

# FOURTH WORLD

JOURNAL

Volume 2, Number 2

Autumn, 1989

---

**THE LEGACY OF GRAND CHIEF GEORGE MANUEL**

Rudolph C. Rýser

**THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION OF  
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN AFRICA**

Moringe Parkipuny

**FALSE PROMISES: AN INDIGENOUS  
EXAMINATION OF MARXIST THEORY AND  
PRACTICE**

Ward Churchill

**COMMUNITY-DETERMINED LIBERAL ARTS  
EDUCATION**

Rudolph C. Ryser

**JAPAN'S SUPPRESSION OF AINU MOSHIRI**

Ainu Association of Hokkaido

**POTLATCH ECONOMICS: A LUMMI PERSPECTIVE**

Larry Kinley

---



Center for World Indigenous Studies

Fourth World Journal  
Volume II, Number 2  
Autumn 1989

Copyright 1989 Center for World Indigenous Studies

FOURTH WORLD JOURNAL is published four times a year by the Center for World Indigenous Studies. Views expressed in articles are those of the individual authors. Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed. Address all correspondence to the Editor. Subscription rate is \$12.00 (U.S.) per year - handling and shipping costs extra when shipped outside United States of America. Single copies and back issues are \$3.50 each. For information, address inquiries to CENTER FOR WORLD INDIGENOUS STUDIES, P.O. Box 82038, Kenmore, Washington, 98028, U.S.A.

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Permission to use this material for purposes of scholarship or education will be cheerfully granted on request.

---

Rudolph C. Ryser, Editor  
Jerry Taylor, Associate Editor Tina L. Benshoof, Assistant Editor

---

**CONTENTS**

<b>The Legacy of Grand Chief</b> George Manuel .....	67
Rudolph C. Rýser	
<b>The Human Rights Situation of Indigenous</b> <b>Peoples in Africa</b> .....	75
Moringe Parkipuny	
<b>False Promises: An Indigenous examination of</b> <b>Marxist Theory and Practice</b> .....	79
Ward Churchill	
<b>Community-Determined Liberal Arts Education</b> .....	101
Russell Fox and Carol Minugh	
<b>Japan's Suppression of Ainu Moshiri</b> .....	111
Ainu Association of Hokkaido	
<b>Potlatch Economics: A Lummi Perspective</b> .....	119
Larry Kinley	

---

## Editor's Notes

As this issue of Fourth World Journal was going to press, we received a call from Chief George Manuel's wife Marlene - Chief Manuel died from long-term health complications in a hospital near his Niskonlith home in Shuswap territory on November 15, 1989. Though saddened by the loss of a close friend and colleague, we are heartened by the legacy of this great man who changed the world. We dedicate this issue of the Fourth World Journal to Chief George Manuel.

Moringe Parkipuny, a member of the Tanzanian parliament and a Maasai contributed his statement on the human rights situation of some of Africa's nations. Parkipuny's statement before the U.N. Working on Indigenous Populations in Genève, Switzerland is both a strong testimony to Chief Manuel's vision and a proof of Tanzania's importance to the global dialogue on the rights of indigenous peoples in Africa.

In *False Promises*, Ward Churchill of the Creek Nation examines Marxism and its relevance or irrelevance to the interests of Fourth World nations. A serious scholar of Marxist ideology, Churchill writes clearly and persuasively about this often thorny subject.

Education is a persistent topic of discussion and debate in the Fourth World. But, there is frequently a tension between educational systems imposed on Fourth World peoples versus the education approaches inherent in distinct cultural systems. Russell Fox and C.W.I.S. Founding Board Member Carol Minugh present a compelling proposal for *Community-Determined Liberal Arts Education*.

The Ainu of Japan suffer from the kind of invisibility promoted by state governments that often afflicts Fourth World nations. In their submission before the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, the Ainu Association of Hokkaido present a troubling picture of a people long submerged. In *Japan's Suppression of Ainu Moshiri*, the Ainu Association outlines the historical positions taken by the Japanese government toward the Ainu and present their views on a new approach for relations between the Japanese and Ainu. The Ainu Association also outlines in their submission Ainu views about proposed revisions in the International Labor Organization Convention 107 concerning treatment of "tribal and semi-tribal peoples."

Finally, we publish for our readers a contribution by Lummi Indian Nation Chairman Larry Kinley - formerly published in the C.W.I.S. book *Indian Self-Government: The Political Status of Indian Nations in the United States of America*. Chairman Kinley presents a thoughtful discussion of what he calls *Potlatch Economics* - how this system once provided for a healthy Lummi economy before contact with Europeans, and how, with modification Potlatch Economics may once again prove the salvation of the Lummi people.

# The Legacy of Grand Chief George Manuel

**"Neither Left nor Right, we must find our own path as the Fourth World"**

Rudolph C. Rýser

Center for World Indigenous Studies

The ground was wet and puddles collected in the low spots reflecting the grayness of the clouded sky. The smell of winter approaching filled the air and an eagle floated on the air currents above the nearby mountain ridge. Hundreds of people from many nations were milling around the building, talking softly while others slowly filed through the weathered double doors at one end. More people waited patiently in their cars on the highway in front of the Community Center - waiting for the Neskonlith Band Police and volunteer helpers to give directions for parking.



Grand-Chief George Manuel and his wife Marlene at a celebration in his honor at the Neskonlith reserve in Shuswap territory.

- Rosalee Tizya - 1987

Inside the Community Center, which sits on a somewhat hilly and grassy meadow between the highway and a wall of mountainous granite dotted with pine trees, more people crowded inside the entry way to join the line moving slowly past the chestnut casket bearing the body of Grand Chief George Manuel to pay their last respects. He laid there as if at peace for the first time during his sixty-eight years, in a beaded deer skin jacket

and in his right hand an eagle feather fan. As in life, George Manuel gave you a sense of confidence and strength - a feeling each person carried into the comforting embrace of Marlene Manuel, sons and daughters, grandchildren, a great granddaughter, brother, sisters and a cousin.

Late in the day, at the Neskonlith Cemetery, the hundreds of people who had come to the Neskonlith Reserve in the Southwest part of Shuswap territory on November 20, 1989 joined as one to give George Manuel's body back to the earth and to send his spirit to the next world. The air was crisply cold and small flakes of snow began to fall. Leaders of many nations stepped up to each participate in the burial by taking shovel in hand and moving the rich soil from a mound into George's grave. When George's body was safely in its resting place, old and young women sang. Russell Jim of the Yakima Nation then sang an ancient song from his people to help George's spirit into the other world.

The Neskonlith people had prepared a great feast of deer, salmon, potatoes, corn and salads and all joined in a large hall in Chase as darkness fell. As people ate, George Manuel's friends and family rose one-by-one to speak - to remind everyone through stories and song what this man had given this world. The Nuxalk people performed an ancient dance in costumes and carved masks to finally carry George's spirit to the other world.

It was done.

Some seek greatness, others are called to greatness and still others are destined from the beginning of their lives. Grand Chief George Manuel was destined to greatness. He began his life on February 21, 1921 in Shuswap in a time when the Canadian government had made it a crime for native people to practice their ancient religions, the customs of the Potlatch. By the time George was six years old, the Canadian government had also made it a crime for native people to organize and raise funds for political action to support aboriginal rights. Like so many Shuswap boys before him, George Manuel was sent by the government to a Residential School to "become a white man" as he once told me. In his childhood, George contracted tuberculosis which forced him to live in a sanatorium. The attempts to distort his spirit and his body were always a source of shame, and so he never volunteered to talk about these things. He preferred to remember the desperate poverty his people were forced to endure "because of Canadian government and British Columbian government policies toward the Indian."

Instead of bowing to his own personal tragedies and to the

demeaning privation Indians suffered, Chief Manuel turned his mind, his spirit and his withered body to changing the social, economic and political conditions that brought Indian people to such humiliation. As a young man, he began to raise a family. He supported his family and what he called his "political work" by operating a small seed farm and then as a boom boss in the logging and lumber industry. In the 1950s, when the Canadian government began to repeal its laws denying religious and political freedom to Indians, Chief Manuel became more public about his political organizing in Shuswap communities and in neighboring nations. He put his energies to organizing political field workers and he focused on community development. George began to understand through these activities that organizing Indian people at the community level was essential if they were to regain economic and political power - to eliminate poverty and to rebuild cultural strength.

For George Manuel in the late 1950s, the increasingly popular ideal of self-determination would not simply be an idea, it would become a force of Indian communities to decide for themselves how they would live. In 1959, he broadened his experience and honed his knowledge and his leadership when he became the President of the North American Indian Brotherhood of British Columbia. For seven years as Chief of the Shuswap Indian Reserve and President of the Brotherhood George worked to promote community development on reserves throughout the province of British Columbia and to press for reforms in Canadian federal and provincial government policies toward Indians. To achieve reforms in the government he later took a position in the Department of Indian Affairs. But George became impatient with reforms when in 1969 Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau issued the White Paper, a government policy document which announced Canada's intention to dissolve Indian nations and promote the "assimilation of Indian people into Canadian society."

Trudeau's White Paper was the last straw for Chief Manuel. His years spent trying to reform Canadian government policies had failed. "Canada was dead set on wiping out Indians once and for all," George recalled later. Collecting what he called the "best and the brightest Indian people I could find," George Manuel sought and won the Presidency of the National Indian Brotherhood in 1970. With the added power and resources of a country-wide organization and his "best and brightest," he set his mind and the whole of Indian Country in Canada to a strategy to defeat "Trudeau's White Paper." In countless speeches, meetings, interviews and strategy sessions, he

beat the drum of resistance to Canada's assimilation policy. He urged the mightiest to turn the policy around and he pushed for more community political organization in the reserves.

"If we didn't fight then," he recalled later, "Trudeau would have destroyed all the Indian people in Canada." In search of "help for my people" Chief Manuel traveled to Tanzania as a member of a Canadian government delegation. And quite by coincidence and absence of the delegation's leader, Tanzania's President Julius Kambarage Nyerere received Chief Manuel as the Canadian government's chief representative. Treated as a head of state, Chief Manuel decided to take advantage of the situation and entered into lengthy private discussions with President Nyerere about ways that Tanzania could help "your brown brothers in Canada."

President Nyerere, as George retold the story, responded by describing how Tanzania achieved her independence in 1964 without a revolution or a shot fired.

"I traveled from village to village among all the tribes in what was then called Tanganyika," Nyerere recounted. "By meeting with the people directly, I was able to persuade them of how we could achieve independence and freedom."

"You have an independent country now. Won't you help the Indians in Canada?" George queried.

"No, I won't help now, not until you organize your people first. Only after the people decide on what they really want can I be of any help," Nyerere responded.

"I was so mad at what Nyerere had said, I couldn't believe a black man wouldn't help brown people," George later recalled. He thought he had wasted his time, and he was now deeply troubled that a leader of another tribe who was the President of a Third World state wasn't willing to help Indian people.

In 1971, George was asked to be a member of another Canadian Delegation, this one made up of Members of Parliament. The delegation traveled to New Zealand on "an evaluation tour of Maori programs." Here Chief Manuel discovered quite a different response to his calls for support of the Indians of Canada. Visiting with Maori people he learned "they were just like us!" George began to understand that there were "other peoples in the world who had the same kinds of experiences as Indians in Canada." "I thought," he

recalled "the Moaris could help us and we could help them!" With this realization came yet another: "Nyerere was right! The people must first be organized at the community level and they can help each other." What George discovered was something he had already known.

With ideas beginning to crystallize about community organization and international cooperation, Chief Manuel sought out his counterpart in the United States: President Mel Tonasket of the National Congress of American Indians. George traveled to Washington, D.C. to meet with Tonasket and eventually they signed an international agreement in 1973 to establish technical exchanges between the National Brotherhood and the National Congress of American Indians. This agreement led to another agreement between the two organizations to coordinate a number of meetings between "Indians in Africa, the Americas and the Pacific" as George would often call other native peoples.

Meanwhile, Chief Manuel's ideas began to take shape about how the Shuswap people could be helped by neighboring tribes and other native peoples in the world could help each other. His fifty-two years of growing and learning by actual experience were then to be condensed into a book: **The Fourth World: An Indian Reality** (Collier Macmillan, Canada, Ltd. 1974; Free Press, New York 1974). Realizing that while Shuswaps must help themselves and "decide for themselves what they want" they must also work with other peoples to give and receive help as well.

Seeing with his own eyes as he had through years of "political work," George concluded that the First World, Second World and the Third World would not come to the aid of his people. But he had made a profound discovery as a result of his travels to other parts of the world and his visits with other native peoples: "We share the same vision and the same experiences and we are alike in our traditional ways." He learned that the concepts of the "Sacred Four Directions" and the "Sacred Circle" were common to nearly all native peoples he had met. The original nations throughout the world, George reasoned, are the Fourth World.

With this new structure of ideas and the agreement he had forged with the National Congress of American Indians, he continued to travel across Canada, South America, Central America, Australia, and Northern Europe to meet with "those other Indians." The frenetic pace he set caused many to tire, but finally in 1975 at Port Alberny, Canada Chief George Manuel presided over the first meeting of native representatives from throughout the world - a

meeting that founded the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. Based on the principles of "community consent" and self-determination, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples made up of representatives from Fourth World Nations was formally established with Chief Manuel as its first President.

From 1975 to 1981, George remained the President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. With the energy of a man half his age, he traveled extensively to Indian villages in Northern Argentina, to the Quechua villages in the high mountains of Peru, to Samiland in Sweden, Indian reservations in the United States, to Yapti Tasbia in Eastern Nicaragua, to Mapuche villages in Chile and



Chief Manuel as President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples visiting Mapuché in Argentina while on a fact-finding mission in conjunction with the Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights - 1979

to the Mayan refugee camps on the border between Mexico and Guatemala. Everywhere he went, the people recognized George Manuel, even though they had never actually seen his face before.

