

How connected are you with a state? ²

By Richard A. Griggs, Ph.D. and Rudolph C. Rýser

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1. Describe the shape of your state on a map. Are there any symbols, songs, or slogans that attempt to capture the diversity of landscapes, people, and places? What unites it as a single place? What place best defines who you are? The state? Your work? Your home? Your automobile? Your social club? Your marriage partner? Your membership clubs? What best places you with other members of the state?
2. Describe the flag of your state. Do you know any nicknames for the flag? Pledges? Can you sing the "national anthem?" Name the "national" bird or wild animal.
3. Describe the "national cuisine." Are there any restaurants that capture it?
4. Name your two most important "national holidays?" Is one of them the birth date of your country? Which date is that and what specific event is connected with it? What kinds of activities are involved?
5. Name your system of political representation. How much political power do you have and how do you exercise it? Name the government leader of your country and four top cabinet members. Name your top local representative(s) to the government. Where is the capital of your country? How far away is it from you? Have you been there?
6. What company picks up the garbage? What company is in charge of water delivery systems? What company handles the sewage in your area? Who provides your energy?
7. Are there preserved areas of your state that are not permitted to be destroyed such as protected areas or national parks? Name some. Which receive the most "visitors?"
8. Name your four closest neighbors. Are you in the same economic class? Who are your neighboring states? Are they in the same economic class? Toward which do you feel the most kinship?
9. Recite your state identification numbers (e.g. passports, social security number, driver's license). On civil and administrative forms that ask for your race, which box do you check?
10. Where do you gather your fresh foods? Describe where you obtain your favorite brand of. pack-Aged dinner? toothpaste? breakfast cereal? gasoline? candy bar? automobile?
11. Does a company or the state provide you with health insurance? What is the name of the "program?" Your health adviser? Which stores do you go to for fresh food? fast food? fast "ethnic food?" medicines?
12. Which school boards were responsible for your early education? Describe the architecture of your elementary school What were the classrooms like? At which times did the bell ring? How often?
13. Which television networks provide you with your news: CNN? ABC? CBS? ITV? NBC? CBC? BBC? NIKO Another? Why is the United Nations involved in a war in Somalia? Has your state contributed troops to the effort? If so, how many? Does your government have troops posted in any other countries? Who are the international enemies of our state and why? Who are the internal enemies? What are some of your favorite TV shows? Favorite TV commercials? Favorite movie stars?
14. Describe your daily schedule. Where do you have to be at 5:00 O'clock Tuesdays and Thursdays? Describe the plans you have worked out for the next ten years of your life.
15. Who provides law and order in your community? Can you name some members of the local police department? fire department? Can you name several penitentiaries where lawbreakers go?
16. Where did you learn about the history of your country? Can you identify the major monuments of your country? The major military memorials? Do you have a national monument to the "unknown soldier?"
17. How did you learn about entry into adulthood? Is there a rite of passage?
18. Name some state-run programs that help the poor, aged, and sick.
19. Who were (are) the indigenous people on the land before you? Are there any development programs to help them adjust to a "modern" way of life? Do you think it is sad that they have been caught in a wheel of progress that is automatically grinding up their stone age cultures?

² A state is a recognized (by other states) territorial unit created by war, expansion, or political arrangement operated by a military-civilian bureaucracy that by law and various methods of representation includes all the peoples of that territorial unit as citizens. In these examples it does not refer to the "states" of the United States (e.g. Wyoming, Montana, California, West Australia, New South Wales).

How connected are you with a nation? ¹

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1. Do you belong to the land or does the land belong to you? In what land do you belong? How do you know? Describe the four directions of the compass from where you stand.

2. Explain your traditional dances and what they symbolize. Recount some songs and oral traditions of your people. Who in your nation is keeper of the songs, oral traditions, and sacred ceremonies?

3. Describe some of the national cuisine and the stories behind various dishes. Where are the ingredients found?

4. Describe the ceremonies or festivals that accompany the change of seasons. Are these ceremonies communal or do they take place in private homes? What kinds of cultural information do these ceremonies transmit?

5. Explain several traditional techniques of conflict resolution including any games, ceremonies, or rituals that are part of your culture. How are important decisions made? Which decisions require community consensus?

6. Name the natural source of your drinking water. Is this river, lake or spring considered in any special way by the nation? If your society creates "sewage" or "garbage," where does it go? What are some methods you use to avoid producing refuse?

7. What is the most respected land form in your homeland? most sacred

water body?, How are these revered sites protected? Are any of them threatened? By whom?

8. Name your nation neighbors. What kinds of ceremonies and exchanges or other relations do you share or conduct with them?

9. What responsibilities mark out your relationship to your nation? What is the relationship between you and the descendants of your nation? What responsibilities do you feel toward future generations? How does that responsibility help ensure your own survival? Do you have any responsibility to your ancestors?

10. Describe the native landscape generally—the native grasses, edible plants, and tree life. What plant species have gone extinct here? Describe several animal species of your homeland. Which have gone extinct? Do you have any personal names for wild animals and birds near your home?

11. Name a dozen or more local herbs that can provide: (1) cures, and (2) refreshments. Where can one find them? What is the relationship between your family and local healers?

12. Describe the characteristics of the soil of your homeland. What factors explain local climate? From what direction do rainstorms usually arrive? How much rainfall have you had so far this year? In your homeland, what flowers bloom first in the Spring?

13. Describe the regular community gatherings. What important issues face the nation? How is news shared in your community? Are there any nation-run radio or TV stations?

14. Describe your perception of time. Is history alive or dead? How does the time of the mountain differ from that of the human? Do you think in the time of the mountain? Describe the shadows that say it is 5:00 p.m. When will the moon next be full? Describe the constellations and the stories behind them.

15. How well do members of your community know each other? Does this contribute to security? When was the last time a major crime was committed in your nation? Did it become the focus of the nation?

16. Is your history written on the land, in a book, oral traditions, ceremonial practices, songs, paintings? Can you walk the history of the land and describe it?

17. Describe your society's ceremonies for initiation into womanhood or manhood. How is cultural information between the generations shared, transferred?

18. What are some of the responsibilities that old people have in your society?

19. Do you confront an invading state? What do you do to try to make state peoples understand your perspective on land and its hallowed importance? Do you think they can be helped? Do you think of them as hopelessly disconnected from the earth, or caught up in cradle-to-grave programs of state indoctrination that portray indigenous people as something less than a modern human? Is there a nation person inside every state person?

¹ A nation is a people bounded by a homeland because of a common sense of belonging to it and to others of that place with a culture resulted from an evolved relationship between the people, their land and the cosmos.

Definitions

Nation

A nation is a people bounded by a homeland because of a common sense of belonging to it and to others of that place with a culture resulted from an evolved relationship between the people, their land and the cosmos.

State

A state is a recognized (by other states) territorial unit created by war, expansion, or political arrangement operated by a military-civilian bureaucracy that by law and various methods of representation includes all the peoples of that territorial unit as citizens. In these examples it does not refer to the "states" of the United States (e.g. Wyoming, Montana, California, West Australia, New South Wales).

Fourth World Nations in the Era of Globalisation

An Introduction to Contemporary Theorizing
Posed by Indigenous Nations

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A Seminar Publication of the Center for World Indigenous Studies
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An Introduction to Contemporary Theorizing

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In this essay I explore the challenges that the rise of Fourth World theory and indigenous politics pose to contemporary political economic analyses. There are two themes prominent within contemporary political economic analysis; globalisation and the ever-growing emergence of difference (localisation). Many of these analyses are underpinned by the notion that a world system exists as a single entity (see, for example, Wallerstein 1974), under globalisation. However, this does not account for the increasing action of peoples at the local level, who are identifying with one another on the basis of, for example, nationhood (i.e. indigenous nations), ethnicity, or sexual preference; they are sustaining, creating and asserting their difference. This is particularly relevant when it is noted that in any exploration of difference, differentials in access to power must be considered. Images of the 'Other' may be related more closely to the perpetuation of the interests of those in power, than to reality. Images of "Self", conversely, may be a response to that power.

Indigenous Social Movements as Sites of Power

The rise of indigenous social movements in world politics, as well as the single international indigenous movement, signifies that international solidarity is a 'real world' event. Indigenous nations everywhere are demanding the right to self-determination. They are asserting their sovereignty as distinct and autonomous nations of peoples. Popular stereotypes of indigenous nations as having 'primitive', 'backward' cultures have helped cover-up and often rationalize the reality of their ongoing marginalisation. This process of marginalisation has frequently been motivated and legitimized by colonial powers under the banners of 'modernization', 'development' and 'progress' (see Tauli-Corpuz 1993; Wilmer 1993).

The powerful notions of 'progress', 'development' and 'modernization' have led to a conception of a hierarchy of States delineated as the 'Three Worlds' (see Worsley 1984) based on contrasts of ideology (i.e. First World capitalism versus Second World socialism/communism) and contrasts of wealth (i.e. the industrialized First and Second World versus the underdeveloped Third World) (see Nietschmann 1987). However,

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indigenous nations are not recruited to their political situation on the basis of either ideology or their economic well-being. Instead they are “peoples and political movements in the same moment of space and time” (Brough 1989:5). They are temporally united through their histories and traditions passed on with their own languages. They are spatially united through their powerful links to their land and water territories. Their struggles for self-determination are struggles to retain and/or regain cultural solidarity, which unite them as a distinct people.

The challenge for contemporary theorists is how to work out a mode of investigation that accounts for both the processes of integration on a global scale (globalisation) and the processes of self-identifying on the local indigenous level (localization). By moving away from an all-encompassing global narrative of history and politics, and stressing the local and particular forms of difference and struggle, new outlooks on power-relations are achievable; essentially power can be considered in terms of micro-political levels (subsiding in divergent pockets throughout societies) not just in terms of macro-political levels such as classes or States (see Brough 1989). Culture then becomes connected to ‘real life’ experiences and theorists can encompass forms and occasions of representations as sites of power in themselves.

THE RISE OF FOURTH WORLD THEORY

Through the 1970s and into the early 1980s, Fourth World theory “emerged to explain persistent global patterns of ethnocide and ecocide” (Nietschmann 1994:225) perpetrated against the 6,000 to 9,000 (note 1) (see Griggs 1994a, 1994b; Ryser 1996) ancient but “internationally unrecognized nations” (Griggs 1992:NET) of the Fourth World. These nations represent “a third of the of the world’s population” (Griggs 1992:NET) whose descendants maintain a distinct political culture that predates and continues to resist the encroachment of the 192 (note 2) (see Ryser 1996) recognized States now in existence. Fourth World theory was fashioned by a diverse assortment of people, including “activists, human rights lawyers, and academics but principally leaders of resisting [indigenous] nations” (Nietschmann 1994:225). Through information networking they share thoughts, knowledge and resistance tactics in meetings and by photocopy, mail, telephone, fax, computer modem, and computer bulletin boards (see Field 1984; Nietschmann 1994). As Nietschmann (1994:225; see also Field 1984) delineates, the doorway to Fourth World analysis cannot be found in library catalogues, because:

- (1) Fourth World theory seeks to change the world, not just describe and publish an article on it;
- (2) Fourth World advocates rely on the electronic circulation of firsthand information; and
- (3) it is counterproductive to discuss plans, strategies, and an overall theory that are aimed at resisting and reversing the

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territorial and political occupation of nations by states.

Indigenous nations' political solidarity is founded on their cultural solidarity. Thus, more recently the term 'Fourth World' has been applied to indigenous peoples in acknowledgment of the limitations of the Three Worlds schema (see Dyck 1985; Graburn 1981; McCall 1980). The Bartels (1988:249; see also Griggs 1992) have criticized both Graburn (1981) and Dyck (1985) for characterizing the 'Fourth World' in "terms of a set of static criteria which aboriginal groups may or may not presently fulfill." All these theorists draw on the work of Manuel and Posluns (1974), however, the fundamental difference is that Manuel and Posluns (1974:5-7) refer to the 'Fourth World' as a product of struggle and development: they juxtapose the growth of a 'Third World' from former colonies, against the [then] future emergence of a 'Fourth World' from diverse aboriginal peoples struggling to achieve more acceptable relations with the States that encapsulate them. Manuel and Posluns (1974) formulation of the term 'Fourth World' has become the most widely used definition; that is, 'aboriginal peoples' who have special non-technical, non-modern exploitative relations to the land in which they still live and are 'disenfranchised' by the States within which they live (see for instance Griggs 1992; Hyndman 1991; Ryser 1996). Hyndman (1991:169; see also Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Weyler 1984) notes that "[i]ndigenous peoples themselves are popularizing the term Fourth World, and it is still being circulated for validation."

Starting from a "Fourth World perspective" (Ryser 1996:8) allows a more all-encompassing analysis than pure economic theorizing, which tends toward a core-periphery structural analysis of the world capitalist system. While economic analyses are important, it must be noted that the political interests of indigenous nations cannot be reduced to purely economic considerations that disregard their struggle for cultural autonomy. Fourth World analysis "produces a dramatically distinct, "ground-up" portrait of the significance and centrality of people in most world issues, problems, and solutions" (Nietschmann 1994:225).

Persistent Cultures and Hidden Nations

Analyses that ignore culture over pure economics also deny those aspects of life that persist. Spicer (1971:799) has developed the notion of persistent cultural systems, defined as a cumulative cultural phenomenon, an open ended system that defines a course of action for the people believing in it. These persistent systems, according to Spicer, are more stable than political organizations, and furthermore, States depend on the accumulated energy of persistent peoples for their impetus. Spicer (1971:796) suggests considering more fully the links between political systems and identity systems. He concludes that an oppositional process between identity systems and State apparatus exists, which can lead to either the breakdown or reinforcement of an identity system.

In more recent theorizing, Spicer (1992) advances the notion of "hidden nations" to explain how States' have continued to subjugate persisting indigenous nations. Hidden

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nations “are not hiding” (Spicer 1992:30) themselves, rather States suffer from “cultural blindness” or “insulation against reality” (Spicer 1992:36, 47). Cultural blindness is integrally based in power relations:

Dominant peoples control the institutional relationships of nations in their state. The dominant people do not have to adjust to others; they can require the subordinated peoples to adjust to them... The dominant people do not ordinarily experience any pressures to see the subordinated peoples as the subordinated peoples see themselves (Spicer 1992:37).

Thus, the cultural blindness of States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries facilitated their governing of indigenous nations “whom they believed were like themselves already, peoples who could be made into images of themselves, or peoples who were hopelessly inferior and could not be changed” (Spicer 1992:34).

However, while there can be no denying the fundamental importance of recognizing the growth and impact of colonialism, capitalism, bureaucracy and the division of labour as central features of contemporary history, the understanding that these factors would eventually destroy persistent cultural systems is clearly false. Thus, indigenous nations’ struggles for cultural autonomy (self-determination and sovereignty) have been unjustifiably ignored or distorted; a serious flaw when theorizing about indigenous nations and their political movements, considering the culture concept is so central to their ‘being’.

Time and Space: Ideologically Construed Instruments of Power

The new European states have worked diligently to wipe out indigenous history and intellectual thought and replace these with European history and intellectual thought. The great lie is simply this: IF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES WILL ONLY REJECT THEIR OWN HISTORY, INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT, LANGUAGE, AND CULTURE AND REPLACE THESE THINGS WITH EUROPEAN VALUES AND IDEALS, THEN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE WILL SURVIVE (Ryser 1986:NET; emphasis in original).

