"FOR CENTURIES WE HAVE KNOWN THAT EACH INDIVIDUAL'S ACTION CREATES CONDITIONS AND SITUATIONS THAT AFFECT THE WORLD. FOR CENTURIES WE HAVE BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID ANY ACTION UNLESS IT CARRIED A LONG-RANGE PROSPECT OF PROMOTING HARMONY AND PEACE IN THE WORLD. IN THAT CONTEXT, WITH OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WE HAVE JOURNEYED HERE TO DISCUSS THESE IMPORTANT MATTERS WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY OF MAN."

-GENEVA REPORT•U.N. SPEECHES•THE WHITE BACKLASH•MORE-
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HOW IT IS WITH US

This Autumn, one of the significant events of this decade occurred. The Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations held a conference on "Discrimination Against the Indigenous Populations of the Americas," a conference which took place in Geneva, Switzerland in September 20 - 23. It was attended by 125 Native delegates, more than half from countries, every major committee in the U.N., and covered by every major press service in the world.

But in the Western Hemisphere there has been an eerie silence. The media gave the event what would be called a "low profile." Even the Native publications have been giving the event scant coverage. Why?

Undoubtedly there are several explanations. In terms of the mass media, we have come to expect that they would not give much coverage to this story. Not that it was not a newsworthy event, but perhaps it was too newsworthy in the eyes of the interests that control the media. The Native message brought to Geneva was strong and unified. As this issue will reveal, Western Civilization undergoes a strong, unrelenting analysis and indictment.

But the relative silence in the Native press is somewhat bewildering. Understandably some of the newspapers did not have access to the story, and without that access they reported the NCASI convention and some of the disastrous bills pending in Congress. But in certain cases major Native newspapers had reporters at Geneva, and still they chose to give little space to the story. Could it be that the significance of Geneva was too hard to grasp, or is the silence of the Native press a symptom of another problem? It is quite possibly both.

During the year-long preparations for the conference, the proposed conference raised many emotions. These emotions must be seen as reflections of our peoples' perception of themselves. For those who reacted with fear and anxiety, these emotions seem to grow out of a peoples' misunderstanding of the organization or the face. Many, on the other hand, welcomed the conference out of a belief in the people acting as a people, and that the struggle must be carried to a world forum.

The process that brought Native people to Geneva started 54 years ago, in 1923. At that time, a Cayuga chief, Delawary, traveled to Geneva in an attempt to bring his peoples' grievances before the League of Nations. Such a move in those days was extremely farsighted and bold. Bold because the world order was controlled by Europe. Far-sighted because he saw that the settler regimes occupying the Western Hemisphere were incapable of rendering justice. For those who reacted with fear and anxiety, these emotions seem to grow out of a peoples' misunderstanding of the organization or the face. Many, on the other hand, welcomed the conference out of a belief in the people acting as a people, and that the struggle must be carried to a world forum.

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Once you've selected a person — approach them, and simply introduce NOTES to them, maybe by choosing an article that you feel would be of special interest to that person.

After you have done this — ask your friend if he or she would care to receive NOTES. And if your friend has been touched at all and feels positive towards the kinds of thoughts and visions we are offering — take the responsibility to send us the name and address.

The idea is to extend the circle — from the inside out — and to create new circles — so that we may simplify not only our numbers, but also our mutual resonance.

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Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone: (518) 483-2440

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GENEA: A Report On The Continental

"AMERICA WILL NOT BEGIN HER WALK UNTIL THE INDIAN WALKS." Jose Marti.

"WE NOT ONLY DELIVERED OUR MESSAGE OF UNITY WE NOT ONLY TOLD THEM ABOUT UNITY WE SHOWED THEM." Art Schomburg

We were in a tall, cavernous room at the United Nations. The heat was oppressive and the door to the outside was a series of impassable gates. The Indian representatives arrived from both sides of the room so that they faced each other and looked over the Indian people were the representatives of the various governments.

Segwalise of the Hau de no sau nee delegation, was about to speak. He was in the front, facing us.

Next to him was Juan Condori, Aymara from Bolivia and next to him was Jose Mendoza, Guani from Panama. Both had spoken. This was the last day. It had been up to them to summarize the conditions and aspirations of their Indian peoples in South and Central America and as we had come to expect throughout that week, they had spoken out directly and eloquently.

Now it was Segwalise’s turn. He did a curious thing. He didn’t speak to the U.N. officials and he didn’t speak directly to the Indian delegates, as everyone had done up to that point. No, he turned instead and faced the representatives of the various governments, he looked toward them, and he began to speak.

Suddenly the focus and the tension in the room changed and everyone felt that something real and immediate was about to happen. Segwalise was speaking to the enemy.

All week there had been pressure felt. At first slowly, but then fairly rapidly the word had spread that in this conference no one was holding back — that here people were speaking the truth — finally, thoroughly and uncompromisingly. That the Indian peoples of the American continent had not died, were not about to die, that they may be new cultures within, cultures and Nations within Nations and that their oppression may have been long and arduous — the cruelest, maybe, in recorded history — but that if some things had been lost, nothing had been given up, nothing — and now they had come, 120 people, representing Hopi and Lakotah, Hau de no sau nee and Guami, Mesquito and Mapuche, Northern Cheyenne and Ojibway, Aymara, Mapugoe and Quechua, Schurati, Apache and Naurati, Ojibew and Cree, many, many more, and they had brought a message.

"The Immigration guards and officials at the Geneva airport were perplexed. The twenty-two delegates from the Six Nations (Iroquois) Confederacy — the Hau de no sau nee were lined up, passports in hand, a little tired after a nine-hour, overnight flight, but now looking serious and alert as one of their passports had been handed across the glass barrier and the blonde guards with clips on were turning it over in their hands.

It was a small, brown book, covered in leather. On the cover it said: Hau de no sau nee Passport.

"I don’t know," one guard said, "We have to study this." The Hau de no sau nee delegation went to sit down.

"Well, here we go," one man said. "We may as well start here.

The men and the women sat around. One man went to the bathroom and came back. He looked over the group casually. "What seems to be the trouble," he said, as if he didn’t know, as if there was no reason.

People smiled.

"Hey, Tim," someone else said. "Did you call the Iroquois Consulate yet?"

Everyone laughed.

One of the older women repeated the antics of one of the young Indian men who had gotten off the plane pretending to be an anthropologist. "Here," he had said, "This is how they live, isn’t it? Oh, do you think we could take their picture?"

That crackled everybody up.

Then the Swiss officials were back. They still seemed perplexed but now they were offering a special entry permit. A young Swiss man was acting as interpreter.

The older Hau de no sau nee called the people together. A circle was formed. The men and the women discussed the messages and merits of this special permit.

"It seems to me," one man said, "that this permit, by virtue of being a 'special' permit tends to negate the validity of our passport."

"That seems right," one woman said, lifting her head.

And we didn’t come here to be treated differently. We came here seeking recognition.

Another man smiled, nodding. "That is correct," he said. "This is the whole reason we are here."

Then a man was designated to speak for the group and he walked over to the Swiss officials. The rest of the group crowded around.

The Hau de no sau nee position was delicately the special permit could not be acceptable in any way it negated the validity of the passport.

The Swiss officials looked perplexed. They would have to consult with their superiors, they said.

The young Swiss man who was interpreting looked nervous and fidgety. He kept looking at his watch. He was working with a reception committee who had arranged for a bus to transport the delegations into Geneva. The bus was waiting.

"It seems to me," he told the Hau de no sau nee spokesman, "this is not the place for a political fight."

The man looked past him silently.
Movement Of Indigenous Peoples...

Report Con't....

"I think the important thing is to get in," the young interpreter said.

"No," the man said softly, "The important thing is not to get in — the important thing is to make sure that every step of the way, our validity as Indian nations is recognized."

The young man nodded. He looked away.

Two men from the press came. They wanted to take pictures. They wanted to know what "the trouble" was.

Soon, the officials came back. Once again the people gathered. It was to be this way: an entry permit was issued and passed through the gate into Switzerland. The Hau de no sau nee had no formal being offered which was the one regularly issued to relations with Geneva — but by this act, the Swiss were travel with their own passport.

There wasn't much time. The first morning session, where a large audience and much press participation was expected would be a crucial one. We had just become aware that the NGOs (the Non-governmental Organizations, the conference sponsors,) had already scheduled several non-Indian speakers.

"I am sick and tired of this," Russell was saying, his arm extended, gesturing to the circle. "This is our conference. We came here, for the first time, to present our case to the world and now we are told that we have to sit and give half our time to some damn white speakers to tell us how nice it is to have us here."

Around the room there was much nodding and silent faces. Others spoke out, mostly young men.

The young men, one by one, spoke again. They are here to speak and at least let us do that well and in our case to the world and now we are told that we have to sit and give half our time to some damn white speakers to tell us how nice it is to have us here."

A couple of people who had been working with the NGO committee then tried to explain the situation. It was calamitous, they said, that the hosts and the other observers groups represented would give welcoming addresses. There were about four such groups.

The young men, one by one, spoke again. They remained adamant. One spoke and then another and as they went along, listening to each other, you could sense the rising circle of uncompromising anger taking hold.

NO, they were saying — all this is from the enemy. We are here to speak and at least let us do that well and in our case to the world and now we are told that we have to sit and give half our time to some damn white speakers to tell us how nice it is to have us here."

One of the Iroquois chiefs stood up, a young man and thus a warrior and then he told a little bit about Ganienkeh and the kind of pressures that community had endured in the last four years of its existence and about the feelings one got from living, continually, in a defensive stance, not knowing on many evenings whether the morning would bring an assault by the state troopers or a few shots from some rednecks. Then he spoke about the importance of those strong feelings. "These young men," he said, "I understand them because they have been the ones in the past few years who have had the task of facing the enemy. This has been their job, and as such it is their duty to be angry, to be suspicious. Were they not this way, they let them hear us then," he said. "But don't let them start by taking half our time."

People laughed. Other young men stood up. Once again, the anger. The young men seemed to feed off each other's anger and thus grow strong. The NGO representatives, in pretending to moderate, began to catch the hostility. It didn't seem right and somehow it also seemed necessary — strong arguments on both sides and you could sense the separation beginning in that room, the way that in an argument people look into position and speak as if in different languages, and begin to forget.

Kakwinkston stood up. He is a tall, thin man with long braids. He was there as a spokesman and representing of Ganienkeh, a Mohawk settlement in the Adirondack Mountains. There was in the room by now some apprehension and that sort of expectation within an argument by which a new speaker is watched carefully to see which side he will support.

Kakwirakiron spoke causally. He said that he, too, was a young man and thus a warrior and then he told a little bit about Ganienkeh and the kind of pressures that community had endured in the last four years of its existence and about the feelings one got from living, continually, in a defensive stance, not knowing on many evenings whether the morning would bring an assault by the state troopers or a few shots from some rednecks. Then he spoke about the importance of those strong feelings. "These young men," he said, "I understand them because they have been the ones in the past few years who have had the task of facing the enemy. This has been their job, and as such it is their duty to be angry, to be suspicious. Were they not this way, they
"Economics and technology may assist you, but they will also destroy you... Profit and loss will mean nothing to your future generations."

To the people of Geneva, the people, the Odenahkahone, the Six Nations, the Cheifs, the Clan Mothers, the warriors, the men, the women, the children, and our greetings, and our good wishes of health and friendship to all of you. Of the Red brothers of the western hemisphere, of the Americas, of the two great turtle islands, a certain few of us have been given a short time and a great task to convince you that we too are human. And have rights. Our nations who have privileged us to represent, and rightly so, have religious and respect for the natural world, for the spirits of the Earth and all the great elements we come here and we say they too have rights. The future of whom we must all be concerned. The future generations, our children, our grandchildren, and their grandchildren is our concern. That they may have clean water to drink, that they may not have to wonder if their brothers before they are extinct, that they may enjoy the elements that we are so fortunate to have and that serves us at human beings. The President of the United States and others have brought forth into the forum, of the international world the cause of human rights. It affords us the opportunity at this time to present our position on the issue of human rights. And if indeed that we have to travel this far to turn and to speak to the President of the United States and ask about our human rights. If indeed that in the future of not only our people, the Red people of the Western Hemisphere, but it is the future of yousef that is at stake. We have been given principles by which to live, mutual respect, the understanding of the creation.

