1971 war into Pakistan (formerly West Pakistan) and Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan).

Born of violence upon violence, Bangladesh became a separate state, formed and reformed from a previous state and a still earlier colonial empire. During all of these geopolitical transitions, however, within this British-Indian-Pakistan-Bangladesh claimed territory were many indigenous nations that never relinquished their nationality or territory to any of the imposed geographical pretenders.

Judging from the creation of Bangladesh (and Indonesia), there is nothing natural or permanent or even persistent about international boundaries, colonial empires, or internationally recognized states.

Bangladesh is one of the world's poorest countries and within its claimed territory are rapidly increasing numbers of Moslem Bengali citizens whose population densities — like those of Java — are among the highest anywhere in the world. Tiny Bangladesh, its 55,600 square mile area is about the size of Nicaragua with only three million people, has over 100 million, the eighth largest state population. A geographical axiom that applies to Bangladesh is that without reforms or innovations, a rural population dependent upon agriculture must expand the area under cultivation. The outward movement of lowland Bengali people has long been a demographic reality and a threat to the adjacent nations of hill peoples such as the Assamese (India) and Chakmas (Chittagong Hill Tracts).

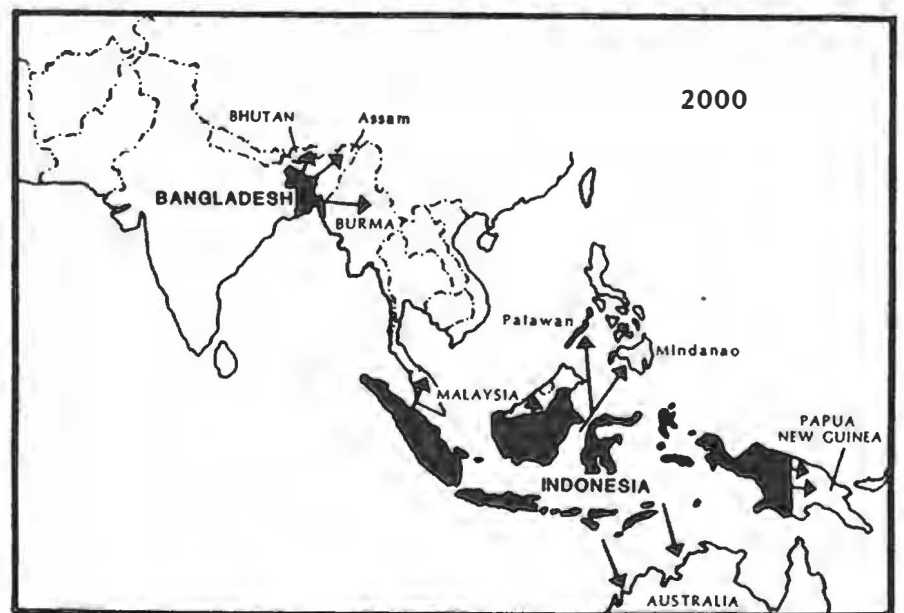
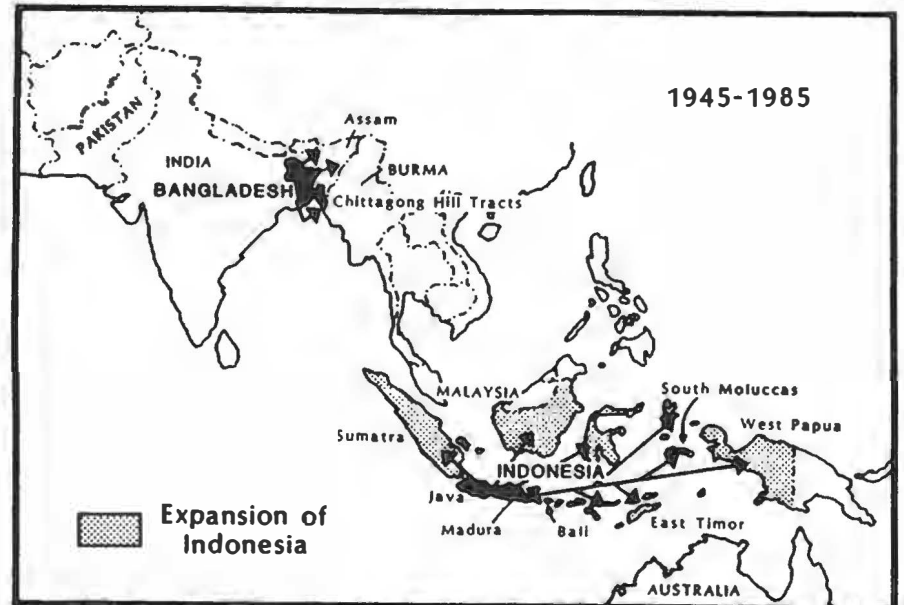
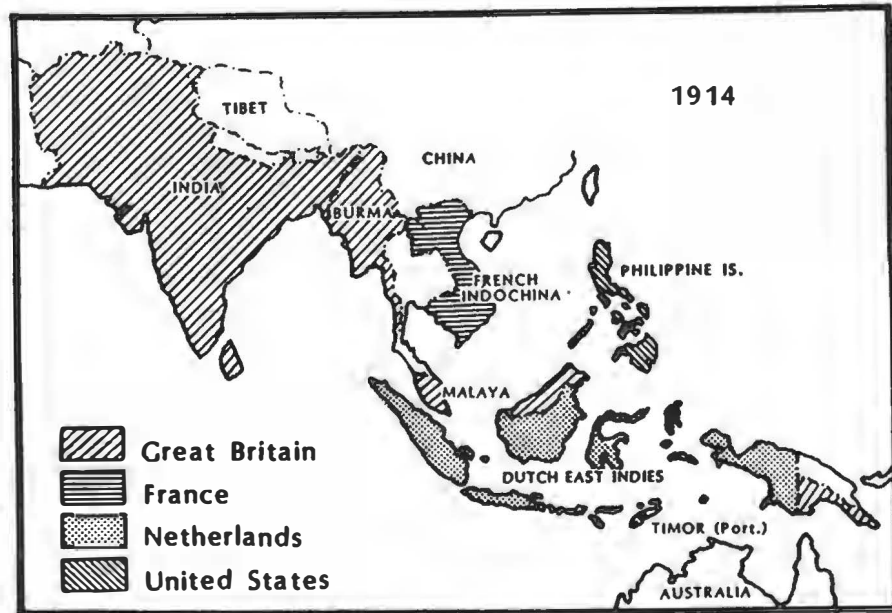
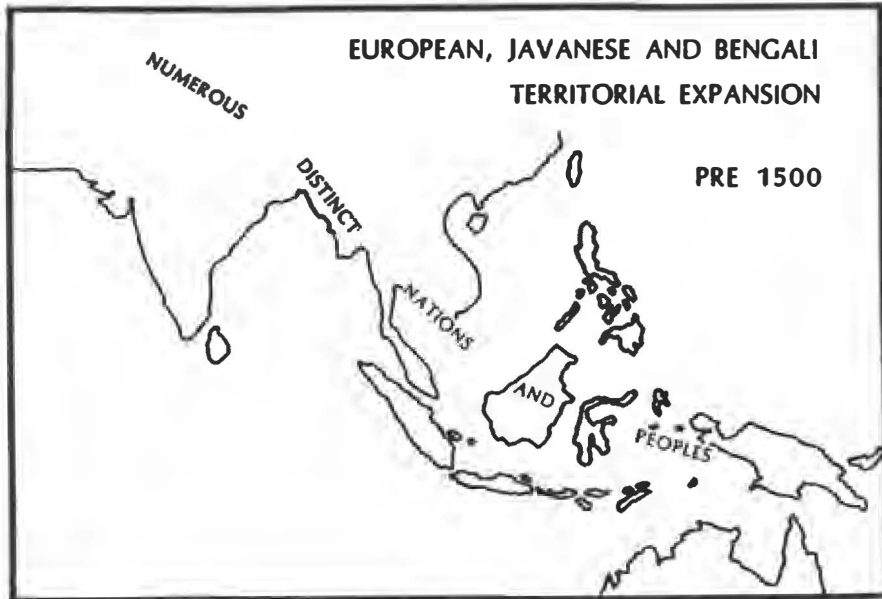
The Spread of Nation Destruction

Within the state of Bangladesh is the over-populated Bengali nation, just as within the state of Indonesia is

the over-populated Javanese nation. Each of these two states is ruled by one dominant nation which forces less powerful and less populated nations to accede to the fiction of an Indonesian and a Bangladeshi "nation".

Bangladesh and Indonesia are in the third phase of a likely four-phase geographical expansion. First came the colonial creation of an empire that forcibly joined ancient nations. Then followed the emergence of a new state ruled by a single nation over many nations whose own development and security was eroded by fast-growing populations (Bengali and Javanese). The third phase is the safety valve relocation of large numbers of people from the Bengali and Javanese nations into the adjoining nations, a sort of eating up of other nations' territories and resources. This is the present-day phase where invasion by the ruling group's army and settlers supports economic development and fosters no-choice political consolidation. For Indonesia this is being done by transmigration of Javanese, Maduran and Balinese nationals to other nations on other islands such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and West Papua.

