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Circumpolar Arctic & Arctic Haze  
The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism  
Tasmania: The People Continue  
Leonard Peltier Interview  
Peru: Fight For Survival  
The Japan Green Federation  
Shoshone Lands

*THREE SISTERS*  
by John Thomas  
Courtesy of Akwesasne Museum



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## HOW IT IS

A last minor blizzard hit us in mid-March. We could feel spring very close to us. A new planting season will soon be here and many new things are being planned.

I had promised to work for six months with NOTES and ended up being here a year. I hope that I have helped NOTES continue in the right direction. The response has been good and we all feel that NOTES is still important to many people. I will help gather the material for our June issue, but by then another editor will be taking over.

I plan to continue working directly with our own people in developing media/communication/networking projects. The Six Nations Confederacy is my main concern at this time. It has been good getting to know people worldwide, but I wish to work closer to home. This seems to be the focus of many groups, especially the Greens: thinking globally, working locally.

All of us, each and everyone, let us remember to think seven generations ahead. It is up to us now, and there is no time at all not to do things.

Thank you.

Aroniawenrate/Peter Blue Cloud



## HOW IT IS EVERYWHERE

### **Office of the International Convention for Defense of the Life of the Earth**

The life of the Earth is being endangered by the crisis of environmental destruction and nuclear war. Let us begin to create the radical and basic movement for defense of the life of the Earth by the solidarity between world Ecologists and Indigenous nations.

Standing on such a common idea, the First convention for defense of the life of the Earth was held from October 1 to 6 at Hukuba mura Naganoken Japan, in 1984. This convention made the resolutions which we enclose in this letter.

Now, we propose to world Ecologists, Green Parties, Green movements, and world Indigenous movements officially to begin the work of the preparation of the Second convention for defense the life of the Earth.

Also we propose to begin the financial preparation for the Success of the Second convention which will be held in Peru.

February 1985, TOKYO

Ryu Ota

Secretary of the office of the International Convention of the life of the Earth.

### **First International Convention To Protect Life Of Earth Final Resolutions**

October 5, 1984, Hakuba, Japan

\*All of life on Earth, including the life of human beings and every creature, is in crisis. There exists today the danger of total annihilation of the planet due to the environmental destruction produced by national industries and multinational corporations; and of nuclear confrontation between US and USSR and their political and economical allies.

\*In order to solve the problem, it is necessary that defenders of natural environment and native peoples work together under the common goal of respecting, preserving and recovering the co-existence of all creatures of the Earth.

\*We decide to create a World Co-ordination Office to Protect Life on Earth, formed by environmentalists and native peoples, represented in the same proportion. The Secretariat will be located in Japan. The First work of this Co-ordination Office will be:

a) To form a world-wide information network to protect life on Earth.

b) To publish a Bulletin every two months in Japanese, English, Spanish and French languages.

\*We advocate a total disarmament and the renouncement of war by all nations of the world.

\*We demand the total prohibition of the use of atomic energy of any other energy harmful to life.

\*We aim to transform our own daily lives in food, dress and housing according to the natural rhythm of life. We want to restore our natural environment through regeneration and reanimation of cities, countrysides, deserts and seas; thus creating more appropriate surroundings for natural, cooperative living.

\*We have decided to hold the Second International Convention in Peru, September, October, November of 1985, under the coordination of CISA, South American Indian Council.

\*We must find concrete ways to stop the destruction of the forests in general, tropical forests in particular and especially those of the Amazonas and to stop the advance of the deserts.

\*We decide to take part in the creation of the World Council of Peoples whose aim will be the harmonious co-existence of all creatures of the world, because the United Nations is not concerned with this vital task.

Address: Ryu Ota, Daini Satsukiso 101, 5-35-12 Hakusan, Bunkyo-ku Tokyo JAPAN 112, Telephone 03-813-7825.



On February 14, 1984, the Lubicon Lake Band filed a formal complaint with the United Nations charging Canada, among other things, with denying the Band the right of basic subsistence. A copy of the complaint is attached.

The Band's complaint was reviewed by the Working Group of the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations who, on November 9, 1984, decided to formally request the Canadian Government to provide "information and observations relevant to the question of admissibility", or, in other words, to advise the United Nations of Canada's position on the hearing of the complaint.

Canada was asked to provide such "information and observations" to the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations "within two months of the date of the request." The Secretary General of the United Nations is to then forward Canada's response to the Band for reaction.

The United Nations asked Canada for a response to the Band's complaint in mid-November 1984. To date the United Nations has received no response from Canada.

Fred Lennarson

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777 United Nations Plaza, Suite 10F  
New York, New York 10017  
Telephone: (212) 986-6000

Chairman

The Human Rights Committee  
c/o The Center for Human Rights  
United Nations  
New York, NY 10017

Dear Chairman:

The International Indian Treaty Council respectfully submits to you the enclosed Communication of Chief Bernard Ominayak and the Lubicon Lake Band for consideration by the Human Rights Committee under Article 2 of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

This Communication evidences the violations, by the Government of Canada, of the Lubicon Lake Band's rights to determine its political status, pursue its economic, social and cultural development, dispose of its natural wealth and resources, and fundamentally, its right to the physical means for subsistence and the exercise of self-determination. These violations contravene Canada's obligations under Articles 1(1), 1(2), and 1(3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Canada, a Party to the Optional Protocol, recognizes the competence of the Committee to receive and consider Communications from representatives of individuals and groups within its jurisdiction.

With assurances of our highest respect.

Respectfully yours,  
*signed*  
William A. Means  
Executive Director

### Communication of Chief Bernard Ominayak and the Lubicon Lake Band to the Human Rights Committee

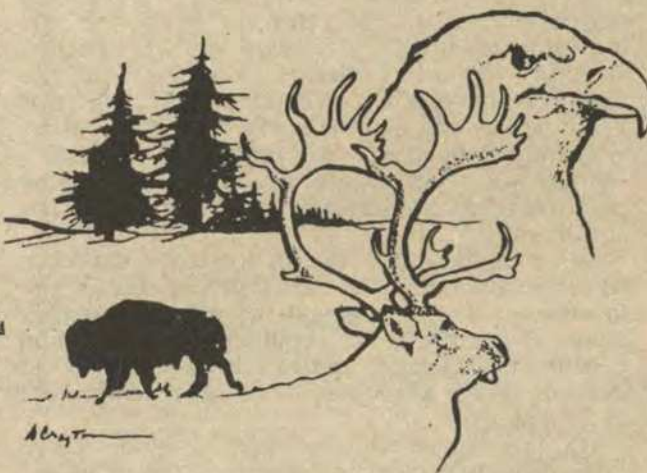
This communication is submitted pursuant to Article 2 of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It is authored by the International Indian Treaty Council at the request of Chief Bernard Ominayak and the Cree Band<sup>1</sup> of the Lubicon Lake in Alberta, Canada.

The International Indian Treaty Council is a Non-Governmental Organization in Category II Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council. The IITC was founded in 1974 at a congress of Indian Nations from throughout the Western Hemisphere. It offers representation to Indigenous Peoples who wish to inform the United Nations of violations of their human rights.

Chief Ominayak is leader and representative of the Lubicon Lake Band, who are Cree Indians living within the borders of Canada, in the Province of Alberta. They are subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Government of Canada in accordance with a fiduciary relationship assumed by the Canadian government with respect to Indian Peoples and their lands located within Canada's national borders.<sup>2</sup>

The Lubicon Lake Band is a self-identified, relatively autonomous, socio-cultural and

## Canada: Lubicon Lake, Alberta Cree Land Rights/Human Rights



economic group. They have continuously inhabited, hunted, trapped and fished a 25,000 square mile area in Northern Alberta since time immemorial. Their territory is relatively isolated and inaccessible. As a result, they have, until recently, had little contact with non-Indian society. Band members speak Cree as their primary language. Many do not speak, read or write English. The majority of their food and the furs they sell for income are obtained by hunting and trapping. The Band has and continues to maintain its traditional culture, religion, political structure and subsistence economy.

1. Band is the term most commonly used in the Canadian domestic system to refer to a socio-political unit of Indian people.

2. The Indian Act of Canada, Rev. Stat. c.1-6(1970).

### Legal Basis For the Ominayak-Lubicon Lake Band Claim

This communication is directed against the Federal Government of the State of Canada.

Articles of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights violated are:

#### Article 1(1)

Canada is violating the Lubicon Lake Band's right to freely determine its political status and to pursue its economic, social and cultural development, as guaranteed by Article 1(1) and affirmed in Canada's domestic laws and Indian treaties.

The Canadian Government, through the *Indian Act of Canada*<sup>3</sup> and Treaty 8, entered with Indian Bands in Northern Alberta, pledged responsibility to the original inhabitants of that area and recognized their right to continue their traditional way of life. Despite these laws and agreements, the Federal Government of Canada has allowed the Provincial Government of Alberta to expropriate the territory of the Lubicon Lake Band for the benefit of private corporate interests. In so doing Canada refuses to recognize the Lubicon Lake Band's explicitly stated desire to continue its own social, political, and economic practices within a portion of its aboriginal territory.

#### Article 1(2)

Canada stands in violation of Article 1(2) in so far as that Article grants all peoples the right to dispose of their natural wealth and resources for their own ends.

The energy exploration currently being allowed in the area of Lubicon Lake is clearly intended to accrue to the benefit of the energy corporations rather than to the People of Lubicon Lake.

#### Article 1(3)

Canada is denying the People of Lubicon Lake the physical means for exercising the self-determination they have enjoyed since time immemorial, and the continuation of which is guaranteed by Article 1(3).

Physical destruction of the environment and deliberate efforts to undermine the Band's economic base have accompanied energy exploration in the area, thus depriving the Band of any means by which to subsist on its own.

3. Can. Rev. Stat. c.1-6(1970)

### Domestic Remedies

Article 5(2)(b) of the Optional Protocol provides that the requirement that domestic remedies be exhausted "...shall not be the rule where the application of the remedies is unreasonably prolonged." This exception should be applied to the Lubicon Lake case.

The Lubicon Lake Band has, for several years, been pursuing its claims through domestic political and legal avenues. However, given the complexity of the issues it is possible for such proceedings to continue indefinitely. And if development continues at its current rate in their territory, the Band will not survive physically or as a social entity for more than another year or two.

Furthermore, it is clear from the facts set forth below that the domestic political and legal process is being used by officials and energy corporation representatives to thwart and delay the Band's actions until, ultimately the Band becomes incapable of pursuing them.

#### A. Caveat Under Provincial Land Titles Act

On October 27, 1975, representatives of the Lubicon Lake Band filed with the Registrar of the Alberta (Provincial) Land Registration District, a request for a caveat which would give notice to all parties dealing with the caveated land of their assertion of aboriginal title. This procedure was provided for in the Provincial Land Titles Act.

On December 15, 1975, the Provincial Registrar referred the request for a caveat to the Supreme Court of Alberta. The Court received arguments on behalf of the Provincial Government, contesting the caveat, and on behalf of the Lubicon Lake Band and other interested Bands in the area, supporting the caveat. The primary issues raised were:

- (1) whether aboriginal title was proven, and
- (2) whether the caveat was appropriate if aboriginal title was proven.

On September 7, 1976, the Provincial Attorney General filed an application with the Supreme Court of Alberta for a postponement in the hearing of the caveat case, pending resolution of a similar case being tried in the Northwest Territories (the Paulette Case). The application was granted.

On March 25, 1977, while the caveat case was still on hold in the Supreme Court, the Attorney General of Alberta introduced an amendment to the Land Title Act into the Provincial Legislature. The amendment precluded the filing of caveats on unpatented Crown land and was made retroactive to January 13, 1975, in Northern Alberta, thus predating the filing of the caveat involving the Lubicon Lake Band.

The amendment passed and the Supreme Court hearing on the caveat were dismissed as moot.

#### B. Action in the Federal Court of Canada

On April 25, 1980, the Lubicon Lake Band filed an action in the Federal Court of Canada.<sup>4</sup> They requested a declaratory judgement concerning their rights to their land, its use, and the benefits of its natural resources. The claim is based on relevant provisions of Treaty 8, aboriginal land (or Indian) rights, the Indian Oil and Gas Act, and the British North American Act of 1930.

Joined as defendants were the Federal Government of Canada, the Province of Alberta, and several energy corporations. On Jurisdictional grounds, the Court dismissed the claim as against the Provincial Government and all energy corporations except Petro-Canada. The claim was allowed to stand with the Federal Government and Petro-Canada as defendants.

This case is still pending and is expected to continue for at least five years.

#### C. Action in the Provincial Court of Alberta

On February 16, 1982, representatives of the Lubicon Lake Band filed an action in the Court of Queen's Bench of Alberta.<sup>5</sup> Joined as defendants are several energy corporations and the Province of Alberta.

The bases and provisions of the claim are similar to those set forth in the Federal Court. In this second action, however, the Band requested an interim injunction to halt development in the area until a decision on their land and natural resource claims is rendered.

On November 17, 1983, the Court dismissed the application for an interim injunction.<sup>6</sup> Among the effects of the Court's decision are the following:

- 1) the legal rights claimed by the Lubicon Lake Band constitute a serious issue.
- 2) However, the fact that the aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada is now a constitutionally enshrined right has no practical significance in the context of protecting such rights from damage or destruction.

Continued on page 31



# Support ICC for a More Effective Defense of the Circumpolar Arctic

Until the 1960s, the circumpolar Arctic was left pretty much to the Inuit who lived there. But in 1968, two United States oil companies discovered an enormous oil deposit at Prudhoe Bay on the north coast of Alaska. This was the beginning of a new and very serious development in the Arctic. Virtually overnight, the Arctic found itself in the industrial society's sphere of economic interest. The majority societies to the south needed energy, especially oil and gas, to keep their industrial and consumer society going. Soon the exploitation of Arctic mineral resources became worthwhile financially—and new explorers were coming to the Arctic, searching for oil and gas. In Alaska, in Arctic Canada, and in Greenland.

Arctic isolation was broken. The Alaskan Inuit were probably the first to feel the pressure of resource development, but it soon became clear that the southern societies' demand for the riches of the Arctic posed a threat to the environment of the whole circumpolar region—not to mention the culture, traditions and lifestyles of the Inuit. No one had consulted the Inuit and they protested, pointing to their way of life, to their ancient culture, and to the dangers imposed upon animal life and environment. A handful of people heard them—but not those who make decisions.

In the beginning, co-existence with majority societies in the south had not been without its problems. But now it had become a direct threat to the Inuit culture in the circumpolar region, to their survival as Inuit, and to the nature with which they had lived in harmony for thousands of years.

The time had come to meet and discuss the threat from the South.

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference was founded

in 1977 when Alaskan Inuit led the way—not unnaturally—since the Prudhoe Bay oil discovery was a new hazard, situated as it was as their immediate neighbour. The late Eben Hopson Sr. was the driving force behind ICC's creation and the first ICC assembly was held in Barrow, Alaska. One of the main reasons for ICC's creation was the desire that Prudhoe Bay and Beaufort Sea developments affecting Inupiat in Alaska and Inuvialuit in Western Canada not be left solely to governments whose planners often overlooked Inuit environmental and social issues.

Some of the other reasons for ICC's existence have been for Inuit to exchange experience and knowledge and to augment the information they have of each other, strengthen their common culture and language, and to form a joint front in defence of the Arctic environment, its animal life and its people.

ICC represents all the world's Inuit and is "dedicated to protect and advance Inuit rights and interests on the international level." During the past two decades, Inuit across the Arctic have sought to maintain their racial identity and increase their economic independence. In this context, the ICC was granted NGO (non-governmental organization) status at the United Nations on February 7, 1983. It is clear from extensive conversations with Inuit leaders in three countries and on every level—that there is no circumpolar independence movement, no wish to break away to form an Arctic state. Inuit are very much citizens of their respective countries, but obviously want to protect their language and cultural values. In this process, normal political influence plays an important part. This must not be confused with the nightmare of an

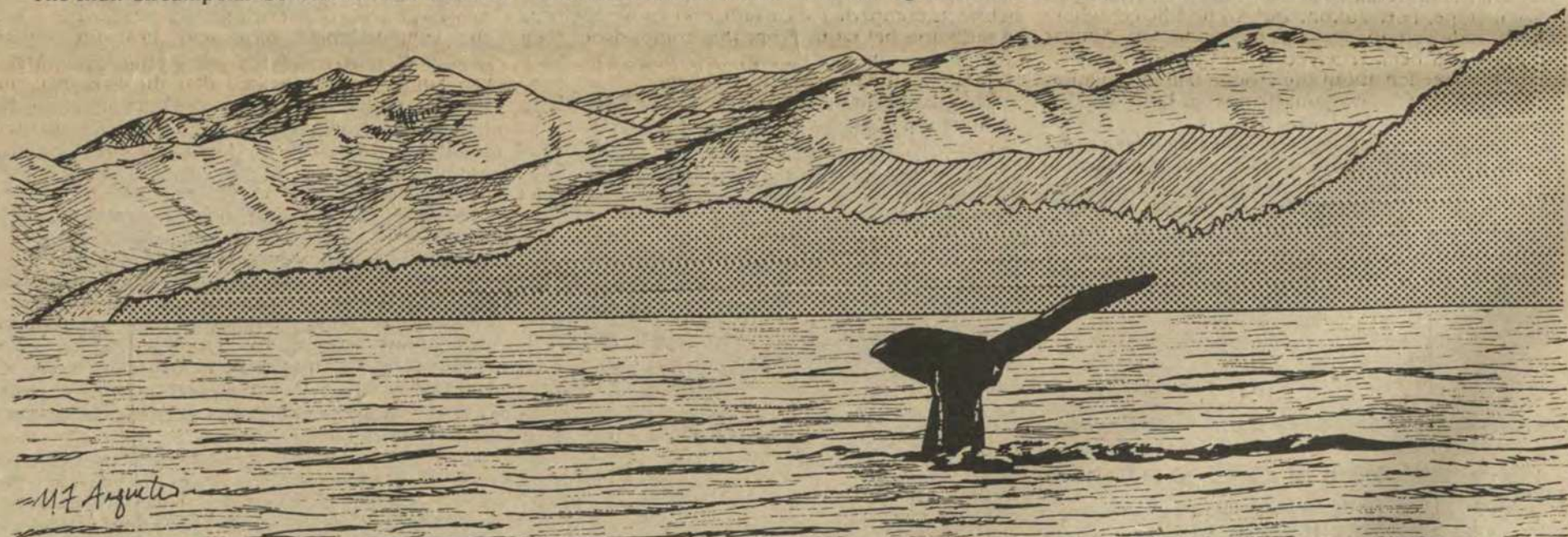
independence movement, despite the tendencies of alarmist journalists and some scholars to do so.

Since the beginning of time, the Inuit and the Arctic environment have been inseparable. Developments in industrialized majority societies naturally have an effect on the Arctic today. New forms of industry and work emerge, and the Inuit try to adjust as well as they can. But the living resources in our seas and on land are, and will continue to be, the dominant basis of our existence.

The ICC defends the culture of the Inuit and the rights of the Inuit. But the ICC is also a guardian of the Arctic environment. A guardian against pollution of the pure Arctic waters. A guardian of animal life—musk ox, caribou, wolves, hares, polar bears, whales, seals, walrus and innumerable bird species.

Support the ICC to put up an effective defence. If you would like to know more about the reality of the Arctic today, please contact the ICC at the following addresses:

ICC Head Office  
Box 204, 3900  
Nuuk, Greenland  
Phone: 2 36 32  
ICC,  
c/o ITC  
3rd Floor, 176 Gloucester St.  
Ottawa, Ont.  
Canada K2P 0A6  
Phone: (613) 238-8181  
ICC,  
429 "D" Street  
Suite 211  
Anchorage, Alaska, USA 99501  
Phone: (907) 338-6917  
(source: Inuit Circumpolar Conference)



## Arctic Haze

*Arctic Air Pollution Calls for international Controls*  
World Climate Endangered

The problem of Arctic haze promises to join acid rain as an issue demanding international agreements, governing industrial pollution. Northerners have been alerted by a growing number of reports to the problem of Arctic haze and its international implications.

While scientists still differ about the impact of Arctic haze, they agree on the significant capacity of such atmospheric pollution to absorb light from the sun and thereby alter the temperature of the Arctic air.

In a recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* North Slope Borough scientist Tom Albert was quoted as saying, "If this cuts down on the amount of sunlight that reaches the ground or retards reflection of the sunlight, it's going to have an effect, either increasing or decreasing polar icecap melting, and you're talking about water on a grand

scale. That has an effect on sea level, so the rest of the U.S. must have an interest in Arctic haze."

### Industrial Pollution Sink

Generally, Alaskans enjoy the best air in the U.S. When the air mass flows in from the Gulf of Alaska, it bears traces of sodium and chlorine, components of sea water. When it enters from Canada, it bears traces of aluminum and silicon, components of wind-blown dust. During these times, visibility in Alaska is good, and Mt. McKinley can be seen easily from Anchorage to Fairbanks. On the North Slope, winds and air inversions tend to keep locally generated pollution at a very low level.

But when the air flow enters Alaska from over the Arctic Ocean, as it does frequently in the winter, the air becomes hazy. Chemical analysis of the air shows the presence of black soot in concentrations comparable to that found in the air above large cities, along with particles of sulphur and heavy metals associated with heavy industry.

Generally, the increase in Arctic pollution has been attributed to the ten-fold increase in pollution emissions in the northern hemisphere, unobstructed and increased air circulation moving directly from continental industrial areas into the Arctic during winter months, and less winter

precipitation, which accentuates the haze.

Appearing as grey-blue or grey-brown, the haze arrives in the fall and peaks in March and April. Its origins are 3,000 to 6,000 miles away, and it takes at least five days to reach Barrow. Most of it comes from smelting lead and zinc or the combustion of coal and oil in the industrialized area of the Soviet Union, including the southern Urals and northern Siberia. Pollution from England and places like the Ruhr Valley in West Germany accounts for most of the rest, with a small amount coming from North America.

It is known to travel in concentrations, so much so that one element, sulfur, has been measured at greater levels than in the industrialized northeastern U.S. in winter. It covers a vast area comparable in size to North America, extending from Alaska eastward to Norway, covering the whole Arctic basin. It is the extent of the pollution and its impact upon world climate that are the concern of scientists.

### The Atomic Pollution Studies

Arctic haze was described in scientific journals as early as 1914. It was later observed in the 1950's and 60's by weather observers making flights, called the Ptarmigan flights, from Fairbanks to the



North Pole and back. They noted that near the Arctic coast, a dense haze was observed that extended thousands of miles horizontally and three to five miles vertically.

It was felt that a haze so far from factories and cars must have been the result of natural causes. Scientists could not conceive of air pollution being transported from the world's industrial centers, the closest of which are 1,500 kilometers away. Slowly, however, evidence began to accumulate that pollutant particles can be transported in the lower atmosphere over immense distances. Atomic testing provided the first hard evidence.

In the early-1960's, scientists world-wide discovered high concentrations of radioactive fallout from atmospheric atomic testing were concentrating in the Arctic food chain. These early studies indicated that the subsistence foods of Alaska Native peoples contained as much as four times as much Strontium-90 as other U.S. populations.

This prompted several comprehensive investigations of the efficient transfer of radioactive materials up the relatively direct and simple food chains of northern subsistence users. Measurements of Cesium-137 in northern populations began almost simultaneously in Scandinavia and Alaska. Investigations were conducted among the reindeer herding societies of northern Sweden, Finland, and Russia. Other studies were carried out among Canadian Indians and Eskimos.

In Alaska, Wayne Hanson was put to work by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to investigate resident radioactive pollution in preparation for Project Chariot, a U.S. Atomic Energy Commission plan — later aborted — to dredge a harbor near Cape Thompson near Point Hope using an atomic bomb.

Noting concentrations in lichen and caribou, Hanson and his colleagues undertook to measuring the amount of excess radioactivity present in Alaskan lichen, caribou and reindeer, and subsistence users themselves. His early work involved transporting a lead-shielded whole-body radioactivity counter weighing 15,000 pounds to the Arctic villages of Anaktuvuk Pass, Barrow, Kotzebue, Point Hope, Fort Yukon, and Arctic Village, where body radioactivity tests were conducted. Similar reports had been received from the University of Lund in Sweden about the atomic-fallout radiation concentrating in the Sami (Lapps) of both Sweden and Finland.

In 1965, a technique was developed which involved a much lighter lap-held sodium-iodide crystal around which the subject's body provided a background shield. With this new equipment weighing less than 30 pounds, Hanson was able to measure seasonal changes in the concentration of Cesium-137 of people in three Alaskan villages of contrasting cultural backgrounds.

Hanson and his colleagues worldwide were able to trace the movement of radioactive pollution from its world-wide atomic-test sources into the Arctic lichen and up the food chain during the period of world-wide atomic testing between 1962 and 1965. They discovered that:

1. Levels of Cesium-137 in the food chain varied according to the amount of radioactive pollution in the air.
2. The amount of radioactive atmospheric pollution varied according to the size and number of atomic tests.
3. The amount of Cesium-137 ingested by subsistence users varied according to the amount of reindeer and caribou eaten.
4. Although the deposition of fallout was only one-fourth that found in the northern tier states such as Washington, Idaho, and Montana, the Cesium-137 content of the average adult in Anaktuvuk Pass was much greater than that of other U.S. citizens.
5. A dramatic decline in the level of radioactive materials in the Arctic food chain occurred after the 5 August 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty between the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and the U.K. During the 1967-73 test series conducted by the People's Republic of China, an 8-fold increase in radioactive pollution was observed in Alaskan lichen the summer following a specific test series and in the bodies of northern subsistence users the second summer after the test.

These studies, along with the data from the worldwide network of fallout-sampling stations set up by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1952, were able to accurately trace the transport of radioactive materials from the locations of the specific test sites through the atmosphere to their Arctic destinations. The atmospheric transport of radioactive fallout provided scientists with a tracer

for the study of the transport of other atmospheric pollutants. The implications for world climate were enormous.

#### **Tracing the Routes of Atmospheric Pollution**

Joseph Propero and his group at the University of Miami discovered that the fine dust swept up by storms over the Algerian Sahara travelled as far as Barbados (7,000 kilometers), Florida, and even Mexico (10,000 kilometers). They found that one factor contributing to these long trips is the ability of the dust layers to suppress the rainfall which would normally wash the dust out the atmosphere.

In 1971, Kenji Isono and his colleagues at the Water Research Institute of Nagoya, Japan, reported that they had observed dust travel over Japan from Asia and days later collected the dust in Hawaii and Alaska, some 10,000 km from its source. The same phenomenon was observed in 1975 by Kenneth Rahn of the University of Rhode Island and Glenn E. Shaw of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, when they began sampling pollutants in the Arctic haze at Barrow — but they have reported little evidence of Gobi dust since then.

#### **Climatic Impact of Arctic Haze**

While the sources and makeup of Arctic haze are becoming better known, studies on the impact of the haze on global climate have only begun. Last year, the Office of Geophysical Monitoring Climate Change of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) announced a huge study on Arctic haze, which will begin in 1986 and involve a number of organizations including a Norwegian research institute. NOAA put up \$500,000 for the study and another \$125,000 is coming from the Office of Naval Research and the Air Force. Dr. Russell C. Schnell, a research scientist at the University of Colorado who conceived the project, said in an interview with the *New York Times* that researchers would measure solar radiation on land and in the air, using a plane owned by NOAA that can sample the air continuously for 5,000 miles in a single flight.

He said the aircraft would enable the scientists to get instantaneous readings on the effect of the pollutants by flying above the haze and then diving below it, comparing solar radiation above the haze to radiation below it. From this comparison, they hope to determine the energy absorbed by the haze and the resulting temperature change.

The plane will fly in an arc from southern Alaska to northern Norway, crossing directly over the North Pole. These measurements will be compared to recordings taken at stations in Canada, Norway, and Barrow. Schnell stated in a recent *Los Angeles Times* article, "This is another building block in what we are doing to our climate. There is no doubt there's a change because of Arctic haze. But is that change important? That is the question."

#### **The Rahn-Shaw Studies**

In 1972, Kenneth Rahn and Glenn Shaw began to study Arctic haze supported by the Pentagon's Office of Naval Research. They began building an alliance of researchers in a world-wide Arctic Air-Sampling Network with stations in the U.S., Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and, since 1983, West Germany. The researchers were able to trace separate layers of the pollutants through chemical analysis and identified at least 15 unique "signatures"—the trail of each pollution source from its point of origin in Europe, North America, and the Soviet Union. The haze is composed of sulfates — the major source of pollution in urban areas — and the elements manganese, vanadium, arsenic, selenium, zinc, and indium.

By comparing the ratio of the various elements in the Arctic haze, along with meteorological data on air flow patterns, they were convinced — that air masses from the central Soviet Union carried as much as 70 percent of the pollutants to the Arctic. Landstat satellite images have shown 25-mile long plumes emanating from smelters processing rich nickel and copper sulfide ores at Noril'sk, Siberia, near the mouth of the Yenisey River at 70 degrees latitude (almost as far north as Barrow).

In 1983, the U.S. and several other nations addressed the problem of Arctic haze in a series of flights over the North Pole. Pollution samples taken by the Air Force during these flights showed that pollution samples collected from air masses emerging from central U.S.S.R. matched the Barrow pollution samples in comparison.

#### **The Lawrence Berkeley Findings**

In 1982, researchers at Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory of the University of California at Berkeley announced that they had discovered large concentrations of black soot in Arctic haze, similar to that found in the air above large cities. The soot

concentrations are only three or four times less than those found in typical urban environments such as Berkeley, Denver, and Gaitersburg, Maryland, and only 10 times less than found in New York City.

The researchers pointed out that the graphitic carbon particles can be produced only by combustion process, confirming suspicions that Arctic haze is caused by pollution, not natural causes, and that airborne pollution can be transported over long distances and become a global problem. These particles absorb the sun's radiation very effectively and "can contribute significantly to the heating of the atmosphere," the report said.

#### **The Arctic Haze Symposium**

The recognition of the deterioration of air quality in the Arctic prompted the Arctic Haze Symposium, which took place during the Arctic Science Conference held in Anchorage on 2-5 October 1984. The symposium was sponsored by the State of Alaska through the efforts of State Senator Frank Ferguson.

At the symposium, a series of eight papers summarized studies done on Arctic haze, along with public testimony, including that of three people from Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta area, Jack Williams, Wassilie Evans, and Mathew Beam, who expressed concern about the effects of air pollution on reindeer and marine mammals. There were also international participants from Canada, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, along with a representative from the U.S. Department of State.

Emerging from those presentations and discussions, plans were made for an international symposium on Arctic atmospheric pollution to be held at Cambridge, England, on 2-5 September 1985, to be hosted by the Scott Polar Research Institute and co-sponsored by the State of Alaska and the World Meteorological Organization. Discussions will include: 1) composition and source areas (including indoor pollution), transportation, and deposition; 2) local, regional, and global climatic implications; 3) ecological, cultural, and health issues; and 4) international cooperation and state responsibilities.

#### **Climate Impacts**

So far, scientists can only speculate as to the possible effects of Arctic haze on the climate. While the light-absorbing haze may heat up the atmosphere, it may have a cooling effect upon Arctic ice. Some have suggested that the haze may influence cloud properties and precipitation by changing the concentration of particles that are capable of becoming the nuclei of ice crystals or cloud droplets.

