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'With the Great Carajás Program, Brazil enters a new phase of development on a greater scale than ever before. Mitigatory measures cannot offset the tremendous upheaval the program will bring to an area the size of France...'

Also inside: Evangelical Holy War in Guatemala 7

A Publication of the Anthropology Resource Center

Why The Global Reporter?

A couple of years ago, Professor June Nash of the City University of New York published a provocative essay, "Ethnographic Aspects of the World Capitalist System," which discussed some current trends in anthropology. Since its origin, Nash noted, anthropology has been worldwide in scope, but anthropologists have only recently realized the global potential of their discipline. By placing their village and other local-level studies within a "world systems" perspective, anthropologists have become increasingly involved in the controversies surrounding the political economy of the Third World.

Nash observed that several human rights organizations arose in the 1970s as a direct result of this new world systems approach in anthropology. Among the organizations she cited were the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in Denmark, Survival International in England, and the Anthropology Resource Center and Cultural Survival in the United States. "The importance of these groups in bringing an anthropological perspective to international issues," she wrote, "cannot be underestimated." The holistic approach of anthropology, according to Nash, will affect the "destiny of the human species" and underwrite what Eric Wolf calls a "new world culture."

For nearly a decade, ARC has worked alongside other organizations in placing the fate of the world's indigenous peoples on the international human rights agenda. From the beginning, we have been aware that this campaign must transcend conventional Western or Judeo-Christian efforts on behalf of the downtrodden and the dispossessed. The uprooting and death of Brazil's Yanomami Indians by disease and land invasions and the mass slaughter of Maya Indians in Guatemala are more than an age-old commentary on the encounter between technologically powerful Western societies and aboriginal peoples. They are a reflection of the economic arrangements, political priorities, technologies, ideologies, and values—in a word, the culture—of the modern world.

Cruelty is part of the human condition. In the eyes of much of the world, however, cruelty has taken on shocking dimensions in recent years. A survey just released by the UN Human Rights Commission conserva-

tively estimates that more than two million people around the world have been executed without due process of law in the past 15 years. Amos Wako, the Kenyan lawyer who authored the report, says that "the growing scorn for human life has reached a point where it could become an international problem, and countries should act quickly to confront it."

Anthropologists are in a good position to interpret modern world culture and suggest alternatives to it. Through their ethnographic field research, they come face to face on a daily basis with the contemporary "culture of cruelty." More than even the most sensitive investigative journalist, they are trained to know the Palestinian peoples slaughtered at Shatila and Sabra, the Ghanian workers forced to leave Nigeria, and the Hindu tribesmen and Bengali immigrants who are at each other's throats in northern India. At the same time, because they understand the role of values in human affairs, anthropologists should be more aware of processes leading toward a world culture that is perhaps more humane and tolerable than the one we know today.

By launching *The Global Reporter*, ARC intends to create a forum for anthropologists and other social commentators and activists to reflect on the current world scene. Each issue of the quarterly will contain a number of feature articles, as well as a series of regular columns. This issue begins with stories about Brazil's Carajás project and North American evangelical missionaries in Guatemala, Barbara Chasin and Richard Franke's "Development Watch" and Robert Mathews' "Technology and Society." Beginning with the June issue, Al Gedicks of the Center for Alternative Mining Development Policy will write a regular column on transnational corporations and native land rights.

We want to extend an invitation to ARC subscribers and members to join us in the development of *The Global Reporter*. We are interested in receiving letters from you; we seek your suggestions for future articles; we wish to engage you in an exciting project that we think will have broad appeal. Join us in this effort. Together, we can create a journal that will truly be an ethnography of people, resources, and the modern world.

Shelton H. Davis



THE GLOBAL REPORTER

Sally Swenson, Editor

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Cover photo: Gold miners flood Serra Pelada, in the Carajás area, in October 1980—The New York Times/Warren Hoge.

THE GREAT CARAJÁS: Brazil's Mega-Program for the '80s

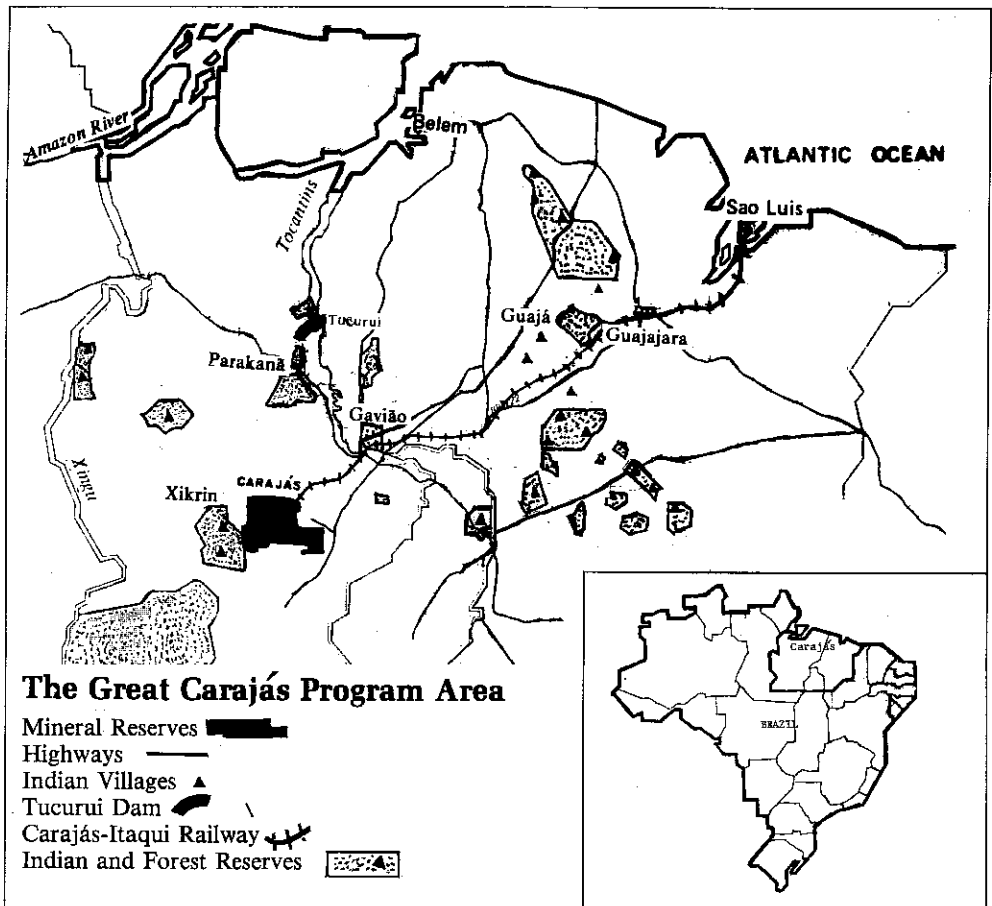
By Robin M. Wright

For more than a decade, the Brazilian government's development programs in the Amazon forest have generated controversy all over the world. Since the construction of the Trans-Amazon highway in 1970, environmentalists have warned of the dangers of rapid exploitation to the delicately balanced forest ecology, the impossibility of imposing monocultural systems on a jungle environment, and the threat posed by deforestation to the amount of oxygen in the earth's atmosphere. Supporters of indigenous rights have condemned genocidal government policies, urged the demarcation of Indian land and encouraged development planners to respect and apply indigenous land-use systems.

In the 1970s, the "instant development" project became epidemic not only in Brazil but throughout the world. Governments rapidly expanded their countries' economies into sensitive jungle, desert, and arctic areas. Later, the worldwide recession and immense national debts forced most countries to halt this expansion. Yet Brazil has forged ahead in the hope of overcoming these economic burdens.

Now, with the Great Carajás Program (GCP), Brazil has launched a new phase of development on a greater scale than ever before. The program calls for \$62 billion of mining, agricultural and energy development in a rainforest area the size of France, with most of its products intended for export and urban consumption. Although tempered on the surface by environmental impact statements, anthropological studies and occasional compensation to the Indian nations that are affected, such measures cannot offset the tremendous upheaval the program will bring to the region. And outside the program area, many Brazilians fear that rather than easing their country's \$80 billion foreign debt, Carajás will pull Brazil into financial and social ruin.