Power is not manifested in the human being. Truth-power is in the Creator. If we continue to ignore the message by which we exist and we continue to destroy the source of our lives then our children will suffer. Whose responsibility then, who are we speaking to and who is listening? We would be speaking in our duty if we did not bring this in front of you. We apologize if it hurts. But the truth must be spoken. We were told in the beginning that we were not human. There are great arguments in the histories of many countries as to the humanness of the Red people of the western hemisphere. I must warn you that the Creator made us all equal with one another. And not only human beings, but all life is equal. The equality of our life is what you must understand and the principles by which you must continue to believe in the future of this world. Economics and technology may assist you, but they will also destroy you if you do not use the principles of equality. Profit and loss will mean nothing to your future generations. We are here for a very short time and we are only Europeans on that clock of the wall to convince you, to make you listen, to understand, that we are concerned for you as well as for us. Our grandfather from the Hopi people once spoke to the nations of the world, of the future of our children.

Oren Lyons spoke first. He explained how he would address the duty of all human beings to respect not only "human rights," but the rights of all the beings of creation. The first thing he spoke of was how this was the foundation for any life that would be full and decent and pretend to guarantee the rights of all generations. Then he spoke of the territory, land, of the elements of the land and how a people grew and developed according to that land and that sky and what it offered. And he spoke of his people, the Guains, and of the other Indian nations, which in Panama, like in so many other countries, constituted a so-called minority within the larger state — "but we are not a minority," he said. "We have our territories and we are simply the people, and it is only when we go outside of this — of our land — that we become 'minorities,' and then it's even worse oppression begins. We become as the peasants, losing all our lands and all our territories... It is only a handful of criminals, that we become 'minorities,' and then it's even worse oppression begins. We become as the peasants, losing all our lands and all our territories..."

"Our nations are being led, abused, and hidden, manipulated, exploited — and then Juan Condori spoke, and he knew a thing or two about exploitation. Juan Condori is an Aymara from Bolivia, where the Indian people are a majority — about four million in a country of five million — Be spoke..."
and Guaimi, Mesquito and Mapuche, and

José Mendoza: GUAIMI

Representatives of the United Nations, N.G.O.'s, Indian leaders and scholars were there to understand the new region – many white settlers, 60,000 men of um-no-beaming age – ideally trained in apartead, tied into the development of the oppressive mining and vast economic interests which control the country and everything going on, all the labor, all the minerals, and the land destroyed.

Russell Means spoke then. He had wanted to be last, he had told his mission, to open the ceremony, to carry and offer the Pipe. He was moved, he said, by all the words he had heard, by all the words he had been to nail the head of the monster. And the monster, the vast economic and military exploitation, the violence, war, hunger, real hunger, where children don't eat and grow malformed and their minds don't work well and where the poor people and work to produce so little, and even that is taken away, and all this, he said, all this is about to get even worse. A new migration, this time of racist and Guaimi,Mesquito and Mapuche, and

Chile, Argentina where there exists ethnic or Indian groups who reclaim the right to self-determination, the administration, and the financial management with our own hands. Neither do we want that, when independence is given to the countries, as in the case of Suranam. That completes its first stage of liberation, that the country is given over on a platter of gold to a dominating minority to exploit the Indian who to this date still does not have the legal rights to his land. Those wise men of the world have not shown how to interpret the senselessness of the Indian. They say that in this world there exists programs, institutions, but all of them have stoked us already. The sociologists, the anthropologists, UNESCO, ILO, today the Human Rights Commission, all of them have studied us, even as to how to go to the bathroom. But never have we shown to our forms of how to live in the future. Neither have they studied us in our present conditions. When will they have to give us our rights?

The Land, Who Does It Belong To? Does It Belong To The One Who Works It? Or Does It Belong To The One Who Exploits The World Daily?

-Mendoza

Report Con't....

About what it means to be an Indian and a peasant, because in his country, the two words mean the same, because everyone has been displaced and the Indian own no land and are considered inferior, less-than-human by the controlling white minority.

And he spoke about humiliation and poverty, and hunger – real hunger, where children don't eat and grow malformed and their minds don't work well and where the poor people and work to produce so little, and even that is taken away, and all this, he said, all this is about to get even worse. A new migration, this time of racist and Guaimi,Mesquito and Mapuche, and

and Guaimi,Mesquito and Mapuche, and...
Northern Cheyenne and Ojibway, Cree...
international community. And we talk about human rights. The President of the United States, to show you what a racist he is, can talk about human rights when my people are suffering genocide not only in the United States but in the entire hemisphere. Planned genocide by the governments of the Western Hemisphere. We have brought documentation to Geneva that substantiates this charge. Twenty-five years ago in the U.N., there was a conference on Human Rights and 25 years later, today, nothing has changed. The world community is talking about Latin America, Southern Africa, the Mediterranean, the same issues. There is one difference. Twenty-five years ago, what they called at that time tribal people, what they are calling us, tribes from Africa approached the U.N. for a hearing. Twenty-five years ago. The only thing that has changed is that now there are other tribes, this time they are from the Western Hemisphere. And we are approaching the international community this first time and every time afterward for this support and assistance not only to stop the rape of our sacred Mother Earth, but also to stop the genocide of a whole people. A people with international rights backed up specifically in North America by treaties. The treaties made between Canada and the United States with the Indian Nations of so called countries. Now, United States is a monster and its multinational corporations have manifested into dictating foreign policy in this world. They no longer care about the future, as witnessed by the Dene, as witnessed by my people, as witnessed by South and Central Americans. We all know if we have common sense and can read that the multi-national corporations of Western Europe are investing heavily and are increasing their investments ten-fold in the last four years, thirty-fold in the Western Hemisphere. We also have documentation about the secret activities between the C.I.A. and the multi-national corporations that are now in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. The activities to exploit them because everyone knows that the next major exploitation will be in South America. Now you have heard some of our spirituality, our mutual respect for all of life because it is our relatives.

"Because Everyone Knows
The Next Major Exploitation
Will Be In South America."

Well, let me put it to you in the white man's terms. Instead of asking you to respect life we are going to ask you to respect capital. Look upon the natural resources of this world as capital. No longer look upon as resources that has to be flushed out immediately because if you continue to look at our relatives and our sacred Mother as income you will waste all the non-renewable resources in the country, in this world. But you look on them as capital then you might find some respect. Because you see capital, you do not want to lose your capital, because once the capital is gone, of course, the income is gone. Our oil, our petroleum, our uranium, our coal, our timber, all of these natural resources are capital. And if you look on them as capital, then maybe you will think of the future. Because you see that capital is about to be wasted by the multi-national corporations and the monster and its tail. Now we know that the United States of America and every country in the Western Hemisphere cannot afford to address itself to the original people because to do so they would then have to admit they have no respect. Now also, there is another reason I am here to talk about. It's liberation, liberation of our people as separate entities, separate nations, our right as the Red people of the Western Hemisphere to join in the family of nations. There is only one color of mankind that is not

...Aymara Muskogee and Quichua Schuar

Report Cont'd...

... were coming small crowds and it was obvious that the work of the whole place had been halted.
People waited at all and a few waved...
At the entrance to the building the drum was silenced.
Grandfather David offered a second prayer.
Then another song.
And from the windows and the doors of the U.N. buildings all these people began to clap and cheer.
Then we went inside.

VI
North and South - the American continent. The influence of the North; the poverty of the South. The "under-development" of the South; the "over-development" of the North. And what does it all represent to Indian people?
Another question: What does colonialism mean?
Colonialism is the process by which we are systematically confused.
Colonialism - from the word colony, to be controlled from afar.
Confusion - an agent of control.

The confusion takes many shapes and forms (genocides) that overlap: creating layers, many, many layers.

Western Civilization - the history of mankind since the beginning of its contradictory relationship with nature. The "west" have contradictory. The history - also, thousands of years old, of the refinement of colonialist techniques. So successful that it no longer needs to regenerate the techniques, but rather, it perpetuates them.

Natural World Peoples - Nations of human beings which develop governments, religions, cultures and economics that fit their activities to the cycles of nature.

Indigenous American Peoples - Nations of human beings living on the American Continent at the time of first contact with Western Civilization, the vast majority of which were Natural World Peoples.

North and South - many Nations. After 500 years of contact, many different stages of coloniality, many possibilities for confusion.

North and South - one movement, the struggle to decolonize, to break free, to stand back and see the source of the confusion, in order to develop as same ways of living that prove to be non-destructive, healthy for the people and the power of nature.

VII
A press conference. Many pretty words of welcome, an equal number of name questions.
Will they ever understand that this is not a game?
Everything was funny to them. They wanted to see how we in a way see - to make us take our pictures of it. They wanted to pose the people - get this angle, that angle.

This whole process of media - the distillation of information - is evidence of the insanity. Reporters who learn thousands of facts, write thousands of words, and learn nothing.

AKWESASNE NOTES DECEMBER 1977 PAGE 9
Brothers and Sisters, we as Native people come before you. Now you see the living evidence of the original people of the Western Hemisphere. We are the Original People of the Western Hemisphere; people that have been on that part of the world for thousands and thousands of years. No man has ever set the time and ever set the date of how we originated in this part of the world. Our history dates back according to our traditions to the beginning of time.

At the beginnings of time, at the time of Creation, also our people came about. We had no teachers, we had no instructors, we had no schools. We had to turn and look at the Creation. We had to study Nature. And we had to copy off of Nature. Our entire civilization was built upon the study of Nature. They became our instructors in the beginning of times. Our religion was found at this time. Our way of life, we founded through that type of study.

So we organized our governments under the study of Nature. We lived under an unchanging government, a traditional government of our ancestors. That law that we lived by never changed until recent years. In 1492 that law of our ancestors began to change.

The entire Creation still follows those instructions of Elokie, the tree, the fruits, the nuts... They never fail. They never make a mistake. They never do anything that is contrary to the divine government of our ancestors.

Many of our people were Christianized and left the ancient religion of their ancestors. We still look at Nature and watch how they grow little ones. We find the ducks, we find the pescie still yet living with that thousand-year-old government that was given to them in the beginning of times. Original Instructions of life was given in the beginning of time to all living things.

The entire Creation still follows those instructions of Elokie. The tree, the fruits, the nuts, they never fail. They never make a mistake. They never do anything that is contrary to the divine government of our ancestors.

That religion was understood by all Native people of the Western Hemisphere. Time came when we were told that that religion is not the right one, therefore it has never been recognized until this day by the world. We were forced to accept the recognized religion. Many of our people were Christianized and left the ancient religion of their ancestors.

So we organized our governments under the study of Nature. We lived under an unchanging government, a traditional government of our ancestors. That law that we lived by never changed until recent years. In 1492 that law of our ancestors began to change.

In my land I would lie says another voice: I would have my woman rub my neck. Under the blanket!

And they laugh. There’s strong wind now. Cold, cold.

On the way and there is a bar/restaurant. There is a glimpse through a window — vapor on the glass — and warm, light faces inside, some noise, a crowd, beer.

They must go around the parked cars, spreading out once more. Walking against the wind, on the cobblestone street in Geneva — very far from home.

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"I don't know, my brothers, sometimes it tires me — conferences, conferences — so much talk!"

"Are you asking — is it worth it?"

"I have to tell my people. They will ask me. And what will I say to them?"

"Tell them you talked for them, that you told the truth."

"That they know already."

"Oh, I see."