Calculations and computer models in the Lawrence Berkeley study indicated that this heating effect in the Arctic is equivalent to that expected from doubling the levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Scientists have previously projected that doubling the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere may produce a catastrophic "greenhouse effect" by trapping heat near the earth's surface. An average global temperature increase of as little as 2 degrees Celsius might seriously affect the distribution on rainfall and could turn agricultural areas into deserts.

While Kenneth Rahn acknowledges the potential impacts, he minimizes them because of the seasonal nature of the haze. It does not accumulate from one year to the next as does carbon dioxide, which stays in the atmosphere for ten years. Rahn also points out that Arctic haze studies should give a better indication of the possibilities of nuclear winter. What happens when a thin layer of light-absorbing particles covers an area as large as the Arctic will tell us much about the aftermath of a nuclear war, when five to ten times as much pollution will be sent into the atmosphere.

Wayne Hanson has stated that the haze could contribute to the breakdown of the ozone layer which protects the earth from highly energetic radiation that comes from outer space. Recalling his studies which showed how quickly air pollution concentrates in the Arctic food chain, he is also concerned about the possibilities of effects upon the environment, health, and culture of northern societies.

#### **An International Problem**

Most significant is the fact that Arctic atmospheric pollution is international in scope and intercontinental in dimension, requiring international cooperation to address the problem. The failure of the Soviets to cooperate in this research has been the greatest disappointment in the research so far, especially as they have been fingered as the major contributor to the problem.

"The polar area of the Soviet Union is the largest military zone in the world," Russel Schnell noted in

Continued on page 25



# Akwesasne Freedom School

## Freedom School News

With the beginning of warm weather and cold nights, the maple syrup has started its seasonal flow. In the different parts of the north country; there have been the commercialized maple syrup festivals, but here in Akwesasne we have the Maple Sryrup Ceremony which gives thanks to to the Creator for letting us share in one of the earth's natural resources.

For the last two weeks the students at the Freedom School have been working and learning about the ceremonies and they learn from the very beginning of how to gather the maple syrup. This is the unique way that the students learn at the Freedom School.

The students along with their teacher, Dave Jock have been going to the sugarbush to collect the sweet liquid and then boiling it into the syrup. While they are learning about nature of our earth and how to use its' resources, they also learn the relationship between themselves and the earth.

While it is a busy time for the students at the school, they had time to have visitors from the New Salem Academy, which is an alternative school in Massachusetts. The students came to visit the school to share ideas and to see how the Freedom School works. Nat Needle from the New Salem Academy explained that their school is also very concerned with the environmental issues and they have done monitoring of lakes and ponds. It is interesting to have exchanges of ideas and methods of teachings between the alternative schools.

The Freedom School is still having its fundraising to help with its' never ending expenses and if anyone has any fund raising ideas call the Freedom School and give a helping hand.

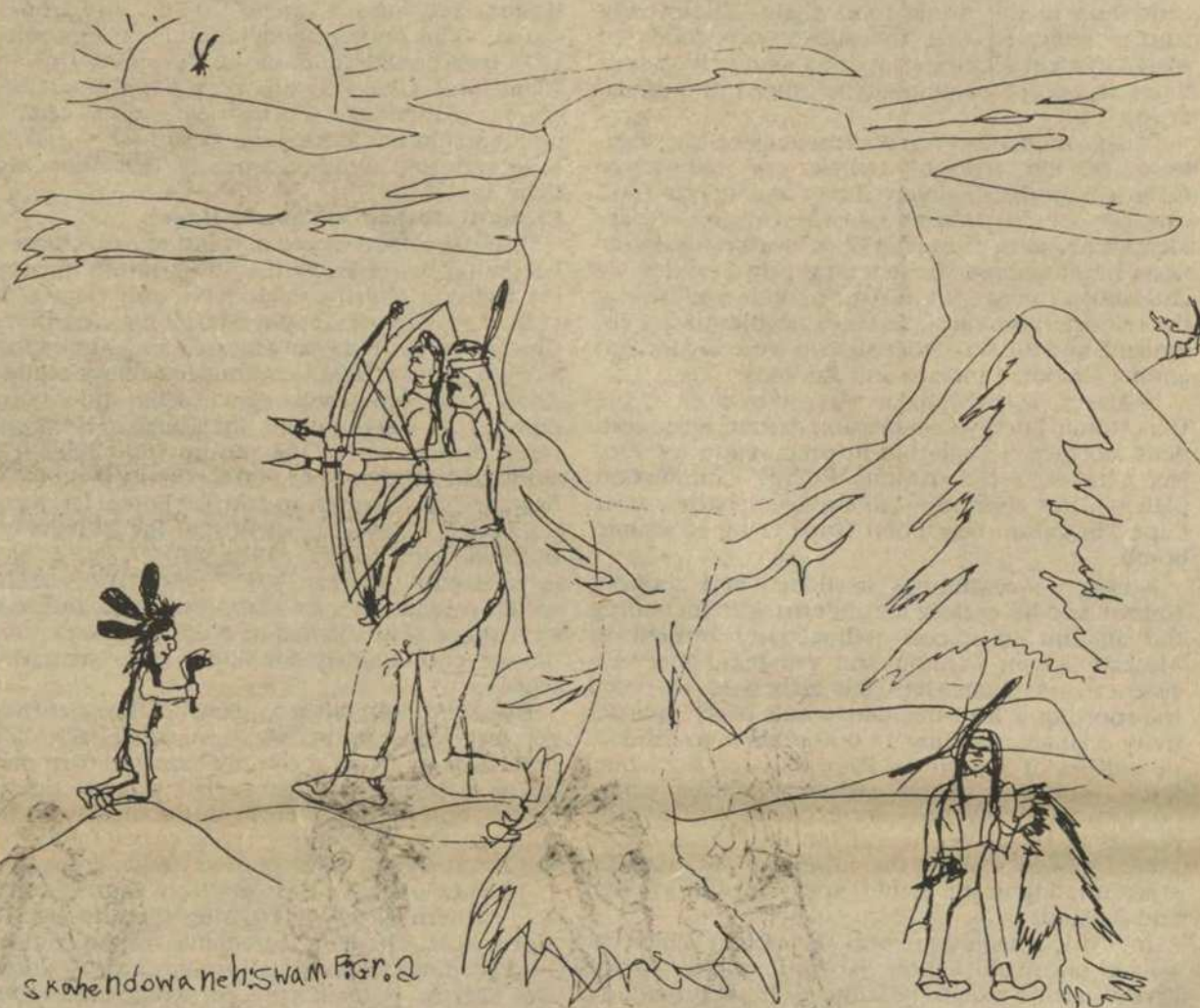
**If you wish to make a tax deductible donation, it can be sent to:**

### **Viola Whitewater Foundation**

c/o Jimmy Little Turtle  
4225 Concord St.  
Harrisburg, PA 17109  
(717) 774-7212

### **The Onake Foundation**

c/o N.A.I.T.C.  
R.R.#3, Cornwall Island  
Ontario K6H 5R7  
(613) 932-9452



Recess activities with culture class instructor Dave Jock and third and sixth grade boys.  
Photo: Cindy Terrance

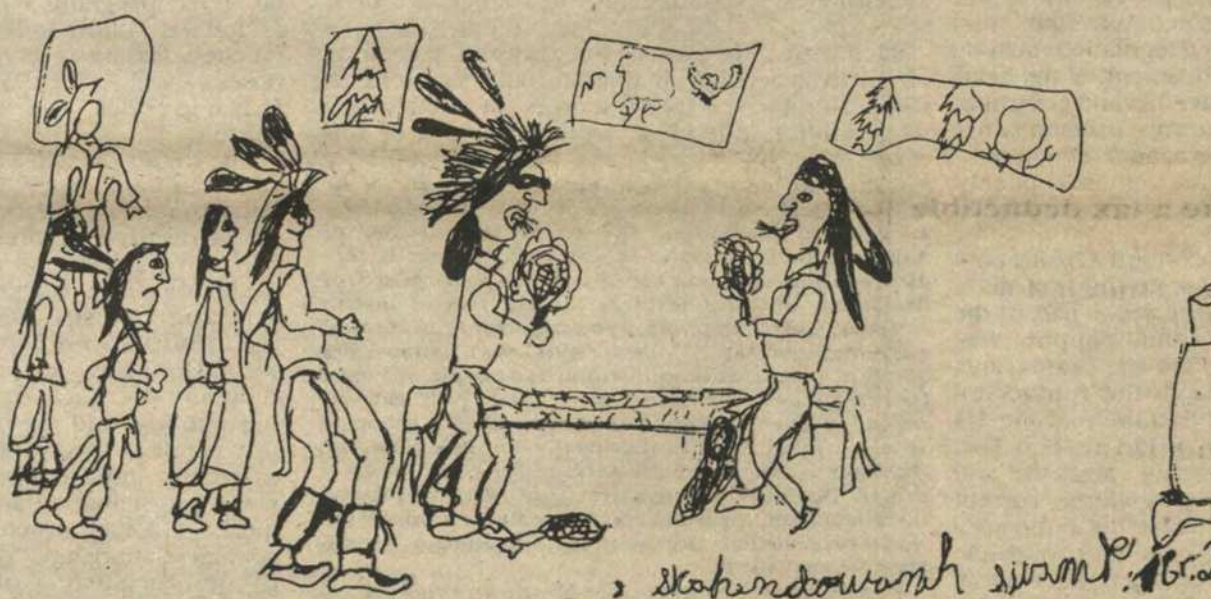


Kaientanoron and Tehontsiate, Kindergarten students at the Akwesasne Freedom School.  
Photo: Cindy Terrance





Fifth grade girls working on a Council Fires  
of the Six Nations Wampum Belt.  
Photo: Cindy Terrance



Seventh graders from the Freedom School  
studying geography.  
Photo: Cindy Terrance



Grade six teacher, Bill Laughing and six  
grade students studying English.  
Photo: Cindy Terrance



...our defeat was always implicit in the history of others; our wealth has always generated our poverty by nourishing the prosperity of others—the empires and their native overseers.

In the colonial and neocolonial alchemy, gold changes to scrap metal and food into poison... (we) have become painfully aware of the mortality of wealth which nature bestows and imperialism appropriates.

Eduardo Galeano — *The Open Veins of Latin America*

Land has always been the issue central to North American politics and economics. Those who control the land are those who control the resources within and without it. Whether the resources at issue is oil, natural gas, uranium or other minerals, water or agriculture, land ownership, social control and all the other aggregate components of power of fundamentally interrelated. At some levels, such a situation seems universal, but in this hemisphere, given the peculiarities of a contemporary socio-economic apparatus of power which has been literally imported in its entirety, the equation seems all the more acute.

Within North America, American Indian reservations — or "reserves," as they are called in Canada — constitute a small but crucial "piece of the rock." Approximately one-third of all western US low-sulphur coal, 20% of known US reserves of oil and natural gas, and over one-half of all US uranium deposits underlie the reservation. Other important minerals such as bauxite and zeolites are also located there in substantial quantities, and a considerable proportion of western US water resources are subject to Indian priority use through various treaty stipulations. A comparable, if somewhat less pronounced, situation prevails in Canada.

Even these data are both insufficient and misleadingly small. Past (1890-1920) and more recent (1930-1980) land expropriations undertaken by corporate interests such as railroads, agribusiness and mining concerns, as well as "land withdrawals" from the tribes orchestrated by the federal government under the provisions of the "Allotment Act," the "Homestead Act," the "Termination Act," and other bits of legislation must be considered in any rational assessment. If the areas stripped away from tribal ownership and control in direct violation of standing international agreements is included, the account of contemporary American Indian resources is suddenly jolted to a much higher level than is conventionally perceived.

One example of this is the southern Arizona copper belt, a deposit yielding fully two-thirds of all US copper ore. The bulk of the area was a part of the Papago Reservation until the copper was discovered during the 1920's. The ore bearing area was subsequently removed from the Papago domain by unilateral decree ("statute") of the US Congress. Similarly, the bulk of the massive Fort Union coal deposit of Wyoming, Montana and North Dakota which does not underlie current reservation boundaries *does* underlie the territory reserved by the Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes under the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Although some 90% of the original treaty area has now "passed" from Indian control, the treaty in question remains an internationally binding document conferring ownership to the tribes in perpetuity.

Aside from the mining interests which have made huge contemporary in-roads into what amounts to unceded Indian territory, another focal point of any examination of Indian resources must concern water rights. In the arid but energy rich western US, water is both prerequisite and integral to all forms of corporate development. The preponderance of western water is legally owned (by virtue of treaties) by various Indian tribes. Hypothetically, even if a given tribe could not retain control over a portion of its territory, it could still shape the nature and extent of corporate exploitation of the land through assertion of its water rights. Of course, the federal government has systematically acted to diminish or effectively void most Indian exercise of water rights prerogatives.

A final factor worthy of consideration concerns, not resource distribution and control, but distribution of production itself. For instance, while Indians technically "own" only about half of US uranium resources, production statistics relative to reservation areas are *much* higher. In 1974, 100% of all federally controlled uranium production accrued from the contemporary reservation landbase. In 1975, there were some 380 leases concerning uranium extraction on reservation lands, as compared to a total of four on *both* public and acquired land. In Canada, the data are quite similar, indicating that while North American Indian

## The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism

by Winona LaDuke  
and Ward Churchill

resources are perhaps not overwhelmingly large on a global scale, production certainly is.

The pattern of colonization prevalent in South America and noted in the quotation from Eduardo Galeano at the outset seems hardly inappropriate to conditions currently existing in the North as well. Internal colonialism — the colonization of indigenous tribal peoples — is a malignant, if little discussed, fact of life within both the United States and Canada (and Mexico as well). The centrality of the issue of colonization of such Fourth World peoples to any reasonable strategy of global anti-imperialism seems much more evident in the North than in the South, not for moral reasons, but for pragmatic ones.

North America, and the US in particular, is the seat of the most comprehensive system of imperialism ever witnessed by humanity. Increasingly, it is a system fueled by nuclear capabilities, fed by uranium. The relationship of the reservations to the uranium is clear. Likewise, the United States and Canada lead the world in "food production;" needless to say, there is a huge stake in maintaining this position of dominance. Again, the relationship of American Indian treaty lands to primary North American agricultural areas is readily observable. The same can be said relative to a range of crucial resources.

Such issues, the internal integrity and hegemony of North American imperialism, and the colonial stranglehold over the resources of internalized sovereignties it implies, are the subject of this essay.

A distinction must be made between property in its economic and legal aspects and property of considered as a social institution. The territorial question of American Indian peoples in the United States is fundamentally an economic question, that is as the source of livelihood, but also involves the survival of human societies, and is, therefore, a social question, an ethnical question, a question of human rights, and a nationalities question. A people cannot continue as a people without a landbase, and economic base, and political independence, as distinguished from a religious group or an ethnic minority of fundamentally the same historical character as the majority society...

United Nations Subcommittee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization of the Non-Governmental Organizations on Human Rights: Final Report (1977).

American Indian nations in North America are today constrained to occupation of approximately 3% of their original landbase. Nonetheless, this land is carefully managed or, in some cases, expanded to reconcile to legally posited treaty boundaries, provides a viable basis for national survival. The Navajo Nation, as one example, holds a territorial basis comparable to that of Belgium, the Netherlands or Denmark. It is considerably larger than such European sovereignties as Luxemburg, Lichtenstein or Monaco. Its natural resource base is far greater than that of these nations combined. The Lakota, or "Great Sioux," Reservation of the Dakotas prior to its patently illegal dismemberment under the Allotment and Homestead Acts (1890-1920) would provide an even more striking example. The Menominees of Wisconsin were almost entirely self-sufficient despite radical reductions of their landbase, with a replenishable economy based on timbering, when the tribe was unilaterally "dissolved" by congressional fiat under the Termination Act (1955). The tribes of the Pacific Northwest, the "Five Civilized Tribes" (relocated to Oklahoma by federal force), the Papago of Arizona, the Cheyenne and Crow of Montana — and the list could go on and on — each possesses a treaty sanctioned and demonstrably viable economic basis for national existence. In Canada, the situation is much the same.

The *foreign* interests<sup>1</sup> represented by the US and the Canadian national governments, however, have not been content with past land confiscations. Throughout this century, and into the present moment, each has proceeded with the most insidious

and mercenary neocolonial policies imaginable. A primary (and classic) vehicle of neocolonialism was created under the so-called "Indian Reorganization Act" (1934), whereby the United States imposed a system of "tribal council" governments on each reservation, a mechanism designed to replace traditional (and resistant) Indian governmental forms with an apparatus approved by and owing its allegiance to Washington, DC.

Recognized by the United States after 1934 as the sole governing body of Indian reservations (and peoples), the tribal council system rapidly circumvented or usurped the authority of traditional Indian governmental structures such as the Councils of Chiefs. The US rationale was/is readily apparent. The new "governments" were charged with responsibilities for "economic planning;" mineral lease negotiations, contracting with external corporate agencies, long-term agricultural/ranching leasing, water rights negotiations, land transfers, and so on, all of which required direct approval from Bureau of Indian Affairs representatives prior to consummation, and most of which had long been staunchly resisted by the traditional leadership. The "reorganization" brought about a situation through which US "developmental" policies could/can be implemented through a formalized agency *composed of the Indians themselves*. Canada followed suite with a similar ploy during the 1930s.

With the consolidation of political power on this blatantly neocolonial principal, modern internal colonialism became possible in North America. To inaugurate this fact, federal land management authorities acted immediately (in 1934) to begin the inversion of the extant tribal economies which had been evolved to accommodate both traditional needs and the constrictions of reservation conditions. Stock reduction programs were initiated to alleviate what was termed "overgrazing" of reservation areas by individually and tribally owned cattle. These programs rapidly became permanent — as applied against Indians, *not* against non-Indian ranchers leasing reservation land for grazing purposes — and, since 1935, more than one-half of all Indian livestock resources have been eliminated as a result.<sup>2</sup>

The results of such a policy were entirely predictable and immediately forthcoming: the economic infrastructure of the tribes was dramatically undercut or displaced entirely. On the Navajo Reservation, for instance, 58% of the people derived a livelihood from stockraising (mostly sheep) and agriculture (mostly gardening) in 1940. By 1958, less than 10% were able to do so. Correspondingly, secondary and tertiary aspects of the tribal economy — such as the wool derived from sheepraising, and the blankets derived from wool — were dislocated. Concurrent to this marked and externally imposed reduction in self-sufficiency was the systematic transfer of economic power to the neocolonial structure lodged in the US/tribal council relationship: "developmental aid" from the US, implementation of an "educational system" geared to training for the cruder labor needs of industrialism, employment contracts with mining and other resource extraction concerns, "housing programs" to provide appropriate workforce concentrations, and — eventually — actualization of cooptive social control mechanisms such as unemployment and welfare for newly dependent Indian citizens.

On the Navajo Reservation in 1978, approximately 35% of the working age population was employed year-round. Of those employed, 57.7% worked as a result of government subsidies, 29.3% received their salaries from private non-Navajo enterprises, and only 13% reflected wholly Navajo operations of all types. This, of course, left Navajo unemployment at approximately 65%. Hence, Navajo self-sufficiency may be estimated as ac-

1. The term "foreign" is quite seriously intended. Under Article 6 of the United States Constitution, the US government is constrained from entering into treaty agreements with other sovereign nations. Hence, the treaties between the various Indian "tribes" and the US are, even by US definition, agreements between governments (and thus peoples) legally foreign to one another. The unilateral imposition of US citizenship upon the members of many Indian nations — which occurred in the 1920s — does much to confuse the issue but nothing at all to change it. US governmental and corporate penetration is as foreign on the reservations as it is in Guatemala or Nigeria. Under conventional understandings of international law, it is impossible to refer to Indian resources as "our" resource when representing the United States.

2. To the limited extent that overgrazing represents a real rather than totally contrived problem, it is attributable much more to governmentally initiated conversion of grazing land to mining and other uses than to any sort of Indian mismanagement.



comodating some 4.3% of the work-age population, down from 100% in 1920. Such a single-generational transition from self-sufficiency to destitution would seem the strongest possible testimony to the negative effects of US internal colonialism on indigenous populations, but it is not: at the Pine Ridge Lakota Reservation in South Dakota, to list but one example, unemployment currently hovers over 90% and any self-sufficiency is unknown. The Navajo are thus doing quite well within the neocolonial schema.

Overall, reservation unemployment in both the US and Canada runs at about 65% (making the Navajo example somewhat normative). Subsistence is gleaned from a sort of federal per capita payment system which keeps the bulk of the population alive but abjectly dependent. Two Canadian authors, Zannis and Davis, analyzed the welfare system in Canada and found in their 1973 book, *The Genocide Machine in Canada*:

The welfare system is a form of pacification. Combined with political and physical repression it keeps people alive at a subsistence level but blunts any attempt at revolt while turning them into captive consumers of industrial products...For the past 2-3 decades, a kind of enclosure movement has taken place, brought on by the very nature of the welfare system and the dictates of corporate profits..

Zannis and Davis go on to note that residential requirements are prerequisite to any form of welfare — nuclear families and individuals receive this sort of income *as opposed to* groups (ie: "clans" or extended families, the traditional Indian form of social organization). Coupled to the educational system, the result is that "without children, adults are deprived of the essential labor to carry out traditional economic activities. This creates the need for more welfare," and continues the "reorganization" of Indian societies mandated by the act of 1934.

In recent years, it has become obvious that the social and economic disruption inflicted upon many tribes results from needs peculiar to energy corporations. For example, when Peabody Coal requires 400,000 acres of Indian land for a stripmining operation, not only is the tribal infrastructure (land-use, employment and the like) impacted, but the physical distribution of the people as well. Relocation of people — as is happening at Black Mesa, Hopi and elsewhere — with accompanying forced transformations of familiar integrity, community organization, etc., is very much at issue. The process of phased destruction of tribal entities undertaken as "reorganization" in the 1930's has greatly accelerated with the advent of the world "energy crisis" in the 1970s.

Compounding this problem in the 1980s are the budgetary cutbacks in social service spending undertaken by the "supply siders" of the Reagan administration. As the federal government defaults on maintenance of the physical dependency situation it itself has fostered on the reservations, the tribes are driven for bare sustenance into the arms of the very corporations with which they are purportedly to "negotiate" over use of their land and extraction of their resources. Clearly, prostration is a poor bargaining position from which to proceed, but a half-century of neocolonial rule has resulted in little else.

Despite the obvious and abundant wealth of land and resources retained by the tribes mentioned above, North American Indian populations suffer virtually the full range of conditions observable in the most depressed of The World areas. Theirs is the highest rate of infant mortality on the continent, the shortest life expectancy, the greatest incidence of malnutrition, the highest rate of death by exposure, the highest unemployment, the lowest per capita income, the highest rate of communicable or "plague" diseases, the lowest level of formal educational attainment, and so on.

Since such data indicate amply that the federal government has failed abjectly in promoting Indian well-being as promised by the Reorganization Act, there is a strong feeling in many quarters of "Indian Country" that the turn to the corporations now being bargaining position through which the tribes are securing extractions royalty rates in the 2-5% (of market) range, a pittance in the world market, internal production distribution within North America is such that the sheer quantity of mining and other corporate activities likely to occur over the next twenty years will generate a huge cash flow into the hands of the tribal councils. It is this cash flow, real and potential, which the feds, the tribal governments and the corporations are all

banking on to offset — in the short run at least — the cumulative effects of internal colonialism on American Indians.

Western energy resource rich reservations in particular are thus faced with a political and economic turning point at least as vast in its implications as the reorganization of the 1930s or even the 19th century transition(s) to reservation status. Whether to embrace and participate in the process of industrialization "the reservations after the fashion of "developing" Third World nations, or whether to pursue a "Fourth World" strategy of attempting to disengage from dominant processes and procedures altogether. The results of this decision will undoubtedly shape the futures of American Indian peoples irrevocably, as we shall see in the next section.

Simply stated, the difference between the economics of the "old colonialism" with its reliance on territorial conquest and manpower and the "new colonialism," with its reliance on technologically oriented resource extraction and transportation to the metropolitan centers, is the expendable relationship of subject peoples to multinational corporations. This fact has implications for both the new ways in which genocide is committed, and the new kind of dependence created. Under the old colonialism the economy of subject peoples was more or less incorporated into the colonial system in a fashion which altered the subject people as little as possible.



The economic base commodities were extracted and semi-processed, in part, by the subject people. These people were expected to maintain their own subsistence economy basically intact...Under new style colonialism, the subsistence economy is not a matter of great concern to the corporations. The raw material they wish to process is usually not organic, nor does it require "heavy labor;" the multinational corporation today does not see any relationship between what they want (mineral wealth) and the local economy (organic wealth)...

Robert Davis and Mark Zannis  
*The Genocide Machine in Canada*

Spurred by the advice of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and corporate promises of jobs and royalties, the Navajo Tribal Council approved a mineral extraction agreement with Kerr-McGee in 1952. In return for access to uranium deposits near the town of Shiprock on the reservation, and to fulfill risk-free contracts with the US Atomic Energy Commission, Kerr-McGee employed 100 Navajo men in underground mining operations.

Wages for these non-union Navajo miners were low, averaging \$1.60 per hour approximately two-thirds of the then prevailing off-reservation rate. Additionally, the corporation cut operating costs significantly by virtue of lax enforcement of worker safety regulations at its Shiprock site. In 1952, a federal mine inspector found that ventilation units in the mine's primary shaft were not in operation. In 1954, the inspector discovered the ventilation was still not functioning properly, with the fan operating only during the first half of each shift. When the inspector returned in 1955, the ventilation blower ran out of gas during his visit. One report, dating from 1959, noted radiation levels in the Kerr-McGee shaft had been allowed to reach 90 times the "permissible" limit.

For the corporation, low wages and a guaranteed labor force, privileged contract status and virtually non-existent severance taxes, and non-existent safety regulation provided a great incentive to both maintain and expand operations on the reservation. However, by 1969 Kerr-McGee had exhausted easily recoverable uranium deposits at Shiprock, both in geological and financial terms. State-of-the-art uranium extraction technology was such that further profitable recovery — under any conditions — was rendered unlikely. Further, the Atomic Energy Commission was in the process of phasing out its ore buying program, the factor which had made the entire mining gambit feasible in the first place. The Shiprock facility was closed, for all practical intents and purposes, in early 1970.

For the Navajo people, Kerr-McGee's abrupt departure shed light upon the "diseconomies" of uranium development. First, the corporation simply abandoned some 71 acres of "raw" uranium tailings at the mining site. These tailings constitute waste byproducts of uranium ore refinement, but retain 85% of the original radioactivity of the ore. This huge tailing pile begins approximately sixty feet from the San Juan River, the only significant surface water source within the Shiprock area. The obvious result has been a considerable dispersal of radioactive contamination to a number of downstream communities which, of necessity, draw upon the river for potable water.

The price of Kerr-McGee's "development" at Shiprock, in terms of life lost in this generation, and it generations yet to come, cannot be calculated by any financial/economic yardstick. Of the 150 odd Navajo miners who worked underground at the Shiprock facility during the eighteen years of its operation, by 1975 eighteen had died of radiation induced lung cancer (not "oat cell" variety associated with cigarette smoking) and another 21 were feared dying. By 1980, twenty of this twenty-one were dead, and another ninety-five had contracted similar respiratory ailments and cancers. Birth defects such as cleft palate, leukemia and other diseases commonly linked to increased radiation exposure have risen dramatically both at Shiprock and in the downstream communities of the San Juan watershed. Since 1970, such diseases have come to be the greatest health concerns of the Navajo Nation.<sup>5</sup>

Nonetheless, by 1980, under the leadership of Tribal Chairman Peter McDonald — a staunch advocate of energy development and founder of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) — the tribe had allowed 42 uranium mines and 7 uranium mills to be located on or immediately adjacent to the reservation. Some fifteen new uranium oriented projects were in the construction stages on Navajo land. Additionally, four coal stripping operations averaging approximately 30,000 acres each and five coal-fired power plants have been actualized on the reservation. Much more is in the planning stages. As the US uranium industry undergoes a temporary depression in the early '80s, such non-nuclear energy facilities will remain and burgeon, continuing the development of infrastructure upon which "the new colonialism" depends.

The extent of infrastructural development which is to be continued is indicated by the means through which energy corporations are seeking to address the chronic Navajo unemployment spawned by reorganization. In an article entitled "Manpower Gap at the Uranium Mines" (11/7/77), *Business Week* observed:

Currently, 3,200 miners work underground and 900 more are in open-pit operations. By 1990, the industry will need 18,400 underground miners and 4,000 above ground...once on the job, Kerr-McGee estimates that it costs \$80,000 per miner in training, salary and benefits, as well as the costs for the trainees who quit. Kerr-McGee is

3. But not of "venereal" disease, as Secretary of the Interior James Watt claimed on January 19, 1983.

4. While this term holds currency in virtually all quarters at the current time, it is actually a misnomer. Precious little discussion and/or planning has gone into notions of constructing significant manufacturing centers on or near reservations. "Industrialization," as applied to the reservation context refers to transient procedures of mineral extraction, water diversion and the like. As the resources are depleted, such "industry" will move on, unlike the industry established in the manufacturing centers to which the minerals and water are transferred.

5. These figures derive from a number of studies (Schurgin and Hollachei; Brandeis, Victor Archer, et. al.; Niosh; etc.). Reasonably definitive studies have been conducted concerning the physical consequences of uranium mining on Indian miners because the Indian population, unlike the overall, transient uranium mining population, is relatively stable. Given that the Indian miners do not tend to pick up and move, following the mines, they are logical subjects for the long-term monitoring necessary for longitudinal studies.



now operating a training program at its Church-rock mine on the Navajo Reservation. The \$2 million program is financed by the Labor Department (US), and is expected to turn out 100 miners annually. Labor Department sponsors hope the program will help alleviate the tribe's chronic unemployment.

The training program is still in effect and has been successful in employing a number of Navajos in "practical applications" of their newfound skills. In the case of the Navajo Nation, which now has more trained and educated persons per capita than any reservation in North America, the form of education within financial reach clearly does not question the desirability of reliance on energy resource exploitation as a means to "self-sufficiency," nor the cumulative effects of radioactive contamination.

Yet there are lessons to be learned by those who can manage to be de-educated. It seems axiomatic that the "solution" to unemployment being offered by the energy corporation (in direct collusion with the federal government) is — as in the case of the Shiprock miners — lethal. The consequences to the surrounding habitat and inhabitants also holds to the characteristics introduced at Shiprock. Tuba City, Arizona — another location on the Navajo reservation — has been left with raw tailings piles quite comparable to those at Shiprock and with entirely similar effects. The Kerr-McGee mine at Churchrock currently discharges some 80,000 gallons of radioactive water from its primary shaft ("dewatering") per day, contamination which is introduced directly into local and downstream potable water supplies.