More and more people, therefore, are coming to believe that the problems of Carajás and other mega-pro-



jects call not for mitigatory measures but for alternative development strategies. This article discusses the program's basic shortcomings, particularly its human costs, and the challenges facing those seeking more sustainable and equitable development models.

From Tropical Forest to Industrial Zone

The Great Carajás Program, decreed by Brazil's military government in 1981, covers 190 million acres in the northeast Amazon states of Maranhao, Pará, and Goiás. Top government officials, led by Minister of Planning Delfim Neto, are coordinating the program. By the end of the 1990s, these officials hope, the development of mining, metal processing, forestry, agriculture, ranching, hydroelectricity and waterways will be well underway. One-sixth of Brazil's Amazon will be transformed into an integrated industrial zone.

Carajás is the culmination of less

than two decades of economic expansion into the northeast Amazon. Until the 1960s, the rural population of the GCP area engaged in only small-scale economic activity: harvesting natural rubber and brazil nuts, hunting pelts, mining and small farming.

In 1967, geologists from U.S. Steel discovered an 18-billion-ton iron ore reserve at the Serra dos Carajás in the south of Pará. This inspired plans for the Tucuruí hydroelectric dam on the Tocantins River, the largest hydroproject ever attempted in a tropical forest. The Trans-Amazon highway was built through the region's forests in 1970, followed by a large government colonization scheme. The population of the region more than quadrupled from 92,000 in 1970 to 387,500 in 1980, with a gold rush at Serra Pelada in 1980 alone bringing more than 35,000 prospectors. The area's other reserves were found to hold the world's highest concentra-

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Mega-Program for the '80s (cont.)

tion of industrial minerals—iron, bauxite, copper, manganese, nickel, and tin.

The economic prospects opened up by the region's hydroelectric potential and mineral wealth led the national

government in 1980 to draw up a \$30.6 billion "Plan for the Development of the Eastern Amazon." The Great Carajás Program, at more than double that cost, replaced it the following year. Current plans call for

\$39 billion to be invested in mineral and metallurgic projects, agriculture, ranching, and forestry; and \$22 billion for infrastructure, including 27 hydroelectric dams, sea and river ports, highways and urban centers.

Central to the design of Carajás is the idea that each component project will benefit other undertakings. Power from the Tucuruí dam, for instance, will primarily supply mineral extraction and processing, including the electrification of the Carajás-Itaqui railway built especially to ship iron ore to the coast. Tucuruí itself is only the first in a series of seven large and 20 smaller dams that will eventually convert the Tocantins River system into an almost continuous chain of lakes 1900 kilometers long. The Tocantins Basin would then become the principal means of transport in the region—ironically, drowning 70 kilometers of the Trans-Amazon highway—and would facilitate shipment of the mineral, agricultural and forest products of Carajás.

One of the world's largest open-pit mines, the iron ore project will bring in the program's first income by 1985. Japanese investors, who along with the World Bank and European banks have financed the mine, do not expect high returns; they are concerned that the world supply of iron ore will far exceed demand in the next few years. Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD), the Brazilian mining company controlling the project, nevertheless remains optimistic that the initial shipments from Carajás will coincide with "an expected upswing in global demand."

Infrastructure built for the iron ore project, in turn, will support the exploitation of other mineral reserves. CVRD is building new port facilities, an 890-kilometer railway and ten urban centers to accommodate the tens of thousands of workers and migrants expected to arrive in the next few years. The facilities will serve companies that have already staked claims to Carajás' minerals: Rio Tinto Zinc, ALCOA, Bethlehem Steel, Utah International, British Petroleum, Korf (a German firm), two Japanese companies and a CVRD subsidiary.

Observers who have evaluated the Carajás program raise serious questions about its viability. Environmental problems associated with tropical-

What's What in the Great Carajás

PROJECTS	COMPANIES	GOALS	NOTES
<i>Mineral-Metallurgic</i>			
Carajás Iron Ore Project	CVRD	35 million tons of iron ore per year	includes construction of 890-kilometer railway, new port facilities, and ten urban centers.
Mineração Rio do Norte	ALCAN, Billiton (Shell), Brazilian Aluminum Co., CVRD, Norsk Hydro, Reynolds Aluminum of Brazil.	8 million tons of bauxite per year	designed to fill market needs of Canadian ALCAN.
ALUNORTE/ALBRAS	CVRD, Nippon Amazon Aluminum Co. (Japan)	800,000 tons of aluminum, 320,000 tons of alumina by 1984	production is for Japanese consumption.
Alumar	ALCOA, Billiton (Shell)	2 million tons of alumina per year	includes \$1.3 billion refinery and smelter complex.
<i>Forestry</i>			
	—	charcoal for converting iron into steel	will replace six million acres of primary forest with eucalyptus plantations.
<i>Agriculture & Ranching</i>			
	—	rice and other grains; manioc for animal feed; rubber; sugar cane for alcohol; livestock for meat export	will cover 24.5 million acres.
<i>Hydroelectrics & Waterways</i>			
Tocantins River Basin Hydroelectric Project	Eletronorte	power for mineral projects and northeast cities	27 dams
Xingu River Basin Hydroelectric Project	Eletronorte	power for water transport and mineral development	9 or 10 dams by 1992

forest dams, for instance, could limit the useful life of Tucuruí to only 25 years. Although CVRD has recognized environmental considerations, scientists have also warned about possible river pollution caused by waste from the Carajás iron ore project.

One of the program's most serious flaws is its location of forestry and ranching projects in areas where violent land conflicts are concentrated. Colonization and ranching on Indian land in the region have, over the past decade, taken place at the same rapid and destructive pace that planners now foresee for other projects in the rest of Carajás.

Native Peoples and the GCP

In the past decade, as the Brazilian Amazon became a haven for lucrative mining, agribusiness and timber development, government programs gave no consideration to the survival needs of the Indian populations. FUNAI, the Indian agency, cooperated in building highways through areas reserved for Indians. FUNAI also issued "negative certificates," documents that falsely denied the existence of Indians in certain areas and gave large mining and agribusiness corporations the right to obtain titles to Indian lands. Consequently, dozens of formerly isolated Indian groups were decimated by diseases and saw their ancestral villages and lands uprooted and destroyed.

In most ways, the GCP continues this process. Although the Carajás area contains more than 20 indigenous reserves and a total of 12,562 Indians, the assessor of the Ministry of Mines and Energy declared in 1981 that he had only recently become aware of the "possibility of Indian nations within the GCP area." The "problem" of Indian land rights, he stated, would be resolved only when specific projects had been established and non-Indian land ownership defined—in other words, after existing Indian reserves had been invaded, diminished, or lost altogether.

The international outcry against earlier abuses has led to one notable change. The World Bank, which partially funds the iron ore project, now hinges its support for any country on the recognition of indigenous land rights and provision of health and other social services. So far, however, the effects of this change on the Carajás program have been negligible.

CVRD and the Indian Assistance Project

In an attempt to prod FUNAI into fulfilling World Bank funding requirements, CVRD has agreed to provide the agency \$13.6 million over the next five years. According to the agreement, FUNAI must use the money to protect the land rights of the 4,675 Indians in the iron ore pro-



—World Bank

Houses built for the Gavioes by a Sao Paulo architect lack plumbing facilities.

ject area. The agency is required to demarcate all Indian land, evict non-Indian squatters and prevent trespassing, and provide health care, education, and technical assistance, equipment and funding for economic development projects. CVRD has contracted three qualified anthropologists and a medical doctor, recommended by the Brazilian Anthropological Association, to monitor the tribal situations. If FUNAI fails to demarcate land and evict squatters as scheduled, according to the agreement, CVRD will withhold payments.

FUNAI has not yet fulfilled these requirements. On the Xikrin reserve—which lies next to the mine and is particularly vulnerable to the project's impact—the agency has failed to resolve earlier conflicts. Lumberers have cut down large areas of the reserve's forest and non-Indians have established an entire ranch within the reserve. Although the regional delegate of FUNAI attempted to remove the ranch, the owners received authorization from higher authorities to let their cattle remain. Relations between the Xikrin and the ranchers are extremely tense.