***
Our entire civilization was built on the study of nature. They became our instructors in the beginning of time... So we organized our governments under the study of nature.

mistake to bring their fruits in their season. The animals never make a mistake. They still live as they were created. Among the Creation, what is Money and order, where people are assumed to be Clockwork, music boxes and intricate banking schemes. Clean streets, glistening. Geneva — a city of precision. And finally, the Romans. The Romans eradicated the people — a tribal people with relatives all along the Inhabitants — a people with relatives all across the Hemisphere.

Families are separated today. Why is it (that) today the man with the big business, his son is not taking over and does not want to? How come our government today is travelling all over the world seeking something? What are they looking for? What are they hungry for? Father tells them. Son, I have a factory, you can take that over. But son I don't want that no more. Here man, I bought you a new car so you will be happy, but son doesn't care for that car no more.

What's the matter with our families today? How come we are no divided today? How come pays don't understand his son no more? We believe that you can buy happiness and put it in the lap of our children, but they don't want it no more. The young people of the world are hungry, looking for something.

At an older person, perhaps you are representative of your country, perhaps you are representative of some nationality, maybe you are just representing your own family. Who are you providing for your family? What is the future of your generation? The value system is separating your sons and your daughters. Till now, we have no respect for no one. The Indian law of love, peace, and respect, no man-made laws will ever take the place of that law. That is the law that my ancestors lived by.

The value system that we mentioned that is so destructive has destroyed many nations of people. We can see, we cannot honestly write our problem lies today.

The practice of genocide that is over-spilling today — we must stop and think what is happening. How come this is happening? We come to you today as I mentioned. We are the evidence of the Western Hemisphere and we came here thinking that you people can make decisions, rightful decisions. If you too are bought off, if you too follow the value system, instead of being a human being, our requests will be denied.

The human rights, that I see being mentioned in this very building — at Native people our human rights began with the beginnings of time, and these rights were given to us by the Creator, and not by man. We want to live by these human rights, I want to continue to be who I am. No matter what I am called by my own government. Many times we hear about "terminating our people," "terminate my services," call me anything you want to.

But you cannot change my color. You cannot change the color of my eyes. Neither can you change my hair. I am born a Native American Indian and I will die an Indian. We are people who have resisted the system. For 400 years we have resisted the system and we have proved our existence and (we have come) here to let you know that we still exist as human beings.

If you once heard of Wounded Knee, in South Dakota, you heard the resistance of Indian people. There was reason for that. You heard, too, the resistance of the people — our brothers — in the South. You heard the voice of the Red Man. You have heard their cries, many of them have given up their lives that they may continue to exist as human beings. The next question is: what are you going to do about it? If you have interests in human rights; I ask you to listen to the evidence of the Western Hemisphere.

Our faith is strong. We are proud to stand up as Natives people. We still live. We continue with our ceremonies today. I still know the language that was given to me by my Creator. And we come to you here as a people. No matter what languages we speak — we yet find the same problems all over the Western Hemisphere. We find our brothers and our sisters dying daily, trying to live the life of their ancestors. And we find our children being brainwashed daily, trying to live another man's way of life.

We talk about colonization. In a few minutes I will try to explain to you our experience in colonization. There's been many definitions of it, but I can only give you one example, and hope that you can understand what I mean.

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They do that brothers. In my country, they push us to the side, and drive their big cars through, through, through.

The Aymara pretend to hold a steering wheel, pushing, pushing.

Now he is angry. "They think we are beasts!"

"They do. They do."

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The Indian people of Brazil could not come. There they are considered as children, minors — who must travel with a guardian, a white Brazilian.

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"Brothers, we came together. That is something."

"And it must be said, one and another time. Say it, say it, say it — let the words go out."

"It makes a difference. Look at brother Constantino — it got him out of a cell."

"If enough of us say it — often enough — we let it loose: it will carry itself."

********

Long, rounded curves and rock walls defining the road. Clean streets, glinting. Geneva — a city of precision. Clockwork, music boxes and intricate banking schemes. Money and order, where people are assumed to be honest, or scared, and nobody collects your ticket on the bus. The police are swift, and the people line up automatically.

Once, they were Lake Dwellers — the original inhabitants, tribal people with relatives all across the Alpine region. Skilled agriculturists, fishermen, hunters. Highly developed weaving and ornamental arts — peaceful, prosperous, with many village clusters around one single lake. Then the Celts invaded, then the Eturcans. And finally, the Romans. The Romans eradicated the local cultures, built roads, changed the languages.
José Lafferty:
FOR THE CHILDREN

I would like to speak on behalf of the young peoples of the Americas, of the red nations, but I also have the concern of all children of this earth. I am from a survival school where I have been given the chance to learn the meaning of truth, and to learn the meaning of being a human being. And we consider ourselves as our survival school as the true freedom children of the world. We are the children of the American Indian Movement. For many years we have been forced to accept an educational system that is very inadequate to our personal needs, to our lives and to our future lives, and to the future of this world. We have been forced to ignore the natural law of humanity that was placed here by the Creator. We have been given an opportunity to learn these things, things that we might become as true human beings. In our survival school we have had to fight in order to keep the survival school going because of the educational system that exists there in the Americas. And throughout the world comes a from a man who does not even know himself or what he is about. And we realize that he is wrong, but he doesn't want to be wrong alone so he is dragging down these other colors of man with him, because misery as we know loves company. And we have been able to listen to the teachings of our grandfathers and though they tell us these things, they are not the result of their teachings, as they are not the result of their elders teachings. We are the result of the Creator. And through the generations the elders have only taken the responsibility of passing that truth down through the following generation. And so throughout the world, every two hundred years, being, is the result of the Creator's dream. And if we are allowed, or if we wish to live as a human beings, we must understand what that dream is and what it is about. We must listen to the nature of this earth. We must hear the things that it has to say, because these are the two things that we cannot live without, all that is here on this earth. The Father, which is the Creator, and the Mother, which is the one that bears the children, and as you come from inside of your mother, so do we come from the inside of this earth, our mother, too. And as you would love your mother, as you would want to protect her and to show your appreciation for her, for her allowing you to nurse at her breast and she watches over you until you have the strength to go out and feed for yourself. This is the way we look at this earth. This is the feeling we have for this earth. We love this earth, as we love our physical mother. Because it is true that she does provide the nourishment and the shelter for her children. And if we destroy the earth or show disrespect for our

Across the room, over the heads of the other delegates, was a young photographer. He was focusing his camera on them, trying to get frontal face shots.

"Look down at your notes." The photographer lowered his camera. He signalled across the room to another man, who also held a camera. The second man went outside and the first one lit a cigarette. Then he too went outside.

The Bolivian Military attaché had come that day. He was flanked by a staff of four — two men and two women — all well-dressed. They took careful notes.

One by one the governments had heard. Something was being said here that no North, Central or South American government/state could live with comfortably.

The Indian people were claiming their land.

The Indian people were claiming their right to exist as Indian people, wherever they might be.

The Indian people were claiming the right to continue to live a way of life that had proven itself healthy and adequate for human beings.

This was the message of this U.N. conference. And if it was a message that couldn’t be delivered in its totality, it was because it is not a message of words only. It is about a real world, and about a real people — and in Geneva, after 500 years of contact, it was a message about how these people, by no means perfect, but with a sane, healthy vision of existence, guided by concepts of unity and reciprocity, the positive values of non-accumulation of wealth and most fundamentally, an all-embracing comprehension of how the life-force manifests itself in all the beings of the Creation — how these peoples, sometimes gradually but otherwise suddenly, found and found themselves burred by misdeeds, adding professors, educators, economic developers, armies and all manner of confusing gimmicks — and one by one they are extinguished, they disappear — they fight, they kill themselves, they get contaminated, they are assimilated, they survive; they unite.
mother. And in our survival schools we have learned the meaning of sovereignty. We have learned to cherish the four colors of man.

And we do not look at it with prejudice as some people would do. Four colors of man, four religions, four parts of this earth. And we have been taught respect.

You respect yourself by staying within the boundaries and following the instructions that your Creator gave you. And the instructions that He gave you are more than other colors of man, you respect that too. That is his, that belongs to you, you have to go by that. And you cannot go into his culture and take from him. Or you cannot go into his culture and force yours on him, because it is not the way of the Creator. It is not the wish of the Creator. We must respect ourselves by living in this way, by respecting one another, by leaving each to his own, allowing each color to live as they were taught to live in the beginning of creation.

And when we talk of sovereignty these four colors of men were true sovereign people when they were first created, because they did not have any government to go to ask that government if they could do something. Just like the bird today, he does not have to ask for permission to live the way he has been living for millions of years on this earth. That is his way of living as a human being, not having to rely on anyone telling you what to do, or give you the permission to do it. You need only to look to the beginning of your race to find out exactly what the Creator told your people. And then you look, and you will understand the love that you feel for this earth. These children feel this love for you too. You are inseparable. A child comes from the mother. Together the mother and father create the child. And if you are really concerned about your children and their future you must take on the responsibility yourself as a parent to teach your child, to raise your child, to give him the instructions that your father, and grandmother, gave you. You cannot go in this lazy way, and push your child into another man's care, another person's care, and give them the responsibility of raising your child. Because it might lose your connection. There is still love, but it is a false love, it can slip away very easily. But it gives the most important thing that you have to give, the materials of this earth today, but your spiritual knowledge, your spiritual love to your child, you won't find him running wild in the street. You won't find them killing one another.

You won't find turmoil on this earth. Because that is what we were in the beginning is children. And today the child, the baby is the closest thing to innocence and purity. He still remembers, he still knows where he comes from. The Spirit world. He still has that understanding there. You think that a child when he is newborn doesn't understand nothing and yet he knows more than you do. Because you, your minds, have been cluttered by the things that are here today. He still knows how to talk to the animals. He still knows how to communicate with his Creator. And how to truly communicate with his mother because she doesn't have the voice to say the things. He says it with his feelings. He says it with a cry and right away the older person knows that child is in discomfort. He sees that and if you truly concern yourself for your child you will not continue this way. You will not continue the destruction of this earth. There are some people that destroy this earth and there are some people that are trying to slow them down. And even though you have theecologists trying to find ways to preserve this earth no matter how much they slow down this process of civilization as they call it or progress, no matter how slow it moves it is still inevitable that man is going to destroy this earth. So it must stop completely. Unless man realizes that the things that we have to survive by. The earth shows us if we don't have to go searching the air for it. What we need to survive by our mother provides it and puts it right in our hands. And if we are to be truly sovereign we must be allowed to receive our education from our elders. And if we are really to win this battle of sovereignty we must also remember the political prisoners. There are lots today. Because even if we are free to love as the way today, we are not free. Because we still have a brother and a sister who are not free. They are in prison. And we must consider that. It is not their fault that they made this mistake, because the system where they made that mistake is foreign. It belongs to another man and if they would have been allowed to live within their world they would not have made that mistake.

So it is not them, it is you, the industrial people, the people who are intent on bringing themselves above being a human being. And I would like to say in closing that I truly have a feeling that I am free because what I have inside me came from the grandfathers. And to them it came from the Creator. And even if you do decide to ignore our message that we brought to the world, even if you decide to kill us all, to eliminate us completely, I am still not worried, because there is still that feeling that I have.
I come with greetings from the women of the Western Hemisphere. I come here to post questions to this conference and hopefully to bring to some of the questions that I present. The Indian women of the Western Hemisphere are the target of the genocide that is still on-going, that is still the policy of the United States of America. We are undergoing the modern form called sterilization, which has been going on for hundreds of years, to totally exterminate the Red man. Our brothers and sisters who have to undergo murders and other inhumane acts. You heard this morning from our brothers, the warriors and protectors of our nations. The Native American woman, is the carrier of our nation. Therefore, I again state, we are the target for a total, final extermination of us as people. The question I would like to put forth to this conference, to the delegates of other countries here present is that why have you not recognized us as sovereign people before? Why did we have to travel this distance to come to you? You had not thought that the U.S. government in its deliberate and systematic policy of extermination, it never had you not thought that we want to be recognized that we did not want to recognize us as sovereigns, as people. Why did I feel we come out of this conference, that we are not us as part of that international family. It is for you to give us that recognition.