In July of 1979, the United Nuclear uranium mill, also located at Churchrock, was the site of an enormous accident. The adjacent mill tailings dam broke under pressure and released more than 100 million gallons of highly radioactive water into the Rio Puerco River. Kerr-McGee style safety standards, similar in principal to the ventilation system at Shiprock, were the cause. Although United Nuclear had known of cracks within the dam structure at least two months prior to the break, no repairs were made (or attempted). 1700 Navajo people were immediately effected, their single water source contaminated beyond any conceivable limit. More than 1,000 sheep and other livestock, which ingested Rio Puerco water in the aftermath, died.

As a token of the "expendability" of the indigenous population under the new colonialism referred to by Davis and Zannis, when the Churchrock community attempted to seek effected community members — United Nuclear stonewalled. Through an array of evasions and obfuscations, the corporation was able avoid any form of redress for over a year, finally making a minimal out-of-court settlement when a class action suit was filed in behalf of the town. By then, of course, the immediate life and death situation had passed (long-term effects being, as yet, unknown).

The potential outrage of the local citizenry is however, a bit constrained. Between the aforementioned Kerr-McGee plant and training program, the United Nuclear facility, and several other energy corporations operating in the area, well over half the jobs and nearly 80% of income at Churchrock is now derived from uranium production. Dependency, in its most virulent colonial manifestation, had effectively converted Churchrock into an "economic hostage" — and an expendable hostage at that — of the uranium industry.

Nor should the Navajo Nation be considered as unique in its experience of radioactive colonization. To the north, within what in 1977 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled was rightly the landbase of the Lakota people, some 40 energy corporations are currently vying for position within an extremely rich "resource belt." Central to the Lakota territory legally defined by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 is the Black Hills region. As of August, 1979, some 5,163 uranium claims were held in the Black Hills National Forest alone (a claim generally accommodates about 20 acres). 218,747 acres of "private" land in the area are also under mining leases.

In addition to uranium, coal is a major factor within Lakota territory. The huge Fort Union coal deposit underlies approximately half the land, including the whole of both the current Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations in Montana, the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, and substantial portions of the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Lakota Reservations near the North Dakota/South Dakota state line. According to Henry Wasserman, in an article entitled "Sioux's Last Fight in the Black Hills" (*Rocky Mt. News*, 8/24/80):

Overall, the plans for industrializing the Black Hills are staggering. They include a gigantic energy park featuring more than a score of 10,000 mega-watt coal-fired plants, a dozen nuclear reactors, huge coal slurry pipelines designed to use millions of gallons of water to move crushed coal thousands of miles, and at least 14 major uranium mines.

Water may be the most immediately crucial issue. The plans for just one mine, Burdock, call for the "depressurization" of aquifers prior to commencement of mining per se. This would entail the pumping of some 675 gallons per minute from the area's quite limited ground water resources. As depressurization must be maintained for the duration of mining activities — projected over a full decade in the case of Burdock — the quantity of water at issue is not trivial. Compounded by the number of mines anticipated as being operational during the same period, the quantity becomes truly astronomical. The reason for the 10 year limitation on Burdock projections has little to do with depletion of mineral resources, but with the anticipated total exhaustion of regional ground water supplies by the end of the first decade (ie: by 1995). The pumped off water is slated to be used in operations such as the Energy Transportation Systems, Inc. (ETSI) pipeline, which are intended to provide a fluid coal transportation system from the Dakotas to the southeastern United States.

Although development and consolidation of the uranium industry within the Lakota territory is not as pronounced as at Navajo, the sorts of environmental phenomena occurring there are similar. On June 11, 1962, 200 tons of radioactive mill tailings washed into the Cheyenne River, an indirect source of potable water for the Pine Ridge Reservation. In June, 1980, the Indian Health Service announced that well water at the reservation community of Slim Buttes contained gross alpha levels at least three times the national safety standard. A new well at Slim Buttes, however, tested at 70 picocuries (pCi) per liter. This is 14 times the standard. Similarly, subsurface water on Pine Ridge's Red Shirt Table tested at several times "acceptable" limits of radioactivity, and tests conducted at the towns of Manderson and Oglala revealed comparable results. The distribution of these locations is such as to indicate that the water sources for the entire reservation have been effected.

Stanley Looking Elk, then Tribal Chairman, requested that \$175,000 of the \$200,000 federal allocation for reservation water management be committed to securing emergency (uncontaminated) water supplies. In a response strikingly similar to that of United Nuclear at Churchrock (in its implications of the "expendability" of the indigenous population), the Bureau of Indian Affairs stipulated that such alternative water supplies could be secured by the tribe, but only for consumption by cattle.

Perhaps the reason underlying the government's stonewalling on the issue of radioactive contamination on Pine Ridge, is that much worse is yet to come. Not the least cause of this could be the situation reported in *Akwesasne Notes* ("Radiation: Dangerous to Pine Ridge Women," Spring, 1980) wherein:

The Air Force retained an area near which residents have sighted large containers being flown in by helicopter. These reports have raised strong suspicions that the Gunnery Range was being used as a dump for high-level military nuclear waste, which may be leaking radioactivity into the Lakota Aquifer. In the same area, the rate of stillborn or deformed calves has skyrocketed. Northeast of this area are 12 nuclear missile sites whose radioactive effects are unknown.

The "Gunnery Range" is an area within the northwestern quadrant of the Pine Ridge Reservation "borrowed" from the Oglala Lakotas in 1942 for use in training Army Air Corps gunners. It was to be returned upon conclusion of World War II, but never was. In 1975, in "secret negotiations," former Tribal Chairman Dick Wilson assigned legal title over the area to the federal government (after 33 years of boldfaced expropriation by the feds), ostensible so that it could become a formal part of the Badlands National Monument. Area residents have felt all along that the area was being used as a convenient dumping ground for virulently toxic nuclear waste, away from large concentrations of "mainstream" US citizens.

Whether or not the government is engaged in such a classified operation, it is known that earlier uranium mining activities in the area have left something on the order of 3½ million tons of exposed tailings lining the banks of the Cheyenne River and Cottonwood Creek, one of the river's tributaries, near Edgemont South Dakota. While it

is known that wind and erosion are carrying significant quantities of this radioactive contaminant into these sources of potable water, it is considered "cost prohibitive" to clear up the wastes.

To the contrary, the same governmental/corporate entities which proclaimed that the commencement of uranium mining at Edgemont, circa 1955, carried with it "no public health hazard," are now proclaiming the area so thoroughly contaminated by radiation that there is nothing for it but to use the site as a national nuclear waste dump. The cancer death rate among longtime Edgemont residents is currently spiraling, but government/corporate spokespersons have recently proclaimed that situation of the dump site in the southern Black Hills area presents "no health danger" to surrounding communities. South Dakota governor William Janklow, who campaigned on the platform plank of not allowing dump sites within the state, has apparently reversed his field, now advocating location of the dump in Edgemont as a boon to the momentarily depressed uranium industry.<sup>7</sup>

What is not stated publicly by either federal or corporate officials is that such a site, and Black Hills uranium production in general, all but inevitably causes radioactive leaching into the Madison Formation, the primary ground water source of the region (and the same water which it is proposed will be transported to the American Southeast via coal slurries). The US Department of the Interior itself quietly summed up this problem in a 1979 report cited in *Akwesasne Notes* (Spring, 1980) and concerning uranium tailing ponds:

Contamination is well beyond the safe limit for animals. Escape by infiltration into the water table or by breakout to stream drainages could cause contamination by dangerous levels of radioactivity. Stock or humans using water from wells down gradient from tailing ponds would be exposed. Plants and animals encountering contaminated flows or contaminated sediments deposited in drainage channels would be exposed. Increasing the danger is the nondegradable and accumulative nature of this type of contamination.

The same, of course, would pertain, in quantum fashion, to the types of material commonly disposed of in nuclear dumping operations.

What the government report does not bring out is that, not only could this happen but, in all probability, it already has — as is testified to both by the earlier cited 1962 "spill" at Edgemont, and by reported groundwater radiation levels at Pine Ridge. Correspondingly, a tentative study conducted by Women of All Red Nations on Pine Ridge indicates a marked increase in such radiation associated phenomena as stillbirths, infant deformations such as cleft palate, and cancer deaths among reservation residents since 1970. The relationship between this situation and the disaster at Edgemont seems clear enough, and underscores the cynicism of government/corporate contentions that a continued development of the uranium industry holds no ill effects for area communities. The Greater Sioux Nation, like the Navajo Nation, has become effectively another radioactive colony within the scheme of the new colonialism.

A more candid (and accurate) appraisal of the situation at Navajo and the Sioux Nation, in view both of current circumstances and of developmental projections, came from the Nixon administration in 1972. At that time, in conjunction with studies of US energy development needs and planning undertaken by the Trilateral Commission, the federal government termed and sought to designate both the Four Corners region and the impacted region of the Dakotas, Wyoming and Montana as "National Sacrifice Areas." That is, areas rendered literally uninhabitable through the deliberate elimination of the total water supplies for industrial purposes (much of which carries a lethal half-life of

6. Wilson's gesture bears no validity under the still binding Fort Laramie Treaty. Under provisions of that agreement, no cession or other transfer of Lakota land could be made with the expressed consent of three-fourths of all adult male Lakotas. Wilson did not even pretend to carry such consent into his negotiations. Both he and the government maintained that the Indian Reorganization Act over-rode such treaty provisions, enabling him to make a unilateral transfer. In 1977, the US Supreme Court determined this to be untrue, not only relative to the gunnery range, but to the whole of expropriated Lakota territory defined by the 1868 Treaty.

7. More precisely, the dump is to be located at Igloo, a former government installation immediately proximate to Edgemont. During World War II, Igloo was established as an army ammunition depot. It was redesignated as a US ordinance depot after the war and abandoned during the 1950s. Various private concerns such as the Burlington Northern Railroad have utilized the facility since, as housing for the transient labor required during the area's occasional "boom" cycles associated with mining.



from ¼ to ½ million years). In other words, the destruction anticipated is effectively permanent.

Needless to say, consummation of such plans would immediately eradicate Navajo and the so-called "Sioux Complex" as reservations. The largest block land-holdings remaining to American Indians with the United States would thus be lost utterly and irrevocably. The same situation would of course pertain to smaller reservations such as Hopi and most other Pueblos, Northern Cheyenne, Crow and possible Wind River, which lie within the "sacrifice areas." The great likelihood is that the peoples involved, to the extent that they are not physically expended within the immediately projected extraction processes, would cease to function as peoples, once severed from their land-base. Like the Klamath people who were "terminated" in the 1950s and never recovered their Oregon homeland, these newly landless nations would in all probability disintegrate rapidly, dissolving into the mists of history. By conventional English definition, such a prospect and such a process can only be termed genocide.

Nor is the situation in Canada appreciably different, in spirit if not in quantity and intensity. The James Bay power project undertaken through co-joint governmental and corporate efforts, for example, threatens to utterly demolish the habitat, lifeways and self-sufficiency of the Cree people in that area. Comparable sorts of activity in virtually every province of Canada harbor the same results for various indigenous peoples. The native peoples of the entire northern half of the Americas stand in imminent danger of being swallowed up and eliminated entirely by the broader societies which have engulfed their land.

For American Indians to opt towards the very processes sketched as being at work within the section, to embrace transient extractive "industrialism" as a "solution" to the sorts of problems they now confront, problems brought into being and fostered by the representative institutions of industrial control and consolidation itself, seems at best to be a self-defeating strategy. More likely, it promises participation in a route to self-liquidation or, to borrow a phrase from certain analysts of the recent holocaust in Kampuchea and to place it within a rather more accurate framework, to engage in "auto-genocide." Whatever the short-run benefits in terms of diminishing the by now all but perpetual cycle of American Indian disease, malnutrition and despair generated by neocolonialism, the looming longer-term costs vastly outweigh them.

In the next section, however, we shall examine whether even the short-term benefits perceived by such agencies of American Indian "progress" as CERT and many tribal councils as roads to prosperity and self-determination are more real or illusory in their immediate potentials.

When years before they had first come to the people living on the Cebolleta land grant they had not said what kind of mineral it was. They said they were driving US Government cars, and they paid the land grant association five thousand dollars not to ask questions about the test holes they were drilling...Early in the spring of 1943, the mine began to flood with water from the subterranean springs. They hauled in big pumps and compressors from Albuquerque...But later in the summer the mines flooded again, and this time no pumps or compressors were sent. They had enough of what they needed, and the mine was closed, but the barbed wire fence and guards remained until August 1945. By then they had other sources of uranium, and it was not top secret anymore...He had been so close to it, caught up in it for so long that its simplicity struck him deep inside his chest; Trinity site, where they had exploded the first atomic bomb, was only three hundred miles to the southeast, at White Sands. And the top-secret laboratories where the bomb had been created were deep in the Jemez mountains on land the Government took from the Cochiti Pueblo: Los Alamos, only a hundred miles northeast of him now, still surrounded by high electric fences...There was no end to it; it knew no boundaries; and he arrived at the point of convergence where the fate of all living things, and even the earth had been laid. From the jungles of his dreaming he recognized why the Japanese voices merged with the Laguna voices...converging in the middle of witchery's final ceremonial sand painting. From that time on, human beings were one clan again, united by the fate the destroyers had planned for all of them, for all living things; united by a circle of death that devoured people in cities twelve-thousand miles away, victims who had never known these mesas, never seen the delicate colors of the rocks that had boiled up their slaughter...

Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony*

Economic and labor analysts have argued on numerous occasions that improved labor relations and altered mineral development policies could, or would, tip the cost/benefit balance to the favorable

side of the scale for American Indians. The careful examination of Lorraine Turner Ruffing in relation to such contentions ("A Mineral Development Policy for the Navajo Nation"), and information available through the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (Denver, CO) combine with any fundamental understanding of the general environment in uranium producing regions to dispute notions that adjusting or "tuning" the production scenario will do much of anything to offset negative factors over either the long or short terms.

The circumstances correlated to the Navajo experiences at Shiprock, Churchrock, Tuba city and elsewhere and, in a slightly different sense, the experiences of the Lakota to the north are not anomalies. There is, and can be, no "safe" uranium mining, processing, or waste disposal, either now or in the foreseeable future. Such facts can be denied, they can be argued upon debater's points or the exclusivity of narrow ranges of technical "expertise," but they cannot be made to go away in the real world where people and environments become contaminated, sicken and die.

We have already seen how the energy corporations and the government use local Indian workforces at the lowest possible wage, paying little if any heed to community safety, avoiding both severance taxes to cover the community costs incurred by their presence and land reclamation costs to cover even the most lethal of their damages



upon departure, and paying the absolute minimum rate in royalties for the milled ore they ship. Equally, we have seen that the nature of the destruction they anticipate creating, and do create, as an integral aspect of their "productive process" is such that theirs can be no further tribal development, post-mining. It is unlikely that much beyond the level of amoeba will be able to survive in a National Sacrifice Area, once sacrificed.

In other words, long-term consequences foreclose upon short-term advantages where the uranium production process is concerned. Of course, the "right" Indian negotiator might be able to bargain the royalty rates to higher, more "acceptable" level; say two, or five, or ten times the going rate in Indian country. But, to what avail? This short-run "gain" is a mirage. No matter what magnitude of cashflow is generated from such resource sales by tribal managerial elites, it can only be "invested" in a homeland which is soon to be uninhabitable, a people soon to be extinguished. Cash can never be sufficient to replace either the homeland or the people. Adjustments to the rate of exchange are then ultimately irrelevant to the issue at hand, whether over the next two decades, or the next twenty.

The only possibility of even short-term benefits, then, lies in the improbable possibility that a preponderance of tribal members, people who, despite personal confusions of identity and a grinding poverty lasting for generations, have clung steadfastly to overall notions of Indian-ness and maintained a firm embrace of their homelands, are somehow now prepared to abandon these things

for the external reality of the dominant culture. In order for even this dubious prospect to be more than mere illusion, however, the uranium development option (and other energy development options as well) must be both survivable to participants (which includes, from an Indian perspective, the ability to bear healthy children, the "unborn generations" leading to familial/tribal survival), and offer them not only a cash reserve, but the skills and employment situation through which to successfully enter the "mainstream."

The question thus becomes whether in fact there are means available through which such short-run considerations might be met, assuming that Indians desired them.<sup>8</sup> In this connection, it would seem that unionization might provide a key to success. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) is the largest and most influential worker's force within the uranium industry. Although not all miners are unionized within the Grants Uranium Belt of the Southwest, the OCAW has been successful in pressuring the overall uranium industry to a degree. To begin with, the union has essentially achieved standardization of conditions for all miners within the area — union or non-union — brown, red, black, or white.

As a result, conditions such as those prevailing in the Shiprock mine during the 1950s are now uncommon, even exceptional. Yet the industry, by OCAW estimation, remains one of the most dangerous in every phase. Primary union concerns, and actions, have been devoted to increasing worker safety conditions within the mines. In one year, 1967, 525 men were seriously injured in the mines of New Mexico alone; seven of them died. But these are problems which prevail across the mining industry as a whole. The more insidious hazards associated with uranium mining — and the ones which claim the heaviest toll — are those involving chemical and radiation contamination.

In this regard, the OCAW has been active in opposing the "bonus system," the practice by which corporations reward miners financially for operating in "hot spots" and/or working higher grade ore than is normally handled. In essence, the union argues that such sustained exposure as is expected of miners performing under the bonus system virtually guarantees contamination (and an early death), and that the corporations are intentionally downplaying the risks involved. The OCAW has also held that "worker rotation systems" for working hot spots and super-rich ore — often without the benefit of extra pay — fails to solve the contamination problem, serving instead to spread potentially lethal concentrations of radiation — on the order of 6.5 times maximum "safe" dosages<sup>9</sup> — throughout the entire work force.

In some respects, then, OCAW might be viewed as affording a means by which initial steps have been taken to provide tangible worker safety. In addition, the union has proven quite successful in attaining real wage increases for miners across the board, whether or not they belong to OCAW. But, in fairness, it must be said that the union has ultimately succeeded in eliminating the most absurd forms of abuse routinely conducted by management (such as operating deep shafts without ventilation), while merely exposing rather than correcting the more generic varieties. In this sense, while it is certainly a more humane and progressive entity than the corporations it confronts, it

8. This virtually sets up a straw man, although it is the only plausible scenario through which energy development proponents have even a semblance of a case. First, Indians have successfully resisted assimilation for more than two centuries in the US including for the most part the post-reorganization period. The will to resist assimilation certainly did not accrue from an active desire to assimilate. Second, they saw that jobs are being created through energy development which will allow Indians to remain in place, as peoples with a landbase or "home," while escaping their impoverishment in "acceptable" fashion, is precisely how such extractive undertakings are being marketed on the reservations today. This seems a rather clear recognition that the Indian sentiment is rather far from sacrifice of their tribes and reservations in the name of industrialization and modernization. If the corporations were to make a clean breast of it, offering relocation to Los Angeles or Detroit as a post-mining portion of their reservation employment packages, it seems unlikely there would be many Indian applicants.

9. It has been compellingly argued by Marcus Stewart, Najarian and other scientists that current "maximum permissible exposure levels" as adopted by the US government should be reduced by a factor of 10. If they are correct, miners working rotation would be exposed to some 65 times maximum safe limits. Further, all miners currently working uranium would be receiving, quite uniformly, at least 10 times the maximum. Given such probabilities, it should come as no surprise that uranium miners have always suffered extraordinary rates of cancer death and birth defects among their offspring yet the industry insists the level is set too low to be "practical."



represents no *solution* to the problems with which it deals. Additionally, many of the strategies through which the union has proposed to force wage increases and improved safety standards is much better suited to the usual, highly mobile mine force than to "reservation bound" Indian miners.

Similarly, a number of improvements attained by the OCAW in behalf of its miner constituency have — perversely — worked to the detriment of the Indian miners' home communities. Consider the matter of mine ventilation: the uniform installation of proper ventilating blowers within mine shafts is unquestionably a major gain for miners. For transient miners, this is essentially the end of the story: a gain. But, for those whose intention it is to live out their lives within the mining community, and to have their children and their children's children live out *their* lives in the community as well, the question of what becomes of radioactive dust blown from the mine shafts assumes a critical importance.

The answer, of course, is into the air of the community, from which it settles *upon* the community. Hence, the gain to the Indian miner in terms of increased workplace safety for him/herself is incurred at the direct expense of his/her permanent community. The Gulf operated Mt. Taylor mine located in San Mateo, New Mexico is a significant site of such problems. It is but one of many. The town of Questa, New Mexico has its elementary school built upon a dry tailing pond, at the foot of a tailing pile, situated near shaft ventilators.<sup>10</sup> The OCAW maintains, perhaps rightly, that such matters are beyond its purview. But this leaves the concept of unionization voided in a very important respect for Indian miners and their communities.

Short-run considerations of the ultimate survivability of uranium production would thus seem heavily skewed to the negative, both for participating miners and for participating communities. In view of this fact, concerns with short-term income (wage) benefits seem rather beside the point. There would obviously seem little advantage to be gained from achieving a short-term economic "security" from an occupation which was not only directly and rapidly killing you, but your family and future offspring as well. Given the remote possibility that things are somehow not as they seem, either in the overall or in some particular sense or locale, the short-term economic implications — with an emphasis on individuals — will be examined.

All uranium producing American Indian nations, and the individuals who comprise them, are in the position typified by Navajo's Churchrock community: they are economic hostages of the new colonists. For example, approximately 7,000 acres of the 418,000 acre Laguna Pueblo land holding is leased to the Anaconda Corporation. The tribal posture in entering into the leasing agreement was to secure royalty revenues for the group, and jobs/income for individuals within the group. In effect, the land has passed under Anaconda's imminent domain.

Anaconda operated a uranium stripping operation at Laguna from 1952 until 1981 when, as in the case of Kerr-McGee's Shiprock mine, profitably extractable ore played out. During the operating years, the Laguna Tribal Council negotiated an agreement with the corporation whereby tribal applicants would receive priority hiring to work in the reservation mine. The practice was quite successful, with some 93% of the Anaconda labor force ultimately accruing from the Pueblo. As the mining operation expanded over the years, so did the work force, from 350 in 1952 to a peak of 650 in 1979.

Wages to miners, relative to average per capita incomes on reservations, are quite high, and the high concentration of miners within the tiny Laguna population established it as one of the "richer" all-round tribal groups in the country by the early to mid-1960s. Throughout the 1970s, unemployment within the tribal membership averaged approximately 25%, quite high by non-Indian standards, but less than half the prevailing average reservation rate nationally. Further, royalty payments and other mechanisms allowed the Lagunas to symbolically break certain important aspects of the typical reorganization fostered dependency upon the federal government. By 1979, former Laguna governor Floyd Correa was able to state in an interview that of the tribal unemployed, only 12 were collecting unemployment benefits (as compared to the estimated 20% of the total labor force collecting benefits on most reservations at any given moment). Upon superficial examination, the Lagunas seemed well on the road to recovering the self-sufficiency which had

long since passed from the grasp of most tribes.

The bubble burst when Anaconda abruptly pulled up stakes and left the husk of their mining operation: a gaping crater and, of course, piles of virulently radioactive slag. Over the years, Laguna's negotiating position had steadily deteriorated as the absolute centrality of the Anaconda operation became apparent to the tribe — and to the corporation. Consequently very little provision was built into lease renewals which would have accommodated clean-up and land reclamation upon conclusion of mining activities. It will likely cost the tribe *more* than the aggregate extraction royalties received from Anaconda over the years for the tribe to environmental havoc wrought by the corporation. And, unlike Anaconda, the Laguna people cannot simply move away, leaving the mess behind.

Nor can the workers. The abrupt departure left the preponderance of the reservation's income earners suddenly jobless. Here, a cruel lesson was to be learned. The skills imparted through training and employment in uranium mining are not readily translatable to other forms of employment, nor are they particularly transferable without dissolution of the tribal group itself (ie: miners and their families moving away from the Pueblo in order to secure employment elsewhere). Meanwhile, the steady thirty year gravitation of the Laguna population towards mining as a livelihood caused a correspondingly steady atrophy of the skills and occupations enabling the Pueblo to remain essentially self-sufficient for centuries.

Whether or not the former Anaconda employees can "adjust" to their new circumstances and make a sort of reverse transition to more traditional occupations and/or secure adequate alternative employment proximate to the reservation may be in some respects a moot point. While not as pronounced as in the deep shaft mining areas on the Navajo Nation, the pattern of increasingly early deaths from respiratory cancer and similar ailments — as well as congenital birth defects — has been becoming steadily more apparent on the reservation. Most of the afflicted no longer retain the insurance coverage, once a part of the corporate employment package, through which to offset the costs of their illness (and those suffered by relatives within the extended family structures by which the Pueblo is organized). Thus, the ghost of Anaconda is eating the personal as well as tribal savings accruing from the mining experience.

It seems safe enough to observe that the short-term benefits perceived at Laguna were more illusory than real. Although a temporary sense of economic security was imparted by the presence of a regular payroll, and "stability" of a "big time" employer, there was never time to consolidate the apparent gains. Costs swiftly overtook gains, although the tribe was not necessarily immediately privy to the change of circumstances. In the final analysis, the tribe may well end up much more destitute, and in an infinitely worse environmental position, than was ever the case in the past.

As if to underscore the point, water has become a major problem at Laguna, one which may eventually outweigh all the others brought about by its relatively brief relationship with Anaconda. The Rio Pague River, which once provided the irrigational basis for a thriving tribal agriculture, now runs through the unreclaimed ruins of corporate flight. As early as 1973, the Environmental Protection Agency discovered that the strip mining operation was contaminating the Laguna water supply.

With agricultural and cattle raising production withering under the glare of higher paying and more "glamorous" work in the mine, the Pueblo converted to ground water in meeting all, rather than a portion, of its potable needs. In 1975, however, the EPA returned to find widespread ground water contamination throughout the Grants Mineral Belt, including that under Laguna. In 1978, the EPA was back again, this time to reassure tribal members that *all* their available water sources were dangerously contaminated by radioactivity, and that the tribal council building, community center and newly constructed Jackpile housing — paid for in substantial proportion by royalty monies — were all radioactive as well. Additionally, Anaconda had used low grade *uranium ore* to "improve" the road system leading to the mine and village.

Hence, even were the Lagunas able to reclaim the land directly associated with what was once the world's largest open pit uranium mine (preceeding Namibia's Rossing Mine for this dubious distinction), no small feat in itself, and even if they were somehow able to avert the seemingly impending carcinogenic and genetic crises, restore an ade-

quate measure of employment and tribal income, and clear up at least the direct sources of contamination to the Rio Pague, they would *still* be faced with the insurmountable problem of contaminated ground water (which can accrue from quite far flung locations). And, if they have had enough of such "progress" and wish to attempt a return to the agriculture and animal husbandry which stood them in such good stead for generations? Then they will *still* have to contend with the factor of disrupted ore bodies which persist in leaching out into otherwise reclaimed soil.

When such leaching occurs, radioactive contaminants are drawn into the roots of plants. Animals, whether human or otherwise, consuming contaminated plants likewise become contaminated. This too may well be an unsurmountable problem. It seems likely that the damage is done and irreparable, that the Laguna the Lagunas have known, and with which they identify and represent themselves as a people, is gone forever. And in exchange? Nothing. At least, nothing of value, unless one wishes to place a value on radioactive community centers and road repairs. Or unless one wishes to consider as valuable the bitter legacy and lessons learned as an example from which to base future plans and future actions.

Laguna is not unique in the nature of its experience. The examples earlier drawn from the Navajo Nation and the Lakota territory should be sufficient to demonstrate that. Dozens, scores, even hundreds of additional examples might be cited from Hopi, from Zuni, Acoma, Isleta, Crow, Northern Cheyenne and elsewhere in the US, and from the Cree, Metis, Athabasca and other territories of Canada through which to illustrate the point. But it should, by now, be made. There is neither short nor long-term advantage to be gained by the tribes in entering into energy resource extraction agreements. Advantage accrues only to the corporate and governmental representatives of a colonizing and dominant industrial culture. Occasionally it accrues momentarily, and in limited fashion, to the "vichy" tribal governments they have reorganized into doing their bidding. For the people, there is only expendability, destruction and grief under this new colonization.

Ironically, the situation was spelled out in the clearest possible terms by Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, the site of the birth of "controlled" nuclear fission, in its February, 1978 *Mini Report*: Perhaps the solution to the radon emission problem is to zone the land into uranium mining and milling districts so as to forbid human habitation...

In this light, the choices for uranium rich, landlocked reservation populations are clearly defined. For some, there is cause for immediate retreat from engagement in the uranium extraction process. For others, it is a matter of avoiding a problem not yet begun. In either case, such a choice will necessitate an active resistance to the demands and impositions of the new colonizers.

It seems certain that those who would claim "their" uranium to fuel the engines of empire, both at home and abroad, will be unlikely to accept a polite (if firm) "no" in response to their desires. Strategies must be found through which this "no" may be enforced. Perhaps, in the end, it will be as Leslie Silko put it, that "human beings will be one clan again" united finally by "the circle of death" which ultimately confronts us all, united in putting an end to such insanity. Until that time, however, American Indians, those who have been selected by the dynamics of radioactive colonization to the the first twentieth century national sacrifice peoples, must stand alone, or with their immediate allies, for a common survival. It is a gamble, no doubt, but a gamble which is clearly warranted. The alternative is virtual species suicide.



10. There is a theory current within Environmental Protection Agency circles that ingestion of uranium particles, via water for instance, presents no real contamination danger to healthy organisms insofar as uranium ions are too heavy to be absorbed by a normal digestive system. Be that it may, even the EPA admits that most organisms are not "healthy" enough for this principle to really apply. Further, the elaboration of the theory posits that the most virulent form of uranium contamination occurs through absorption through membrane tissue, such as nasal and lung tissue: by breathing radioactive dust. This, clearly, is what is at issue in the matter of ventilation both within and without mining operations. Of especial note here is that *children* seem particularly susceptible to respiratory contamination, requiring much lower exposure levels to be in a "dangerous" situation than do adults.



## HUNKERING DOWN

—by Karoniaktatie

"Hunkering Down" has certain connotations and they can all be applied to this semi-regular column, whether pleasant or intense, settling in for the duration, or re-evaluating the whole enchilada. To hunk: sit like a rock, in the way/obstruction, like a rock—you may be used as a missile-weapon, just make sure you are aimed in the right direction.

Hunk: a piece of matter, generally a solid thing with no tangible life-form qualities, like a rock. And when used in pop-culture terms, "a hunk" refers to a male object of desire (or disdain), with emphasis on it's physical properties, disregarding other properties.

So people may say a Rock has no life, is not life. But show these same people a hunk of GOLD; that hunk suddenly acquires names (precious metal, mineral) and translates into all kinds of transferable values (wealth, power, position). Yet it is still a rock, a hunk, nothing to get excited about by other people with different values.

Native people are not crazy when they say rocks and all things in creation are sacred, all equal parts in the Creation, all deserving care and attention. The Civilized person has no time for rocks, but give that rock a name like gold and they start acting crazy, they worship that rock and kill for it. They destroy all manner of life for an intangible hunk of "non-life", transferring their own intangibles (dreams, values) into that physical hunk. That hunk of rock has fortresses built for it with armed guards protecting it and nations built upon it. All of this can collapse, when the values become meaningless.

So it is with the original rock and the Creation. Forget Creation and all the relationships and the earth will collapse for the values of Life will have become meaningless.

