

## Center for World Indigenous Studies

March 11th, 2002 edition of the Fourth World Dialog

**Sandra  
Baker &  
Associates** Court Reporters  
and Legal  
Video Service

4344 Memory Lane West, Tacoma, Washington 98466

Tacoma 253.564.8494, Seattle 206.622.9919, Bremerton 360.373.9032, Olympia 360.352.0099, Fax 253.564.8483

1 MR. RYSER: I am Rudolph Ryser, Chair and  
2 Executive Director of the Center for World Indigenous  
3 Studies. This is the March 11th, 2002 edition of the  
4 Fourth World dialog.

5 For this broadcast, our subject is World War and  
6 the Fourth World. Are indigenous nations are becoming  
7 targets of the War on Terrorism? Are Fourth World  
8 nations the enemy of the state?

9 To answer these and other questions, we have as  
10 <sup>our</sup> guests on ~~this edition of the~~ Fourth World Dialogue  
11 some of the leading observers on the subject. My guests  
12 include three distinguished observers and analysts from  
13 the fields of anthropology, international politics and  
14 law.

15 To my far left is Dr. David Price, an associate  
16 professor at St. Martin's college in Lacey, Washington  
17 where he teaches courses in anthropology and social  
18 justice. Dr. Price studied anthropology and  
19 intellectual history as an undergraduate at the  
20 Evergreen State College, <sup>He</sup> and received his AM from the  
21 University of Chicago, and Ph.D. from the University of  
22 Florida.

23 He has conducted cultural anthropological and  
24 archeological fieldwork and research in the United  
25 States and the Middle East. He is the author of "Atlas

1 of World Cultures: A Geographical Guide to Ethnographic  
2 Literature." Duke University Press will publish his  
3 next book. In this upcoming volume, Dr. Price documents  
4 the US government's attempts to suppress academic  
5 freedom as he charges. His new book is entitled "Cold  
6 War Witch Hunts: The FBI Persecution of Activist  
7 Anthropologists."

8 To my immediate right is David Martinez, an  
9 attorney, journalist, poet and political activists born  
10 in the Philippines. While in law school, he organized  
11 indigent farmers on his island of Negros against sugar  
12 barons and politicians seeking to seize the farmlands.  
13 He passed the bar in 1970, taught law, and provided  
14 legal advice to indigenous people in the Philippines and  
15 settlers.

16 After denouncing the martial law declarations of  
17 the Marco's government in September 1972, Mr. Martinez  
18 was immediately arrested and jailed. After two months  
19 in jail, he escaped to Malaysia and was there  
20 incarcerated for three months before being repatriated  
21 to the Philippines. He was listed on the "Top 30 Most  
22 Wanted" of the Marco's government before the government  
23 itself collapsed.

24 He has served as the Director for Refugee Affairs  
25 of the Movement for a Free Philippines, and he has

1 served as the editor of Asian American News in Southern  
2 California. Mr. Martinez is now the Secretary General  
3 of ASIN, A-S-I-N, the Alliance for Separate and  
4 Independent Nations, Philippines, about which we shall  
5 learn more in our discussions later.

6 To my far right is Dr. Steve Niva, professor of  
7 international politics and Middle East studies at the  
8 Evergreen State College. He writes regularly for Middle  
9 East Report and is an associate at the Middle East  
10 Research Center and Information Project in Washington,  
11 D.C.

12 Dr. Niva has lived and worked in the Middle East  
13 and has spent time in the occupied Palestinian  
14 territories where he has focused on popular resistance  
15 to the Israeli military occupation. He published  
16 several articles immediately following the September  
17 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon  
18 in US newspapers and journals abroad including Common  
19 Dreams, the Jordan Times, the Middle East Times of Cairo  
20 and the Globe and Daily Mail of South Africa.

21 Welcome to the broadcast all of you. Well, now  
22 let's begin.

23 It is now six months since the war on terrorism  
24 was declared by US President George Bush. Local  
25 conflicts in Israel, the Philippines, Somalia, the

1 Russian Republic, and elsewhere have intensified in  
2 these months, and the US government is now assigning  
3 small commando troops to support the governments in  
4 these areas. What does this mean for indigenous nations  
5 in the Middle East, Philippines, Eastern Africa, and the  
6 Caucasus? Big question.

7 Would you like to start, Steve?

8 DR. NIVA: By and large, it doesn't mean a  
9 lot of very good things for indigenous people. I think  
10 indigenous nations around the world confronted clearly  
11 for the last 500 years a number of difficult situations  
12 that range from genocides to domination (inaudible) to  
13 economic devastation.

14 In that context we have to think about these  
15 things, but I think in particular since September 11th,  
16 indigenous nations are going to be particularly impacted  
17 by this increasing militarization of international  
18 affairs, in a sense, of the status quo. Which means  
19 that indigenous nations that have not had the right to  
20 self-determination respected, have not had the struggles  
21 (inaudible) respected and resist the status quo in any  
22 particular way, I think, are now going to be forced  
23 under the rupert (phonetic) of being terrorists  
24 according to this war on terrorism.

25 And we've already seen a number of countries

1 around the world using the war on terrorism and extra  
2 military support from the United States and other  
3 countries to do just that, to suppress groups which are  
4 challenging the status quo in some particular way.

5 MR. RYSER: David Martinez, he's opened  
6 up, I think, a whole broad panorama, but perhaps from  
7 your perspective you might be able to elaborate on say  
8 the impact (inaudible).

9 MR. MARTINEZ: Well, I believe I can  
10 elaborate on that much more particularly because in the  
11 last few months, as you already know, 650 American  
12 troops were sent to the Philippines ironically to train  
13 these special Filipino military contingent of 1,200 men,  
14 which would translate to approximately one military  
15 advisor, American military advisor for every two  
16 military soldiers. I know that our people are not that  
17 dense.

18 The truth of the matter is, as far as my  
19 particular county is concerned, we have had an authentic  
20 struggle, military struggle for independence at least in  
21 our time since 1968.

22 Very recently now, under the last decade or so, an  
23 extremist fringe element of bandits known to the  
24 Filipinos' world as Abu Sayyaf have engaged in adamantly  
25 heinous crimes, kidnapping, beheading, ransoms, that

1 kind of stuff. And everybody, including the Philippine  
2 government and media, recognizes the distinction between  
3 these rebels and terrorists.

4 After September 11th, following the language of  
5 President Bush, President Arroyo locked them up, and  
6 worse than that the media followed suit.