Only with that can we continue to live as completely sovereign people. There are other concerns of the Native American women. They do not just stop at the concern of being sterilized. They go beyond, because of our relationship to Mother Earth. The raping, plundering, because of the greed of the United States of America for our natural resources, it is still yet a form of sterilization. Because we depend on Mother Earth for life. And you also, because our part of the family in this world, we should also be very concerned, because the current enemy is your enemy too. And that enemy dictates the policy to your governments also. And I want to warn you to be so dependent on the country and the government that we are under. We have demonstrated to you how many hundreds of years we have survived, but only because we are still united we can still be together in struggle. And we wish to continue to exist. I have a message from Panama. "The Indian women of Panama greet our inparable companions in the struggle, in the Indian movement that are present here today to question and to achieve positive acts for our nations. Our groups are the most exploited and most segregated of all the peoples from the time of invasion and conquest of this country. We, the Indigenous women of Panama have already seen on ourselves when it deals with the unity of our people because we have confronted it in a passing, to the progress and development in the areas of strengthening our cultural, spiritual and traditional values, hereditary wealth of our ancestors. We are conscious of our historic position and we are sure we will not defraud our future brothers and sisters because we are here constructing little by little the basis together with you all. Let us be brave men and women so that once again for the history of the world the richness of our indigenous society shines. Delegates, this is a very great mission and it requires the participation of all its members, because we want and desire the full vindication of all our rights because here, in one form or another, we are united by blood, by a history weighed down by the constant murders and humiliations toward us and because all the Indian nations are raising our voice before the protectors of the state, who is a great height preted to maintain us under, a situation of segregation, as though they did not recognize the objectives which they want to attain, our own extermination. We would like to make it known to the public here that for the women, her defense, her rights and equality are conquests in practice and real life we do not know. The rights of better social conditions, on par with culture, with our education, because the great majority of us are domestic servants and we are not permitted to go to school even at night time. We are cheap labor. In the houses where we serve they oblige us to renounce our traditional dress, our dances, our language, for a miserable wage. They oblige us and condition us to think and to feel as whites. They teach us and oblige us to look down on the Indian that forms part of our history, who is our brother and our father. We are objects of investigation on the part of the so-called..."

We have a chance," Segwalise said, "in the Western Hemisphere to work together as human beings, as people. And as the Native People of this land we have come to this World Council to try to show you that even though the things you have done to us, we still have a feeling of sympathy, we still have a feeling of kindness in our hearts towards you.

"But if you do not stop, if you continue, do not be...

Dan Bomberry, of the Haú de no sa no Delegation, is walking around. He too carries a camera; this one with a long lens. The Ayampe is saying to him over. They want him to shoot the photographers.

Bomberry walks away, crouches down, shoots. He shoots again and again, from the sides, from the front. And the photographers shoot back at him -- at the Ayampe and the man, at the delegates.

Bomberry then does the Bolivian Military attack and his stunt. They glare at him scornfully.

Steven Gaskin, an independent observer from The Farm, a U.S. self-sufficient community, is also recruited. He has a small, dinky camera, but he wears it with flair, joining theiskunah, shooting, shooting.

Pretty soon the two photographers retreat. The Ayampe are laughing, laughing. But the Bolivian military man is still looking out, silently, angrily.

Report Coun...

We were in a tall, cavernous room at the United Nations, and it was the last day. Segwalise of the Haú de no sa no Delegation was about to speak.

It had been a long week -- a week of sleeping three, maybe four hours a night, a week of transatlantic flights and hurried breakfasts and the ever-present need to say things in the morning and write as much as we could in the constant energy. Because something had happened in this conference, something was helping, people were looking together in the day and they had transcended themselves, as if they knew, finally, that the truth, once you know it, carries with it an awesome, a beautiful obligation -- that there is no going back.

We were tired. Everyone was tired, but I don't mean tired in that way that one begins to forget things. No, rather I mean tired in that way that all your emotional reserves, your total, everyday customary buffers have been used up and as whatever is around you enters your body and flows through you and becomes part of what you are and Segwalise was groping for words.

"I want to say," he began slowly, and he looked toward the Bolivian military people, to the Venezuelan, the Nicaraguan, the Panamanian government representatives. This was for them. It was for us to them. "Dr. Gaskin who has helped work to achieve this time; this first time when our people have come here as one people of the Western Hemisphere to talk to the world and try to explain the conditions that we face, that what I have been in the past year of work on this is that there has been an organic, growth going on among groups of people. It is the same kind of organic growth as when you put that seed into the earth and you know that the various things of the earth work together with that seed to bring about a good thing for the life of all the people.

"That cycle has been going on since the time that this place began. My deepest concern in this work has always been that unfortunately the people who occupy our part of the world with us, for whatever reasons, seem to have a vicious strain in them. They have a vindictiveness in them. It may be because their guilt is so overwhelming that how they treat us, that sometimes they have to try to murder us, or kill us, or assassinate our leaders, or carry on acts against our people.

"I hope that those of you who sit in this room with us, as representatives of the co-occupiers of our part of the world, you will be able to think a little bit about our lives, our aspirations, our wants, our desires, before you send your final reports home. Before you send your reports home that may cause a death..."

And here Segwalise had to stop -- and we all stopped. We were all there to be of words, because he was choked up, and in that room the tears began to flow.

"...That may cause a death among a people that I have come to know and love. Because if one of them disappears from the face of this earth because they came here to speak the truth about the conditions we live in, and the things we have to face, the people who will remember that man's death will be coming after you."

Wild applause, everyone on their feet.

"We have a chance," Segwalise said, "in the Western Hemisphere to work together as human beings, as people. And as the Native People of this land we have come to this World Council to try to show you that even though the things you have done to us, we still have a feeling of sympathy, we still have a feeling of kindness in our hearts towards you.

"But if you do not stop, if you continue, do not be..."
"...Because All The Indian Nations Are Raising Our Voices Before The Protectors Of The State..."

MARIE SANCHEZ CONT

The possibilities to achieve our rights in favor of the enrichment of our culture and of our peoples because we have always been and are now women who fight with a sense of our own values. On a national level we would like to terminate the politics of paternalism, integration and discrimination which also affects us enormously and that which they try to impose upon us in our land, in our work and in whatever place, wherever we are. Indigenous brothers, we have confidence in you and we have confidence always that out voices will be heard, all united under one Indian religion only without different borders. We will fight for that one day when the richness of our culture and the greatness of our indigenous people will show again in all its splendor. This is a challenge to all of us and we will fight to overcome."
A Conflict Of World Views

EXCHANGES FROM THE LEGAL COMMISSION

With all three of the special commissions occasioned much insightful testimony and telling exchanges, it was in the legal commission where the most basic contradiction between the Native world view and Western Civilization became evident.

The Native world view is circular, self-contained. It is not based on the expansionist, linear concept of society and history which is the underlying assumption of Western Civilization. The Mother Earth, the Pacha Mama, the territory within which we live is sacred, and must be protected at all cost - not out of some Utopian, or intellectual, or pseudo-spiritual notion - but, simply, because it is where the people live. They have lived on it for hundreds of generations. For Native Peoples the land on which they live is truly "home" - and you don't destroy your home. The sacred knowledge is simply that what you don't destroy, you learn to appreciate. If you stay in one place and don't destroy it - you come to know it. And the Creation, the Great Mystery, the Life Force - the People come to understand, is manifested in everything around us.

The whole process of Western Civilization has been one of displacement. Imperialism, colonization, the justifiction of nations - they are all historical processes which flow out of that basic inability to make peace with your surroundings - with the Natural World. There is no contradiction more basic. They are opposing forces, constantly in struggle.

The job of giving testimony about the very complex network of legal issues involved in the protection of Indian lands and sovereignty could not have been more difficult. There were many different nations represented, much ground to cover and, worst of all, a very restrictive time schedule. Moreover, we were to work toward a resolution which would encompass a consensus of all the testimony and which could then be presented to a plenary of all the delegates.

Yet, a situation emerged which we found curious. Mr. Niall MacDermott, the chairman of the legal commission, was frequently at odds with the delegates. His manner was seen by some as high-handed and obstructive, even disrespectful, though he consistently made reference to his own commitment to objectivity and impartiality.

The conflict emerged as the delegates of various nations attempted to explain their defensive position against the displacing and extractive processes of Western Civilization. The following is an exchange between Segwalise of the Ha! de no sau no delegation and (other delegates) and chairman MacDermott. It took place during an attempt to define the wording to a resolution that would protect indigenous land rights.

Segwalise: "We want... protection from the processes by which government can acquire ownership without the agreement of those presently on the land."

MacDermott: "You realize what you are asking here - you are asking that a right be given to indigenous peoples over land which nobody else has got. Anybody else who owns land anywhere is subject in modern society to having a process of compulsory purchase, compulsory acquisition, for all sorts of public services - whether it is way-staves, whether it is putting electricity by-lights on, whether it is making roads through them and so forth... What usually one looks for is protection under administrative law to see that the persons who are affected are adequately consulted and have the chance to make proper representations and those representations are taken into account before a decision is reached and you don't, for example, as happens in Brazil, just drive a highway right through the area of an indigenous people and substantially destroy the whole of the people in that process - the decision being taken without considering them - but to say that it could never be done, except with their consent would be to say that you could never construct a highway." (Laughter.)

Segwalise: "Right." (Laughter.)

MacDermott: "...would give this right to anybody..."

Segwalise: "That's right." (Laughter.)

MacDermott: "...would be not only through indigenous peoples' lands, it would mean a highway anywhere..."

Segwalise: "That's right, yes."

MacDermott: "...because anybody, if they had a choice, if they had the power to refuse a highway..."

Segwalise: "You got it."

(Laughter.)

MacDermott: "Yes, well, depends on what kind of society you want."

(Laughter.)

Segwalise: "Right!"

MacDermott: "But I am afraid you'll have great difficulty getting any modern state to accept the idea that there can be no infringement on your land rights without your consent, I think you are asking a bit too much." (Laughter.)

Segwalise: "We are not saying without your consent - we are saying without the agreement of those who presently own the land." (Laughter.)

MacDermott: "That is consent. Agreement is consent..."

Segwalise: "And I mean, if they think that they are just going to ram anything through - I mean - throughout the entire Western Hemisphere, every doggone country that occupies our land over there does it - they just ram the road right through the middle of Nicaragua (Mesquito country) without consulting anyone. They just ram roads through all over the place and that is to bring a screeching halt to that." (Laughter.)

MacDermott: "Ah, well... I think your solution is a bit too drastic to be practicable."

Jane Penn (delegate from California): "Mr. Chairman, this business about land... we in California, of the Moroega Indian Reservation passed an ordinance within our tribe and it took three elections but it did pass and the Secretary of Interior recognized its passage and demanded that the Bureau of Indian Affairs abide by our ordinance. It's standing today - this took place in 1958. So that this does happen. Any rights of way for anything must go to the people for full vote to agree. This can be done. I hope that will give you information."

MacDermott: "Yes."

José Mendoza (delegate from Panama): "A new wording. The lands occupied by the Indian nations are their property and are under their control. The lands that have been taken away by the various governments, or private individuals, and that the Indians need now, should be returned, in accordance with procedures by which the Indian nations have equal standing with the Western governments represented. This with particular emphasis on the demand for equal standing as a nation - because if this is not recognized, the solution will be an imposed one and not an agreement. Mr. Chairman, in one of your phrases you used the word, to "consult." Well, as long as we are not recognized as equal nations, the consultation will be nothing more than simply to be informed - "Your lands are about to be occupied." And that's it, and that's to be consulted."