South of the reserve, a large colonization project poses serious threats of

invasion and deforestation. FUNAI has not begun to patrol the reserve's borders.

CRVD's own relations with Indians have hardly been ideal. In a dispute with the Gavioes of Mãe Maria Reserve, the company insisted that it could not afford to build the new Carajás-Itaqui railway by a route that avoided the reserve. Compensation

promised by CVRD will hardly make up for the destruction of a large area of Brazil nut trees, which provide the Indians' only cash income. The four 160-car trains passing back and forth each day will seriously disrupt their lives and activities. The company's argument that the Gavioes are "acculturated" enough to withstand such an impact ignores the fact that only 20 years ago they were on the edge of extinction.

For the most part, native people have had no say in implementing the Indian Assistance Project. GCP planners, in fact, seem to be asking that the Indians participate in the destruction of their own culture and land base. Nestor Yost, executive secretary of Carajás, has suggested that the \$13.6 million granted to FUNAI be used so that the Indians "reach a level of acculturation to the point of being assimilated as workers into the program."

Tucuruí: When the Waters Rise

The social and economic shock caused by relocation has been well documented around the world, but planners of one of the largest hydroelectric dams ever have given it little

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Mega-Program for the '80s (cont.)

consideration. The 200-kilometer long lake created by Tucuruí will flood six towns, dozens of villages and ranches, part of the Trans-Amazon and another highway, and a large area of forest. Eletronorte, the company in charge of the Tocantins project, has a notorious record in its dealings with Indians.

The 150 Parakanan Indians are the most tragic victims of this record. They stand to lose three-quarters of their current landbase to Tucuruí. These Indians have suffered, as anthropologists Paul Aspelin and Silvio Coelho dos Santos have reported, from "rapid cultural shock, epidemics of deadly disease, prostitution, repeated forced relocations, and nearly total resource deprivation." Repeated relocation caused the Parakanan to stop planting their gardens, and by 1981 they were suffering from severe malnutrition.

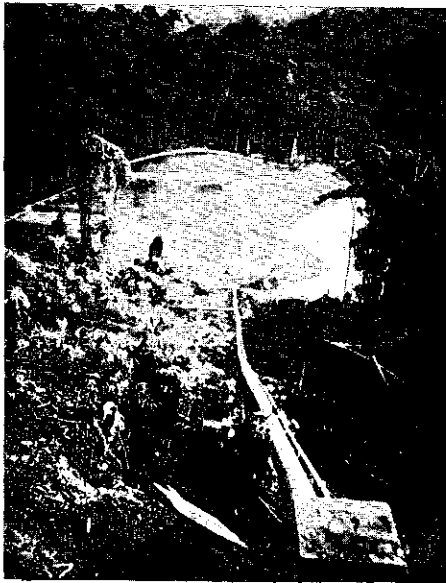
FUNAI and Eletronorte have known of the Tucuruí's effects on the Parakanan since 1973. Yet a promising assistance program set up in 1977 was terminated two years later due to "lack of funds." Eletronorte paid monetary compensation to the Indians in 1981, but FUNAI used the money to build them new houses with materials shipped from Belem.

The Gavioes, whose land will be crossed by a high-power transmission line from Tucuruí, pressed Eletronorte for compensation for the loss of Brazil nut trees. Although the company initially argued that the Indians are legally guaranteed only the *use* of natural resources but not ownership over them, pressure from the Gavioes eventually forced it to recognize their claims. The Gavioes used the compensation to hire an architect to construct a new village with brick houses and latrines. The houses lack water and sewage facilities which, ironically, the Gavioes may be forced to purchase with the compensation they expect from CVRD.

The transmission line also cuts through a Guajajara reserve, but the Guajajara have demanded not compensation but the expulsion of 5,000 illegal squatters and the construction of wells, reservoirs, schools, clinics, and other infrastructure. Like the Gavioes, the Guajajara have threatened to block the contractors' access to transmission line sites if FUNAI and Eletronorte do not meet these de-

mands.

In contrast to the Parakanan, the Gavioes and Guajajara are well organized and informed, and both have access to legal assistance. These strengths may play an important role in determining the security of Indian land rights under the Great Carajás Program. In another sector of the program, ranching, FUNAI has attempted to pressure the Tembê of



—World Bank

Construction of Carajás iron ore project is well underway.

Guamá to accept the status of "emancipation"—loss of recognition of their Indian identity and land. Other Indians in the GCP area may face the same kind of coercion.

The Demand for Alternatives

When the national government unveiled its original Plan for the Development of the Eastern Amazon in 1980, the Brazilian public was unappreciative. To those not lured by grandiose projects nor promises of financial salvation, the planners had made serious errors. Many Brazilians no longer believe that revenues from the Great Carajás Program will pay off Brazil's international debt.

Numerous groups have criticized the Brazilian government's authoritarian role in the program. In 1981, Brazilian scientists passed a motion repudiating the government's undemocratic methods. In Pará and Maranhão, where the program will likely bring radical and irreversible changes, citizens feel betrayed. For them, Carajás is a *fait accompli* in

which they had no choice. On the island of São Luís do Maranhão, where ALCOA is building a large aluminum complex, villagers fear the company will force them off their lands and ruin their environment. The citizens of the island have organized to protest the company's claims.

Public criticism of the Carajás program has led to a search for alternatives. The Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Analysis (IBASE), a nationally recognized research organization, has argued convincingly that the objectives of the entire GCP must be reformulated.

Before Carajás is fully implemented, according to IBASE, three political requisites must be met: widespread public understanding of the region and its potential; approval of the program's objectives by the National Congress; and longer range planning than Carajás provides for. Then, the Institute suggests, alternative solutions could be proposed. These solutions would include a series of measures to protect the region's environment and its indigenous population, greater participation of the region's inhabitants in the program, a study of land-holding patterns, and the control of migratory movements.

Because the first stages of Carajás are already going into effect, however, concerned persons and organizations must act to monitor and control the activities of U.S. and other mineral companies involved in the program. The iron ore project, heavily financed by foreign sources, deserves special attention to ensure that FUNAI and CVRD fulfill the World Bank's requirements for protecting Indian land—and that the World Bank, in turn, enforces the new rules.

With all the controversy that it has generated, perhaps the Great Carajás Program has done a service to the goal of equitable and sustainable development. As currently conceived, it holds unprecedented potential for environmental and social destruction. If reformulated, it could be a vital testing ground for workable ways of living in and developing the region. It could even provide models for development in other tropical forest regions of the globe—models based on a respect for the environment, its inhabitants, and the needs of future generations. ●

GUATEMALA: The Evangelical Holy War in El Quiché

By Shelton H. Davis

Last May, just two months after assuming office as Guatemala's first "born-again" president, General José Efraín Ríos Montt told a gathering of international journalists that he was about to receive millions of dollars from evangelical Christians in the United States to help rebuild his war-torn country. The 59-year-old general, according to news reports, was jubilant over the North American Christian offer of aid. Sitting before a large mahogany desk containing stacks of New Testaments in Spanish and several Indian languages, the general said that "the only solution" to the country's civil strife was "love." In the coming months, he told reporters, a new type of village structure based on what he called "communitarianism" would be established in the Guatemalan countryside. In collaboration with the military, fundamentalist missionaries would help to build "model villages," where the head of each Mayan Indian family would be given "his private house" and "his own property so he can have his chicken and pig."

The flirtation between Guatemalan dictators and North American evangelical missionaries is not a new one. Since the late 19th century, numerous Guatemalan presidents have believed that the introduction of Protestantism would make Indians more available as a surplus labor force for the country's coffee plantations by freeing them from the community obligations associated with participation in local Catholic saints' cults. More recently, the Guatemalan military has seen evangelical Protestantism as an alternative to the spread of liberation theology among Catholic clerics, lay community leaders, and some liberal Protestant organizations.