For Bangladesh the movement is to the many nations within the Chittagong Hill Tracts and elsewhere. Accelerated by environmental destruction, population doubling times of 25 — 32 years, the squandering of resource wealth by ruling elites, and resource extraction by transnationals, this third phase of expansion to the state periphery probably will be over within 15 years. The fourth and next phase will be territorial expansion beyond state boundaries and across demographic divides. This is already beginning as more than 500,000 Bengalis have left the state of Bangladesh and illegally settled Assam, northeast India. Burma presents another area of relatively low population.

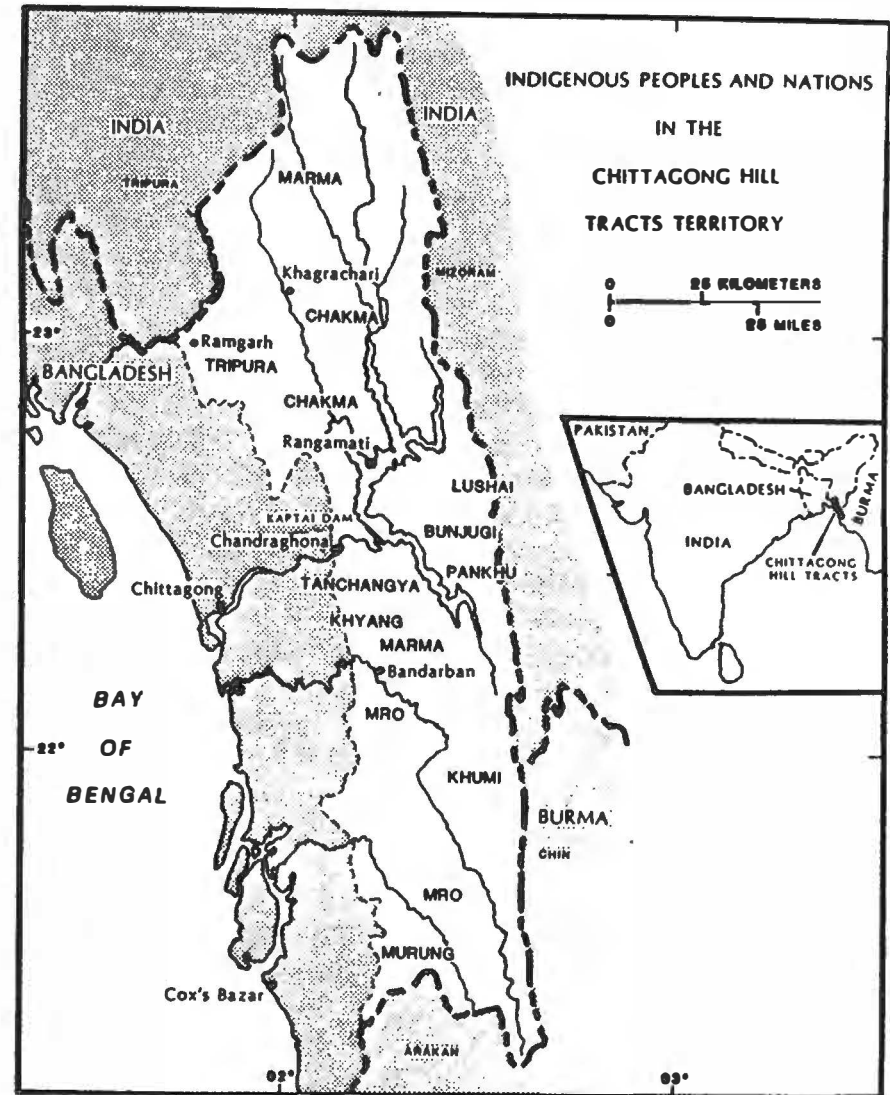


Indonesia may encourage cross border movements of people to Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, Sabah, Palawan and Mindanao (Philippines), and there is deep concern in Australia over the chances of an invasion from the north. One of the world's greatest demographic divides exists between Australia which has almost the area of the United States of America but only the population of New York City's 15 million, and Indonesia which will have 226 million after the next 15 years on a land area that is smaller than Mexico.

Between the expansionist Javanese and Bengalis and neighboring less populated states are many non-expansionist nations whose peoples, lands and resources are being consumed by the spread of invading settlers, and totalitarian state control, assisted by multi-lateral state institutions like the World Bank and its subsidiary the Africa-Asia Bank.

States Reject National Independence

The peoples and nations of Chittagong Hill Tracts and West Papua are seeking to decide their own political, economic and social future. And they seek protection from expanding invasions onto their territory and into their communities. Rather than becoming independent with the removal of Western colonial rule, these two multinational areas were taken over by adjacent Third World states. Land and resources that could have sustainably developed the peoples of peaceful, self-contained nations, became the means for aggressive states to expand. The Bengali invaders of the Chittagong indigenous nations and the Javanese invaders of West Papua indigenous nations have failed to learn the same lesson they taught their British, Indian, Pakistani, Dutch, and Japanese invaders.



The Multinational Confederacy of Chittagong

Thirteen indigenous hill people nations make up the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are different in all respects identity, cultures, languages, religions, histories, territories – from the non-indigenous Moslem Bengali people that only recently claim them as part of the Bangladesh state. With 400,000 people, the Chakmas are the largest national population of the some 600,000 people who historically occupy and claim the hill territories. These people have a long history of resisting invasions from the lowlands. In the 18th century the British colonized the adjacent lowlands and pushed to incorporate the independent and sovereign hill peoples by introducing tea plantations and wage labor. At first the British encouraged Bengali immigration to "pacify" the area, but as the Bengali people's own aspirations for independence from British rule developed, the British recognized the area as an *autonomous indigenous region* with the enactment of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation in 1900.

To gain the support of the hill peoples, the British recognized the integrity of indigenous ("tribal") nations and agreed to prohibit outsiders (principally Bengalis) from purchasing land or permanently settling. In 1935, the Chittagong Hill Tracts territory was recognized by the colonial administration of India to be a distinct and separate "totally excluded area." During the growing resistance to British rule among the many nations held within British-created India, the Chittagong Hill nations worked toward creating a semi-independent state or the possibility of merging with other indigenous peoples in neighboring nations to form an independent state of confederated nations (similar to what the Karen and 10 other indigenous nations seek in Burma). The British promised that Chittagong autonomy and continued

independence would be recognized with the independence of India. Instead, however, the British "granted" the Chittagong Hill Tracts territory and people to newly-independent Pakistan, in 1947 by-way-of the "Radcliff Award."

This was a craven and criminal deed that awarded non-Moslem peoples and nations to a new state created by violence and millions of deaths to establish the Moslem state of Pakistan. The mere existence of non-Moslem peoples and national territories within the Islamic state was an invitation to invasion, attempted conversion, and repression.

Rather than liberation and independence, the Chittagong indigenous nations were invaded by the Pakistani army and Bengali settlers, 1947 – 1971, and by Bangladeshi army and Bengali settlers since 1971.

With a population of more than 600,000, Chittagong nations have more people than 20 percent of the world's internationally recognized states, including Bahrain, Belize, Bahamas, Iceland, Luxemburg, and Vanuatu. Colonial kinship, not geography or demography, is the basis of recognition of independence by the United Nations *Brotherhood of States*.

One Country, One People: New Guinea

Comprised of many nations of Papuan peoples, New Guinea, the world's second largest island, has more internal commonality and political consensus than any part of it has with any past or present colonial powers that have asserted control over this natural geopolitical country: Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, Australia, Japan, and Indonesia. One half of the island achieved independence from its colonizer, Australia, in 1975, and became Papua New Guinea, an emerging important power in the Pacific and in Melanesia. Instead of

self-determination and independence, the western half of the island was invaded and annexed by expansionist Java as Indonesia's easternmost province.

Papuan people are Melanesian, not Indonesian. Melanesian is a term of identity of free choice; Indonesian is a word that delimits an area and peoples held together by force. The people of West Papua are different in all respects from their rulers from Java: Language, religions, identity, histories, systems of land ownership and resource use, cultures and allegiance. For more than 23 years, the Javanese have tried to take West Papua by force and to incorporate it and its peoples into Indonesia. And the Papuan peoples have continued to resist the takeover and instead wish either to be free to create their own autonomous state or to merge with Papua New Guinea.

The Javanese occupation of West Papua has no legitimacy. Java and West Papua are separated by 2300 miles of ocean waters and numerous island nations. The Dutch ruled the two colonies with separate administrations, similar to the former British colonies of Jamaica and Trinidad, each of which became an independent state in 1962. To acquire West Papua, the Javanese promoted a sham, claiming that half of New Guinea was a "natural" geographic part of "greater Indonesia," and they launched political and military campaigns to secure their bogus claim.

After the Dutch military forces were driven from Java in December, 1949, the Javanese set their sights on claiming all island nations of what once had been the Dutch East Indies. For 12 years the taking of West Papua was a matter of "national pride" for the Javanese. They promised to liberate the Papuans by invading and driving out the Dutch. In 1962 they attacked with a paratroop force at Aru Bay. The Dutch took the problem to the United Nations.