MacDermott: "The difficulty that I still see is that it would give indigenous peoples a greater right to their land than anyone else has to their land."

Murmur: "That's because no one else has any rights left at all!"

Segwalise: "If we work on the basic premise that the indigenous peoples, by prior existence in the hemisphere, have prior land rights to those laws that were imported and that our prior rights were such that we did not allow those kinds of things to go on amongst ourselves - then we are reinforcing the premise that we are not going to allow these things to go on. The Six Nation lands and the Lakota lands are not part of the United States. The United States does not have ownership where it can just blatantly run its roads through our lands. It has to go in there and consult with us."
“When Does Complete Destruction Of The Natural Life Become A Legal, Social-cultural Or An Economic Issue?”

—Larry Red Shirt

MacDermot: “I know that is your contention and we’ve put that forward...I am afraid that you are confusing your mind too much on your own particular problem.”

What ostensibly began as a simple task of defining precise wording for the indigenous position on the right to own their territories turned quickly into something larger.

It became apparent very early on that the position being put forth by the Indian Nations was making Chairman MacDermot uncomfortable. Nonetheless, he continually referred to his own objectivity, claiming that he was primarily concerned with arriving at a position acceptable to all concerned.

Yet, as we looked at the room, observing the total situation, the physical setup, (again) the time element, and even the very idea of so-called objectivity, it became apparent that the clash of cultures (of worldviews) represented in that room was inevitable.

In contrast to the full circle of our internal meetings, the Indian delegates had been seated in long rows, one behind the other, and facing a raised platform, which held a long, thick table where the chairman and the official rapporteur sat. The official thus towered above the delegates, commanding attention. It was no wonder that some of the delegates continued and mistakenly referred to the chairman as “judge.”

The matter of the time limitation was important. Jose Mendoza, Guamí from Panama, had expressed it best. The official rapporteur sat. The officials thus towered above the delegates, commanding attention. It was no wonder that some of the delegates continued and mistakenly referred to the chairman as “judge.”

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At this point Chairman MacDermot read the summary of the land question discussion. Then Cayuqueo once again asked that his question be put to the assembly. MacDermot reminded that under the true rules of this procedure none of the Indian nations have yet a vote.

MacDermot: “You must understand that what we are trying to do here in this document is not trying to express all the aspirations of the Indigenous people — we are trying to find a general statement of principles which will be acceptable to everyone in this room — including the NGOs represented here and who have their own responsibilities in the matter. I have to try to negotiate a document which will be acceptable to everyone. May I read you the summary of the land question discussion.”

Cayuqueo: “Yes. But I was talking and you interrupted me. Please, when I finish why don’t you then give your opinion.”

MacDermot: “Carry on.”

Cayuqueo: “I am wondering what is your true posture and would like to ask the assembly if you are authorized to oppose the opinion of the delegates?”

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Jose Mendoza: “Mr. Chairman, you keep saying that you want to reach a consensus opinion and yet we wonder because the truth is that the position that you want to accept is not ours. So what we want to know is whom do you want to satisfy? Whose consensus — the NGO’s or us — and the problem is ours. So...”

MacDermot: “Trying to get something that is acceptable to both.”

(At this point Armando Rojas Smith, a Mestizo Indian from Nicaragua, and one of the official rapporteurs interrupted.)

Rojas: “I only want to add, Mr. Chairman, that I ally myself with these expressed anxieties of my Indian brothers and I may be here as rapporteur (tape blurry here)... (We represent) a people that has been oppressed and discriminated for more than 500 years. I want to ask the NGOs — do they take this into account or not? Have we travelled all this distance simply to fall into the same thing and to leave here without the result to which we aspire?”

We are seeing the suggestions accepted here coming from organizations such as the ILO — whom we all know does in no way represent the aspirations of Indian peoples — no matter how much is wanted or written or how many pretty words are put to documents — it will never be representative. In a personal way, then, I feel a bit deceived and once again would ask the chairman here to please listen to the suggestions of my Indian brothers.”

MacDermot: (Reading new wording.) “The lands and natural resources of indigenous peoples shall not be taken from them without their full and informed consent. Any NGOs have difficulty accepting that wording?”

Joanie Commander (Friends Service Committee for Consultation, and NGO): “I would like to raise a
The frustration of the delegates finally found a climax at the end of the first day when Larry Red Shirt of the Lakota Nation felt the need to comment on it. Several times he attempted to be recognized, and finally, the following exchange took place.

MacDermot: "I assume you are about to express a certain feeling of oppression about the way in which today's discussion has been conducted. I think it would in effect be a criticism of myself. If so, I have every sympathy with the speakers and I certainly wouldn't try to shut him off — but I would ask him if perhaps he could make his statement tomorrow morning, rather than today, because we really have concluded our time now..."

Red Shirt: "No."

MacDermot: "Is there any reason why we can't do it tomorrow?"

Red Shirt: "Yes. It concerns tomorrow."

MacDermot: "Yes, but you can make it tomorrow."

Red Shirt: "It involves what we are going to do tomorrow. So we have to know today."

MacDermot: "We have exhausted our time, and the interpreters...why can't it be tomorrow?"

(Someone else stands now, in support of the statement, but speaks away from the microphone.)

MacDermot: "Wait just a minute. Ah, Do, Well. May I ask everyone whether you would like to hear it tonight or tomorrow morning?"

Audience shouts: "Tonight. Tonight."

MacDermot: "Who would like it tonight — would you hold up your hand?"

(Laughter. Everyone in the room raises their hand. MacDermot looks to the interpreters' booth. They too raise their hands.)

On the Eminent Domain:

Segwallis: "The sentence should read: 'the right should be recognized of all indigenous states or people to the return of control over sufficient and suitable lands to enable them to live.' On point number three: 'the right should be recognized of all indigenous states or people to the return of control over sufficient and suitable lands, protected from the destruction and anihilation of the natural life become a legal, a socio-cultural or an economic issue. I can see that the Red Man has a long way to go if we are to continue with our work in the United Nations. We can get nowhere as long as we have people with paternalistic attitudes and ways to sit in judgment of what we represent — which is the truth itself."

'We are not here begging anyone — but we are here because we heard of a United Nations charter that talks of human rights. We come here with our Sacred Pipe, which is recognized by many nations as a symbol of Peace. We offer our Pipe to the world community as a gesture of good will and perhaps the beginning of better understanding. Maybe the Western Civilization will never understand our spiritual ways, but at least they can understand human rights, if nothing else."

'I have seen disrespect shown to us in this commission, I feel as a criminal who has to prove innocence first — before I am treated as a human being. Tomorrow, we the Lakota, with our Red Brothers, will again return — with our Sacred Pipe — and maybe then, if you people understand and accept — then we can smoke that Pipe and begin a long journey. We have a long, hard journey ahead of us. Thank you."

On the Policy Review Commission:

On the Eminent Domain:

Segwallis: "Well, the English simply impose their condition."

MacDermot: "Ah."

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Indian people and their sovereign rights are of the highest legal standing, established through sovereign treaties and by laws of judicial and legislative actions. They have been protected by an indemnity, the backstop that explains most of what may be known about the present-day conditions of Indians and the relations with the government and the rest of the American people.

It is a way of seeing into the mind of the Indian people of today. From the earliest days of European settlement, and what is now the United States, and more pertinent since the founding of the republic, our Indians have been taught to subvert their sovereignty policies by the advancing non-Indian societies. And after 1879, by the United States government itself.

Under one hand, every method has been employed forcing their living. It is a way of seeing into the mind of the Indian people of today. From the earliest days of European settlement, what is now the United States, and more pertinent since the founding of the republic, our Indians have been taught to subvert their sovereignty policies by the advancing non-Indian societies. And after 1879, by the United States government itself.

"There has been a conference, but what is needed now is to set the ball in motion, to create a Policy Review Commission that is needed…"

The Work Beyond Geneva:

Policy Review Comm. Can't

The Work Beyond Geneva:

During the week of November 15-17, the Non-Governmental Organizations presented the resolutions and official reports of the conference to the various national and international nations. There had been some confusion early in the month about exactly what was happening. Those who thought that only two nations were able to have representatives present, the Hau de no sau nee (Iroquois) and the Loxodonta (Loxodonta). The Treaty Council, acting in its capacity as an NGO, helped the native delegation gain entrance to a series of important meetings. On November 15, the delegation met with the Ambassadors, Ahn Daniel of Tanzania, and Chairman of the U.N. Committee on de-colonization. Ambassador Daniel emphasized that the processes of the U.N. are slow and not always conclusive, but the processes can also be beneficial in obtaining recognition and public support for a people's struggle. Speaking in his capacity as the Tanzanian ambassador, he asked that he be ware of the dangers that could arise if this were a people's struggle that he could send to his government.

Hank Adams, Oglala, a member of that Commission, and the Report of the Final Session of the General Assembly. On November 18, he did make this presentation to the final session of the General Assembly.
The short, stocky man jumped to his feet.

"I want to talk...I need the floor!"

"We cannot all talk at once! I have not given you the floor."

"You must allow it!"

"I have not given you the floor. Would the gentleman who is controlling the light please not give the light to anyone except when I point to that person and give him the authority to speak...otherwise we have confusion...with several people talking at once...So please stop...I have not given the floor to you."

"Discrimination!" the short man shouted. "Discrimination!"

He was Constantino Lima. The "constant one," a driven man, shot several times, arrested, tortured, and then, after a demanding international campaign—initiated from an 8 X 8-foot concrete cell with no window or toilet to be released in Canada. Land of Development.

Lima was in Geneva to denounce the racism and discrimination against the Indian people of Bolivia. He is now an exile, barred from his homeland—an immobilization for the movement.

In 1972, when the fascist Bolivian Head of State, General Hugo Banzer, declared himself the "campesino's best friend," it was Lima who reported, at a public rally in La Paz: "No, you are the Indian's worst enemy."

"Banzer's holemen," said Lima, during a September interview in Geneva, "got hungry for me."

For Lima, it marked the intensification of a struggle that began for him very early in life.

The history of Bolivia, as with most of the countries of the Western Hemisphere, is a history of the conquest and domination of Indian peoples by European colonial settlers and the various types of governments they devised for themselves.

"From the time I was eight years old," says Lima, "I had a political consciousness, more or less defined, because I had experienced, in my own Drah, the racial discrimination. My mother, my father—they were both miners, you see. My mother—she worked in the Bolivian Mine, she is a miner too. And my father is Aymara, from the Chilen side—so they were raised that way.

"After they were married, they went back to the countryside—which is where we were born and raised. In the countryside, the discrimination, the racism, is very, very open—very frank, you might say. For example, I could go with my mother to the central market in Camacho—a 10 kilometers—carrying firewood, which we would sell to the whites there. Well, it is a very definite subjugation. They control. They would pay us whatever price they wanted. We nearly had to beg to sell it, you see. We had no other way of making a few cents—to buy a little salt, or some cloth, or such.

"So I experienced, early on, those insults—how they -- they would pay us whatever price they wanted. We nearly had to beg to sell it, you see. We had no other way of making a few cents—to buy a little salt, or some cloth, or such.

"I started school at 14 years of age and finished primary in an Adventist school, in a so-called religious school, controlled and run by whites. Then I went into military service—a compulsory obligation for us in Bolivia. There it was the same, I would see the parade. It was actually humorous. The whites and mestizos on the horses—their fine medals and uniforms, and the Indians—the Indians marching behind."

In 1962, the Indian consciousness of discrimination turned into a movement for sovereignty and self-dignity. Lima says. There had been other efforts in the past, many of them, but it was then that a "proper work" began.

"We have organized and mobilized large sectors," Lima says. "We have our languages. We have a community way of life. We have a culture that has been attacked. We have a recognized, common oppressor."