What distinguishes the present government from its predecessors are the close personal and institutional ties between the military and North American evangelical organizations, and the military's use of these organizations in

its rural pacification program. Nowhere are these alliances more clear than in the Ixil Triangle of northern El Quiché, an area where intense guerrilla actions and a brutal counterinsurgency campaign have been waged in recent years.

Change and Reaction in the Ixil Triangle

For centuries, the three Ixil (ee-sheel)-speaking townships of Nebaj, Cotzal, and Chajul have been centers of traditional Mayan religious worship. Although Protestant missionaries first penetrated the area in the 1920s and the Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators (SIL/WBT) established a presence in Nebaj in 1953, evangelical converts never numbered more than 5 to 10 percent of the Ixil population. It was not until the 1950s, in fact, that Spanish Catholic priests began to have a significant impact on the religious beliefs and social values of the Indian population.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the reformist Catholic Action movement

began to dominate local politics in the Ixil region, encouraging the growth of a peasant movement. Under the guidance of a group of development-oriented priests, many catechists organized credit cooperatives and peasant leagues and joined church-sponsored colonization projects in the lowland areas of northern Quiché. In the 1974 elections, these Ixil Catholic converts voted for the opposition Christian Democratic Party, whose presidential candidate was a not-yet-born-again general named Efraín Ríos Montt.

From 1975 onward, political violence gripped the Ixil area. On one side, this violence came from the recently established Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), a small Marxist guerrilla organization which conducted selective assassinations of large *ladino* (non-Indian) landowners and plantation hiring agents in the region. On the other side, the Guatemalan army established military bases in the area, from which it terrorized the local catechists

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© Jean-Marie Simon

Soldiers guard bodies of guerrillas in Nebaj (September 1982).

Guatemala's Holy War (cont.)

and village leaders. Army violence directed at the area's Catholic population was so great that, following an attempt on his own life, the bishop of El Quiché took the unprecedented step of asking all Catholic religious workers to abandon the diocese.

Early on, the Guatemalan military recognized that the growing appeal of the EGP could be undermined only by alleviating some of the miserable social and economic conditions of the Indian population. For this reason, in 1980, the army's general staff and the National Planning Council proposed a multimillion dollar "civic action" and "rural development" program called Plan Ixil.

Although Plan Ixil was never implemented, the Lucas García government, which preceded that of Ríos Montt, spent the final months of 1981 conducting a systematic campaign to wipe out the guerrilla movement. Led by the president's brother, Benedicto Lucas García, the army burned Indian houses and fields, massacred Indian villages, and organized armed "civilian militias" to fight against the country's now-entrenched guerrilla armies.

One of the first areas where this more aggressive counterinsurgency strategy proved successful was the Ixil town of Cotzal. In January 1982, a Mayan evangelical named Pastor Lañ aligned his congregation with a new military commander assigned to Cotzal. Pastor Lañ helped to organize the first "civilian militia" in the Ixil region and, through his association with SIL/WBT missionary Paul Townsend, obtained medicines, food supplies, and clothing for government supporters in the town.

In early July, following three months of terror and bloodshed in which, according to Amnesty International, the Guatemalan army killed 2,600 Indians, the new Ríos Montt government called a general state of siege and began to implement its "beans and rifles" Indian policy. This strategy, which promised to defeat the guerrilla movement by December, was two-pronged in its attack. On the one hand, the government said that it would meet the basic food and health needs of thousands of rural villagers displaced by the fighting in "areas of conflict" and now resettled in army-controlled towns. On the other hand, the government announced that it

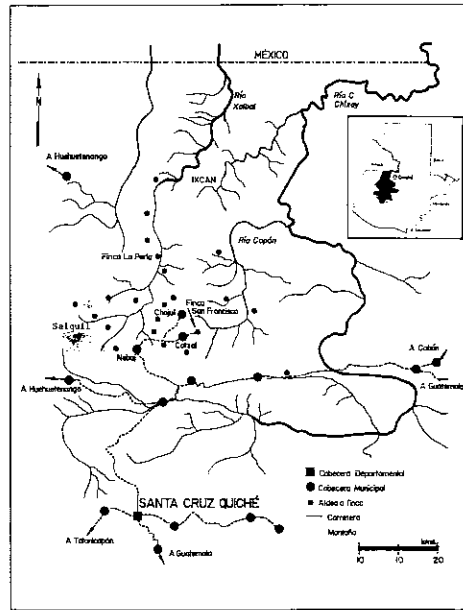
would step up its anti-guerrilla campaign by organizing an estimated 350,000 Indians into "civilian militias" and continuing its "scorched earth" policy against hostile villages.

Evangelicals and the Counterinsurgency Campaign

From the beginning, North American evangelical missionaries played a critical role in the design and implementation of the "beans and rifles" program. In early July, SIL/WBT missionaries Ray and Helen Elliott returned to Nebaj after an absence of nearly two years. They were accompanied by Alfred Kaltschmidt of Ríos Montt's Verbo Church ("Church of the Word") in Guatemala City and by four visiting dentists arranged by Gospel Outreach, Verbo's parent church in Eureka, California. Two days later, the team was joined by other North Americans from the Christian Broadcasting Network's 700 Club, Gospel Outreach, and an organization called Water for the People.

the road entering the town from Santa Cruz del Quiché; and the military maintained only precarious control over some of the outlying villages.

As it turned out, the evangelical organizations worked closely with the military during the visit. A rich Guatemalan businessman and former U.S. Marine of American parentage named Harris Whitbeck arranged the army helicopters that brought the Gospel Outreach dentists and SIL/WBT team to Nebaj in July, and has served as the main broker between the military and the evangelical relief organizations in the Ixil area. Whitbeck works with a group called Partners of the Americas and is a member of the board of directors of the Behrhorst Foundation, a rural medical program based in Chimaltenango. He maintains close personal ties with Ríos Montt and the upper echelons of the Guatemalan army, including the National Reconstruction Committee, which coordinates all private and public relief efforts in the Indian highlands.



© Jean-Marie Simon

El Quiché and the Ixil Triangle (left); Chajul man marches in the civil patrol, April 1982 (right)

On the surface, it appeared that these people were in Nebaj for purely humanitarian reasons, i.e., to provide food, dental, and other needed assistance to a growing Indian refugee population. The military situation in the Ixil Triangle, however, was more volatile than this implies. Fighting was still taking place on the outskirts of Nebaj; guerrillas were attacking trucks along

During the five-day trip to Nebaj, Whitbeck conferred with several field commanders and asked SIL/WBT missionary Ray Elliott for recommendations on how to improve the military's image among the Ixil people. Apparently, as a result of Elliott's recommendations, one of the commanders who was particularly disliked by the local population was transferred out of

Nebaj.

In late July, Ríos Montt announced that his government had selected Love Lift International, the relief arm of Gospel Outreach, "to coordinate the involvement of Christian ministries and churches throughout the United States in relief and development projects" for displaced persons in Guatemala. The Love Lift's plan called not only for the immediate shipment of food and housing supplies to the Ixil area, but also for a major funding and consciousness-raising campaign in the U.S. that would send a ship loaded with relief and building materials to Guatemala in January. Support for the Guatemalan Love Lift came from a number of North American evangelical luminaries including Representative Jack Kemp of New York, Pat Robertson of the Christian Broadcasting Network, and Lorin Cunningham of Youth With A Mission.

From the promotional literature distributed by Gospel Outreach, it was clear that more was at stake than humanitarian aid in the organizing of the Love Lift. With the sudden rise to power of "Brother Efraín," one Gospel Outreach publicist wrote in the evangelical magazine *Christian Life*, "an extraordinary opportunity now exists for the country of Guatemala to become a shining light in the midst of the turbulent darkness of Latin America, a vibrant alternative to the rising tide of Marxism-Leninism in that region, and a glorious testimony to the reality and truth of Jesus Christ."