Both systems appear ludicrous to the other; but the collapse of the man-made system means destruction of intangibles only, survival goes on, life goes on. (Material things exist but their value becomes useless, they become solid holes in time, relics of a broken culture). Collapse of the natural system means the earth itself, the ultimate of tangibility, can be destroyed, or at the least the earth purifies itself of the contamination, and starts over.

The collapse of the natural system is happening now as civilized people destroy the intangible fabric of inter-relationships between physical entities. This fabric is called knowledge, tribal people carry generations of this intangibility with them. So-called "modern" specialists are only re-creating natural properties and attaching "names" with scientific values to them. There is nothing new under the sun, only the names change, the values. "Modern" medicine and science are only today's shamans and religions, everyday their "new" discoveries are based in the natural world, using what was common knowledge to the old caretakers.

Remember the tale of the shadows on the cave-wall and the fire of primitive man, and what we perceived as life was only those shadows. Today, we still observe the shadows on the wall and are only a little closer to seeing the whole picture, the whole reality. The fire burns at the core the earth. Civilized man in seeking abstract knowledge (knowing only parts and giving them names) is tampering with that core. We see only parts, and slowly a whole picture will emerge by utilizing all people's knowledge, all people's values. Destroy that original fabric in all it's "uncivilized, uncultured, undeveloped" worth and you become Cannibals—people destroying a world by trying to re-create it's value. Savagery, meaninglessness, the ultimate intangible question—why? For money, for gold, for a hunk of earth, for only a small part of the whole reality you destroy all other parts blindly.

**Look! A Nation Is Coming—Robert Mendoza**, published by National Organization for a Second American Revolution Center, POB 2617, Philadelphia PA 19121. The Native Movement Re-evaluated, a further dialogue aimed at Native Americans and the progressive/left parties.

**The Ecologist (The Journal for the Post-Industrial Age), Worthyvale Manor Farm, Camelford, Cornwall, UK PL32 9TT; tel.(08402) 2711; Vol 14, No 2, 1984 "Africa Gets Developed—Who Benefits?"**

*[ECOLOGIST always contains up to the moment and critical pieces that point to future developments projected from current knowledge, but denied or ignored by mass media and professional media more concerned with their "professions" than responsibilities toward Life on Earth-Gaia. The Gaia concept was also explored in 1984. The African issue preceded the great mass media flood on the current African/Sabel famine, already receding from the public memory/conscience.]*

Protecting the Environment against the Poor, problems of 3rd World, Africa as prize example, are seen in terms of there being too many poor in rural marginal areas who therefore put excessive pressure on primary resources. Author Randall Baker suggests the problems are rather those of development and exploitation actually depriving people of their natural rights; the official "Technocratic Approach" says it is a physical one of energy imbalance amenable to a technical solution—in contrast to seeing the environmental stress as "symptomatic" of a social/political crisis usually based on: unequal control over access to, and use of, the natural environmental resource base; the 'developmental' conflict between export-based cash crops, foreign exchange and basic food security for the poor; as well as short-term asset stripping for quick profit by those who make, or are beyond the control of, the laws.

Can Agribusiness Feed Africa, AID to African countries and the activities of International Agencies, far from helping Africa become self-sufficient in food, are actually destroying the food base. Grandiose projects, including dams and irrigation schemes for cash crop monoculture, apart from causing irreparable damage, effectively divide the poor from the rich.

Cancer and the Pill, evidence that the Pill can cause cancer has been known for many years, yet has never been officially accepted by the medical profession, recent statistics indicate overwhelming evidence as well as incidences of other illnesses being increased by the Pill.

How Agrochemicals Feed the Pests that Destroy the Crops, Francis Chaboussou has come up with an explanation as to why crops become more susceptible to attack by pests—the theory of trophobiosis. Pesticides and unbalanced nutrition through the use of soluble fertilizers can cause just the kind of imbalance in the plants that creates the conditions for susceptibility to pests.

Molecular Biology: A Scientific Critique, a molecular biologist maintains that the promise that biology would become explainable in terms of all encompassing comprehensive theories has failed to materialize. The brilliant unravelling of the DNA code was only a false start. The whole process is now seen to be highly complex and largely inexplicable. The modern biologist spends his time chipping away with no clear vision of what he is trying to achieve.

The costs of reprocessing uranium & plutonium from spent reactor fuel; also three shorts on failed technology and contamination of the environment in the USSR.

**Honduras Information Center**, 1151 Mass. Ave, Cambridge MA 02138, monthly mailing, updates, free.

**Peace Brigades International**, Central America Projects Office, 175 Carlton St., Toronto, Ontario M5A 2K3 (416) 964-1811.

**MESOAMERICA**, Apdo. 300, 1002 San Jose, Costa Rica.

**ECUMENICAL COMMITTEE OF US CITIZENS IN MEXICO**, Apdo. 101-bis-Admon. No. 1, 06000 Mexico 1, D.F., Mexico (905) 519-5242, monthly newsletter, very strong, alert to Press Distortions. **CARGUA**, Hidalgo No.3, San Cristobal de las Casus, Chiapas, Mexico 29260 tel: 8-15-47, direct aid to Guatemalan refugees.

**MCG, Movimiento Cooperativista Guatemalteco**, Apartado Postal 12-914 D.F., Mexico City, Mexico. external/internal refugee aid, info/program/donation outlines available, vehicles needed, outlet for crafts, direct donations.

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## SOUTH AFRICA INFO

**FUSE**, the cultural newsmagazine, vol.III/no.4, Suite 501, 299 Queen St West, Toronto Ontario M5V 1Z9 (416) 593-8434. This issue carries an article on South Africa and Grassroots Press. —*FUSE Feb 84: Adapt or Die: Militarization & the South African Media* by Keyan Tomaselli analyzed the influences of state policy in the mainstream media. In *FUSE vol.III/no.4* he joins with Don Pinnock in an introduction to development & implications of the progressive press in South Africa and it's context. Progressive press mentioned: *Grassroots* (1980); *The Eye* (1982); *Izwe Lase Township* (1982); *UKUSA*; *Speak*; *Grahamstown Voice* (community/student press).

**RAW MATERIALS REPORT**, a quarterly magazine on the political economy of natural resources, POB 5195, S-10244 Stockholm, Sweden (tel: 46-8-62789). Want to know what the Trans-National Corporations are up to, need exact figures, info, statistics, concerning all resources, minerals, strategic commodities in all nations? This is for you, technical but accessible and very educational, recent issue on **HOW STRATEGIC ARE SOUTH AFRICA'S MINERALS?** Current issue (vol.3/no.2) on gold, gallium/new minerals, Jamaica-Alcoa, bauxite, tin, USSR natural resources, reviews. Vol.3/No.1—on the power of Alcohol Beverage Corporations, consumption, advertising, image; ownership & control of iron ore industry; Anglo American in Brazil; bauxite-India; Nicaragua-Sweden exchange, mining in Nicaragua; The Mining Concession from an Economic Perspective—influencing TNCs; Natural Resources, Raw Materials, what are they?

**THE NATIONAL REPORTER** vol.9/no.1 1985 POB 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington DC 20044, (formerly COUNTERSPY) South Africa pays to enhance their image through PR work, did they also fund American politicians who opposed their congressional critics in close elections? The National Reporter devotes an issue to this strategy, also: **PACCA—Changing Course in Central America**; Honduras—GAO report on war preparation; CIA at Tufts and other universities; CANADA's new **SECURITY SERVICE**, official spy agency (see BRIARPATCH for original).

## MISKITO—SANDINISTA NEGOTIATIONS IN MEXICO CITY, APRIL 21—22, MORE NATIVE AMERICAN OBSERVERS TO ATTEND

A Six Nations delegation recently returned from Bogota Colombia as members of a Native North American observation team. Besides the Iroquois delegation, the Rural Commission of Indigenous People, National Indian Youth Council, AIM/IITC, Indian Law Resource Center, and Central and South American Indian organizations (representing 30 million Indians) attended the Miskito-Sandinista talks.

A new round of talks will begin in Mexico City on April 21-22, and more North American delegations will attend. A mix-up in timing, allowed more talks among all the North & South Indians in Bogota. There was further discussion on the upcoming Indigenous Conference in Geneva in July.

## AKWEKON/AKWESASNE NOTES NOW HAS NATIVE AMERICAN MUSIC (AVAILABLE ON ALBUMS ONLY).

**1. Willie Dunn—The Notes Album**, from 1975, a clean re-issue. Songs: *School Days*, *I Pity the Country*, *Louis Riel*, *Ballad of Crowfoot*, *Cree Grass Dance*, *Crazy Horse*, *Charlie Wenjack*, *The Carver*, *Hey There Broker*, *O Canada*.

**2. Floyd Westerman—Custer Died For Your Sins**, from 1972, a clean re-issue. Songs: *Custer Died For Your Sins*, *Missionaries*, *World Without Tomorrow*, *Goin Back*, *35 more Miles*, *Red White & Black*, *Where Were You*, *Here Come the Anthros*, *They Didn't Listen*, *Task Force*, *BIA*.

**\$10 (US) each, plus postage or delivery.** (Allow 3-6 weeks delivery, notify us how you wish the album(s) delivered, and we will inform you by postcard that same day the postage/delivery rates available. You can then send shipping charge and we will ship the day we receive your directions.) Offer good in USA and Canada only. Canada add current exchange.



# TASMANIA: THE PEOPLE

No living people have suffered the myth of their own extinction as greatly as the Aboriginal Tasmanians. Despite growing recognition that some 500 descendants of the tribal Tasmanians identify themselves as Aboriginal, the convenient myth that the Tasmanians disappeared in 1876 with the death of Truganini (the last "full-blood") is perpetuated to deny today's people of their human rights and meaningful land rights. As they struggled through "war, dispossession, depopulation, humiliation, and finally the ignominies of 20th century indifference," the Tasmanians bore the double burden of oppression as Aborigines and non-recognition as Aboriginal people. "Eligible for government regulation, but not for government assistance," Mick Mansell of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Center put it this way: "The height of racism is to deny cultural identity."

Australia's early explorers and scientists were convinced that Aborigines were inferior—"closer to the apes"—and they spared nothing to prove their theory, rejecting only the evidence which didn't fit. Truganini's death coincided with the rise of physical anthropology, and science paid her more attention in death than they had in life. Interest in Aboriginal corpses had grown with the publication of Darwin's Theory of Evolution in 1859. He considered the Tasmanians a transitional type between ape and man—"the missing link." Whereas transitional types had not been accepted in the tidy classification of species prior to Darwin, with his ideas of evolution they became welcome evidence of the slow changes which link one species to another.

So, the term "ape-like" was no longer merely a slur, but a scientific statement, to be proved by exact skull measurements. In 1770, Captain Cook had written that "the Aborigines of New South Wales had no religion, no culture, and no settled way of life"—the three essential ingredients of civilization. If one had no civilization, then one could have no land.

The myth grew. To the myth of extinction (other Aboriginal women had had children with Europeans) was grafted the further myth that the "ape-like" Tasmanians were caught in a cultural backwater, cut off from the mainland by the Bass Strait, undergoing a "slow, strangulation of the mind." They failed to survive European invasion because they were low on the scale of humanity. As they would have died out anyway, the Europeans were actually performing a humanitarian service.

Convinced that they had carried out the swiftest, most efficient act of genocide ever, the white Australians took pride in the grim celebration of having achieved the extermination of a whole race. Tasmania became a case study for the European view of tribal peoples as somehow "left behind" in terms of development. In this linear view of the world, racial differences became rungs on civilization's ladder rather than variations of the theme of humanity. While scientists from around the world flocked to exhume Tasmanian skeletons for their collections, the world viewed the victorious emergence of European technology, warfare and culture as a mandate for continental—if not global—manifest destiny.

In her recent book *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, Lyndall Ryan looks at the wider effects of the Tasmanian myth on the colonization of Australia:

"In carrying the burden of extermination, Tasmania has covered up the dispossession and extermination of Aborigines in other parts of Australia, for the dispossession of the Aborigines in Tasmania was relatively peaceful in comparison with (that) of Aborigines in western Victoria, western South Wales, and most of Queensland. Tasmania never experienced the levels of poisoning, trappings, ambushes, and massacres that occurred in other parts of Australia. Yet because most mainland white Australians have been told that Tasmania was the only colony to have exterminated its Aborigines, they failed to question how the Aborigines disappeared from their own environment. So Tasmania has become the scapegoat for the rest of Australia."

*The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, Ryan, p.3.  
Despite books like this one which reflect the expan-

sion in consciousness of the Tasmanians as living people, other productions, like Tom Haydon's widely viewed film *The Last Tasmanian* released in 1978, continue to deny the connections between the present-day community and their tribal ancestors. And so the myth continues.

## "Looking for Themselves"

In 1982, during efforts to block a proposed hydro-electric dam on the lower Franklin River in Tasmania's southwest, geomorphologists discovered caves containing evidence of human occupation 20,000 years ago (the date generally assumed to mark the beginning of the rising seas which turned Tasmania into an island). Again, the Aboriginal Tasmanians became important to science, this time in a more positive role, for the importance of these caves to the world was stressed as a reason not to flood the Franklin. But as more than one Aborigine noted at the time, "It's the same old thing. They're not interested in our history—they're looking for themselves."

For countless thousands of years, the tribal Tasmanians lived as hunter-gatherers in the rugged, often mountainous terrain of rainforests, sclerophyll forests, heath and open savannah. Like the Aborigines of the mainland, they moved in a cycle of systematic semi-nomadic wanderings. Unlike the mainland, they had no dogs, no boomerangs, kinky rather than wavy hair, and they had dropped scaled fish from their diet. These "lacks"—possibly choices—may have been more due to cultural, physical and spiritual adaptation to their specific climate than to any kind of backwardness. Bands of 40-50 people owned and cared for territories of about 500-750 square kilometers, the size of the territory and number of people determined by the nature of the food supply. The bands in turn wandered both in and out of larger tribal boundaries, congregating seasonally for food gathering and the mining of ochre, a body adornment of great cultural significance. Extensive burning was used to keep the heaths and plains open for kangaroos, wallabies, and emus as well as to clear the "roads" which marked the routes of seasonal migration. Today, overgrown due to lack of burning, many of these areas are ironically described as "uninhabited wilderness."

When Captain Cook anchored off the coast in 1777, he admired the "hard primitives", but felt they lacked the civilization to justify continued occupation of the land.

The convict occupation of Van Dieman's Land—begun in 1803—led to conflict when the graziers took the Aborigines' hunting grounds for their sheep. Following Cook's writings, Governor Arthur Phillips had claimed all of Australia for England. Without any treaties, Aborigines found themselves British subjects fighting a civil war rather than sovereign owners defending their land. So began a guerilla war against the colonists which threatened to chase all the Europeans from the island. The Aborigines were hunted down. A reserve far from the whites was created for them, but when they failed to go there voluntarily, the British government's representative, Governor Arthur, organized the famous "Black Line" to chase them from the settled districts. A "humanitarian" tradesman—G.A. Robinson—was commissioned to round up the remaining Aborigines and place them in captivity on Flinders Island in the Bass Strait where they could be tutored in civilization.

Then followed a period of dispossession through the use of native mounted police and search and destroy operations. The Cape Barren Reserve was established in 1881 as a ration station for the destitute. It was hoped the people would die out gracefully. Any time a group appeared to be regaining their feet, their children were taken and the young men banished. In 1951, following the assimilation policy, the Cape Barren Reserve was abolished because the government no longer defined the "Islanders" as Aborigines. But the people continued.

## Extinction Threatens Australian Anthropology

Recent legislation in the state of Victoria makes it illegal for anyone to keep Aboriginal skeletons, apart from the Victorian Museum. A state-



appointed Aboriginal committee will decide what to do with the 1400 Aboriginal skeletons held by the museum and the University of Melbourne. The theft of skeletons and the dismemberment of Aboriginal bodies by some of science's "great men" has been especially distressing to the Tasmanians. When William Lanney, the last "full-blood" male, died in 1868, Dr. Crowther, ex-Premier of Tasmania broke into the morgue and secretly beheaded Lanney, replacing his head with that of a white schoolmaster.

He and other scientists then further mutilated Lanney's body, cutting off his hands, feet and other bits. Stokell had a tobacco pouch made from a piece of skin.

## Land Rights at Last

Though she feared being "cut up" like William Lanney, Truganini escaped dismemberment after her death. Her skeleton was acquired by the Royal Society of Tasmania, who kept it on public display from 1904-1947. In response to press agitation and claims of bad taste, the museum stored her remains in its vaults where only scientists could view them. The Aboriginal community was finally successful in gaining control of Truganini's bones in the 1970's. On 30 April 1976—one hundred years after her death—she was cremated, her ashes scattered on the D'Entrecasteaux Channel as she had desired. As one poster stated: "Got her land rights at last."

The struggle for land rights in Tasmania begins with the struggle for recognition as human beings. Through Aboriginal cultural, legal and educational organizations, the Tasmanians continue to affirm their presence. But, they suffer high incidences of family illness, personal distress, unemployment, alcoholism, criminal charges, and their children are the subjects of constant racial abuse. They need the land. *The Age* reported on the state of the nation's land rights in August, 1984. The Tasmanian report took little space:

"There is no intention on the part of the Tasmanian government to introduce land rights legislation for its 2688 Aborigines, who presently own only one square kilometer of land. Aboriginal groups took heart earlier this year when a state poll revealed that a majority of Tasmanians supported Aboriginal land rights."

Aborigines know that Europeans fear not only the people whose land they have taken, but the spirit of the land itself. Until Europeans come to terms with these basic issues, they will remain a problem for all aboriginal people.

*The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, Lyndall Ryan, University of Queensland Press, 1981. (Simultaneously published: Vancouver, BC; University of British Columbia Press.)



# CONTINUE

## Human Rights and Land Rights in Tasmania

by John Stokes



### (A Statement by the Tasmanian Aboriginal Center) Land Rights in Tasmania

One hundred and eighty years ago when the English government sent troops, convicts and settlers to Tasmania the inhabitants of this Island had been living here for over 20,000 years. Within forty years our society was almost destroyed. We have never been accorded the right to our own land.

Yet when European countries invaded each other the people of the invaded country retained ownership of their land. The occupying army had to pay for acquisition of land and billets in accordance with International Law. No such concepts were applied to American Indians, South African Zulus, New Zealand Maoris or Australian Aborigines. In 1971 Aborigines tested this concept of International Law in an Australian court. The claim was rejected because it was held that the aboriginal population did not possess the structures of a European state in the form of Kings, cabinets, national navies and the like. The logic of this still escapes us.

When the Europeans arrived we were living in harmony with the environment. We were a self-sufficient society living at peace with ourselves and the land. Our society had its own culture, myths, dreams, tribal structures, religious beliefs, and clearly defined laws, rituals and land areas. The groups traded with each other and had a complex social structure. Within 40 years the fabric of that society had been shattered. Murder, rape, abduction, disease and alienation of land wrecked the society. Despite Governor Arthur's famous poster (depicting two scenes of black and white people living in harmony, a picture of an Aborigine spearing a white and being hung, and a picture of a white man receiving the same for shooting an Aborigine), not one white was ever hanged for murdering an aborigine. The mass murders at Risdon and Cape Grim, the Black Line and the exile of Flinders Island are but a few examples of this process.

In 1876 with the death of Truganini, the white community declared aboriginal people extinct and went on with its business. But we had not died out. We lived on despite the immoral policies of successive governments, policies which were designed to destroy us as a community, policies such as exile, isolation, neglect, assimilation. Policies which did not work.

We adapted what was left of our tribal culture, maintained our kinship system and continued to try to regain our land.

In 1886 Elizabeth Everett and Lucy Beeton, after a long campaign, received an assurance from the Minister of Lands that Chapple Island would not be despoiled. That promise was not honored.

The government was forced to recognize our existence in 1904, and instead of taking positive action it put some of us on a reserve on Cape Barren Island. That policy didn't work and after World

War II it was abandoned. A policy of forced assimilation followed which lasted until the early 1970's. That policy was a disaster. In the 1980's we have been denied Anti-Discrimination legislation.

We are still here and we are continuing the fight for our rights.

We don't want charity. We want our land back, and compensation for the damage caused by policies of destruction and neglect. And now we are demanding our rights. The land, like us, is still here.

### Why We Want The Land Back

Returning our land to us will not solve all the problems of our community, but it is an essential step towards allowing us to solve our own problems.

We need the land as an economic base so that we can have the resources to help ourselves, but, more importantly, we have a deep empathy with the land. This attitude is probably difficult for white people to understand, as it cannot be adequately expressed in terms of economics, inheritance laws, or even aesthetic or scientific appreciation of it as environment. Despite the attacks over the years on our traditional way of life we retain our traditional view of our land as something not only belonging to us, but something to which we belong.

So the restoration of our land will strengthen our sense of identity and give our people a focus for positive community attitudes.

### What We Want

1. We want collective ownership. We do not want individuals getting rich at the expense of others. We do not want the land frittered away so that future generations have nothing. So we are seeking the formation of an Aboriginal Land Council, elected by the community, which will lease land to individuals or groups.
2. We want to control our own land. We don't want outsiders telling us what to do with it, nor do we want to have to obtain permission before doing what we want with it.
3. We want to be able to use the land properly. We want to prepare joint management plans for its proper use. And we want the power to stop the land being misused without our permission.
4. We want to enjoy the fruits of our lands, to require us to obtain a license before catching a wallaby for eating is absurd. We have no objection to laws about commercial exploitation or animal preservation but reject a law which makes up pay for a license to engage in our traditional hunting and food gathering activities.
5. We want to use the land in a harmonious manner. After all, that is what we did in the past. So we would be bound by such things as water rights and planning rules.

### What Lands Are We Seeking?

Logic would say that we are entitled to claim all of Tasmania. However we cannot turn back the tide of history and expect all the immigrants since 1800 to go home. We recognize that we are part of a larger community and we hope that community will in turn recognize us.

We do not seek to penalize individuals by having land confiscated from private owners and lessees. It was the Crown which took the land. It was the Crown which should give it back by returning to us unalienated Crown land. In particular we are looking at those places which have special significance for the aboriginal community, such as the mutton bird islands, Cape Barren Island, midden and carving sites, Oyster Cove and similar areas.

We want the return of any piece of land to us to be on the basis that it will be of particular benefit to our community, not on the basis of it being little use to anyone else.

### Some Arguments

Some of the arguments put up against the land rights claim include:

#### 'APARTHEID'

"The granting of land rights as a form of apartheid."

BUT the reality of apartheid, as in South Africa, is that an affluent minority forces another racial group into uneconomic sections of the country in order to hold on to their own power position. What we are seeking is to preserve our identity and culture as part of a total social system, with all races showing each other respect.

#### 'UNFAIRNESS'

"Why should special treatment be given to aborigines? No one gave me any land."

BUT all land presently held in Tasmania is held as a result of a land grant by the Crown. Most of that land was given for nothing or sold very cheaply. The basis of wealth flows from that gift. Yet from where did the Crown get that land? The aboriginal community is simply seeking to get some of its land back.

#### 'DISCRIMINATION'

"Land rights would discriminate in favour of aborigines."

BUT there is a need for positive discrimination to enable an underprivileged group to catch up. A person with two good legs does not claim that the giving of crutches to a person with a broken leg is discrimination.

#### 'IT'S TOO LATE'

"The present generation of white is not to blame. Why should we pay for what our ancestors did?"

BUT white society today continues to benefit from the theft of our land. You as an individual have an obligation to help us get some of it back. Why should *we* suffer for what *your* ancestors did? **'THERE ARE NO REAL ABORIGINES IN TASMANIA'**

"You're not tribal. You're not black enough. You've no language of your own. You have blue eyes, etc. etc."

BUT the denial of a race's existence is the ultimate form of racism. After a devastating attack on a whole social structure, the dominant group then tries to avoid responsibility for its actions by pretending that the result was total destruction, with no survivors to worry about. We were told in the classroom that aborigines did not exist in Tasmania yet in the playground were subject to racist slurs.

### We Are The Survivors

We have a sense of pride and identity in being aboriginal.

We have suffered and still suffer:

Some facts about us—

We have lived here for at least 24,000 years.

We know the names and tribes of our ancestors.

We have kept our stories, tales and history.

We live all over the state.

We have a high death rate—only 3.4% of our people qualify for age pensions compared with 11.3% of the general population.

We have a low income rate. 89% of us received below \$8,000 per year in 1976 compared with 70% of the population.

We have a poor educational outcome by all accepted western standards. 65% of our people do not get beyond Grade 9 and 95% past Grade 10.

Our people are more timid and shy.

At school aboriginal children say their greater problems are: Discrimination by students 23%

Discrimination by teachers 10%

Being told aborigines don't exist 16%

Lack of friends 6%

We continue to suffer discrimination. This continues in schools, employment, courts, hotels, housing and in the streets.

We have a large alcohol problem.

We have a high unemployment rate. In 1976 we had a 24% unemployment rate compared with a 5% national average. At present it is greater than 50%.

BUT we are still here, some 4,000 of us, a compact, identifiable cultural entity. But we are aboriginal. We have an unbroken link with the past and we are fighting for our rights.

For more information contact:

Hobart	Flinders Island Community
Tasmania Aboriginal Center	Assoc.
1 Short Street	P.O. Lady Barren
Glebe, Tasmania	Flinders Island, Tasmania
Australia	Australia
ph. 34 1405	

Launceston	Cape Barren Islanders
Tasmania Aboriginal Center	Community, Inc.
29 St. John Street	P.O. Cape Barren Island
Launceston, Tasmania	Tasmania, Australia
Australia	
ph. 31 6966	



## INDIAN?

### Maya:

When the moon was ripe  
& the cherry trees in feather,  
I investigated the edge  
of deaf black knives  
split from obsidian.

### Hobokam:

The sun argued with grain  
rivers sang their wet alphabet  
& birds transported their tiny bones  
chasing insects  
while frogs waited.

### Nambikwara:

The night was an empty house  
surrounded by strangers;  
boys investigated their cousins  
& girls laughed:  
they had learned the same language

### O'odham:

Cats disapproved,  
the dogs didn't know,  
& men went on  
beating their wives,  
laughing.

### Chontal:

Canoes navigated  
the Mississippi  
to Yucatan,  
Oaxacan jade  
was brought to Arizona.

### Lake Titicaca:

Reeds were woven  
into islands,  
& people lived their lives  
from grass & fish,  
with grass & fish.

### Sioux:

Winter closed  
its black night of snow  
& people died of cold.  
There was feasting in certain seasons  
& feather beat drum in Sun dance.

### Huichol:

People ate cactus  
& saw God  
who was a deer  
who had power  
to vanish.

### Chichimec:

Coyote laughed, & looked back,  
lizard meditated,  
snakes killed men,  
but snakes could be eaten,  
& they were eaten.

### Aztec (Mexico):

Green feathers were carried  
over hundreds of miles,  
& the living heart was fed  
to brutal Gods  
atop immense pyramids.

### Potlatch:

Life was a competition  
to see how much you could give away  
& if you disagreed with the chief  
you could do it your own way,  
with no blame to you nor the chief.

### Purepecha (Tarascan):

Men lived under volcanoes  
& died under melted rock,  
then when the village had burned  
men returned  
to plant corn in the black ashes.

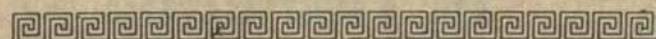
### Nezhualcoyotl

#### (Poet-King of Texcoco):

Hungry Coyote  
wrote poems  
of volcanoes & death:  
"All the world is a tomb",  
& volcanoes the dead mouth of power.

# Poetry

Robert Kahn



### Mixtec:

The People fed the Gods in their ways:  
in the soil,  
in the hearth,  
in the doorway,  
in the tomb.

### Zapotec:

Man cut stone:  
wedding of elements  
consecrated with blood,  
buried forever  
for the gods,  
for the hungry gods.

### 9.19.0.0.0. (The Maya Collapse):

Men died building pyramids  
to tear the heart from other men,  
then when the roads were built,  
man rebelled:  
then the temples were burned  
& the roads neglected

### Cakchiquel Maya:

The Sun was the father  
& the Moon was the woman;  
& the Sun really was a father,  
& the moon was really his wife,  
& the stars were dead warriors.

### Pawnee:

Men wore feathers  
& tore their flesh  
for the Sun, to feed the Sun,  
and enemies exchanged gifts  
and they said it was good.

### The ballgame:

They played with rubber balls  
in Carolina, in Yucatan,  
in Colombia, in Arizona,  
in Oaxaca, in Tula,  
in Copan, in Teotihuacan,

### Teotihuacan:

under dread danger  
of successful Gods:  
what was it they carried,  
branch or a smoking stone?  
Ball of feathers or a flint knife?

### Xipe Totec (Caxaca):

& why that thirst for blood?  
Why the living heart?  
Why those thirsty gods,  
and the smell of blood,  
and the priests, with their bleeding  
tongues?

### Chichen Otza (Nabuatl-speaking invasion of Yucatan, ca. 1000 A.D.):

Then the Toltecs  
took Chichen Itza  
and the thirst persisted:  
but in the jungles  
the quiet Maya fed corn.

### Corn:

Tiny grain, first mother,  
precious gold with a green heart,  
flat bread for hunger, drink on the way,  
pleasant God of Maya countenance,  
long forehead of golden grain.

### Rain:

And Chac, his nose of a dragon,  
his dusty red paint:  
Tlaloc, Tzabui, Cocijo, Chac,  
who brought the rain,  
who was Rain: Chac.

### Money:

Feathers, leather,  
cacao, gold & jade,  
certain spondylus shells,  
knives, obsidian,  
cotton, & copper hatchets.

### Time:

The years were bundles.  
Days were so heavy  
they were carried by Gods,  
Gods with tumplines & foreheads,  
working like men.

### The Gods:

Gods were the seasons,  
Corn,  
the Rain.  
Pyramids were immense sundials  
& the priests smelled of blood.

### The customs:

But man labored  
& loved his wife,  
who also labored,  
but you couldn't do it  
while you were planting the corn.



### The Conquest:

And then they were here  
from the east  
from the rising Sun,  
& you went further back, back  
in the hills, in the jungle.

### Cabeza de Vaca (1530):

A Negro brought syphilis  
with a shipwrecked Spaniard  
who walked from Florida to Mazatlan  
in eight years, supporting himself  
with religious flummery.

### Inca:

Atahualpa killed his brother Huascar,  
& then he filled the room with gold,  
& he filled a room with silver,  
& then he was strangled  
in the main square.

### Dine (Navajo):

And the People learned a new way,  
which became known as the old way,  
& the young people didn't care,  
but they could run,  
& things went on.

### Raramuri (Tarabumara):

Some still ran,  
they ran for 100 miles, barefoot,  
kicking a wooden ball  
through immense canyons.  
The young children learned Spanish.

### Ute:

And money appeared,  
it came from the coal,  
from uranium,  
& checks came in the mail  
while the sky darkened.

### Tlingit:

Man carved a sweet face  
in the tooth of a whale:  
there came six months darkness  
then six months light.  
Machines fell from the sky.

### Sequoyah:

Man invented alphabets  
to write what he already knew  
so you did not need to remember,  
so you could look it up,  
if you could find the book,  
if the book existed,  
if you could read.