At the Second General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in Samiland, Sweden (1977) Chief Manuel pressed for the Council to adopt a declaration calling for the international community to proclaim a Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. With respect for his wishes, the Council not

only adopted the declaration, but by virtue of that act set in motion a political wind that brushes the face of Fourth World peoples on every continent even today. Within ten years from the Council's declaration, the United Nations began deliberations on the principles and terms to be contained in a Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

While giving his strength to the formation of a global network of Fourth World nations, Chief Manuel continued to emphasize community organization among his Shuswap people. To emphasize his commitment to the continuing struggle against Canadian government policies of assimilation, George had, in addition to his commitments to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, become the President of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. By the end of the 1970s, Chief Manuel recognized that while Canadian Premier Trudeau's White Paper had been effectively defeated, the same threat in a different form had surfaced. Trudeau revealed in the middle 1970s that the White Paper was only the first volley aimed at Indian nations. Indeed, it became apparent that the assimilation policy of 1969 was to become an important element of Canada's effort to become independent from Great Britain. Prime Minister Trudeau had begun to fashion what would become known as the "Constitutional Process" or the Canadian goal to "repatriate the Canadian Constitution."

A key obstacle to Canadian independence was the political visibility of Indian nations. Premier Trudeau considered Indian claims to vast areas of what Canada claimed as its domain a threat to Canadian stability. His solution, originally enunciated in the "White Paper" remained high as a hidden policy in the "Constitutional Repatriation Process."

Chief Manuel recognized early that Trudeau had shifted his attack on Indian nations into the constitutional initiative. It was his recognition of the subtle shift that caused George to place before the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs the "Aboriginal Rights" position paper. Asserting original ownership to aboriginal territories, the position paper provided the foundation for a strategy to counter Trudeau's subtle attack on Indian nations through the constitutional process. In 1980, Chief Manuel called upon the British government and the Canadian government to recognize in a new Canadian Constitution a "third level of government" - Indian governments along side provincial governments and the federal government in confederation.

To give emphasis to his call, Chief Manuel began to direct the

organization of a monumental movement called the "Constitution Express." As a politicizing device for Indian communities and a political force aimed at dramatizing the right of Indian nations to exercise self-government as a third level of government within the federation of Canada, the "Constitution Express" was literally a train carrying Indians from scores of reserves to Ottawa to meet with members of the Canadian parliament. At the same time, George organized and sent a delegation of sixty Chiefs and tribal members to New York City to conduct "briefingsessions" with key state missions to the United Nations. Meanwhile, about six hundred Indians from many nations were organized to travel to England to meet with members of parliament there and to meet with political leaders in other European capitols. His ability to mobilize thousands of Indians to lobby Canadian Members of Parliament, British officials, other European officials and United Nations officials shocked Canadian politicians. Never had they conceived the ability of one man to command the allegiance of so many to promote Indian Rights - Indian Government.

As if to say to President Nyerere, "I have visited the villages, and the people of the Fourth World know what they want - self-government and freedom," Chief George Manuel had demonstrated that the Indian peoples of Canada could reach for self-determination and make a choice. He had expanded upon the concept of community organization by reaching out to other native peoples and conceiving of the Fourth World. He had breathed life into native communities all over the world where hopelessness became replaced with confidence and high aspirations. He opened the eyes of millions to the wrongs being done to native peoples; and he instilled in millions more the desire to achieve great things to right those wrongs. Grand Chief George Manuel's legacy to us all are these things and more.

## The Human Rights Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Africa

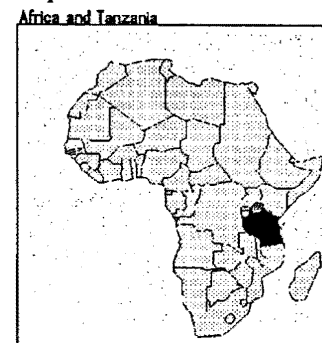
Moringe Parkipuny  
Member of Parliament  
Ngorongoro, Tanzania

Mr. Parkipuny delivered these remarks before the Sixth Session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Genève, Switzerland on August 3, 1989)

Madam Chairperson, fellow representatives and friends in the struggles of indigenous peoples rights, first, I convey from Africa the message of unity and resolute determination to consolidate the strive for our common course.

I have learnt that this is the first time that representatives of any community in Africa have been able to attend this very important forum. This is a historic moment for us. We are only two in attendance, both from Tanzania, of the Hadza and Maasai communities. I take this opportunity to express our very profound appreciation of the generosity of the United Nations Voluntary Fund and the NGO Human Rights Fund for Indigenous Peoples which have helped to sponsor our trip to Geneva. We look forward to the future when more delegates from Africa will be able to make use of this valuable forum. Also

would you please accept my wish for your attention and time to introduce our plight and to provide you with some basic information about the situation in Africa which has not been aired in this forum before.



The environment for human rights in Africa is severely polluted by the ramifications of colonialism and neo-colonial social and economic relationships in which we are compelled to pursue our development and sovereignty in a global system replete with injustices and exploitation. Let us keep in mind the fact that the overwhelming majority of African countries attained political independence only in the decade of the 1960s. That is, most have existed as sovereign political entities for a period of less than three decades. And indeed the process of decolonisation is still in progress in Africa. The struggle of the peoples of South Africa against direct and indirect bondage of apartheid allied with the might of Western economic hegemony provides ample testimony of the agonies of Africa in its determination to overcome the inhumanities of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

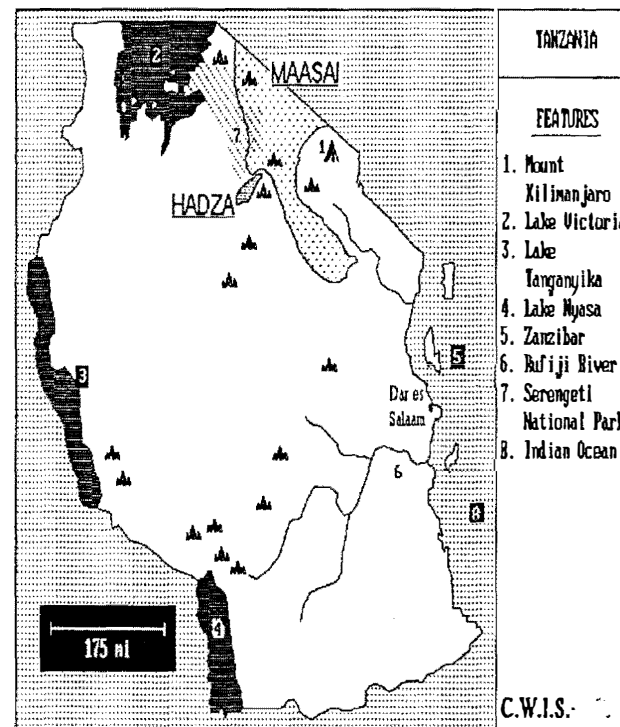
In that historical context, African countries are at present going through a necessary phase of consolidating the fabric of national identity and unity of all their peoples, free from the destructive afflictions of tribalism which have already created massive losses of life in several countries. These historical factors are crucial in seeking to place into perspective the question of the human rights of indigenous and distinctive cultural communities in Africa.

However, in common with other regions of the world, Africa is not composed of a monolithic human cultural population. This holds equally true in the case of the different countries of our continent. Most African countries have peoples of diverse cultural roots. What is more, almost a century of colonialism has left a legacy of very unequal access to education which has in turn created wide disparities in participation in the apparatus of the state and the national economy. Yet there is hardly any African state that has a charter of rights that gives recognition to the existing cultural diversity.

Preoccupation with the promotion of the rights of the majority and the vital need to consolidate national identity and unity are beyond doubt necessary undertakings. But these concerns should never be pursued to the exclusion of the protection of the legitimate rights of vulnerable minorities. To do that undermines the very objective of national unity and places a primary component of human rights to cultural diversity outside the agenda of national ethics, integrity and freedom to development options.

In Africa, uniformity of approach and state monopoly of interpretation of national identities and also the conception of what

development actually means have thrown wide open the floor for prejudices against the fundamental rights and social values of those peoples with cultures that are distinctly different from those of the mainstream of national population. Such prejudices have crystallized in many African countries into blatant cultural intolerance, domination and persistent violations of the fundamental rights of minorities.



In East Africa there are two main categories of vulnerable minority peoples who have been in consequence subjected to flagrant violations of community and individual rights. These are hunters and gatherers, namely the Hadza, Dorobo and Sandawe together with many ethnic groups who are pastoralists. The Maasai of Tanzania and Kenya are the largest and most widely known of the many pastoral peoples of East Africa. These minorities suffer from the common problems which characterize the plight of indigenous peoples throughout the world. The most fundamental rights to maintain our specific cultural identity and the



land that constitutes the foundation of our existence as a people are not respected by the state and fellow citizens who belong to the mainstream population. In our societies the land and natural resources are the means of livelihood, the media of cultural and spiritual integrity for the entire community as opposed to individual appropriation.

The process of alienation of our land and its resources was launched by European colonial authorities at the beginning of this century and has been carried on, to date, after the attainment of national independence. Our cultures and ways of life are viewed as outmoded, inimical to national pride and a hindrance to progress. What is more, access to education and other basic services are minimal relative to the mainstream of the population of the countries to which we are citizens in common with other peoples.

Let it be understood, we do not advocate separatism, but assert the fundamental human right to maintain our cultural identity within the framework of united nations of Africa. We do not expect overnight change.

We trust that our modest plea in this most appropriate forum of the United Nations has been understood. We speak with the total conviction that respect for our differences strengthens unity and national identity in our countries and the world at large.

With the greatest respect to Mother Earth, the cradle of all life, I salute you all. Thank you very much for your time and attention.

---

## FALSE PROMISES

### An Indigenist Examination of Marxist Theory and Practice

Ward Churchill

---

**Hau, Metakuyeayasi.** The greeting I have just given you is a Lakota phrase meaning, "Hello, my relatives." Now, I'm not a Lakota, and I'm not particularly fluent in the Lakota language, but I ask you who are to bear with me for a moment while I explore the meaning of the greeting because I think it is an important point of departure for our topic: the relationship, real and potential, which exists between the Marxist tradition on the one hand, and that of indigenous peoples - such as American Indians - on the other.

#### Dialects

The operant words here are relatives, relationship and, by minor extension, relations. I have come to understand that when Lakota people use the word Metakuyeayasi, they are not simply referring to their mothers and fathers, grandparents, aunts and uncles, ancestors, nieces and nephews, children, grandchildren, cousins, future generations, and all the rest of human-kind. Oh these relatives are certainly included, but things don't stop there. Also involved is reference to the ground we stand on, the sky above us, the light from the sun and water in the oceans, lakes, rivers and streams. The plants who populate our environment are included, as

---

*Ward Churchill, Creek/Cherokee Metis, is co-director of the Colorado chapter of the American Indian Movement. He also serves as director of the Educational Development Program and coordinator of American Indian Studies with the Center for Studies of Ethnicity and Race in America at the University of Colorado/Boulder. A prolific writer on indigenous affairs, Churchill's books include **Marxism and Native Americans** (1983), **Culture versus Economism: Essays on Marxism in the Multicultural Arena** (with Elisabeth R. Lloyd, 1984), **Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement** (with Jim Vander Wall, 1988) and **Critical Issues in Native North America** (1989).*

are the four-legged creatures around us, those who hop and crawl, the birds who fly, the fish who swim, the insects, the worms. Everything. These are all understood in the Lakota way as being relatives. What is conveyed in this Lakota concept is the notion of the universe as a relational whole, a single interactive organism in which all things, all beings are active and essential parts; the whole can never be understood without a knowledge of the function and meaning of each of the parts, while the parts cannot be understood other than in the context of the whole.

The formation of knowledge is, in such a construct, entirely dependent upon the active maintenance of a fully symbiotic, relational - or, more appropriately, inter-relational - approach to understanding. This fundamental appreciation of things, the predicate upon which world-view is established, is (I would argue) common not only to the Lakota but to all American Indian cultural systems. Further, it seems inherent to indigenous cultures the world over. At least I can say with certainty that I've looked in vain for a single concrete example to the contrary.

The ancient Greeks had a term, dialitikus, the idea for which was borrowed from an Egyptian concept, and which I'm told the civilization of the Nile had itself appropriated from the people of what is now called Ethiopia, describing such a way of viewing things. The Greeks held this to be the superior mode of thinking. In modern parlance, the word at issue has become "dialectics," popularized in this form by the German post-theological philosopher Friedrich Hegel. As has so often happened in the history of European intellectualism, Hegel's notable career spawned a bevy of philosophical groupies. Among the more illustrious, or at least more industrious, of these "Young Hegelians" was a doctoral student named Karl Marx.

Indeed, Marx was always clear in his student work - much of which can now be read in a volume titled The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 - and forever after that it was the structure of "dialectical reasoning" he'd absorbed from Hegel that formed the fundament of his entire theoretical enterprise. He insisted to his dying day that this remained true despite his famous "inversion" of Hegel, that is: the reversal of Hegel's emphasis upon such "mystical" categories as "the spirit" in favor of more "pragmatic" categories like "substance" and "material."