August 1982: Strategic Moves in Quiché

While Gospel Outreach coordinated these fund-raising efforts among evangelicals in the United States, the core group in Guatemala began to formulate more long-range plans for the Ixil Triangle and the highland region. On the morning of August 3, Ray Elliott, SIL/WBT missionary Dwight Jewett, who had done bible translating in Chajul, Dr. Carroll Behrhorst of the Behrhorst Clinic, and two representatives of the Verbo Church gathered for a meeting at the house of Harris Whitbeck. Although plans were not yet final, Whitbeck reported that President Ríos Montt was waiting for a memo from him to issue orders for the Behrhorst Foundation to take charge of all medical work in the Ixil Triangle, and for all education in Indian areas up to the third grade to be taught in Indian languages with SIL/WBT assistance. Whitbeck also reported that the

U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) was waiting for a project proposal from Partners of the Americas, the Behrhorst Foundation, and SIL/WBT to supply funds for bringing technical help and supervisory personnel to the Ixil area.

At the August 3 meeting, Whitbeck told the group that a helicopter had been arranged for the following day to make a one-day trip to Nebaj and other parts of the Ixil Triangle. Again, there seemed to be military as well as humanitarian reasons for going to Quiché. A Colonel Wohlers, who was second in command on the National Reconstruction Committee, joined Whitbeck, Ray Elliott, Dwight Jewett, and an Ixil man who had helped Jewett on Chajul linguistic material. When the helicopter briefly put down in Santa Cruz del Quiché, Whitbeck spent a half hour consulting with the area military commander. The group then took off for Nebaj, accompanied by an army officer referred to as S-5, who was second-in-command of the Quiché area and in charge of military operations in outlying zones.

Elliott made several inquiries into the whereabouts of evangelicals in the village of Salquil, where fighting between the army and guerrillas had been intense in recent weeks. The missionary was particularly concerned about the people of Salquil because he had cured a man named Cu' Pe'l of *susto* (fright) in 1967 and, by doing so, laid the roots for widespread evangelical conversion in the community. Despite the strong evangelical presence in Salquil, Elliott was told that Cu' Pe'l and other members of his congregation had not been heard from for several months. Elliott also learned that very few of the people from Salquil had sought refuge in the makeshift camps set up by the army on the outskirts of town, despite the attempts of civilian patrols to convince them to resettle and the frequent army and helicopter attacks. These reports indicated that the situation in Salquil—which was vital to the entire military picture in northern El Quiché—was still fluid in early August.

By the end of the month, the military balance in the Nebaj area shifted radically to the army's side. The key event in this change was the sudden nighttime exodus of 287 people, most of them evangelicals, from the village of Salquil to the neighboring town of Aguacatán in Huehuetenango province.

On August 20, Ray Elliott visited Aguacatán accompanied by Verbo

Church workers carrying food, clothing, and blankets for the Salquil refugees. In tape-recorded interviews with the leaders of the escape, Elliott was told that the guerrillas failed to provide the people of Salquil with food as promised, tried to suppress the religious beliefs of the evangelical population, and blocked the road leading out of the village to Nebaj. Having heard



© Jean-Marie Simon
Ríos Montt after the coup.

about the Christian intentions of the new president over the radio and believing that they would now be safe in the hands of a repentant army, the Salquil people, led by an Ixil Pentecostal pastor, decided to escape to Aguacatán.

Even more significant, a small group of these evangelical refugees later returned to Salquil with an army escort and convinced more than 1,700 people, not all of them evangelicals, to come out of hiding and seek food and refuge in the military's hands. (See box: "The Exodus from Salquil")

'No Neutrality About Its Use'

The late August escape from Salquil had a powerful psychological and strategic effect on the Guatemalan government's attempt to win the "hearts and minds" of the country's large Indian population. Ríos Montt quickly moved to consolidate the regime's control of the countryside.

Earlier in the month, the Ríos Montt government had signed an agreement with the World Food Program (WFP) of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization to supply "emergency food

(continued on next page)

Guatemala's Holy War (cont.)

aid for displaced persons especially in the western highlands of the country." The WFP project called for the distribution of enough dry food and cooking oil to feed 125,000 of an estimated 500,000 homeless people for four months in a "food for work" relief program. Under the agreement, part of the food was to be distributed by the government's National Emergency Committee, and part by the Roman Catholic relief organization Caritas.

Problems arose immediately as the government refused to let Caritas enter

the Quiché area and tried to place a military man on the relief organization's board. Many long-established humanitarian organizations with programs in Guatemala became increasingly concerned about the military's desire to control all relief and development aid. "Food is being used as a tool," the representative of a major U.S. private development agency said following a trip to Guatemala in early October. "There is no neutrality about its use."

Meanwhile, representatives of the

SIL/WBT, the Verbo Church, and the Behrhorst Foundation had recently incorporated into a new Foundation for Aid to the Indian People (FUNDAPI) in order "to channel international Christian relief funds to refugees and other needy people." By early November, FUNDAPI, with the help of volunteers from Youth With A Mission and the Four-Square-Gospel Church, was coordinating relief efforts among the 1,400 or so refugees at the "Nueva Vida" (New Life) encampment outside of Nebaj.

The Exodus from Salquil

The most dramatic exodus of Guatemalan Indians from their homes occurred in August and September 1982, when an Ixil pastor of the Pentecostal Church of God led 2,000 people—half evangelical, half Catholic—out of the Nebaj township of Salquil and into army protection.

Like many refugees under army control, the pastor says that the guerrillas "deceived" his people. EGP combatants had promised that they would feed the people who had fed them, provide arms for defense against the army, and win the war by the March 1982 election.

When soldiers destroyed their crops and homes, however, the people went hungry. "We no longer had food, and we no longer had houses," said a refugee leader. "We were without clothes, without medicine, and there had been many deaths among us." They could not even flee to the Pacific Coast to work on plantations, on which many depend for their livelihood.

To evangelical relief workers, the pastor attributed the mass escape from Salquil to atheistic religious persecution. Six members of his church had been killed by the guerrillas, he said. Four had been strangled with lassos in the hamlet of Tu Jolom, in June 1982, for filling in stake pits that the EGP had placed near their church. The stake pits would have brought army reprisals and, according to the elders, violated the biblical injunction to love thy neighbor.

But the army had also killed members of the Pentecostal church, 29 of

them in the hamlet of Tu Chobuc in early May. When helicopters landed, three families gathered to pray. After the troops discovered an empty guerrilla storage pit nearby, they took the men, women, and children there, and cut their throats, the pastor stated in the presence of soldiers.

Two days later, according to the pastor, troops destroyed all the houses in the township. But over the radio, the country's new Christian president could be heard offering amnesty and praying. Spies from the town of Nebaj said that the people there had new confidence in the army. Fearing EGP reprisals, the pastor led 287 people out of Salquil at night by a circuitous route. Later young men from this group, carrying loudspeakers and protected by soldiers, persuaded 1,740 to come out of hiding and surrender to the army.

"The bible says that we should obey the president," the pastor told a missionary. "The bible tells us that we shouldn't join ourselves to the guerrillas." According to a popular North American evangelical teaching, governments must be obeyed because they are divinely ordained.

David Stoll

Free-lance writer David Stoll's book Fishers of Men or Founders of Empire? about the Wycliffe Bible Translators in Latin America was just published by Zed Press in London and Cultural Survival in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Mr. Stoll recently visited the town of Nebaj in Guatemala, from where this report was sent.

On November 28, the Verbo Church's most famous follower, General Efraín Ríos Montt, spoke before a crowd of hundreds of thousands of evangelicals gathered in Guatemala City for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Protestantism in Guatemala. Announcing his plan to remake Guatemala into a model of biblical righteousness, the charismatic president said that "Here, the one in charge is Jesus Christ." In reference to his government's successful counterinsurgency campaign against a Marxist-inspired guerrilla movement, the general went on to proclaim, "We defend ourselves not by the army or its sword, but by the Holy Spirit."

A couple of weeks before the Protestant Centennial Celebration, the *New York Times* carried a feature story by Marlise Simons about the growing appeal of evangelism in Guatemala. Simons reported that since 1978, when the government's program of political violence began to increase, fundamentalist church membership in Guatemala has been growing by 23.6 percent a year. According to the article, there are now 6,767 Protestant congregations and temples in Guatemala split among 110 different sects.