### **Quiche Maya:**

Far off in a rainy village  
a medicine man sang:  
he did not know English,  
he did not know Spanish,  
he had never been in a car:  
he sang & closed his eyes  
& the smoke swirled.

### **Hopi:**

Hospitals appeared  
full of Young White Doctors  
who knew nothing of lizards  
or of snakes or of songs,  
and the Medicine Men chanted & danced.

### **Araucanian:**

Some were never defeated:  
neither Inca nor Spaniard  
conquered one Araucanian heart:  
but they were incorporated  
into the modern state.

### **Costa Rica:**

Thousands were exterminated  
until barely one Indian was left,  
then the White Spanish state  
proudly declared  
that there was no need  
to maintain an army:  
& they called it  
a model democracy.

### **Miskito:**

Men were lied to  
lied about  
moved  
murdered  
& used as an example  
of whatever you please  
by this government, & the other one.

### **Guajirol:**

Men rode horses  
& ate cocaine  
& other men,  
& when the Representatives of the Modern State  
came to tell them they were now Citizens,  
with all the rights & privileges appertaining,  
these men were eaten too.

### **Geronimo:**

The wisest warrior  
remote & unconquerable  
who held armies at bay,  
when old & in exile,  
was encouraged to plant pumpkins.

### **Creek:**

Men became Black  
or White,  
or successful,  
or not,  
& they died.

### **B.I.A.:**

Men bladed the desert  
then planted a garden  
in a parking lot  
with an attractive cactus  
under the flagpole.

### **A.I.M. (American Indian Movement):**

Then always the martyred,  
always the jailed heroes,  
the traitors, and the few defenders  
misunderstood  
and mercilessly followed.

### **Chief Joseph (Nez Perce):**

But there were men  
such as man's never been  
nor will see again:  
heroic warriors  
of victorious retreats.

### **Government:**

And there was leagues of nations,  
intertribal laws,  
questions for the Gods  
& questions of privilege,  
& the man who killed the deer  
was the last to eat of it.

### **Education:**

Women taught the girls  
& the men the boys,  
& the animals taught the men,  
& the men stole powers  
& bid them from other men.

### **Yucatec Maya:**

The Gods were tricky  
& they lied to other Gods:  
but you could count the moon,  
& the pyramid cast a shadow,  
& the rain came.

### **Olmec:**

Man beat stone  
in immense jungle  
& studied the jaguar,  
learned his phosphorescence  
then disappeared.

### **Tajin:**

Pyramids were built  
to be a house for the Sun  
to feed hearts  
to sustain time  
to control men.

### **Valle Nacional (Caxaca):**

Red bananas grew  
to gargantuan sizes,  
spiders as big a meal:  
man stuffed himself, if possible,  
& he watched the sky.

### **Carib:**

And the Earth gave fruits  
& the Sea taught wood.  
Man studied the fish  
& the plants, & he learned  
the arts of sailing, & poison.

### **Colombia:**

And gold came, with pirates & priests,  
& it made men mad,  
& it pleased the Gods,  
& it fought with Death,  
& it was Death.

### **Cbalchibuitte:**

And silver was the moon,  
gold was the sun,  
& emeralds were green  
like young corn,  
like tender new life.

### **The Indian Way:**

And they taught the famous scouts:  
Boone, Bridger, Crockett, Carson,  
to see a crushed blade,  
to smell the wind,  
to build a small fire.

### **Sitting Bull:**

The bluecoats fell  
upside down into camp  
until Custer was really dead,  
with his whole goddam army:  
it was on the Greasy Grass.

### **Tribes:**

Ingalik, Shuswap,  
Klikitat, Umatilla,  
Salish, Assiniboin,  
Ojibway, Kiowa,  
Wichita, Maricopa,

Tepehuan, Cora,  
Tlapanec, Cuillatec,  
Trique, Popoloca,  
Tzeltal, Pokomam,  
Xinca, Kekchi,

Matagalpa, Cuna,  
Carib, Appalachee,  
Cusabo, Tuscorora,  
Susquehannab, Delaware,  
Warobio, Apache,

names of seasons, or fallen constellations,  
or hunger, or snow,  
or of love, or of blood:  
shadows of the great lonely dead,  
names heavy as ancient bears:



### **Christianity:**

bringing their pennies to church,  
dressing the saints & weeping,  
buying the Church's candles,  
kissing the hand,  
paying for Mass:

Men become civilized  
in many ways:  
by learning new things,  
by forgetting old ways,  
& some profit by it.

### **Guatemala:**

And these days  
priests are shot  
for teaching Indians  
how to farm.  
& some profit by it.

### **Politics:**

How long, Indian,  
will you stand in the door,  
with your clean ragged clothes,  
& your ancient dead splendor,  
& your modern pain?

Come in, Indian,  
or go away,  
but do not stand in the door:  
do not watch us,  
do not listen:  
or watch, & listen, & plan,  
but be careful of doors.

### **Modern Times:**

Now, some become drunk,  
some dead on the road,  
some diabetic & fat:  
some sell insurance,  
some plant corn with a wooden stick  
& bury idols in the cornfield.

### **The Long Walk:**

Some marched three thousand miles  
for a nothing: for dreams:  
for sacred smoke:  
for a dreamed song:  
and the Walk ended  
& they were far from home.

### **U.S.A.:**

And some served in the Army or Marines  
& raised the flag on Iwo Jima:  
then some went to Central America  
where the President of the United States  
sent them  
to kill Indians.

Then, where now, Indian?  
With your proud nose  
& your old language,  
or with your pick-up truck  
& your case of Coors,

### **El Salvador:**

or with your farm burned,  
parents beheaded,  
sisters raped  
by the young policemen  
of your young country,

where now, Indian?  
Under bloodless blue sky  
in Montana, or on blood-drenched  
Guazapa? With your gallon of wine  
or your carbine? What happens now,

### **Indian?**

(Robert Kahn asked us to thank the Papago Nation for having educated him to Indian ways. He was a teacher there for six years.)

He has been interviewing Central American refugees hiding in the United States.

Thank you, Robert, and we hope to hear from you in future issues of Notes. Ed.)



# Leonard Peltier: An

## Introduction:

On February 6, 1976, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police arrested Leonard Peltier at a campsite west of Edmonton, Alberta. Since that time nine years ago, Peltier has been confined in maximum-security prisons in Canada and the U.S.

The 40-year old Lakota and Ojibwe Indian man, originally from the Turtle Mountain reservation in No. Dakota on the Canadian border, was tried and convicted for the shooting deaths of two FBI agents in June 1975 on the Pine Ridge reservation (So. Dakota). His 1977 murder trial in Fargo, No. Dakota has generated controversy and international press attention owing to the extraordinary and extra-legal government tactics employed in his prosecution.

Amnesty International, as one example of the organized efforts on Peltier's behalf, has investigated his case, and called for a hearing before the U.S. Congress on the role of the FBI in criminal investigations. An Amnesty official travelled from London to observe Peltier's Oct. 1984 evidentiary hearing before Judge Paul Benson in Fargo, No. Dakota.

The coercion of witnesses, introduction of perjured testimony, use of dubious circumstantial evidence, and the creation of a climate of loathing against the American Indian Movement (AIM) characterize the government's case against Peltier — which resulted in a sentence of two consecutive life terms in prison.

This interview was conducted on Jan. 15, 1985 at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri. The U.S. Bureau of Prisons medical facility houses some 1000 inmates; 400 in "general population," and the rest in hospital wards or in "administrative detention" units. Peltier has been confined 23-hours a day in a tiny administrative detention unit cell since May 1984.

Peltier was escorted into the visiting room by a guard. Peltier was handcuffed behind his back. The guard removed his handcuffs, and after greetings and some conversation the following interview commenced.

Interview with Leonard Peltier — Jan. 15, 1985  
U.S. Bureau of Prisons Medical Center, Springfield, Missouri

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Mordecai Spektor: How did it come that you were moved from the Marion, Illinois federal prison to Springfield?

Leonard Peltier: On October 27, 1983 they completely locked down the Marion institution — and stripped all the cells out, suspended all activities, all the religious activities. After a few months of filing administrative remedies, numerous requests for our religion to be reinstated — we kept getting a flat, outright "no," our religious activities were suspended indefinitely — I decided on April 10th that I was going to go on a religious fast until my religious activities were reinstated. I went on a 45-day fast.

They moved me the first time from Marion to Springfield the latter part of April. I started taking the liquids here, so they moved me back; and I continued to fast as soon as we got over there, and went on just a water fast. They moved me back sometime in May, and I've been here ever since, right here at Springfield.

They keep telling us — me, Robert Wilson "Standing Deer" and Albert Garza — that we're going to be here indefinitely.

MS: What religious activities were previously allowed to the Indian prisoners at Marion?

LP: Before the lockdown we were only allowed one-hour in the chapel and having a pipe ceremony, and some religious articles. After the lockdown on October 27th there wasn't anything, everything was suspended. The only thing they had going around in the units was a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister. Everything else is still suspended to this day.

MS: There have been allegations of brutal treatment by a number of Marion inmates. Would you describe what the situation was like?

LP: When they came in after October 27th and



Leonard Peltier

Photo: Dick Bancroft

started stripping the cells out and started moving everybody around, there were beatings going on continuously. I was taken out of my cell, brought into the hallway; they forced me to put my face up against a wall, and a couple of the officers that were escorting me were intimidating me. They had shields on and no name tags, so I couldn't identify them.

I was beaten for passing off a sandwich to my next-door neighbor who was hungry. I refused to eat at the time, because of a rumor going around that the son of one of the officers that was killed was trying to re-enter the institution and he had some arsenic with him. I don't know how true it was, but I figured, I'll go on this fast to bring some attention to what was happening.

There were over 90 beatings, very brutal beatings that went on inside the institution. I went to bed at night, went to sleep about 10 o'clock — I would hear people being beaten in the hallways, because the whole institution was quiet then and you could hear all the movements in the hallways. I'd be woke in the morning hearing people being beaten, hearing clubs hitting people on the head, inmates hollering and screaming.

It was real Gestapo-type of terrorist acts by the Bureau of Prisons' guards that came in there. They sent in special guards, goon squads from all over the country.

MS: You've been treated better at Springfield?

LP: Well, I'm not being beaten. As of about two months ago, they took the four-man order off me and 'cuffs only — I could only leave my cell with handcuffs on behind my back — they took those off. But I'm still being locked in a sound-proof cell; very filthy cells, by the way, for a hospital, very, very filthy. There's cockroaches, ants, and all kinds of other insects crawling all over the cells. The walls are filthy. I couldn't stand it, so I finally had to clean my cell up. It took numerous requests to get cleaning material to clean the cell up, but I finally got it and I got my cell cleaned up pretty good now. They keep moving you around all the time — I don't know why, but they just keep moving you around to different cells. I imagine the next cell I go into will be just as filthy as the one before. And I'm talking about, they were filthy. If the health department came in here and investigated, they would close those cells down.

Like I say, this is supposed to be a hospital. What they're doing is, they're taking these prisoners that come from maximum-security institutions; they take them for surgery here. They take them up to the surgery wards, and they leave them up there after the operation for maybe one day, two days, if they're lucky; then they put them right back down in the hole. And like I say, these cells, man, they're filthy they're dirty.

MS: What are you allowed here in the way of recreation?

LP: I'm allowed five one-hour rec periods a week; three showers; three times a clean clothes change; clean bedding one time a week; and three meals a day. I was finally allowed to buy a radio the other day. It took me months to get that approved — it was approved, but they wouldn't sell me one for the longest time.

MS: Are you allowed religious articles, sage, tobacco?

LP: Well, they let (spiritual leader) Archie Lame Deer in once in May, and Ernie Peters in once in May or June. Archie's coming down this weekend to have some ceremonies. We're going to try to get them to allow me to go into the sweatlodge. They have a sweatlodge here, but they've been outright denying it, saying that they don't have staff, and they don't have security — these are the type of excuses they're giving. So, after this weekend we're filing a lawsuit.

I want to find out why I'm being kept in the hole, why I'm being punished, why my religion is being denied to me.

MS: The sweatlodge is for the general population inmates?

LP: Right. I've heard that there are about 15 Indian prisoners here; I'm not sure if that's how many they have attending the ceremonies.

MS: Let's talk about your case in the courts. How do you feel things went in Bismarck during the hearing in October?

LP: As far as I'm concerned and the attorneys are concerned, it went excellent. We were able to severely discredit (FBI firearms specialist) Hodge's past testimony. We caught him on what they're now saying is "misspoke" — but, you know, perjury is perjury. By the law and by the constitution of the United States, I should by rights have the charges dismissed or a new trial.

But we have to remember that this is a very controversial case. They're claiming I attacked and killed two representatives of their government, so we're still facing a pretty serious situation. What we have to do now, since we have all the evidence on my behalf, we have to do a very large, world-wide awareness campaign. We have to have people writing letters, petitions — we have to do a p.r. job, in other words.

MS: Your case received press attention last year after the Soviet Union's press agency publicized it. How do you feel about their interest?

LP: First of all, I appreciate their interest. If it hadn't been for them, the United States national media wouldn't have gotten interested. We've been pushing for eight years, nine years now trying to get them to do some major stories on my case, but until the Russians and the Nobel prize winners from Russia got involved, they didn't seem to have any interest.

But, no, I appreciate their attention, and I hope they do more; they said they would not rest and would not abandon my case until I was free from prison. So, I appreciate their help.

MS: Returning to Bismarck — you had a chance to see your family. You hadn't seen them for some time before that?

LP: Yes, I was only given ten minutes; one of the marshals sat right there in the room and wrote down everything we said, so I couldn't have no private conversation with my father, or my wife, or children. It was a quick ten minutes. I didn't get to see all of my family, all of my brothers and sisters; or my stepmother, they wouldn't let my stepmother in, none of my aunts. It was very selective on the part of the marshals, who they allowed in.



# Interview By Mordecai Specktor



Mother & Son — Yellow Thunder Camp 1983

Photo: Spotted Eagle Productions

But I did get to see my dad, my wife, some of the kids, which was allright. My wife came down last weekend, and they wouldn't let the children in. I don't know why, what happened there. There was supposed to be some local news media doing some coverage on that. Right now they're asking the prison, what's the deal here, why was Leonard refused to be allowed to see his children.

MS: How many children do you have? What ages are they?

LP: Well, I got eight, and they're from 19 on down to about nine-years old. I got one grandchild, too, by the way.

MS: Congratulations. You're getting old.

LP: No, I'm a young grandfather.

MS: Another aspect of the Bismarck hearing: Judge Benson seemed mild-mannered, cordial to all the parties in the courtroom. Is this a different judge than you saw at the Fargo trial in 1977?

LP: Basically, no. The only reason that Benson allowed us some of the things that we requested this time is because he's aware that the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals has jurisdiction over this case; and also, that we had filed a (writ of) mandamus asking him to be recused (removed from the case). The 8th Circuit Court of Appeals did not deny us that mandamus, they held it in reserve. What this is doing, this is telling Benson, hey, look, we're watching you, we want to make sure this is a clean hearing, there's too much publicity around it, there's too much controversy around it.

As far as I'm concerned, Benson really didn't change that much; he acted the same way at the trial. But he would always rule in favor of the government, even though he knew the government's evidence was irrelevant. When it came to us, he would deny it, saying it's irrelevant to the case. I didn't see that much difference in him.

The part (of the Bismarck hearing) where he was trying to find a way to deny us a handwriting expert, again just shows us that he's the same old Benson. I really don't expect nothing from Benson. He's very upset with me; he doesn't like me — I don't like him. I wrote him a letter — not threatening — but I just quoted the law to him, and told him what I thought of him; and I know he doesn't like me because of that. And because of the statement I read just before he sentenced me. I mean, I could see the expression on his face. He was very upset with me. Of course, I'm very upset with him, the way he's run that trial.

We now know that he had personally ordered a trial transcript of Bob (Robideau) and Dino's (Butler) trial. They were studying Bob and Dino's trial, to make sure they got a conviction. Where Judge McManus (Presiding at Butler-Robideau trial in Cedar Rapids) would grant a motion for the defense, (Benson) would do just the opposite. That's why he ordered a transcript — he wanted to make sure there was a conviction. Of course, he denies it.

But one of (Judge) McManus's clerks told us that. He said, I know he got it, because he ordered it and there were some pages missing. And his clerk called

back and said, hey, certain pages of this transcript are missing — we'd like to have copies of them.

He hasn't changed to me. Some people think he has; I don't think he has at all. I might be wrong, and if I am I'll apologize. But it's going to be very hard for me to apologize after the nine years of hell I've went through. Hopefully, he has, but I don't think so.

MS: It's almost ten years since the shoot-out at Oglala. For people who aren't familiar with this history, would you explain why you went to Oglala?

LP: I had been living on Pine Ridge (reservation, So. Dakota) prior to that. I had been married to a girl from there, had a couple children there. The American Indian Movement had more or less made Pine Ridge our base. But there were so many activities going on around the country, we couldn't stay there all the time.

At our AIM convention in Farmington, the chiefs had sent a delegation of Lakota elders to plead with the American Indian Movement to come back onto the reservation, because Indian people were being killed and terrorized. It was just a whole regime of terror going on against the traditionals and American Indian Movement members.

So, I volunteered my services along with the chapter of the American Indian Movement that I was the director of, from Seattle, Washington. We went onto the reservation and helped people — we weren't only into protection; we were into self-sufficiency. We helped build a store there, and a gas station; planted some gardens, crops. We started teaching more about religion, trying to get more people involved with their religion.

We still believe that we were attacked on June 26th. It was a shoot-out that started about ten that morning, 'til about eight, nine o'clock that night. A couple of agents got killed, and an Indian brother got killed, Joseph Stuntz.

MS: At the mini-press conference following your hearing in Bismarck, you told the three reporters in the press pool that you were at Oglala, but that you're doing someone else's time." Is that an accurate statement?

LP: That's an accurate statement, yes. It's true. There's never been any evidence submitted to any court where I was even... no one ever testified that they seen me shooting at those agents, let alone killing them. I've maintained my innocence from the beginning, and I still do.

I never killed those agents. They were killed by two different people, the evidence shows. That's all there is to it. We have thousands of documents supporting what I'm saying now.

MS: You've become a world-wide symbol of the Indian struggle. Did you ever imagine the course of things would take before you went to Oglala?

LP: About myself, no; personally, no. I never thought I'd become this well-known. I knew I always had the support — I knew that from the first day I was arrested, when people travelled thousands of miles to be there. Vernon Bellecourt came in, some other elders from Lakota nation, my family came in from Washington, Oregon. Tribal members and tribal leaders came in from Bellingham, Washington — people that I knew most of my life and associated with in one way or another. And these were very influential Indians that showed up there. These weren't just so-called radicals or AIM people. Some people weren't even involved with the American Indian Movement, whatsoever. There were tribal elected-officials, and they all came there. A lot of them told me that they would be with me 'til I was free, and the government was going to have to learn that I was not just another old Indian that nobody was concerned about, that they were going to be behind me.

I feel good about the awareness my case has brought to the world. It's brought the attention to the Indian struggle in the United States. I feel very proud of that, and I feel that my sacrifice has been paying off in a sense. If things were different, if things could be reversed, I don't think I would want to change anything — except maybe doing the time. (Laughter)

MS: You still feel that you're in the movement;

you're still in it for the long haul and you have no regrets?

LP: Oh, I'll never quit now. I mean, I've got too many years involved — I've been involved since I was 14, directly involved. I'm 40 years old now, and there ain't no turning back for me now. Full steam ahead. (Laughter)

MS: Today is the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the great social and moral leaders of our time. What do you think Indian people can offer to the world, in terms of a vision of a better world?

LP: I receive a lot of mail every day from people all over the country, all over the world, and people are looking more and more to direction from the Indian people on how to make a better world for our future generations. So, I think the Indian people will be a vanguard of the future struggles around the world. I feel very confident saying that.

MS: How do you feel about the future, about your legal fight to win your freedom?

LP: Well, the outcome, of course, I'm a little bit concerned about it. We have all the evidence that supports my claim of being railroaded, being framed — government misconduct, manipulating witnesses, manufacturing evidence — I've got all of this in my behalf. But I have to also keep in mind that I'm fighting a very powerful system, a very powerful government. They're not about to just up and admit that they railroaded anyone.

This ain't the first case this ever happened. There's cases all over the country. Look at (California Black Panther) Geronimo Pratt. He's now getting a new hearing after eleven years. The FBI agent has come forward and said, yes, we manufactured evidence around him, because we wanted to get him into prison.

The government will never admit that they do this to people, so I've got to face reality that there's a good possibility they'll never do that to me. I might be here for another eight, nine years.

I still feel optimistic about it, though. I mean, I've got a lot of beautiful people around the world supporting me. It's growing more and more every day... Eventually the government's going to have to say, you've got to give this guy a new trial or you've got to turn him loose. Hopefully, it ain't too much longer, but we'll just have to play it a day at a time and see what happens.

MS: You mentioned that an Indian spiritual leader is going to visit you here this weekend. Other than that, your religious freedom is restricted in Springfield?

LP: It's restricted to a pipe ceremony. Archie Lame



Indian Members — Yellow Thunder Camp 1983

Photo: Spotted Eagle Productions



Deer should be down here Thursday or Friday, and we're going to try and get me into the sweat, have a sweat ceremony. If we don't, we're filing a lawsuit. We're still going to file a lawsuit.

MS: As we were discussing earlier, there are Indian inmates in general population here, but you're segregated from them, so you can't participate in their sweatlodge ceremony.

LP: A lot of the brothers in population want to come in on this lawsuit, because I'm a Sundancer, and I'm a chief of the warrior society. I'm a pipeholder. I'm more or less their spiritual leader. That's why they're coming in as co-plaintiffs on the lawsuit we're filing.

MS: Can you keep a pipe with you here?

LP: No, I can't even keep a feather here, or any other religious artifacts in my cell.

MS: When you get out, where do you want to go, what do you want to do?

LP: First of all, my father's health is deteriorating. The doctor told my family that because of his severe diabetes his whole circulatory system has aged to an 80-year old person; he's 61 now, I think. And his heart went out, he had to have a triple-bypass heart operation. His kidneys are no longer functioning. Now he's going blind because the blood vessels in his eyes are busting from the diabetes.

I'd like to go spend some time with him. I know we all do this. We're all guilty of this — we never spend enough time with our parents, until it's really too late. I'm guilty of it myself. Now that I realize that my father's health is deteriorating and he probably won't be around very much longer, if I do get out I'd like to go spend some time with him. Move close to him for awhile, and continue working in the movement, of course, but to be close to him a little bit more, get to know him a little bit better. I feel very guilty about it, sad now that I didn't spend more time with him when he was healthy. That's one thing I want to do.

I have so many requests from different tribes around the country to go live with them and help



Medicine Man Frank Fools Crow

Photo: Spotted Eagle Productions

**Leonard Peltier Defense Committee**  
2524-16th Ave.  
South Seattle, WA 98144  
(206) 322-6261

**Leonard Peltier Defense Committee**  
P.O. Box 1492  
Rapid City, SD 57709  
(605) 341-2207



them organize. I think I'm going to be very busy, but I think I want to make Turtle Mountain my home base temporarily, until my father either gets better or passes away. And then I'll probably move back to Pine Ridge — I consider myself a citizen of the Lakota nation.

In fact, I had what I consider a very honorable offer from one of the elders: When one of the chiefs died a couple years ago, they wanted to elect me as the chief in place of the one who died. I declined on it because, I said, there's other elders that have been waiting all these years. I didn't want to cause a conflict between us. I said, I'll just wait until there's another opportunity down the road... But it was a very powerful honor to even be asked this. As far as I'm concerned, to me, it's a very thrilling offer, request.

MS: The hour we have been allowed is almost up. Is there anything you would like to say in closing?

LP: We have a goal set for getting four million signatures on petitions. I would like to make a plea to the people to continue this. We got about 40,000 now; I have a long ways to go.

I've refrained from asking this directly, but we're at a situation now where it's needed — we're hurting financially. I would like to have people contribute, not large amounts, just small amounts, whatever they can afford. We have to intensify our campaign right now. Our top priority right now to become more visible is to try and buy a full-page ad in some of these major newspapers to spell out the whole case, all the issues, all the violations of my rights and the Constitution, so the layman on the street can understand. In other words, me and the support people are going to write it, so it won't come out in lawyers' language, so the people can understand it. I need help that way very bad.

Otherwise, I just want to tell everybody out there that I love you, and I really appreciate your support. You've all been beautiful. You've made this whole sacrifice a little bit easier for me. Enabled me to endure it, enabled me to keep my head up and my spirits strong. I want to thank you for it.

## THIS JUST IN FROM SPRINGFIELD

February 23, 1985

Warden J.S. Petrovsky has retaliated against the Feb. 5th filing of the Religious Freedom Lawsuit by ordering guards to put Standing Deers' food tray at the door to his cell, instead of bringing it to his bedside as they have done since Jan. 12th.

★ Standing Deer is *not* able to walk to get his tray!  
★ Standing Deer has *not* eaten anything for six days!

Yesterday, Attorney Margaret Gold asked the federal court to intercede, but the court said it would not tell Petrovsky how to run his prison. They quit feeding Standing Deer on February 18th. WRITE TO WARDEN J.S. PETROVSKY, P.O. BOX 4000, SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI 65802 AND PROTEST THIS OUTRAGEOUS ACT OF REPRISAL!

### Standing Deer Update

Being confined in an 6' X 8' room for more than sixteen months has taken its toll on Standing Deer's unstable back, and he is once again unable to walk or even stand up. On December 19, 1984, he was removed from the Springfield hole where he and Albert Garza are confined, and put in the hospital. He is in what is called the "strong section": 4 rooms behind a locked steel door which house hospital patients. His room is kept locked, but he has a hospital bed, a writing table and a locker. Unfortunately, the move to the hospital came too late to reverse the deteriorating condition of the degenerative disc disease that has plagued him for several years and on January 12, 1985, Deer became completely non-ambulatory. He is wholly dependent on the hospital staff to feed him in bed, bathe him in a hydraulic lift apparatus for paralyzed patients, and otherwise minister to his needs.

The tragic thing about it is this could have been prevented if only Norman Carlson had listened to Margaret Gold when she wrote to him in March of '84. At that time she explained to Carlson that the only type of exercise Standing Deer could do was walking, and that under the lock-down conditions he could not walk enough to properly exercise his unstable back. She advised Carlson that there was a very real danger that without the exercise of daily walking which he could only get in a general population setting his arthritic back might cause him to become unable to walk. Carlson ignored Ms. Gold's pleas and now Standing Deer must suffer the consequences of the BOP's policy of vengeance and retaliation against all prisoners who were in Marion on October 22, 1983.

This is the second time Standing Deer has been confined to a wheel-chair since coming to Springfield. In July '84, he was forced to use a wheelchair for 27 days. Anytime he left the cell to see the doctor or even to go to the shower which was only 30 feet from his cell he was transported in a wheelchair. He got over

that in August, but he was never completely back to normal because of the denial of out of cell time for exercise.

Standing Deer's back condition is nothing new and the prison officials have been aware of it for a long time. He has been confined to a wheel-chair on eight separate occasions since 1977. The difference between the other times and this latest occurrence is the severity. In the past he has been able to ride in a wheelchair to visit his attorneys, but at this writing his attorney Margaret Gold has visited him 14 times between January 12 and February 12, and she has had to visit at his bedside because he could not bear the pain of going to the visiting room in a wheelchair. When the BOP allows a bedside visit you can be sure that their doctors know how severely ill the patient is. Bedside visits are practically unheard of for maximum security prisoners. In spite of his condition, Warden Joseph S. Petrovsky informed the Deer on January 22, 1985 that as soon as he was able to walk he was being sent back to Marion. Can you believe it?!

Here is what will happen in Marion: twice a week the goon squad removes prisoners from their cells in order to search the cells. The prisoners must come backward to the door extending his wrists to be handcuffed, but before he is handcuffed he is made to strip, show his mouth, ears, arms, hands, feet, legs, and bend from the waist while spreading his cheeks to display his anus. Standing Deer can not bend from the waist. Period. It is physically impossible for him to do this. He has already been beaten on 3 occasions in Marion because he can not do the bending. These beatings on Nov. 1-2 and Nov. 7, 1983 are in the lawsuit re brutality *Bruscino v. Carlson*.

So Standing Deer's dilemma is this: if he does get well enough to walk again he will undoubtedly have another attack sooner or later. If he is sent to Marion where there are no health services or hospital he will be subjected to the same brutal treatment he has suffered in the past only this time it will be unrestrained since

Marion has officially adopted brutality as part of an unwritten policy.

Good arguments have been made by several knowledgeable people that USP Marion has become nothing more than one big CONTROL UNIT and I would certainly agree with that assessment. Deer could not be put in the Control Unit because their own rules and regulations forbid it. The federal Code of Regulations 28 CFR §541.41(c)(1) clearly states that:

"(c) The warden may not refer an inmate for placement in the Control Unit:

(1) If the inmate shows evidence of significant mental disorder or *major physical disabilities* as documented in a mental health evaluation or a physical examination." (emphasis added)  
Standing Deer could not qualify to be put in the Control Unit, and he should not be put in the so-called "general population" of Marion which is just another name for the Control Unit. He will be 63 years old on March 25, and it is about time that the brutality against him is brought to a halt. We must write letters to members of congress and prison officials expressing our concern. Ask the congressmen to demand answers from the Bureau of Prisons as to what they intend to do with our brother. Write to Norman A. Carlson, 320 First St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20534 and let him know you are aware of the situation and ask for an answer in writing. You can write Standing Deer at Springfield:

Standing Deer a/k/a  
Robert Hugh Wilson #01499-164  
U.S. Medical Center  
P.O. Box 4000  
Springfield, MO 65802

Your prayers for his recovery are most important of all.

Love, Peace & Freedom,

signed

LEONARD Gwarth-ee-Lass PELTIER



Dear Sirs,

My name is Carlos Taipe Campos and am a prisoner since the 19th of March 1981 in the county jail of Huancayo (Department Junin, Peru).

I was imprisoned by a Sinchis group (special unit of the Guardia Civil) in the county Satipo.

It was there that I, as press secretary of the Peruvian Farmers Trade Union (confederacion Campesina del Peru - CCP) took part in the first joint meeting of farmers and Indians from Satipo. The Sinchis beat me, so that I should confess, that I was a terrorist. When they did not succeed in this, they took me to another unit of the Guardia Civil in Huancayo, where they tortured me again, so that I should confess being a terrorist. When even then they did not reach their goal, they brought me to the city jail. From this place I write to you and I am appealing on the IVth Russell Tribunal, which deals with the question on the American aboriginals' rights and took place on the 24th - 30th of November 1980, in Rotterdam, Holland. To them I put my case of the Indian village community Colcabamba; a case of mass murder and extermination.

I took part of the IVth Russell Tribunal as counsellor of the jury and as representative of:

1. the village community Colcabamba
2. the farmers Trade Union of the county Tayacaja
3. the farmers Trade Union of the department Huancavelica
4. the Peruvian Farmers Trade Union CCP, of which I was the secretary at the time (defense department).

In the above mentioned case the situation of the Indian Farmers of the village community Colcabamba is stated, which has much affinity to my own experience.