Let us be clear at this point. The dialectical theoretical methodology adopted by Marx stands - at least in principle - in as stark an oppositional contrast, and for all the same reasons, to the predomi-

nate and predominating tradition of linear and non-relational European logic (exemplified by Locke, Hume, and Sir Isaac Newton) as do indigenous systems of knowledge. It follows from this that there should be a solid conceptual intersection between Marx, Marxism, and indigenous peoples. Indeed, I myself have suggested such a possibility in a pair of 1982 essays published, one in the journal *Integrated education*, and the other in an education reader produced by the American Indian Studies Center at UCLA.<sup>1</sup>

At an entirely abstract level, I remain convinced that this is in fact the case. There is, however, a quite substantial defect in such a thesis in any less rarefied sense. The most lucid articulation of the problem at hand was perhaps offered by Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel in their book, *Unorthodox Marxism*:

[Marxist] dialecticians have never been able to indicate exactly how they see dialectical relations as different from any of the more complicated combinations of simple cause/effect relations such as co-causation, cumulative causation, or simultaneous determination of a many variable system where no variables are identified as dependent or independent in advance...for orthodox practitioners [of Marxian dialectics] there is only the word and a lot of "hand waving" about its importance.<sup>2</sup>

A substantial case can be made that this confusion within Marxism began with Marx himself. Having philosophically accepted and described a conceptual framework which allowed for a holistic and fully relational apprehension of the universe, Marx promptly abandoned it at the level of his applied intellectual practice. His impetus in this regard appears to have been his desire to see his theoretical endeavors used, not simply as a tool of understanding, but as a proactive agent for societal transformation, a matter bound up in his famous dictum that "the purpose of philosophy is not merely to

1 See "White Studies or Isolation: An Alternative Model for American Indian Studies Programs" (American Indian Issues in Higher Education, American Indian Studies Program, UCLA, 1982) and "White Studies: The Intellectual Imperialism of Contemporary U.S. Education" (Integrated education, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, University of Massachusetts/Amherst, 1982).

2 Albert, Michael, and Robin Hahnel, *Unorthodox Marxism: An Essay on Capitalism, Socialism and Revolution*, South Endress, Boston, 1978, pp 52-53.

understand history, but to change it." Thus Marx, a priori and with no apparent questioning in the doing, proceeded to anchor the totality of his elaboration in the presumed primacy of a given relation - that sole entity which can be said to hold the capability of active and conscious pursuit of change, i.e.: humanity - over any and all other relations. The marxian "dialectic" was thus unbalanced from the outset, skewed as a matter of faith in favor of humans. Such a disequilibrium is, of course, not dialectical at all. It is, however, quite specifically Eurocentric in its attributes, springing as it does from the late-Roman interpretation of the Judeo-Christian assertion of "man's" supposed responsibility to "exercise dominion over nature," a tradition which Marx (ironically) claimed oft and loudly to have "voided" in his rush to materialism.

All of this must be contrasted to the typical indigenous practice of dialectics, a world-view recognizing the human entity as being merely one relation among the myriad, each of which is entirely dependent upon all others for its continued existence. Far from engendering some sense of "natural" human dominion over other relations, the indigenous view virtually requires a human behavior geared to keeping humanity within nature, maintaining relational balance and integrity (often called "harmony") rather than attempting to harness and subordinate the universe. The crux of this distinction may be discovered in the Judeo-Christian assertion the "man was created in God's image," a notion which leads to the elevation of humans as a sort of surrogate deity, self-empowered to transform the universe at whim. Indigenous tradition, on the other hand, in keeping with its truly dialectical understandings, attributes the inherent ordering of things, not to any given relation, but to another force often described as constituting a "Great Mystery," far beyond the realm of mere human comprehension.

We may take this differentiation to a somewhat more tangible level for purposes of clarity. The culmination of European tradition has been a homing-in on rationality, the innate characteristic of the human mind lending humanity the capacity to disrupt the order and composition of the universe. Rationality is held by those of the European persuasion - Marxist and anti-Marxist alike - to be the most important ("superior") relation of all; humans, being the only entity possessing it, are thus held *ipso facto* to be the superior beings of the universe; manifestations of rationality, whether cerebral or physical, are therefore held to be the cardinal signifiers of virtue.

Within indigenous traditions, meanwhile, rationality is more often viewed as being something of a "curse," a facet of humanity

which must be consistently leashed and controlled in order for it not to generate precisely this disruption. The dichotomy in outlooks could not be more pronounced. All of this is emphatically not to suggest that indigenous cultures are somehow "irrational" in their make-up (to borrow a pet epithet hurled against challengers by the Euro-supremacists of academia). Rather, it is to observe that, as consummate dialecticians, they have long-since developed functional and functioning methods of keeping their own rationality meshed with the rest of the natural order. And this, in my view, is the most rational exercise of all.

### Dialectical Materialism

In any event, having wholeheartedly accepted the European mainstream's anti-dialectical premise that the human relation is paramount beyond all others in what are termed "external relations," Marx inevitably set out to discover that which occupied the same preeminence among "internal relations" (that is, those relations comprising the nature of the human project itself). With perhaps equal inevitability, his inverted Hegelianism - which he dubbed "dialectical materialism" - led him to locate this in the need of humans to consciously transform one aspect of nature into another, a process he designated by the term "production." It is important to note in this regard that Marx focused upon what is arguably the most rationalized, and therefore most unique, characteristic of human behavior, thus establishing a mutually reinforcing interlock between that relation which he advanced as being most important externally, and that which he assigned the same position internally. So interwoven have these two relations become in the marxian mind that today we find Marxists utilizing the terms "rationality" and "productivity" almost interchangeably, and with a virtually biblical circularity of reasoning. It goes like this: The ability to produce demonstrates human rationality, thereby distinguishing humans as superior to all other external relations, while rationality (left unchecked) leads unerringly to proliferate productivity, thereby establishing the latter as more important than any other among humans (internally). The record, of course, can be played in reverse with equally satisfying results.

From here, Marx was in a position to launch his general theory, laid out in the thousands of pages of his major published works - *der Grundrisse, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, and the three volumes of *das Kapital* - in which he attempted to explain

the full range of implications attendant to what he described as "the relations of production." Initially, he was preoccupied with applying his concepts temporally, a project he tagged as "historical materialism," in order to assess and articulate the nature of the development of society through time. Here, he theorized that the various relations of society - e.g.: ways of holding land, kinship structures, systems of governance, spiritual beliefs, and so on - represented, not a unified whole, but a complex of "contradictions" (in varying degrees) to the central, productive relation. All history, for Marx, became a stream of conflict within which these contradictions were increasingly "reconciled with" (subordinated to) production. As such reconciliation occurred over time, various transformations in socio-cultural relations correspondingly took place. Hence, Marx sketched history as a grand "progression," beginning with the "pre-history" of the "Stone Age" (the most "primitive" level of truly human existence) and "advancing" to the emergent capitalism of his own day. "Productive relations," in such a schema, determine all and everything.

One of Marx's theoretical heirs, the 20th century French structuralist-Marxist Louis Althusser, summed historical materialism up quite succinctly when he defined production as being the "overdetermined contradiction of all human history," and observed that from a marxian standpoint society would not, in fact could not exist as a unified whole until the process had worked its way through to culmination, a point at which all other social relations stood properly reconciled to the "productive mission" of humanity. In a more critical vein, we might note another summation offered by Albert and Hahnel:

Orthodox [Marxism] doesn't stop at downgrading the importance of the creative aspect of human consciousness and the role it plays in historical development. According to the orthodox materialists, of all the different objective material conditions, those having to do with production are always the most critical. Production is the prerequisite to human existence. Productive activity is the basis for all other activity. Therefore, consciousness rests primarily on the nature of objective production relations. Cut to the bone, this is the essence of the orthodox materialist [Marxist] argument.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

It is difficult to conceive of a more economic or deterministic ideological construction than this. Indeed, the post-structuralist French philosopher Jean Baudrillard has pointed out in his book, *The Mirror of Production*, that Marx never so much offered a critique or alternative to the capitalist mode of political economy he claimed to oppose as he completed it, plugging its theoretical loopholes. This, in turn, has caused indigenous spokespersons such as Russell Means to view Marxism, not as a potential revolutionary transformation of world capitalism, but as a continuation of all of capitalism's worst vices "in a more efficient form."<sup>4</sup>

But, to move forward, there are a number of aspects of the marxian general theory - concepts such as surplus value, alienation and domination among them - which might be important to explore at this juncture. It seems to me the most fruitful avenue of pursuit lies in what Marx termed "the labor theory of value." By this, he meant that value can be assigned to anything only by virtue of the quantity and quality of human labor - i.e.: productive, transformative effort - put into it. This idea carries with it several interesting sub-properties, most strikingly that the natural world holds no intrinsic value of its own. A mountain is worth nothing as a mountain; it only accrues value by being "developed" into its raw productive materials such as ores, or even gravel. It can hold a certain speculative value, and thus be bought and sold, but only with such developmental ends in view. Similarly, a forest holds value only in the sense that it can be converted into a product known as lumber; otherwise, it is merely an obstacle to valuable, productive use of land through agriculture or stock-raising, etc. (an interesting commentary on the marxian view of the land itself). Again, other species hold value only in terms of their utility to productive processes (e.g.: meat, fur, leather, various body oils, eggs, milk, transportation in some instances, even fertilizer); otherwise they may, indeed must be preempted and supplanted by the more productive use of the habitat by humans.

This, no doubt, is an extreme formulation. There have been a number of "mediations" of this particular trajectory by 20th century marxian theorists. Still, at base, the difference they offer lies more in the degree of virulence with which they express the thesis rather

<sup>4</sup> Means, Russell, "The Same Old Song," in *my Marxism and Native Americans*, South End Press, Boston, 1983. The essay was originally presented as a speech at the 1980 Slack Hills International Survival Gathering (near Rapid City, S.D.). It has been published in various forms, under various titles in *Mother Jones*, *Lakota Eyapaha*, and *Akwesasne Notes*.

than any essential break with it. All self-professing Marxists, in order to be Marxists at all, must share in the fundamental premise involved. And this goes for sophisticated phenomenological Marxists such as Merleau-Ponty, existential Marxists such as Sartre, critical theorists such as Marcuse and Adorno, and semioticists such as Habermas, right along with “mechanistic vulgarians” of the Leninist persuasion (a term I use to encompass all those who trace their theoretical foundations directly to Lenin: Stalinists, Maoists, Castroites, althusserian structuralists, *et al.*). To put a cap on this particular point, I would offer the observation that labor theory of value is the underpinning of a perspective which is about as contrary to the indigenous world-view as it is possible to define.

It goes without saying that there are other implications in this connection, as concerns indigenous cultures and people. Marx's concept of value ties directly to his notion of history, wherein progress is defined in terms of the evolution of production. From this juxtaposition we may discern that agricultural society is viewed as an “advance” over hunting and gathering society, feudalism is an advance over simple agriculture, mercantilism is seen as an advance over feudalism, and capitalism over mercantilism. Marx's supposed “revolutionary” content comes from his projection that socialism will “inevitably” be the next advance over capitalism and that it, in turn, will give way to communism. Okay, the first key here is that each advance represents not only a quantitative/qualitative step “forward” in terms of productivity, but also a corresponding rearrangement of other social relations, both of which factors are assigned a greater degree of value than their “predecessors.” In other words, agricultural society is seen by Marxists as being more valuable than hunting and gathering society, feudalism as more valuable than mere agriculture, and so on. The picture should be becoming clear.

Now, there is a second facet. Marx was very straightforward in acknowledging that the sole cultural model upon which he was basing his theses on history and value was his own, that is to say European (or, more accurately, northwestern European) context. He even committed to paper several provisos stipulating that it would be inappropriate and misleading to attempt to apply the principles deriving from his examination of the dominate matrix in Europe to other, non-European contexts, each of which he (correctly) pointed out would have to be understood in its own terms before it could be properly understood *vis a vis* Europe. With this said, however, Marx promptly violated his own posited methodology in this regard, offering a number of non-European examples - of

which he admittedly knew little or nothing - as illustration of various points he wished to make in his elaboration on the historical development of Europe. Chinese society, to name a prominent example of this, was cast (really miscast) as “Oriental feudalism,” thus supposedly shedding a certain light on this stage of European history. “Red Indians,” about whom Marx knew even less than he did of the Chinese, became examples of “primitive society,” illustrating what he wanted to say about Europe's stone age. In this fashion, Marx universalized what he claimed were the primary ingredients of Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic history, extending the *de facto* contention that all cultures are subject to the same essential dynamics and, therefore, follow essentially the same historical progression.

Insofar as all cultures were made to conform with the material correspondences of one or another moment in European history, and given that only Europe exhibited a “capitalist mode of production” and social organization - which Marx held to be the “highest form of social advancement” as of the point he was writing - it follows that all non-European cultures could be seen as objectively lagging behind Europe. We are presented here with a sort of “universal Euro yardstick” by which we can measure with considerable precision the relative (“dialectical”) degree of retardation shown by each and every culture on the planet, *vis a vis* Europe. Simultaneously, we are able to assign, again with reasonable precision, a relatively (“dialectically”) lesser value to each of these cultures as compared to that of Europe. We are dealing here with the internal relations of humanity, but in order to understand the import of such thinking we must bear in mind the fate assigned “inferior” (less valuable) external relations - mountains, trees, deer - within the marxian vision. In plainest terms, Marxism holds as “an immutable law of history” that all non-European cultures must be subsumed in what is now called “Europeanization.” It is their inevitable destiny, a matter to be accomplished in the mane of progress and “for their own good.” Again, we may detect echoes of the Jesuits within the “anti-spiritualist” marxian construct.