The history of indigenous nations is integrally connected with the history of colonialism. Colonialism represents the imposition of the power of one State or nation over the territories of another in order to gain economic and/or political advantage (see Brough 1989). Thus, colonialism is about the spatial expansion of one people and the corresponding constriction of another; colonialism is about the discovery and exploitation of ‘frontiers’. By calling indigenous territories, ‘frontiers’, colonialists can debase any prior political attachments to that territory and deny the existence of the original owners of those territories. Frontiers are seen as abstract spaces devoid of human connections; they are wildernesses that require ‘taming’. Indigenous nations and their territories become conceived in economic terms, as “untapped natural resources” (Tauli-Corpuz 1993:7) waiting for the taking. Indigenous nations’ natural resources become “national and transnational resources” (Hyndman 1988:281).

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Colonialism also established the foundations for all future relations between colonizers and colonized. The fact that indigenous nations continue to be marginalized (in a comparative sense) is testament to this ongoing problem. Further, colonialism is a process through time and space, and, as such, indigenous nations have not only been dispossessed of their lands but also of their histories (see Brough 1989). The history of indigenous nations is often portrayed as 'peripheral', 'backward', and 'doomed to extinction', "by the dogma of colonialist notions of the 'progress' of 'civilisation'" (Tauli-Corpuz 1993:10; see also Wilmer 1993). Indigenous nations are not only resisting the spatial relationship ("ever expanding space" (Brough 1989:24)) that advances their lands as underdeveloped frontiers, they are resisting an augmented sense of time:

...the expansive, aggressive, and oppressive societies which we collectively and inaccurately call the West needed Space to occupy. More profoundly and problematically, they required Time to accommodate the schemes of a one-way history: progress, development, modernity (and their negative mirror images: stagnation, underdevelopment, tradition) (Fabian 1983:144).

Thus time and space become "ideologically construed instruments of power" (Fabian 1983:144; see also Brough 1989). These trends continue today to marginalize indigenous nations in both colonial and neo-colonial situations, resulting in clashes between ideas and philosophies.

THE GEOPOLITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF FOURTH WORLD THEORY

Fourth World theory scrutinizes how colonial empires and modern States invaded and now encapsulate most of the world's enduring nations and peoples: "It also explores how this destructive expansion jeopardizes the world's biological and cultural diversity and ultimately rebounds to break down and break up states" (Nietschmann 1994:225-6). Through a different geopolitical perspective, Fourth World analyses, writings, and maps (see for instance Griggs 1994a, 1994b) rectify the distorting and obscuring of indigenous nations' identities, geographies and histories (see Spicer 1992); "that make up the usually hidden "other side" in the invasions and occupations that produce most of the world's wars, refugees, genocide, human rights violations, and environmental destruction" (Nietschmann 1994:226, 230). To understand this different geopolitical perspective, some clarification of terms is necessary. The political terms nations, States, nation-States, a people, and ethnic group/minority are commonly used interchangeably in both popular and academic literature despite the fact that each has a distinct connotation (see Griggs 1992, 1994b; Hyndman 1994a; Nietschmann 1987, 1994).

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Fourth World Perspectives on Terminology

A State

Within Fourth World theory a State represents a centralised political system with a recognised civilian and military bureaucracy established to enforce one set of institutions, laws and sometimes language and religion within its boundaries (see Hyndman 1994a; Nietschmann 1987). The modern state grew from “European kingdoms, overseas colonialism, and the division of large colonial empires into smaller and smaller neo-colonial pieces” (Nietschmann 1994:227). The State, as a political entity, is a legal creation which comes into being on a specific date (see Nietschmann 1994), is comprised of a “set of internationally recognised boundaries that comprise greater than one (>1) nation” (Griggs 1994b:260; see also Nietschmann 1994; Spicer 1992), and is acknowledged by other States.

A Nation

Nations, on the other hand, are not so easily defined since nations are a less tangible phenomenon. A nation is a people with a distinct culture evolved over time “as a product of human interaction with their environment (on the earth and in relation to the cosmos) and with the spiritual realm” (Ryser 1996:11). Nations are bound together by such common attributes as ancestry, history, society, institutions, ideology, language, territory and religion (Nietschmann 1987:1, 1994:261). Nations are, thus, self-defining (see Connor 1978, Nietschmann 1994) and are created by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a historically common territory and a national consciousness. The term nation also refers to the geographically bounded territory of a people. Further, as no nation has ever deliberately dispensed with their territory, resources or identity, “a nation is the world’s most enduring, persistent, and resistant organisation of people and territory” (Nietschmann 1994:226).

Only when nations and States coincide with cultural and legal boundaries (less than 5% of the world’s States), can the term nation-State be used (see Griggs 1994b; Nietschmann 1987, 1994; Wilmer 1993). Spicer (1992:30; emphasis in original) notes that the political environment in which indigenous nations are ‘hidden’ is “currently labelled the nation-state.” As discussed above, every State is fundamentally a plural entity (comprised of two or more nations);

...yet, the term nation-state tends to perpetuate the obscuring of this fundamental fact, because it suggests that a modern state is composed of a welded unity - a single nation within a state. Insofar as it suggests this kind of entity, the term perpetuates misunderstanding and obfuscation (Spicer 1992:31; emphasis in original).

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Fourth World theory focuses on analysing nations, however, at this stage of research Fourth World theorists have categorised nations in terms relating to the State (see Table 1). Both Nietschmann (1994) and Morris (1992) have noted that characterising nation types is an important developing area of Fourth World theory. As Morris (1992:NET) states:

Fortunately, among the ranks of indigenous peoples a discussion has begun that calls into question the usefulness of forcing indigenous reality into the forms developed by Europeans. Consequently, new descriptions of the historical organisation of indigenous societies, as well as indigenous aspirations, are being formulated. The result may be the evolution of completely novel international relationships between and among peoples.

Ryser (1996; see Table 2) has taken up the challenge and developed terms for the new and evolving political status relations indigenous nations are forging for themselves.

Table 1: Types of nations in terms relating to the State (Nietschmann 1994:233) originally developed by Dr. Richard A. Griggs.

Autonomous nations	Nations that have endured long-standing state attempts at cultural and territorial assimilation and whose autonomy is recognised by the State, e.g., Catalonia, Kuna Yala
Enduring nations	Nations that have endured long-standing State attempts at cultural and territorial assimilation and have achieved a partial or limited autonomy, e.g., Saamiland, Yapti Tasba
Renascent nations	Historical nations that are becoming stronger by cultural renaissance and political movements seeking greater political recognition, e.g., Scotland, Wales
Remnant nations	Long-dormant nations (low levels of cultural activity) that have weak, incipient national movements, regenerating because of the example of neighbouring nations.
Nation cores of States	Most States have and are run by nation cores that become both the point of expansion and the hegemonic culture of the idealised nation-state, e.g., England/ UK, Russia/USSR, Castile/Spain, Java/Indonesia, Han/China.
Irredenta	Parts of nation cores of States lost to States by treaty or war. In some cases, groups within the “broken piece.” Nations see themselves being

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ruled by the “wrong” State, e.g., Northern Ireland.

Recognised nations	Nations that endured State occupation and won independence, e.g., Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Eritrea.
Fragmented nations	Many nations are occupied by two or more states, which often hinders political mobilisation and territorial reconsolidation, e.g., Kurdistan is occupied by 5 States, Saamiland by 4, and Kawthoolei (in Burma) by 2.
Militarily occupied nations	Many nations have all or part of their territories militarily occupied by one or more States, e.g., the northern one-third of the Miskito nation is occupied by Honduras, and the southern two-thirds have partial autonomy.
Armed resistance nations	Of the world’s 120-some wars (as of April 1993) 80 percent involved Fourth World nations resisting State military forces, e.g., Kawthoolei versus Burma, West Papua versus Indonesia, East Timor versus Indonesia, Chittagong Hill Tracts versus Bangladesh, Saharawi Republic versus Morocco.

People

A people in Fourth World theory is also self-defining: “A people considers itself to be distinct from other peoples, adjacent or far, who may, in turn, recognize the difference” (Nietschmann 1994:227). A people is distinguished by a common history, a common geographical location and homeland, cultural or linguistic links, religious or ideological links, racial or ethnic ties, a common economic base, and an adequate number of

Table 2: New and evolving political status relations forged by indigenous nations (Ryser 1996:Chapter 4)

Integrated nation	No internal sovereignty and no external sovereignty, participation or sharing in political instruments of State or dominant nation, exercise delegated powers of government, constitutionally defined or impliedly understood to be an integral part of State domain or dominant nation’s domain, no inherent collective rights - individual and group rights defined in State constitution or reduced rights as a result of unstated principles, full economic dependency, e.g., Kalaallit Nunaat.
Autonomous nation	Governing authority delegated to nation from State-limited internal sovereignty, no external sovereignty, limited collective rights - State

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	constitution defines individual and collective rights, partial economic self-sufficiency, e.g. Yapti Tasba.
Associated nation	Exercise inherent powers of government - full internal sovereignty, government to government relations - limited external sovereignty, partial economic self-sufficiency, e.g., Lummi.
Independently federated nation	Exercise inherent powers of government - varying degree of negotiated internal sovereignty, government to government relations - varying external degree of sovereignty, substantial economic self-sufficiency, e.g., Catalunya
Independent Nation-State	Exercise constituted powers of government, full internal sovereignty and full external sovereignty, economic dependency, e.g., Federation of Micronesia.

individuals asserting common identity (see Nietschmann 1994). Sills (1993) and Smith (1986¹) advance the perspective that it is when a people become politically mobilized, claiming the right to self-determination, that they appear to form nations. When faced by threats from common enemies a people politically organize and mobilize against these threats:

For example, the Diné (Navajo) used to be a people who traditionally lived in a very dispersed, non-national pattern, organised in clans as basic operational units, until they were faced with a need to form a nation under military leaders (like Mameelito) who united them to defend their lives against encroachment and genocidal attacks by Euro-American invaders. Today, some 130 years later, the "Navajo Nation" is recognised juridically within the United States (although that recognition is full of contradictions) (Sills 1993:9).

Almost no nation or people in the world calls itself by the terms used by most academics, journalists and States: "ethnic groups, minorities, peasants, tribes, herders, agriculturalists, lower class, or, simply, a group, a population or the poor" (Nietschmann 1987:4, 1994:230; emphasis in original). For instance, the term 'ethnic group' conflates two distinct geographical processes: "immigration to a place, and territorial annexation by an expansionist state or nation" (Griggs 1994b:259). From the perspective of Fourth World theory, all these terms have the common strategy of supporting States by obfuscating nations. Terminological confusion goes further: by centering on 'legitimate' political units at the level of States, the notion of 'sovereignty' (and nationalism) becomes distorted, ignoring the role of nations (see Brough 1989; Griggs 1994b). Sovereignty, in

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political theory, refers to the notion that all societies must have some absolute power of final decision, executed by a person or group identified as both able to determine, and capable of enforcing, the decision: "Sovereign rule then, refers to a notion of legitimate rule, not necessarily State rule" (Brough 1989:14). It is upon this understanding that most indigenous nations, all of who have their own names for themselves and their own territories, seek the right to self-determination internationally and resist incorporation (both peacefully and through conflict) into one or more States.

NATIONS ENDURE

The Westphalian System of States

One of the oldest social practices is the conduct of international relations, however the history of relations between peoples is punctured with "new beginnings, collapsed old orders and proclaimed new arrangements" (Ryser 1996:139). The present political order was instituted at the Congress of Munster and Osnabrug in 1648 and is known as the Peace of Westphalia:

This treaty brought an end to the Thirty-Years War between the keepers of the flame for the Holy Roman Empire in Austria and Spain, and the monarchies of France and "Swedeland." At the same time the peace treaty created new structures between emerging "European Christian States," established monarchs as sovereigns in their own right, formalised borders between separate sovereigns, affirmed that all states would be ruled under the guiding hand of the Catholic Church and established mutual recognition of sovereignty as the basis for state legitimacy (Westphalia, 1648) (Ryser 1996:140; see also Ryser 1994b).

Instead of an individual or family unit being the focus of sovereign authority, the Peace of Westphalia established a new political order typified by the distribution of sovereignty between States (see Wilmer 1993). Exercising governmental power within the framework of a State evolved into a "generally accepted system predicated on the principles of legal universality and of individual rights" (Ryser 1994b:NET). Initially only affecting Western Europe, as a result of global colonization by a few European States, the Westphalian political order spread across the world: "Independent states loosely connected to each other and supported by international and regional organizations defined the new international political order of the 19th and 20th centuries" (Ryser 1996:142-143).

The Westphalian system of States has functioned for close to four hundred years on a basic premise: "Universal standards for political sovereignty and political organization would ensure peaceful relations between peoples and promote global stability" (Ryser 1996:145). However, just as smaller political units (States) contested and eventually

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supplanted empires, even smaller units of human political organization have arisen to challenge the power and legitimacy of modern States:

These smaller units (sometimes much larger than many individual modern states) are the world's more than five thousand nations; the original peoples whose cultures distinguish them one from the other. The peoples and territories that are these nations are the building blocks from which virtually every state is made (Ryser 1996:145).

The Repressive State

“Bedrock nations” (Griggs ND:NET; 1992) existed prior to all States (see Nietschmann 1994, Ryser 1996). War became, and remains, the vehicle by which States appropriate (‘State-building’) the territories and peoples of bedrock nations. State governments tend to share and reproduce State-building strategies, and since “the common underpinnings of such strategies are force and tyranny, most are repressive and are reeled out with but minor variations” (Nietschmann 1994:234; emphasis added). The ‘theory of the repressive State’ proposes that because no indigenous nation cedes its independence freely, State-building proceeds through “various military and legal mopping-up stages,” many of which may exist simultaneously “creating a single historical geographic process” (Nietschmann 1994:234). Viewing State-building as a historical-geographical sequence facilitates the defense of nations and understandings of State buildup and breakdown.

While nations predate States, all States attempt to erase the histories and geographies of the nations they occupy, through programs commonly referred to as ‘nation-building’: programs which are “based on political, cultural and territorial integration and development and education” (Nietschmann 1994:229) through the creation of common symbols (flags, national anthems, history and school-map geography). However, when States speak of nation-building they are, in most cases, undertaking “state-building by nation-destroying” (Nietschmann 1986:2, 1994:229; see also Connor 1978).

The Definition of Statehood by the Terms of the Treaty of Westphalia - 1648

The specific definitions frequently cited...include a political entity which: (1) exercises independent sovereignty (Article 73), (2) is recognised by other states (Article 76), (3) has the capacity to defend specific boundaries or lines of demarcation within which it exercises absolute power, and (4) maintains the Catholic religion (Article 77: “The most Christian King shall, nevertheless, be oblig’d to preserve in all and every one of these Countrys the Catholick Religion, as maintain’d under the Princes of Austria, and to abolish

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all Innovations crept in during the War.”) (Westphalia, 1648) (Ryser 1996:143).

States Breakup or Breakdown

As States are “artificial creations” (Nietschmann 1994:238) they breakdown and breakup as a part of their life cycle. State breakdown results when new internal boundaries permit greater autonomy for nations within a State (Griggs 1994b:260). State boundaries are generally subject to reorganization when “the political and economic costs of occupation exceed returns, and the empire becomes too expensive to maintain” (Nietschmann 1994:238). Spain’s post-Franco development of 17 Autonomous Communities is an example of State breakdown (Griggs 1994b). State breakup refers to “the breakup of a state into >2 new ones” (Griggs 1994b:260). Recent examples of State breakup include Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union.