With the change of government and the installment of the architect Fernando Belaunde Terry the return of the large landowners on the countryside becomes a fact.

With the polls in May 1980, for the second time Fernando Belaunde Terry became President of Peru; his party is 'Accion Popular' and forms a coalition with the 'Christian Peoples Party', PPC. Together they took over power of the Peruvian government.

Shortly after this take-over, Belaunde gave newspapers and radio — and tv-stations back to the original owners.

When the ex-large landowners, who are the corrupt authorities, the dishonest wholesalers, the incompetent officials, the publishers and in fact all local authorities, realized this, they felt strong and declared, that from now on they were in power and consequently the land became theirs again.

And so it happened that the ex-large landowners again took power over the whole of the Peruvian Sierra as well as in the province Tayacaja, but especially in the area Colcabamba.

It was with the large landowners that repression returned. They were backed by the country Security Police PIP, the Guardia Civil and the corrupt Court of Justice. These landowners do not acknowledge the landrights and land division, which previously had been obtained by the farmers deputies. The landowners began procedures based on their accusation of farmers having unjustly taken land. They went into pursuit of the farmers; these were imprisoned, and dragged away by police. Others were murdered. In Colcabamba alone, 400 campesinos were imprisoned; in the whole of the province 1200. Villagers were imprisoned for more than nine months, until land ownership in the village community was resettled. When we could prove, that it was not a case of taking land by the villagers, new accusations were raised against us: we were accused of stealing potatoes, maize and lentils, or life-stock or else. We had been breaking into their houses to steal tools and other things. We were also accused of violating the individual freedom of the landowners, by disturbing community order and disrespect of authority. For instance: in the village Colcabamba we had 21 lawsuits; nine are accomplished, twelve are left. In each of these cases my name is on top of the list. When landowners from other parts of the province accuse other farmers, then my name is on the list too and I am accused of being the leader. It is like this: 8 to 10 villagers are imprisoned for 9 up to 12 months; when they are released, 8 to 10 other villagers must replace them in prison. This is the situation since 1973 and for the last 5 years it is getting worse. With the rise of 'Sendero' the Armaments Organization, all leaders, authorities and villagers were accused of being terrorists. Ever since 'Sendero Luminoso' (the path of light) started in May/June 1980 the armed struggle, the groups of local power, the police, the people's representatives and senators of the political parties AP and PPC accused us of being terrorists.

This the way, ill-treatment and persecution occurs because of so called dishonest land possession or stealing, etc. always accompanied by the accusation of terrorism. This particular situation hangs heavily over the people of Colcabamba-Tayacaja as it does over the people of other provinces like Huancavelica, Ayacucho and Apurimac. Because of the fights between military and police, representing the government, and 'Sendero Luminoso' we are in a war area. By combined actions thousands of members of the so-called forces of order raid the village communities, search the houses, smash doors, mishandle children, women and men, and take all valuables: money, electric equipment, chickens and other domestic animals. Mass arrests were made, up to 100 peasants at the time; most often the poor villagers were apprehended and transferred by trucks to the police stations and barracks. For their release they have to pay between 200,000 and 300,000 soles, the others are imprisoned and accused of terrorism. All village communities and organizations of peasants were pushed underground by prohibiting meetings of any kind. All roads, included the rural ones, were carefully kept a watch over. Curfew was imposed between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. The Sinchis brought about explosions at any time of day and night and discharged their machine guns to impose a climate of terror upon the population. They showed peasants passing by bloody and chained and raped young girls, married and widowed women. Most persecuted and wanted dead or alive are we, the representatives and leaders of the peasants: they persecuted us fiercely, always under the pretext of us being terrorists. One example: when I want to

leave for the IVth Russell Tribunal in November 1980, I was arrested at the airport by the PIP and it was asserted, that there was a warrant on my name. Purposely was forgotten, that in the last year of the military government Morales Bermudez political amnesty for all social advocates was proclaimed. After I had succeeded to leave due to protests of the IVth Russell Tribunal and the intervention of the delegate Javier, the government Belaunde declared me a political exile. As the PIP arrested me at the airport, it took my return ticket and in my passport was noted: 'No access'. Due to that I had to stay in Europe for one month. I only returned to Peru on the 24th of December at 12 p.m. and passed the airport control, without the PIP noticing me, because at this very moment all embraced each other and wished each other happy Christmas. Because of this they handled the entry in a fast way and stamped the passports without checking. During my stay in Europe, high tension poles in the province Pampas-Tayacaja were blasted. The police, instigated by the landowners, accused me of this! In the area of Colcabamba and in Tayacaja over 100 policemen were looking for me and invaded all the village communities. My house was searched almost every second day, at 7, 10, 12 p.m., at 2, 3, and 4 a.m.; my family and village lived in a climate of terror.

On February 21st 1981 the community member Humberto Vilcatoma Perez was killed in Colcabamba. There also died the landowner Francisco Hinostroza, killed by his own bodyguard. His brother, another landowner named Gustavo Hinostroza and his cousin, Rodolfo Hinostroza Rojas (delegate of the AP-Huancavelica), accused me of the murder of the mentioned landowner; in this way they continued counteracting me and a warrant was issued all over Peru, accusing me of terrorism. At the time of the death of this landowner, I however found myself in the village community San Pedro in Casta Huarochiri/Lima at the second national Congress of the CCP, together with hundreds of peasant delegates from all over Peru. These and delegates of the IU (United Left) can confirm my presence on February 20th and 21st 1981. In 1981 and 1982 the landowners of Tayacaja continued to accuse us of offenses, we didn't commit. The persecutions continued and warrants kept piling up: 8

to 10 authorities, leaders and villagers are continually in prison. In the last months of 1982 and in the beginning of 1983 'Sendero' carried out actions in some districts of Tayacaja, in Colcabamba too. After all these actions they accused us of being directly responsible; this went so far, that the political military chief in command of Tayacaja ordered to kill me, wherever they caught me. In this situation I couldn't live at my place nor join my family; I couldn't look for labour to support my family nor could I travel freely on Peruvian territory, because passing the police controls was very dangerous. I visited my family once in 8 months or once a year for only few hours. Then we carried out organizing activities on behalf of my village or other local groups, we arrived and left at night. Sometimes we lacked the money for transportation, food and clothing. We nevertheless endured well, felt even joy, because we were aware of the fact, that they persecuted us just because we were defending the interests of our village community, our people, where we are part of. We thought like this: we are no criminals, no murderers, we are not those, who lie to and cheat our people; we are the defenders of our community, that's why they accused, persecute us and wish our deaths.

Because they couldn't catch me during these years, they took revenge on my family and the peasants of my village. My brothers were arrested without charge and accused of offenses, they had never committed. Our children suffered most from all this. They only suffered from hunger, misery and isolation; they even couldn't attend school, because they hadn't school equipment, uniforms, etc. When they fell ill, there was no medicine to cure them. My wife had almost died of tuberculosis; since half a year she is treated and she has to be treated another six months: my situation worsened, as my little daughter got infantile paralysis. I have six children.

Until July 1982 I was Secretary of Defense on the Executive Committee of CCP and on their sixth Congress I was elected, this time as Press-Secretary and my tasks were to be carried out on a national level, to aid farmers from the lowest level, who

# Peru:

## Fight For Survival





asked for help. I was arrested when fulfilling such duties and in fact when I was participating in the first general meeting of farmers and Indians in the province of Satipo.

THEY ARRESTED ME, AFTER FIRST HAVING LOOKED FOR ME FOR SIX YEARS. I was directed to participate in this meeting by the CCP executive committee and so, on the 14th of March 1984, I left Lima for Satipo and from there I proceeded to the meeting place, the district of Rio Negro, where I arrived the 15th of March at 7:30 a.m. That day and the next I assisted those who organized the meeting with the successful execution of the meeting on which there were to be discussions on the problems of farming and discussions in workgroups.

**17th of March 1984 10 a.m.** I am taken prisoner by about 20 Sinchis. Some minutes before 10 o'clock I could see from the table at which we were working on the evaluation of the group results, two armed policemen in the direction of the door opposite. I became suspicious and then I noticed even more policemen near the assembly hall at a distance of about 50 meters. I told the Delegates with whom I was together: 'The Sinchis have surrounded us. They will certainly come to arrest me. If this happens, please call the CCP Central Office immediately and send telegrams to all Delegates and Senators of the United Left.' I asked one of the Delegates to go to my lodging and to get me my bag with my clothes, personal documents and the money for my return trip. I asked another Delegate, who knew the country well, to flee with me into the jungle. My bag duly arrived and we prepared to take flight. Exactly at this moment more than 10 Sinchis broke into the assembly hall, laid hands on me and two other Delegates, one from the IU City Council of the province of Satipo, the other a farmers delegate from a village. I said to myself: 'Two minutes more and they wouldn't have caught me.' I would have needed those two minutes to jump from the assembly hall window and to vanish into the forest. Once there they could have forgotten all about me, as I am not so stupid as to get caught.

At my arrest they neither respected the permit granted by the Satipo subprefecture nor the other delegates, onto whom they directed their arms. They took the three of us to the country road, where two police cars were waiting. They put us in the cars and took us to Satipo police station.

I thought: 'They catch me after six years and what will happen now?'

— They can take me to the Mazamari Sinchi barracks, torture me and make me disappear.

— They can hand me over to the Public Prosecutor's Office, interrogate me under torture for two weeks and then throw me in to jail, where I have to stay for at least three years.

— They can send me to the Guardia Civil district office at Huancayo, interrogate and torture me and then, after two weeks, send me to the barracks at Pampas or Ayacucho, from where I would certainly disappear.

— Or to Huancayo prison and later to Sexto, Lurigancho or to the island of El Fonton, all three in Lima.

Was I afraid? I can answer: No. Certainly I was disappointed. For some years I had known that one day I would fall into the clutches of repression. Morally I had prepared myself to remain cheerful under these circumstances and not to lose my dignity. I knew what awaited me. I remembered the times I had been in prison always because of defending my people. How I had been taken prisoner, by the military, the PIP, the Guardia Civil. How I had been in the State Security jail, how they beat me and hung me, the hunger and the cold I suffered and those many years they had persecuted me. Suddenly I remembered my wife, my children. I saw my children before me, how they came towards me, smiled at me, and without knowing, I smiled too. I remembered my village and all its fights. Some traitors came to my mind, they who say they are revolutionaries and who deceived us for many years — a great anger welled up in me. I thought of the CCP and all the meetings I had attended. However, I preferred to show a cheerful face, to lift the mood of the two delegates who had been taken prisoner together with me, especially when I realized the mistake our persecutors had committed in arresting me in the presence of sixty delegates and that now they could never deny having arrested me and if they did and if they made me disappear, there would be a great national and international scandal.

Furthermore I relied on the Delegates to contact the CCP, who would immediately inform the IU-MP's, who would certainly call the police station at Satipo, the district office of the Guardia Civil in Huancayo, the political-military chief of the districts under exceptional rule; they would apply to the Minister of the Interior and the National Committee for Human Rights — they would inform Amnesty International of my case and I trusted in myself and felt secure.

When we had arrived at the police station they searched everything I had with me. They took away my buckled belt and they did the same with my comrades. They locked us up in a cell, where they had been keeping a pig, which they took out from there. It had a mud floor, which was soggy because of the urine and vomit the pig had left.

I informed my companions of my considerations. They did not believe me and they maintained that they would be released shortly. I told them that we should take the opportunity to urinate, as our keepers would not allow us to do so later on. At about noon a sergeant opened the cell door and said: 'Comrade Carlos, it will go badly with you. That is war, you have lost. They call for you.' I was certain they would take me to the Sinchis barracks; I told my friends: 'Have courage, this is the way of our struggle. If I do not return, please carry on with it.'

I went out and in the yard two Sinchis were waiting for me. One had white skin, the other one was dark, both extremely fat. I came as far as their shoulders. They both took me by the arm and took me into a separate room. The white one said: 'We have caught you at last, you whoreson, you head my list and now you will sing.' I was taken by surprise by the dark one, who suddenly punched me in the stomach. I felt the pain and couldn't breathe. After that, one blow after the other hit me. I tried not to go down. Then I received a blow in the face and I fell to my knees. The white one kicked me and tore my hair back. They

asked me: 'You filthy terrorist, who belongs to your unit, how many camps have you got, what are your plans, where are your arms?' They said that if I didn't confess they would kill me, hack my body to pieces. But if I changed sides, they would let me live.

I answered that I didn't know anything and that I wasn't a terrorist, the landowners had accused me of that on account of the land problems we had, that I was a CCP leader and my stay in Satipo was connected with the first general meeting of farmers and Indians in the province of Satipo. I told them that the IU-MP's could confirm that I was no terrorist. But they continued beating me until I fell down unconscious and when I came to consciousness, they took me back to the cell and told us to think it over carefully and that they would give us some hours' time. They came for my two companions, also accused them of terrorism and interrogated them under threats.

My body ached quite a bit. When my two companions came back, I told them: 'They will certainly take us to Huancayo.' And when they asked: 'Why? We have committed no crime?' I told them that it was their way. I overheard a policeman say: 'They from Huancayo have already replied,' and this confirmed to me that they would be taking us there.

I sat down in the corner of the cell, clasped my arms around my legs and said: 'Let's rest. Take your chance and make water as much as you can.' The comrades were already complaining of hunger. It was about 4 o'clock p.m. I heard Policemen's voices and how a car arrived.

They took us from the cell and two Sinchis in civilian clothes armed with machine guns awaited us. They handcuffed us and made us get in. It was a coach and it went in the direction of Huancayo. They made the three of us sit on a seat for two. My right wrist was handcuffed to a piece of iron on the left side of the seat, the left one to the wrist of the man next to me. They did the same to my companions.

We knew that they were taking us to Huancayo and that we would be arriving at six or seven o'clock in the morning.

We wondered how we would cross the Cordilleras, where it is very cold, because we were only wearing thin summer shirts. Well, no matter, we would hold through.

We were chained tightly and with our arms crossed and with every movement of the car the handcuff bit more tightly. We felt severe pains in our wrists and our hands were all pins and needles. We told ourselves: 'Patience and as little movement as possible.' At about 10 o'clock at night we felt pressure on the bladder and we were hungry. From about midnight onwards we went up into the Cordilleras and the cold began. At about 2 o'clock we began to shiver. We pressed our legs together to resist the urge to urinate. At three o'clock in the morning our stomachs ached with the cold. Between 4 and 5 o'clock we knew we were not far from Huancayo. We arrived at six. They took off our handcuffs, only to tie our arms behind our backs. Our swollen lifeless wrists were purple. They unloaded us at the seventh police station and from there they took us to the district office of the Guardia Civil Huancayo.

#### 18th March 1984

Once there they made us stand in a row facing the wall. They asked: 'Who is Taipei?' They pointed at me and they said: 'Ah, so that is the famous Taipei. It will go badly with him.' They blindfolded us so tightly that it hurt. Then they took us to a room, apparently a laboratory and made us stand facing the wall, all the time producing all kinds of abuse and then they went out. With my foot I located the toilet pot and I said: 'Let's urinate. It doesn't matter what happens after that.'

With great difficulty we relieved ourselves. After that we felt much better and we went back to stand in our original positions. Shortly afterwards someone came and asked for me. I underwent a similar treatment as in Satipo, it started with fist blows in my stomach, in my ribs, in my neck. They accused me of being a terrorist, asked me the same questions to which I replied with the same answers as in Satipo. The same thing was repeated at about noon and at 10 o'clock at night and soon my back was covered with wounds.

They treated me so to make me confess to being a terrorist. Until 11 at night they made me stand up without a bite to eat. The cold was frightful. They tied the legs of one of my companions together with a rope and threw him on the floor in a corner of the cell, to prevent his escaping. We heard about all this because we overheard them discussing how to tie him up and because we heard our comrade complain that they should not tie him so tightly. They chained me and our third comrade to a post. They didn't beat the other two. The cold was frightful, we shook. Our keepers drank their coffee every hour and ate. We knew of it, because they discussed among themselves whether they wanted either coffee or food.

#### 19th March 1984

When we woke up, we knew it was morning, as we heard the sound of cars in the street. Again they took us to the room, where we had been the day before. Just like the others I could hardly stand and I was shaking without being able to control it. I said: 'Today, tonight and tomorrow we will do our utmost and remain steadfast.' After that the headaches would begin and we would have dizzy spells. I knew that experience. After that we would have no wills of our own, unable to control ourselves, we were already unconscious and after that came death, if they continued this treatment.

It was about ten o'clock in the morning when they took me to another place for interrogation. I saw that they were going to typewrite my statement and I told myself: 'Now or never.' They started with my personalia, my relatives and my whole history. After that they asked me about all the supposed terrorist actions, names I didn't know and if I denied anything, they started beating me up again. In between they asked questions. I answered that these were false accusations made by the landowners, that I was a CCP member, an United Left member and that they could check on my activities.

Those who interrogated me, said: 'This whoreson knows how to keep his brains together, that is why we cannot find out anything from him,' and they beat me again. They asked me why I participated in the IVth Russell Tribunal, what contacts I

had and they claimed they were those who supported terrorism. I told them that it wasn't true, that the Russell Tribunal only dealt with the problems of the American Indians, that I had only participated in the Tribunal as an advisor. When they got tired, they took me to another room, where they took off my blindfold, under which I felt severe pains in my eyes, so that, instinctively, I held my hand before my eyes and they started to water. I remained like that for about 10 minutes and then, by and by, I slowly opened my eyes. Two civilians brought me my written statement for signature, it was terribly difficult to read it, my eyes wouldn't let me. On the whole it seemed all right to me, but it gave an incorrect representation of some things, e.g. a paragraph in which I stated that I hadn't been touched and that I had incurred no injury whatsoever. I kept my resistance to myself and signed. They wanted to put my fingerprints on it. The two civilians tied my thumbs together with a buckle and took me out into the street.

We went about three blocks down and found ourselves near the railway tracks, close to the 7th police station. In this moment we came upon several civilians who said they were from the PIP. Some of them grabbed some of my escort and the others took me and tried to pull me into a car nearby. The PIP, who had heard of my capture, wanted to free me from the hands of the Guardia Civil.

As they noticed this, several policemen came from the 7th police station, tore me away from the PIP and took me to an isolated cell in the police station. It was about 4:30 p.m.

I felt better in the cell, as I was without handcuffs or fetters and I told myself: 'Cold, hunger and pain all over my body, but I will hold out still.' From my cell I could hear voices and laughter from the normal prisoners, men and women. In that moment a young man appeared, he came from the normal prisoners' quarters. 'You will earn 5000 soles — go to my lawyer and tell him that I am here, he will pay you the 5000.'

A short time after that my lawyer came, but they wouldn't let him to me. Later they brought me a sack and a blanket and a good meal (corn on the cob and boiled potatoes). When I started to eat, a policeman came and told me to go outside with all my things, they were taking me to another place. As far as my companions were concerned, I presumed that they had been handed over to State Security and that after that they would be released. They put me in a patrol car. I presumed they were taking me to another police station or to the Pampas barracks. That is how they do these things, in order to keep someone from the relatives and to make it disappear. But I experienced a certain calm, when I saw that they were not carrying machineguns. The patrol car passed through several streets and soon we arrived at the State prison. I was glad, because prison is a different matter, in the Guardia Civil's report it said that they had handed me over to the Justice Department on account of the more than thirty warrants all over the country.

In prison my whole body hurt for more than a week. On the 6th of April 1984 a colonel of the PIP came to this penitentiary, who was carrying eight documents in which the landowners of Colcabamba accused me of being a terrorist, together with Matayoshi. The policeman told me that he would take me for interrogation to a PIP-hall. I answered that I was under the jurisdiction of the Justice Department, that I would inform my lawyers and that in an emergency I would be willing to make a statement here and now (the prison). He said he would be back next Monday and so I waited.

What had been happening in the outside world in the meantime? The Delegates in Satipo had informed the CCP of my arrest, which had brought charges immediately and informed the deputies of the IU; they called up Satipo and Huancayo and sent notice to the Ministry of the Interior. In this way my arrest could not be denied anymore. The Deputy Javier Diez Canseco did much for my case; he is vicepresident of the committee for Human Rights for the Assembly of Deputies. The CCP also informed the National Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. From Satipo they had telephone conversations with the Deputy Alejandro Olivera, who was at Huancayo and who pleaded in my favour near the General of the district office of the Guardia Civil and spoke to the head of PIP and the prison warden.

If I had been alone at the moment of my arrest, they would very probably have made me disappear.

Carlos Taipei Campos, President of the Peasant Community of Colcabamba;

General Secretary of the Provincial Federation of Peasants of Tayacaju (FEP/CAT);

Press agent of the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CCP);

Member of the Advisory Board of the Workgroup Indigenous Peoples (WIP).

Workgroup Indigenous Peoples Organizing Committee, Fourth Russell Tribunal Postbus 4098, 1009 AB, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Carlos Taipei Campos was released from Lurigancho Jail on January 26, 1985.

But unfortunately there are still hundreds of other people kept in prison on charges comparable to those against Carlos Taipei Campos, or worse: they disappear.

So, in spite of Taipei's release, we must continue exerting pressure on the Peruvian government. After his release Taipei himself again started defending the rights of the Indian peasants and, using his international reputation, accusing the present political situation in Peru. Our Workgroup, together with f.i. Amnesty International, continues to focus attention on the situation of prisoners and missing persons in Peru. Recently a delegation of four Quechua-Indians from Peru came to Europe to inform the people here about the genocide, that is going on against their people. They also asked us to continue our activities for a better Peru.

Sincerely yours,  
Jacques de Kort, President  
WORKGROUP INDIGENOUS PEOPLES (WIP)



# The Japan Green Federation

We declare to organize the "Japan Green Federation", representing the following 13 groups:

1. Volunteers from the Japan Green Party.
2. Iwate Green Party.
3. Ecology Cooperative, "ISAKI".
4. Ecology-Sha.
5. The Office of International convention for Protection the Life of the Earth.
6. Ainu Bunka Kyokai (Ainu culture Association).
7. Kanto Green Party.
8. Himegami Shizen-Juku (Himegami Nature School).
9. Komaki Hisatoki endowment for Peace.
10. Gumma Kusanone Hyogikai (Gumma Grass Roots Council).
11. Aichi-ken Nishi-Mikawa Green Party.
12. Gumma Macrobiotic Center.
13. Hachioji Green Meeting.

We have cooperated to hold The First Convention for Protecting the Life of the Earth, which was held at Hakuba village, Nagano Pref., Japan, during October 1 - October 6, 1984. Through this convention, we could, first time in history, lead this conference of solidarity of world ecologists and indigenous people to successful results to protect the life to the earth in critic danger. Based on the cooperative results, we decided to organize the "JAPAN GREEN FEDERATION".

For protecting the life of the earth, we are going forward to make the JAPAN GREEN FEDERATION a slow but steady and practical broad mass, which will meet your aiming ecological society in every field such as, politics, economy, peace, movement of people culture, religion, art, education, law, etc., and at the same time, by solidarity of ecological friends all over the world, go to organize the Practical WORLD GREEN FEDERATION.

The life of the earth is in critical danger. We understand its main cause is based on the selfish belief that humanity is the lord of creation and should benefit from the sacrifice of other living things. The result of such belief and way of life is the nuclear confrontation between U.S. and Soviet, and environmental destruction by the present industry and industrial agriculture.

To solve the danger, we believe that we must start by realizing that we human beings should overcome our selfishness, our self-importance, and should think all living things and all beings are equal and respected.

The First Convention for Protecting the Life of the Earth was prepared in the idea of "let us stand up to surpass the "Jinrui-Dokuson" ideology (meaning that human beings consider themselves as super creature and respect only themselves and exploit other creatures' sacred lives), and for the earth where all creatures and all beings are respected.

We also want to start our JAPAN GREEN FEDERATION under the ideology of "Banrui-Kyoson", that the world where all living things and all beings respect each other their value and can peacefully coexist.

## The Basic Point of View

1. The life of the earth is now facing critical danger by fear of nuclear war, and by environmental destruction caused by the present industry and industrial agriculture, as a result of "Jinrui-Dokuson" ideology.
2. We will self-examine and criticize the humanism, surpass the "Jinrui-Dokuson" ideology, and, for the earth for all living things and all beings, broaden the ring of solidarity, let bygones be bygones.
3. We believe that we should change our lives to meet to the order of the universe, since all beings and phenomenon of the universe are a large living body connected together.
4. First of all, we will try to reform our food, clothing and habitation to meet the natural rhythm of the universe.
5. We will aim to reform the present science of death and destruction to the science of life creation.
6. We will aim to convert the present economy of global life destruction to the economy based on ecology.
7. We will aim to convert the present politics of global destruction in the name of development, to the politics based on ecology.
8. We require disarmament among all nations, and also require abandonment of wars among nations by mean of solving conflicts.
9. We realize our consciousness of the eternal truth



of the universe at the bottom of every religion of the world, that all beings and phenomena of the universe have spirit and life.

10. We will make acting program to save environmental crisis, and to protect all living things in the world, and are going to put the program into action with cooperation of you supporters.

## The Way of the Federation

1. We, based, on the "Banrui-Kyoson" ideology, organize the JAPAN WORLD GREEN FEDERATION, with cooperation of our ecology minded friends.
2. The JGF is a slow but steady federation body, which is going to recover the Earth of "Banrui-Kyoson", cooperated with ecology-minded people in every political, social, economic, cultural, artistic and educational fields, etc. in order to protect the life of the earth in critical danger, including life of human being.
3. Joining the JGF will be available for group or an individual.

4. The operation of the JGF will be done by the managers' parties.

5. The managers' parties will elect representatives managers, who will take action for the JGF in Japan and abroad.

6. The membership fee will be 1,000 yen as an item, and the minimum annual fee will be more than one item for an individual, and more than 10 items for a group.

7. The JGF will issue the Green Newspaper, "Midori-no-Shimbun", which is JGF's organ paper.

## What does the JGF aim at? — Its Movement Program

The word "Ecology", which is the basis for our movement program, is used in the three meanings: (1) Ecology, (2) Respecting the circulating rhythm of nature, (3) The way of life respecting all living things and all beings of the earth.

1. The movement banning any "artificial additions for foods" and recovering the life of foods. As a first step, we will proceed with the movement of collecting signatures for banning all artificial additions for foods.

2. The movement for spreading and recommending natural foods, natural medicine and natural agriculture. Also the movement recovering and strengthening the rhythm of nature in food, clothing and housing.

3. The movement developing natural medicine respecting the self-recovering power of human being, and changing the present medical system of exclusive western medicine into a new medical system which authorizes natural medicine on the same level as the present western medicine.

4. The movement of science reformation; converting the present science of death and destruction into the science of life creating energy.

5. The movement converting the male-leading society into the female respecting one, which is of life generating.

6. The movement developing ecological industries, aiming at ecological reorganization of the present economic structure.

7. The movement for developing art and culture which will respect the life and will be in harmony with nature.

8. The movement reforming the law and system ecologically.

9. The movement for political reform to keep the nature and ecology of the earth, putting an end to any environmental destruction in the name of development.

10. The movement banning the nuclear energy and all dangerous energy for the life of the earth. As a first step, we will proceed with the movement collecting signatures for abandoning utilization of atomic energy.

11. The movement collecting signatures requiring disarmament and abandonment of war for all nations in the world, also the movement for arousing public opinion for the world-wide disarmament.

12. The movement converting the present system of education and mass media into those ecological ones protecting the life of the earth.

13. The movement converting religious circles in the direction of ecology to protect the life of the earth and respect all living things and beings. The movement respecting all religions and unity of them, not to fight each other among human being by religious confrontation.

14. To join the global action, aiming at preventing starvation and desert expansion, and to go forward to the greening campaign of deserts.

15. The movement for a big federation of ecologists of all countries in the world, promoting solidarity with the movement of indigenous people of the world, and the movement forming the World Green Federation beyond the borders.

16. The movement expanding the ring of world-wide solidarity, based on the "Grass Roots" movement of regional people.

17. To make plan of the global action for protecting the life of the earth facing the danger of extermination, and widely appeal to the public opinion to make a fund for supporting the action.



Japan Green Federation  
c/o Ecology Sha.  
2-15-14 Hongo Bunkyo  
Tokyo, Japan



# Shoshone Lands

Reno, Nevada — February 26, 1985

On February 20, 1985, the Supreme Court decided *United States v. Dann*, a grazing trespass claim filed against Mary and Carrie Dann in 1974. The Dann sisters are Western Shoshone Indians who operate a ranch on their ancestral lands in Central Nevada. The Court held that the Indians were paid for their lands when the Interior Secretary established an account under his control to hold a \$26 million judgement of the U.S. Claims Court. The Claims Court awarded the judgement on December 6, 1979 for the "taking" by "gradual encroachment of white settlers" of Western Shoshone lands in Nevada in the nineteenth century. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals found that Western Shoshone title was never actually extinguished, however.

The Western Shoshone National Council, an organization of all Western Shoshone tribal governments, is considering further legal and legislative action to resolve the land issues.

Jerry Millett, Chief of the National Council, said, "The decision is not a defeat of the Western Shoshone people. The Western Shoshones remain united and will not allow this set-back to keep us from continuing to work for what is rightfully ours."

Ultimately, the Western Shoshone land issues will have to be resolved by the United States Congress.

The federal government has recognized the National Council as the representatives of the Western Shoshone Nation to negotiate a mutually acceptable draft of legislation to be proposed to Congress. It is anticipated that the National Council and the federal government will start such negotiations in the near future.

The decision does not resolve the conflict between the Western Shoshones and the U.S. over lands in Nevada, or claims for money damages. The narrow effect of the decision is that the Dann sisters may be precluded from asserting tribal title against

the U.S. as of December 6, 1979 when the Interior Secretary, claiming to be the Indians' trustee, established a special account to hold the Claims Court judgement until Congress takes further action. The \$26 million judgement is the value of Western Shoshone lands as of July 1, 1872, without adjustment for inflation or interest.

The decision leaves open the question whether the Claims Court proceeding should be reopened to consider the value of Western Shoshone lands on December 6, 1979, and whether the U.S. is obligated to the Western Shoshones for proceeds collected from the lands up through December 6, 1979. The total could amount to more than \$2.5 billion. The decision also leaves open the question whether the Danns still hold individual Indian title, and whether Shoshone Tribes may still own significant portions of the lands because they were not parties to the Claims Court proceedings.

Defendant Carrie Dann said, "This decision is political and corrupt. The whiteman's courts will not let us win. This decision is not truth and justice. But I guess they are afraid to come and get me. My people have lived right here since the time of creation. I will never leave my homeland. They'll have to come and throw us off."

John O'Connell, attorney for the Danns, said, "The Court is not saying title was ever actually extinguished. They are saying just the opposite of what the government told us previously. Until 1979, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the courts told the Indians that the land was taken long ago. Now the Court is saying that the government as Indian trustee sold itself the land in 1979 and paid only the 1872 value. But the Indians still don't have any money."

Tom Luebben, attorney for the Western Shoshone National Council, said "The federal government has exercised its powers as trustee to sell itself the Western Shoshone lands at a fraction of their actual value. Under the common law, a private trustee could never get away with this."