Those who would reject such an assessment should consider the matter more carefully. Do not such terms as “pre-capitalist” riddle the marxian vernacular whenever analysis of non-European (“primitive”) culture is at hand? What possible purpose does the qualifier “pre” (as opposed to, say, “non”) serve in this connection other than to argue that such societies are in the process of becoming capitalist? And is this not simply another way of stating that they are lagging behind those societies which have already become capitalist? Or, to

take another example, to what end do Marxists habitually refer to those societies which have "failed" (refused) to even enter the productive progression as being "ahistorical" or "outside of history?" Is this to suggest that such cultures have no history, or is it to say that they have the wrong kind of history, that only a certain (marxian) sense of history is true? And again: Do Marxists not hold that the socialist revolution will be the outcome of history for all humanity? Is there another sense in which we can understand the term "world revolution?" Did Marx himself not proclaim - and in no uncertain terms - that the attainment of the "capitalist stage of development" is an absolute prerequisite for the social transformation he meant when he spoke of the "socialist revolution?" I suggest that, given the only possible honest answers to these questions, there really are no other conclusions to be drawn from the corpus of Marxist theory than those I am drawing here tonight. The punch line is that Marxism as a world-view is not only diametrically opposed to that held by indigenous peoples, it quite literally precludes their right to a continued existence as functioning socio-cultural entities. This, I submit, will remain true despite the fact that we may legitimately disagree on the nuance and detail of precisely how it happens to be true.

## The National Question

Up to this point, our discussion had been restricted to the consideration of Marxist theory. It is one thing to say that there are problems with a set of ideas, and that those ideas carry unacceptable implications if they were to be put into practice. The "proof," however, is in the practice, or "praxis" if you follow the marxian conception that theory and practice are a unified whole and must consequently be maintained in a dialectically reciprocal and interactive state at all times. Hence, it is quite another matter to assert that the negative implications of doctrine and ideology have in fact been actualized in "the real world" and are thereby subject to concrete examination. Yet Marxism offers us exactly this method of substantiating our theoretical conclusions.

To be fair, when we move into this area we are no longer concerned with the totality of Marxism *per se*. Rather, we must focus upon that stream which owes a special allegiance to the legacy of Lenin. The reason for this is that all "Marxist" revolutions, beginning with the one in the Soviet Union, have been carried out under the mantle of Lenin's interpretation, expansion and revision of

Marx. This is true for the revolutionary processes in China, Cuba, North Korea, Algeria, Kampuchea (Cambodia), Laos, Albania, Mozambique, Angola, and Nicaragua. Arguably, it is also true for Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and it is certainly true for those countries brought into a marxian orbit by main force: Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Tibet and Afghanistan. Yugoslavia represents a special case, but its differentiation seems largely due to capitalist influences rather than that of other strains of Marxism. One might go on to say that those self-proclaimed revolutionary Marxist formations world-wide which seem likely to effect a seizure of state power at any point in the foreseeable future - e.g.: those in Namibia and El Salvador - are all Leninist in orientation. They certainly have disagreements among themselves, but this does not change the nature of their foundations. There have been no non-Leninist marxian revolutions to date, nor does it seem likely there will be in the coming decades.

Be this as it may, there are again a number of aspects of Marxist-Leninist post-revolutionary practice which we might consider, e.g.: the application of Lenin's concept of "the dictatorship of the proletariat," centralized state economic planning and the issue of forced labor, the imposition of rigid state parameters upon political discourse of all types, and so forth. Each of these holds obvious and direct consequences for the populations involved, including whatever indigenous peoples happen to become encapsulated within one or another (sometimes more than one) revolutionary state.

It seems appropriate that we follow the lead of Albert and Hahnel in "cutting to the bone." We will therefore take up that aspect of Marxist-Leninist praxis which has led to indigenous peoples being encapsulated in revolutionary states at all. In the vernacular, this centers upon what is called the "national Question" (or "nationalities question").

The principle at issue here devolves from a concept which has come to be known as "the right to self-determination of all peoples," codified in international law by the United Nations during the 1960s, but originally espoused by Marx and his colleague, Frederick Engels, during the London Conference of the First International in 1865.<sup>5</sup> In essence, the right to self-determination has come to mean that

<sup>5</sup> See Stekloff, G., *History of the First International*, Russell and Russell Publishers, NY, 1968.

each people, identifiable as such (through the sharing of a common language and cultural understandings, system of governance and social regulation, and a definable territoriality within which to maintain a viable economy) is inherently entitled to decide for itself whether or not and to what extent it wishes to merge itself culturally, politically, territorially and economically with any other (usually larger) group. The right to self-determination thus accords to each identifiable people on the planet the prerogative of (re)establishing and/or continuing themselves as culturally distinct, territorially and economically autonomous, and politically sovereign entities (as nations, in other words). Correspondingly, no nation has the right to preempt such rights on the part of another. For these reasons, the right of self-determination has been linked closely with the movement toward global decolonization, and the resultant body of international law which has emerged in this regard. All this, to be sure, is very much in line with the stated aspirations of American Indians and other indigenous peoples around the world.

But Marxism's handling of the right to self-determination has not followed the general development of the concept. Having opened the door in this regard, Marx and Engels adopted what seems (superficially, at least) to be a very curious posture. They argued that self-determining rights pertained only to some peoples. For instance, they were quite strong in their assertions that the Irish, who were even then waging a serious struggle to rid themselves of British colonization, must be supported in this effort. Similarly, Marx came out unequivocally in favor of the right (even the obligation) of the Poles to break free from Russian colonialism. On the other hand, Engels argued vociferously that "questions as to the right of independent national existence of those small relics of peoples" such as the Highland Scots (Gaels), Welsh, Manxmen, Serbs, Croats, Ruthenes, Slovaks, and Czechs constitute "an absurdity."<sup>6</sup> Marx concurred, and proceeded to openly advocate the imposition of European colonialism upon the "backward peoples" of Africa, Asia and elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

Such positioning may initially seem confusing, even contradic-

6 Engels is quoted abundantly on the topic in *ibid*.

7 Shlomo Alvinari, in his book *Karl Marx on Colonization and Modernization* (Doubleday Publishers, NY, 1969), offer a truly remarkable selection of quotations from Marx on this subject.

tory. A closer examination, however, reveals consistency with Marx's broader and more philosophical pronouncements. The Irish and Poles had been, over the course of several centuries of English and Russo-German colonization (respectively), sufficiently "advanced" by the experience (i.e.: reformed in the image of the conquerors) to be entitled to determine their own future in accordance with the "iron laws" of historical materialism. The other peoples in question, especially the tribal peoples of Africa and Asia (and one may assume American Indians were categorized along with these), were not seen as being comparably "developed." A continuing dose of colonization - subjugation by superior beings, from superior cultures - was thus prescribed to help them overcome their "problem."

A second level of consideration also entered Marx' and Engels' reasoning on these matters. This concerns the notion of "economies of scale." Marx held that the larger an "economic unit" became, the more rationalized and efficient it could be rendered. Conversely, smaller economic units were considered to be inefficient by virtue of being "irrationally" duplicative and redundant. The Irish and Poles were not only populous enough to be considered among Engels' "great peoples," but - viewed as economic units - large enough to justify support in their own right, at least during a transitional phase in route to the consolidation of "world communism." The other peoples in question were not only too backward, but too small to warrant support in their quest(s) for freedom and independence; their only real destiny, from the Marxist perspective, was therefore to be consigned to what Leon Trotsky would later call "the dustbin of history," totally and irrevocably subsumed within larger and more efficient economic units.

The national question thus emerged for Marxists as a problem in determining precisely which peoples were entitled to enjoy even a transient national existence along the way to the "true internationalism" of world communism, and which should have such rights foreclosed out-of-hand. This in itself became quite a controversial discussion when Marxism faced the issue of adopting tactics with which to wage its own revolutionary struggles, rather than simply tendering or denying support to the struggles of others. At this point, things become truly cynical and mercenary. While Marxism is, as we have seen, hostile to the nationalistic aspirations of "marginal" peoples, it was simultaneously perceived by many Marxists that a certain advantage might be counted upon to sap the strength of the capitalist/colonialist status quo while Marxist cadres went about the real business of overthrowing it; in certain instances, "national minori-



ties" might even be counted upon to absorb the brunt of the fighting, thus sparing Marxism the unnecessary loss of highly-trained personnel. After the revolution, it was reasoned, the Marxists could simply employ their political acumen to consolidate state power in their own hands and revoke as "unrealistic" (even "counter-revolutionary") the claims to national integrity for which those of the minority nationalities had fought and died. It was also calculated that, once in power, Marxism could accomplish the desired abrogation of independent national minority existence either rapidly or more gradually, depending upon the dictates of "objective conditions." As Walker Connor has put it in his definitive study of the subject, "Grand strategy was ... to take precedence over ideological purity and consistency" where the national question was concerned.<sup>8</sup>

It is not that all this was agreed upon in anything resembling a harmonious or unanimous fashion by Marxists. To the contrary, during the period leading up to the Russian revolution, the national question was the topic of an extremely contentious debate within the Second International. On one side was Rosa Luxemburg and the bulk of all delegates, arguing a "purist" line that the right to self-determination does not exist in-and-of itself and should thus be renounced by Marxism. On the other side was a rather smaller group clustered around Lenin. They insisted not only that Marxism should view with favor any struggle against the status quo prior to the revolution, but that the International should extend any and all sorts of guarantees which might serve to stir national minorities into action. Towards this end, Lenin wrote that from the bolshevik perspective all nations have an absolute right to self-determination, including the right to total secession and independence from any Marxist revolutionary state. He also endorsed, as the party position on the national question, the formulation of Joseph Stalin that:

8 Connor, Walker, *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*, Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 14.

9 Stalin, J.V., *Marxism and the National Question: Selected Writings and Speeches*, International Publishers, 1942, p. 23.

10 Connor, *op. cit.*, P. 35.

11 Quoted in Clarkson, Jesse, *A History of Russia*, Random House Publishers,

The right to self-determination means that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal.<sup>9</sup>

Of course, as Connor points out, "Lenin ... made a distinction between the abstract right of self-determination, which is enjoyed by all nations, and the right to exercise that right, which evidently is not, 'at least where small or 'marginal' populations are concerned."<sup>10</sup> Thus, shortly after the bolshevik attainment of power came the pronouncement that, "The principle of self-determination must be subordinated to the principles of socialism."<sup>11</sup> The result, predictably, was that of the more than 300 distinct nationalities readily observable in what had been the czarist Russian empire, only 28 - consisting almost entirely of substantial and relatively Europeanized population blocks such as the Ukrainians, Armenians, Moldavians, Byelorussians, citizens of the Baltic states, etc. - were accorded even the gesture of being designated as "republics," and this only after the matter of secession had been foreclosed. The supposed "right to enter into federal relations with other nations" was also immediately circumscribed to mean only with each other and with the central government which, of course, was seated in the former czarist citadel at Moscow. Those, such as the Ukrainians, who persisted in pursuing a broader definition of self-determination were first branded as counter-revolutionary, and then radically undercut through liquidation of their socio-cultural and political leadership during the Stalinist purges of the 1920s and '30s. There is simply no other way in which to describe the Soviet Marxist process of state consolidation other than as the ruthlessly forcible incorporation of all the various peoples conquered by the czars into a single, seamless economic polity. As Marx once completed the capitalist model of political-economy, so too did the bolsheviks complete the unification of the Great Russian empire.

In China, the practical experience was much the same. During the so-called "Long March" of the mid-1930s, Mao Tse Tung's army of Marxist insurgents traversed nearly the whole of the country. In the midst of this undertaking, they "successfully communicated the

NY, 1961, p. 636.

12 Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 79.



party's public position [favoring] self-determination to the minorities they encountered," virtually all of whom were well known to be yearning for freedom from the domination of the Han empire.<sup>12</sup> The Marxists gained considerable, perhaps decisive support as a result of this tactic, but, to quote Connor:

While thus engaged in parlaying its intermittent offers of national independence into necessary support for its cause, the party never fell prey to its own rhetoric but continued to differentiate between its propaganda and its more privately held commitment to maintaining the territorial integrity of the Chinese state.<sup>13</sup>

As had been the case in the U.S.S.R., the immediate wake of the Chinese revolution in 1949 saw Marxist language suddenly shift, abandoning terms such as secession and self-determination altogether. Instead, the new Chinese constitution was written to decry "nationalism and national chauvinism," and "the peoples who, during the revolution, were promised the right of political independence were subsequently reincorporated by force and offered the diminished prospect of regional autonomy."<sup>14</sup> Only Outer Mongolia was accorded the status of existing even in the truncated Soviet sense of being a republic.

In Vietnam and Laos, leaving aside the lowland ethnic Nungs (Chinese), the only peoples holding the requisites of national identity apart from the Vietnamese and Lao themselves are the tribal mountain cultures - often referred to as "montagnards" - such as the Rhade, Krak, Bru, Bahnar and H'mong. Insofar as they are neither populous nor "advanced" enough to comprise promising marxian-style economic units, they were never so much as offered the "courtesy" of being lied to before the revolution; national self-determination for the mountain people was never mentioned in Ho Chi Minh's agenda. Consequently, the "yards" (as they were dubbed by U.S. military personnel) formed their own political independence organization called the Front Unifié Pour La Liberation Des Races Opprimées (Unified Front for the Liberation of Oppressed Peoples, or, acronymically, FULRO during the early 1960s. The purpose of FULRO was/is to resist any Vietnamese encroachment upon montagnard national rights. Consequently, U.S. Special Forces troopers were able to utilize the FULRO consortium to good advantage as a

highland mobile force interdicting the supply routes and attacking the staging areas of both NLF main force units and units of the regular NVA (both of which were viewed by the mountain people as threats). Much to the surprise of U.S. military advisers, however, beginning in 1964 FULRO also started using its military equipment to fight the troops of the American-backed Saigon regime, whenever they entered the mountains.