State-building by nation-destroying “sows the seeds” (Nietschmann 1994:238) for the State’s eventual breakup or breakdown. Particularly significant is the notion that State breakup and breakdown occurs most commonly along the boundaries of historic nations (see Griggs 1994b; Ryser 1992, 199³). Griggs (1994b:260) states that “[t]hese old nation boundaries can be considered cultural faultlines since nations often persist in cultural form centuries after their legal boundaries have been absorbed by expansionist states or nations.” When confronted with the reality of internal disintegration due to political turmoil, economic stagnation, and environmental devastation, States typically facilitate their own demise:

They may expand further (e.g., the USSR’s movement into Afghanistan, Argentina’s into the Falklands, Morocco’s into Saharawi Republic); apply more repression (e.g., Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Sri Lanka in the 1980s and Burma in the 1980s and 1990s); loosen up economic control but maintain the political and military occupation of nations (e.g., the USSR in the later 1980s); try to decentralise as little as possible within the existing state system (e.g., Canada and Quebec and home rule for indigenous peoples in the north); or develop a new method of international governance based on federations or confederations of nations that run their own affairs domestically and loosely unite to run the affairs of regions (trade, pollution, communications, defence and illegal drugs) (Nietschmann 1994:238-239).

Griggs (1994a, 1994b) and Ryser (1994b) offer an example of a new method of international governance based on confederal organizing along national and regional lines; the emerging Europe of Regions (ER) movement (State breakdown). Encompassing 130 nations inside the boundaries of 35 States, discussions are taking place within the framework of the European community (see Griggs 1994a, 1994b; Ryser 1994b). The

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central goal is to create a European Union (EU) (State breakup) that more closely aligns with geographic realities:

For instance, the physical geography of Europe does not always fit well with economic dominance by state capital. Malmö, the capital of Skåneland, is hundreds of kilometres closer to Copenhagen than it is to Stockholm but politics rather than local geography dictates that Skåneland make its trading hub the latter rather than the former (Griggs 1994b:263).

The EU seeks to encourage trade and free regional economies by reinvigorating old trading regions that emulate geographic logic rather than politically bounded spaces: "One example is the European Union-sponsored Atlantic Arc that renews the ancient trading line among Cornwall, Brittany, Galicia, and Portugal" (Griggs 1994a:6, 1994b:263; see Figure 4). This new international endeavor places States under serious pressure, as do international conflicts which contribute to the breakdown or breakup of States (I will return to nation-State conflicts shortly).

RAPING THE WORLD: MODERNISATION AND DEVELOPMENT (note 4)ⁱⁱ

The needs and interests of political states and indigenous groups are in many ways diametrically opposed to one another. Political states view uncontrolled growth and progress as the highest idea, while indigenous groups regard balance and limited growth essential to their livelihood. From all appearances these ideas cannot be reconciled. We must reconcile the differences or a great deal of humankind will not survive (World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) 1979:NET).

In the globalized world, industrialization, capitalism and modernization have increasingly alienated peoples (indigenous and non-indigenous) from land and nature in differing ways. (note 5)ⁱⁱⁱ The past few decades have witnessed a massive acceleration in the rate at which indigenous peoples have been deprived of their lands and livelihoods by imposed development programs. Characterized by unchecked resource exploitation, these development programs have increasingly been brought to international attention, especially at a time when it has become apparent that they pose grave and irreversible threats to the earth's bio-cultural diversity.

The New Wave of Colonialism

Third World colonialism has replaced European colonialism as the main global force threatening indigenous nations' survival today. The wave of post-WWII decolonisation created the boundaries of Third World States "largely on the artificial outlines of the vanquished colonial empires" (Nietschmann 1986:2). As the notion of decolonisation was

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not extended to indigenous nations, Fourth World nations are now the subjects of recolonization and internal colonialism. In artificial Third World States, like the Philippines, Papua New Guinea (PNG), Indonesia and Bangladesh, economic development is used to invade Fourth World nations (see Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Hyndman 1994a; Nietschmann 1986). For example,

The mining frontier expands in Indonesia and PNG by dispossessing indigenous nations from their land and resources and degrading the environment. Nations manage resources and states consume them. Melanesian indigenous nations maintain the quality of their lands, waters and resources but Third World states like Indonesia and PNG do not. A system that does work is being destroyed to maintain a system that does not work (Hyndman 1994a:177-178).

The strategy that many States like Indonesia and Bangladesh employ to annex indigenous nations' lands, territories and natural resources is termed 'transmigration' - the resettlement of people loyal to, or dependent on, a central government, backed by military force, "with almost all expenses lobbied for by transnationals and provided by international development agencies" (Nietschmann 1986:6). In Indonesia, the Jakarta government lists seven goals for its transmigration program: "to promote national unity, national security, an equal distribution of the population, national development, the preservation of nature, help to the farming classes and improvement of the condition of local peoples" (Nietschmann 1986:7; emphasis in original). The reality is:

...the spread of poverty; forced displacement of indigenous peoples from their homes, communities and lands; deforestation and social damage at the rate of some 200,000 hectares per year...destruction of local governments, economies, means of sustainable resource use; forced assimilation programs; wide-spread use of military force to "pacify" areas and to break local resistance by bombing and massacring civilians (Nietschmann 1986:7).

It is obvious that the fallacy of 'nation-building' disguises the real situation of 'nation-destroying' by State expansion: "Capture and control of resources, not extension of politics or economic philosophy, is behind the plunder and confrontation for control" (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993:141; see also Hyndman 1994a; Nietschmann 1986) of indigenous nations' frontiers.

Social and Political Issues: Challenging Notions of Sustainable Development

Like the fallacy of 'nation-building' technical definitions of 'sustainability' also deny the social and political issues implicit in the notion of sustainability (and by extension conservation movements). As Colchester (1994:70) notes:

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As the WCED [World Commission on Environment and Development] study acknowledges, achieving sustainability implies a radical transformation in present-day economies. It requires a fundamental change in the way natural resources are owned, controlled and mobilised. To be sustainable, development must meet the needs of local people, for if it does not, people will be obliged by necessity to take from the environment more than planned. Sustainability is fundamentally linked to concepts of social justice and equity, both within generations and between generations, as well as both within nations and between nations...Achieving sustainability thus implies major political changes.

Even when government policies are nominally designed to discriminate in favor of indigenous communities, rights to traditional lands and to control of development are systematically denied; disenfranchising policies are underpinned by deeply held prejudices. One example (of many worldwide) is illustrated by Colchester (1994:73):

These [disenfranchising policies] have been most explicitly stated in Indonesia, where so-called **suku suku terasing** ('isolated and alien peoples') are defined by the government as 'people who are isolated and have a limited capacity to communicate with other more advanced groups, resulting in their having backward attitudes, and being left behind in the economic, political, socio-cultural, religious and ideological development process'.

It is clear that implicit in the Indonesian government's formulation of development is the notion that societies or nations may be placed on a social Darwinist evolutionary scale; 'developed' States (i.e. Indonesia) are the most advanced and the so-called 'underdeveloped' indigenous nations are those who have not yet undergone the necessary transformations towards prosperity and economic growth (they are in a 'backward' state). Government directed development initiatives are often justified as being 'in the national interest' (national security and identity) and the State is therefore exercising its power of 'eminent domain' in denying local peoples' rights (see Colchester 1994; Nietschmann 1986; Tauli-Corpuz 1993).

Indonesia is just one example of a State which considers development to be a transition from one type of economic system to another; a transition which implies both economic growth (increased production and increased per capita income) and socio-cultural change for the better. Intrinsic to the historical development of the capitalist system of production is the tendency to expand frontiers of economic activity in order to amass surplus value:

Historically, capitalism is thus an expansive or predatory system, constantly in search of new fields of operation. Thus the phenomena of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism may all be interpreted not only as phases in the development of a capitalist productive system, but

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also as expansions which are necessary in developed countries. (Seymour-Smith 1986:31)

With capitalist expansionism has come exploitation of indigenous nations and their environments; both ecological exploitation of resources in the environment and economic exploitation with the extraction of surplus value from producers. The capitalist ideologies of expansion and growth also entail the expropriation of indigenous lands; generally carried out by the State as part of programs of land reform or as part of nationalization schemes affecting foreign or national private capital enterprises. Colchester (1994:75-76) again provides one of many examples:

The most severe problem that forest peoples face throughout South and South-East Asia is the lack of recognition of their customary rights to their land...The main result of this lack of land security has been the massive take-over of forest peoples' lands by expanding lowland populations and enterprises...The denial of communal land rights and their fragmentation into individually owned plots has undermined traditional systems of resource management, shifting cultivation in particular.

Nation and State Conflicts

States and nations represent two seemingly irrepressible forces in collision: states, with their large armies, expansionist ideologies and economies, and international state-support networks, and nations, with their historical and geographic tenacity anchored by the most indestructible of all human inventions - place-based culture (Nietschmann 1994:236-237).

Nation versus nation and State versus nation conflicts since World War II (WWII) have produced the most extended and abundant wars, inflicted some of the most extreme measures of genocide on civilians, created the greatest number of refugees, and, unfortunately, have the fewest peaceful solutions (see Nietschmann 1987, 1994). Ryser (1996) calculates that of the 250 wars waged since the end of WWII in 1945 until the end of 1994, 145 or 58% are wars between nations and between nations and States - Fourth World wars. Broken down further, 111 or 77% of all Fourth World wars are nation versus State wars and 22 or 15% are nation versus nation wars (see Ryser 1996). Of these Fourth World wars, 85 or 59% continue today (see Ryser 1996), and many will continue into the next century. According to Ryser (1996:25), "intimidation by the use of state power is the single most common explanation for violent contention between nations and states" (note 6)^{iv}. While these violent confrontations tend to be multi-faceted, most are rooted in territoriality and political status issues with the major secondary component

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being economics (see Ryser 1996). These wars by bedrock nations are essentially about their self-determination.

These conflicts include wars of environmental destruction where groups on behalf of the State (usually economic developers) generate death and devastation in Fourth World nations: "The act of development instills terror, causes psychological and somatic trauma and produces death either as a result of direct combat or as a consequence of destroyed habitat" (Ryser 1996:18; emphasis in original). Wilmer (1993:193) refers to the psychological trauma experienced by many indigenous peoples ('captive cultures') as a form of "posttraumatic stress disorder"; a disorder which is historical in nature and firmly based in tribal, community and personal histories. As Wilmer (1993:193) states:

At a very personal level, meaning cannot be created and maintained until, and only as long as, an individual is able to locate herself or himself within a cultural universe of meaning and continuity. The destruction of culture inflicts real harm on individual human beings. One culture cannot simply be removed and another transplanted in an individual without committing a violation of the dignity and integrity of that individual.

The irony is that in most cases these developers and their States suffer no casualties.

More than three-fourths of the Fourth World wars studied were of the nation vs state type suggesting that it is in the nature of the failed capacity of the state to accommodate the nation that there is contention in the first place (Ryser 1996:38).

Much of the violence perpetrated against indigenous nations is hidden by common consensus between States to transform the terminology of conflict: "aggressive conflict between states is called war; a nation's defense against aggression by a state is called terrorism; and the aggressive invasion and occupation of a nation by a State is called development" (Nietschmann 1986:2, 1987). Additionally, despite the fact that so many of the world's wars, refugees and genocide are the result of conflict over territory, resources and political status between States and nations, they do not come under international laws, rules, instruments, conventions or agreements: "States make international laws...From the point of view of the state, only "terrorists" resist state takeover" (Nietschmann 1987:1, 1994:237; see also Ryser 1996). Without new international laws, policies and multi-lateral institutions which recognize nations and their claims, many of these wars will continue, as will the deaths resulting from these nation-State conflicts. (note 7) v.

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Alternatives

The interdependence of biological and cultural diversity

Since the late 1980s 'sustainable development' (popularized by the United Nations' WCED) has become a major catch-phrase associated with development (and allied to conservation issues); referring "to the means by which "development" is made to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs" (Colchester 1994:70). However, many development institutions have adopted technical definitions of sustainability -

DIVERSITY IS ANOTHER NAME FOR THE WORLD. WHAT WOULD THE WORLD BE LIKE IF THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES? WHAT WOULD THE WORLD BE LIKE IF THERE WERE ONLY ONE LANGUAGE? (BOUTROS-GHALI 1994:14)

"ecosystems' continued production of goods or services or the maintenance of biodiversity - without any emphasis on human needs or sustaining livelihoods" (Colchester 1994:70). These types of definitions, in their search for ecologically sound production systems, effectively divorce technologies from their wider context; contexts which encompass social, economic, physical, technical and political environments (see Chapin 1991). Any search for ecologically sound production systems must take into account both human cultural resources (eg. applied traditional knowledge and resource management strategies) and biological resources; both are necessary for the maintenance of the dynamic evolutionary processes involved in plant-human interactions (see Oldfield and Alcorn 1991).

To date, technical definitions of sustainability deny the interdependence of cultural and biological diversity. Nonetheless, concern about the loss of cultural and biological diversity has increased significantly over the past decade (see Hitchcock 1994). The earth's biological diversity, its ecological diversity, "is mirrored by the diversity of cultures humans created over great lengths of time" (Ryser 1996:6; see also Tauli-Corpuz 1993). Biological diversity refers to the variety of species, genes, and environments of the world (see Hyndman 1994b; Nietschmann 1994). Cultural diversity refers to the variety of human life ways, knowledge, and landscapes (see Hyndman 1994b; Nietschmann 1994). Biological and cultural diversity are mutually dependant, they are also geographically codeterminant (see Elford's maps 1995). Nietschmann (1991:373) clarifies:

In Central America...as in other regions of the world, most remaining wildlife and wildlands exist where indigenous peoples exist. In non-indigenous areas, the same forces that degraded and destroyed biodiversity and environments did the same to indigenous peoples. Where indigenous people survived, so too did biologically rich environments. This means that the best guarantee for the survival of nature is the survival of indigenous peoples, and vice versa.

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By applying the theory of Fourth World environments two rules can be elicited: (1) 'The Rule of Indigenous Environments' - "where there are still indigenous peoples with homelands there are still biologically rich environments" (Nietschmann 1992:3, 1994:239); and conversely, and strikingly, (2) 'The Rule of State Environments' - non-indigenous environments are almost always destructive of generic and biological diversity (see Nietschmann 1994).

Indigenous Nations Fight Back

To indigenous peoples sustainable development means meeting the basic needs for subsistence in partnership with nature. It means maintaining a spiritual and reciprocal relationship with nature and all living creatures and non-living things in it. They cannot abuse nature because it is tantamount to abusing themselves or abusing their mothers but also because their needs are very simple and the indigenous technologies, skills and processes they have developed are appropriate and in harmony with nature (Tauli-Corpuz 1993:12).