A special UN commission headed by Elsworth Bunker, a ranking member of the the Kennedy Administration in the United States, considered the Netherland's complaints and then urged the turnover of West Papua to Indonesia. It was obvious at the time that the decision to turn a blind eye to Indonesia's blatant disregard for the UN Charter was a choice made to enhance U.S. foreign policy interests. Indonesia was a U.S. ally and an important part of Washington's plan for the containment of communism in Southeast Asia. (Elsworth Bunker's UN sanctioned plan to force West Papua into the arms of Indonesia was confirmed in The New York Plan of 1962. It was an agreement similar to Sir Cyril Radcliff's 1947 Radcliff Award which gave the Chittagong Hill Tracts to Pakistan.) Indonesia was to govern West Papua as a trust territory until an election could be held to determine the political future of the Papuan peoples. From 1962 to 1969, Papuan resistance to the Indonesian occupation was widespread.

By 1969, Indonesia felt that it had enough military control over West Papua to hold a phony "Act of Free Choice" (*Pe Pe Ra*, Determination of the People's Opinion). Widely referred to as the Act of No Choice by the West Papuans, only 1,025 (of 800,000 total population) people were allowed to vote on the destiny of their country: Independence or union with Indonesia. Indonesian military units and generals determined the outcome of the vote. Indonesian army Major Soewondo threatened those who were to vote by telling them:

I am drawing the line frankly and clearly. I say I will protect and guarantee the safety of everyone who is for Indonesia. I will shoot dead anyone who is against us - and all his followers. (TAPOL, 1984:31)

And Brigadier-General Ali Murtopo warned Papuan

representatives that Indonesia,

as the strongest military power in Southeast Asia, is able to strike fear into any country. If we want to be independent, he said, . . . we had better ask God if He could find us an island in the Pacific where we could emigrate . . .

. . . General Murtopo impressed upon us that 115 million Indonesians had fought for West Irian for years. They had made many sacrifices in this struggle, and they would not therefore allow their national aspirations to be crossed by a handful of Papuans. Short shrift would be made of those who voted against Indonesia. Their accursed tongues would be torn out, their full mouths would be wrenched open. Upon them would fall the vengeance of the Indonesian people, among them General Murtopo who would himself shoot the people on the spot. (TAPOL, 1984: 31-32)

With a gun to her head, West Papua was annexed to Indonesia. In 1969, Indonesian President Suharto declared that West Papua was a province of Indonesia to be called West Irian. In 1973 the province was renamed Irian Jaya and the papuans were renamed Irianese. A new mythical people – the Irianese – were to be created instantly with this declaration from Jakarta, a people whose identity, allegiance, land and resources were to be given to Java and to Java's self-inflated image of empire and destiny. Use of the word Papuan was forbidden and punishable by imprisonment; use of the geographical name West Papua was also forbidden and censored from radio and all publications. To make Papuans and West Papua Indonesian, the Jakarta central government began

programs to obliterate the people and to annihilate their place.

With an area of 160,032 square miles, West Papua has a size larger than Japan or Poland and almost as large as Iraq or Sweden. Its Papuan population of 1,000,000 is larger than one fourth of the states recognized by the United Nations including Gambia, Fiji, Guyana and Cyprus. If West Papua were to join the 3.5 million people of Papuan New Guinea – a goal of many among the West Papuan resistance forces, "One Country, One People" – then the indigenous peoples of New Guinea would have a population larger than almost half of the established states. And, a combined Papuan territory would have an area larger than any Central American or European country.

TRANSMIGRATION: Annexation by Occupation

An area coveted by expansionist desires and even placed on a *thirty pieces of silver platter* by opportunistic Western countries wishing to establish good relations with new Third World powers, must nevertheless be occupied and subjugated. The strategy used by most Third World states relies on the mass transfer of a civilian population loyal or at least dependent upon the central government, backed by a large and ruthless military force, with almost all expenses lobbied for by transnationals and provided by international development agencies.

Bangladesh's State of Siege Against the Chittagong Nations

During 1947 – 1971, East Pakistan organized and promoted Bengali settlement and development of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and peoples. In 1955 the Bengali government violated the political autonomy of

the region by disregarding the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulations and bringing the area under the administrative control of Pakistan. government encouragement of Bengali settlers, merchants and money lenders into the Chittagong Hills accelerated in 1958 with the military takeover of Pakistan.

Economic development was used to firmly establish a Bengali-Pakistan state beachhead within indigenous national territory throughout the Chittagong Hills. The U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) provided most of the funding for the construction of the Kaptai Dam across the Karnaphulli River. Finished in 1963, the dam supplies hydroelectric energy to the Bengali port of Chittagong, but has created a 20,000 hectare reservoir on indigenous lands that displaced 100,000 people, largely Chakmas who were resisting the Bengali invasion. In 1964 all immigration restrictions to the area were removed by the Bengali government.

With the 1971 separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan, the Bengali government in Dhaka began a push to "Bengalize" the Chittagong Hill peoples. The Bengali invasion was stepped up in 1979 by Bangladesh's active encouragement of settlers to move into the area. By 1980, Dhaka had received enough international assistance (U.S. AID, Sweden, World Health Organization, UNICEF) to provide the settlers with transportation, money, a six-month food supply, and 2.5 to 5 acres of land for each family. In 1982, an additional 250,000 Bengalis were brought into the area. By 1985 the Bengali population amounted to 400,000 settlers and 40,000 army personnel, almost 75 percent of the original number of the area's inhabitants and owners.

To the Bengalis, the Chittagong Hills are a population overflow region that had land, hydroelectric potential, oil and natural gas.

To secure these, the Bengalis suppressed all rights of the indigenous peoples and nations, and forcibly imposed their people, religion, and government and began a brutal campaign to eliminate indigenous resistance by burning crops, villages, arbitrary and widespread murders, rapes, torture, and destruction and theft of goods and property. (Fourth World Journal, R.S. Dewan, 1985: 33-40)

Since its own independence from Pakistan, Bangladesh has continued and accelerated the Bengali invasion and state of siege to deny the independence of the Chittagong Hill peoples, who in turn, have had to organize their own armed resistance force, the 15,000 partially armed guerrilla fighters of the **Shanti Bahini** ("peace force"). The Bengali army is waging an undeclared war against the indigenous peoples of the Chittagong Hills. In order to defeat the **Shanti Bahini** fighters they attack civilians.

To break the resistance they terrorize non-combatants. To conquer the people - they destroy them. To stop the flow of information, recruits, food and shelter from villagers to their sons and daughters in the **Shanti Bahini**, the Bengali army burns villages, one after the other. When they suffer an ambush and defeat, the Bengali army retaliates by murdering and raping civilians.

The Bengali army is one of the most poorly controlled armies in Asia. It is conducting a purge of indigenous peoples, an elimination, a liquidation, genocide 1980's style at no cost to the developing state, paid for by naive, trusting international agencies wishing to solve "The Population Problem."

The Bengali military-assisted invasion of the Chittagong Hill nations is the world's most clear-cut example of genocide in practice today. Undeniably hungry Bengalis feed on food grown on land drenched in

Chakma blood, Mro blood, Marma blood, Tripura blood.

Indonesia's Disguised Invasion of West Papua

When Java replaced the Netherlands as the colonial power that claimed sovereignty over 300 Fourth World Nations on 13,700 islands over a 3,000-mile-extent, the expansion of political, military, and economic control was made the top priority. In 1950, President Sukarno said that *migration* to the outer islands was "a matter of life and death for the Indonesian nation." Java's expansionist designs were to extend by moving Javanese settlers and military units, island to island, and to disguise these invasions as the *redistribution of overpopulation* within the confines of a mythical Indonesian state. The invasions are financed by international aid, amounting to some \$600,000,000 provided by the World Bank, World Food Program, European Economic Community, Asian Development Bank, Islamic Development Bank, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Netherlands, the United States, and the United Nations Development Program. (Survival International, Bulletin: March 2, 1985)

Transmigration — the resettlement of people loyal to a central government — is the main tactic for "smokeless wars" of invasion and occupation by Third World states against Fourth World Nations and peoples. Java's war on the peoples it claims as Indonesian civilians is called *transmigrasi* (Transmigration). It represents the world's largest invasion force. The 1984 — 1989 Five Year Plan called for the movement of 5,000,000 people from Java, Madura and Bali specifically to those areas that resist Java's imposed sovereignty: Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, South Moluccas, East Timor, and West Papua. Over the next 20 years, some 65,000,000 more people will be moved to Javanize