By 1968, some young Indians had pressured the universities and had begun the process of learning skills in the field of law, medicine, social sciences, which would allow them a greater latitude in the struggle to defend their people. They began to make known the Indian situation in a public way and to link up internationally. They also called for mass campesino mobilizations, working primarily in the countryside communities.

"Through it all," Lima says, "we underestimated the viciousness of the regime. We assumed social justice was something everyone desired—that if we just made our anxieties known, somehow beneficial action would follow."

But instead of "beneficial action," what has followed the rise of a movement consciousness in Bolivia has been brutal repression. In 1974, a small, local conflict in the town of Guachabamba grew into a full-scale demonstration.

"It was the same as what I used to experience with my mother," Lima says. "Our Indian women going to market to sell their meager products would be continually abused. The police would come out: 'Let's see your license.' Now, license or no license, that is not the problem. The problem was that there is no existence. One day you could sell without the license, the next day you couldn't. Or you would get a license and still, the police would come and confiscate your produce. It was all whimsical. A lack of respect.

"Well, people reacted one day. There was a big strike. A few thousand people ended up in the market square. And you know their only demand: they wanted a guarantee—one way or another—about selling things there. That's all. And peaceful. Not one violent thought, not a resolver in sight. So innocent.

"The president—the same General Banzer who declares himself our 'true friend,' he was contacted. The people expected he personally would help them resolve this small problem of guarantees.

"So, on the third or fourth day of the demonstration, down the road, people heard big noise coming. Everyone was happy, thinking, 'The General is coming to resolve,' Then runners came. 'It's tanks,' they said. And then the planes overhead. And you know, the people thought—well, the General, he always travels big like that. They still waited. Then the shooting started. The tanks fired. The planes did the machine guns from the air. Horrible, horrible. People running. Heads, arms, hands, legs, Brutal, brutal. Over 1,300 died. This we know. The official press— they say 200. But we have the count—it is that many more."

The worst part about it, Lima says, is that the soldiers who are ordered to conduct such massacres are very often recruited or conscripted from poor Indian communities.

"So this has been an area for us—to do work among the soldiers. To change their minds around, to point their guns the other way."

"You see, that is everything for us—to turn everything they throw at us, to throw it back at them. Our movement grows from everything they do to us. Because we are stronger, we are more numerous. We have a thing: we say there is no such thing as white man. That is just a thing, an identity invented by the Europeans to justify their enslavement of other peoples.

"Maybe there is no such thing as Indian people. The
term Indian, the meaning of Indian, what is that? Well, historically it is the term used by the colonizers to identify us, to separate us, to make us less than them. It was a knife, you see, a dremel. We use now — let us turn this around. Let this be our tool. Because I am an Aymara, you see. That's who I am. And the brother over there, he is a Guanajuato, and that one is the Huancavelica. We say: who are we? — the way we have been seen, the way we have been tortured. All right, let it now be our knife.

"Our movement now, there is no turning us back. So, we get to the soldiers, and the guns that have been used against us... they will turn. Already, in some cases soldiers have shot officers and officers shot soldiers, for the soldiers' refusal to fire on the people.

"But they are clever, these white people. They know of these changes taking place. So they are starting the plans by which no Indians will be included in the army. The whitewash of the army, we call it.

It is a whole way of thinking that is not unusual now, among the ruling circles in Bolivia. Lima explains. Since 1958, there has been in existence a strategy that has come to be known as the "White Plan" or "Plan Rhoidezta." It is simply this: to turn minority rule into majority rule by importing whites from around the world, to settle more and more regions of the country.

"The idea is to exterminate or minimize us," says Lima. "They plan to bring five million more whites from Rhoidezta, Holland, and Canada. This would solve the Indian problem for them. But that alone won't do. That is too slow. We are strengthening too fast for them. No, the next thing is to start a war. A war they must have. They want to provoke a war. Chile against Peru... Argentina against Chile. Like the Chaco War... which had no other purpose then to exterminate the Indian. The Indians goes first to war, my father always said. So this worries us.

Because of this, Lima says, although they have had no direct contact, the Bolivian Indian movement does identify very closely with the struggle of Blacks against colonialism in Southern Africa. There are very similar forces at work in both cases. He says he also personally identifies with the Basque struggle for sovereignty in Spain, he says.

"Many people believe I hate the white man. No. Of course, I hate how it takes place — the discrimination, the mentality, of 'Indio e Mierda.' They occupy our country and they don't let us breathe. But if a white man declares himself in alliance, in friendship with us, then I accept — that is no problem.

"We had the brother Che Guevara, from Cuba. He came to our land. But he came to help us and he aligned himself with the Left, with the whites. This is the reality. Only one Indian with him in the guerrilla. A clear proof, and a miner, alienated as an Indian. But for us, during all that time, it was in the press that we would hear of him.

"But Che, he didn't connect with us. If he had only gone through our communities a bit, before, he never would have died. It pains me — because I don't know what his real sentiment was. Maybe he had a good feeling for us — so it pains me. A death like that pains us. We would have liked to know. Yes, it would have been most pretty, if Che Guevara had come to meet us and we are sure that we would have protected him. We could have kept him secret a long, long time. There are ways of doing that.

"But he went to the woods right away, and there he was killed. And yet it pains me. And we don't know — so some say: well, maybe he was another Bolivar, or another Street, you know, the so-called liberators of the "independence" which we, of course, don't recognize. But, humanely speaking, we feel his loss, and we are sorry that a people like the Cubans don't know what is happening with us and the Leftists in Bolivia.

"It was precisely at a meeting between the Indian Movement and the Left forces that Lima was finally captured by Banzer's police.

"It was a dialogue," Lima recalls. "They wanted our support. No, we said, you should support us. We were going around like that, talking nonsense, taking too long and getting careless.

The police moved in and made the arrests.

"Right away, we were separated. The Left to one place. The Indians elsewhere. In my case, I was pistol-whipped, along with my brother. Then beaten — for three days. They know how to do the most painful tortures now, without killing. They use rubber tubing, electricity, make you run up and down stairs. When you pass out they use the Iktapulla — a grass with a small flower on it that has some very interesting spices that are guaranteed to bring you out of any faintness. A barbarous pain.

"Then I was one year at forced labor — though for the first three months I couldn't move. My body was as dead.

"And it was in prison where the difference between the city Leftists and the campesino Indians was most evident. There was an open division. They had money, food — were not made to work. At first, I thought to check carefully that it was not the jewels' own manipulation. I hoped that it was. But, after all, they did not share their food, even. I found very little true spirit of solidarity with them.

After two years of imprisonment, much of that time in isolation, Lima's case got focused international attention from Amnesty International and other groups. The Banzer government finally shipped him out one day. He landed in Canada, where he has been living since, mostly among Indian people.

"But, you know," he says. "I find it very difficult to live in Canada — both personally and morally. The worst job, the most mental task that I may earn a living with in Canada makes me a rich man by comparison to my family in Bolivia. I feel further and further away from my people — getting used to this way of living, this food, this fast life. No, I cannot continue to live there and maintain my integrity. This is a hard life for me."
Stories are appearing across the wires of international press services which tell of a rising tide of white backlash in America, a white backlash aimed at American Indian peoples and their attempts to assert sovereignty over their ancestral homelands. This is a very real, very serious movement against Indian rights, based on peoples' fears generated by the new wave of development in the Pacific Northwest, and fears of tribal jurisdiction over non-whites in states with large Native territories and populations.

The confusing spectre of white backlash

There are a number of political organizations which would like to extinguish the concept of Native existence altogether. Any number of towns, townships, and local groups of citizens have formed to fight against the return of any lands to Native nations; that the return of such lands is a great moral wrong, because private landowners fought the land in good faith, and now they are threatened 'with the loss of their homes. But that view is not supported by the facts. There have not been a huge number of Indian victories resulting in the return of lands to Native nations, but the legal strategy of their attorneys is based on a return of land to Native nations. The reason has nothing to do with historical evidence, but with the current political climate.

The Maine land dispute concerns the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot claim to a large area of the state of Maine. It is based on the fact that a 1790 Non-Tribal Act was violated at the time the state of Maine was established, and the land transfer, a fact which is undisputed. But will the U.S. "give the land back to the Indians," as has appeared in so many press headlines? It is not even in the list of possibilities as it affects homeowners in Maine. The Indians have agreed to (or go their claims to the areas which have been expanded into Maine. They are interested in pressing their claim to lands owned by the state and also by eight land-holding corporate entities in Maine. And they are a long way from forcing a successful claim to even that. The legal strategy of their attorneys is based on a return of land to Native nations. The reason has nothing to do with historical evidence, but with the current political climate.

The headlines leave us with the impression that there is a groundswelling of anti-Indian movement among the grass-roots American people, and such headlines are certainly geared to create such a "backlash", but generally support for Native causes seems to be growing rather than shrinking. The Native struggle for land is not a struggle for the land of American homeowners generally. That struggle has, however, been used as a tool to frighten people into opposing Native movements, especially in the area of land, and the strategy extends to include opposition to Native sovereignty.

The list of reasons that there should be a public groundswell of anti-Indian feelings in the country is long, but it is not a convincing list. Certainly there are no reasons that such a groundswell would result in injustices against non-Native people in the areas of court jurisdiction where there have been no real cases of abuses in those areas. The reaction against Native people having and exercising sovereignty over their own territories just is a reaction to the actual political reality. There is no evidence of a rising tide of anti-Indian backlash in the South or in the South-West, or in the areas that have Native peoples.

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But Congress is considering such legislation at this very moment in立法 in Washington, which would have a serious effect both on hunting and fishing, (the conservation of the game and fish), and it has nothing to do with the rights of sovereign nations. For years, the Indian Nations have been trying to establish a long-standing strategy of controlling the resources on their own lands. But Indians who do not want development in their country and who are taking steps to halt that development.

And the beneficiaries of the legislation proposed by Meeks are neither the Indian people nor the local citizenry. The Meeks bill is in fact a study in hypocrisy,
in its statements about "protecting" the rights, etcetera. What the Meeds bill is intended to do is to see to it that the Indian people in the Southwest do not use water which is not their own but is comprised of water rights for use by non-Indians, etcetera. It also is intended to protect the exploiters of Navajo lands from taxation by the Navajo Nation, etcetera. It is also intended to protect the Indian people from the exploitation of their own water by the federal government and the industrial and utilities. It is also intended to protect the explorers of Navajo lands from taxation in the Northern Great Plains and other areas behind legislation which limits Navajo sovereignty. Native jurisdiction could pose a threat to such development, a threat which big business can regard as a threat to their profits and a threat can be successfully eliminated by passage of legislation which would limit Native jurisdiction.

But that, of course, is not what the way it was presented in the press. And so, it is necessary to manipulate non-Native groups and organizations to support our cases just as the areas of somewhat obscure rights against prosecution under Native jurisdiction on the theory that Native people always abuse non-Native people in courts.

And the other strategy is to blame the Native people that it is happening, Indians have gone too far, they have asked too much, according to Meeds. But the Native people have not gone too far. In fact, they have not done enough. Of course, the resort to the idea that the Indians have generally been little more than rubber stamps for federal policy since the days of the Indian Reorganization Act.

What is changing is that there is emerging another era of gross theft of Native resources, and that process is the one that is creating the essential of Native rights over their resources.

There are major pieces of legislation before Congress which would extinguish Native rights in a number of areas. The Cunningham bill is probably the best case, a package for Meeds, and the Cunningham bills a piece of straight termination legislation, intended to destroy Native sovereignty and make all its advisors and supporters, but which stands little chance of passage.