Simons also noted the political implications of such religious fervor in a country which is Mayan Indian and Roman Catholic in its ethnic composition and heritage. "What is going on in Guatemala may have grave consequences," she cites the older brother of the president, Roman Catholic Bishop Mario Enrique Ríos Montt of Escuintla, as saying. If people's religious sentiments are manipulated, the bishop added, "it could well turn into a religious war more serious than our political war." ●

Asking the Critical Questions

By Richard W. Franke
and Barbara H. Chasin

Since the end of World War II, three issues have dominated international affairs: decolonization, world peace, and the economic development of the poor countries. Of these issues, decolonization has been the most successful; nearly all the formal European empires have been dismantled. Today, only Namibia, French Guiana, East Timor, the Western Sahara, Puerto Rico and a few other territories remain occupied in a traditional colonial sense. World peace has fared less well, with numerous local and regional wars erupting over the years, and the danger of nuclear war ever present. A strong and growing peace movement, fortunately, holds out promise for overcoming the danger of nuclear war.

The third major issue—development—has a checkered history. Enormous progress has been made in certain areas. Literacy, for example, has increased from 33 percent of the population in underdeveloped countries in 1950 to 56 percent in 1979. During the same period, life expectancy rose from 43 to 58 years. These two statistics attest to vast improvements in the lives of millions, and undoubtedly stem from decolonization and the emergence of “development” as a national and international goal.

Despite these successes, underdevelopment continues to plague Central America, the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. The underdeveloped countries, in which 75 percent of the world's population live, produced only 21 percent of merchandise exports in 1980—a reduction of 6 percent from 1955. Agricultural output per person increased only .3 percent per year in these countries between 1960 and 1980; in the Middle East and South Asia it stagnated, while in areas such as Sub-Saharan Africa it actually declined.

In 1980, the World Bank estimated that one billion people, most of them landless laborers or small farmers in Africa, South and Southeast Asia, Central America and parts of South America, lived in “absolute poverty.” When people slightly above this level are included, more

than half the world's population lives under conditions of misery.

As underdevelopment has persisted, development theories have undergone major changes. Simplistic ideas about “resistance to change,” “overpopulation” and “lack of entrepreneurial mentality” that dominated development thinking and policies in the 1950s and early 1960s gave way in the next decade to the “green revolution.” The introduction of new



Sorghum harvest in Upper Volta (IFDP)

seed varieties, fertilizers, and chemical pesticides was expected to vastly increase agricultural productivity.

At the same time, the growing radicalization of many parts of the Third World helped launch the idea that economic ties to the former colonial powers, including the United States and Japan, were much to blame for underdevelopment. This “dependency” approach, which focuses on inequality among nations, became a major theoretical alternative in the 1970s.

An awareness of corruption and repression within many developing nations has resulted in another theory, the “basic needs” school of development thought. Under this approach, the U.S. foreign-aid bureaucracy has attempted to control the flow of development aid so that it reaches the poorest groups.

However wide-ranging the debate over development and underdevelopment has become, rarely have we found clearly stated criteria for deter-

mining whether or not development is taking place. In our own view, the following questions are critical:

- Is the material well-being of the population improving? Major indicators here would be diet, health and access to necessary services.
- Are production resources—including soils, water, plants, and animals—being improved or at least maintained?
- Are more people obtaining access to production resources, especially agricultural land? At least, is dispossession being prevented?
- Are social and economic inequalities being reduced, or at least not exacerbated?
- Are the most impoverished groups participating actively and with increasing political empowerment in a particular project or overall development program?
- Are the special needs and problems of groups such as landless laborers, ethnic minorities, child laborers, and women being addressed?
- Are local projects consistent with an overall national or regional plan?
- Is “self-sustaining” or continuing development likely to occur after the initial project or investment ceases?

In future issues of *The Global Reporter*, we will examine these questions as they apply to various projects and development plans around the world. We will also discuss topics such as land reform, women in development, multinational corporations, and population; and broader theoretical and ethical issues surrounding the development debate.

“Development” and “underdevelopment” are the subjects of more controversy today than ever before. What better time is there to launch a regular column to watch, analyze, and criticize various approaches to development around the world?

Barbara H. Chasin and Richard W. Franke teach at Montclair State College and are the authors of Seeds of Famine: Ecological Destruction and the Development Dilemma in the West African Sahel (Allanheld, Osmun & Co., 1980). Their column, “Development Watch,” will appear regularly in The Global Reporter.

Inside the Nuclear Mindset

By Robert O. Mathews

Nukespeak: Nuclear Language, Visions, and Mindset, by Stephen Hilgartner, Richard C. Bell, and Rory O'Connor. Sierra Club Books. 282 pp. \$14.95.

Who can forget the smiling visage of Harold Denton, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) spokesman, as he assured us that the 1979 "plant transient" at Three Mile Island was a "normal aberration" and that there was no danger of a core meltdown because the event was in the hands of "technically qualified persons"?

Denton's television appearances were, for most of us, our first exposure to the strange argot that Stephen Hilgartner, Richard C. Bell, and Rory O'Connor call *Nukespeak*. The authors, journalists and political activists, document the euphemisms, metaphors, and convolutions that encode the thoughts of nuclear developers and regulators. Their investigation ranges from nuclear energy to nuclear weapons, from Marie Curie to Three Mile Island, from World War II bomb tests to nuclear waste leaks to disappearances of plutonium. They find the discussion of nuclear technology—public and private—shrouded in secrecy, optimism, complacency, and deception.

The thesis of *Nukespeak* is a bold one. As in 1984 by George Orwell—to whom the book is dedicated—the authors portray this language as the propaganda of a technocratic elite with authoritarian pretensions. But they also view the nuclear industry as a product of its own tongue. The language of the nuclear establishment, the authors argue, shapes the establishment's own world view. The nuclear salesmen have not only misled us but also deceived themselves.

One of the many illustrations of the nuclear "mindset" in *Nukespeak* is the treatment of the Rasmussen Report. The report, commissioned by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC, predecessor of the NRC) and completed in 1975, was a study of the risk of accidents at nuclear reactors. The report's executive summary proclaimed that an individual's risk of dying in a nuclear accident was one in

five billion, and that the odds of mass destruction were about the same as those of a meteor's striking an urban area.

Despite the favorable publicity the Rasmussen Report received, the Union of Concerned Scientists published a book critical of the report in 1977, and Congressman Morris Udall asked the NRC to review the Rasmussen findings. After the review group criticized the report, the NRC withdrew its endorsement in January 1979. NRC Commissioner Peter Bradford saw in the Rasmussen affair "the desire among the regulators and the industry . . . to learn the too favorable lesson from any experience."

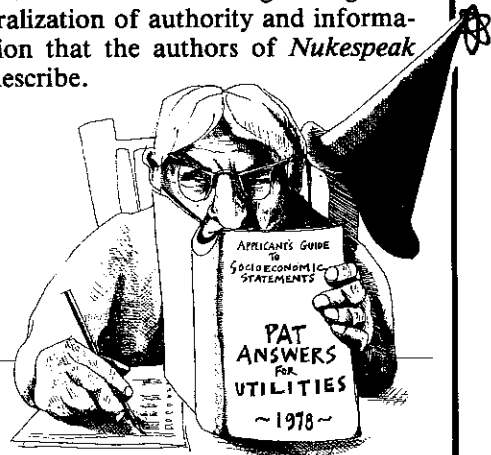
Here, and elsewhere in *Nukespeak*, is abundant evidence that the nuclear overseers are motivated by excessive optimism and boosterism. But this demonstration does not support the author's claim that this mindset—and even the course of nuclear development—have been shaped by the language the developers use. More likely, the opposite is true: the arcane language of *Nukespeak* results from the need of the nuclear industry and the desire of its regulators to sell its product to the public, maintain a favorable regulatory climate, and discourage critics and competitors.

In many ways, then, the nuclear establishment and its language are no different from those of any other powerful industry or interest group. For those at the top, the success of public relations and political persuasion—as Orwell argued in his 1946 essay, "Politics and the English Language"—requires the use of euphemism, selective emphasis, and obfuscation.

For those who work in the industry, the nuclear mindset differs little from that of other engineers. Whether they build bridges or computers or nuclear reactors, engineers are confident they can make them work, and they have little use for theoretical elegance or zealous scrutiny when it gets in the way of finishing the job.