7 It's so surprising because these countries are run  
8 by one group (inaudible) and they speak the same  
9 language. Where the president goes, wherever the  
10 United States, (inaudible) will always follow. And  
11 that's tragic, I think. It's tragic when -- when a  
12 people are struggling for genuine self-rule who are  
13 resisting oppression of the greatest magnitude, it's not  
14 denial or neglect. Their land is being destroyed, their  
15 crops are being monopolized by commerce. Their leaders  
16 are being systematically singled out, you know, bribed,  
17 coerced or removed from office.

18 These people are trying to find a voice. That  
19 voice, after 9/11, because of this muddling of the line  
20 between the rebels and the terrorists, is on the verge  
21 of getting lost.

22 MR. RYSER: Well, how does that, though,  
23 affect what people actually do, that is there are 600  
24 troops of the Americans sent in, and the Philippines  
25 government has 1,200 troops. They're obviously fighting

1           against one small group. They're not necessary fighting  
2           against other groups. Isn't that the case?

3                       MR. MARTINEZ: Well, it is and it isn't  
4           because the tragedy is -- normally the Third World  
5           country -- I mean you hear, what, "We don't like  
6           intervention." In the Philippines it's very interesting  
7           because although most Filipinos were happy to see the  
8           American bases leave the country in 1991, today under  
9           very special circumstances, most of the Filipinos are  
10          welcoming the American soldiers. Why? Not because we  
11          want intervention, not because -- not for any other  
12          reason except the Philippines, the Christians -- I'm  
13          sorry to say this, but it is a Christian Philippine  
14          government, has been too corrupt, too incompetent to  
15          deal with these terrorist problems. Not only that,  
16          they're taking advantage of this small, (inaudible) to  
17          persuade President Bush that these people are followers  
18          of Al Queda even though the are extremely tenuous.

19                      And he's happy to accommodate her because it's --  
20          it's an easy front. It's easy to win. He can't  
21          possibly lose. You have 90 soldiers in the jungle. I  
22          mean (inaudible) it's much more severe. So it's a  
23          combination of (inaudible) one has to say yes. If the  
24          Americans can help us get rid of these terrorists, fine,  
25          but at the same time, he's concerned about one thing



1 (inaudible) Filipinos, by and large, still feel that the  
2 only way this thing could work is if the Americans are  
3 honest with their intentions because if they're going to  
4 continue (inaudible) oil that remains untapped, oil and  
5 gas reserves which remains untapped because of the  
6 continuing civil war.

7 So a lot of people are saying, "Are they here to  
8 help us get rid of the terrorists, to rescue the two  
9 Americans, or are they here to make sure that in the  
10 exploitation of the oil and gas in the future, there  
11 will be Americans that's (inaudible?)"

12 MR. RYSER: David Price, how do you see  
13 the impact of this war on indigenous people?

14 MR. PRICE: Well, to follow up on a phrase  
15 that David just used, there is a great blurring that is  
16 going on between what's being called terrorist and  
17 what's being called freedom fighter or people who are  
18 fighting for or working for legitimacy, straight issue  
19 of legitimacy all around the world.

20 We should all have great concern that there really  
21 hasn't been a definition of terrorism that has been put  
22 out there by the Bush administration or by anyone in the  
23 coalition. It's simply a phrase that everyone in the  
24 discussion seems to have preconceived notions to the  
25 degree that they don't have to stop and define what it

1 is. The reasons for that are fairly obvious and that is  
2 once you start defining the term behaviorally rather  
3 than logically, you start talking about using force to  
4 get a political cause rectified. And when you start  
5 doing that, you have to start questioning the actions of  
6 what are seen as legitimate military forces.

7 So the closest thing we get to a definition of  
8 terrorism is something like illegitimate military  
9 forces, which raise all sorts of questions about what is  
10 legitimacy.

11 You know, as an anthropologist and someone who's  
12 been studying issues of indigenous people and people in  
13 multiethnic regions for some time, I have very grave  
14 concerns about what this so-called war on terrorism is  
15 going to mean to indigenous people around the world.  
16 We're already seeing just in Europe, among the vast,  
17 that there have been tremendous crackdowns on, you know,  
18 with people in Spain and in France that are being  
19 routinely rounded up and arrested at much higher rates  
20 than even a year ago. A year ago the rates were  
21 unacceptable in terms of getting people due process and  
22 such.

23 The other question I have is with this undefined  
24 notion of terrorism -- has to do with looking at in the  
25 past the types of activities here in the new world, here

1 in North American that have been deemed terrorist.  
2 We're dealing with indigenous peoples. You know, in the  
3 past people have been forbidden by a force of law to  
4 teach native languages, religious practices have been  
5 outlawed, you know, here in the Northwest. In British  
6 Columbia the practice of potlatch was outlawed for  
7 almost 100 years as a terrorists activity.

8 We're entering an era now where to use the term  
9 "terrorist" gives a great deal of legitimacy to the  
10 American government to go and do acts that would have  
11 been unthinkable just, you know, six months and one  
12 day -- one day ago. We've entered a new era where, you  
13 know, a media that was already not very critical of what  
14 was going on with the administration in Washington have  
15 now reached new levels of looking the other way with  
16 their inconsistencies and not asking for, you know,  
17 information.

18 I (inaudible) freedom information act very  
19 regularly to get information from the government, and  
20 the freedom information act is dead. Several months ago  
21 I've been trying to get federal documents that right now  
22 the government won't even pretend they're going to go  
23 through the motions of getting. All of this is in the  
24 name of, you know, higher security for the good of all.

25 I think all of us need to be very careful and very

1 aware for just what this means for indigenous peoples,  
2 you know, both here within this county and all around  
3 the world because as this war hysteria increases, we're  
4 seeing the Bush administration talk about a multi --  
5 multitheater war with as many as six or seven nations  
6 around world. We can see what's starting in the  
7 Philippines happening in places like Yemen, happening in  
8 places like Somalia.

9 MR. MARTINEZ: Georgia.

10 MR. PRICE: Georgia, and in some sense  
11 what may be happening is, you know, a payoff for leaders  
12 such as Putin, you know, from Russia. Letting us -- him  
13 joining our coalition will allow him to deal with his  
14 troubles with Chechnya which are very much, you know,  
15 indigent people contest (inaudible) you know, regions  
16 where this is going on. And that's a very great danger  
17 is that we may be willing -- the United States may be  
18 willing to look the other way while we allow, you know,  
19 well-armed militaries to create mass acts of genocide  
20 against minority populations within their own border.

21 DR. NIVA: A few other pressing examples  
22 right now, just to add briefly to what Dave was talking  
23 about, is human rights (inaudible) just came out with a  
24 report saying that this is near degradation of human  
25 rights among countries who have joined the United States

1 in the war on terrorism and a few (inaudible) would be  
2 the weaker community in China.