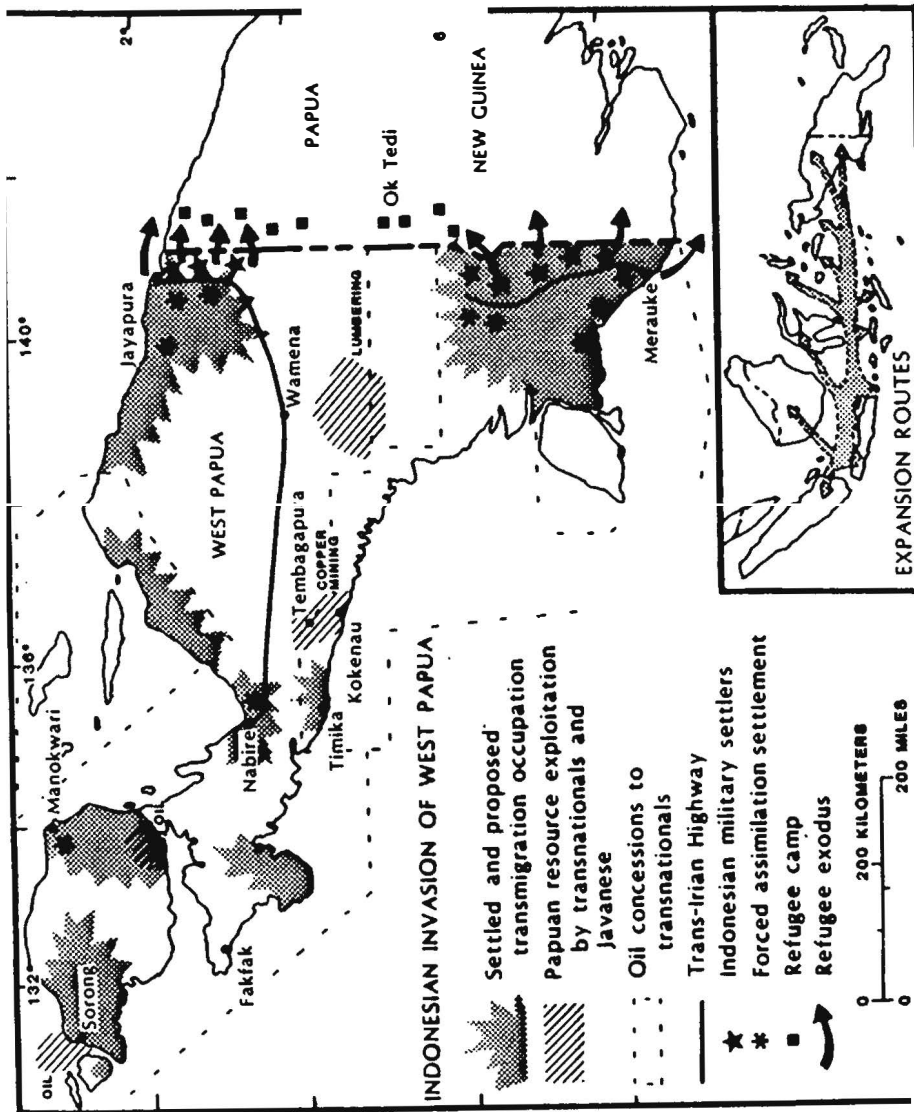
Fourth World territories claimed by Indonesia.

Java no longer gives overpopulation as the principal reason behind transmigration. Centralized political and economic goals — not humanitarian ones — are the justifications. The Jakarta government lists seven goals for its transmigration program: To promote national unity, national security, an equal distribution of the population, national development, the preservation of nature, help to the farming classes, and *improvement of the condition of local peoples*. (Survival International Bulletin: March 2, 1985)

What transmigration has actually accomplished is very different: The spread of poverty, forced displacement of indigenous peoples from their homes, communities and lands; deforestation and soil damage at the rate of some 200,000 hectares per year (to total 3,600,000 deforested hectares by 1989); destruction of local governments, economies, means of sustainable resource use; forced assimilation programs; widespread use of military force to "pacify" areas and to break local resistance by bombing and massacres of civilians.

It costs about \$9000.00 to move a family from Java and to establish it on 2.5 to 5 hectares of expropriated land in a distant island. People who are forcibly displaced to make room for the transmigrants are not paid for their land; Indonesia asserts that transmigration is a national priority and that national needs for land replace any local ownership: "The rights of traditional-law communities may not be allowed to stand in the way of the establishment of Transmigration settlements" (Basic Forestry Act: Clarification Act 2823, 1967, Clause 17).

Indonesia cannot itself afford to move 65 million people at the present-day cost of \$9000 per family. Funds for that will be sought from international sources. The purchase of land would drive the amount far



beyond the \$10 billion that Java needs to extend its control over non-Javanese islands, nations and peoples. Internationally financed invasions disguised as national priorities and domestic resettlement is the way poor Third World states acquire land and resources.

West Papua is one of the main areas targeted for annexation and incorporation by the military-backed transmigration program. West Papua's abundant forest and mineral resources and offshore oil potential makes it even more attractive for development by invasion. To physically secure West Papua and to transfer control of the area from Papuans to Javanese, Jakarta has imposed a seven-part strategy:

1. **Territorial Occupation.** Displacement of Papuans by Javanese, Maduran and Balinese settlers that will number 1,000,000 by 1989, and up to 10,000,000 by the year 2000.
2. **Relocation of Papuans into Assimilation Camps.** The Javanese use two primary types of relocation camps to erase Papuan identity (ethnocide): *Translocal* settlements where Papuans are brought to live with Javanese settlers at ratios of 1:3 to 1:5 in order to "civilize" them with Moslem religion, Bahasa Indonesian language, and Javanese culture and community life; and *Centers for Social Development* where Papuans are brought to remove them from supporting the Papuan resistance forces and to indoctrinate them. The centers are called PPMs and have the same purpose as "strategic hamlets" widely used during the war between Vietnam and the United States, "model villages" used by the Guatemalan government on Mayan Indians and "relocation camps" used by the Nicaraguan government to control Indians from the

Miskito, Sumo and Rama nations.

3. **Indoctrination.** Within the *translocal*, and community development camps, and surviving Papuan villages, Javanese government people carry out a program of *Pascasila Indoctrination*, to replace Papuan and Melanesian identity and nationality with Indonesian. Called *P4 indoctrination*, its goals "to cultivate national pride, self-respect and broaden people's horizons so as to create a consciousness of being [part of] a nation, part of the Indonesian state, and to defend the state. (TAPOL, 1984:10)
4. **Territorial Management.** Throughout Indonesia the Javanese rely on a doctrine of "territorial management" (*Pembinaan territorial wilayah*) for "national defense." It is based on the belief that the Indonesian army will face warfare of "internal" and "external" guerrilla forces, not conventional armies. Therefore, the army must organize all the peoples within the claimed Indonesian state into "total people's defense" (*hankamrata*) by "management" of each society down to the smallest units. "Territorial Management" is a major part of Java's strategy to occupy West Papua and to use the Indonesian army to reduce opposition from "citizens" claimed by Indonesia.
5. **Counterinsurgency.** The Papuan defense force is called the OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*) or **Free Papua Movement** which has been fighting the Indonesian invasion for almost 25 years. The goal of the Pemka and Vitoria branches of the OPM is to resist the Indonesian invasion as long as it is necessary until world opinion or future allies

pressure a withdrawal. OPM's views are encapsulated in its slogan, "One people, one soul." Jakarta does not recognize the OPM as a legitimate guerrilla force, instead calling it the GPK (security disruptor gangs), or GPL (wild terrorist gangs). Jakarta uses the weight of its army – the largest in Southeast Asia – to break the OPM resistance by isolating the Papuan people in either PPM or *translocal* camps, by burning down villages, creation of fear by carrying out arbitrary arrests, beatings, torture, and murders. Indonesian army units make frequent sweeps through villages to arrest and burn. (TAPOL, 1984:10)

6. **Military Settler Units.** An important component in Jakarta's strategy to defend the occupied territory against Papuan guerrillas ("Territorial Management"), and to seal off the West Papua–Papua New Guinea border to deny the OPM sanctuary and access to supplies is the use of military settler units (*transmigrasi saptamarga*) numbering some 90,000 in compounds along the Jayapura–Merauke Trans–Irian Highway which is under construction. Made up of former army personnel and their families, these units – unlike regular army – are permanent settlements that will eventually comprise a "Java Curtain" between Papuan peoples.
7. **Prohibition of Free Access and total Denial of Violations.** To hide the widespread human rights violations, and genocidal assault on Papuan culture and community life, Indonesia has closed off almost all of West Papua to journalists, and human rights organizations. At the same time, the Indonesian government and army deny the existence of the

25-year-old war, the state of siege against the Papuan people, and the killing of up to 200,000 Papuans. Instead, Jakarta says the armed resistance is being done by "terrorists," who are "separatists" and whose aim it is to "disrupt regional stability" and "development process;" and that Papuan rejection of Javanese assimilation is due to their "backwardness," and "simplistic way of thinking."

Java is waging a war against the Papuan people in order to take over Papuan land and resources for the Javanese, all in the name of a mythical Indonesia, whose state motto is "Unity Through Diversity," but should be "Submit to Java."

The most comprehensive statement on Java's plans for West Papua are contained in a document issued in April, 1984 by Brigadier-General Meliala Sembiring, military commander of the occupying Indonesian army in West Papua.