What sets nuclear technology apart from the promotion of other products is its intimate relation with nuclear weapons and the government. Nuclear power is essentially a byproduct of nuclear weapons development. The strategic importance of

uranium and plutonium largely explains the federal government's subsidy and regulation of nuclear power. The government's stake gives the nuclear industry a unique financial and political advantage, and it provides the rationale for the frightening centralization of authority and information that the authors of *Nukespeak* describe.



—Bonnie Acker/No Nukes

Hilgartner, Bell, and O'Connor discuss the Manhattan Project (the original development of the atomic bomb), losses of weapons-grade material, and the effects of nuclear war. These chapters, like the others, are succinct and accurate. The book, in fact, is an excellent survey of the central controversies about nuclear technology. Yet, despite its linguistic theme, *Nukespeak* lacks focus. The authors apparently began with an idea for a book on Three Mile Island and expanded it topically and historically. They gain breadth but spend too many words relating events and too few supporting their difficult argument.

With *Nukespeak* as a general survey, other authors might make case studies of the nuclear mindset. Paul Loeb's colorful *Nuclear Culture*, an account of life at the Hanford, Washington, nuclear complex, promises this, but it is too impressionistic to deliver. The way is clear for someone to undertake field work that could help us understand the central issue of our time.

Robert O. Mathews, one of the founders of ARC, works for the computer design firm, Symbolics, in Cambridge, Mass. He will regularly review books and comment on issues relating to technology and society for The Global Reporter.

Micronesia: A Nuclear Future?

The next few months will be of critical importance to the people of Micronesia, the last of the eleven trust territories established by the United Nations after World War II. After almost 14 years, formal negotiations between the United States and its territories of Belau (Palau), the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia—more than 2,000 Pacific islands and atolls in an area the size of the continental U.S.—are near completion.

Micronesian citizens must now decide, in popular plebiscites, whether they want to accept the "Compact of Free Association" and subsidiary agreements that have been worked out by negotiators. If the agreements are approved, the islands' status would then fall between that of a commonwealth, like Puerto Rico and the nearby Marianas Islands, and full independence.

Under "free association," the Micronesian entities would govern themselves in all areas except military affairs, where the U.S. would maintain full control. Military planners view Micronesia as a strategic fall-back line of defense in the case of anti-American hostilities in Korea or the Philippines. Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands serves as testing range for ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, and could be used to test the new MX missile. In Belau, the Defense Department hopes to make the principal port suitable for the Trident submarine and other warships.

Much U.S. media attention has focused on the Compact's hefty financial provisions: \$1 billion over 50 years for Belau, \$1 billion over 15 years for the Federated States, and \$1.5 billion over 50 years for the Marshall Islands. News articles have also frequently expressed the official U.S. position that the agreements "would make it possible to defend" the islands against aggression (*New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1983). But many Micronesians feel that the effects of the U.S. military presence are too high a price to pay, and would actually encourage attack in the event of even limited nuclear war.

The following news excerpts touch on some of the nuclear questions

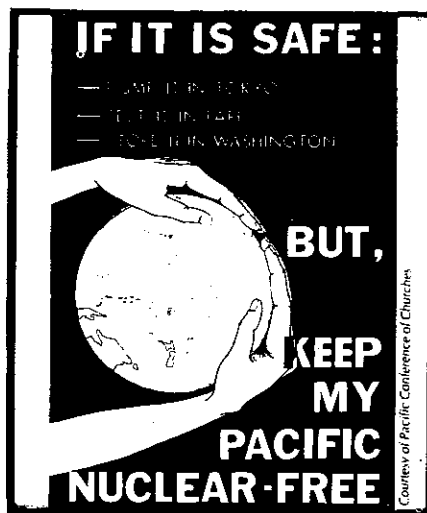
facing the Micronesians.

Koror, Belau, Feb. 12, 1983—Voters in Belau defeated an attempt to waive their nuclear-free constitution in the first plebiscite on the Compact of Free Association to be held in Micronesia.

Belau's unique constitution, adopted in 1979 and upheld three times by popular vote, forbids the use of the islands for testing, storage or shipping of nuclear weapons or material unless such activity is approved by a 75 percent majority. The Compact of Free Association and its subsidiary agreements, which give the United States military rights on more than one-third of Belau's land base for 50 years, contradicted the constitution.

Only 51.3 percent of the voters favored the proposed nuclear agreement. A vote of 75 percent would have rescinded the constitutional ban on radioactive materials.

Both sides now expect to return to the negotiating table to resolve this contradiction. *New York Times*, 2/13/83



—Pacific Update

Honolulu, September 1982—The United States, the Marshall Islands and 1,000 Kwajalein landowners have reached an agreement whereby the landowners will end their 10-week re-occupation of Kwajalein Atoll.

"Operation Homecoming," which the demonstration was called, was undertaken to protest the terms of the atoll's lease to the United States; the slum conditions on Ebeye Island,

where Kwajalein landowners were relocated when the base was built; and the use of Kwajalein to develop nuclear weapons.

The negotiations achieved some significant changes in the Military-Use and Operating Rights Agreement, including the reduction of the agreement's term from 50 to 30 years; the return of six islands to their owners; and longer periods during which people may live on islands in the off-limits Mid-Atoll Corridor impact range.

The U.S. also accepted, after initially rejecting, the Marshallese government's demand that the ballot for the plebiscite offer a choice between "free association" and "independence." *New York Times*, 9/6/82; *Pacific Update*, 11/82.

Honolulu, December 1982—Plans to take the Compact of Free Association and subsidiary agreements to Marshall Islands voters have been delayed by a dispute over how to distribute compensation for the effects of 66 nuclear weapons tests in the 1940s and 1950s.

Suits for damages amounting to more than \$1 billion have been filed in federal courts on behalf of the people of Bikini and Enewetak, who were removed from their home islands in 1946 and 1947 to make way for the tests, and residents of other atolls who were exposed to radioactive fallout from the blasts.

Only \$150 million had been offered by the U.S. and accepted by the Marshallese government in full settlement of the claims.

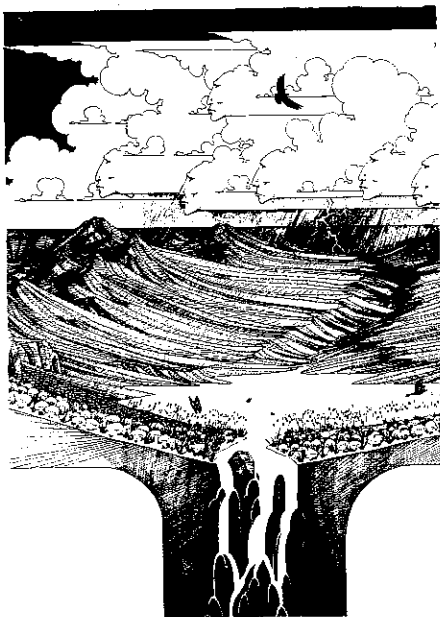
The Marshall Islands representatives had hoped to hold a plebiscite among the 32,000 islanders by December 1982. No future date has been set. *New York Times*, 12/20/82

For more information about the Campaign for a Nuclear-Free Pacific and its relation to disarmament issues, a good source is the new U.S. Nuclear-Free Pacific Network (942 Market St., Room 712, San Francisco, CA 94102). The Network distributes booklets and fact sheets from a number of Pacific resource and support groups.

RESOURCES

Native America

A Question of Survival—Nation Rebuilding in the Land of the Mohawks, describes the Mohawk people's recent struggle for self-sufficiency. Published by *Akwesasne Notes*, the newspaper of the Mohawk Nation, the booklet contains articles on the Akwesasne Freedom School, "Future Visions," "How Much Technology is Appropriate," and other issues. To obtain the report, send \$3.00 plus 50¢ postage to Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, NY 13683.