For centuries indigenous peoples have been actively manipulating, modifying, utilizing and caring for their homelands, turning their environments into humanized, cultural landscapes and seascapes (see Chapin 1991; Hyndman 1994b) ecologically maintained through established forms of sustainable resource-management. An example of ecologically sustainable resource-management strategies (once again from thousands all over the world) is given by Clarke (1990:24), 'polycultural agricultural systems' in some Pacific communities:-

Recognisable orchards have been described for many Pacific communities, for example, on Santa Cruz by Yen (1974) or the highland fringe of New Guinea by Clarke (1972). Often, too, what looks at first glance like wild forest is really a humanised orchard in which almost all species are useful and many trees and shrubs may have been planted or encouraged. Rather than being a compartmentalised sector of the economy as forestry is today, traditional arboriculture was an integral part of agriculture, housing, medicine, and the production of a wide range of material goods, while at the same time providing ecological services such as shade, erosion control, watershed protection, and habitats for wildlife.

It is fair to surmise that most of the world's States are essentially governments without environments or resources as they are actually located within the lands and territories of indigenous nations; pre-existing nations who have successfully maintained, and stewarded for future generations, their lands, territories, waters and resources. Most States have come to exist because of their invasion and take-over of indigenous resources and environments; military force is often resorted to in the face of non-consent. However, the intimate association between indigenous peoples and their land, and their

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determination to maintain their way of life, is most obviously expressed in their worldwide opposition to imposed destructive change. For example, the Dayak peoples of Sarawak have been struggling against loggers and the resultant deforestation of their homelands:-

...denied legal or political means of defending their lands, [the Dayak] have resorted to setting up human barricades across the logging roads to defend the forests around their longhouses. The government has responded with mass arrests and with a new law making all interference with logging roads a criminal offence. Yet despite the intimidation and threats, the blockades have been persistently re-erected, halting timber extraction on the concessions of prominent politicians such as the Minister for Environment and Tourism (Colchester 1994:82).

Not all resistance has been subtle, but whether violent or not, and whether successful or not, “the most important and enduring outcome of these conflicts over natural resources has been the local, national and international mobilization and organization that has resulted” (Colchester 1994:85).

The Key to the Future

Conservation by Self-determination and Self-determination by Conservation

Fortunately, in more recent years it has become increasingly clear to some conservationists that biodiversity cannot be sustained without cultural diversity and the preservation of traditional environmental knowledge; “symbiotic conservation” (Hyndman 1994b:300) is essential. However, what still remains contestable is how best to integrate traditional resource management knowledge, and associated customs and techniques, into effective and useful national development and conservation endeavors involving sustainable resource management and protection. As Nietschmann (1991:372; see also Colchester 1994) points out:-

Most indigenous peoples are not simply interested in economic alternatives to resource use, but in reestablishing or reinforcing their control and self-determination over their territory so that they can effectively use their own time-proven and culturally based conservation and resource management systems - sometimes augmented by incorporating the best knowledge and planning from Western societies.

One recent development, the Miskito Coast Protected Area (MCPA) (which has recently been incorporated into the Windward Project of central American nations) represents a grassroots endeavor which provides an alternate model for protecting environments and wildlife; “it is... forging a different example because its starting point is that indigenous self-determination and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing” (Nietschmann 1991:373; see also Elford 1995; Houseal,

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MacFarland, Archibold and Chiari 1985 for information on a similar project under the Kuna Yala). Elford (1995:109), in her study of conservation by self-determination in Central America, concludes that

conservation by self-determination has potential as a theoretically grounded program of action capable of changing conditions, engendering new understandings, and contributing to the emancipation of the oppressed nations of the Fourth World.

Nation self-determination by conservation and conservation by nation self-determination, is increasingly (and ironically, since most indigenous societies were sustainable before capitalist invasion and expansionism) being recognized by conservationists and protected-area specialists who are now working more and more with indigenous nations. Similar notions of ethnodevelopment (note 8)^{vi} and ecodevelopment (note 9)^{vii} as alternatives to capitalist economic development projects are also being put forward by some indigenous nations and planners as ways to maintain cultural and biological diversity.

It should not be concluded naively that all established indigenous systems of resource use are undisputedly 'sustainable' and above criticism, but rather that they are far more diverse, complex and subtle than outsiders realize (see Colchester 1994). The social, cultural and institutional strengths inherent in established indigenous systems of resource use need to be built on to achieve sustainability. While States continue to dismiss indigenous resource-management strategies as 'backward' and 'wasteful', environmental and biological devastation will continue at a rapid speed: State environments will remain dominated by State people, "centrifugal economies" and biological impoverishment, while important nation environments - characterized by ecologically adapted and long-standing resident peoples, "centripetal economies" (Nietschmann 1992:3; 1994:259-260; see also Hyndman 1994b) and the world's surviving biological diversity (both land and sea scapes) - will continue to be destroyed to the detriment of all. While it is clear that State-building by nation-destruction is unsustainable, the challenge for the immediate future is how to achieve global environmental security through joint indigenous nation/State co-operation programs (see Hyndman 1994b; Menchu 1994):

If we manage to establish some sort of mutual respect and understanding, and in the process learn to work together toward a set of common goals, we may just succeed in salvaging some of the earth's precious biological and cultural diversity (Chapin 1990:3).

As the environment of the planet we all share, the source of life which many indigenous people call Mother Earth, continues to deteriorate after centuries of abuse, a philosophy that incorporates all living and nonliving things in its vision is being sought...Long proud of our tradition as "caretakers of the earth," indigenous people are combining energies to raise awareness of the need for everyone to become active defenders of the remaining wildlife and wilderness - a part of the world that has now

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become totally dependent on human generosity and sensitivity for its continued survival (The Native American Council of New York City 1994:19).

CONCLUSION

Much of the political activism of Four World nations is directed towards the rhetorical issues that underpin their on-going marginalisation. Their demand for inclusion in “global civic discourse” (Wilmer 1993:36) directly challenges and deconstructs the meaning of normative international assumptions and values surrounding the concepts of modernization, progress and development advanced by the imperialist culture of States:

In confronting and challenging the legitimacy of policies resulting in forced assimilation, relocation, the introduction of deadly alien epidemics, and the sanctioning of private violence by settlers, indigenous peoples have targeted the source - the meaning of development itself. For instance, representatives of the indigenous Yanomamo people in Brazil travelled to the World Bank in the 1980s and argued before Bank officials that “development can have many meanings. Your interpretation of development is material. Ours is spiritual. Spiritual development is as legitimate as material development.” (Wilmer 1993:37; see also Dallam 1991).

Indigenous nations do not simply oppose modernization or progress. Instead, they assert the right to define and pursue development and progress in a manner compatible with their own cultural contexts. They champion the right to choose the scale and terms of their interaction with other cultures. In order to achieve and secure cultural, political and economic rights, sovereignty and self-determination have become some of the most important values sought by the international movement of indigenous nations. The rise of Fourth World theory offers one of the greatest challenges theorist will have to contend with in the 21st century.

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- i. Smith (1986:154; emphasis in original) uses the term *ethnie* when referring to a people. He states that “more and more *ethnie* are trying to take on territorial components and adopt a civic model, as they seek to become ‘nations’.”
 - ii. Development is linked to other phenomena existing prior to its invention, particularly the formation of Western economic practices and rationality - “those we have become accustomed to associate with *Homo Economicus*” (Escobar 1988:437). Development, with its root sense of unfolding, came into the English language in the 18th century, however, “it was readily granted a metaphorical extension by the new biology and ideas of evolution” (Watts 1993:259; see also Pieterse 1991). As a consequence, development has rarely been liberated from organicist notions of growth or from a close affinity with teleological views of history, science and progress in the West (Hobart 1993; Parajuli 1991). The pivotal theme of developmentalism as a linear theory of
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progress rooted in Western capital hegemony was immutable by the 19th century: "it became possible to talk of societies being a state of 'frozen development'" (Watts 1993:259).

iii. One way of understanding this differing alienation is to note that localised activities dominate the shaping of *space* into *place* in 'traditional' or 'pre-modern' societies: "But distanced relations predominate in the world today, separating space and place, which provides the basis for new spatial as well as temporal zones and boundaries" (Rodman 1992:645).

iv. Churchill and Morris (1987:23) note:

Confronted with the spectre of their own extinction *as peoples* - a prospect bound up in their forced incorporation into some "broader society" - indigenous nations have no alternative but to engage in the most desperate forms of resistance, seeking succour and assistance (real, or only apparent) from wherever it may come...One need look no further than this to discover how it is that indigenous peoples are presently trapped between the "rock" of right-wing reaction and the "hard place" of left-wing revolution.

v. On 8 June 1977, the Geneva Conventions were revised (Ryser 1985). The conference adopted Protocols I and II to cover treatment of non-state combatants and war victims (see Nietschmann 1985, 1987, 1994; Ryser 1985, 1992). In short,

"Protocols I and II revise international rules of war to improve the treatment of combatants and civilians in a wartime. Even though the protocols do not explicitly acknowledge state-nation wars, they are sufficiently broad that Fourth World nations in conflict should invoke them to expose state violations of the Geneva Conventions" (Nietschmann 1987:14).

vi. Ethnodevelopment as a concept refers to the participation of indigenous groups in the formation and implementation of development projects in accordance with their own needs and aspirations. Ethnodevelopment projects are designed by rather than for the people concerned, which implies the revaluation of their own culture as the basis upon which future development is to be constructed. Ethnodevelopment is thus opposed to ethnocidal development projects imposed upon local communities by dominant national elites (see Seymour-Smith 1986).

vii. Ecodevelopment as a concept have also been put forward in opposition to conventional development programs, which are often ecologically and culturally destructive. This notion embraces appropriate technology as well as environmental sensitivity and conservation, and advocates the assessment of technological strategies in terms of their long-term environmental consequences and their socio-cultural implications rather than simply in terms of short-term maximisation of profits or exploitation of limited resource bases. It thus gives priority to the satisfaction of the needs of the local population and the adaptation of the technology to be employed to the characteristics of the ecosystem, rather than the adaptation of the ecosystem to the technology (see Seymour-Smith 1986).

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Tribal Epistemologies Essays in the Philosophy of Anthropology

Edited by
Helmut Wautischer

AVEBURY SERIES IN PHILOSOPHY

2 Observations On 'Self' and 'Knowing'

Rudolph C. Rýser

Cowlitz is a consciousness of people, place, and cosmos that embraces the notion of eternal changeability. Cowlitz is a mixture of many parts that evolved from generations of contact with neighbors and visitors from distant places. It is a single consciousness born of countless generations of interaction among individuals, their extended families (which includes other animals, plants, water sources, stones, mountains, the Moon, the Sun, the stars, and prairies), and revered ancestors.

Shaped like the head of a deer (*mowich*), Cowlitz territory begins at the mouth of the Cowlitz River in the south, where the Splugamix live, then goes north, following the river's path, and then heads east, up the river to the mountains where the Taidnapum live; the left cheek of *mowich* is Mount St. Helen's and on the right cheek are the Black Hills. The southern base of Tahoma, or what is now called Mt. Rainier, forms the crown of *mowich*, and Cowlitz Prairie forms the flat space on the snout. All of this is Cowlitz territory. The Cowlitz people – the Taidnapum of the northern upper-head of *mowich* and the Splugamix of its southern mouth – are a smoke-house people bounded by the river. We Cowlitz remain in the place that was first peopled by our ancestors.

The great river flowing from the mountains defines, nourishes, and sustains the people; it informs them and holds the promise of bounty or the threat of disaster for their future. Living is made up of good and not-so-good choices taken by the people. While virtually all things change and recycle, certainty in the people's mind comes from experiencing daily differences and repeated reminders of what has already occurred.

Individual personality is only distinguishable from the collective self by virtue of its physical separateness – and that is only illusion itself. The personal self is to the collective self as the upstream waters are to the full rivers below.

Another Reference : Anthropology of Consciousness¹⁷

No part of the river is truly indistinguishable from any other part. One cup of river water is the same as the water passing by. The distinguishing quality of the cup of river water is the 'cup.' The water takes the form of the cup, an elastic attribute that permits adjustment to change. The Cowitz who lives rightly knows that the superficial differences among the people give meaning only to relational concepts. No significant meaning can be attached to a fractional quantity of water except that it is a part of the whole. It is the totality of water that has meaning.

I use the river's water as a metaphor for the collective self and the fractional quantity of water as a representation for the 'personal self.' It is the relationship, the interdependence, and the simultaneous capacity for independence of the self that must be emphasized. These seemingly contradictory capacities are the source of knowing. Without this simultaneity, life could not exist. It is, therefore, essential that one recognize the relationship between 'self' and 'knowing.' This observation has greatest significance for comprehending 'knowing' as a consequence of relationships discerned by the self.

Fluid Simultaneity and the Sense of Singleness

When one is standing in the middle of a prairie, a person may experience a sense of being alone, vulnerable, and disconnected. Yet, when one is surrounded by trees and other people,¹ like *mowich*, the bear, and flying things, there is a sense of being a part of or joined with all other things. This can be quite the opposite experience if one is born in a place that is open, like the rolling lands of western Yupic territory (Alaska) – there one can be alone and vulnerable in the forest. The point remains the same. Yet it is equally possible to be in the open prairie and 'lose oneself' in the immensity of things. What accounts for both the singular sense and the sense of unified submersion? It can be an illusion or some other trick of the mind, or it can be the spirit seeing the instance of singleness when there is a separation. Humans are not the only people who sense this singleness and contrast it with the unified submersion. *Mowich*² always travel collectively, even when they can't see each other. They can look like trees and bushes. They can even pretend to be a stone. In these ways *mowich* is at once itself and also all other things. Still, owing to a trick, *mowich* can be single, a distinct self – vulnerable, at risk. At such times, when making a trick *mowich* can give itself to a good hunter whose hunger is surpassed only by a wish to ask *mowich* for its life.

Mowich chooses a time when it will give up its life – exposing its single self. However, when it remains a part of the whole, *mowich* is not exposed. No harm can come to it. Like other people, *mowich* exists simultaneously within the 'collective self' even as it exposes the single self. When choosing to express the personal self, *mowich* is exposed and can offer itself.

The natural condition of things is for people to experience simultaneity; and it is a trick or exercise of will to choose singleness. As a part of the collective self, one is not aware of singleness or its possibility. There is only an awareness of the tensions and inclinations that give rise to change. This awareness is shared among all people. It is a common knowing – a common consciousness. *Mowich* experiences a calm serenity and demonstrates this when its tail is not nervous – its ears do not turn every which way, and it feeds quietly on grass or blackberry leaves.

These same ways can be observed in the salmon as well. Throughout its life, salmon exhibits a thorough serenity as it travels from its birth place, down the river, finally to the ocean. For most of its life, salmon lives in the ocean – a part of the fluid great self – satisfied. Not until it returns to its mother river to gather in cool dimples in the river bottom, and then to rush upstream to its birthplace, does salmon finally expose its singleness. Each individual salmon must challenge the swift stream by jumping and swimming against the down flowing water. Only those with the courage, strength, and power of *tamorowith* will meet the great challenge. Reaching the place of their birth, each salmon then spawns new life – giving up its body and rejoining its spirit with the great consciousness.

Singleness of consciousness is always temporary and fleeting while the collective consciousness is the permanent and perpetual condition of things. All the beings, all the people experience these things just the same.