3 China has been given a free hand. If they look at  
4 it the other way, they've been given a free hand to  
5 crack down on the weaker people in the far west of  
6 China. And in Turkey, the price of admission to join  
7 the club will be a free hand to do what they will with  
8 the Kurdish population in the Southeast. Israel has  
9 immediately taken advantage of this by launching a very  
10 widespread -- widespread attack on Palestinians since  
11 September 11th. And the list goes on. So this is a  
12 very -- this is where the most immediate impact on  
13 indigenous people can be found on this quid pro quo on  
14 the war of terrorism. If you join the United States,  
15 there will be a blind eye turned (inaudible) exactly the  
16 same thing.

17 MR. RYSER: But isn't it so that in the  
18 case of Israel, in the case of the Russian Federation,  
19 even in the case of the Philippines, the position taken  
20 by the government is that they're merely defending  
21 themselves against radical elements that seek to undo  
22 the government and breakdown democracy and undermine  
23 freedom? Isn't that the case, Steve?

24 DR. NIVA: Well, that's what the  
25 government will say, and indeed the grain truth in that

1 is that there have -- like in Abkhasians in the  
2 Philippines or like -- certain groups like or Hamas or  
3 Islamic jihad in Palestine or certain elements of the  
4 PKK in turkey which is the opposition pro-Kurdish group  
5 in Turkey. Indeed there has been some heinous crimes  
6 committed, brutal acts of aggression and terror, but  
7 when you look at the activities of these governments,  
8 it's not just against those groups even -- sometimes  
9 it's not against those groups at all. It's actually  
10 against the citizens, the civilians, the masses of  
11 people from those particular groups, those indigenous  
12 groups or ethnic groups. And in fact, often it's  
13 directed towards suppressing their rights to their  
14 language, suppressing their rights to organize  
15 themselves, to self-rule, to self-determination. It's  
16 usually when you investigate a number of those examples  
17 that I just mentioned you find it's primarily --  
18 primarily it's not a military conflict that they're very  
19 concerned with. It's primarily the denial of the rights  
20 of another group of people within their particular  
21 territory.

22 MR. MARTINEZ: If I may a little bit.  
23 Anyone who studies the story of indigenous resistance in  
24 the Philippines in the last, say, 20, 30 years, will  
25 very quickly find that the majority of the so-called

1 attacks or violent reactions of indigenous peoples was  
2 never directed against the government, against the  
3 state, per se. The collingus (phonetic) of either -- of  
4 the country in the Philippines for example were  
5 resisting dam builders. Hamas or the indigenous  
6 peoples, non-Christian peoples in Mindanao were  
7 resisting building plantations, banana plantations.  
8 They believed or perceived they were grabbing their  
9 land, they were, and forest concessionaires. And it was  
10 very, very seldom where they actually encountered and  
11 killed soldiers or fired on military installation.

12 In other words, what I'm trying to say is that  
13 these so-called acts of terrorism, many of them put  
14 under one heading, are actually anti -- you know,  
15 anticapitalism, antiglobalism, anti-intrusion, but now  
16 they're under the same bundle and made into one liquid  
17 for everybody to drink.

18 MR. RYSER: David Price, you used to have  
19 some thoughts about that.

20 MR. PRICE: Well, you know, there's also  
21 part of the current problem is that with September 11th,  
22 America essentially walked in on the middle of a very  
23 long and complicated movie and wanted to pretend as if  
24 it suddenly understood, as if it had been attacked and  
25 blind-sided out of the blue, where, in fact, America,

1 you know, for a few hundred years has been involved --  
2 certainly in the last 100 years certainly the period of  
3 Neocolonialism around the world has been around  
4 interfering and running the affairs of other nations  
5 around the world.

6 One of the problems, I think, for Americans right  
7 now, understanding these sort of reactions that are  
8 coming from indigenous peoples around the world is that  
9 when these dams are being built, which, you know, move  
10 people out of the places where they've been living for a  
11 very long time, when you bring in plantations, when you  
12 bring in a foreign economic system, it has a very  
13 serious impact on people. And that they're going to  
14 react to this in some sort of organized way is natural.

15 Unfortunately to most Americans, again, they're  
16 coming in very late to the picture. They see some --  
17 they see some news footage, or they read something in  
18 the newspaper, they hear a story on the radio where  
19 someone is lashing out, out of these condition, and  
20 they're seen as an aggressor rather than someone who's  
21 reacting to a situation or perhaps defending themselves  
22 against an intrusion. And that's a big part of what's  
23 missing, I think, in our analysis, that you see in the  
24 newspapers. And there's certainly, in terms of the  
25 analysis part of it, what's missing is you really don't



1 get the depth of the American involvement in these  
2 situations.

3 I mean, I know, you know, here in this town, here  
4 in Olympia, Washington, the local newspaper from time to  
5 time will carry these odd little side-bars that they get  
6 from the cadet press where they talk about, you know,  
7 "Osama Bin Laden," you know, "ten years of terror," and  
8 they also want to start ten years ago or nine years ago.  
9 They don't want to go further back and look at his links  
10 to Mejaheddin and their links to the Central  
11 Intelligence Agency. It's always we want to start in  
12 this very convenient period and not look at the extent  
13 to which American foreign policy has been embedded in  
14 the creation of these situations.

15 MR. RYSER: Don't you think, David and  
16 Steve and you as well and Dave Martinez, don't you all  
17 think that it is necessary from the point of view of the  
18 Unites States, which has also been attacked in New York,  
19 in the Pentagon in September, isn't it necessary from  
20 the leadership point of view to define some kind of  
21 enemy to justify a defensive position?

22 MR. PRICE: Well, I've -- I think it's  
23 very natural to want to do that. I think the way that  
24 our government has chosen to do that is counterintuitive  
25 and very odd. If you look at the individuals who -- the

1 commandos who took over this airplane, these series of  
2 airplanes, four, and, you know, crashed them or  
3 attempted to crash them into these buildings, all but, I  
4 believe, one or two were Saudi Arabians. It's very  
5 interesting. And now we're involved in this war in  
6 Afghanistan, talking about taking drastic action in Iraq  
7 and cleaning up a good half dozen scores that have been  
8 left hanging out there for quite a period of time.

9           While it does appear that Al Qaeda was connected  
10 very directly to these actions, Al Qaeda has been  
11 operating in Afghanistan, but the real tie to this is  
12 Saudi Arabia. What we're doing in Afghanistan is a very  
13 convoluted way of -- of dealing with this.