The basic strategy for restoring security in Irian Jaya [West Papua] is concentrated on separating the people from GPK ["Security Disruptor Gangs"], inculcating a spirit of non-cooperation/resistance among the people towards the GPK, localizing the security-disruptors, striking out at those disruptors who persist, and consolidating and rehabilitating the region.

The smiling policy implemented by the 17th/Cendrawasih Division before the middle of 1982 was the first step in our efforts to detach the people from the influences of the GPK separatist idea, and this policy must be further developed by means of more basic management. Territorial smiling reflects a territorial attitude guided by the eight duties of the

Armed Forces. Territorial smiling means acting with human feelings and outlooks, honest openness and friendship from the [army] apparatus towards the people in its area. This can in practice be done by face-to-face encounters, house-visits, especially in the more remote regions, and other such family activities.

The next step which is now needed is to separate the people from the GPK, mentally and physically, by setting up Centers for Social Development [Pusat Pengembangan Masyarakat], or PPMs, that is to say, setting up settlement locations especially in the more remote regions, taking account of local customs, religious beliefs, life-styles, historical background, inter-tribal relations, and the aspirations of the local community. A program to raise living standards and improve social and economic conditions is a powerful magnet to attract the people in the vicinity to settle in the PPM locations so as to detach them from the influences of the GPK separatists. (TAPOL, 1984:10)

With respect to the Papuan refugees who have fled Indonesia's "smiling policy", PPMs, and territorial management, Sembiring says "we shall generously and open-heartedly welcome back the border crossers as Indonesian citizens if they consciously return to the fold of the Motherland." (TAPOL, 1984:10)

Approximately 13,000 to 15,000 Papuan refugees have crossed into Papua New Guinea to seek safety from Indonesian violence. The refugees are living in 16 isolated camps, in terrible conditions, with very limited assistance, most coming from the League of Red Cross Societies. Papua New Guinea's fear of Indonesia has prevented it from meeting internationally recognized standards for the treatment and protection of refugees,

and that fear has for the time being silenced the PNG government in Port Moresby from internationally condemning what is happening to Papuan peoples on the other side of the invisible barrier.

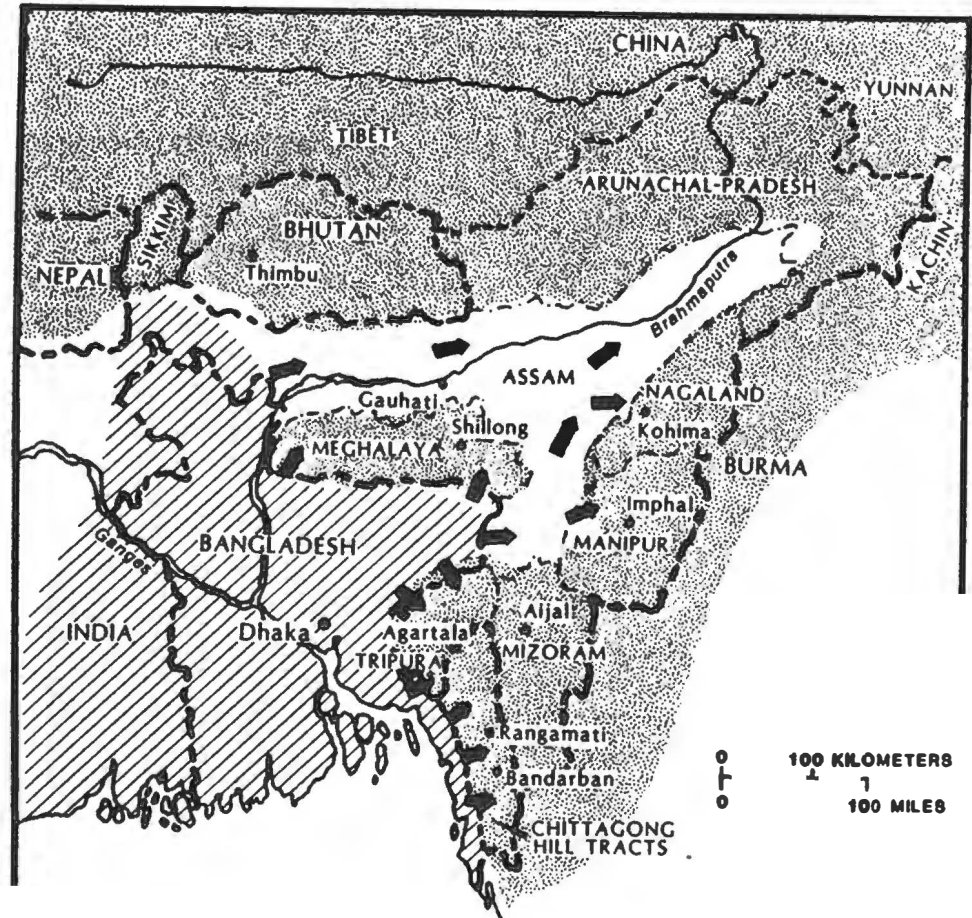
Indonesia denies that there are refugees, instead referring to them as "illegal border crossers." Indonesian offers for repatriation have been rebuffed by the refugees who fear reprisals if they were to return. Jakarta is pressuring Papua New Guinea's government to force repatriation in order to close the biggest leak in the "Java Curtain."

STATES CLAIM INNOCENCE AND DENY VIOLENT INTENT

It is commonplace that states refute evidence of their invasion and takeover of Fourth World nations by asserting a sovereign right over "domestic territory;" by claiming that their armies are but dealing with "law and order problems," "terrorists," "separatists," "backward tribalism," or "rebels;" or by outright denials of any wrongdoing, territorial or human rights violations. Because most states claim sovereignty over many nations, and small states fear big states, most states look the other way and do not see state armed and settler forces that have invaded and now occupy Fourth World nations and peoples. Equivalent to the Hans Christian Anderson fairy tale, "The Emperor's New Clothes," where the Emperor's claims were empty but nevertheless were imposed, a new fairy tale of emptiness is being told, "The Emperor's New Claims."

Bangladesh

Widespread poverty under the marshall-law government of Lieutenant General H. M. Ershad has



BENGLI TERRITORIAL INVASIONS

- Hills and mountains
- Bengali-speaking area
- Bengali expansion
- International boundary
- Boundary in dispute
- Domestic state boundary

forced waves of desperately poor Bengalis to seek land. One of these waves has several million immigrants who have crossed India's border into Assam; another flood of migrants assisted by the Bengali army has gone across the border into the Chittagong Hill Tracts in order to annex new lands for the state.

Moslem immigrants from Bangladesh are being challenged by indigenous Hindu Assamese who say they are "squatters," "illegal aliens." Violence over the existence of several million Bengalis has been frequent and led to the death of 5,000 to 6,000 in 1983. India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi intervened with an August 1985 agreement that called for the removal of a million or more Bengalis from the voter roles and their possible deportation. The Assamese and other indigenous anti-immigration movements pressured New Dehli and Gandhi into disenfranchising and removing Bengali immigrants.

Despite the escalating land-based violence in Assam and India's accord with the Assamese over Bengali immigrants, the government of Bangladesh refuses to recognize any problem. For example, in response to a New York Times article on the Assam Accord, Mr. Abdul Hannan, Mission of Bangladesh to the UN, claimed:

The government of Bangladesh has repeatedly made it clear that there are no Bangalees in Assam, and the question of their expulsion to Bangladesh has not arisen at all

The population of Bangladesh is basically homogeneous and stable. Socioeconomic research has found acute seasonal shortage of labor in various parts of the country during harvesting season due to lack of population mobility. In a country where even seasonal internal migration of population is so limited,

permanent emigration on the scale that has been alleged is simply inconceivable.

Bangladesh has been experiencing a rate of growth of gross domestic product, together with growth rates in industry, agriculture and services, higher than other countries in the region. There has not been a single case of communal disharmony in Bangladesh since independence. So does it stand to reason that Bangalees should have emigrated to Assam? (The New York Times, January 16, 1986:14)

Similarly, the Bangladesh government also denies any invasion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts by Bangalee settlers or army. The Bangladesh representative at the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Geneva, July 31, 1985), used the same argument against the overwhelming evidence of Bangali invasion of Chakma and other indigenous nations' lands, and outright genocide by the Bangladesh army. "Bangladesh is a homogenous country . . . there are four groups of tribals . . . but adequate census information on their numbers and locations is not available . . . the need for greater population mobility is a big problem in Bangladesh and to limit the movement of Bangalee citizens into an area would not only limit development, it would deny them a basic freedom."

Army-assisted invasion by Bengali squatters is, apparently, a basic freedom in Bangladesh.

Indonesia

Speaking before the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations in response to a statement given by the

OPM West Papuan delegation, Indonesian representative, Mr. Juwana, rejected all accusations:

The accusation that the objective of transmigration is either to overwhelm the unique identity which exists in Irian Jaya or to "smother local resistance" is preposterous. The objective Indonesia's transmigration programme, which is a national endeavour already in existence for many years, is to expand development efforts and to evenly spread its benefits to the regions outside of the already overpopulated areas in order to achieve nationally balanced economic progress. The purpose is to utilize the surplus agricultural manpower available to develop land resources in the outer islands. It is aimed at improving the standard of living of the community in general, by increasing regional development and by assisting the people on the outer islands that demonstrate a relative lag in development.