Braided Rivers to Knowing

Time, space, and place animate the great consciousness filling the universe. At different periods in the brief history of human beings at least five different but related, modes of thought have led to knowing, achieving the ultimate expression of consciousness: apprehending the living universe. To comprehend the great consciousness one might reflect on these modes of thinking that characterize different kinds of human attempts at knowing. While contemporary thinkers consider most of these different modes of thought as expressions of 'more primitive ways of thinking,' I suggest that they are all coincident with each other. They are merely streams originating at different places – all leading to a common river fed by the same rain. They are different strands eventually braided into a single cord. Certain strands in the braid are more significant at some times and less significant at other times.

Consider, if you will, the different streams of thought that flow, not necessarily comfortably, into a single river of thought that offers ways of knowing. These are Cyclicism (typically a synthesis of Persian, Greek, Nubian, and other influences rooted in the eastern Mediterranean and Africa), Cuarto Spiralism (rooted in the Americas), Fatalism (rooted in Asia), Providentialism (transformed from the eastern Mediterranean and Africa into Europe), and

Progressivism (formed in Europe as a synthesis of influences resulting from the modern interaction among Europe, the Americas, and the Pacific Islands). A brief discussion of each stream reflects the diversity of human cultures over time, and their similarities too, thus presenting a range of ways of knowing.

Cyclicism

The Greek/Persian/Nubian reality of three thousand years ago comprehended a past and a present formed in a great circle. At any time before the present there is a point of the circle that is the past – usually the remembered past. As time proceeds around the circle, one encounters the past and repeats the transactions and events as the present. This mode of thought provided a closed, reassuring, and satisfying existence. One could predict the future merely by remembering the past. This cyclical reality proved quite adequate for the social, economic, and political life that grew and flourished across the Mediterranean and throughout Africa.

Aristotle reflected the *cyclical reality* in his thinking when he engaged in observations that served as the basis for his scientific, ethical, and political commentaries. It was with the certainty of a well-practiced marksman that Aristotle asserted in his *Politics* that some people are 'born slaves' while others are born to rule and direct slaves. Those who were born slaves, Aristotle reasoned, will always be slaves and will produce new slaves because they had always been slaves before. While Aristotle's claim was propounded as an absolute certainty, and his assertion remained a key element in Christian liturgy throughout the ages, his claim is clearly wrong – even though many people still believe what is a patently absurd idea. Still, Aristotle's idea of 'born slave' survives as an example of cyclical reality despite its absurdity.

Limiting as cyclical thinking is, it remains a potent part of the human intellectual tool – set for comprehending and engaging consciousness. Though not a dominant influence in contemporary thought, cyclicism remains a fundamental stream feeding the contemporary river of thought.

So powerful was cyclical thinking and so weak were those competing ways of thinking three thousand years ago, it continued to dominate and shape the thinking of all peoples within the reach of eastern Mediterranean influence through to the eighteenth century of the common era.

In the fifth century of the common era the Roman Catholic Church began to build its fortunes upon the intellectual foundations of the Greeks and their successors, the Romans. Though the Persians and Nubians had a profound influence on the development of Greek intellectualism, the Church's historical bias in favor of classical Greek superiority' ensured a dominant role for Greek ideas in Christian Church liturgy. As the emerging successor to the collapsed Roman Empire and the primary political body with administrative capabilities throughout Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, and northern Africa the

Roman Catholic Church proceeded to define a conceptual era that still echoes in Providentialism.

Cuarto Spiralism

Students of Maya literature commonly view the calendar of these ancient people – the 5,125-year 'Great Cycle' – as evidence of a mode of thought fundamental to the original Central-American and South American cultures. Associating the Maya mode of thought with cycles, where time and space repeat in infinite circles – as the Maya and Aztec calendars appear to suggest – is so common among scholars that few have stopped to consider how they may actually be projecting their own cultural templates onto the evidence of Maya and other western hemispheric ways of thinking. Though satisfied with a match for their templates, by imposing cyclicism into the context of the western hemisphere Maya scholars conceal the reality of a mode of thought unique in the world.

In an attempt to reveal the underlying character of this distinct mode of thinking, I shift the symbolism slightly from a circle to a spiral. With this change, I believe it is easier to apprehend a mode of thought I have labeled 'Cuarto Spiralism', or more simply, 'Spiralism'. More than any iconographic image, the *Hunab Ku*, translated as 'One Giver of Movement and Measure' (Argüelles 1987, p. 52), affirms Cuarto Spiralism. This mode of thought takes its name from the infinite repetition of four spiraling arcs, four 'cycles' in the Maya conception of time.

The *Hunab Ku* symbolizes the ideas: 'Movement corresponds to energy, the principle of life and all-pervading consciousness immanent in all phenomena' (*ibid.*). Though similar to the Yin and Yang of the Tao, *Hunab Ku* is much more. As the symbol of Spiralism, the *Hunab Ku* illustrates the interconnectiveness of all life, the four cardinal directions, the four arcs of time, and perpetual movement in all directions through space. The past, the present, and the future are all represented in the spiralist mode of thought. A spiral in space moves outward, inward, forward, and backward, occupying space and not occupying space all at the same time. Life and death are, therefore, two aspects of the same thing. Wholeness and particularity are manifestations of one and the same quality of existence. These are the central attributes of Cuarto Spiralism.

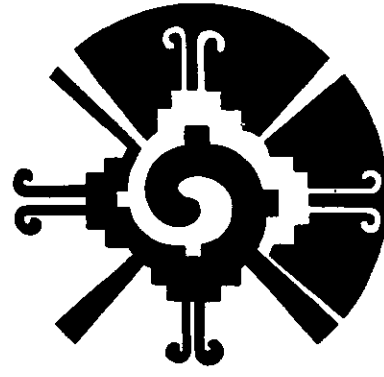


Figure 2.1 Hunab Ku.

Cuarto Spiralism predominates as the underlying mode of thought among the many cultures in the western hemisphere: it is recorded in their literature, stories, songs, dances, and symbols. Peoples as remote from one another as those living in the Arctic North to those living in Patagonia and the Micmac, Cowlitz, Hopi, and Kiowa, as well as the Mapuché, Yanomami, Aymara, Sumo, Pipil, and Zapotec all share a common, underlying mode of thought that infuses a wide diversity of cultures.

Cuarto Spiralism permits apprehension of the universe as a whole while giving respect to particularities. Mutuality of respect is the essential glue that both connects and separately identifies all parts of the whole, living universe. It is necessarily the case that all aspects of the universe are alive and possessing of the capacity to choose. It is this capacity of the living universe to choose that leaves the future unpredictable and open to surprise. Describing this concept from the Lakota perspective, Vine Deloria, Jr. writes:

The willingness of entities to allow others to fulfill themselves, and the refusal of any entity to intrude thoughtlessly on another, must be the operative principle of this universe (1996, p. 41).

The discipline demanded of each entity to fulfill the obligations of mutual respect establishes yet another level of unpredictability for the future. Failure to achieve perfect discipline would most surely introduce variability and thus alter the quality of choice and the mutuality of respect. It is just this condition of the living universe that drives each entity to learn, to acquire knowledge, or as Pamela Colorado says, 'to find [a] knowledge system in the west that would be capable of "carrying the weight of God"' (1996, p. 6).

Cuarto Spiralism shapes systems of tribal thought throughout the western hemisphere as a structure that permits aspects of experience that come before to combine with aspects of the present to provide the basis for interpreting the future. Modern Maya Day Keepers demonstrated their reliance on this structure, on the mode of thought, when they stepped from a cave (1 January 1994) in the highlands of Chiapas to announce the coming of the end of the fourth cycle and the impending arrival of the 'Sixth Sun.'³ By their interpretation of the sacred texts, the Day Keepers set in motion a series of events that began to transform the Mexican and Guatemalan states and the peoples of the entire western hemisphere and beyond. Such a simple act and the events that followed demonstrate the powerful influence of the spiralist mode of thought.⁴

Fatalism

The overwhelming power of nature and its determinate control over all matters of existence is the central view of fatalism, a mode of thought

predominant among peoples throughout Asia - particularly those who embrace the influence of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Human beings can aspire to and achieve the attribute of 'superior man' and perform acts of piety that conform to the 'will of heaven.' Acting 'rightly' is the goal of fatalism, but it is recognition of the 'order of things' that ensures achievement of the 'superior man.' Confucius (551-479 B.C.E.) is commonly considered the primary and most influential exponent of the philosophies that form the underlying structure of fatalism. *Li*, the term used by Confucius when discussing human conduct in relation to nature, suggests the requirement that humans observe true piety and thus make it possible to interpret the 'will of heaven' as acts on earth. By virtue of the preeminent order in heaven, a fatalist is obliged to 'act rightly' to conform to this order, or to discover the path on which to travel to become 'superior man.'

Confucius always encouraged caution and deliberate care in the pursuit of becoming 'superior man.' When surrounded by disorder, Confucius urges a person to 'be still,' to take guidance from the orderly nature of things. In his words, quoted by Wilhelm, we can readily see that it is the person who must recognize limitations and await order:

Where disorder develops, words are the first steps. If the prince is not discreet, he loses his servant. If the servant is not discreet, he loses his life. If germinating things are not handled with discretion, the perfecting of them is impeded. Therefore the superior man is careful to maintain silence and does not go forth (Wilhelm 1977, p. 232).

Fatalism gives human beings an active role in choosing a course of action, but the greater powers of the 'will of heaven' ultimately hold sway.

Providentialism

Augustine, the powerful and influential fifth century North African Bishop of Hippo, modified the emphasis of classical Greek cyclical thinking to support the liturgical, economic, and political needs of the Church even as he affirmed 'original sin' and described the place of virtue in the afterlife. Bishop Augustine (354-430 A.D.) bridged what some called the classical era with the beginning of the Christian era and was the father of Christian philosophy and theology. He was also the originator of the idea of Divine Providence.

Through Incarnation, God has given assurance that an elect group will receive salvation. Augustine insists that God is just in condemning the majority for Adam's sin. However, a few men such as Saul (who became Paul) will be saved 'on the road to Damascus.' A small minority will be chosen along

While Providentialism accepted repeating history as a mark of truth, and, indeed, claimed for all of Christendom deep roots in 'classical Greek culture', a slightly different wrinkle was introduced: the purpose of all this human activity is to attain 'grace' and eternal goodness in heaven. The wealthy, the chosen few, were guaranteed a good place in heaven if they led a 'good life.' The poor and the enslaved were guaranteed only that they would always be poor and enslaved, but the privileged need only think good thoughts and occasionally extend a helping hand to those unfortunates to get a seat next to Saint Peter. Like Cyclicism before it (and alongside it, to be more precise), Providentialism has continued to wield a strong influence in the daily lives of people all over the world despite the absurdity of its major thesis. While Providentialism reached its peak in the late nineteenth century, a competing way of knowing was already in full bloom: Progressivism.

Progressivism

The predominant mode of thought in the modern era is Progressivism. Though it cannot be said that Progressivism began on a specific date, scholars agree that French Historian Jean Bodin's (1566) rejection of sixteenth century theory of the degeneration of man and the popular notion of classical Greek virtue and felicity marked a major departure from the views of his contemporaries (cf. Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 37). Commenting on Bodin's departure, and laying out the principle tenets of Progressivism, Bury notes:

For history largely depends on the will of men, which is always changing; every day new laws, new customs, new institutions, both secular and religious, come into being, and new errors.⁶ But in this changing scene we can observe a certain regularity, a law of oscillation. Rise is followed by fall, and fall by rise; it is a mistake to think that the human race is always deteriorating. If that were so, we should long ago have reached the lowest stage of vice and iniquity. On the contrary, there has been, through the series of oscillations, a gradual ascent. In the ages which have been foolishly designated as gold and silver men lived like the wild beasts; and from that state they have slowly reached the humanity of manners and the social order which prevail to-day (*op. cit.*, p. 39).

Avoiding fatalism and pushing aside Providentialism, Bodin attempts to bring human history into close synchrony with the divine universe while affirming the power of man's will over events (cf. Bury *op. cit.*, p. 43). This conceptual view placed the human being in the dominant role as controller of destiny on earth. As progressive thinking matured with popular adoption of its basic premises it became the foundation of what is widely understood to be 'western' thinking due to its association with western Europe – the

with the good angels for eternal salvation. They will constitute the City of God, and will live forever in heaven in perfect peace and happiness (Bury 1932, p. 46).

As he incorporated Aristotle's cyclical reasoning into his own, Augustine proceeded to affirm the essential element of Providentialism – that salvation would only come at the end of time, which he conceived as being virtually the end of his own life. Creating dichotomy as the basis for his analysis,⁵ Augustine advanced the

concepts of self-love and love of God, first, to criticize the pagan political order and especially the Roman Empire and, second, to sketch in the broad outlines of a Christian political order. The two cities are commingled on earth, and mankind will not actually be separated into the elect and the unredeemed until the end of time (*op. cit.*, p. 47).

By the twelfth century of the present era, Providentialism claimed center stage of the Christian world, which by then had a wide reach over the world known to Christians. And by the sixteenth century, it could be said, Providentialism claimed predominance. Louis Le Roy, a French translator of Greek classical works, began the process of de-emphasizing cyclicism as he claimed the preeminence of Divine Providence:

If the memory of the past is the instruction of the present and the premonition of the future, it is to be feared that having reached so great excellence, power, wisdom, studies, books, industries will decline, as has happened in the past, and disappear – confusion succeeding to the order and perfection of to-day, rudeness to civilisation, ignorance to knowledge. I already foresee in imagination nations, strange in form, complexion, and costume, overwhelming Europe – like the Goths, Huns, Vandals, Lombards, Saracens of old – destroying our cities and palaces, burning our libraries, devastating all that is beautiful. I foresee in all countries wars, domestic and foreign, factions and heresies which will profane all things human and divine; famines, plagues, and floods; the universe approaching an end, world-wide confusion, and the return of things to their original chaos (quoted in Bury 1932, pp. 46-7).

Foreseeing the conceptual trap he created, Le Roy quickly affirmed Divine Providence:

However much these things proceed according to the fatal law of the world, and have their natural causes, yet events depend principally on divine Providence which is superior to nature and alone knows the predetermined times of events (*op. cit.*, p. 47).

successor to the 'western Holy Roman Empire.' Bodin provided the stimulus for Descartes to formulate his nascent Progressivism, which, in turn, provided the foundation for Pascal's thinking and the development of the French Jansenist movement (similar to the Puritan movement in England) in the seventeenth century of the common era (op. cit., p. 69). The Cartesian formulation of the supremacy of reason and the invariability of natural law struck directly at the foundations of Providentialism and established the supremacy of man' as a major pillar supporting the progressive mode of thought.

With human beings in the seat of power, profound changes became possible in the natural environment, in relations among human beings, and in conceptions of history, intellectual development, and in religion. Bury attributes to Turgot the rather modern understanding of

universal history as the progress of the human race advancing as an immense whole steadily, though slowly, through alternating periods of calm and disturbance towards greater perfection (op. cit., p. 155).

Progressivism launched potent human movements from the eighteenth century to the present that spread from western Europe to touch nearly every corner of the earth, virtually every society. The 'inevitability' of progress became for peoples in the industrial world a proven reality as guns, commerce, politics, and disease overwhelmed non-industrial peoples throughout the world. The preeminent modes of thought that were influential among non-industrial peoples became subordinate to the forces of Progressivism.

Weaving the Braided River

In the short span of six thousand years, human beings conceived of numerous modes of thought that reflected their relationship with their natural environment and their interpretation of the cosmos. I have mentioned just five of these different modes, and noted that each was comprehended as an infallible way of demonstrating consciousness. No doubt each mode of thought contains infallible truths about ultimate consciousness, but it is apparent from even the brief survey given above that there are aspects of absurdity as well.