#### CONTACT PERSONS:

Jerry Millett, Chief  
Chief, Western Shoshone National Council  
P.O. Box 27  
Duckwater, NV 89314

(702) 863-0227  
Thomas E. Luebben  
Luebben, Hughes & Tomita  
201 Broadway, S.E.  
Albuquerque, NM 87102  
(505) 842-6123

John D. O'Connell, Esquire  
44 Exchange Place  
Salt Lake City, UT 84111  
(801) 532-5835



## FILM REVIEW

### Our Sacred Land

By Mordecai Spektor

The relationship between people and land, and the history of Indian-white conflict is essayed in *Our Sacred Land*, a new film by Chris Spotted Eagle. The film focuses on the struggle for American Indian religious freedom in the context of land use in the Black Hills and Bear Butte region of So. Dakota.

The 30-minute film's narrative links varied images of the land in question and individual viewpoints concerning the 1868 Ft. Laramie treaty, which reserved a vast area of the western U.S. for the exclusive use of the "Sioux Nation of Indians" and Arapaho.

*Our Sacred Land* acquaints the viewer with the majestic landscape of the Black Hills, a region of wonders regarded with reverence by numerous Indian nations. Lakota (Teton Sioux) elder Matthew King, who lives on the nearby Pine Ridge reservation, explains in the film that the Black Hills "is a temple of God and a tabernacle of the Indian people...They found God's power and they lived by that power." According to King, the Black Hills and

Bear Butte, a promontory outside Rapid City, have been used by Indians for reflection and prayer, but imposition of the laws of the dominant society has resulted in the alienation of these lands from Indian people.

Spotted Eagle, a middle-aged Minneapolis filmmaker, intended *Our Sacred Land* "to deal with genocide in general and the rip-off of (Indian) lands."

His film reviews the defeats suffered in battle by the military forces of the U.S. which resulted in "peace" treaties signed with the Plains Indians. The 1868 Ft. Laramie treaty was unilaterally abrogated by the U.S. several years after it was signed — a result of the announcement of the discovery of Black Hills gold by Gen. Custer's expedition. This shameful chapter in Indian-U.S. relations led ultimately to the 1890 massacre of several hundred members of Chief Big Foot's band at Wounded Knee.

While the U.S. government chooses to relegate this period of treating with the Indians to the dustbin of history, the accords reached are still alive in the minds of Indian people.

Tony Fast Horse, administrator of the Oglala Sioux Tribe on Pine Ridge, tells viewers of *Our Sacred Land* about the travels of his ancestors to Washington, D.C. Fast Horse explains that the Lakota people took the Ft. Laramie treaty "in the hands, asking for some type of pledge, some type of guarantee that these promises would be fulfilled. A lot of those people have since lived and died with this treaty in their hands. I have since inherited that position."

*Our Sacred Land* provides an update on the legal dispute over Bear Butte, an area which has been used by generations of Indians for Sundance and sweatlodge ceremonies. Film footage shows how the state of So. Dakota has erected a parking lot just

## STATEMENT OF MARY DANN IN RESPONSE TO THE JANUARY 20, 1985 DECISION OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT IN UNITED STATES v. DANN

"I guess I just don't understand the word justice. At the great Supreme Court I heard it's written 'justice for all'. Now this supposedly democratic country for all seems to be nothing but lies. There was nothing legal about the decision. There was no written document in 1872 saying our Indian lands were taken. They say the Indians were paid, but they never got the money. Who ever heard of taking land in 1872, then 112 years later trying to pay them for it? The only written document is the Treaty of Ruby Valley and it does not give away land, it protects land for our people. Seems to me they just paid themselves, because the money is still in the government. As trustees they have failed to protect their wards. They have failed so bad there is no word to describe it in my language. It just looks like cheating and stealing to me. I think you have a word for it like 'fraud'. Now this case has been through five courts. Seems to me like we've been through all their courts, and only one showed some justice. The Indian Claims Commission never heard title argument, they just stipulated the lands were taken. The Claims Court admitted there was no argument on the title question. They would not let our attorneys in to argue title and defend us. The title question was before Judge Thompson's court in Reno. He sat on it for 5 or 6 years waiting for the Claims Court to rule against my people. After the so-called judgement in the Claims Court, he ruled that we owned the land until 1979. Then the BLM said that was wrong, and it was appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court. The Ninth Circuit said we were right and the land was never taken. After that it was appealed to the great Supreme Court. All they said was the Indians were paid, which just isn't true. What I call paid is when you've got money in your hands. The title question was never really argued in any courts. They just avoided the title question. What are they paying the people for?"

The Supreme Court decision doesn't talk about the land. All they talked about was money, which they paid themselves. I will not accept any part of that money, and I don't want to be bothered because I'm living here on my own land. If the people of this great democratic country want to call that legal, well they're no better than the other countries they talk about, only worse because they're trying to kick me off my land through their court system. I call this a 1985 ripoff. That's the truth."

above the ceremonial grounds, opening up the area for tourists and rendering it practically useless for future spiritual observances by Indians. The opportunity to partake in the solitary Vision Quest will be almost impossible due to the intrusion of curious hikers on the Bear Butte "state park."

In fact, traditional Indian religious activities were banned by the state government in order to complete permanent structures on land purchased by So. Dakota in 1962. Despite the mandate of the U.S. Congress in the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, which guarantees non-interference with Indian spiritual ceremonies, an appeal of the So. Dakota Department of Game, Fish and Parks decision has been denied in the federal district court.

Regarding the Bear Butte situation, Oglala Sioux Tribe attorney Mario Gonzales states, "In the legal arena we find a situation where Indian people are being discriminated against because their religion is not conventional." In June of 1983, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the lower court's decision in the Bear Butte case. Thus, another holy land of Indian peoples has been relegated to a sort of amusement park, an addition to the tourist attractions dotting western So. Dakota.

Chris Spotted Eagle, who produced *Our Sacred Land* with funds provided by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, feels that viewers of his film, "whether they're Indian or not," will come away with a greater appreciation for our "spiritual connection with mother earth." He told this writer that the film was specifically designed as an organizing tool for the Lakota people, who maintain their vigilant defense of the Black Hills region in the face of corporate developers who covet "that whole range of land."

The great natural splendor of the Black Hills



could be irredeemably marred by the intrusion of uranium mines, coal stripmines, and radioactive waste dumps. The preservation of this area is an imperative for many people, Indian and non-Indian. As Smokey White Bull, a resident of the Dakota American Indian Movement's Yellow Thunder Camp in the southern Black Hill, remarks in the film, "The power of the spirits, the power of the trees, rocks, the animals, the eagles, . . . many times they've touched me. We realize that this is something we have to hold onto for our unborn generations, our children, for the elders — a place to relearn what our ancestors had learned long ago, things that they've experienced, the feelings that they felt."

(For information about *Our Sacred Land* contact: Spotted Eagle Productions, 2524 Hennepin Ave. So., Minneapolis Minn. 55404.)

## Listings

**CULTURE MUSEUM DESTROYED BY FIRE.** Needs: old photos, books & written material on Apache culture. Also office supplies. Write: Apache Culture Center Museum, P.O. Box 507, Ft. Apache AZ 85926.

**HAN—GENPATSU NEWS** (No Nuke News Japan). Citizens rally against Planned Nuclear Power Base in North Japan, Nakasone's Double-Tongued Pledge to Freeze Ocean Dumping Plan, Hokkaido & Nuclear Waste, Nuclear Safety, Australian-Japan Uranium Connection, South Korea, Nuclear Waste Dumping in Malaysia. A well written bulletin; write: c/o Jishu-Koza, 1-3-7 Mukogaoka, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo Japan 113.

**A GATHERING FOR SUMMER SOLSTICE**, June 20-22, at Shawnee National Forest in Southern Illinois. "Seeking True Peace". Contact: Red Feather, Box 2571, Evansville IN 47715.

**ANY INFORMATION** pertaining to refugees, migrants and resettlement. To compile a directory of international, national and private organizations for research students and faculty. Write: Francoise Knaack, 108 Maxwell Hall, Syracuse Univ. Syracuse NY 13210.

**PEACE RESOURCE PROJECT** P.O. Box 8547, Santa Cruz CA 95061.

Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium Program Catalog now available. 70 Native American topics. NAPBC, Box 83111, Lincoln NE 68501.

Remember **WOLLASTON LAKE** (Notes 16/5). Uranium Resistance Network, Box 3183, Vancouver B.C. V6B 3X6, Canada.

**SEED SAVERS EXCHANGE**, 203 Rural Ave. Decorah IA 52101. Lists of 250 pages of contacts in U.S.A., Canada, worldwide. Write them.

**IGRP REPORT**, RR1 (Beresford) Brandon, Manitoba R7A 5Y1; POB 1029 Pittsboro NC 27312, sophisticated observer of seeds and internat'l germplasm, looming problems in seed patents.

**LABYRINTH**, Box 712, Wabash IN 46992, Ms. Sanders-Project Coordinator, self-sufficiency group willing to trade/barter what they have and can do for other needs. Awarded SEED Grant and have seeds to give/trade but can use other seed & animals, tools.

**CHET GOINN**, 1041 8th St, Des Moines IA 50314, wants to help Native communities or garden projects, has Pioneer seed corn and soybean, contact soon.

**GREEN LETTER**, P.O. Box 9242, Berkeley CA 94709, Environment, Peace, **Survival**.

**ACROSS FRONTIERS, WORLD CONSTITUTION & PARLIAMENT ASSOC.** 1480 Hoyt St. Suite 31, Lakewood Co. 80215. Peace & Environment.

**HEARTLAND**, Box 3445, Jackson WY 83001. Peace news & contacts in the deep west.

**COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE**, National Communications office, POB 40040, St. Paul MN 55104. (Green-ethics in North America)

**GLOBAL TOMORROW COALITION**, 1325 G St. NW #1003, Washington DC 20005. Green.

**NEW OPTIONS**, POB 19324, Washington DC 20036 (some of above listings taken from Issue 14, March 11, 1985, with articles on Green-ness, new Foundation funding, and good reviews on Cities, and Environment from a Decentralization perspective: Jacobs, *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*, *Random House*; Milbrath, *Environmentalists*, *Vanguard for a New Society*, SUNY Press; Bodner, *Taking Charge of our Lives*, Harper & Row; Adair, *Working Inside Out: Tools for Change*, Inland Books.)

**SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN INFORMATION CENTER (SAIIC)**, POB 7550, Berkeley CA 94707,

(415) 521-2779. Vol 1/3 carries reports from Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Nicaragua. Wants response as to grassroots work with VIDEO. SAIIC RADIO Program, KPFA, 94.1 FM, Berkeley CA, 1st Friday each month, 8:00 pm, producer Pat Collins, KPFA series *Living On Indian Time*.

**LAND SALE**, new play by Hanay Geiogamah, played at NACLA-Turtle 25 Rainbow Mall, Niagara Falls, NY 14303 (716) 284-2427. Directed by Bruce King for Indian Time Theatre. Hanay edits the American Indian Registry for the Performing Arts Newsletter, 3330 Burnham Blvd, Suite 208, Los Angeles CA 90068 (213) 851-9874.

**NEWS FROM THE FILM FUND**, 80 East 11th St, NYC, NY 10003, winter 84 issue on Deregulation of TV industry what it means for minorities and independents, other film/video news.

**NATIVE AMERICAN ANNUAL**, POB 6338, Incline Village NV 98450; 760 Mays Blvd suite 6 (702) 831-7726 AKWEKON counterpart, arts/cultural.

**POETRY: IS SUMMER THIS BEAR**, Maurice Kenny, Chauncy Press, Turtle Pond Rd, Saranac Lake NY 12983. **BLUE CLOUD QUARTERLY**, POB 98, Marvin SD 57251, vol 30/3 Wilma Elizabeth McDaniel; vol 30/4 Karoniaktatie. **AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE & RESEARCH JOURNAL**, American Indian Studies Ctr, 3220 Campbell Hall, UCLA 405 Hilgard Ave, LA, CA 90024, vol 7/2 Iroquois Issue. **ECLIPSE** by Linda Hogan, AIS/UCLA same address. **ANDEAN TOWN: CIRCA 1980** by John Brandi (*Chimborazo* Notes Press author) Tooth of Time Press, Guadalupita, NM

Martial Arts Union of Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere MAUIPW, Wolf-Slayer, 812 Goshen Rd A-19, West Chester PA 19380.

Women's Support Group of the Wai'anae Coast, 84-766 A Lahaina St, Wai'anae HI 96792 (808) 695-5344, co-ops, women, children, culture.

Kindler Stout, 555 Tetherow, Williams OR 97544 sent us an energetic 55 page packet. Background Information and Views 1983-84, on Central America, native people, Peace-work. Following are some groups listed by Kindler:

**S.T.A.R. OF GUATEMALA**, 730 N. Main St, Suite 506, San Antonio TX 78205 (512) 223-9549. South Texas Aid to Refugees.

**DATA CENTER**, 464 19th St, Oakland CA 94612 (415) 835-4692, news, research, **COMPANY PROFILES**, 12 years organized, indexed articles on Latin America.

**CREATIVE PEACE PRODUCTIONS**, RD 1, Box 258, Saranac Lake NY 12981 (518) 283-8226. *Guatemalan craftarts to aid refugees*.

**NO TO URANIUM MINING:** Devastation of the People and Land in Northern Saskatchewan, produced by the Uranium Traffic Network. This slide program (150 slides and 2 cassette tapes, lists of resources, and a background, "Uranium Traffic in Saskatchewan") documents what happens in another "national sacrifice area," almost the whole northern half of the Canadian province of Saskatchewan. The program describes Uranium City, where many roads and buildings, including the high school, are built on uranium tailings. In some areas, thanks to tailings dumped into the rivers, the fish are blinded, or "contain so much radiation that they present a health hazard if eaten regularly." As for clean up, "it would taken an effort on the scale of the space program to return all the contaminated areas in Northern Saskatchewan back to their natural state." The program also briefly describes similar effects of uranium mining in New Mexico and Australia. Good supplemental reading is a special report prepared by the Network, "Uranium Bullets," which outlines the non-nuclear military uses of uranium. (To rent the slide show or buy the special report, contact The Edmonton Learner Centre, 10765-98 St., Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T5H 2P2.)

Source: **NUCLEAR TIMES**, March 1985, Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001

**BLACK WATERS**, Produced by Talli Nauman. The producer, who grew up in the Black Hills of South Dakota, designated as a "national sacrifice area" by the Federal government, reviews the history of 20 years of uranium mining there, and the resulting environmental damage. The film focuses on Marvin Kammerer, a rancher living next to the Ellsworth Air Force Base (a SAC base), who forms an alliance with white ranchers, native Americans, and environmentalists opposed to Union Carbide's plans to resume mining. Father of seven, Kammerer says that if his children and grandchildren don't have clean air and water, "I've failed." (16mm color, rental from Green Mountain Post Films, P.O. Box 229, Turners Falls, MA 01376 (413) 863-4754 or 8248.)



## AKWEKON/TAKING IT BACK 1985

A literary/arts journal for native people everywhere on North and South America.

We are seeking short-short stories, poems, articles on the arts, philosophy, reviews, essays. Black/white drawings (format size up to 7 X 9), photographs.

Help us make this journal/magazine a visual voice of the people. Sharing ideas and arts can be just like camping out in the hills for a feast and round dance. Let's all be the dancers as well as the singers.

Especially want work from the far North. Next deadline is May 1 for AKWEKON #2.

AKWEKON means everything, all of us. Let's make it just that!

AKWEKON Literary Journal  
POB 196

Mohawk Nation

Roosevelt, NY 13683-0196

AKWEKON (editorial/projects)

POB 223, Hogsburg, NY 13655

AKWEKON ARTS CO-OP

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Peter Blue Cloud is editor for Akwekon #2 (May/June 1985). Akwekon #1 (after printer delays) is finally available, Karoniaktatie apologizes for the delay and direct complaints/inquiries to him.

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## Continued from page 5

the *Los Angeles Times* article. "Scientists have no right to the area. Soviet or American, it makes no difference, plus, it's got a lot of embarrassing and economic overtones. What are you going to do about it, shut down their industry?"

Addressing the Alaska North and Northwest Mayors Conference in Barrow in November 1984, Wayne Hanson said that Arctic haze might be the lever needed to open up more cooperation with the Soviet Union. "During the 1950's," he said, "we were aware of the problem of atomic fallout, but we didn't have the technology or public interest to do much about it," he said. "But in the period of 1962 to 1966, it received much international attention, and a great deal of information was obtained. It also figured very heavily, I think, in the conclusion of the 1963 Test Ban Treaty signed by the U.S., the Soviet Union, and Great Britain."

"In the issue of Arctic pollution, the people of the North have much to say. And I think that the Arctic haze Symposium, that Senator Ferguson of Kotzebue was instrumental in starting, was a great initiative that should be given every support. Whether the Soviet Union will join us is anybody's guess, but we have to start somewhere. And the symposium to be held next year in Cambridge will be a major step."

Arctic haze, the carbon dioxide problem, sulfates, and the ozone effect are all ingredients in the climate soup. What science needs to find out is how air pollution is affecting world climate and how much more pollution can be tolerated before the climate is drastically changed.

Source: THE ARCTIC POLICY REVIEW  
3201 "C" Street, #602  
Anchorage, AK 99503



# SHORT NOTES

## The Inuit Women's Association

by Joan Riggs

"There is a real need for women to get involved in the process of development in the North. The Inuit culture is undergoing too many political and social adjustments for women to ignore. Changes made on the outside always hit home. Therefore they are always felt by women."

With this sentiment in mind and a quiet determination, Inuit women have built the Inuit Women's Association (IWA) into a national organization whose overall objective is to "encourage women to contribute and participate in the development and improvement of their society at all levels."

### A Brief History

The idea for an organization for Inuit women grew out of a recommendation made in Pangnirtung that the time was right for Inuit women to represent themselves. The large numbers of non-Inuit native women in the Native Women's Association of Canada had hindered Inuit women's voices from being heard. And the predominantly male or mixed Inuit organizations were of great value but did not always address those issues that were of pressing importance to Inuit women.

In 1980, after consistent pushing from Inuit women, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) passed a resolution supporting the establishment of a committee of Inuit women. Mary Sillett, formally of the Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI), took on the responsibility for finding the funds for the groundwork to be done. A grant was received from Secretary of State and in 1981, Jeela Moss-Davies was hired to travel to each region in the North, visiting councils and the media to determine how much support there was for an Inuit women's association. She also travelled to Greenland to explore what women had done there. The response was a resounding yes... Inuit women wanted their own organization. Ms. Moss-Davies, by this time totally committed to the idea of an organization, began the task of co-ordinating a founding meeting.

The founding meeting was held in Frobisher Bay, NWT in March 1983. Twenty-six women gathered to elect a board of directors, select regional representatives and discuss the direction and aims of the organization. Jeela Moss-Davies was elected the first President of the Inuit Women's Association. During this meeting, many resolutions were passed relating to a vast number of issues, including the establishment of an office for the association.

After the founding meeting, women's committees were started in communities across the Arctic. It was time to coordinate the work that was being done at the local level. It became the task of the president to put together a solid organizational base in Ottawa where most of the lobbying for changes would occur. Negotiations with Secretary of State were started to ensure that the Inuit Women's Association was given core funding in order to act as the official representative for Inuit women in Canada.

By April 1, 1984, the organization was officially established; IWA was incorporated and core funding was received. But the work had again just begun...

IWA's office is now established in Ottawa in the same building as ITC and ICNI. Four people, including the President, work in the Ottawa office and two liaison workers for the Arctic will soon be hired.

### IWA's Affiliations

Numerous projects are being planned and worked on and IWA is busy establishing itself as the official representative for Inuit women. Some of our primary affiliations are:

- ★ Inuit Committee on Constitutional Issues — we receive money to do constitutional work related to Inuit women.
- ★ Inuit Tapirisat of Canada — a resolution was passed to make IWA the body responsible for health issues.
- ★ Baffin Region Inuit Association — we have a seat on the board of directors.
- ★ NWT Status of Women — we have a seat.

We also have seats on various other health, constitutional and women's committees. But, most importantly, Inuit women's committees continue to flourish in the Arctic.

### The Issues

Issues concerning Inuit women have been consistent throughout the past ten years. At the founding meeting the priorities identified were social, health, parenting, educational and training programs, employment and cultural issues. It was not an unfamiliar list from the priorities established at

the 1975 meeting in Pangnirtung.

Today many of these issues are being actively dealt with and additional ones have arisen which concern us.

Some of the things we are presently involved in are: constitutional research, health, producing a parenting resource book, adoptions, midwifery, the justice system, sitting on a Department of the Solicitor General advisory committee on "Women in Conflict with the Law," putting out a newsletter four times a year and training new employees for IWA.

Our primary project, at present, is planning a conference on Inuit women and economic development. In the winter of 1985, two delegates from each Inuit community as well as resource people will meet for one week to discuss such issues as how to start a small business, economic development, daycare, family planning and midwifery.

Inuit Women's Association  
176 Gloucester St.  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K2N 0A6



## Dene Nation Rejects Nuclear Reactor

Yellowknife, N.W.T. (Feb. 22, 1985) — The Dene Nation is pressuring the NWT Legislative Assembly to reject any proposed use of nuclear reactors in the north.

A letter to all MLA's this week outlines the organization's opposition to the possible installation of Slowpoke 3 reactors in selected northern communities. It is backed up by a unanimous resolution passed by the Dene Chiefs earlier this year. Reasons for Dene opposition include environmental and health concerns related to the high grade uranium used as fuel, and the equally dangerous waste products. They also oppose the connections between such so-called "peaceful" uses of nuclear power and the making of nuclear weapons.

"Our people have already been unknowingly exposed to the risks associated with abandoned uranium mining wastes at Port Radium and Ray Rock. Even now we're having trouble getting the remaining problems recognized and a clean up underway. The uranium used in the Slowpoke 3 is enriched and very high grade and would have to be transported across our land regularly both before and after its use in the reactors. That is unacceptable to us." Dene Nation Vice-President John Bekale said today. Bekale also noted that an AECL spokesperson at Whiteshell, Manitoba, where Slowpokes are in use, has confirmed that this is in fact "bomb-grade" uranium, unlike what is presently used in CANDU reactors in Ontario. The spokesperson called it "pretty hot stuff."

The Dene Nation hope to persuade the Legislative Assembly to put a stop to the still experimental proposal by AECL before it gets any more advanced. And further to see increased research funds diverted from nuclear energy to alternative sources such as wind, and solar energy.

### Resolution #6

Leadership Meeting, Fort Franklin, N.W.T.  
June 18-23, 1984

RE: Nuclear Power Plants in Denendeh

WHEREAS it has come to the attention of the Dene that there is some possibility that Nuclear Power Plants might be used generating electricity for communities in the North;

AND WHEREAS Nuclear Power Plants have numerous life threatening environmental and health problems associated with them;

AND WHEREAS the Dene are willing to consider alternative energy to ensure the protection of Dene Land and its people;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Dene adamantly oppose any proposal for the building of any form of Nuclear Power Plants in the North or anywhere else in Canada;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the Dene call on the Government of the N.W.T. to support the Dene on this matter.

MOVED BY: Chief Joe Rabesca

SECONDED BY: Dolphus Lennie

PASSED UNANIMOUSLY

This 20th Day of June, 1984.

For more information: John Bekale (403) 873-4081

## SOUTH PACIFIC

### Nuclear Waste Dumping Protests

Eight months ago, the Japanese Science and Technology Agency (STA) announced their firms plans to begin nuclear waste dumping immediately following the Science and Technical Review by the London Dumping Convention (LDC), scheduled for September 1985. Back in April 1984, the STA was prepared to disregard the Pacific opposition to ocean dumping and abide only by the decision of the LDC.

In August 1984, STA representatives met with NFIP activists and reasserted that Japan would follow the decision of the LDC. Moreover, at that meeting, STA representatives discounted statements made by former STA representatives in 1980 and 1981 — that no dumping would occur without the 'understanding' of the Pacific Nations — as not having been official statements.

In the months that followed, Pacific Island Nations sent letters in opposition of Japan's new policy and against the dumping plan, to Japanese officials. The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) sent to Japan letters from government leaders and a Joint House Resolution against Japan's dumping plans. CNMI citizens also sent Japan letters and posters of protest created by local school children.

On December 10, STA spokesman Masato Chiya responded to the CNMI's House of Representatives by stating that "There has been no change in our basic position that the proposed sea disposal program will be carried out with the understanding of the countries and territories concerned..." directly contradicting the STA's assertions of August 1984, in which they indicated that Japan had adopted a new policy of disregard to the opposition of its Pacific neighbors. Chiya was present at the August meeting.

Then, on 27 December, Prime Minister Nakasone announced that Japan would postpone its ocean dumping plan and, furthermore, would not dump without a consensus of Pacific nations. Yet Nakasone's surprising announcement was little more than an attempt to promote feelings of goodwill between Japan and the Pacific Nations which he was scheduled to visit in a mid-January tour of the South Pacific along with Japan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abe.

Not surprisingly, Kyodo News reported on 10 January that the STA strongly opposed Nakasone's position and that they will continue to promote nuclear waste dumping plans and will wait for the outcome of the LDC in September.

During Nakasone and Abe's visit to the South Pacific, they were reported in the Pacific Daily News on 21 January as having said that Japan would not dump without the consensus of Australia, Aotearoa, Fiji and PNG. Nakasone and Abe failed to include in their international consensus, the Micronesian people and Nations who will be most directly affected by Japan's waste dumping plan by virtue of proximity.

On 1 March, Bikini Day 1985, 26 members of the Citizens Committee of the CNMI will be in Japan to present petitions against ocean dumping directly to PM Nakasone. In addition to the petitions, the CNMI Citizens Committee will present student's letters, posters and bumper stickers calling on the Japanese government to unequivocally abandon their waste dumping plan. The Catholic Church in Japan will host their trip, in collaboration with the Protestant Church and various citizen's groups.

The CNMI Citizens Committee, one of the more visible Pacific groups organizing against waste dumping, warns that Japan will continue to promote its dumping plan in three ways: Through aggressive participation at the LDC; Through providing economic aid to Australia, Aotearoa, Fiji, PNG and other Pacific Nations; And, through its relationship with the U.S., who will spearhead promotion of the dumping plan through treaties with Pacific Nations and through their presence and lobbying at the South Pacific Commission.

Following the 1985 Bikini Day actions, the CNMI Citizen's group will begin again to collect more signatures in preparation for Bikini Day 1986.

**You can help!** Write a letter to your government representatives strongly urging that they vote against the ocean dumping of nuclear waste at the London Dumping Convention.

For more information or for petitions, write to: Yasuko Shimizu, P.O. Box 136, Saipan, Marianas Is., 96950

—By Puanani Fernandez — adapted from materials provided by Sr. Yasuko Shimizu



## PERU: Human Rights

Systematic and continuous human rights violations continue in Peru. 26 provinces are now under State of Emergency in the departments of Huanacavelica, Ayacucho, Apurimac, Pasco, Huanuco, and San Martin.

**National Calls for Peace:** In August of last year, after a wave of violence that included massacres and the discovery of mass graves, a group of intellectuals and public individuals called for the constitution of a high level human rights commission.

In September, the Peruvian Catholic bishops issued their first joint pronouncement on violence. The Evangelical Council of Peru issued statements which condemned the massacre in Callqui of six Presbyterians and the general violence. The Episcopal Commission for Social Action (CEAS) organized different grassroots activities in defense of life and peace in December.

In January of this year the first National Human Rights Encounter took place, gathering almost all of Peru's human rights organizations.

**International Attention:** In January of last year, a coalition of human rights groups including FEDEFAM (Federation of Family Members of the Disappeared) travelled to Ayacucho. Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Argentinian recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, visited in May. The Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) was in Peru in August and submitted a report to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission on the Organization of American States in October. Also in October, Americas Watch released a 160 page report, entitled "Abdicating Democratic Authority".

In January, Amnesty International published a special "Peru Briefing", with photographs and a list of 1005 people who disappeared after being detained by security forces between January 1983 and October 1984. According to AI, most of the disappeared have been peasants, community and labor leaders, students and teachers.

Representatives from different Peruvian human rights organizations have travelled to North America, Europe and other Latin American countries. In June, a documented list of disappearances was presented to the UN Working Group on Disappearances by a representative of the Human Rights Commission of the Peruvian Chamber of Deputies.

The Working Group on Disappearances will visit Ayacucho in April. The visit had been scheduled for the last days of January, but the Peruvian government requested that the trip be postponed until after the April presidential elections, to prevent human rights from becoming an election issue. Human rights groups have protested. In November, the mother of one of the 8 journalists massacred in Uchuraccay toured the United States and Canada. Gilma Torres de Retto brought a powerful testimony of the struggles of the family members for justice. Also in November, Peruvians testified before the First Iberoamerican Human Rights Congress in Spain and a delegation from Ayacucho participated in the annual FEDEFAM meeting in Argentina.

**Judicial Proceedings:** Of the 1000 people being held in jails on charges of terrorism, only 2% have seen their cases advance in the judicial system. Most of the arrests occurred before 1983. Since then forced disappearances and massacres have increased dramatically but few arrests have been made.

Only three cases of massacres are in judicial proceeding, where they face constant delays and obstruction. In the **UCHURACCAY** case, the trial began in September (19 months after the incident). Three villagers are charged with the murder of the 8 journalists and face 25 year sentences. Many of the other villagers have been killed or disappeared, including key witnesses. Testimony contradicts the official government report that the villagers killed the journalists, mistaking them for Sendero Luminoso guerrillas. The judge has stated that high level military and government officials are implicated. The trial has become a major controversy in Peru. A full report of the court's findings will be released soon.

In the case of the massacre of 34 peasants in **SOCCOS** in November 1983, the District Attorney has ordered the detention of 26 members of the Civil Guard, but their lawyers are taking to the Supreme Court a demand for a closed door trial in a police court. Initial investigations found that the security forces were not involved but the District Attorney appealed the ruling and an Ayacucho court ordered a new investigation.

In the case of mass graves discovered in **PUCAYACU** in August 1984, two officials of the

armed forces have been accused of the murder of over 50 people. According to an autopsy, one of the bodies may have been that of Jaime Ayala, the journalist who disappeared on August 2, but there is not a final confirmation of this and family members have not accepted the identification.

Outside the emergency zone there have been similar obstacles. In the case of the death of Father Vicente Hondarza in mid 1983, lawyers have evidence of homicide but lack the necessary proofs to formally accuse those responsible. In the case of the massacre at Lurigancho prison in December 1983, no one has been held responsible for 8 of the 9 deaths.

The Peruvian government continues to insist that it fully respects human rights.

Source: *Eco-Andes*, 198 Broadway, Room 302, New York, NY 10038

## AUSTRALIA

### Aboriginal Land Rights in Crisis

ON COMING TO POWER THE AUSTRALIAN LABOUR GOVERNMENT MADE A PROMISE TO INSTITUTE SATISFACTORY NATIONAL LAND RIGHTS LEGISLATION FOR THE ABORIGINES. RECENT POLITICAL MOVES INDICATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT TO GO BACK ON ALL ITS PROMISES, THUS DENYING ABORIGINAL PEOPLE ADEQUATE CONTROL OVER THEIR ANCESTRAL LANDS.