The message was plain enough. The montagnards rejected incorporation into any Vietnamese state, whether "capitalist" or "communist." In post-revolutionary Vietnam, FULRO has continued to exist, and to conduct armed resistance against the imposition of Vietnamese hegemony. For its part, the Hanoi government refuses to acknowledge either the fact of the Resistance or its basis. The rather better known example of the Hmong in Laos follows very much the same contours as the struggle in the south. Such a recounting could be continued at length, but the point should be made. In no Marxist-Leninist setting have the national rights of any small people been respected, most especially not those of land-based, indigenous ("tribal") peoples. Their very right to exist as national entities has instead been denied as such. Always and everywhere, Marxism-Leninism has assigned itself a practical priority leading directly to the incorporation, subordination and dissolution of these peoples as such. This is quite revealing when one considers that the term "genocide" (as opposed to "mass murder") was coined to express the reality of policies which lead not simply to the physical liquidation of groups of individuals targeted as belonging to an identified "ethnic, racial, religious or national" entity, but to bring about the destruction of the entity itself, as such, through any means. Marxism-Leninism, viewed in this way, is a quite consciously and specifically genocidal doctrine, at least where indigenous cultures are concerned.

There has been no relaxation or deviation in this circumstance during the 1980s. Most notably, during the present decade there has been the situation in Nicaragua where three Indian peoples - the above-mentioned Miskitos, Sumos and Ramas - are resisting their forced incorporation into yet another revolutionary state, tacitly acknowledged by two of its principle leaders (D...

14 Ibid., p. 87.

Tomas Borge) to be guided by Marxist-leninist principles. The Indian nations in question have historically maintained a high degree of insularity and autonomy vis a vis Nicaragua's dominant (Ladino) society, and they have also continued a viable economic life within their own territories on the Atlantic Coast. Their sole requirement of the Sandinista revolution has been that they be free to continue to do so, as an "autonomous zone" - by their own definition, and on their own terms - within revolutionary Nicaragua. The response of the "progressive" government in Managua has been that this would be impossible because such self-determination on the part of Indians would constitute a "state within a state" (precisely the sort of circumstance supposedly guaranteed in leninist doctrine), and because "there are no more Indians, Creoles or Ladinos...we are all Nicaraguans now."<sup>15</sup> In other words, the Miskito, Sumo and Rama are required by the revolution to cease to exist as such.

### What Choice May Nations Make?

None of what has been said herein should be taken as an apology or defense, direct or indirect, of U.S. (or other capitalist) state policies. American Indians, first and foremost, know what the U.S. has done and what it's about. We've experienced the meaning of the U.S. since long before there were Marxists around to "explain" it to us. And we've continued to experience it in ways which leave little room for confusion on the matter. That's why we seek change. That's why we demand sovereignty and self-determination. That's why we cast about for allies and alternatives of the sort Marxists have often claimed to be.

The purpose of our endeavor here has thus been to examine the prospects for collaboration with Marxism to the end that U.S. domination will be cast out of our lives once and for all. In doing so, we must ask - only fools would not - whether Marxism offers an alternative vision to that which capitalism has imposed upon us. And from the answers to this we can discern whether Marxists and Marxism

16 Muga, David A., "Native Americans and the Nationalities Question: Premises for a Marxist Approach to Ethnicity and Self-Determination," *Nature, Society, Thought*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Marxist Education Program, University of Minnesota, 1987.

can really be the sort of allies which would, or even could actually guarantee us a positive change "come the revolution." In this regard, we need to know exactly what is meant when a Marxist "friend" such as David Muga assures us, as he recently did, that the solutions to our present problems lie in the models offered by the U.S.S.R., China and revolutionary Nicaragua.<sup>16</sup> The answers (I would say) are rather painfully evident in what has been discussed above. Marxism, in its present form at least, offers us far worse than nothing. With friends such as these, we will be truly doomed.

So it is. But must it be? I think not. An increasing number of thoughtful Marxists have broken with at least the worst of marxian

**Marxism, in its present form at least, offers us far worse than nothing. With friends such as these, we will be truly doomed.**

economism, determinism and human chauvinism. Salient examples such as Albert Hahnel and Baudrillard have been mentioned or quoted herein. The German Green Movement, involving a number of Marxists or former Marxists like Rudi Dutschke and Rudolph Bahro, is an extremely hopeful phenomenon (albeit, it has thus far failed spectacularly to congeal in this country). All in all, there is sufficient basis to suggest that at least some elements of the marxian tradition are capable of transcending dogma to the extent that they may possess the potential to forge mutually fruitful alliances with American Indians and other indigenous peoples (although, at the point where this becomes true, one has reason to ask whether they may be rightly viewed as Marxists any longer).

The key for us, it would seem to me, is to remain firm in the values and insights of our own traditions. We must hold true to the dialectical understanding embodied in the expression *Metakuyeyasi* and reject anything less as an unbalanced and imperfect view, even a mutilation of reality. We must continue to pursue our traditional vision of a humanity within rather than upon the natural order. We must continue to insist, as an absolutely fundamental principle, upon the right of all peoples - each and everyone, no matter how small and "primitive" - to freely select the fact and form of their ongoing national existence. Concomitantly, we must reject all contentions by

any state that it has the right - for any reason - to subordinate or dissolve the inherent rights of any other nation. And, perhaps most importantly of all, we must choose our friends and allies accordingly. I submit that there's nothing in this game-plan which contradicts any aspect of what we've come to describe as "the Indian way."

I must say that I believe such an agenda, which I call "indigenist," can and will attract real friends, real allies, and offer real alternatives to both Marxism and capitalism. What will result, in my view, is the emergence of a movement predicated in the principles of what are termed "deep ecology," "soft-path technology," "anarchism" (or, probably more accurately, "minarchism"), and global "balkanization." But we are now entering into the topic of a whole different discussion.

---

## Selected Bibliography

The following books are among those used to prepare the present paper. Those desiring to pursue the matters raised herein should consider this bibliography as a preliminary reading list.

Adams, Nina S., and Alfred W. McCoy, (eds.), *Laos: War and Revolution*, Harper and Row Publishers, NY, 1970.

Albert, Michael, and Robin Hahnel, *Unorthodox Marxism: An Essay on Capitalism, Socialism and Revolution*, South End Press, Boston, 1978.

Althusser, Louis, *For Marx*, Vintage Books, NY, 1970.

Alvinari, Shlomo, *Karl Marx on Colonization and Modernization*, Doubleday Publishers, NY 1969.

Baudrillard, Jean, *The Mirror of Production*, Telos Press, St. Louis, MO, 1975.

Bloom, Solomon, *The World of Nations: National Implications in the Work of Karl Marx*, Columbia University Press, 1941.

Churchill, Ward, (ed.), *Marxism and Native Americans*, South End Press, Boston, 1983.

Clarkson, Jesse, *A History of Russia*, Random House Publishers, NY, 1961.

Connor, Walker, *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*, Princeton University Press, 1984.

Fedoseyev, P.N., et. al., *Leninism and the National Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, USSR, 1977.

Hoang Van Chi, *From Colonialism to Communism*, Praeger Publishers, NY, 1964.

Ho Chi Minh, *On Revolution: Selected Writings, 1920-1966*, New American Library, NY, 1967.

Karnow, Stanley, *Mao and China: From Revolution to Revolution*, Viking Press, NY, 1972.

Lenin, V.I., and J.V. Stalin, *Selections on the National Question*, Calcutta House Publishers, Calcutta, India, 1970.

Luxemburg, Rosa, *The National Question*, Monthly Review Press, NY, 1976.

Marx, Karl, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, International Publishers, NY, 1970.

Marx, Karl, *Capital* (three volumes), International Publishers, NY, 1967.

Marx, Karl, *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, International Publishers, 1964.

Marx, Karl, *Grundrisse*, Vintage Books, NY, 1973.

Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, International Publishers, NY, 1972.

Mole, Robert L., *The Montagnards of South Vietnam: A Study of Nine Tribes*, Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, VT, 1970.

Munck, Renaldo, *The Difficult Dialogue: Marxism and the National Question*, Zed Press, London, 1986.

Rocket, R.L., *Ethnic Nationalities in the Soviet Union*, Praeger Publishers, NY, 1981.

Seitz, Paul, *Men of Dignity: The Montagnards of South Vietnam*, Jacques Barthelemy, Paris, 1975.

Shaheen, S., *The Communist Theory of Self-Determination*, W. Van Hoeve Publishers, The Hague, Netherlands, 1956.

Stalin, J.V., *Marxism and the National Question: Selected Writings and Speeches*, International Publishers, NY, 1942.

Stekloff, G., *History of the First International*, Russell and Russell Publishers, NY, 1968.

Wilson, Dick (not the former tribal president at Pine Ridge), *The Long March: The Epic of Chinese Communist Survival*, Viking Press, NY, 1971.

Young, James R., (ed.), *American Indian Issues in Higher Education*, American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1982.

---

---

# COMMUNITY-DETERMINED LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION

## An Academic Program for Native Americans at The Evergreen State College

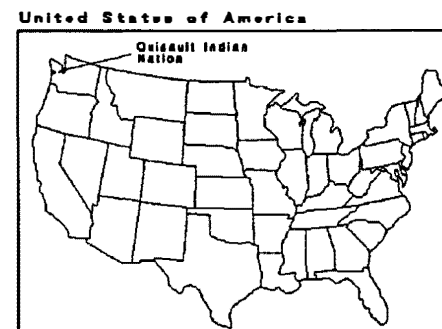
Russell Fox  
and  
Carol Minugh  
Members of the Faculty  
The Evergreen State College  
Olympia, Washington, U.S.A.

---

Originally presented at the International Encounter on Participatory Research, sponsored by the International Network of Participatory Research of the International Council for Adult Education in Managua, Nicaragua, September 1989.

---

Is access to formal educational systems essential for the survival of indigenous and oppressed peoples? Our response is yes, But .... More important questions are: Who has a right to create knowledge that is validated by schools or universities, and: Who controls the content and learning processes of formal educational systems?



All societies have mechanisms for teaching the young the patterns, norms and roles of their culture, of training youth for their roles in society, and for ongoing adult learning and development. The Fourth World populations of the world don't need to rely upon formal educational institutions to

teach the knowledge and skills of the culture. Families and communities build this learning into their integrated, holistic patterns of daily life. Our First, Second and Third World societies have, to a large measure, given this responsibility to a professional class of people who create and define what is valid knowledge and how it is to be taught and learned. The power to create and validate knowledge, and to control its dissemination, is given to those who by birth or training have accepted a certain paradigm of knowledge -- variously called western, Cartesian, scientific, etcetera. Popular or vernacular knowledge may be studied as an intellectual curiosity, but not validated as an equivalent way of knowing the world, the unknown or oneself.

However, global political and economic webs of interdependence and exploitation, fueled by modern communication technologies, do not allow anyone to live in isolation, or peace, in the contemporary world. Knowledge of one's own cultural world view, language, norms, skills and ways of being are essential for cultural survival. But, perhaps unfortunately, so is knowledge of how forces external to our communities are working to dominate and control our lives, relationships to the world, and our values. This knowledge, particularly in its contemporary forms, may not be included in traditional educational systems. Yet, gaining access to formal educational systems -- if possible at all -- requires abandoning or replacing traditional values with modern (i.e. western) ones.

We believe that the answer to this dilemma lies in two arenas of work to be done. One is to encourage/assist/allow Fourth World peoples to create and control their own educational institutions that would supplement (add to, not replace) traditional patterns of teaching and learning. Another path is to encourage/force/assist First, Second and Third World educational institutions to give equivalent validity to knowledge, skills and learning processes controlled by Fourth World members of their societies.

The example presented in this paper represents an attempt to create a Native American community-controlled educational content and process within a state-controlled university in the United States. The status of Native American nations in North America is similar in many ways to that of other Fourth World nations on every continent. Modern states have taken land, natural resources and the power to determine individual and community destinies, imposed legal, economic, educational, religious and social service systems, and, in general, both overtly and covertly tried to destroy traditional

cultural ways of living and thinking.

Yet, at least one university -- The Evergreen State College in Washington State -- has been willing to initiate a new and different relationship with Native American communities in its region. If successful, this could be a significant example of a First World university giving a Fourth World community the power to create knowledge and have it validated as equivalent to the knowledge created in other academic programs of the university.

### **Native American Access to Higher Education in the United States**

In the United States, educational programs provided by most colleges and universities are not designed for people who do not wish to share or buy into the "American Dream," and especially not for the people who are native to this country. The curriculum content, regardless of the philosophical orientation of the authors or teachers, is approached from the western civilization/colonial/pioneer point of view. In these institutions, Native Americans are subjected to an education which is opposed to the existence of their tribes, not only as political entities but as cultures with spiritual and economic relationships with the land we now call the United States. The "melting pot with no lumps" self-identity of Americans, promoted throughout the literature in all academic disciplines and in the popular culture of Euro-Americans, leaves no room for other world views and definitions of education.

Within this context, the only sources of the knowledge needed to preserve Native American cultural paradigms lie within tribal communities. If Native American communities are to survive as nations, they must build and maintain knowledge of and loyalty to those nations and their institutions. While knowledge about external and foreign philosophies and practices is useful in communicating with and relating to the rest of the world, if the tribes are to survive as a people and as self-governing nations, they must build and control their own educational processes. American universities and colleges have not been willing to accept cultural and educational paradigms that define knowledge differently than the Euro-American scientific and intellectual one does. However, an exception may be emerging at The Evergreen State College.

## Native American Studies at The Evergreen State College

The Evergreen State College was created in 1967 with a mandate to design innovative curricular structures and pedagogical strategies that may be more appropriate for the 21st century than the 16th century models that still dominate the world of higher education today. At Evergreen, teaching and learning is organized into full-time, year-long, team-taught interdisciplinary units called programs. Knowledge is pursued collaboratively rather than competitively, interactively rather than passively, through discussion and projects rather than lectures and exams, holistically rather than fragmented and specialized, with theory and practice interwoven, and with different cultural paradigms of knowledge actively explored and recognized as equivalently valid.