"Meeds bills however, wound on the surface, much more logical. They would serve most of the purposes of the Cunningham bill. Most specifically, they would freeze Native peoples access to water at a point prior to one at which most Native communities would actually have use of much water. (HR 9853) The proposal concerning criminal and civil jurisdiction would place outside Native jurisdiction all activities by non-Indians on their lands, making all non-Natives in Indian country immune to criminal and civil action by the Indian community. It is the same as if the U.S. passed a law saying that U.S. citizens who commit a breach of law in Nigeria could not be tried by Nigerian, but instead must be sent home to an American jury. This law is considered following a decade of relatively unsuccessful attempts to sue prosecution for crimes (including murder) against Native people. (Remember Bad Heart Bull) The statement can't be made that Indians, or Native people, are not aware of the legislation, and a tool which clearly serves the people with plans for expansion in Indian country.

This then, is why the Meeds bills have a good chance of passage in Congress. The powerful multi-national do not have the time to slow down the process. They are ready to tax and zone, to set up court systems which could regulate their access to reservation lands, and which could "interfere" with issues of coal and uranium mining. In short, they don't need Native people to be exercising sovereignty which might cut into profits.

And they have a powerful ally on their side. They have the ally of two hundred years of confusion. Confusion on the part of the environmentalists, who have trouble seeing that the commercial interests are a hundred times more destructive to the land than all the humans in the world in total. And the Native people push forward commercial interests in the long run.

Confusion on the part of the American public, which has not been told, and at any rate is reluctant to believe, that the American people are being harmed by an American law which is not that Indians want too much sovereignty, but that Indians want too little sovereignty, that they are just trying to maintain the sovereignty over land which has been theirs for a decade. They are fighting the way it was presented in the press. And so, it is

As I said in the beginning, it is tempting to report this as a victory for the Native people. But if we find out who is the beneficiary of that play, to analyze the conflicts, and to let it go at that. But somehow, that is not the whole story; the message at this point is not complete.

Colonialism is an extremely complex process. It is a process which makes the colonized dependent, either in their interaction with the colonizers or the colonizable. The big corporate interests are the beneficiaries, in a primary, of the legislative effort to deny to the Native people and Native people's arguments in favor of those limitations are interesting because they are "right", but which are, in a sense, "wrong". They are not that Indians want too much sovereignty, but that Indians want too little sovereignty, that they are just trying to maintain the sovereignty over land which has been theirs for a decade. They are fighting the way it was presented in the press. And so, it is

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1224. 25 U.S.C. 232, or other laws, treaties, or regulations which grants to the courts of a State a criminal jurisdiction over offenses committed in Indian country, by members of an Indian tribe.

Sec. 203. (a) Every State shall have the same civil and criminal governmental power over its members in connection with their conduct or property outside the boundaries of the Indian country of the tribe unless such nonmember shall expressly consent to such jurisdiction in writing after the cause of action has accrued.

(b) The analysis of chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, which grants to the State of New York under the Act of September 13, 1950 (64 Stat. 925; 25 U.S.C. 1301 et seq.), power over the conduct and property of its members to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over civil actions brought by an Indian tribe in any civil action, or with respect to both.

(c) No Indian tribe shall have the power to exclude from the Indian country of the tribe or from any other place any State law enforcement officer or other State official exercising the laws of the State otherwise applicable within the Indian country of the tribe, if such officer or official is engaged in the performance of his official duties.

STATE CIVIL JURISDICTION IN ACTIONS TO WHICH INDIANS ARE PARTIES

Sec. 204. (a) No Indian tribe shall have jurisdiction over civil actions arising in Indian country between or against members of Indian tribes to the same extent that such tribe has jurisdiction over other civil causes of action. Nothing in this section shall authorize the allocation, transfer, or taxation by a State of any interest of an Indian or Indian tribe in real or personal property located in Indian country, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by law or is subject to any legal or equitable interest of any Indian tribe or in real or personal property located in Indian country, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by law or is subject to any legal or equitable interest of any Indian tribe, or any regulation by a State of such interest, or any regulation by a State of any other interest of any Indian tribe in real or personal property located in Indian country, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by law or is subject to any legal or equitable interest of any Indian tribe.

(b) Nothing in this section shall authorize the allocation, transfer, or taxation by a State of any interest of an Indian or Indian tribe in real or personal property located in Indian country, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by law or is subject to any legal or equitable interest of any Indian tribe, or any regulation by a State of such interest, or any regulation by a State of any other interest of any Indian tribe in real or personal property located in Indian country, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by law or is subject to any legal or equitable interest of any Indian tribe.

(c) No Indian tribe shall have any governmental power over its members in connection with their conduct or property outside the boundaries of the Indian country of the tribe.

(d) No Indian tribe shall have the power to exclude from the Indian country of the tribe or from any other place any State law enforcement officer or other State official exercising the laws of the State otherwise applicable within the Indian country of the tribe, if such officer or official is engaged in the performance of his official duties.

(e) Nothing in this section shall authorize the allocation, transfer, or taxation by a State of any interest of an Indian or Indian tribe in real or personal property located in Indian country, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by law or is subject to any legal or equitable interest of any Indian tribe, or any regulation by a State of such interest, or any regulation by a State of any other interest of any Indian tribe in real or personal property located in Indian country, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by law or is subject to any legal or equitable interest of any Indian tribe.
George Aird, stated that she knows that Skyhorse and counsel was to be revoked. The State Supreme Court rights, the suspension of rights to go into effect on down a ruling on November 7 that would have sus­ pended Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk's "fruitless" to complain to any deputies.

November 28. The California State Supreme Court Parsons because from past experience he's found it to be on him "as tight as possible" and then twist the deputies and then hit in the stomach. They all testified or Mohawk hit anyone. All saw Mohawk pulled by the that the deputies were verbally abusive and used racial assault any of the officers.

He said this was in line with their program set up to settle problems within the jail, lie

Michael J. Lynkyre in the Los Angeles County Jail. Michael box of cereal saved from the previous day with him to morning of September 27. He said that he had brought a

Inmates Lester Williams, Kurt Ehle, Hershell Banks, that the warriors, of that movement. But the heart of : ics organizations act as the executors, the eyes and srs. within the nations. The reality of the moment had the true leadership, the ideas and strafi:ies which the Native nations. The reality of the moment had

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples' Geneva began in

The Native people were to have their way. The New York justice they would have to carry their struggle to the international community. It was agreed to start an Indian Treaty Council, and this organization's function would be to ask our people in gaining international recognition.

New York's Marysia Greene was now up to the delegates to finish the job. In the end, what is really meant by "sovereignty" that has come forth throughout the hemispheric. The message that would be delivered in Geneva was becoming clear. At the same time, native forces that are loyal to Canada or the U.S. were at work trying to disrupt the conference. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples' executive officers were among these. They seemed to continuously try to find ways to disrupt the conference. In the organization's statement of objectives, Canada and U.S. governments as native leaders found ways to discourage the organization of the conference.

For instance, the organization of the conference, the delegates came together. Then another strange occur­dance happened when the delegates arrived in Geneva. They learned that the host country was not going to back to the U.S. The delegates were, at first, frustrated and left a meeting with the host. But after he told that he had done all the work he could, and that it was now up to the delegates to finish the job. In retrospect, it seems to be a propos positive. The Treaty Council had been established as a vehicle toward a kind of recognition that was never before. As an organization, it has no history, no traditions or way of life — it exists only as a tool of the Native nations. The reality of the moment had come to life; the organization opened the door, but the real work has to be carried on by all the people. People within the movement have always been clear that the true leadership is in the hands of the people, the elders, the traditions, and the spiritual ways. The organizations act as the executioners, the eyes and ears. This was the Native movement. But the heart of the life within the nations.

In 1977, we saw the Native peoples' third attempt to come to terms with their own struggles and to come to terms with the reality of the moment. In the end, what is meant by "sovereignty," that has come forth throughout the hemispheric. The message that would be delivered in Geneva was becoming clear. At the same time, native forces that are loyal to Canada or the U.S. were at work trying to disrupt the conference. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples' executive officers were among these. They seemed to continuously try to find ways to disrupt the conference. In the organization's statement of objectives, Canada and U.S. governments as native leaders found ways to discourage the organization of the conference.

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A more recent revolution of sorts is beginning to take place at the Six Nations Reserve on the Cnadian side of Ontario, Canada. This reserve is the largest of all the Six Nations territories. It is occupied by 45,000 acres and has nearly 14,000 people. From all of the Six Nations reside on these lands which were established in the late 1700s.

Since 1924, the territory has been under Canadian Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In that year, the Canadian government established what is known as a "sustenance" system of government. During the past 53 years there has been a mixture of red tape and poverty. Welfare, housing, highways, and of course, education, are all controlled by the DIA. It is thought that the time has come that the new narrative has occurred.

Like many other nations, the Cayuga people have been becoming more and more concerned about what is happening to their children in the non-Indian school systems. The strongest area of concern is the area of language. This narrative decided to press for more emphasis on the Cayuga language in the Canadian schools their children attend. The Canadian nation was to pursue a more militant approach to the language situation in the schools.

Dr. Joseph Mengel, who was given the title of Nazi Germany's "Angel of Death," because he would have whores and gas chambers, is reported to be participating in similar crimes in Paraguay. Dr. Mengel has been in Paraguay at least since 1950 and he engaged in efforts to land-drown patients. This harsh treatment for Chaco region, Captured Aches are forced into slave labor, their children sold into foreign homes, and their life was weakened. Anarchists are considered as the people who decide who would die immediately and who would be kept alive for medical experiments and for labor.

The ability of human beings to pretend no responsibility for their actions is reaching another and incomprehensible dimension. Headed by Nestles, multi-national corporations are expunging the baby formula market into poor communities worldwide. The result: death and disease, and in farmworkers' camps. This is only a partial list!

Perhaps the most startling example of abuse among the 51 hospitals has taken place at the Claymore Oklahoma Hospital. Records for 1973 reveal that 194 sterilizations were performed that year on Indian women out of every four admitted to this 58-bed hospital. Furthermore, four tubal ligations were performed on women under 20 years old and 13 hysterectomies were performed on women under 30, including one on an 18-year-old. And it was at Claymore that a doctor averred that Indian tissue was medically different from theirs.

icao: "As the Cheyenne will tell you, the strength of the Indian nation is in their women. No matter how strong your arrows, no matter how brave your warriors, no nation is defeated until the hearts of the women are on the ground. When the women give you up, you are in trouble."

Indian women who believe they have been sterilized without being fully informed, or with coercion of other women, contact Dr. Uri and Indian Women United For Social Justice, Box 3843, Los Angeles, CA 90038.

LATEST VICTIMS OF CORPORATE GREED

NATIVE BABIES

The ability of human beings to pretend no responsibility for their actions is reaching another and incomprehensible dimension. Headed by Nestles, multi-national corporations are expunging the baby formula market into poor communities worldwide. The result: death and disease, and in farmworkers' camps. This is only a partial list!

A boycott of Nestles' products is being encouraged by the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFAC) of San Francisco. So far the "Swiss Giant" (Nestles) has refused to give up you are in trouble."

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CROW LANDS TO BE MINED

 Secretary of Interior Andrus has approved a plan by a Nation and two firms to strip-mine 2,000 acres of Crow land in south central Montana. The area to be mined is believed to contain the most accessible 1.1 million acre area taken by the U.S. Government under a 1904 Act of Congress.

Westmoreland Resources stated that it plans to offer the surface lands for purchase to the Crow Tribe following the mining and reclaiming process, although the reclaimed land is not expected to be suitable for agriculture or grazing for seven or more years after mining.

POWER PLANTS SUE TO PREVENT TAXATION

The Salt River Project power generating plant near Page, and the Arizona Public Service which operates the Four Corners Plant near Farmington, N.M., are planning to file suit in federal court seeking an injunction against the Navajo Tribe to halt a fee imposed on surface emissions. The companies state that the fee is a tax which violates provisions of their contracts with the tribe which guarantee immunity from taxes. At the current level of emissions, the plant would have to pay a combined fee of $20 million, which is 10 cents per pound for every pound over 100 pounds. The Navajo position has been that the fee is for a permit, and is not a tax.