The worthy aims of the transmigration policy are recognized, both nationally and internationally. Assistance for this programme is not only received from friendly countries but also from such international institutions as the World Bank, which recently approved a substantial loan. The implementation of the transmigration programme is not yet perfect. There are many problems left to iron out and many unforeseen difficulties to attend to. But these are almost entirely concerning the agricultural aspects of the project and obstacles to cultural understanding have never been the main hurdles to overcome. As in any country we have experienced difficulties in harmoniously fusing peoples with different backgrounds and different languages

I must add that allegations of more than 200,000

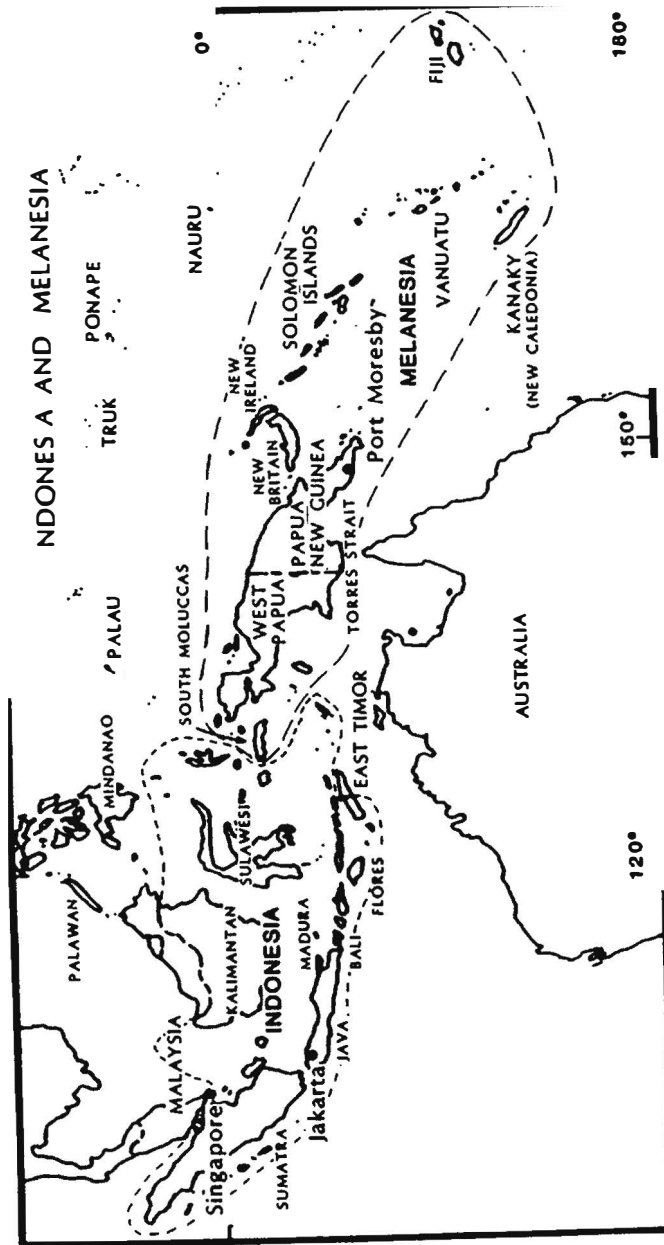
Irianese deaths during military occupation, bombings, indiscriminate shooting, imprisonment torture, etc are completely absurd and untrue (Juwana, 1985)

Melanesia and Indonesia

Consider that there are two major forces in collision worldwide: the expansion of states and the defending nations. Indonesia and Melanesia — two large geographic areas of islands — represent these counterposed forces of political incorporation by invasion, and political liberation by self-determination. Indonesia is a new colonial state built on Javanese expansion by armies and settlers against the peoples of Sumatra, Kalimantan, South Moluccas, East Timor, and West Papua. Melanesia is an equally large area that has an emerging geopolitical identity based on independence from colonial occupation. Indonesia is an archipelago of different nations united by force; Melanesia is an archipelago of similar peoples united by choice.

Independence from colonial rule is spreading throughout Melanesia: Fiji (1970), Papua New Guinea (1975), Solomon Islands (1978), Vanuatu (1980), and Kanaki (New Caledonia claimed by France) will achieve independence in the near future. That leaves the Torres Strait Islands (claimed Australia), and West Papua, South Molucca and East Timor (claimed by Indonesia).

Melanesia has a very strong internal affinity based on identity and a growing consensus against non-Melanesian control by occupation. Vanuatu is in the forefront of the pan-Melanesian movement. In an address to the United Nations General Assembly (October 11, 1984), Vanuatu Foreign Minister Sela Molisa stated:



We regret that there is some justification to the Israeli and South African complaint that the international community is very selective in its denunciations. It pains us deeply that there is indeed a grain of truth to this argument. How else can we explain the condemnations of the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, but silence on the annexation of East Timor? How else can we explain the condemnations of apartheid but the silence on the plight of the Melanesian people of West Papua?

How else can we explain the appeals to sever economic ties with South Africa while a South African company participates in the exploitation of West Papua's oil resources? How else can we explain the concern over Israeli and South African military expansionism, and the indifference to the military expansionism in our region which has already seen West Papua and East Timor swallowed, if not digested, and which now provokes, and threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our good neighbor, Papua New Guinea?

Our region is known for its calm and serene atmosphere. The countries of the South Pacific are populated by peace loving people of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, our similar colonial histories have instilled in us all a strong aversion to external interference and foreign rule. On this we are in total accord.

Unfortunately, the international community has not yet taken note of this. Thus, while our support is given as a matter of principle in the struggle against apartheid, little is known of our own struggle against the same practices in our own region. (Molisa, October

11, 1984)

FOUR CHOICES INSTEAD OF THREE

The three worlds of capitalism, communism and poverty are not the only choices for the more than three thousand nations that are confronted by political, military and economic expansion. A fourth choice establishes a geopolitical firebreak between aggressive, expanding states. Enduring nations are anchored in their geography, they do not expand beyond the extent of their people or beyond their need.

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The Igorot Of The Cordillera

Defending the Ancestral Domain in the Philippines.

William F. Claver

Chairperson
Cordillera Peoples' Alliance

There are in the Philippines today about 7 million indigenous peoples, the bulk of whom are located in Mindanao. They consist of the Muslims and other Tribal Filipinos. In the North, particularly in the Cordillera range of mountains, live the Igorots numbering some eight hundred thousand (800,000) people. It is the Igorots of the Cordilleras in Northern Philippines to which I belong.

During more than 300 years of Spanish domination, the Igorots of the Cordilleras, like their Muslim brothers and other Tribal Filipinos in the South, have never been conquered nor effectively subjugated; neither had they been Christianized unlike the lowland Filipinos. The Igorots, at the end of the last century, kept their lands, their culture, their heritage and their identity. Today, these same people, the Igorots, stand at the threshold of their history of losing their lands, their culture, and their identity at the hands of the Philippine government.

Consider these developments,

The Cordillera abounds in vast mineral and other natural resources like forests and rivers. And, although we live in one compact area, in creating the Old

Mountain Province, large segments of the population were parceled out to other lowland communities and provinces. When President Ferdinand Marcos came to power, one of his first official acts was to partition the Mountain Province into four Provinces in 1966. Again, when martial law was declared in 1972, he further bifurcated us by assigning two provinces in Region I and two provinces in Region II.

Through the years, various laws, Presidential Decrees and other executive issuances have set aside our Ancestral lands and the Marcos regime has declared them *public domain* and under the executive control of the Philippine President. Under these laws, all the Igorots and other indigenous people living in mountain areas in the Philippines were stripped of their Ancestral territories and made *squatters* in their own lands. In consequence, our ancestral territories had been opened as areas of interest for mining, logging; and just recently, President Marcos decreed the building of dams over our streams and rivers.

And how did the people respond?

Our people protested. One such organized protest took the form of passionate opposition to the World Bank financed Chico Dams. In the face of our peoples' opposition, the President suspended further prosecution of the dams' construction. Since then, with a more aware Igorot, they also opposed the coming in of big logging conglomerates and are now in the process of questioning many mining exploitation and other activities.

And the net effect?

The government uses force as it is its predilection to employ force to put into effect the Philippine government's destructive policies of 'development'. Military abuses and repressions against our people followed. Recent years have seen an unprecedented rise

in human rights violations and violence in the Cordillera. Implicated in countless cases of violence are Philippine state military and paramilitary operatives. Atrocities perpetrated by them against members of the civilian population have usually occurred in connection with state counter-insurgency activities. However, cases have been reported which are not linked with political repression, but which are rather manifestations of plain military abusiveness. Military atrocities reported by residents of barrios and town centers in the Cordillera provinces of Abra, Apayao, Benguet including Baguio, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain Province are many. Similar reports of violence against the residents of Cordillera boundary areas (Cagayan, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya) have been recorded by various human rights organizations.

In the Cordillera we try to differentiate between types of killing. **Salvaging** is a term we use to identify cases of political execution. **Murder** refers to killing without any apparent political motivation.