—*Neuwe Sogobia*

The Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association has released a report titled **Neuwe Sogobia: The Western Shoshone People and Land**. This publication, written by Dagmar Thorpe of the Tribal Sovereignty Program and designed and illustrated by Jack Malotte, chronicles the Western Shoshone's relationship to their land in the Great Basin of the American West from ancestral times through today. One of the most dangerous threats the Western Shoshone have faced is the taking of their land for the deployment of the MX missile. Copies of the report can be obtained from the association at Box 185, Battle Mountain, NV 89820, for \$5.00 plus 50¢ postage.

Where the Rivers Meet, produced by Films North, portrays the conflict between indigenous and industrial

systems of land use in the Mackenzie Valley of Canada's Northwest Territories. For more information, contact Films North, P.O. Box 2829, Yellowknife, N.W.T. Canada X0E 1H0.

Traditional Systems Today

Darrell Addison Posey of the Federal University of Maranhao in Brazil recently announced the formation of the **Ethnobiology Laboratory**, dedicated to recording and applying indigenous knowledge of tropical forests. According to Dr. Posey, the Laboratory is working "not only to preserve the rights of indigenous and folk societies to exist, but... to show that indigenous knowledge systems are of great potential in new strategies of ecologically and socially sound, sustained, development programs in the tropics." Interested persons should contact Dr. Posey at Laboratório de Etnobiologia, Departamento de Biologia, Universidade Federal do Maranhao, 65,000 Sao Luis-M.A., Brasil.

In the United States, the Annual Conference of the National Council for International Health, scheduled for June 13-15 in Washington, D.C., will focus this year on **Traditional Healing and Contemporary Medicine**. The program, one of the year's largest gatherings of international health professionals in the United States, will be devoted to such topics as traditional healing and technology adaptation. For details, write NCIH, 2121 Virginia Ave., NW, Suite 303, Washington, DC 20037.

Peasants Visit Peasants

In an experiment designed by **Innovations and Networks for Development (IRED)**, twelve peasants from villages in Upper Volta and Senegal visited peasants in India and Sri Lanka and farms in Europe for the purpose of cultural and technological exchange. For the IRED Forum Special Issue on the experiment (no. 4/5, August 1982), write IRED, P.O. Box 116, Ch-1211, Geneva 20, Switzerland. An annual subscription is \$15.

Malaysia

Sahabat Alam, or Friends of the Earth-Malaysia, is active in promot-

ing environmental and native concerns in that country. As in other parts of the world, hydroelectric projects in Malaysia threaten to destroy large areas of forest and displace up to 5,000 people from their traditional lands. Sahabat Alam publishes a quarterly newsletter (\$10) and recently released a World Environment Day report titled "The State of the Malaysian Environment 1981-82: The Deteriorating Quality of Life" (\$3). Write Sahabat Alam Malaysia, 37, Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia.

Transnational Companies

For people concerned about the activities of multinational corporations, two organizations in the U.S. offer valuable assistance. One is the **Multinational Monitor**, a monthly magazine covering both corporations and the activities of labor, consumer and community groups that are challenging corporate power. Individual subscriptions are \$15 and should be sent to Multinational Monitor, P.O. Box 19405, Washington, DC 20036.

Another organization is the **Data Center** in Oakland, California, which offers an extensive library collection on corporations, industries, and labor. For those who cannot visit the library, the Data Center provides search services, "customized clipping services" and corporate profiles. Write them at 464 19th St., Oakland CA 94612, for details on how they can help you.

Hard Times in Rural America

Mad River: Hard Times in Humboldt County, a new film by Fine Line Productions, is a portrait of a rural community facing economic and environmental disaster in a region dependent on the timber industry. According to the president of the International Woodworkers of America, "'Mad River' makes a significant contribution towards narrowing the gaps between labor and environmental objectives." "Mad River" includes a study guide prepared by Environmentalists for Full Employment, and is available from Fine Line Productions, 1101 Masonic Ave., San Francisco, CA 94117.

ARC: PEOPLE AND PROJECTS

The **Anthropology Resource Center** (ARC, Inc.) is a small public-interest research organization dedicated to making anthropological ideas and knowledge relevant to an understanding of the problems of the modern world. Based on the premise that if people know more about the world they will be more capable of changing it, ARC maintains an international network of contacts with indigenous peoples' organizations, human rights and environmental activists, scholars, journalists, and public policy makers. *People and Projects*, a regular column published by ARC since 1977, communicates to ARC members and subscribers some of the center's current activities and concerns.

TNC Conference

Last December, representatives of several organizations who attended the conference on "Native Resource Control and the Multinational Corporate Challenge" met in New York City to discuss a series of followup activities to the October conference in Washington. Among the projects discussed at this meeting were the establishment of an Indigenous Peoples' News Service based at the Mohawk Nation newspaper *Akwesasne Notes* in Rooseveltown, New York; the design of an international human rights advocacy program for indigenous peoples by the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington, D.C.; and, the distribution of information on the situation of indigenous peoples in Guatemala by the Tribal Sovereignty Program in Forestville, California.

ARC expects to publish the full proceedings of the Washington conference in both English and Spanish by the end of this year. Background documents prepared for the conference and a special summary of the proceedings published in the *Multinational Monitor* in December are available at a discount price of \$4 from ARC.

Yanomami Survival Fund

ARC Research Associate **Robin Wright** and **Claudia Andujar** of the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Indian Park (CCPY) in Sao Paulo continue to cooperate on

the international campaign for the land rights of the Yanomami Indians of Brazil. Current projects call for the publication of a series of reports by ARC, CCPY, and Survival International on the land and medical situations of the Brazilian and Venezuelan Yanomami.

Several schools, college classes, and churches have been raising small sums of money as an act of solidarity with the Yanomami land rights campaign. It has been suggested that these donations form the basis of a Yanomami Survival Fund, which would support work on behalf of the Yanomami in this country and abroad. For more information on the Fund, as well as ideas about how you can become more active in the Yanomami campaign, write Robin Wright at ARC.

Guatemala Reports

The Winter 1983 issue of the *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, which is devoted to a discussion of the current situation of indigenous peoples in Guatemala, contains an article by **Shelton Davis** on the social roots of the Guatemalan political violence. Copies of the quarterly can be obtained by sending \$2 to Cultural Survival, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Cultural Survival and ARC are now translating a report on the massacre of over 300 Chuj-speaking Indians at the Finca San Francisco in Huehuetenango province last year. The center has also recently compiled a collection of statements by Guatemalan Indian leaders and organiza-

tions for possible publication by *Akwesasne Notes* and the Tribal Sovereignty Program.

Copies of the June 1982 report by Shelton Davis and ARC Research Assistant **Julie Hodson**, *Witnesses to Political Violence in Guatemala: The Suppression of a Rural Development Movement*, can still be obtained by sending \$5 to Oxfam America, 115 Broadway, Boston, MA 02116.

Refugee Relief

George Manuel, the Ambassador at Large for the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, writes that every Canadian dollar contributed to assist the thousands of Mayan Indian refugees in Chiapas, Mexico, will be matched by \$3 from the Canadian government's International Development Agency (CIDA). Leaders of the Dene Nation in Canada who attended the Washington conference last October also returned to their people to establish a Guatemalan Indian Refugee Relief Fund. For more information on these Canadian solidarity efforts, write George Manuel, 8187 Lawrence Lane, Mission, B.C., and/or **Cindy Gilday**, Dene Nation Communications Department, Box 2338, Yellowknife, N.W.T. X0E 1H0, Canada.

Environmental Conference

One of the best-received issues of the *ARC Bulletin* was the final one (Bulletin 11, May 1982) on "Hydroelectrics in Central and South America." Co-editors Robin Wright and **Alaka Wali** are now following up on that effort by organizing a workshop on "Hydroelectrics and Native Peoples" at the Environmental Policy Institute's Annual Conference on Rivers, Dams, and National Water Policy in Washington, D.C., on April 8-10. The workshop, which will include the participation of activists as well as scholars, will present case materials about the social impacts of large-scale hydroelectric projects on native peoples in Brazil, Panama, Mexico, the Philippines, Canada, Australia, and West Africa. Several of the presentations from the workshop will appear in the June 1983 issue of *The Global Reporter* (Volume 1, Number 2).



'Our church group has the most interesting project.'
'Oh, yeah?'
'Yes, we run Guatemala.'

ARC Publications

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