Among the modes of thought suggested above, it might be noted that a major difference has to do with the perception of what position humans occupy within the broad scheme of things. Where humans are perceived to be the dominant, and therefore primary, determinant of reality, consciousness is presented as a one-dimensional concept - wholly dependent on human beings. Consciousness is apparently conceived as a much more multi-dimensional concept where humans are perceived as a part of a greater reality.

When one takes all five modes of thought together and weaves them into a single braid, the potential for a more thorough comprehension of consciousness in the universe becomes possible.

Tribal diversity reflects the evolved relationship between people, their geography and natural environment, and their interpretations of the cosmos. Considered separately, interpretations seem at odds, and may, indeed, conflict. But when one sets aside the apparent conflicts it appears that humans and other peoples - including plants, minerals, fire, water, winds, and other animals - share a common consciousness within the living universe. Where there are differences in modes of tribal thought one only need recognize 'local influences,' or cultural particularities as the explanation. Such cultural particularities are important and cannot be dismissed, but they must be understood to have their unique importance in the specific context in which they arise. Differing cultural contexts help to ensure opportunities for diverse discovery, a constant source of renewal and replenishment. Yet, it is apparent, all modes of thought recognize the common consciousness in the universe.

Relativity of Self and Knowing

For all peoples, no less for Cowlitz, the particular cultural context inspires a sense of existing at the vortex of all consciousness. This is mainly due to the rather limited capacity of humans to comprehend the fullness of the living universe. It is due to the relatively recent arrival of humans on the earthly plane that humans have this limited capacity, and must, as a consequence, learn from other peoples. The eagle has the ability to travel over vast distances, and see events from the sky; and so it is that the eagle can teach humans. The mountain is old and has seen many things over vast amounts of time; and so it is that the mountains can teach humans. The sun, the moon, and the stars play a part in the creation of all things; and so it is that the sun, the moon, and the stars can teach humans.

Through the cultural practices of each distinct people, individual human beings come to know their personal identities and learn to know truth through distinct modes of thought. The diversity of human experience serves as a vast library for ways of comprehending and thus serves human beings in their effort to survive. The diversity of human cultures reflects the diversity of other peoples and shows how humans have learned. It is this immense diversity that creates the relativity of self and knowing and the appearance of particularity. Cultural relativity merely demonstrates the wholeness of consciousness, of self and knowing, when taken together - just as a unified mode of thought is conceivable when many modes of thought are entwined into one braid.

Living as a Part of the Universe

In such a short time given to live, each human being seeks to find a proper place in relation to all things. Achieving such a place ensures balance, alignment, and happiness. When one balances relations with the river, the mountains, the flying people, the four-legged people, and with the cosmos one becomes properly aligned in relation to the living universe. Such alignment produces balance when one gives respect to the nature and character of all things encountered. When one fails to comprehend the nature and character of things, it is necessary to make an effort to learn from other people. Like all people, humans have the capacity to learn; but humans have a greater need to learn owing to their relative youth, inexperience, and lack of knowledge. It is because of this serious limitation that humans have needed a brain that allows them to learn more things.

Other peoples, like the fish, the eagle, and the mountain, have great knowledge that permits them to comprehend the nature of other peoples. They achieve balance in relation to other peoples because of this greater knowledge. Human beings are the 'little brothers and sisters,' and so they must take special measures to learn to live in proper respect and relation to all things. The ultimate goal appears to be that humans will live as a part of the universe as do all living things. Humans will come to comprehend their part in the consciousness of the living universe and its eternal changeability.

Notes

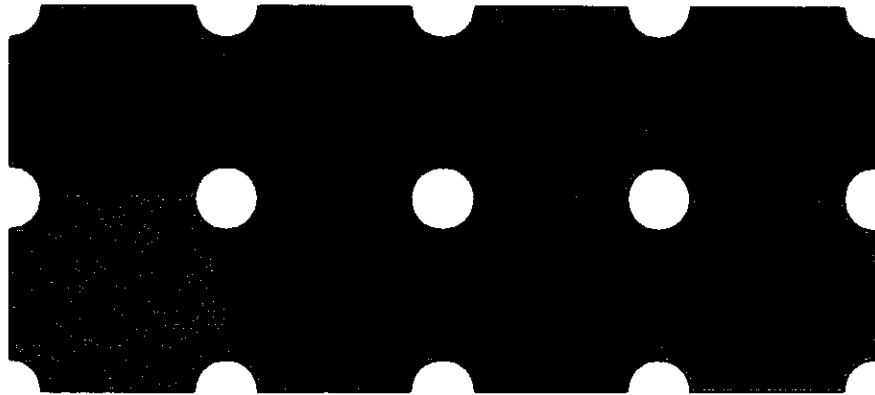
1. All beings are thought of as people in different forms in the way of thinking among nations in the Pacific Northwest. Each 'people' has a name and an age, and virtually all 'people' are older and more experienced than human beings.
2. This is the word for 'deer people' used here respectfully recognizing the proper name.
3. Maya spiritual leaders commonly refer to 'Day Keepers' (or 'keepers of the days') when they discuss interpretations and interpreters of the Maya calendar.
4. *The New York Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Los Angeles Times*, and other leading papers all gave front page coverage to the mobilization of so-called guerilla activities. The Mexican government moved thousands of troops and military armor into the Southern State of Chiapas, beginning a military confrontation that continues to the present. The Mexican economy collapsed and the entire political system faultered. These events affect the economies of other States as well and raise important questions about the future stability of the Mexican State.

5. The dichotomy often advanced pits 'feminine paganism' against 'masculine' Christianity resulting in an assertion of masculine dominance.
6. Bodin (1566), cap. VII, p. 353.

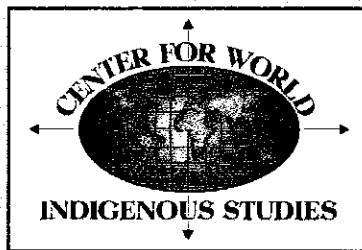
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Mental States



A Fourth World Simulation Game
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Mental States

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INSTRUCTIONS

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You will be given 15 minutes to read the game description. When you have read and understand the game with its rules, you may signal the Monitor. After the Monitor determines that all players have their roles and understand the game, you will be given a signal to BEGIN!

The Game:

This is a game that simulates leadership decision-making by individuals playing roles as members of nation and state governments faced with the need to achieve goals that often compete with the goals of other governments. Competing goals must be resolved in some way that ensures achievement of each group's goal. In this game players will "win" by achieving their goal. "Winning" will be possible for one, two or all three "groups" in the game. It is possible, therefore, for all players to win or only one group to win. It is also possible for all players to lose.

Players are divided into three representative groups of decision-makers for each of two Fourth World nations and the one state. Players in each group will be given verbal instructions by the MONITOR briefly describing a "role" each will play in the group. Each player in the group is asked to "play the role" given to them with the "zeal of any good actor." The object of the game is for decision-makers to achieve their goal (see below: PLAYER GROUP GOALS) within four hours. The group that achieves its goal without risk of breakdown wins the game. The Monitor will serve as each of the FACTORS (described below as influencing each group) and intervene in the decisions of any group at any time. The Monitor will also serve as the PUBLIC SOURCE OF INFORMATION, and the TIME KEEPER. Finally, the Monitor is the REFEREE who has the power to alter conditions for the game at any time.

Please take and keep notes in each group to LOG the decision-making process. Be prepared to present the LOG during the discussion session after the game.

Basic rules:

- Group Players will take up residence in separate "territories" which shall constitute the "land of responsibility and authority."
- The Game Monitors shall maintain an "Events and Factors" Board that shall define the economic, social, military, environmental and Fourth World conditions which must be considered by all players in decisions, and the Game Monitors shall maintain a Time Clock that shall cover a minimum of four hours.

- Decisions and discussions in each group are private, however, information may be “leaked” through the PUBLIC SOURCE OF INFORMATION if intentional or accidental.
- Each group will define and formalize on a piece of paper the procedures for making decisions that shall be the same as a law for the nation or state. All decisions must be taken in accord with procedures established privately within each group. Violations of the decision-making procedures formally agreed to shall subject the perpetrator to removal from the game.
- Inter-group communications must be conducted by sending notes, or by “MEETINGS” set up and agreed to by the separate parties.
- Agreements between separate groups may be verbal or written.
- Press Conferences may be called from time-to-time to announce group intentions, decisions or opinions.
- When a group believes it has achieved its goal, it must, as a group, stand up and loudly announce: “We are Secure and We Claim Victory! (This will cause the MONITOR to temporarily stop the game and request an update from the remaining two). The Proclaiming Group will then explain how it has won...the MONITOR-REFEREE will determine if the Group has indeed won...if so the game is over. If not...the game continues.
- When the Game Time has been completed a Monitor shall declare the status of winners and losers, all players must immediately cease actions, decompress and prepare to participate in a post game assessment.

Game Purpose:

To give learners a “first hand” opportunity to experience the decision-making processes of Fourth World nations and the leaders of state’s governments and directly address issues and factors that affect the political future of Fourth World nations and the social, economic and political stability of the liberal state with particular emphasis on learning whether one’s decision’s and level of knowledge can [1] prosper the Fourth World nations and the liberal state while preventing the collapse of the state, [2] achieve the expansion of the state at the risk of destroying the nation (s); or [3] achieve the survival of the nation at the risk of destroying the state.

Game Goal:

Achieve a balanced and coexisting relationship between a Fourth World nation (s) and the state of Adanac avoiding the destruction of the Fourth World nation or the collapse of the state.

Scenario:

There are three player groups in this simulation:

One liberal state: Republic of Adanac

Government: Strong Prime Minister, Cabinet, centralized unicameral government, one party. **Population:** 6.5 million mostly living in eight cities, 30% Northern European immigrant nationalities, 55% Asian, African, Middle Eastern immigrant nationalities, 10% Pacific Island and Western hemisphere immigrant nationalities and 5% Aboriginal.

A Nation: Showtock Nation

Government: 23 Member Big Person Council with a rotating three person presidency and a People's Assembly made up of all individuals 20 years and older. **Population:** 300,000 members. **Territory and Resources:** Original (pre Adanac) territory encompassed 8000 square kilometers of land now reduced to 2600 square kilometers. An original land extended into what is now the state of Oxtam. Large copper deposits, timber stands of pine and hardwoods, two main rivers originate in mountains of Showtock territory and several prairies where agriculture has thrived.

Another Nation: Zeelwoo Nation

Government: 10 Member Council with a single religious leader functioning as Head of the Nation. **Population:** 25,000 members. **Territory and Resources:** Original (pre Adanac) territory encompassed 12000 square kilometers of land running parallel to Showtock territory, now reduced to sixteen tiny settlements of no more than 2 hectares each. These settlements are widely spread and interspersed with Adanac towns, cities and agricultural developments. Most Zeelwoo live in Adanac towns and cities. Raw materials include rich farm lands, formerly large forests with wild game, ocean beaches and harbors, and two rivers passing to the ocean.

The Action

The Republic of Adanac is a one party state headed by a Prime Minister and a Cabinet of Owners. The Republic was founded by immigrants in a land claimed as terra nullius (absent of human occupation) 185 years ago. Though the territory was described as "unclaimed," and, therefore, open for occupation, settlers soon discovered the nation of Zeelwoo (with a population of 29,000) which was quickly subdued by devastating diseases...resulting in an 82% depopulation of Zeelwoo people. Adanac settlers slowly took up residence in Zeelwoo territory, tolerated the remaining population as a useful source of cheap labor. Adanac settlers did not come into contact with another nation, the Showtock, until forty years after first settlement. Though having a population of just 42,000 the Showtock retained much of their population and did not suffer seriously from diseases coming into contact with Adanacs. Showtocks experienced only a forty percent depopulation as a result of disease and occasional violent confrontations with Adanacs. The Showtock had in their territory large deposits of copper and had a long tradition of mining this metal. As a result, the Adanacs undertook to negotiate a treaty with the Showtocks that guaranteed a border between Adanacs and Showtocks and established trade of copper in exchange for textiles.

On the basis of their successful settlement of Zeelwoo territory and conclusion of a treaty with the Showtocks, the Adanacs built a strong market driven economy which permitted them to become a strong economic competitor with neighboring states like Remasu (a powerful military state), Nipan (a commercial producer state) and Oxtam, (a former colony of Remasu and now a growing agrarian state with a large number of Fourth World nations in it). Adanacs prize the values of individualism, open and unregulated economic markets, strong military, unlimited progress and development, civil rights, freedom of movement, popularly elected government where only men who own land may hold office and tolerance for different nationalities, religions and creeds. Adanacs do have internal political differences over

whether the government should be more centralized or less centralized (political power concentrated in the central government or distributed between the municipal governments), whether immigrants should be permitted to continue entering the Republic and whether Zeelwoo are sufficiently human to enjoy the same rights as Adanacs and Showtocks.

The Adanac government wishes to expand development of copper mines and organize military maneuvers in Showtock territory (in part because the state of Oxtam borders Adanac along Showtock territory and the government of Oxtam has failed to control the illegal movement of its citizens over the Adanac border. Oxtam unemployment is officially 18%, but the reality is that 60% of its population is either underemployed or unemployed...they seek jobs in Adanac. Many of the immigrants crossing into Adanac's Showtock territory are in fact Showtock who were separated from the main body of Showtock nation when the state of Adanac was formed.

Showtock and environmental groups have joined in a loose political coalition to prevent Adanac government plans for expanding copper mines because the Showtock believe they are getting paid too little (\$1 Adds per pound of unrefined copper) for copper and expansion of the mines would force the destruction of two Showtock towns. Meanwhile, environmental groups regard expansion of copper mines as a threat to clean air, clean water and access to clean forests in Showtock. Environmental groups also fear increased development of industrial facilities that pollute the air in Adanac cities.

If Adanac cannot expand its access to copper, it will lose favorable economic influence in the international Cooper Council, Nipan will choose other countries from which to import copper for its electronics industry and this will reduce Adanac's financial ability to maintain its military which continuously emphasizes the potential military threats from Remasu. Meanwhile, the cost of social protections for Oxtamians immigrated into Adanac continues to grow.

Showtock copper is considered essential to the economic future of Adanac. While Adanac law recently recognized Zeelwoo as humans under the law and Showtock were implied to enjoy the same rights under Adanac law, the popular attitude toward Showtock and Zeelwoo is that they represent the primitive past. Popular opinion in Adanac is that these "primitive people" will disappear if progressive education, economics and values from Adanac are permitted to influence their development.

PLAYER GROUP GOALS

- How can the Showtock achieve their goal of slow, balanced self-sufficiency (socially, economically, and culturally) while maintaining a working relationship (mutually beneficial) with the Republic of Adanac?
- How can the Zeelwoo achieve their goal of reestablishing their cultural identity as a nation, reclaim lands confiscated from them and build a self-sufficient society comparable to their earlier achievements dramatically curtailed by disease and violence brought by the Adanac settlers 175 years earlier ?
- How can the Republic of Adanac achieve its goal of expansion and growth within a global market economy and strategic security in the face of aggressive demands for economic expansion by neighboring states, and the potential military threat by Remasu?