We also try to differentiate between forms of physical abuse. **Torture** is a term we use to identify cases of severe physical punishment linked with arrest, detention, or interrogation. **Maltreatment** involves less severe physical punishment. **Manhandling** refers to physical abuse without the elements of arrest, detention, or interrogation.

We define **illegal arrest** as arrest without warrant, **illegal detention** refers to cases in which the military holds a person in custody at least overnight without any formal charges filed, and **illegal interrogation** is interrogation without benefit of counsel.

Coercion is a term which has come to have several applications depending on a specific case. There have been cases involving forced recruitment to the Philippine Civilian Home Defense Front (CHDF) which we call

coercion. There have been incidents where barrio folk are forced to take oaths of allegiance to the state. And there have been instances when civilians are forced to perform tasks for the military.

There have been many cases of physical and socio-economic dislocation. **Evacuation** refers to cases of, say, families fleeing their residences because of fear evoked by the militarized situation. **Hamletting** refers to forcible reconcentration of communities into places where these communities' activities can be better monitored or limited by the military. By **imposition of hamletting conditions**, we refer to cases in which actual reconcentration does not occur, but close monitoring or limitation of the communities' activities takes place.

Yes, the Philippine military came to the Cordilleras, into our homes, vales and dales, in the name of *development*. and national security. But to the Igorots, they came to protect our exploiters as it was evident that their mission was to stifle dissent and emasculate the growing consciousness of the Igorots as well as break-up all militant pressure groups. The military indulged in all forms of harassments, from hamletting, enforcement of various restrictions, arrests, indiscriminate searches of our abode without warrants, detention, torture, threats, murder and salvaging.

For my part, owing to my activities as a lawyer of political detainees, as a human rights worker and as Chairperson of the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance, no less than three known attempts had been planned on my life by elements of the military, aside from receiving several death threats beamed through the years. We have two lawyers in the Cordillera who have been detained to these days on orders of President Marcos for having taken the gudgeons of indigenous cordillera people.

Now, because of common concern, identity and shared experiences as victims of oppression and other human

rights violations, the Igorots formed the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance in June, 1984. From an initial membership of twenty-seven organizations, it has grown to fifty-six peoples' organizations. In forging the Alliance, they came to identify their problems and the primary prescription for success was the attainment of unity.

And so, some months after its founding, the Alliance supported a Bill proposed in the Philippine National Assembly calling for the regionalization of the Cordilleras. This Bill concedes nothing except reuniting the Cordillera Provinces of Benguet and Mountain Province from Region I, and the Provinces of Kalinga-apayao

and Ifugao from Region II into one region. This regionalization set-up is merely for administrative economic planning and does not grant any substantive content for genuine regional autonomy. Our Alliance supported the proposal only as an initial step towards a longer term alternative program for a true autonomous government.

Despite the overwhelming enthusiasm and support for this step towards unification as expressed in voluminous petitions and mass demonstrations, the Philippine government shelved the proposal. It became crystal clear for all that the government clings to its policy of continuing artificial division of the Cordilleras.

The Igorots of the Cordilleras do now realize that it is to the point of unreasoning to expect that the Philippine government will concede their unification, much less would it generously recognize their rights to their Ancestral Domain. Soon, then, did they realize that in their fight for recognition, the same struggle proceeds from their quest for self-determination, the attainment of which will not be given on a silver

platter. But, only by waging a well programmed and organized plan, sustained through the peoples' assertion of their rights to self-determination could the Igorot dream of winning back their homelands be a reality. Thus, the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance came out with an alternative program, broadly stated to the Philippine government as follows:

In the Political Field: The Igorot demand for a Cordillera Autonomous Region which shall mean self-government by and for the Cordillera people, equality without discrimination with the rest of the Filipino people, and political unity within the National framework.

In the Economic Field: The Igorots demand their rights to their Ancestral Domain, to the disposition, utilization, and management of all natural resources found within their domain.

In the Cultural Field: The demand of the Igorots is the right to cultural self-determination, institutional rectification of discriminatory practices, the prohibition of vulgarization and commercialization of indigenous culture, respect for indigenous culture and the promotion of a progressive Igorot consciousness.

These demands are the basic and minimum requirements for our survival. We talk of survival because if we view the trends in the Philippines today, it does not take an expert to say that things will get worse in the Cordillera as it already did happen in Mindanao where vast Tribal lands had been taken and converted into plantations for bananas, sugar, coconut, pineapple and palm oil, not to say of the more than

fifty incidents of massacres committed upon the Muslims, whole displacement of population numbering 1,300,000 persons and the flight of more than 500,000 Muslims to Sabah and other places. Given the unmanageable foreign debts incurred, the chaotic bungling of the economy and the Regime's political bankruptcy, the Philippine government policy of development at all cost — *Damn the people if they are on the way* — will persist. These policies call for massive industrialization, export of dollar earning materials like minerals and logs as well as the search for oil substitutes through construction of dams and geothermal infrastructures ... all these kind of development means land — lands to be stripped bare of its minerals; lands, forestal in nature, shorn and rendered bald by indiscriminate logging, lands devastated by mining wastes and pollution, lands eaten up by flooding and inundation due to dams in the drawing board for construction; and all these are found in indigenous lands. All these lands have either been disposed or in the process of being given for exploitation by the Philippine government to other people who are not necessarily Filipinos and to which disposition and exploitation our people have neither given their consent nor will they derive benefits. By Executive fiat, our lands are taken and given away. This is outright landgrabbing of the worst kind.

It is all too apparent that the pressure on indigenous lands, earmarked by government as resource areas, is escalating at a faster pace beyond our traditional forms of containment. Stronger measures must be devised with a sense of urgency if we are to arrest encroachment, violence, dispossession and displacement. These are happening now and if permitted to grow, it will mean the death of our culture and our death as people.

As we began going to press, the Ferdinand Marcos regime was in the midst of political and military crisis. Despite his efforts to "steal" elections to maintain his dictatorship, it appears that his government will fall and be replaced by the interests and forces supporting the Corazon Aquino presidential campaign. While it is clear that Ms. Aquino has won the elections and will likely replaced the Marcos regime it is not clear that the new government will radically change its economic and military policies toward indigenous nations. Many of the economic and military officials working in the Marcos government are likely to resume their positions in an Aquino government. The interests of Filipino indigenous nations remain at serious risk.

Mr. Claver's article was adapted from his remarks before the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations during its Fourth Session in August 1985.

U.S. POLICY: "Break Up The Tribal Mass"

Old Policy and New Strategies

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The United States of America has long cultivated the image of being a state committed to the protection of human rights and the promotion of the right among nations to freely determine their own political, economic and social future. This image was fostered when the U.S. government entered into serious international relations by promoting the formation of the League of Nations and when the U.S. entered World War I. Though basically an isolationist state, the United States reluctantly entered World War II and once again pronounced its motives to be altruistic. In 1946 the United States became a prime sponsor for the creation of the United Nations and virtually wrote the new international law that has served as the foundation for international relations to the present day.

U.S. image was further enhanced in 1975 when the **Helsinki Accords** were signed as a benchmark of East-West cooperation to promote human rights and political freedom. And now, thirty-five years after its first introduction, the United States government has agreed to join more than eighty other states by formally ratifying the **Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1951)** [*The U.S. Senate ratified the Genocide Convention by a vote of 89 to 11 on February 19, 1986*]

The United States of America has been engaged in a

subterfuge since its founding. It has been occupied with an intense competition for growth and survival with Indian nations and tribes; and always its policy has been to destroy these indigenous nations to make way for the "full flowering" of the state of the United States of America. The subterfuge has been that the U.S. government has denied the existence of its long term conflicts with Indian nations, and it has "papered over" its policy of liquidating nations with periodic announcements of "New Indian Policy". From one U.S. government administration to another these announcements have been used to hide the reality of underlying U.S. intentions: Dismember Indian nations and tribes, confiscate their lands and natural resources and continue to build the state. What frequently passed as enlightened and progressive "new Indian policies" have in reality been expressions of "new strategies" to accomplish the underlying policy of "break up the tribal mass."

Public announcement of new U.S. government policies has simply served to avoid international criticism, promote U.S. image and hide actual intent and practice.

PATTERNS OF U.S./"INDIAN POLICY"

Five hundred Indian nations, tribes and communities with a collective population of about 1.5 million (1985) have endured two hundred years of invasion by European states and a little more than two hundred years of invasion and annexation by the United States of America. In the course of these invasions Indian nations suffered a gross decline in population from an estimated 12 million in the 17th century. And Indian nations lost territory once totalling 3.615 million square miles and now estimated at 149 thousand square miles. Territories fragmented and occupied, whole nations

obliterated and millions of Indian people relocated the successor nations which still cling to 289 reservations and hundreds of villages and communities now stand at the threshold of political reemergence or the "end state" of their existence. Indian nations have not been winning the competition for space and existence with the United States of America.