#### The Promises

The Australian Labour party came to office in March 1983 with a commitment to introduce national land rights legislation for Aborigines. Capable of over-ruling the provisions of State land rights legislation, the promised new laws were to observe five principles.

1. Aboriginal land to be held under inalienable freehold title.
2. Protection of Aboriginal sites.
3. Aboriginal control of mining on Aboriginal land.
4. Access to mining royalty equivalents for mining of Aboriginal land.
5. Compensation for lost land to be negotiated.

#### The Reality

Although consultation with Aboriginal organizations took place throughout 1984, and it was anticipated that legislation would be put before the Federal Parliament early in 1985, the Government now looks like backing down on its promises.

During 1984, the mining industry waged an intensive public campaign against the introduction of Aboriginal land rights in Western Australia (see *SINEWS* 6). Facing dissent within its own ranks from the Labour Government of Western Australia and concerned that it would be unable to pass its own land rights legislation through the opposition-dominated upper house, the Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke, and the Premier of Western Australia, Mr. Burke, made a deal in October to reassure the mining industry and the general public.

In flagrant contravention of its own policy and promises, the Prime Minister announced that national legislation would not permit Aborigines a veto on mining on Aboriginal land, and "would not be inconsistent" with the provisions of Western Australian legislation with respect to mining on Aboriginal land. The federal land rights policy has thus been rejected and in its place the new legislation in Western Australia will serve as the national model.

#### The New Model

Strongly influenced by the powerful mining and pastoral lobbies, the Western Australian Government has proceeded to draft its legislation.

Some of the major shortcomings of this draft legislation are that it:

- imposes severe limitations on the land available for claim, and the time (only four years) in which claims can be made;
- provides a weaker form of title than in other States' legislation, granting only leasehold title to excisions from pastoral leases;
- allows the Government the power to resume Aboriginal land without the need for a special act of Parliament;
- imposes severe limitations of Aboriginal rights over their land, including weak rights to prevent access;
- grants Aborigines no power to refuse mining, even over sacred sites;
- offers poor protection to sites of special significance;
- lacks any provision for compensation, except in relation to damage to property;
- means that miners' rights will be determined under mining legislation and administered by the Minister of Minerals and Energy, not the Minister

for Aboriginal Affairs;

— rules that National Parks may be leased, but cannot be owned as Aboriginal land, as is the case in the Northern Territory.

The draft legislation falls far short of each of the Federal Government's five principles and, in some aspects, means that the Aborigines will have even fewer rights than at present.

#### The Government's Bad Faith

The reluctance of the present Federal Government to stand up for Aboriginal rights is also made clear in a number of other developments in Australia since it assumed office in 1983.

When an agreement for mining in the Northern Territory was reached to the satisfaction of both the Aborigines and the miners, the Australian Labour Party suspended progress in favour of a new mine in South Australia. It thereby not only denied royalty payments to the Aborigines, but also upset a model arrangement and has thus seriously offended the Kokatha Aborigines at the new mine, the Roxby Downs uranium mine, where sacred sites are imperilled by the mining.

In his speech to Parliament in December 1983, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs stressed that regard be had to the right of the National Aboriginal Conference (NAC) to represent and present the views of Aboriginal and Islander peoples throughout Australia. Yet the Federal Government did nothing when the Western Australian Government refused consultative status to the NAC in the formulation of the recent draft legislation.

In June 1984, in what was loudly trumpeted as a major step forward for Aboriginal people, the Federal Government passed a Heritage Act which vested powers in the Federal minister for Aboriginal Affairs to protect sacred sites. Yet on all occasions that Aboriginal people have appealed to the Minister to invoke these new powers he has refused to accept Aboriginal assertions of the sacredness of their sites and has bowed to pressure for development.

In all these examples it appears that economic self-interest and political expediency have been allowed to dominate over the Aboriginal peoples' rightful claims to the ownership and control of their lands.

In December 1984 the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Hayden, referred to New Caledonia as "one of the last vestiges of colonialism in the South Pacific". He omitted drawing attention to a much larger vestige — Australia — where native rights are being cynically denied and their lands are still being vigorously colonized by the whites.

#### ACTION

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL** has written to the Australian Prime Minister, the Western Australian Premier and the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs urging them to keep their election promises and enact legislation that accords with the 'five principles'. Send letters to:

The Hon. Brian Burke, MP

Premier  
Parliament House  
Perth, WA  
Australia 7000

The Hon. Clyde Holding, MP  
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs  
Parliament House  
Canberra ACT  
Australia 2600



## URANIUM

### Weapons Implications of U.S.-South African Uranium Trade

At a time of rising protests against U.S. support for the apartheid regime comes this new report by the Nuclear Control Institute on the links between nuclear weapons and nuclear power industries in America and South Africa. The report reveals that half of the foreign uranium used in the United States comes from South Africa and Namibia—a fivefold increase since President Reagan took office. As a result, the report states, "a potentially large number" of Americans "are subsidizing Pretoria's atom bomb effects and supporting South Africa's occupation of Namibia," simply by paying their monthly utility bills.

Nuclear Control Institute, 1000 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 406, Washington, D.C. 20036.



# Short Notes

## Great Lakes United

The slogan is: "An international organization dedicated to conserving and protecting the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River".

Here are the titles of resolutions adopted at its 2nd Annual Meeting on May 13, 1984 at Toronto, Ontario. Send for the complete text of the resolutions explaining why each was adopted. Also much other information of vital concern.

The resolutions: Water Quality, Funding of Great Lakes Research Laboratories, Toxic Hot Spots, Limitations on Discharges of Toxics, Cancerous Tumors in Fish, Atmosphere Deposition, Land Use-Land Quality, Navigation, Diversions, Fish and Wildlife Habitat, Energy Development & Distribution, Education, Canadian Heritage Conservation, and information on conferences.

In its Action Update Newsletter of Feb. 11, 1985, Great Lakes United States: "The up-coming years will be both exciting and challenging as we forge forward to ensure that the proper policy initiatives are implemented in the Great Lakes Basin. A growing number of American and Canadian interests are looking to the water resources of the Great Lakes for utilization and development for their benefit. In order to protect and improve the environmental, public health and social character of the region, Great Lakes United will be faced with a montage of complex water, air and coastal issues. In 1985 alone, Great Lakes United will be faced with risk assessment of toxic discharges, plans for diversion of water resources, airborne toxic fallout onto the Lakes, clean-up of toxic hot spots and development pressures along our coastline. Throughout these issues and others, Great Lakes United must be united and offer sound remedial and preventative alternatives."

We urge you all to contact this organization for more information.

Resources: Great Lakes United, 24 Agassiz Circle, Buffalo, NY 14214.

Adirondack Council, P.O. Box D-2, Elizabethtown, NY 12932.

Lake Champlain Committee, 14 South Williams St. Burlington VT 05401.

Save The River, Box 322, Thousand Islands, Clayton NY 13624.

Kahnawake Environment, P.O. Box 720, Kahnawake, Que. J0L 1B0.

## Big Mountain Update:

The Annual Spring Gathering will be held at Big Mountain this year during the third week in April. The gathering, which will last several days, provides an opportunity for the people of Big Mountain and other parts of the Joint Use Area to meet and discuss the ongoing attempts at their forced relocation and harassment by the B.I.A. This is a critical year, as 1986 is the deadline for completing this removal. Support for the people caught in this struggle to maintain their homelands has grown considerably over the past few years, but it is imperative that as many people as possible attend this gathering to show, in numbers, the amount of resistance that exists towards the forced relocation. To this end, anyone who can possibly make it to Big Mountain in April is encouraged to do so. The Big Mountain Support Group in Berkeley, California is renting a bus to take people to the area. The bus will leave San Francisco on April 17 and return on April 23, and the cost is \$50 per person, round trip. For more information on this, or details about the gathering, call either of the following numbers. We're coming to the final year of this long and painful struggle, and with enough support we can win the battle.

See you at Big Mountain!

Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense, 124 N. San Francisco #B, Flagstaff, AZ 86001, (602) 774-2369 or Big Mountain Support Group, 1412 Cypress St. Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-6500.

## Greens' Gathering

On January 23, several dozen people met at a home in Point Breeze, (Pittsburgh) to discuss the National Green Movement and to initiate a local Green Organization. The Greens contend that mankind's short sighted attempts to subdue the Earth are leading to social and ecological catastrophe. They promote the vision of an ecologically conscious, decentralized society guided by the principals of grassroots democracy, co-operative economics, personal and social responsibility, non-violence, and spiritual values. Nationally the Green Movement is organizing through the Committees of Correspondence, P. O. Box 14748, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

GAY-EE-WAH



## Bioregionalism; A Definition, An Invitation

Bioregionalism can best be described as the vision of human society interwoven with the warp and weft of the land, a part of the intricate fabric of life; understanding and working within the natural rhythm and cycles of a particular region. Such a society is fueled by benign energy sources, such as the sun, wind, water and biomass. Food and basic commodities are produced locally using regenerative, ecological agriculture, intensive gardening, perma-culture design, selective forestry and otherwise wholistic resource management. Clean air, clean water, green belts and natural areas are considered inalienable rights of all inhabitants of a region. This definition of inhabitant include all life forms. All species are seen as indispensable parts of the interplay of matter and energy we call life.

Bioregionalism weds the study of ecology and anthropology with an optimistic outlook of a human race backing away from the brink of annihilation by lovingly embracing the Mother Earth and rejoining in the ancient communion of all beings.

Before dismissing bioregionalism as a poetic utopian fantasy, one must examine our present course. Our society is grossly ignorant and/or disrespectful of the basic laws governing the biosphere. This ignorance is resulting in a massive destruction of forests from acid rain and over exploitation; farmland from erosion, exhaustion and development; aquifers from overuse and toxic wastes; and the tragic loss of genetic diversity through habitat destruction and monoculture practices. We are blindly consuming the earth's resources at a fantastic rate with no thought for tomorrow. Current agricultural, industrial, and cultural practices strain the biosphere, the Earth, to the very limits of tolerance.

When we apply an ecological perspective it becomes clear that poor resource management and environmentally destructive practices are socially, economically, and spiritually irresponsible. Exploitive colonial consciousness must be replaced with a sense of being native to a place with the role of a steward; maintaining and preserving, respecting and loving the Earth, for all creatures, for all time.

By understanding our bioregion's processes we come to see the land has limits which cannot be violated. We need to meet regularly as inhabitants of our region and open channels of communication. We need to see the face of our bioregion, to know her. What are the history, geography, resources, energies, potentials, and restraints of our region? As long as we are tied to an international economic system we are at the mercy of that system's fluctuations and will continue to have periods of economic growth and economic depressions. We can bring about a more stable economy if the local workforce is employed in fulfilling local needs with local resources. The capital assets remain within the region. Surplus commodities can, of course, be traded for desired products of other regions. Urban areas can be designed to supply a fair amount of their own food and energy requirements. The concept of wastes should become obsolete as the sanity of material recycling and conversely, the insanity of our disposable society becomes generally apparent. Money spent on junk is material, energy, and time lost.

In addition to economic consideration, being employed is providing quality goods and services to the people of one's region can provide a satisfaction and a sense of community almost unknown today. Perhaps regional craftsmanship and culture will one day achieve heights unparalleled in history. We will bring about the golden age of humanity only when we mature into a spirit of stewardship, a sacred partnership with the Earth. We have many wrongs to right, much healing to do. Time is running out. Let's do it.

Gay-ee-wah Gab-abwees, Newsletter of the Allegheny Watershed, Box 75 C1 Rd.1, Carlton PA 16311.

## An Anthology of Short Stories by Women

An anthology of short stories by women, to be entitled *The Stories We Hold Secret*, will be published in 1985 by The Greenfield Review Press. The editors are looking for women's short stories of spiritual consciousness.

"We are searching for work that speaks about our connections, our waking and growth, moments of both healing and transformation. We are interested in stories of women's sacred being, stories that speak strongly for the powerful moments we often keep silent, secret, sacred. We would like to publish stories that show the new road for women who are walking these jungle and forest paths, these star paths of our older consciousness and our earth knowledge. We encourage submissions by non-academic women, work by women of color, and of working class women."

All manuscripts must be typed, double-spaced and accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope. Two copies of each story submitted must be sent. A short biographical statement, including publishing credits, should also be included. Previously published work may be submitted as long as permission to reprint is included.

Each author selected will receive a payment of \$20 and two copies of the book.

Editors of *The Stories We Hold Secret* are Judith McDaniel (former editor of *Spinsters Ink Press*, author of *November Women and Winter Passage*), Linda Hogan (Native American poet and fiction writer, author of *Eclipse* and *Calling Myself Home*), and Carol Bruchac (Co-Editor of *The Greenfield Review Press*).

Submit all manuscripts to Women's Fiction Anthology, The Greenfield Review Press, R.D. 1, Box 80, Greenfield Center, N.Y. 12833.

Submissions must be postmarked by May 1, 1985.



## Aotearoa

Tena koutou katoa,

Greetings to you all from Aotearoa (New Zealand). I thank you for an invitation to contribute to *Akwesasne Notes*. And I am most happy to be able to report on the very real and promising changes that are happening at the moment, with Aotearoa as one of the initiating points.

For us in the Peace Movement, the Hundredth Monkey phenomena is actualising. 5 years ago, very few people had lifted their heads out of the sand to confront the global nuclear crisis. Using the motto, "Think Globally, Act Locally", some visionary people started declaring their homes, workplaces, and city councils to be nuclear weapon free zones. These of course had no legal standing, but they were 1) a statement of our abhorrence of the suicidal nuclear arms race, and 2) an active commitment to *do* something, rather than just talking about it.

The number of nuclear free declarations was very low to start with, but sometime in 1983, the critical number was reached, and from then they spread like wildfire. Now over 70% of nga iwi o Aotearoa (the people of New Zealand) live in municipalities which have been declared as nuclear free zones. As well as that, our new government has a nuclear free policy, and nuclear powered or armed warships are no longer permitted here.

Although we feel a little safer without nuclear weapons, we know deep down that we are just as likely to be obliterated in a nuclear war as the rest of the world. We are no longer a nuclear target, so we will not be hit directly, but we will not escape the global effects of radiation, nuclear winter etc...

So we see our nuclear free zone not as an end in itself, but a building block towards a nuclear free world.

To all you others who are struggling for nuclear disarmament in your communities, we offer you our respect, solidarity and encouragement.

Arohanui hi ko koutou ko matou,  
Kia kaha, kia mana, kia mau.

(We give you our love, keep strong, keep your standing/self worth, keep hopeful)

Alyn Ware, Peace Movement Aotearoa  
National Consultative Committee on Disarmament, Box 9314, Wellington, Aotearoa, New Zealand.



## 1985 Catalog Changes

**ALL ORDERS ARE TO BE PREPAID. THANK YOU!!**

AKWESASNE NOTES/SPRING 1985/PAGE 29



# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Notes,

I have been a reader and admirer of Vine Deloria Jr. ever since he took to print. I have all his books. However, I just want to communicate to him and to you an error that is all too frequently expressed. He writes:

"White politicians would not dream of taking the resources of a community of whites simply because another community of whites wanted those resources."

It happens everywhere, all the time. It's a phenomenon that I believe Indians need to understand for several reasons. Indians will be much clearer in their minds, and able to construct much more efficacious strategies if they are properly informed, and probably pick up a lot of reinforcements from both whites and blacks up against the same thing.

The "other whites" who always profit from all the programs and policies "for development" are the boards and the management levels of corporations (and last of all, their stockholders) and the constant inflation of the numbers and powers of agencies and departments of the federal government. Since the second World War, the Congress has been very generous in handing out the power of Eminent Domain to many private interests beginning with the private power companies. "Green acres" programs in states, "greenbelts" around cities, have all been created by expropriating the farmers and woodsmen whose holdings and communities were all that had kept those areas green. Cities have annexed such territories for those glorious ticky-tacky housing developments that now from the connective tissues of the great eastern "megapolis" that reaches from Boston to Washington.

How many Indians realize that two million woodlot sawyers, red, white, and blue (black) were expropriated from Southern Appalachia by the Blue Ridge Parkway and the National forests of that area? These were people who accepted "plain living and high thinking" as part of the circumstances

of life in the woods. They were excellent foresters and conservationists, they always replanted as they took down trees, they knew their planting would be harvested by their grandchildren, and they never clearcut anything. They were the guardians of the hazardous watersheds. Today, you can't get any mention of this former population into print in any publication. I know. I've tried.

The Tennessee Valley Authority continues to expropriate Appalachians fifty years after it was created to provide cheap hydropower for the development of poverty-stricken Appalachia. The TVA NEVER provided ANY hydropower. They began by expropriating the very population they had ostensibly come to save from poverty, turned their territory over to land developers, who then lobbied against hydropower because the lakes provided recreation for the buyers of new properties. Instead of hydropower, the TVA has strip-mined 5 counties of eastern Kentucky, from which all the hillbillies were expropriated and made their sad ways up to the slums of northern cities. The country ballad written about these terrible events is called "Paradise." I have heard it on TV only once, never on the radio.

The building of irrigation dams out here on the Great Plains always expropriate those on the most viable farms (those on the alluvial soils) in order to provide irrigation for those on the marginal soils which ought not to be farmed at all. The results have been salinization of soils, the blowing away of topsoil, and the pollution of whole river systems and ground water. It has also caused the increasing depopulation of the land, as corporate monocultures replace family farms and communities. I, myself, am one of 23,000 people expropriated from the Minisink portion of the Delaware Valley by a combination of nuclear energy corporations, underworld real estate developers, and the Department of Interior. That was forty miles of river, around four thousand square miles of river bottomlands, high bottoms, meadows, and forest, plus a number of lovely little state and county parks, and a forty mile hunk of the Appalachian Trail, which the Interior Department immediately wanted to "relocate".

What I am trying to say is that all rural Americans, Indian and non-Indian, are in the same boat. All the treaties including the Constitution have been broken by barbarians so ignorant that they are determined to change our values, traditions and institutions into those that have proven inadequate in countries the size of our states. They're like people who want to make canoes of snare-trigger wood.

Indians and non-Indians, while sharing the woes of massive neo-colonialism, are caught in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, the only hold we have on the megalomania of the federal government is through strong state governments. One the other hand, Indians look to the federal government to protect them from state governments, which are full of neo-colonials. What do we do about this?

I was delighted with the Black Hills Alliance where white ranchers and Indians were finally joined in a single coalition. What has happened to that? We need such a movement in every state. Black, white, and yellow rural Americans must get it through their heads that when they help Indians protect the reservations, they are helping the Law that protects their own communities. We have to insist that this country abide by its contracts or we will all be boiling around in the slums and the continent will be destroyed. No conservation bureaucracy can be trusted, and the Reagan administration has proved that federal lands are one big tragic commons. I have seen better conservation in many states by states who know their own natural variables as Imperial Washington never can.

Joan Matheson  
Valentine, Nebraska



Hello,

I am very interesting in things, you are doing and in your movement. I am a member of the Society for the threaten people and the Green Party in Germany. There is so much bad in our country in things like peace and humanity.

Here in Germany the woods are dying, most of the trees are ill. Every day the news about the dying wood, but nobody of the politician do anything against it. The load of the air through powerstations and cars is such high that children get ill at their lungs. It is possible to help the people and woods, but there is only money to build some armours, but not for environment pollution. Not everybody is right to do anything against pollution. You see someone die and you give him no medicine. The people are for clean environment and woods but they do not see that the woods needs help now. In some days there are no green places anymore, where you can go to relax. In the moment it is necessary to have a car than to be a man. I have anguish from the day the last tree will die and the last green places are away. If all these things are going on, we will have to go through stinking streets with a gas-mask from the face to have fresh air. If the air is poisoned the rivers are a stinking and the wood is dead first then the people will rise and do something, but then it is too late. I am interested what about your living with people and in nature. I will be glad if I can hear something about you. What is now after the last votes? Is there anything changing? How is the government to you?

With green greetings,  
L. Seipke  
Hauptstr. 111  
7140 Ludwigsburg  
West Germany

Dear Editors,

I wrote to you before about asking for pen-pals, and if some people write to me or has wrote to me but received their mail back, than I want to say that I'm sorry your mail has returned to you but I was transferred to another medium prison so now I would like for you to forward the 'Notes' you have been sending to the address below.

Also enclosed is a picture that I hope will be helpful to you cause I heard you was interested in black and white drawings. I also like to see my drawing on the Akwesasne Notes in your upcoming issue's plus is there a way you can put my new address cause I'm sure people who got their letters back are wondering. I would very much appreciate it, and I was wondering if there was a limit on how many pictures I can send you? Until I write again.

Larry Pinto #28780  
P.O. Box Drawer 1328  
Los Lunas, NM  
87031-1328

(Yes, Larry, we'd like more pictures. Ed.)



Dear Akwesasne Notes,

I am writing you with hopes that you can help me trace my bloodline. My father was a Cherokee born in Talequah, Okla. He was killed in W.W.II and I was brought up with my mother in Texas never knowing my Indian relatives in Okla. However, in 1964 I received a small amount of money from the government as part of a settlement to the Cherokees. I really don't know what sort of suit this was and can't seem to gain any information from the B.I.A. concerning the suit nor my heritage.

I was recently made aware of another Cherokee suit concerning the Ark. River and it's utilization by the City of Tulsa. Besides my bloodline—I would also like to know if I am eligible to collect from this present suit. I am located on death row and have no access to records or information regarding any Cherokee relatives...I would be deeply grateful for any help you can give me concerning this matter. I do not know who to write to in Okla., other than the B.I.A., and as I stated above—they have been of no value to me. Please let me know how to attain the information I need.

Sincerely yours,  
Buddy Marrs  
M.E. Marra Exec.#754  
Ellis 1 Death Row  
Huntsville, TX 77343



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## LETTERS

### PETITION

We the undersigned from Polish Indian Friends Movement send our cordial greetings to you — Leonard Peltier, our dear brother who suffers in horrible American prison.

We deeply believe and we are sure you are not guilty and you must be free. We are concerned about your life and safety in prison from time beginning. Many of us pray for you. We will be with you forever until your liberation. We believe you will be free soon.

In the Spirit  
Polish Indian Friends  
Movement  
Poland

Greetings My People!

On behalf of my Brothers (The North American Indian Culture Group), here at the United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas we are asking your support and help us to exercise our Native Spiritual Ways and Beliefs!

We are having an extremely difficult time making contact with our Spiritual Elders Medicine People, so they can come in and be with us for a few hours. We have a Sweat Lodge that has been here for a little over a year now, and at present we are allowed to use it only twice a month. We have problems obtaining rocks, and the ones that we do get are not the right kind because we do not have a Native person who can get these rocks to us.

We wish to invite any and all correspondence advising us as to who we can contact in this vicinity. Perhaps you folks know of someone who is presently at Haskell that we can make contact with? We also wish to extend our warmest Greetings and invitations to those who can afford the time and wish to drop by here and spend a few hours with us. We wish to have our Sacred Pipe blessed by a Medicine Man. At present due to federal bureaucracies only male Spiritual Leaders are allowed to come in to conduct ceremonies. We are at present re-negotiating plans for a new culture group which will include the approval of both male and female guests.

At present we need help with the following.

1. Someone who can gather the rocks for Sweat Lodge Ceremony. These rocks can be mailed to this institution with pre-arranged expenses covered by the institution chaplain. Please contact:

Chaplain Craig  
Chaplain's Office  
United States Penitentiary  
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048

You can call the institution and ask for Chaplain Craig and they will connect you.

2. Spiritual leaders, advisors, etc. who wish to come in to lead us in Sweat or Pipe ceremony.

3. Sponsor(s) for our culture group. Someone in the near vicinity who would be available to attend our meetings at least twice a month.

If you have knowledge of these people in the Leavenworth vicinity who would be willing and able to help us out, please write to me and also please call Chaplain Craig.

We thank you for this opportunity to speak and look forward to hearing from you very soon.

In Truth-All My Relations,  
John Papineau  
#05893-016  
P.O. Box 1000, C-531  
Leavenworth, Kansas  
66048

Friends,

Thanks for the recent issue of Notes. All the brothers here appreciate it. We are always in need to stay aware of the various issues and struggles concerning our people. Presently we personally are in the process of trying to get approval from the administration for kinni-kinnik. They pretty much gave us the okay on our other religious objects. This week we will find out what exactly is going on. Why is it that our people always seem to run into some resistance when as prisoners desire to practice our religion? Brothers and sisters in prison need to exist as Indians. Our spiritual practice contributes to the expression of our existence. There is almost a degrading feeling not to have our religious objects.

Again, a thank you for Notes. My strength, loyalty, and unity for the people.

In the Spriti of Crazy Horse  
Nesahklauh  
aka-Paul N. Jay, Jr.  
Box 711 C-72300  
Menard, Ill 62259

Brothers of the East,  
I enjoy the "Notes" very much as I always purchase the Notes to keep up with what's going on in the Native and Natural People's World.

My brother left our home in the summer of 1980 and we have been unable to locate him since that time! We are members of the Tsistsistas (Southern Cheyenne) tribe in Oklahoma.

It is very important that we try and locate our brother.

His name is: Burton M. Black Bear (American Horse) or: Buron White Eagle.

The last known address or whereabouts was in Winnipeg, Canada

If your paper could please print a "few lines" to help us out - we would be most appreciative in our efforts to find our Brother or list this telephone number and have him call collect (405) 375-6634 or call (405) 623-4520 Very important! or write to me.

Once Again, thanks a million! Lou White Eagle

Continued from page 3

3) The Lubicon Lake Band's loss of their way of life can be compensated in money damages. However, the loss of oil company profit cannot be so compensated. Thus the Indians will not suffer irreparable harm if no injunction is granted but the oil companies would suffer irreparable harm is an interim injunction is granted.

4) The Indians, being poor and thus unable to provide a financial underwriting to the oil companies for damages are not entitled to an injunction.

5) Alberta is free to continue its action in disposing of the disputed land, claimed by the Band as an Indian Reserve (or land they are entitled to select as a Reserve), thus making it unavailable as an Indian Reserve for them in the future.

On January 6, 1984, the Court rendered its decision concerning costs in the above proceedings. In essence, the Judge decreed that the Band is liable for all costs associated with the hearing, including fees for the defendant's witnesses and attorneys.<sup>7</sup>

4. Appendix No. 1.
5. Appendix No. 2.
6. Appendix No. 3.
7. Appendix No. 4.

### Other International Procedures

This matter has not been submitted for examination under another procedure of international investigation or settlement.

### Facts

Pursuant to its fiduciary relationship with the Indian Peoples of Canada, the Federal Government has set aside tracts of land as Reserves, protected by federal law, for the use of Indian Groups officially recognized by Canada. These Reserves serve two purposes. Initially, the land was set aside and grants of use made, by Treaty, to compensate Indian Peoples for land taken through and as a result of colonial settlement. These rights and obligations are affirmed in Canada's Constitution and elaborate in its statutory and case law. The Reserves also provide, at least in theory, the means for Indian Peoples to continue as semi-autonomous political and socio-economic units.

Canada officially recognized the People of Lubicon Lake as a distinct Band of Cree Indians in 1939, with entitlements arising under Treaty 8 (the Treaty covering the relevant territory of Northern Alberta). Among these entitlements is the right to a Federal Reserve.

The site for a Reserve was identified and approved by both the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and the Band in 1939. Approval from the Province of Alberta came in 1940.<sup>8</sup> The area was set aside as a provisional Reserve, with permanent Reservation status to be conferred upon the conclusion of a geographic survey establishing the precise boundaries.

A register of the Lubicon Lake Band was drawn up in 1939. The register was used to determine the area of the provisional Reserve and to identify individuals with entitlements arising under Treaty 8. However, given the isolation of their territory, the majority of Band members were not located by officials compiling the register. As a result, the membership list was left open, with the understanding that the amount of Reserve land would be increased as so-called absentees were added.

In 1942, the Federal Department of Indian Affairs revised its policies concerning official recognition of membership in Indian Bands. Band membership lists were closed and names added after January 1, 1912 were stricken, including over half of the members of the Lubicon Lake Band identified in

### Dear Editors,

I am a member of the Nez Perce Tribe. I am presently serving a sentence of 5 years indeterminately at the women's prison here in Orofino.

I have been denied the beading material that I had at my home. I was told by the deputy warden that the only way I could have beadwork is to purchase it through the hobby crafts officer.

I do not have the funds available to make such a purchase.

I would like to request donations of beads and money to make such purchases of other materials required to complete my beading projects. Monetary donations in money orders only.

I miss doing my beadwork very much. I have been beading approximately 14 years. I would appreciate your assistance so I may be able to get back to doing my beading.

Sincerely, Melvina H. Major #21390  
Hospital Drive North #23, Orofino, Idaho 83544

1939. Unregistered individuals were designated "non-Indian" or "half-breed", thus precluding them from Treaty rights and federal entitlements available to those holding Indian status.

The Federal Reserve, which was to have been set aside at Lubicon Lake has yet to be established. As a direct result of the Federal Government's failure to designate such a Reserve, Band members are excluded from Treaty 8 and federal entitlements and the Band's territory has become vulnerable to development and exploitation by energy corporations.

In 1953, following inquiries made by energy corporations concerning petroleum in the Lubicon Lake area, the Provincial Government of Alberta assumed jurisdiction of the provisional reserve territory. Subsequently, the Provincial Government began granting leases for oil and gas exploration and development. No provision has been made to pay royalties to the people at Lubicon Lake.

In 1973, the Provincial Government undertook construction of an all-weather road through the Lubicon Lake Band's territory. In 1980, dozens of energy corporations began moving into the area, building more roads, cutting seismic lines, drilling wells and laying pipelines.

The energy corporations' construction workers are destroying traps, which the people at Lubicon Lake rely upon for meat and furs. The Provincial Forestry Service had allowed fires in the area to go unchecked, thus destroying traplines and hunting areas. The Provincial Fish and Wildlife Service is expropriating the Band's trapline routes and fencing them off for use as private oil company roads. And Band members have been told by local merchants that the Fish and Wildlife Service is discouraging merchants from trading with Indians in the area.

This activity has virtually destroyed the Lubicon Lake Band's economic base.<sup>9</sup> The development activity has and continues to cause a great deal of damage to the land and has scared away most of the game animals on which the people of Lubicon Lake rely for subsistence. Moose, the primary source of meat, has virtually disappeared from the area. Through 1982, the Band's moose-kill was averaging between 100 and 120 moose per season (July to November). In 1983, the Band was able to kill only three moose. Revenues from trapping, the Band's central income-generating activity, have fallen by more than 50%.

With the loss of its traditional economic base, the Lubicon Lake Band is faced with extinction as a People. The pattern and results of many other essentially similar situations demonstrate that the destruction of the economic base of small-scale societies is followed by irreversible deterioration of the political and social structure.<sup>10</sup>

8. These events have been documented through official communications, primarily those of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs. Sources will be provided upon request.

9. Appendix No. 5.
10. Appendix No. 6.

The author of this communication is prepared to provide further information or clarification which may be desired, and reserves the right under Provincial Rule 93 (3) to submit additional information and observations after receiving the reply of the government of Canada.

Submitted by:  
Bernard Ominayak, Chief of the Lubicon Lake Band  
Little Buffalo Lake, Alberta Canada.  
Prepared with the assistance of:  
Jessica S. Leferve, Esq., International Indian Treaty Council, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.





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