14           Your question is: What are we supposed to do?  
15 Aren't we supposed to strike back at someone and so on?  
16 Well, I do think we should go out and get the  
17 organizations that are responsible for this, but doing a  
18 prolonged military and paramilitary attack on a, you  
19 know, largely gutted, you know, shell of a nation,  
20 Afghanistan, doesn't really get to that. I think we  
21 were very quick to do it. I think the United States  
22 took every opportunity it could to use military action  
23 without trying to use the royal court or other  
24 legislative bodies to deal with this situation. So I  
25 believe something should have been done. I'm not

1 exactly sure what this accomplishes by going out and  
2 once again, you know, bombing Afghanistan.

3 DR. NIVA: Yeah. I think that the biggest  
4 danger that we're beginning to see, and I think that  
5 biggest danger that -- particularly on the topic of  
6 indigenous people that they should be concerned about is  
7 that what is happening with the war on terrorism is no  
8 longer -- and I would say a number of months ago became  
9 no longer about September 11th. It became no longer  
10 about responding to the particular group and network  
11 that was responsible for these atrocious acts, I mean  
12 which -- I mean I will consider would fall into the  
13 range of crimes against humanity. They should be  
14 prosecuted as such, as war crimes.

15 The groups that were responsible for September  
16 11th are very isolated, marginalized, fringe groups of a  
17 couple of networks which engaged in this operation.  
18 That can be handled, as David was somewhat suggesting, I  
19 think, through international sort of criminal law  
20 approaches, a manhunt, a multinational/multilateral  
21 coordination of police investigative units, et cetera,  
22 et cetera.

23 What we've seen instead of this model is not only  
24 beginning the attacks on Afghanistan which already take  
25 away from September 11th, because the Taliban had

1 nothing to do with September 11th other than being sort  
2 of, I would argue, paid off by Bin Laden not to stop  
3 him. And -- and now the talk of Somalia, of Yemen, of  
4 Iraq, of the Philippines, et cetera, there's absolutely  
5 no link at all to the particular networks around Bin  
6 Laden, around Al Queda and these people.

7 So I think this is the danger that we're trying to  
8 focus on. Indeed I think the United States would be  
9 absolutely legitimate in responding to the particular  
10 attacker and the groups that committed these terrible  
11 crimes, but outside of that, I don't think it's  
12 justified, and in fact, I think the United States is now  
13 beginning to create precisely what it says it's  
14 fighting. It's creating anti-American sentiment. It's  
15 creating hatred. It's created more bloodshed, and in  
16 fact, I don't see Native Americans more secure.

17 MR. RYSER: Go ahead, David Martinez.

18 MR. MARTINEZ: I came to this county as a  
19 refugee in '74 and still have -- still feel that I have  
20 a foreigner's perspective, so let me share that with  
21 you. The way I view -- the way I view America --  
22 America's method of defining the enemy is this way:  
23 Every time this county feels that it grieved or is  
24 victimized, it proceeds with a very, very broad brush to  
25 demonize and personify the enemy. Before -- before

1 America got involved with the Second World War, most  
2 Americans didn't care which way it would go. This  
3 country became isolationists.

4 And Churchill was begging, you know, the American  
5 leadership to come in and save Europe, and by and large,  
6 because of public opinion, the leadership said, "We  
7 can't even if we wanted to." When Pearl Harbor  
8 happened, something you can be certain was as  
9 devastating to the conscious of the civilized world as  
10 September 11th, it's said that Churchill fell on his  
11 knees because now America had an excuse, a legitimate  
12 excuse to go to war.

13 All of a sudden, the American media culture, the  
14 Japanese were no longer immigrants, as a people.  
15 Japanese were the enemy. Hirohito was a monster. The  
16 entire viewpoint of the people and its government  
17 changed. Now, the same thing happened in Iran after the  
18 taking of the hostages. This fellow who so many, many  
19 American journalists and scholars looked at as a -- the  
20 voice of the Iranian people, the Ayatollah, suddenly  
21 become the most evil man in the world. And there was no  
22 adjective in the dictionary that was -- then came  
23 Saddam's turn. Today it's the generic terrorist that is,  
24 you know, evil. Of course, there was a time that it was  
25 Russia, USSR, the evil empire of President Ronald Regan.

1           Here's this American fantasy every time it's hurt  
2 or perceives itself to be hurt, to look at the world as  
3 black and white, no gray. But 95 percent of the world  
4 is gray. People who are not American or (inaudible)  
5 these are people who just want to make a living and want  
6 to be left alone without being pushed around or kicked  
7 around or exploited even by foreigners or their domestic  
8 (inaudible). And thus at the end I wish this county and  
9 the public, because politicians merely reacted to the  
10 public, to learn to listen to the world because the  
11 world, as that picture on the wall shows us, is not  
12 black and white.

13                   MR. RYSER: When Osama Bin Laden said  
14 publicly on October 12th, 1996 in a declaration of  
15 jihad, "It is the duty now on every tribe in the Arabian  
16 Peninsula to fight jihad and cleanse the land from these  
17 crusader occupiers," he spoke to people who had been  
18 under the dominating or in the association of the Saudi  
19 family for more than 50 years. He urges the tribes in  
20 the Arabian Peninsula to defend themselves against the  
21 Saudis and other governments who would sell the wealth  
22 of the land, as he charges, and their souls for money  
23 and recognition from the United States of America.

24           Does this quote, which Osama Bin Laden is  
25 purported to have made, does this suggest that Bin Laden

1 seeks to use tribes in the Middle East, or suggests that  
2 he wants to use indigenous people anywhere in the world  
3 to overthrow governments in Saudi Arabian government or  
4 Iraq or any others for that matter?

5 DR. NIVA: Well, his use of the word  
6 "tribe" is kind of interesting. I mean, I think, that's  
7 sometimes a phrase used to describe particular groups in  
8 Saudi Arabia that came under this new Saudi government,  
9 which was set up in 1932 when Saudi Arabia came into  
10 existence. I think -- I think Bin Laden himself, if we  
11 just take him as an example, his call is to Muslim  
12 peoples to unite. This is his call. In fact, his call  
13 would be to transcend -- I believe, transcend tribal  
14 differences and unite under the banner of Islam.

15 And his vision -- which is a very popular notion,  
16 I think, amongst many Islamic activists certainly since  
17 the 1970s. There's a growing movement in the Arab and  
18 Muslim world towards reclaiming sort of their cultural  
19 heritage and throwing off the legacy of imperialism  
20 which they saw internalized by the governments that were  
21 ruling them. They felt the governments were trying to  
22 westernize them and the governments were largely  
23 dominated by external powers, mostly the United  
24 States -- if you take the Middle East, mostly by the  
25 United States which took over from Britain as the kind

1 of imperial power in the region after World War II.