Within this general college-wide approach to education, the Northwest [United States] Native American Studies program was established in 1973. Strongly influenced by faculty member Mary Ellen Hillaire, of the Lummi Nation, the program's goal was to bridge the gap between oral and written tradition. Mary Hillaire's model was based on the following concepts:

- a) **Hospitality** -- an absolute trust in students' learning motivations and abilities;
- b) **The Learning Triad** -- the student, the student's community, the institution/program/faculty and the relationships among them are the sources of learning;
- c) **Personal Authority** -- the student chooses how to best utilize personal, community and college resources to pursue learning goals.

Until her death in 1982, this model was effective in allowing individual Indian students to achieve their educational goals while living in their own communities. Since Hillaire's death, the Native American Studies program has grown to become one of the most popular programs on campus, but it has primarily served non-native students. An 1988, a two-year study of the program resulted in a renewed institutional commitment to develop a model for how the college could and should respond to the needs of Native American

students and communities.

The college is located in western Washington State, an area rich with Indian Nations working to strengthen their cultural and economic identities. There are thirty-one federally recognized tribes in the state, and many other groups who identify themselves as Native American communities. In western Washington, the tribes are primarily fishing cultures with long and deep relationships to the land and waters of the region. Part of the college's renewed commitment to serving the educational needs of local Native American communities involves the establishment of a Board of Advisors to the program. Twelve representatives from Washington State tribes and urban Indians are being selected to serve on the Board. The purposes of the Board of Advisors include:

- 1) To assist the Native American Studies (NAS) program in planning and setting an annual agenda for identifying educational issues related to Native Americans;
- 2) To assist the NAS program to synthesize the results of an annual symposium on Native American issues;
- 3) To assist the NAS program to identify and prioritize community educational and public service activities;
- 4) To assist the college in getting information out to the Indian communities in the state.

### The New Model: A Native American Community-Determined Program

In addition to the formation of the Board of Advisors, the 1988 study led to the hiring of three additional Native American faculty (now totaling ten in a faculty of 150) and a commitment to establish a new community-based and community-controlled academic program. Faculty member Carol Minugh, of the Gros Ventre Nation, has been the primary coordinator of this effort.

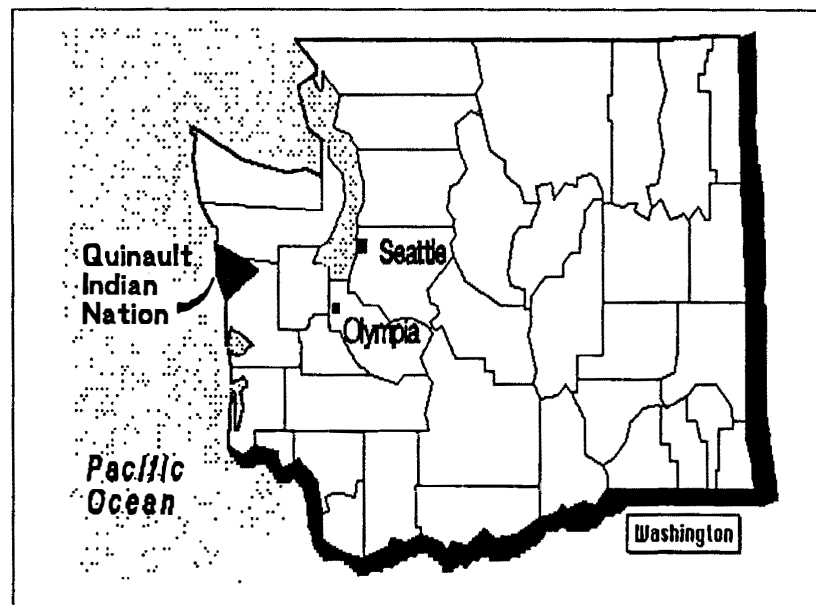
Self-determination, individual and community empowerment, community participation and community responsibility will be the watch words of the new program. The program will allow local tribal people, individually and as a community, to identify and develop their own priorities of learning. The creation and expression of

individual and community structures of knowledge about oneself and the community will lead to research and analysis of the dynamics that define that reality and, eventually, to individual and community pathways toward futures defined by the participants.

The Hillaire-model Learning Triad will be built upon as the sources of knowledge and the framework for research, analysis and communication of learning. Responsibility for the program will also be three-pronged. The community will assist in determining the curriculum subject matter, provide facilities, coordinate the enrollment, provide specific training programs and assist the students financially. The Evergreen State College will provide faculty, develop the curriculum and facilitate the learning process, teach the skills of research, analysis and communication, provide access to campus resources, identify appropriate consultants, insure a rigorous educational program, evaluate and validate the learning process pursued by each student, coordinate student financial aid, financially support a student organization, host an annual symposium on a Native American issue relevant to the tribes and seek additional funding when needed. The students will help prioritize the community educational needs, determine their personal course of study, create their own student organization and participate in community projects and educational programs. Planned during the 1988-89 school year, the program began in the summer of 1989 with twenty students from the Quinault Nation. Twenty additional students will begin in the fall quarter. The Quinault Nation was selected as the site for the first community-based program because of the active support of the tribal government and the number of individual requests for additional studies beyond those available at the local two-year Community College. The Quinault Nation is one of ten tribal governments actively creating alternative self-governing relationships with the United States federal government. Aggressive and effective tribal leadership over the past twenty years has resulted in substantially increasing the tribal land-base and strengthening their economy. Initial students include teacher aides in the tribal school, social service workers, tribal management employees, fisheries and forestry workers and other adults seeking either specific skills or a liberal education.

Classes will be held in the local community of Taholah on the Quinault reservation. Faculty will have regular office hours in the community. Classrooms will be provided by the community. Access

to the resources of the college will be facilitated by the coordinating faculty, and will include guest visits by other Evergreen faculty, team-teaching assignments for more long-term teaching, use of the campus library, and collaboration with other academic programs and student services as needed by the community or individual students.



Academic credit-generating work will include formal classes, individual projects and studies, group or community projects, participation in educational offerings sponsored by other organizations or agencies, documentation of prior learning experiences and new job-related work skills. Summer 1989 opportunities included a "writing from experience" class and the opportunity for the teacher aides to enroll in a school district-sponsored teacher training class on the "psychology of cognition" for credit.

Collaboration with other colleges and universities will also be an important component. For example, the Northwest Indian College, a tribally controlled Community College on the Lummi Reservation, offers two-year degrees for Native Americans in western Washington. Evergreen and Northwest Indian College will share resources when the needs of a student can best be met by the other. One example will be an opportunity for students to obtain a

two-year technical degree through Northwest Indian College and an additional two years of liberal arts education through the Evergreen program. In addition, the faculty will encourage students to find the best institution for a specific program of study when the Evergreen program is not appropriate. This will be necessary when the student needs vocational training or is interested in professional programs such as nursing or engineering.

The Board of Advisors to the Evergreen State College will act as a clearing house for research projects that the local tribal communities have identified and would like assistance with. Faculty and students in the community-determined program and/or other campus-based faculty and students might be encouraged to participate. Research through this program and in tribal communities will emphasize the community participation and empowerment of the community members -- that is, participatory research. The college's commitment to and success with participatory research projects has been extensive. One documented case study is included in a paper entitled *Participatory Research as Critical Theory: The North Bonneville, USA Experience* by Donald Comstock and Russell Fox.

Internships and other public service opportunities in local tribal communities will also be suggested by the Board of Advisors. These opportunities, open to all students at the college, will include an orientation to the tribal community and the culture of that community by faculty and members of the Board of Advisors. Projects could include developing curricula, organizing a youth group, or digging a ditch.

### Projected Future of the Program

After the program has been established on the Quinault reservation for two years, the college hopes to expand the program to at least one additional community. This may be a centrally located reservation so that members of several smaller tribal communities will have easy access to the program.

It is hoped that by the third year the program will have its own mobile unit consisting of two fully-equipped offices and a student resource center with multi-media and reference materials. This unit will have a regular route to the various reservations served, and students will have access to the faculty and resources on a scheduled

basis.

A longer-range hope is that the communities we work with will develop ever increasing pools of leaders and educators who continue to provide spiritual, cultural, economic and political leadership as their communities become more and more self-determined and self-reliant -- i.e. healthier communities.

## Fourth World Journal

The only publication in the World  
which prints the vision and views  
of Fourth World Peoples

Subscribe Now!

(Four Issues each year)

1 Year: \$12.00

2 Years: \$23.20

[Single issue: \$3.50]

Inside North America, subscriptions include postage.  
Overseas subscriptions should add \$5.00 for  
postage and handle for each year.

Write to:

Center for World Indigenous Studies  
**Fourth World Journal**

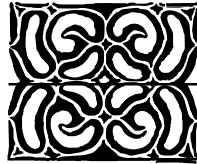
P.O. Box 82038

Kenmore, Washington, 98028

U.S.A.



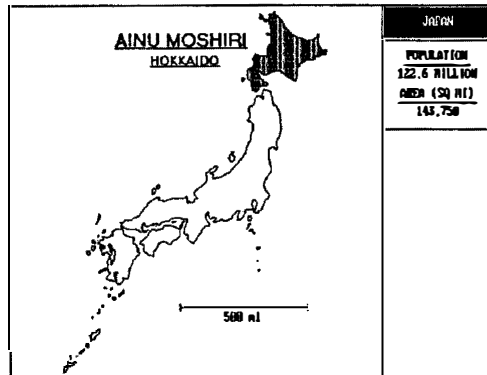
## Japan's Suppression of



Ainu Association of Hokkaido  
Sapporo, Hokkaido

(Excerpted statement submitted to the Sixth Session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations Genève, Switzerland, August 1988)

The human rights condition of the Ainu people, the indigenous people of Japan, can be summarized by the following points. The Japanese government should deal appropriately with the Ainu issue in the light of the facts as presented.



### Japanese Assimilation of Ainu

The Japanese government has consistently followed an assimilation policy with regard to the Ainu people, and no policy based on the concept of self-determination of the Ainu people has ever been adopted, or even considered, by it.

Former Prime Minister Nakasone is well known for the statement he made in September, 1986, that "Japan is a nation of homogeneous people." Moreover, until that time, Japanese government leaders had been ignoring the Ainu people and had been making similar statements. In a Diet session held in March, 1988, Prime Minister Takeshita made a statement in which he recognized the

## Ainu Moshiri

"We want a 'New Act!'"

resistance of Ainu people, but he did not recognize the need for a "new act for the Ainu people" which would recognize their national rights and demand expansion of their rights, declaring that "there is no problem in the present measures for the Ainu people."

That the present assimilation policy is aimed at the extinction of the Ainu people, is clear from the fact that there is not legislation in Japan that guarantees the national rights of the Ainu people, nor is there any government agency concerned with the affairs of the Ainu people. In March, 1973, the then Welfare Minister Saito promised in the Diet to establish a special government council which would include Ainu people among its members. That promise has not yet been realized, having been shelved for the past 15 years.

The Ainu people are native to Japan and currently live mainly in Hokkaido. The Japanese government stated in the **Working Group of the United Nations on Aborigines [sic]** in 1987: "The Japanese nation was formed through a long historical process in which various racial groups were mixed.. The Ainu people is considered one of these racial groups." Furthermore, a Japanese government representative told the 324th session of the 12th Human Rights Committee of the United Nations, held in 1980: "the Ainu people should rightly be called Utari people, but that as a result of the rapid development of communications since the Meiji Restoration in the 19th century, it has become difficult to recognize any distinguishing features in their mode of living."

These statements reflect unilateral assimilation policy of the Japanese government and ignore the right of the Ainu people to self-determination.

### Restrictions Imposed on Ainu

Some restrictive and discriminatory clauses of the *Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act*, which is based on the policy of assimilation, are still in force.

The *Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act*, which granted certain tracts of land to Ainu people, limits the transfer of those

lands by Ainu people, and places their common property under the control of the governor of Hokkaido. Furthermore, the Japanese government had confiscated all the Ainu people's land 30 years before the formulation of this act in 1899 and partitioned the confiscated land to Japanese colonizers. This act by the Japanese government was totally unilateral and aggressive in nature. [(1) 20,000 tsubo were provided to each farm household of former soldiers (*Tondenhei*) who settled here during the Meijera (2) The Colonization Commission sold land lots, up to a maximum of 100,000 tsubo per farmer, according to the Hokkaido Land Sale & Lease Regulations.) Furthermore, the land grants to Ainu people were extremely discriminatory in that their landholdings were limited to only 15,000 tsubo (about 50,000 square meters), and were apportioned without any consideration paid to their suitability for farming. In view of this historical background, the statements by the Japanese Government that the Ainu people are not legally discriminated against are clear indications of the suppression of the human rights of the Ainu people by the Japanese government.

### Wide Gap Between Ainu and Japanese

There are still wide social and economic gaps between the Ainu people and other Japanese people, and the rights stipulated in *Article 27* of the Government report are not actually guaranteed for the Ainu people.

In view of the wide gap between the Ainu and Japanese living standards, the Hokkaido prefectural government initiated projects for the welfare of Utari people in 1974. This, in itself is proof that the assimilation policy [which the Japanese government pursued following its aggressive invasion of Hokkaido, the land of the Ainu people] has been unable to guarantee equal rights for the Ainu people.