The "Termination Era"

The most clearly remembered period of accelerated assimilation initiated by the United States for the current generation of Indian leadership is the so-called Termination Era of the 1950s. The dismemberment and assimilation tactics long employed by the U.S. government surfaced in the late 1940s under the general title of "Get the U.S. government out of the Indian Business". Developed during the Truman Administration as a result of the work of the Hoover Commission (chaired by former President Herbert Hoover: Commission on Executive Reorganization, Final Report. U.S. Government Printing Office. 1947), the strategy was designed to dissolve U.S./tribal political relations established through treaties. And, furthermore, to deliberately dismember tribal communities, and assimilate tribal populations into the general economy and "legally" expropriate lands and natural resources.

Washington's goals for this strategy were to formally and finally place tribal lands and natural resources directly under U.S. sovereignty by eliminating the "external" political character of Indian tribes. Despite all appearances to the contrary, Indian tribes and their territories were not then, and are not now, within the American political federal system. Indian nations have no direct or formal role in the U.S. government. They remained, and continue to be, islands in a sea of land;

distinct nations surrounded by the independent country, United States of America.

Implementing the "termination strategy" was not without its problems. The principle obstacle to the fulfillment of this strategy was the inability of the Department of the Interior to untangle the "multiple heirship problem" – as many as one thousand individual Indians would often retain partial ownership over a parcel of land. Breaking up Indian land ownership proved cumbersome and complicated. In 1961, then Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udahl lamented in an internal memorandum that termination of Indian tribes would be impossible because it would be too "costly for the United States to resolve all of the heirship and multiple ownership problems." Ironically the "multiple heirship problem" was created by the U.S. government as a result of the imposed General Allotment Act which divided Indian territories into small, privately owned parcels.

The "Get the U.S. government out of the Indian Business" strategy effectively ceased by 1962, though the dismemberment and assimilation policy remained a working policy within the agencies of government. In 1970, the U.S. government publicly renounced termination as a policy, and announced a new policy of "Indian Self-determination". As we shall see, what passed as a new and enlightened policy became a different strategy for continuing the historic policy.

Two Faces of Self-Determination

On July 21, 1970, then President Richard Nixon publicly renounced termination as a policy of the United States. In its place, the Nixon Administration advocated "Indian Self-Determination", as a *social policy* which would promote "local goal-setting, resource allocation,

program design, and program management". While many tribal leaders viewed the new policy as "self-termination", other tribal leaders saw the new policy as an important opportunity to achieve tribal self-government and greater Indian political, economic and social freedom. To the international community outside the U.S., Indian self-determination had the meaning of a *political policy* consistent with new international law (i.e. Convention on Human Rights, Declaration on Decolonization) where Indian tribes would determine their own political future. The political meaning of self-determination implied that Indian tribes would freely choose to achieve political independence, formal political association with the United States, or Indian tribes would formally choose to politically absorb into the U.S. through political assimilation. The underlying international meaning of self-determination was that: Indian tribes would achieve self-governance while the United States assisted them in the process.

Indian Self-Determination had two faces: A domestic face which was social policy aimed at the "Americanization" of tribes through economic development, education and the development of Indian management skills; and an international face which was a political policy aimed at deflecting international criticism of the U.S. in its treatment of Indian tribes. The duality of the U.S. announced policy served it well. Domestically, Indian tribes were becoming increasingly entrapped by Bureau of Indian Affairs regulations with their options becoming more limited. Meanwhile, the U.S. government was engaged, externally, in sensitive negotiations with European States and the Soviet Union over the contents of the Helsinki Final Act.

Social Development and "INCREMENTALISM"

During the closing months of the Gerald Ford Administration, and during the last year of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, the Office of Management and Budget (O.M.B.) augmented the Self-Determination Strategy with a new strategy focus. A Mr. Mitchell, of O.M.B., authored a confidential memorandum to "MR/Interior Branch" (dated: April 19, 1976) entitled: "Organization for Indian Affairs". Supplemented by a "working memorandum" prepared by a Mr. Borgstrom, also of O.M.B., the Office of Management and Budget established an ongoing strategy aimed at producing an "end-state" in U.S./Indian relations. Though political appointees in O.M.B. were replaced with the assumption of power by the Carter Administration, the thrust of O.M.B.'s Indian management strategy remained the same. In the memoranda, two alternate strategies for Federal Indian Policy were outlined: Long-range Social Problem-Solving Strategy, and the Incrementalist Strategy. The O.M.B. goal was to establish a strategy which brings the dismemberment and assimilation policy to an "end-state" -- a policy which ends U.S. obligations to Indian tribes at a "point certain". Each were defined as follows:

1. **Social Problem-Solving:** "the definition of a gap between an extant set of conditions and a desired set of conditions, a gap which is presumed to be susceptible to permanent closure through the application of resources."
2. **Incrementalism:** "things will not go to hell in a hand-basket even if no radical policy shifts are made." The level of federal financial commitment is

essentially rational and conditional, not emotional or moral. Issues of sovereignty and entitlement are viewed as reference points insofar as they are perceived to be valid concepts by some participants, but they are not viewed as "basic" or unconditional principles. Federal programs which perpetuate tribal continuity and undermine federal policy should be systematically eliminated.

Specifically targeted were the Navajo Nation, Northern Cheyenne, Quinault, Kiowa, and the Standing Rock Sioux. During the late 1970s, these were among the most politically active and independent-minded nations. The Reagan Administration adopted the Incrementalist Strategy and accelerated what was begun in the Ford and Carter Administrations. Indeed, the Reagan Administration did not change U.S. policy, but rather gave concrete meaning through an even more focused effort. The promotion of a State Block Grant proposal, Economic Zones, the enforcement of tribal timber administrative fee payments, federal program reductions, audits and strict requirements that contracts comply with federal goals and not necessarily tribal goals are all Reagan Administration initiatives which show the Incrementalist Strategy in action.

Political Denial and Economic Intimidation

The underlying policy of tribal liquidation implemented either by virtue of direct or indirect U.S. government initiatives was further obscured by Reagan Administration theatrics in 1983 when President Reagan issued his "Indian Policy Statement". (January 28, 1983) Pronouncing his administration's endorsement of the Nixon Administration's Indian Self-Determination Policy

and reaffirming the sovereignty of Indian Nations and Tribes President Reagan asserted his commitment to promoting the economic development of Indian tribes. He went on to declare his pledge to conduct relations with Indian nations on a "government to government" basis. Five months after announcement of the Reagan Administration's Indian Policy Indian leaders sought to test the depths of Reagan's commitment. Closure examination showed the Reagan Indian policy to be without substance. No new relationship was forthcoming. Economic development was revealed to be sharp reductions in economic aid and more vigorous legal and administrative investigations of Indian political leaders and Indian government financial affairs.

When asked by Indian officials to clarify or explain the details of the Reagan Administration's "government to government" commitment, U.S. officials from the White House to the Justice Department, to the Department of Interior were unable to elaborate. Indeed, to the present date, three years after the policy was announced, neither the White House nor any other agency of the U.S. government has been willing or able to spell out the details of the widely referred to policy of government to government relations between the United States and Indian Nations. In fact, the Reagan Administration in effect renounced this policy when it accelerated unilateral U.S. government agency decision-making on Indian Affairs without bi-lateral or multi-lateral contact with Indian governments.

Meanwhile, many Indian nations have begun to teeter toward collapse as a consequence of Reagan Administration "economic development" policies. Interventions directly into the financial affairs of Indian nations by U.S. administrative officials has become widespread. Sudden cuts of U.S. aid to various Indian governments have thrown many Indian nations into

economic depression and political instability. And the foreseeable future suggests even more economic intimidation and greater political pressure.

The U.S. Department of the Treasury has become an active tool of intimidation. On December 12, 1985 the U.S. Justice Department concurred with a Department of Treasury assertion that the U.S. Internal Revenue Service had the authority to collect taxes on individual Indian earnings resulting from the exploitation of treaty protected Indian resources. Considering this a violation of treaties and an "unacceptable encroachment by the U.S. government into the internal affairs" of Indian Nations the Lummi Nation, joined by the Tulalip, Quileute and Quinault denounced the Treasury move. And they informed the U.S. government of their intention to defend with all their resources against the U.S. invasion. Despite two hundred years of U.S. government abstinence from imposing its taxation on income earned from treaty guaranteed resources, the Reagan Administration has taken the radical step of imposing its revenue laws within a traditionally Indian government sphere of jurisdiction.

Incremental dismemberment of Indian nations continues even as officials of the U.S. government pledge their commitment to respecting Indian sovereignty. Obviously, the public pronouncements are intended to deflect any possible criticisms of U.S. Indian policy and practices while the strategic economic and political initiatives are calculated to cause the destruction Indian nations and their governments.

While many nations face violent confrontations with states as a matter of daily life Indian nations inside the boundaries of the United States face daily psychological, economic and political violence. For at least 125 years Indian nations have been engaged in a "cold war" with the United States. It has been a war of words,

maneuvering, legal and political strategies and a constant "push and shove" over political and jurisdictional control of the last remaining homelands of the first nations in North America. The "Indian Cold War" with the United States of America has been a hidden reality that now appears to be taking on new and more threatening features which may result in the destruction of Indian nations.

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