2 So Bin Laden's message draws upon, I think, that  
3 kind of notion of uniting with some peoples particularly  
4 in the Middle East to get rid of foreign occupation and  
5 its legacy. And so I think this is -- I think this is  
6 the main focus.

7 Let me just say, though, that his particular brand  
8 of Islam is not a widely accepted nor is it is very  
9 popular vision of Islam. He, like a number of radical  
10 Muslim activists in the Middle East, got their training,  
11 as David was mentioning, in the 1980s in Afghanistan  
12 fighting the Soviet Union, which was a CIA-funded  
13 operation where the Pakistanis and the Saudis, in  
14 particular, wore the gloves of the operation with their  
15 particular ideologists. And they promoted this sort of  
16 Taliban style, very reductionist, very crude notion of  
17 Islam and Islamic practice that certainly it's not  
18 accepted in Iran, and it's not accepted in most of the  
19 Arab world. It's not accepted in most Muslim countries  
20 around the world.

21 So I think that's the nature of his call is to  
22 overthrow the regimes in the region under this banner of  
23 Islam. I think there's an element of trying to appeal  
24 to various peoples as their -- as their particular  
25 nationality or tribal origin, but I think it's this



1 broader message.

2 MR. RYSER: Does it not, though, suggest,  
3 as you observed, that in one sense Bin Laden is  
4 describing his goal as not much different than you  
5 described the west goal as being, and that is the  
6 harmonization of tribes into unified groups that don't  
7 have cultural identity to state onto themselves? Is he  
8 not in effect by his assertion here making essentially  
9 the same claim?

10 DR. NIVA: Yeah, if I could just very  
11 briefly. I think you're onto something there. I think  
12 one way of thinking of Osama Bin Laden and what he  
13 represents, and, again, I should stress it's a very  
14 minority small point of view in the broader Muslim  
15 world, which is one of the largest religions on the  
16 planet. And his is a very small and marginal view, but  
17 someone once said that Bin Laden in some ways represents  
18 kind of the -- the rearview mirror image of what the  
19 West has done in the Middle East and the Muslim world in  
20 particular. He's sort of its extreme counter-response  
21 in a way reflecting, I think, a lot of the negative  
22 things that came through colonialism. He sort of  
23 represents in reverse.

24 MR. RYSER: But still in one sense the  
25 position he seems to be taking is not at all different

1 than the kind of position that other bodies might take  
2 saying the indigenous population are out to harmonize  
3 under the leadership and control of some state or some  
4 particular belief.

5 David Price?

6 MR. PRICE: There may be something else  
7 going on also at the same time and that is, you know, in  
8 the last six months, we've all sort of forgotten what  
9 the original statements were from Osama Bin Laden in  
10 terms of his reasons for coordinating these attacks.  
11 And one of them was dealing with issues of the  
12 Palestinian people. In the west, you know, this caused  
13 great discomfort and people wanted to say, "Well, that's  
14 a new complaint for him so let's not really address that  
15 because all along he hasn't been concerned about that."

16 But his fundamental complaint was to get the  
17 United States military presence out of Saudi Arabia  
18 which, of course, the United States had agreed to do  
19 within less than a year of the end of the Gulf War in  
20 1991. This is very clear. James Baker, secretary of  
21 state, made this very clear that we would be leaving.  
22 They didn't want another (inaudible). They didn't want  
23 another one of these, you know, occupational military  
24 forces, but in fact, the government stayed there. The  
25 military stayed there, stayed there in great force.

1           And our government has been very, very successful  
2 in erasing from our memories that this was, you know,  
3 one of the prime reasons that we had a  
4 military-occupying government in Saudi Arabia which is a  
5 very volatile place for us to be given Saudi Arabia's  
6 political religious position as the guardian and the  
7 keeper of Islamic wholly places. And for us to be there  
8 is not a minor detail. So when he's making these  
9 speeches of, "I," you know, "call for every tribe to  
10 come forth and such," he's very much talking in a  
11 colloquial, you know, tongue saying, "I want the common  
12 person to help me get rid of these people who are  
13 militarily occupying our country," which the United  
14 States is. And it's very unpopular that we're doing  
15 that.

16                   MR. RYSER: So as I think about it, Osama  
17 Bin Laden represents a kind of movement, a small  
18 movement perhaps but a movement nevertheless, an  
19 organization, a nonstate body that seeks to unite those  
20 it possesses in an effort to preserve Islam, and for  
21 that then, we are to accept that it is a legitimate act  
22 to then attack different entities in the world, whether  
23 it be a ship or a building or a business or something  
24 like that, to advance this agenda.

25                   Is it not conceivable that we're in fact looking

1 at -- I hate the word except that it fits -- an  
2 asymmetrical or unbalanced conflict really between, in  
3 effect, a movement and states' interests and both of  
4 them seeking to achieve essentially the same kind of  
5 goal even though they aren't exactly the same goal? The  
6 same kind of goal meaning the unification of other  
7 interests under single banners. And so they're feeling  
8 the competition is over who will win the flag. Do you  
9 understand the question?

10 MR. MARTINEZ: Yes.

11 MR. RYSER: Go ahead, David.

12 MR. MARTINEZ: If I may very quickly. I  
13 think the first thing that -- that we need to do is make  
14 a very clear dividing line between the motive and the  
15 method. Osama Bin Laden, the motivator, is  
16 understandably a hero not only in the Muslim world, but  
17 among a lot of other people who may not be Muslims but  
18 who have been kicked around far too long because  
19 basically what this message is it's an impulse for  
20 freedom stripped of rhetoric and ideology and religion.  
21 It's the impulse for freedom. The desire for one's  
22 destiny not to be decided by someone else. That's the  
23 motive. It's a very powerful universal motive.

24 The method chosen by him and his, you know,  
25 loyalists, this particular Al Qaeda group, is what's

1 not -- that's the one that does not enjoy popular  
2 support. The problem is that the media lumps the man  
3 and method together, and worse makes a judgment based on  
4 the behavior of its worst members.

5 And so what happens is the legitimate aspiration  
6 of very many indigenous peoples and captive nations get  
7 lost in this fight between this so-call, somebody's  
8 called it, clash of civilizations. It gets muddled and  
9 lost, but this resistance is going to find expression  
10 here and there sometimes pulled legitimately. Sometimes  
11 pulled illegitimately. Sometimes properly and  
12 improperly, politely and heinously. They're going to  
13 find expression for as long as indigenous peoples and  
14 those who speak for them are denied a forum through  
15 which they can vent their frustrations and a formula by  
16 which they can achieve the equity that they desire.