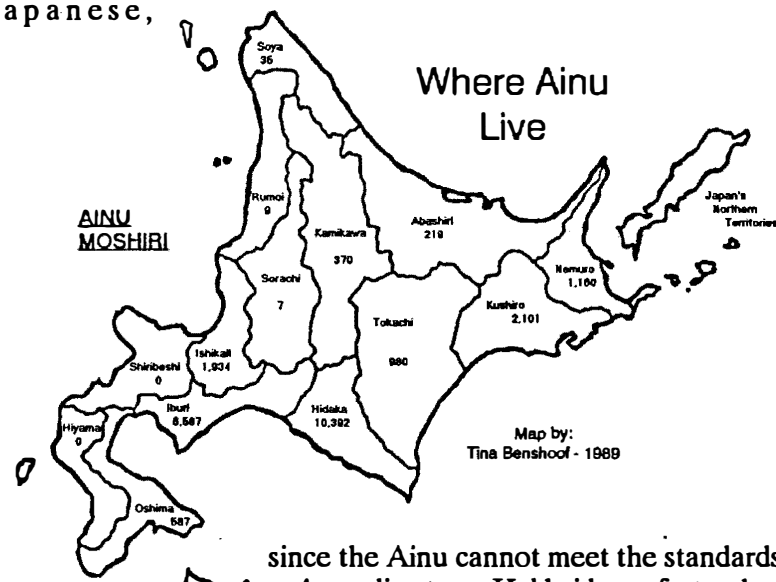
The Japanese government, however, regards these projects undertaken by the Hokkaido prefectural government as relief to poor people, and says that it is merely assisting the Hokkaido prefectural government in its projects. These projects are precisely welfare measures and not measures for the Ainu people as a nation.

The Japanese government representative told the above mentioned **Working Group of the United Nations on Aborigines [sic]** that "In a period of 13 years from 1974 to 1986, the Japanese Government and the local government earmarked a special budget allo-

cation totaling ¥30.9 billion, and the Japanese government is determined to make further efforts in this respect." However, the budget for project directly related to the Ainu people (mainly individual welfare measures) amounted to only ¥17.1 billion, or 56 percent of the total. Of this amount, loans to individuals, which are required to be re-paid, amounted to ¥9.9 billion, or 58 percent of that total.

Conversely, the budget for projects indirectly related to the Ainu people (mainly local welfare measures) totaled ¥13.8 billion, or 44 percent of the total. Moreover, those projects for local welfare measures cover not only Ainu people but also Japanese living in the same areas, dependent on the type of project. Furthermore, there is a contradiction within the standards used for adoption of these projects, as they are sometimes only applicable to non-Ainu

Japanese,



since the Ainu cannot meet the standards.

According to an Hokkaido prefectural government survey conducted in 1986, the number of poor Ainu households receiving grants under the Livelihood Protection Law is three times higher than that of comparable Japanese households, clearly demonstrating that the Ainu livelihood is extremely unstable,

Ainu people continue to hold the traditional rituals of a hunting and fishing people. However, hunting for bears and striped owls, which play an important role in such rituals, are restricted by the "act concerning the protection of and hunting for birds and beasts", while salmon fishing is restricted by *Article 25* of the "act for the protection of aquatic resources."

In recent years, the Hokkaido prefectural government has allowed salmon fishing by Ainu as an exception to the law for the purpose of "social education." However, it is allowed only once a year, and no more than 20 salmon may be caught in **only two** of the 212 administrative districts of Hokkaido [that is, Ishikari-town and Noboribetsu-city]. The Ainu people demand their special hunting and fishing rights, but the Japanese government does not recognize them.

In 1982, a day nursery was built in Biratori-town, Saru district, Hokkaido for the purpose of nurturing Ainu children in the Ainu language, with funds collected from Ainu people and donations by others.

The Hokkaido prefectural government and the Ministry of Health and Welfare notified the day nursery that no language other than Japanese should be used in the nursery if it wished to receive operational subsidies from government body. The explanation was

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1972	18,298	-	-
1979	24,160	11,855	12,305
1986	24,381	12,004	12,377

based on the monolingual requirements of *Articles 24 and 35* of the *Children's Welfare Law* and the "law concerning a proper execution of budgets concerning subsidies and others." As a result, the plan to nurture Ainu children in their own language at the day nursery had to be abandoned.

In 1981, the Japan Travel Bureau placed a quite discriminatory advertisement (regarding Ainu people) in a national newspaper. However, there was and is no domestic law in Japan that can effectively regulate racially discriminatory advertisements. Nor is it possible to counter such advertisements by invoking the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, as the Japanese government has not ratified it.

## Discrimination and Denial An Ainu Alternative

Acts of discrimination against the Ainu people, due to their ethnic origin, continues to persist in schools, places of employment, marriages and other aspects of social life, and the Ainu people are forced to live under extremely difficult conditions. The Japanese government has never conducted any survey on the Ainu people for the development of their rights and improvement of their social position. The Ainu people strongly demand and that their rights be guaranteed and that for this purpose a new act legally providing for their right to national self-determination be formulated to replace the *Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act*.

The Japanese Government ratified in 1979 the *International Covenants on Human Rights* (except for the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) to which it had not committed itself for a long time, but has officially stated to the international community that no ethnic minorities of the kind mentioned in the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* exist in Japan.

On the other hand, while some advanced industrial nations, in establishing themselves as modern states have dealt rather reasonably with ethnic problems as an important question which cannot be neglected, in Japan it is a fact that both the government itself and the people have had a *vague consciousness* that there are no ethnic problems within Japan. This might possibly be because the Ainu, the indigenous people, did not show strong enough resistance in the modernization process after the *Meiji Restoration* (in 1868).

As a matter of fact, however, we, the indigenous and ethnic minority people, called the Ainu, (several tens of thousands of us)

---

**the Ainu Moshiri (the earth where the Ainu live), has possessed its own language, culture and life-customs and has established its own history**

---

exist. Moreover, this people's own language, culture, lifecustoms, and so on are still retained.

This Association has petitioned and demanded both the Hokkaido prefectural and the national governments to repeal the Hokkaido *Former Aborigines Protection Act* enacted in 1899 and pass the "New Act" which will be firmly established in behalf of the Ainu people, and furthermore has been carrying on an extensive campaign in order to obtain the understanding of the Japanese people, based on the fundamental notion that it is necessary to establish the institutions which will be predicated on the recovery of the rights of the Ainu as a people, and which will enable such drastic and comprehensive measures as the elimination of racial discrimination, the promotion of ethnic education, the measures for economic self-sustenance, etc.

### Appeals to the United Nations

Because it was necessary to change the attitude that the Japanese Government had taken toward its ethnic policy, this organization requested the United Nations Centre for Human Rights for an investigation in our letter of 25 November, 1986. We also sent three representatives from this Association to participate for the first time in the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations (a working group under the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities) which was held in Geneva, Switzerland from 3 to 8 August, 1987, and we made a statement concerning the problems of the Ainu people in Japan, seeking understanding.

### The Movement Toward the Revision of I.L.O. Convention No. 107

This Association learned for the first time about the movement concerning the revision of International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 107 through its presentation at the above U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations. Returning home even without a full understanding of its contents, our organization immediately began studying about how to cope with it. But we have not reached any specific conclusions at this stage, and, therefore, would like to confine ourselves to some basic ideas concerning the views requested by the Deputy Vice-Minister about the questions in the

Report.

### On the Definition of the Object

We interpret the indigenous populations (translated officially as *genjumin*) in this Convention as the aboriginal populations (translated as *dochakumin*). Because this group of people who, living in Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles as the *Ainu Moshiri* (the earth where the Ainu live), has possessed its own language, culture and life-customs and has established its own history, is the Ainu people and at the same time is also the aboriginal people, and because we still exist today, we believe that we belong as an object of this Convention.

The existing *Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act*, the Kuriles-Sakhalin Exchange Treaty, etc. are the very proofs of the above point.

### On Assimilation

We, as the Ainu people, also oppose any international convention or domestic law which holds an assimilationist program as its basic orientation, and believe that the rights to control our own economic, social, cultural and other aspects of development as much as possible, to stand equal based on our own institutions, and to mutually cooperate with the national society should be recognized.

### On the Revision of I.L.O. 107

As stated above, this existing Convention holds integrationism as its basic principle and aims at the protection of the populations concerned, which is undoubtedly an archaic idea, and the application of this principle is destructive. We, therefore, believe that the Convention should be revised in favor of the respect for identity being its fundamental idea.

This applies to the Ainu people in Japan, too. For, as stated previously, the group that, originally living in Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles as the *Ainu Moshiri* (the earth where the Ainu live), possesses its own language and culture, has engaged in a common economic life, and has established its own history, is the Ainu people.

We retained our independence as a people while fighting the

unjust aggression and oppression brought on by the Tokugawa shogunate government and the Matsumae Clan.

However, the Japanese Government, which through the *Meiji Restoration* made the first step toward a modern unified state, annexed the Ainu Moshiri to the Japanese territory without any negotiations with the Ainu people, who were the indigenous people there. By concluding the **Kurils-Sakhalin Exchange Treaty** with Imperial Russia, they also forced the Ainu to give up our rightful land where we had existed in peace.

On the other hand, with the increase of Japanese immigrants into Hokkaido, terrible reckless development began, which threatened the very existence of the Ainu people. Furthermore, the enactment of the *Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act* in 1899, with its purpose being assimilation, tied the Ainu down to the land granted by the government, thereby reducing the freedom of residence and the freedom to choose an occupation other than agriculture. And in the field of education, the law trampled down the dignity of our people's own language.

Today, it is said that the Ainu living in Hokkaido are several tens of thousands, and those outside the prefecture are several thousand. Many of them do not have the security of equal opportunity in finding a job because of unjust racial prejudice and discrimination. They form a potential group of unemployed, and their life is always unstable.

The present situation is that discrimination increases poverty, which in turn causes still further discrimination, resulting in the widening gaps in social and economic status.

This Association, therefore, has stood up to demand the enactment of the "New Act" which regards the respect for the Ainu people's identity as its fundamental principle.

### On Ratification of I.L.O. 107

The labour-related laws and regulations in Japan have made great strides since the end of World War II. If international labour conventions and recommendations form the foundation of the drafting of such legislation, we believe that the revised Convention ought to be ratified and that the corresponding domestic laws be coordinated accordingly.

What this Association is demanding as the domestic law is the "New Act".

---

# Potlatch Economics

## A Lummi Perspective

Larry Kinley

---

A condensed version of a speech by Lummi Chairman Larry Kinley presented at the Newberry Library Conference, "Overcoming Economic Dependency" at the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, Chicago, Illinois, February 18, 1988. Previously published under the title: **Potlatch Economics and Governing Ourselves Fully** in *Indian Self-Governance: Perspectives on the Political Status of Indian Nations in the United States* C.W.I.S. Fourth World Papers Series 1989.

---

In its simplest terms, economics is a term which serves as that very broad label referring to a system within society for distributing goods and services and, thereby, ensures the distribution of wealth among all the members of a society. It is often used as if there is only one way of understanding the system for distributing wealth, and it is over disagreements between reasonable people about the best economic systems that wars have been waged and are now being fought.

It should be no surprise to anyone, therefore, that one of the first contests between Indian Nations in North America and the European colonists was over economics - the delivery of goods and services and the distribution of wealth. Indian Nations with strong economies met destitute European colonists who lacked all of the necessary skills and capabilities to provide for themselves. It was the European colonist who had to depend on the strength of tribal economies to survive. While depending for life and limb on the nations which surrounded them, European settlers did not learn how to live in tribal economies, but adapted tribal economic systems to their own use. With the backing of well formed European economies, colonists became increasingly dependent on the countries of Europe. Only when colonists developed their own capacity to trade among themselves, with the Indian Nations, with European countries and other countries in the world were they able to reduce their heavy dependence.

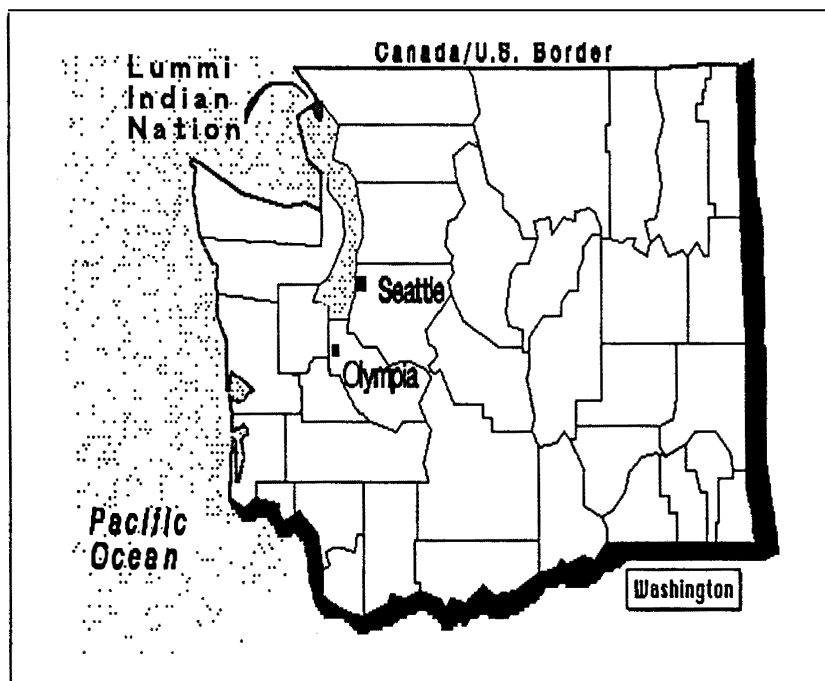
While the colonial economics grew stronger, their capacity to

compete with Indian nations for common resources also increased. The economic dominance of Indian nations began to change rapidly, but not until the middle 19th century could it be said that tribal economies began to collapse.