Factors:

(These factors may intervene in the decision-making of any group at any time)

Environmental Groups: Conservationists, Ludites, and Bird Protection Society.

Social Groups: Religious, Labor, community, cultural.

Economic Groups: Small businesses and Trans-state Corporations, Financial institutions, labour

Strategic Groups: Republic of Adanac Military, International Copper Council, Police forces

External Threats or Interests: Remasu (a powerful military state), Nipan (a powerful producing state), and Oxtam (Agrarian State with a large unemployed population), Multi-lateral State Organization (MSO).

Time: The Monitor shall notify players of the changing time and the amount of time remaining in the game. If time should run out before players have achieved their goals, no additional time will be permitted.

Terms of Reference:

You have been provided a list of terms, Rýser's Terms of Reference" that may come into play during the game. Review these terms and consider their use during the game.

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS NATIONS

AUTHORIZED VERSION INITIALED JULY 28, 1994.
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

PREAMBLE

AFFIRMING that Indigenous Nations are peoples equal in dignity and rights to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all individuals and peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such,

CONSIDERING that all peoples contribute to the diversity and richness of civilizations and cultures, which constitute the common heritage of humankind,

REAFFIRMING that all doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples, groups or individuals on the basis of national origin, racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, culturally repugnant, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust,

REAFFIRMING ALSO that Indigenous Nations, in the exercise of their rights, must be free from discrimination of any kind,

CONCERNED that many Indigenous Nations have been deprived of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, resulting, inter alia, in the dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus obstructing the free exercise, in particular, of the right to development in accordance with each Nation's own needs and interests,

RECOGNIZING the urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights and characteristics of Indigenous Nations, especially the right to lands, territories and resources, which derive from each Nation's culture; aspects of which include spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, as well as political, economic and social customs and structures,

WELCOMING the fact that Indigenous Nations are organizing themselves in order to bring an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur,

CONVINCED that perfecting the control of Indigenous Nations over development decisions affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable each Nation to continue to strengthen its institutions, cultures and traditions, as well as to promote self-sustaining development in accordance with its aspirations and needs,

RECOGNIZING ALSO that respect for Indigenous Nations' cultures, knowledge and practices contributes to the sustainability of the natural environment and continuity of biological and cultural diversity,

EMPHASIZING the need for demilitarization of the lands and territories of Indigenous Nations, which will contribute to peace, economic and social balance, understanding and friendly relations among Nations and between Nations and States of the world,

REAFFIRMING that it is vital for indigenous families and communities to retain shared responsibility for the welfare, upbringing, training and education of their children,

RECOGNIZING that Nations have the right to determine their own affairs and freely determine their relations with other Nations and States in a spirit of coexistence, mutual benefit and full respect,

CONSIDERING that treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between Nations and between Nations and States are matters of international concern and responsibility; and the peaceful resolution of conflicts and disputes between Nations and between Nations and States is essential to balanced and coexisting relations between peoples,

NOTING that the Charter of the United Nations, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and resolutions and declarations of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the International Indian Treaty Council and other international bodies related to these organs affirm the fundamental importance of the right of self-determination of all peoples, by virtue of which they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

BEARING IN MIND that nothing in this Convention may be used as a pretext to deny any peoples their right of self-determination,

ENCOURAGING Nations to comply and seek the compliance of States with the effective implementation of all international instruments, including this Convention, as they apply to Indigenous Nations, in consultation and cooperation with the peoples concerned,

BELIEVING that this Convention is an important development in the recognition, promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms of Indigenous Nations, the establishment of coexistence between Nations and between Nations and States, and in the development of relevant activities of the international institutions in this field,

SOLEMNLY AFFIRM AND RATIFY IN ACCORDANCE WITH EACH SIGNATORY NATION'S CUSTOMARY PROCESSES the following Principles and Covenants:

ARTICLE I

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

Nations signatory to this Covenant, exercising their inherent sovereign powers, declare their mutual respect and these covenants to promote peaceful cooperation to preserve, protect and guarantee the rights and responsibilities of nations and the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of individuals, and to promote freedom, justice and international peace.

ARTICLE II

PRINCIPLES OF THE CONDUCT OF NATIONS AND RELATIONS WITH STATES

PART I: SELF-DETERMINATION OF NATIONS

Para. 1 Indigenous Nations are peoples which have the right to the full and effective enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and in international human rights law;

Para. 2 Indigenous Nations are free and equal to all other human beings and peoples in dignity and rights, and have the right to be free from discrimination of any kind based on their origin or identity;

Para. 3 Indigenous Nations have the right of self-determination, in accordance with international law, and by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without external interference;

Para. 4 Indigenous Nations may freely choose to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of a State while maintaining their distinct political, economic, social and cultural characteristics, and not relinquishing the inherent right of sovereignty;

PART II: PEACE, SECURITY AND PROTECTION FROM GENOCIDE

Para. 5 Each Indigenous Nation possesses the collective right to exist in peace and security as a distinct people and to be protected against any type of genocide.

In addition, the individuals of each Nation have rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty and security of person;

Para. 6 Each Indigenous Nation has the right to be protected against ethnocide and cultural genocide, including the prevention of and redress for:

- (a) Removal of children from their families and communities under any pretext;

- (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct societies, or of their cultural or ethnic characteristics or identities;**
- (c) Any form of forced assimilation or integration by imposition of other cultures or ways of life by way of communications media, religious or educational institutions, governmental legislation, administration or other measures or means;**
- (d) Dispossession of their lands, territories or resources;**
- (e) Any propaganda directed against them;**

Para. 7 Each Indigenous Nation has the inherent collective and individual right to maintain and develop its distinct characteristics and identities, including the right to identify or define itself;

Para. 8 The right of a person to belong to an Indigenous Nation or community is a matter of individual choice and the free right of an Indigenous Nation or community to define its membership, and no disadvantage of any kind may arise from the exercise of such a choice;

Para. 9 Indigenous Nations shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free and informed consent of the peoples concerned and not until after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return;

Para. 10 Indigenous Nations have the right to special protection and security in periods of armed conflict. Nations and States shall be encouraged to observe international standards for the protection of civilian populations (with special attention to the enforcement of relevant provisions of either Protocol I or Protocol II of the Geneva Conventions of 1949) in circumstances of emergency and armed conflict, and shall not:

- (a) Recruit individual members of Indigenous Nations against their will into the armed forces of, and in particular for use against, other Indigenous Nations;**
- (b) Recruit children into the armed forces under any circumstances;**
- (c) Force Indigenous Nations to abandon their lands and territories and means of subsistence and relocate them in special centres for military purposes;**

PART III: THE CULTURAL RIGHTS OF NATIONS

Para. 11 Indigenous Nations have the right to practice their cultural traditions and evolve culture in relation to lands and territory without interference. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archeological and historical sites and structures, artifacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature, as well as the right to the restitution of cultural, religious and spiritual property taken without their free and informed consent or in violation of their laws;

Para. 12 Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practice and teach spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of human remains. Nations and States shall be encouraged to take effective measures to preserve, respect and protect the sacred places and cemeteries of each Indigenous Nation;

Para. 13 Indigenous Nations have the right to instill, use, develop and transmit to future generations their languages, oral traditions, writing systems and literature, and to designate and maintain their own names for communities, places and persons. Nations and States shall be encouraged to take effective measures to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means;

PART IV: THE RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION

Para. 14 Indigenous Nations have the right to all levels and forms of education, including access to education in their own languages, and the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions according to their own customs and traditions;

Para. 15 Indigenous Nations have the right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations reflected in all forms of education and public information. Nations and States shall be encouraged to take effective measures, in consultation with each Indigenous Nation, to eliminate prejudice and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations;

Para. 16 Indigenous Nations have the right to establish their own media in their own language and to exercise the right to equal access to all forms of communications media; Nations and States shall be encouraged to take effective measures to ensure that public media duly reflect the cultural diversity of affected Nations.

PART V: THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO DECIDE

Para. 17 Indigenous Nations have the right to participate fully at all levels of decision-making in matters which may affect their rights, lives or destinies by direct popular participation or through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own customs;

Para. 18 Indigenous Nations have the right to participate fully, through procedures determined in consultation with them, in devising legislative and administrative measures that may affect them. Nations and States shall be encouraged to obtain the free and informed consent of the peoples concerned before implementing such measures;

Para. 19 Indigenous Nations have the right to maintain and develop their economic and social systems, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own means of subsistence, and to engage freely in their traditional and other economic activities, including hunting, fishing, herding, gathering, forestry and cultivation. Indigenous peoples who have been deprived of their means of subsistence are entitled to just and fair compensation;

Para. 20 Indigenous Nations have the right to extraordinary measures for the immediate, effective and continuing improvement of their economic and social conditions, including improvement in the areas of employment, vocational training and retraining, housing, health and social security.

Attention shall be paid to the special needs of the elders, women, youth, children and disabled of each Nation;

Para. 21 Indigenous Nations have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for their well-being. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop all health, housing and other economic and social programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions;

Para. 22 Indigenous Nations have the right to their traditional medicines and health practices, including the right to the protection of vital medicinal plants, animals, and minerals;

PART VI: THE RIGHT TO LAND, TERRITORIES AND PLACE

Para. 23 Indigenous Nations have the right to recognition and respect of their distinctive and profound relationship with their lands and territories which is the essence of culture. The use of the phrase "lands, territories and Place" in this Convention means the total environment of the land space, soils, air, water, sky, sea, sea-ice, flora and fauna and other resources which indigenous peoples used historically and on which they continue to depend to sustain and evolve their culture;

Para. 24 Each Indigenous Nation has the collective and individual right to own, control and use its lands and territories according to its wants and needs. This includes the right to the full recognition by Nations and States of their laws and customs, land-tenure systems and institutions for the management of resources, and the right to expect effective measures by Nations and States to prevent any interference with or encroachment upon these rights;

Para. 25 Indigenous Nations have the right to restitution for lands and territories which have been confiscated, occupied, used or damaged without their free and informed consent, the return of lands and territories and, where neither is acceptable to the Nation, to just and fair compensation. Unless otherwise freely agreed within balanced negotiations by the peoples concerned, compensation shall take the form of lands and territories at least equal in quality, size and legal status;

Para. 26 Indigenous Nations have the right to the recreation and protection of the total environment and the productive capacity of their lands and territories, as well as to assistance for this purpose from States and through international cooperation. Military activities and the storage or disposal of nuclear or toxic materials or other hazardous materials shall not be permitted in the lands and territories of indigenous peoples, unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned;

Para. 27 Indigenous Nations have the right to special measures taken to protect, as intellectual property, their sciences, technologies and cultural manifestations, including human and other genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literature, designs and visual and performing arts;

Para. 28 Each Indigenous Nation has the right to require that States and other Nations obtain its free and informed consent prior to the approval of any projects on its land and territory, particularly in connection with natural resource development or exploitation of soils, water, mineral or other subsurface resources. Pursuant to agreement freely negotiated with the indigenous peoples concerned, just and fair compensation shall be provided for any such activities and measures taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact;

PART VII: POLITICAL RIGHTS OF NATIONS

Para. 29 Indigenous Nations have the right to freely determine their own political status and to exercise self-government in accord with the principle of self-determination;

Para. 30 Indigenous Nations have the right to freely determine the structures and to select the membership of their autonomous or self-governing institutions in accordance with their own customary laws;

Para. 31 Indigenous Nations have the right to retain and develop their customs, laws and legal systems, in accord with universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to have these respected by other Nations and recognized in the legal system and political institutions of the States with which each Nation may have cooperative relations;

Para. 32 Each Indigenous Nation has the right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to its communities in a manner not incompatible with universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Para. 33 Indigenous Nations wholly within States' borders and those Nations divided by the imposition of States' borders have the right to maintain and develop contacts, relations and cooperation, including activities for spiritual, cultural, political, economic and social purposes, with other Indigenous Nations across recognized State borders;

PART VIII: TREATIES, AGREEMENTS AND DISPUTE RESOLUTION

Para. 34 Each Indigenous Nation has the right to the observance and enforcement of treaties, compacts, agreements and other constructive arrangements concluded with other Nations and with States or their successors, according to their original intent. Conflicts and disputes which cannot otherwise be settled through direct negotiations or other peaceful means must be submitted to competent international bodies agreed to by all parties concerned;

Para. 35 Indigenous Nations have the right to freely access and receive prompt decisions through mutually acceptable and fair procedures for the resolution of conflicts and disputes between Nations and between Nations and States, as well as to effective remedies for all infringements of their individual and collective rights;

PART IX: INCORPORATION AND COMING INTO FORCE

Para. 36 Nations signatory to this Convention shall encourage other Nations and States to take effective and appropriate measures, in consultation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to give full effect to the provisions of this Convention. Where appropriate and relevant signatory Nations shall incorporate in their own customary laws and institutions, and encourage States to promulgate legislation adopting the rights and principles contained herein;

Para. 37 Indigenous Nations have the right to adequate financial and technical assistance, from States and through international cooperation, to pursue freely their political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual development, and for the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms contained in this Convention;

Para. 38 Signatory Nations and the organs and specialized agencies of the system of inter-national Indigenous Nations' organizations and non-governmental organizations shall be encouraged to contribute to the full realization of the provisions of this Convention through the mobilization, inter alia, of financial and technical cooperation;

Para. 39 A Council of Nine comprised of delegates from the first nine Signatory Nations, with rotating delegate membership drawn from subsequent Signatory Nations annually, shall monitor the implementation of this Convention and serve as the repository for accurate and authorized original copies of ratified instruments, which shall be recorded by the name of the ratifying nation, ratification date, reservations and/or understandings upon receipt, and the status of ratifications shall be reported to all Signatory Nations and to relevant States' institutions annually;

Para. 40 Upon applying the initials of duly authorized delegates, appointed by Indigenous National authorities, meeting in Geneva, Switzerland 24-29, 1994 at the Palaise de Nacion this Convention shall be provisionally accepted in principle by all initialing parties acting on behalf of the participating Nations for a term of 12 months after initialing or until formal ratification in accord with each Nation's customary laws, which ever is earlier. A decision not to ratify this Convention automatically renders it null-and-void in connection with the Nation declining to ratify;

Para. 41 This Convention shall come into force when thirty Nations shall have formally ratified its provisions according to their customary processes. The Convention shall be open for ratification by Indigenous Nations for a period of 12 months after the date when four Nations shall have given their provisional authorization through delegates initialing on their behalf;

Para. 42 Each Nation which ratifies this Convention may place conditions on its participation through reservations and understandings. A Statement of Reservations shall indicate specific provisions of this Agreement which shall apply or not apply to the ratifying Nation under specified conditions. Each ratifying Nation may attach explanations or clarifications expressing different meanings associated with provisions through a Statement of Understandings. These Reservations and Understandings shall become a part of the Convention and receive full respect by other ratifying Nations;

Para. 43 This Convention may be modified or amended after coming into force by request of any ratifying party upon due consideration of all ratifying Nations at a special conference called for the purpose of modification or amendment. All amendments shall be subject to ratification by the customary processes of Signatory Nations. Unanimous Consent is required for modifications or amendments

ARTICLE IV

SAVINGS AND PROCEDURES

Para. 44 The Inuit Circumpolar Conference shall serve as the provisional repository of the initialed and ratified instruments until other arrangements are made by agreement of ratifying Nations;

Para. 45 The rights contained herein constitute the minimum standards for the survival and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world;

Para. 46 Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as diminishing or extinguishing existing or future rights indigenous peoples may have or acquire.