17 MR. RYSER: Earlier, you were all making  
18 observations that indigenous nations, often as a  
19 consequence of developmental pressures, corporations  
20 developing in the jungle, oil businesses being developed  
21 in the jungle or deserts, will sometimes, because of  
22 dams in the Luzon province in the Philippines, respond  
23 to that with either political action in the form of  
24 demonstrations and absent the ability to affect change  
25 will then use their own force and violence to attempt

1 that change in that development.

2 The United States State Department released a  
3 report just this last month where it tabulated over the  
4 last ten years the number of deaths of gruesome notion  
5 and a number of deaths worldwide that were a direct  
6 consequence of so-called terrorist acts, and they were  
7 characterized according to the target that was hit. And  
8 this instance the target might be business. It might be  
9 government. It might be some other kind of other public  
10 institution. It might be private institutions.

11 85 percent, by our count, of the incidents that  
12 have taken place before September 11th, and that was in  
13 the thousands worldwide, were business entities that  
14 were affected, 85 percent. Now, on February 27th, US  
15 Secretary Paul H. O'Neil was quoted in the New York  
16 Times to say, "Our crackdown on terrorists is blind to  
17 nationality and origin. It's a net being cast on all  
18 terrorist parasites that threaten our allies and our  
19 national security."

20 Now, it strikes me that your observations earlier  
21 about some of the targets, namely the business and/or  
22 corporate interests, is bolstered by the State  
23 Department report which lists the number of incident.  
24 And now we have the secretary of the treasury, who  
25 apparently quite on his own, but perhaps with the

1 endorsement of the president's office, decides that that  
2 broad net that you referred to, David Price, earlier,  
3 now is really cast over virtually anything and  
4 everything that threatens as they say "allies and our  
5 national security." What do you make of that?

6 MR. PRICE: Well, it really is an  
7 extension of that very vaguely precise line George Bush  
8 made within days of September 11th, "You are either with  
9 us or you're with the terrorists." It's an amazing  
10 statement. It precludes any sort of defense to say, "If  
11 you want to oppose me in any way, you are with the  
12 demons. You can -- you can only side with me. We can  
13 have no disagreement on this issue. To have  
14 disagreement is to support terrorists." And when the  
15 State Department takes this formula, this is what they  
16 do with it. They take it and they look at business  
17 interests. You're either, you know, in favor of our  
18 expansions in ways we're going to have them or you're  
19 with terrorists. If there's anyone who's opposing the  
20 expansion of business interest in an international way,  
21 you're with the terrorists.

22 If you look at the extent to which the police,  
23 paramilitary police forces in this country have been  
24 allowed to expand their reach when there are protests  
25 against international monetary fund and world bank, you

1 know, far behind what we saw at the WTO police riots in  
2 Seattle a couple of years ago just in the last few  
3 months in New York and D.C. with these protests, you've  
4 had an extraordinary show of force to the point where  
5 these individuals who are, you know, out protesting the  
6 expansion of capitalism in this international mobile and  
7 global world are being seen as terrorists and treated as  
8 such by the police in these situations.

9 MR. RYSER: Is it possible by virtue of  
10 the observations and suggestion I made initially and  
11 then with O'Neil's remark that if it is true that  
12 indigenous nations are themselves some of the most  
13 active opponents to development efforts in various parts  
14 of the world, does it not follow it logically that they,  
15 therefore, fall into the category of terrorists who are  
16 attacking the national security?

17 DR. NIVA: I think that's absolutely  
18 correct. In fact, I think one area where you're  
19 going -- you're going to see a lot more activity under  
20 the rupert of fighting the war on terrorism which  
21 impacts indigenous people in the Amazon basin. Very  
22 recently the Bush administration announced that it was  
23 going to extend its war on drug involvement in Columbia  
24 to actually include active counter -- counter-insurgency  
25 operations. In effect operate openly and aligning



1 themselves with the Columbian military to fight any kind  
2 of resistance or opposition.

3           It doesn't have to do with the drug war anymore.  
4 It's just fighting opposition, meaning obviously some of  
5 the rebel groups in Columbia, but even further, it's  
6 quite likely to have a big impact on indigenous peoples  
7 because the American administration openly said we want  
8 to put more money into defending the oil pipelines that  
9 we have in Columbia. Now a number of indigenous groups  
10 in the Amazon basin are seeing the writing on the wall.

11           In fact, they just met in January. There was a  
12 large gathering of some -- I read somewhere 300 to 400  
13 groups sent representatives of indigenous groups from  
14 the Amazon basin to Peru for a meeting or to Ecuador for  
15 a meeting where they called for the demilitarization of  
16 the Amazon Basin, meaning from Brazil to Venezuela to  
17 Columbia to Ecuador to Peru because what they see with  
18 what's happening in Columbia is a further militarization  
19 of that region. And that region has incredible mineral  
20 resources and incredible oil resources that the  
21 governments in all of those countries are desperate to  
22 exploit.

23           MR. MARTINEZ: Timber, too.

24           DR. NIVA: And timber as well. So what  
25 they see is this obvious connection between this excuse

1 of sort of cracking down counter-insurgency war on  
2 terrorism and the direct attempt to extract more of the  
3 resources from those lands, which will directly, and  
4 already has been for some time, negatively impact  
5 indigenous people from pollution, from, you know, the  
6 gold mining or the oil drilling to the dislocation and  
7 dispossession of tribal territories, to all kinds of  
8 other negative consequences of disease and other things  
9 that we're seeing. They're already seeing this  
10 connection. They're already making this connection. I  
11 think -- I think that's an area that all of us should be  
12 looking at is what's happening in the Amazon basin.

13 MR. MARTINEZ: George Bush, whom I never  
14 voted for, not that I could even if I wanted to. I'm  
15 not an American citizen. Anyway, George Bush set the  
16 tone when he said, you know, almost like a Pope, that  
17 according to the bible, the Christian bible, he who is  
18 not with me is against me or with us is against us.

19 Less than two weeks ago President Arroyo of the  
20 Philippines followed suit. As I said earlier, there is  
21 popular support for American troops in the Philippines  
22 as long as they behave, but there is a large seminar  
23 there, close to 40 percent, that either opposes their  
24 presence or has raised very serious questions about  
25 American intentions. Responding to this nonunanimity,

1 our president goes on national television and says,  
2 "Anyone who disagrees with the American/Filipino  
3 military exercises against terrorism is not a Filipino,"  
4 quote/unquote. What does that make me?