The "Indian Nation's economic dependence" on the United States of America is now referred to by many as the problem which now must be overcome. I suggest that this proposition limits our ability to deal with the actual conditions of Indian Nations. The more appropriate issue is, "What steps must be taken to renew tribal economies, and thereby, permit their free growth?"

### They Came Here in the Early 1800s

Indian Nations in the western hemisphere have struggled to maintain economic self-sufficiency since the wave of colonial invasion from Europe began in 1492. In South and Central America and



The Lummi Indian Nation is located in the northwest part of the United States of America near the U.S./Canada border.

the Caribbean region, this struggle has been bitterly waged from the very beginning, and continues with violent confrontations in wars and skirmishes from the tip of Argentina to the northern border of Mexico. The basic issues of dispute are land and natural resources. The principal disputants are Indian Nations and the States which were formed on top of those nations since the early 1820s.

In North America, European colonization and subsequent competition between Indian Nations and the vanguard of colonial Europe did not begin to have an impact until the 1600s. Indeed, my nation, the Lummi didn't feel the influence of distant intrusions until about 1800. It was only at the beginning of the 19th century that western coastal nations began to enter into trade relations with the Russians, Spanish, Japanese and later the English.

The Lummi Nation and nations all along the western coast traded for fifty years with these people before we came into active contact with traders from the United States. During those five decades. The coastal economies of Indian nations were radically changed. Our age-old system of economics might now be described as potlatch - give away. It was a system which tightly bound our peoples and ensured a stable social, political and cultural life for our peoples

As long as we traded with nations on the mainland and in the islands of the Pacific which shared a similar economic system, we remained economically strong. Trading with the Russians, Spanish, Japanese and the English, however, changed the natural balance of our economy. Because these traders from distant lands had no need for what the Lummi and neighboring nations naturally produced in excess of our needs, our internal economies began to suffer from dislocation. Furs, and fish, which had been essential to our economies, but were not the dominant produce, rapidly became the items of demand. Russian and Spanish traders brought kettles to trade with us in exchange for furs. These kettles became so desirable among our people that the demand for our own baskets declined rapidly. This decline in demand displaced our basket weavers. Gray wool blankets were used to trade for our furs. These too became desirable replacements for our domestically woven dog and goat wool blankets. Iron and copper tools were also traded to our people, and these began to replace our own internally crafted weapons and tools.

## Devaluation Came with Trade

Just as the United States now suffers internal economic dislocation by the successful introduction of Japanese automobiles, electronics and food stuffs, the Lummi Nation began to suffer from an unfavorable balance of trade. Lummi labor couldn't compete with the products being traded for furs and fish. Just as the United States now risks the loss of textile workers because of the large amounts of imported shoes and clothing from South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and China, the Lummi experienced the loss of tool makers, textile weavers, basket weavers, carpenters, artisans, and fishermen specialized in whaling, sealing and open-sea fishing. The Lummi economy responded to trading demands for highly specialized goods. In the mean time, the Lummi people began to lose internal capabilities to cloth, feed, house and otherwise support themselves.

By the mid-19th century, the Lummi people began to experience the collapse of our strong social and political system. Because our system of economy was based on the accumulation of wealth and the giving away of wealth, and this system was intimately connected with all other aspects of our culture, the rapid shift from a multi-layered self-sufficient economy to a narrowly based fur-trapping and fisheries economy broke down our way of life. Instead of a few gathering and then distributing wealth, virtually anyone could accumulate wealth by trapping and then trading furs to the outsiders in exchange for desirable basic goods. The introduction of paper and metal currency by the United States and England further forced the collapse of our economy. In modern terms, one might say that the fur pelt and the fish inflated in price so much that they made our potlatch economy become so devalued that it collapsed.

The United States took up where the Russians, Spaniards, Japanese and English left off by 1850. Like their predecessors, the United States traders didn't want what the Lummi economy naturally produced - they wanted our raw materials. They also wanted our land. The skills of our people developed over hundreds of generations became obsolete. We became raw material extractors for the benefit of the U.S. economy. In exchange, we became dependent on the goods and services produced by the U.S. economy. The result was the nearly total disintegration of the Lummi econ-

omy. Lummi became an economic colony of the United States of America, as did virtually all other Indian Nations.

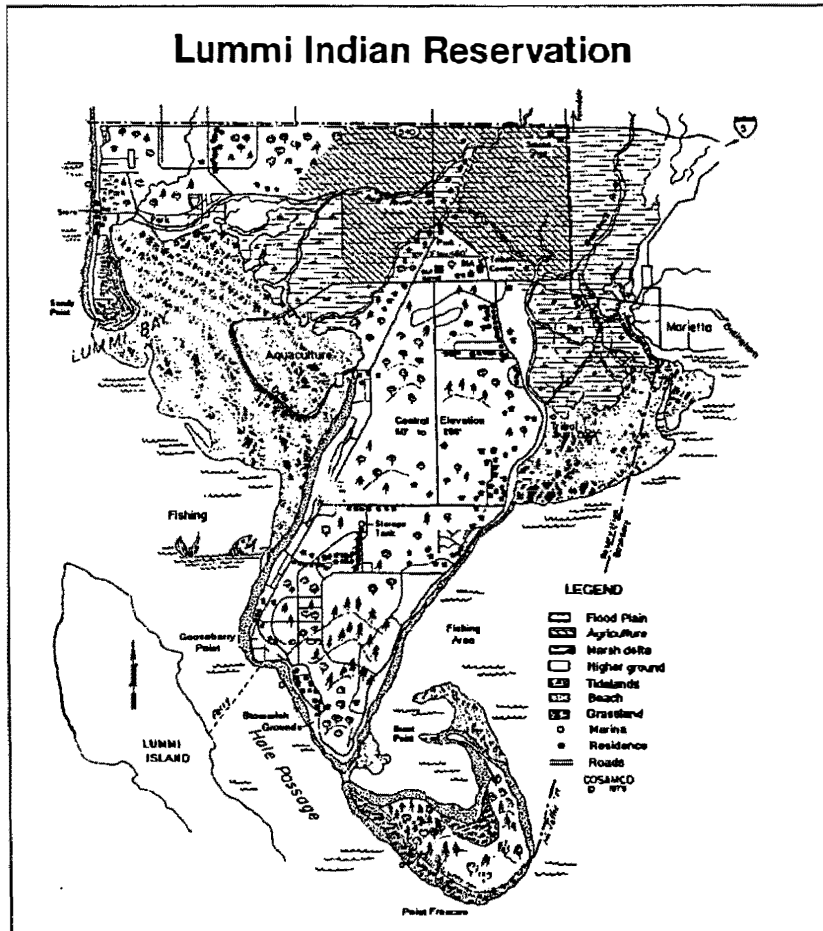
To this day, the Lummi Nation and all other Indian Nations serve as raw material colonial reserves which export natural wealth to the United States.

Indian Nations throughout North America had healthy societies with strong economies for thousands of years before the existence of the United States of America. The Lummi Nation, like so many of its neighbors, fed, clothed, and housed its own people and we had no poverty. We traded with our nearby neighbors using products our people produced in excess to their needs. Indeed, the Lummi Nation demonstrated its economic versatility by trading with nations in Asia, across North America and among the nations of the Pacific. We required no hand-outs and we asked for none. Our Lummi society was whole and complete.

Lummi people moved from a productive self-sustaining economy which had served for hundreds of generations, to an unproductive dependency on an alien economic system which took more from the Lummi than it returned. The Lummi Nation became a society of consumers who produced virtually none of the things necessary for human sustenance. What raw materials we had left to us, like fisheries, timber and wildlife became raw produce beneficial directly to the U.S. economy and a net negative asset to the Lummi economy. We began to sell our raw materials to the United States only, and in return we received currency - money that could only be spent in the U.S. economy.

American currency, the final means of exchange for our labor and our raw materials had no value directly among Lummi. It was not used to buy labor, goods and services from Lummi. American money was only good for buying goods and services from the U.S. economy. Dependence on U.S. currency, goods and services, marked the point of total Lummi economic collapse. Our self-sustaining economic and trade system had been completely replaced by a colonial market economy which mainly benefited the U.S. economy. For the first time in our long history, the Lummi people experienced poverty and destitution. For 150 years, the Lummi have suffered under the unfavorable balance of trade, exploitation of our resources by outsiders and the devaluation of Lummi labor.

In other words, the Lummi economy was in about the same condition of disarray in the late 1940s and early 1950s as the European economies and the economies of the Third World. Now, our economy, in virtually every sense, suffers from comparable conditions of Less Developed Countries around the world.



The Lummi Indian Nation is nearly surrounded by rich fisheries areas containing salmon and bottom fish. Plentiful fish in the surrounding waters have proved to be an important economic asset as well as a strong cultural factor in the lives of Lummi people.

## Self-Determination, The Way Out

When the United States of America joined other states in the world to rebuild the global economy in the late 1940s, Indian Nations inside the US called for a new effort to rebuild Indian Country - long suffering from dislocation, poverty and economic collapse. The Lummi Nation was among those nations calling for the economic and political self-determination of Indian Nations. We pressed for the adoption of resolutions through the National Congress of American Indians and we worked to encourage cooperation with U.S. government leaders. We believed, then as we do now, that the self-determination of our nation is essential to our social, economic, political and cultural security. Key to our view of self-determination was, and is now, the freedom and flexibility to rebuild our economy.

The United States government responded to our requests for economic freedom by forcing many of our people to leave our reservations from 1950 to the middle 1960s. Some of our greatest thinkers and our best talent was taken from our lands and moved into the U.S. economy. Instead of helping our nations, the United States moved to take our last and greatest asset - our people - an asset that would guarantee our ability to rebuild our economies. Like Third World countries of that period, Indian Nations suffered a "brain drain" of major and devastating proportions. If Lummi people and Indian Nations were made of weaker stuff, we would have totally collapsed and disappeared. We had suffered virtually every measure of destruction that any society in the world had experienced at any time in history. Our innate survival instincts and the small crack in the door that was known as the Great Society of the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations created flexible opportunities for Indian reconstruction. We took advantage of this slim opportunity. For the first time since our early association with the United States of America, the Lummi Nation could exercise a measure of control over political and economic decision-making. We had access to revenue independent of control by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. We could begin making our own decisions again. We experienced a measure of political and economic freedom during the short period that followed 1964 that resulted in the beginning of Lummi reconstruction. We began to build homes, develop enterprises and deliver social and health services to our own people. We



used our best thinking, our most experienced economic and political talent. Lummi people were inventive again. We were beginning the long process of rebuilding a Lummi economy. The Lummi Nation, like many other Indian Nations began a process of rapid recovery. Our nation was viewed by many as a primary example of Indian Economic Success.

### **Lummi Economic Recovery**

Key elements in our growing economic recovery were: Internal and local economic decision-making by Lummi, a developing flow of trade from Lummi to the U.S. and other foreign economies, growing Lummi technical, planning and decision-making capabilities and experience; a capital and resource flow into the Lummi nation where the multiplier factor was an estimated 30 times every dollar coming into the Lummi economy. As Mr. Dennis R. Gibb, Vice President of Bear Stearns & Company observed in April of this year, "Due to the geographic isolation of most Indian reservations, and the low relative population density of the surrounding non-Indian areas, reservation economies have the ability, if correctly fostered, to be the economic engine of their regions." The Lummi Nation and many other Indian Nations were well on their way to becoming "economic engines" in their regions.

For a few years, the Lummi Nation and many Indian Nations saw sustained changes and wrestled with the problems of developing economies. As suddenly as it began, the economic miracle that was to be stalled. Our successes and our growing productivity ran into a two-part obstacle: Fears by State governments and non-Indian businesses that we would compete more successfully than our non-Indian neighbors for business, and a growing desire in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other U.S. government agencies to take control over our economic activity.

State governments feared our economic successes and our economic creativity. They wanted revenues that were beginning to flow into Tribal coffers to flow into State coffers instead. What State government officials and non-Indian businesses failed to comprehend was that our success would eventually improve their own economic conditions. Their fears worked to obstruct our continuing efforts to recover.

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs regulations and State government

interference in our growing economic success combined to stall our recovery. US government bureaucrats moved to redirect our economic planning toward industrial models that would clearly benefit the U.S. economy and State economies and reverse our efforts to build self-sustaining economies. Just as the US controlled World Bank pushed for the installation of industrial models in the Third World, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the US Department of Commerce pressed to install industrial models on Indian Reservations. Both efforts failed, but both efforts also created new kinds of economic, social and political dislocation. During the last ten years, Indian economic efforts have been stalled and even reversed as a result of U.S. government economic policies; and State government uncertainties.

### **Redressing the Economic Balance**

What steps might be taken to remedy the unfavorable balance of economic relations between Indian Nations and the United States?

Economic theories for development on reservations should reflect the view of promoting "self-sustaining economy which provides jobs for tribal members, reinforces local custom and social organization, and enriches the culture without damaging the natural resources or Indian cultural values." This requires that tribal economies be understood in their specific context, not merely in terms of the U.S. economy.

Tribal control of natural resources and land is essential to renewing tribal economies. This requires that the United States and its states pull-back from their efforts to increase control over these resources.

The political relationship between each Indian Nation and the United States must be formalized into a framework of government-to-government relations based on mutual respect. Indian Nations must be permitted to fully govern themselves, within their boundaries.

Finally, we must all recognize that Indian Nations are not so much dependent on the United States as they are being used by the United States for the benefit of the U.S. economy.

When we move in these directions, we will be able to overcome the economic dislocation on Indian Reservations caused by generations of economic colonialism, and Indian people will take their place as creative and energetic contributors to improvements in the human condition.