Delegate Initial

On Behalf of the Nation of:

Initiating Date:

Ratification Date:

Initiating Parties in accord with Article III, para. 40:

Mr. Nadir Bekir,
Political and Legal Affairs The Crimean Tatars (27-07-94)

Mr. A-Bagi Kabeir,
On behalf of the Numba People of Sudan (28-07-94)

Mr. Ron Lameman,
Confederacy of Treaty Six First Nations (28-07-94)

Ms. Judy Sayer,
Opetchscht First Nation (28-07-94)

Mr. Viktor Kaisiepo,
West Papua Peoples Front/OPM (28-07-94)

1994 Drafted by Center for World Indigenous Studies, USA

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Donations, Talented Students and Faculty Support Healing in Yelapa

Under the direction of Dr. Leslie Korn the new Traditional Medicine Clinic at Xipe Totec Learning Retreat in Yelapa opened in January. *La Clinica Naturista*, as it is known in the village, offers healing treatments and natural local herbal medicines gathered from the jungle and the mountains for a wide-range of ailments. Healers treated 36 people (a total of 252 patient hours) in the first three months, ranging in age from 18 months (asthma) to 83 years (inguinal hernia). Healers successfully treated children and adults with asthma, musculoskeletal injuries (falls off horses, falls onto cactus spines) and increasingly we are seeing high numbers of people with the diseases associated with development: poor nutrition due to refined foods, high levels of diabetes, injuries from arguments and the stress, trauma and high blood pressure resulting from rapid change. The conditions bringing about these changes are difficult to see, but their effect on the men, women and children of the village can be seen in the need for healing.

Your contributions last year made it possible to treat 30 patients at very low cost and 6 children for free.

(Donations continued on page 4)

Xipe Totec Learning Retreat, Term 98 Opening

by Leslie Korn, Ph.D.
Director of Education

With the tropical winter came interns, students and faculty to study Health, Healing, Fourth World Studies and Environmental Studies at Xipe Totec, the CWIS Learning Retreat and Traditional (Retreat continued on page 3)

Donors visit Casa Xipe Totec

Jill Charney, LICSW, Chair of the CWIS Benefit Committee of Boston visited with her family in February to learn first-hand about work at Xipe Totec.

Laurel Gonsalves, M.B.A., A non-profit business consultant in New York, and a long-time supporter of the Center for Traditional Medicine who does *pro bono* work for CWIS made her annual visit in February.

Richard Korn, recently retired Executive Vice President of the Center for Blood Research at Harvard Medical School, visited Casa Xipe Totec and spent a week at the Retreat meeting with local villagers. Mr. Korn has agreed to take on consulting responsibilities that include non-profit management and marketing CWIS

(Visitors continued on page 2)

DeLaCruz Appointed to Tallakson Chair

Joseph B. DeLaCruz, president for thirty years of the Quinault Indian Nation and renowned world leader, has been named to the Joe Tallakson Chair for Public Policy. His appointment was officially made by a unanimous vote of the CWIS Board of Directors at its annual meeting. President DeLaCruz served as the political leader of the Quinault people and he distinguished himself as a two-term president of the National Congress of American Indians and he served as a former president of the National Tribal Chairman's Association. President DeLaCruz was the Co-chair of the Council on Tribal-State Relations, the North American Del-

egate to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples Executive Committee and the Co-chair of the Northwest Renewable Resources Center.

The Joe Tallakson Chair for Public Policy was authorized by the CWIS Board of Directors in 1996 and remained vacant while a search was undertaken to identify candidates to fill the post. Mr. Tallakson had served as a member of the CWIS Founding Board for twelve years before his untimely passing in 1995. A vigorous advocate of Indian Affairs policies in his work with the House and Senate of the United States Congress for more than twenty years, Mr. Tallakson was

(DeLaCruz continued on page 4)

Author and Publisher Donate part of profits from "Simply Living"

Shirley Jones, author and editor of numerous books, committed part of the profits from the sale of her book "Simply Living" as a contribution to the work of the Center for World Indigenous Studies in 1999. Ms. Jones said, "I discovered the Center on the World Wide Web while doing research for my book, and after seeing the important work the Center is doing decided there and then to contribute part of my earnings from my book." Marc Allen, owner of New World Publishing in Novato, California is publishing Ms. Jones' book. He decided to contribute part of the publisher's earnings from "Simply Living" to the Center for World Indigenous Studies too. "Simply Living," is a collection of ideas, knowledge and beliefs reflected in quotes from indigenous people all over the world. Ms. Jones characterized her book as a collection of Indigenous Wisdom. The book is due to be released and made available through major bookstores like *Barnes and Noble* in 1999.

Scheduled Seminars in the U.S. October 23-29, 1998 Fourth World Nations and the Nuclear Cloud

Hosted by Heritage College in Toppenish, Washington in the Yakama Nation. Includes a tour of Hanford Nuclear site and instruction by Russell Jim, head of the Yakama Environmental Restoration project and Dr. William Chambers of Los Alamos Laboratories. Yakama is beautiful in October. Enroll Now!
Contact: CWIS 781-643-1918

Women's Traditional Medicine Project Clothing Drive

We wish to thank the following people who generously donated clothing and supplies to the women's traditional medicine group in the mountains. Three times this year, Doña Alisia and Dr. Leslie Korn traveled 6 hours round trip over mountainous roads to meet with women and deliver much needed clothing for women and children:

- ◆ Brooke Beazley & Phil Hallstein, CA
- ◆ Pam Zimmerman & Jerry Waxman, CA
- ◆ Jill Charney & Mark Golden, MA
- ◆ Lizanne Pastore, CA
- ◆ Laura Lynn Jansen, CA



Traditional Medicine Students Making a difference

Lizanne Pastore, a Registered Physical Therapist, donated her free-time during the *TerraSoma* seminar to treat people in the clinic. One of her patients, a 14 year-old girl with asthma is now symptom free! Lizanne is now completing her MA degree in *Somatics* in San Francisco, CA. She will return for a month long internship in 1999 to conduct research and work in the clinic. Laura Armstrong Goss, a seminar student, donated her Polarity Therapy skills to the treatment of an 83 year old man in the village suffering from a hernia.

Pharmacy Plans

La Clinica received permission from the municipal government to open a natural medicine pharmacy and already we have been gathering and preparing plant extracts and oils. Our

Visitors *continued from page 1*

educational programs to universities in the New England area.

Special thanks to Executive Contributors Adele Behar of Sarasota, Florida, and Eve & Michael Maison-pierre of Boulder, CO., and Richard & Barbara Korn of Newton, MA. Their generous contributions supported *La Clinica*, scholarships and improved CWIS telecommunications from the jungle.

Faculty member Elizabeth Wagner donated her travel costs and a month of full-time teaching and clinical work. Faculty Dr. Marjorie Bell-Chambers and Dr. Bill Chambers of Los Alamos, New Mexico donated their travel costs, a week of teaching and a generous contribution for Scholarships.

Dr. Melissa Farley of San Francisco, Faculty in Womens' Health and Traumatology made her third visit to Xipe Totec at her own expense to continue developing the seminar she and Dr. Leslie Korn teach on *Secondary Trauma*. Dr. Farley, who joined the CWIS group and presented at the University of Dublin in August 1997 has been conducting ground breaking research on the physical and mental effects of prostitution among women in the U.S, Africa and Thailand.



methods combine the best of local traditions and plants with pharmaceutical knowledge about preparation and dosage. This Spring we made *Arnica* and *Calendula* oil for musculoskeletal injuries and have made alcohol extracts of *Rue* (used for headaches and pain) and *Valerian* (a nervine, for relaxation). Our goal in addition to treatment is to support the women and men of the village in their knowledge.

New Assistant Executive Director, Deanna Notaro Joins CWIS

Deanna L. Notaro, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, joins U.S.-based staff in Olympia as Assistant Executive Director. Formerly at the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy and the Mississippi River Basin Alliance, she brings strong organizational and programmatic skills to her new position. Ms. Notaro is finishing her MA degree in Politics and Women's Studies. An avid traveler and biking enthusiast, she is also finishing her thesis amid her activities. When you call our offices in Olympia, please make sure you ask for her if you need a question answered.

Three to CWIS Board of Directors

Tamara Broadhead.

Ms. Broadhead is co-owner of the Mercury Group, a political advertising

New Staff and Board members join CWIS

firm based in Seattle. A graphic artist and layout specialist, Ms. Broadhead brings an aesthetic knowledge as well as activism to the Board of Directors. A long-time resident of Seattle, she and her husband Carl live in the Fremont district.

A. Rodney Bobbiwash

Mr. Bobbiwash is an Anishinabe now serving as the Director of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, a post equivalent to "mayor" of the 60,000 Anishinabe living in and around Toronto. He teaches "native culture" at the University of Toronto and is a member of the Center for World Indigenous Studies Fourth World Institute faculty. Before assuming his responsibilities at the Native Canadian

Centre Mr. Bobbiwash had served as the First Nations House, the Indian students' center at the University of Toronto.

John Burrows, III.

Mr. Burrows is a former Executive Director and Project Director of the Center for World Indigenous Studies Fourth World Documentation Project. A graduate of Evergreen State College Mr. Burrows became a participant in CWIS activities as a volunteer after receiving his degree in Indian Studies. Through his work on the Fourth World Documentation Project he developed extensive knowledge about international indigenous affairs and has worked to give CWIS a strong presence on the World Wide Web.

CWIS Seminars in Canada



Dr. Rudolph Ryser and Rodney Bobbiwash CWIS board member and director of the Native Canadian Centre of Tronto taught a weekend seminar in Toronto Canada in June entitled: "Collapsing States and Reemerging Nations. Attended by 14 First Nations students, the seminar focused on teaching skills to resolve conflicts between states and nations over access and use of natural resources. Canadian government office of Indian Affairs donated \$5000.00 (CAN) in scholarships and placed CWIS courses on the "approved" list to receive government support when offering similar seminars to First Nations throughout Canada..

(Retreat continued from page 1)

Medicine Clinic in Yelapa, Mexico. Students participated in Traditional Medicine Seminars, Fourth World Studies and Interdisciplinary Studies. While most of the students traveled to the Xipe Totec in Mexico, some seminars were taken to the students in the United States and Canada as well.

Fourth World Institute (FWI) and Center for Traditional Medicine (CTM) faculty taught seminars and healers gave treatments in the Clinic throughout the term. Professional Development seminars and tutorials scheduled over the six months offered students and faculty from Mexico, the United States and Canada intensive yet relaxed learning experiences.

Elizabeth Wagner, 75 years, who is on the CTM faculty from Orinda, California spent the month of January teaching and giving healing treatments to patients visiting the Clinic. A young man from the village she treated had fallen on a cactus spine and damaged his knee. After one session with Elizabeth he was much improved. Two weeks later he sent his friend to the Clinic after hurting his back when he fell off his horse. A few days later, the young man with the now

healed knee sent a teen aged boy to the Clinic who had torn his ligaments while playing soccer. When Elizabeth wasn't teaching or treating villagers, she applied her expert hands to pruning the lush Xipe Totec garden and baking cookies! It was truly a delight and inspiration to have Elizabeth giving her wisdom and healing powers. We look forward to her return in the next term.

CWIS NOTES is published periodically by the Center for World Indigenous Studies, 1001 Cooper Point Road SW 140-214, Olympia, Washington, USA 360-754-1990. © CWIS 1998 All rights reserved.

The Squaxin Island Tribe provides cost-free the Center for World Indigenous Studies offices in Olympia, Washington.



Donations (continued from page 1)

Advanced Healing Arts and Sciences student Ms. Cathy Mulica, Doña Alisia Arraisa, our resident herbalist faculty, and Dr. Leslie Korn traveled three hours into the mountains to visit two traditional villages. They were visiting Doña Alisia's childhood home and family. This rigorous six-hour round-trip adventure over narrow mountain, dirt roads brought us many rewards. In *Llano Grande* and *Tapuleque* the group met with women of the CTM Women's Traditional Medicine Project. They ate fire-cooked frijoles (beans), tortillas, fresh salsa and assorted herbs and plants. "I am always amazed at the unflinching generosity of people who have little in the way of food yet abundance of heart," said Dr. Korn.

Along the way Dr. Korn was asked to treat Jovita, a 73 year-old woman who had severe arthritic knee pain. As a result of giving her this first treatment Dr. Korn invited Jovita to *La Clinica Naturista* for more treatments.

Jovita arrived in Yelapa to stay in the village for the several weeks necessary to achieve full treatment. After only six treatments and a successful exercise regimen Jovita pronounced herself cured and Dr. Korn concurred. With a grand smile she returned to her home in the mountains. Her daughter says that Jovita remains pain-free six months later.

Your contributions paid for her 7 treatments. Jovita also contributed \$100 pesos or \$12.00—the equivalent of 1.5 days wage in this part of the Fourth World.

Environmental education for adults and children at Xipe Totec

So many visitors come to see Casa Xipe Totec and the gardens that in 1999 we will be opening our botanical gardens to visitors to educate people about the diversity of flora and fauna in the Mexican jungle. In the winter of 1998 we counted over 30 kinds of birds at our natural sanctuary. The lagoon in front of Xipe Totec is the birth place of fish, crabs and three species of frogs and toads and water insects. The nature preserve and botanical gardens have become a major focus for education and support for biological diversity, traditional knowledge and culture.

In 1999 Alexandra Ponnette, a student intern from Switzerland will join the CWIS staff. She will help develop and write English and Spanish materials that will support the environmental program. The program for children will use the arts and music to teach children about ecology and kindness to animals and the earth.

Biodiversity Law Critiqued

Dr. Ryser was one of 36 indigenous people from North America invited by the North American Indigenous Peoples Biodiversity Project to a preparatory meeting in San Francisco. The meeting was designed to form a Contact Group for future discussions on the subject of biodiversity.

CWIS Chair, Dr. Rudolph Ryser critiqued the Convention on Biodiversity in meetings with US State Department. At meetings in Albuquerque, Olympia, and Washington, DC he urged the United States government to open negotiations of treaties with Indian nations to avoid future conflicts over the "sharing of benefits" from the biodiversity and cultural diversity of indigenous nations.

DeLaCruz (continued from page 1)

well known and highly regarded for his ability to work out legislative and regulatory policies in the Congress that won wide support across party lines. President DeLaCruz is equally renowned for his legislative skills and ability to build broad popular consensus. The stature of these two men brings honor to the Center for World Indigenous Studies.

President DeLaCruz is the second person to hold a chair of distinction at the Center for World Indigenous Studies. Ms. Rosalee Tizya, a member of the Vandu Kuchin and a member of the CWIS Board of Directors was reappointed for a four-year term as the Chief George Manuel Chair for Fourth World Politics in 1995.

Kowlitchk IllaHee Mapping project

Under the direction of Greg LaDue Grove, member of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, the Kowlitchk IllaHee Mapping Project is documenting traditional tribal lands in southwest Washington State. Cowlitz traditional tribal lands include the Gifford Pinchot Forest—the last major old-growth forest in the United States, the Cowlitz River and Mount St. Helens. University of California Berkeley Department of Geography donated the time of five graduate students and their research laboratories to assist in the project. "Contributions are welcome!" said Grove.