5 It's this demonization. There is this -- this --  
6 it's so easy to demonize the enemy because very often  
7 when nations, states, and governments and dictators,  
8 leaders whether of free republics or captive nations  
9 speaking for so-called people demonizes the enemy and  
10 personifies the enemy, the first thing that that does,  
11 it makes them blameless. The victim becomes blameless,  
12 and the victim is now authorized to use all means  
13 possible and all means necessary to rectify the  
14 injustice and to pay for the injury.

15 I might want to say a footnote here. There is a  
16 general in movies, the Clint Eastwood type, you know,  
17 that kind of mentality where if one perceives an  
18 injustice and the injustice is real, and if one  
19 perceives the regular mode of providing a remedy for  
20 that injustice doesn't appear to work like a corrupt  
21 police department, that allows John Wayne and Charles  
22 Bronson and Clint Eastwood to do their thing. That's  
23 what George Bush is doing now.

24 But that's not the tragedy. The tragedy is that  
25 presidents like Arroyo in the Philippines, to some

1 extent the leader in Pakistan, Indonesia's leadership --

2 DR. NIVA: Israel.

3 MR. MARTINEZ: Israel. Well, Israel would  
4 have done it with or without the American support.  
5 They're very happy with the American authority. It  
6 validates everything they want to do. Are all either  
7 taking advantage of this policy, or -- well, they are.  
8 That's exactly what they're doing. There are too many  
9 Clint Eastwoods out there and too many of the people who  
10 are going to suffer will not have a voice.

11 One last thing very quickly. There is -- I'd like  
12 to mention the element of religion here because what it  
13 has done in the Philippines -- that's the only county I  
14 can speak with authority. I'm not Muslim, but I know  
15 what's happening. After 9/11, the Muslims, in Manila,  
16 by and large, when they would apply for work, used  
17 Christian names. Muslim women standing on the sidewalks  
18 removed their veils, otherwise the drivers, you know,  
19 transportation drivers won't stop for them.

20 There is a wave of anti-Muslim feeling. Why?  
21 Because the government and the media have conspired -- I  
22 don't know willfully or not. They have conspired to  
23 throw this blanket of blame over everyone who is of the  
24 Islamic faith, and I find that extremely sad. As Steve  
25 was saying earlier, innocence is being punished for the

1 crimes of a few, for the misdeeds of a few. The only  
2 thing that can do is to breed more contempt. The only  
3 result that this can have is to create more future  
4 terrorism.

5 MR. RYSER: We have just a few minutes,  
6 and I have one final question for you: What would you  
7 advise the leaders of indigenous nations and what would  
8 you advise the leaders of the states' governments  
9 principally, the United States, Britain, France, those  
10 that are in the alliance? How would you advise them to  
11 proceed from now on?

12 David Price?

13 MR. PRICE: Oh, boy. Well, I guess I'd  
14 start with what I would if -- how I would advise the  
15 United States, or you know, First World -- so-called  
16 First World leaders on what to do, I would advise them  
17 that whatever their next move is, it should not be a  
18 military move. Right now where we're sitting today it's  
19 a very frightening place. President Bush in the last  
20 few days has made known his new nuclear policy, and it's  
21 not one that makes the world a safer place. It  
22 involves, you know, multiple uses of atomic weapons in  
23 different places.

24 I think what needs to be done is that the United  
25 States needs to stop and take stock on where it is, how

1 it got to where it is, and look on ways to work towards  
2 peace rather than deciding you can bond people into  
3 submission or bond people into seeing their side.

4 MR. RYSER: What would you advise  
5 indigenous nations' people?

6 MR. PRICE: Run for cover.

7 MR. RYSER: Steve?

8 DR. NIVA: On the latter question,  
9 certainly right now it's a very difficult time to take  
10 up an overt opposition given what we've been describing  
11 as a clear pattern of using the rupert (phonetic) of the  
12 war on terrorism to include any kind of dissent but  
13 especially overt and especially armed dissent. It seems  
14 to me right at this moment as -- to put it another way,  
15 run for cover. Clearly now is the time not to be  
16 engaged in that kind of -- that kind of overt dissent  
17 and that kind of involvement.

18 I think -- I do believe, however, that the  
19 majority of people in the world, if not a great number  
20 of people in the west, if not a great number of people  
21 in the United States, which, I think, we are misled by  
22 these opinion poles showing this unanimous support for  
23 the president. I think if you scratch, it starts to  
24 break apart when you start asking very particular  
25 questions. I think there's a significant body of

1 opinion that has great concerns about this particular  
2 approach to terrorism, this blanketing of any dissent as  
3 terrorism, this emphasis solely on military actions,  
4 this blatant unilateralism, which ignores international  
5 law and international forums to solve its problems.

6 And so my advise particularly to native people and  
7 indigenous groups would be to try and find ways of  
8 working for that international solidarity from -- not  
9 only from other groups facing similar circumstances but  
10 also from -- from the places in the world that could  
11 have an impact on changing those policies. I think -- I  
12 think we shouldn't deceive ourselves by accepting  
13 that -- that the power being sort of waved in front of  
14 us is monolithic and unquestionable. I don't think  
15 that's true. So I think we really need to maximize  
16 international solidarity and especially call for  
17 international law, the rule of international law and  
18 multilateralism at this time.

19 MR. RYSER: David Martinez?

20 MR. MARTINEZ: I would ask the nations of  
21 the world to do only one thing. I would say to them,  
22 "You're already bleeding. You've been bleeding for a  
23 very, very long time. Do it publicly. Bring journalist  
24 in, bring the media in, bring CNN, bring any person who  
25 has a little instamatic or video camera, anything,

1 photographs, stories, let the world -- keep telling the  
2 world this is how you live your lives." You know,  
3 defending yourselves from corporations, the owners  
4 you've never seen and will never see, the (inaudible)  
5 who are in a tight embrace with foreign partners,  
6 military, paramilitary, countries, places where a knock  
7 on the door means you don't ever see you sons and  
8 daughters again. Let the world see more and more of  
9 this because the world is a conscience. There is hope  
10 for this world."

11 When the whole world wept when Akino died, the  
12 Filipino (inaudible) heir, when the whole world wept  
13 when the Kennedys were killed, when the whole world  
14 cheered during the fall of the Berlin Wall, it showed  
15 that there is -- there is a universal impulse for  
16 fraternity, justice, and brotherhood. This world is not  
17 on hold. That's my message to the indigenous people.

18 To the western world lead by America -- I say to  
19 America because America speaks for -- leads the world.  
20 The American that the Third World respects and adores  
21 and admires is no longer here because of this -- it is  
22 the American of pain, the America of Jefferson and  
23 Adams. That's the America we love. A country  
24 struggling to be free. A country that believes in civil  
25 liberties and national solvency. A country that hated



1 tyranny.

2           What do we see instead? We see -- speaking for my  
3 people -- an expansionist America of Kennedy and  
4 Roosevelt. We see the interventionist America of the  
5 Vietnam War. We see the corporate America that is  
6 gobbling up our farmlands and our timberlands. The only  
7 way for terrorism to be addressed in the long run is for  
8 western civilizations and countries like the United  
9 States to return to their true political faith. And  
10 what is that? It's simple. That men and nations as  
11 well are created equal.

12                   MR. RYSER: Thank you very much.

13           And now, if you have some questions in the  
14 audience, I'd be happy to receive those. If you can  
15 collect them quickly, we will then read any questions  
16 that you have. We have some time now to do that. I  
17 hope you have put some questions together, and I hope  
18 you've enjoyed this presentation up to now. If you hand  
19 me those questions, that will help me begin. Oh, one of  
20 the things I wanted you to do and you've all done it  
21 nicely so far is write really clearly. Let's see.

22           This is -- is there any correlation between  
23 indigenous peoples being labeled as terrorist and scarce  
24 resources?

25                   MR. PRICE: Yes.

1 MR. RYSER: All right.

2 MR. PRICE: You know, it is no accident  
3 that the battlegrounds that we're -- we're looking at in  
4 the next year or so are areas where there are a  
5 multitude of very important resources. Afghanistan, of  
6 course, not being an exception with Unocal, and opium,  
7 which is an amazing lucrative resource that's being  
8 grown there, once again, now that the Taliban is gone,  
9 that's the most important thing that's happened  
10 economically is that opium will be coming up, and we can  
11 all start getting lots of heroin again.

12 But yeah, you can't talk about other interests  
13 without talking about resources and certainly that's  
14 been an on-going problem of indigenous people in this  
15 country and other countries around the world.

16 MR. RYSER: Any other comments?

17 Okay. I want to thank Martha Henderson for that  
18 question. And then I have here from Brent Krump  
19 (phonetic): How will the war on terror affect the  
20 legitimate actions of US and indigenous groups when they  
21 disagree with the current administration? Any comments?  
22 Observations?

23 MR. PRICE: How about you, Rudy?

24 MR. RYSER: I do have one. I think it is  
25 very unlikely that indigenous peoples in the United

1 States will say anything. As has been the practice  
2 historically, American Indians have chosen not to  
3 intervene in such discussions because they chose not to  
4 be criticized for yet another thing that they might be  
5 demonized for. And so I think the chances are very slim  
6 that any indigenous nation in the United States will  
7 criticize these policies even if they disagreed with  
8 them. Now, that doesn't mean some individual leaders  
9 might not make a comment here and there, but for the  
10 most part, such comments will not occur.

11 The question here is how does the US -- I'm  
12 sorry -- the U.N. figure in?

13 MR. MARTINEZ: The United Nations?

14 MR. RYSER: The United Nations, how does  
15 it figure into this discussion?

16 MR. MARTINEZ: I'll take a shot at that.  
17 All we have to do really is look at how the United  
18 States reacts every time the United Nations does  
19 anything. When the U.N. does something the Americans --  
20 the American government likes, look at their reaction:  
21 This is forum for democracy. Right? A brotherhood of  
22 nations, expression of the popular will of mankind. Oh,  
23 wonderful words, rhetorical words. But when the United  
24 Nations doesn't -- does something that the United States  
25 disagrees with, what is it? It's an organization

1 hijacked by third-world despots. I mean these are  
2 quotes.

3 The U.N. has a role to play. It is often a  
4 painful, long process before anything could ever get  
5 resolved in the U.N., but if you're talking about, what,  
6 190, 170-odd independent countries, it's always a long  
7 and painful process, but sometimes that is the only  
8 price we need to pay for harmony in this world.

9 If you look at the history of civilization,  
10 eastern, western, the story of man, how long did it take  
11 before we created mechanisms for resolving conflict? We  
12 must learn to be patient, and the only way to do that is  
13 to work within the framework of the United Nations to  
14 the extent possible. The idea of the United States  
15 telling the world, "If you're with us, fine. If not,  
16 we'll go to NATO. If NATO isn't with us, we'll go to  
17 NAFTA. If NAFTA isn't with us, we'll do it alone." It  
18 doesn't ring -- it doesn't resonate well with people who  
19 are -- feel powerless.

20 DR. NIVA: I think the United Nations --  
21 in addition, I think the United Nations could play an  
22 important role in a couple of areas. It's not right  
23 now, but it could play. I think it could play a very  
24 important role in this issue of terrorism in that the  
25 United Nations, particularly through the setting up of

1 something like an international criminal court, which  
2 has been discussed for some time, could be a forum where  
3 people who engage in acts of violence, of massive  
4 violence against civilian populations, whether they be  
5 states or nonstate actors, could be brought to justice.  
6 In a way I think that would be legitimate in the eyes of  
7 the international community.

8           Unfortunately the United States' response to  
9 September 11th is not by and large legitimate in the  
10 eyes of international community because it was seen as a  
11 unilateral action with some possible ulterior motives.  
12 I think bringing the U.N. into it will bring legitimacy  
13 to tracking down and hunting people who give these  
14 kind -- do these kinds of criminal and outrageous kinds  
15 of acts, and it could also bring sort of people together  
16 to actually find these people.

17           Secondly, I think the United Nations could play a  
18 very important role for indigenous peoples. There's a  
19 draft declaration for the rights of indigenous people.  
20 It's been in circulation since roughly 1993, '94, and  
21 this could be an invaluable document for helping  
22 indigenous peoples get international support and  
23 legitimacy for their struggles of self-determination,  
24 cultural survival, et cetera. It could be a really  
25 important document that I think could rank along sides

1           which have existing human rights documents which have  
2           increasingly, I think, become very important in the  
3           international community.

4                         MR. RYSER: I want to thank you all very  
5           much for your questions and for your answers at this  
6           stimulating discussion. Your answers were a spot on,  
7           and I hope all of you have enjoyed them and found them  
8           useful and informative. This is the end of our program,  
9           and I want to thank you all. And that is all the time  
10          we have for this edition of the Fourth World Dialog.  
11          Until next time, thank you and good-bye.

12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25