The first astronauts to orbit the earth reported that the 70-mile plume of smoke from the Four Corners area was the only man-made object discernable from space.

UNDER INVESTIGATION

times a week. Sometimes that total each time would reach $800.00. . . The last one was to help pay for election party on the eve of election Nov. 3, 1976. "With these checks I would pay people who wanted to sell their votes before election. Also for expense for other people. For example, Betty Wolfgang, Eric, P.O., $200 for getting other voters lined up for dinners or luncheons, etc. Also, this money was used on pre-election parties, paying for bands & food, beer, etc. Also for buying at bars for treats from Peoples' Party."

Redeye's statements go on to state that he was one of a number of people who was involved in the scheme. "During the period Oct. 11 - Nov. 4 I was given over $16,000., Robert Houg signed all vouchers for this money. Houg, who was president at the time of the election, was elected treasurer, lay, who was secretary at the time, was elected president.

Some 3500 Navajos have been ordered to be removed from lands which have been condemned as part of a 1974 Navajo Land Settlement Act which pitied Hopi interests against Navajo interests in the national parks. The lawsuit is pointing at the removal of the Navajos. The result of the court action is that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has to carry out a stock reduction program, removing Navajo livestock from the former John, the Area, and leaving Navajo people there without a livelihood.

Hopi traditionalist Thomas Banyaca and Navajo Tribal Judge Chester Yellowhair advised the Navajo-Hopi Unity Committee to seek conservation hearings on a proposed bill by Senator Dennis DeConcini which would delay the removal of the Navajos. The resolution asking for reconservation hearings was passed unanimously by the committee. The resolution is scheduled to begin in early 1979 and to be completed by 1985.

STOCK REDUCTION PROGRAM IMPOVERISHES NAVAJOS

HAROLD CARDINAL HAS PROBLEMS

THE NATIVE PEOPLE reported Nov. 18, 1977, that the Indian Association of Alberta is seeking Harold Cardinal's resignation as director general of the regional Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Canada). This followed a meeting of the IAA board in Morley in which "considerable concern" was expressed over Mr. Cardinal's credibility.

Cardinal has filed a $110,000 lawsuit against three parties: THE EDMONTON JOURNAL, the CALGARY HAROLD, and MP Robert Brisco of Fort Nelson, B.C., charging defamation of character. The lawsuit arises out of statements made by Brisco involving a proposed $175,000 from the DIA while Cardinal was president of the Indian Association of Alberta. Brisco charged that the proposed loan was an act of nepotism and constituted misappropriation of government funding. Cardinal's response has been that although the loan was approved, his father was not among those who received the money to expand the ranch at Sucker Creek reserve.

"No state, no person, can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded, but it will protect you in all your just rights. But your great object seems to be the security of your remaining lands, and I have therefore upon this point meant to be sufficiently strong and clear that, in future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands, that you possess the right to sell your lands; and that, therefore, the sale of your lands, in future, will depend entirely upon yourselves. But that, when you find it for your interest to sell any part of your lands, the United States must be present, by their agents, and will be your security that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you may make. And then, before the mentioned security for your land, you will perceive, by the Law of Congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intends to take of the Indians."

George Washington addresses the Seneca Nation

judges a "tribe," and are eligible to invoke in 1790 Non-Intercourse Act. A U.S. Dept. of Interior newsletter reported: "An anthropologist, testifying for the Indians, cited their reverence for the earth and harmony with nature. The judge, noting that most of the Indians belonged to the local Baptist Church, asked the anthropologist what the difference was between a Mashpee Indian Baptist and a Sierra Club Baptist. The anthropologist replied the Indians "were here before the Sierra club."

A FEELING OF IMPENDING DOOM

HOMER, Alaska - Nineteen oil companies have bid on the world's largest floating rig to drill test holes deep under the waters of Cook Inlet. Cook Inlet, which is almost 300 miles west of Anchorage and which faces the town of Anchorage, is one of the most productive fishery areas in the world, a major source of Alaska King Crab.

The Interior Dept. is expected to offer the oil giants $55,000 acres underneath the bay in an area which could produce up to 2.6 billion barrels of oil and 3.5 trillion cubic feet of gas over the next few decades. The activity could also result in oil spills which ruin forever the fishing on the bay, source of livelihood for the village of 75 Indians at English Bay. The onshore industrialization accompanying the drilling is expected to result in "cultural extinction" of the Native people there. Environmentalists in Anchorage said the project would be many times more disastrous than a similar occurrence in the open sea.

BIGFOOT SIGHTINGS REPORTED ON STANDING ROCK

Residents of the hamlet of Little Eagle on the Standing Rock (S.D.) Reservation have reported sightings of Bigfoot.

"I couldn't stand its running around screaming all night," the Rev. Angus Long, 72, of the Pine Ridge reservation said the screaming noise attributed to the creature. "It was doing it all the time."

He said his two weeks ago my wife saw it at night while she was down the river. She's been afraid ever since and wanted to leave.

"If you want to go back to your home, you have the right to go back, but you can't take it with you."

The Standing Rock Reservation is near the three parties: THE EDMONTON JOURNAL, the CALGARY HAROLD, and MP Robert Brisco of Fort Nelson, B.C., charging defamation of character. The lawsuit arises out of statements made by Brisco involving a proposed $175,000 from the DIA while Cardinal was president of the Indian Association of Alberta. Brisco charged that the proposed loan was an act of nepotism and constituted misappropriation of government funding. Cardinal's response has been that although the loan was approved, his father was not among those who received the money to expand the ranch at Sucker Creek reserve.

"No state, no person, can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded, but it will protect you in all your just rights. But your great object seems to be the security of your remaining lands, and I have therefore upon this point meant to be sufficiently strong and clear that, in future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands, that you possess the right to sell your lands; and that, therefore, the sale of your lands, in future, will
In America, as Indians, we are subjected to a two-faced domination: physical domination and cultural domination.

Physical domination reveals itself primarily in the rape of the land. This rape started with the outset of the European invasion and continues today. Along with the land, our natural resources have been destroyed: the forests, the waters, the minerals, the oil. The land that is left to us has been divided through internal and international borders. Our people have been isolated and divided, and there have been attempts to create confrontations among our peoples.

The physical domination is also an economic domina-
tion. We are exploited for what we produce, not what non-Indians who pay us less than what our work produced. We are also exploited in trade, because we are paid poorly for what we produce (the harvests, the arts and crafts, etc.) and what is sold to us is very expensive. This domination is not only local or national, but international. The huge transnational corporations are seeking the land, the resources, the labor force, as well as our produce, and they rely on the powerful and privileged non-Indian society to carry this out. The physical domination relies on force and violence that are used against our peoples.

Cultural domination can be considered complete when Western culture, or the culture of the oppressor, has been instilled into the mind of the Indian, as the only One; and promoted as the highest level of development. Whereas, our own culture is not really a culture, but a collection of elements of the cultures of others which must be "overthrown." This result of the division of the individuals that make up our people, primarily through education. Cultural domination does not allow the expression of our culture, or disinterments it, and degrades its expressions.

Cultural domination is carried out through:

Indian Policy - which includes the process of integra-
tion or deculturalization through the various national and international institutions, religious missionaries, etc.

The Official Education System - which basically teaches White supremacy, and the make-believe in-
eriority of ourselves, thus preparing us to be more easily exploited.

Mass Communication Media - which serve as the mediums for the dissemination of the most important methods of disinterpreting the resistance that Indian peoples have put forth against cultural domination.

As a result of this overall state of domination our people are divided because we live under three different conditions.

1) The groups that have remained relatively isolated and have preserved their own cultural modes.

2) Groups that preserve a great part of their culture, but are directly oppressed by the Capitalist system of economic dependency.

3) That sector of the population that has been de-indianized through the forces of integration and have lost their cultural modes in ex-
change for limited economic advantages.

For the first ones the immediate problem is to survive as a group. For this, it is necessary that their land areas be guaranteed.

The second group is physically and economically oppressed, and before anything else they need to regain control of their resources. The last group has as an immediate task, the liberation of itself from cultural domination to which it is subject, and to recreate its very being, its own culture.

In conclusion, the problem of our peoples is sum-
marized as follows:

1) A situation of cultural and physical oppression which ranges from subjugation on the part of a small White, or Criollo (mixed-blood) minority, to the danger of extinction in countries where Indians constitute a low percentage of the population.

2) The Indo-American people are divided internally because of the different levels of development, education, developmentalist, Western religious systems, the system of economic categories, and the borders of national states.

In light of the situation of our people today, and with
the purpose of drawing the first line of guidance for their struggle towards liberation, the following great objective is put forth: To reach a unity amongst the Indian population considering that in order to reach this unity the basic element is a historical and territorial placement of our relationship with the social structures and the regimes of the national states - and to identify what extent our participation with these structures is total or limited. Thus, through this unity -

replace the historical process and attempt to bring to an end this chapter of colonization. In order to reach this objective, the following strategies are set forth:

A. We need our own genuine political organization that gives itself to the cause of a movement for liberation.

B. We need a clear and consistent ideology that can be
grasped by the whole population.

C. A method of work is necessary - that could be used in order to mobilize a great number of the population.

D. An element of convergence is necessary, that would allow for the onset to the end of the liberation process.

E. It is necessary to maintain and reinforce the means of internal communication, our languages, and at the same time to create a means of communication amongst the peoples of different languages, while also maintaining basic cultural structures, especially those related with the groups own education.

F. It is necessary to take into account and define on the local level the support forces that can exist on an international level.

The elements that can be utilized in order to carry out the above named strategies are, among others, the following:

A. As for the political organization, it can begin through traditional organizations as well as from a new modern type organization.

B. The ideology must be formulated from a stand point of historical analysis.

C. The method of work can begin through the study of history in order to identify and explain the situation of oppression.

D. The element of convergence must be the very culture of the Indians in order to create the consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group, and the Indo-
american people.

Barbados, July 28, 1977

Within 25 years of the Spanish arrival, the Mapuches began to develop their own cavalry, and within a few years they began to use firearms. Their new weapons only added to their main advantage over the Spaniards - their knowledge of the terrain. The Spaniards were unable to make much headway, even though they knew there was a great deal of gold in the land of the Mapuches. Another famous song, a Spaniard governor of Chile wrote to his King: "The war with the Mapuche has cost more than the conquest of all the rest of America." Indeed it had. In the first hundred years of the war, 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 mestizo auxiliaries were killed. These were heavy figures for military losses in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Eventually, the Spanish gave up. A series of forts were set along the edge of the Mapuche territory, and an uneasy truce was projected that lasted until 1854. That year, the White Chileans, now independent from Spain, were finally able to militarily occupy the land of the Mapuches. Thus ended the longest successful native resistance in Latin America.

The occupation accomplished, a reservation system was set up. The Mapuches, used to frequent moving, were told that the land where they were located was theirs, and they had to stay there. All "unoccupied" lands were awarded to White Chileans. By 1859, a whole series of laws had been passed and the reservation system was complete. The original laws had been modified in order to make it easier for reservations to be broken up. The 1938 law allowed a reservation to be divided if only 1/3 of its inhabitants so desired. Outright confiscation (requisition) was tried to be a few of the reservations to agree to division. Once this was done, the landowners moved in and bought up individual plots. Usually lawyers were engaged to force consent.

* * *
papers, and Mapuches were tricked into signing things they did not understand.

Through these methods, by 1970, over 700 of the 3000 Mapuche reservations had been divided. In addition, almost all reservations had been severely reduced in size due to the theft of the landowners. Most reservations were only a small percentage of the size they had once been.

They continue to speak their complex and expressive language, which is unwritten. The Mapuche men have learned because of the trade with merchants or through contact with White Chileans when working as seasonal laborers on the landowners' estates. Few Mapuches can read or write Spanish.

On the reservation, oxen and hand made wooden plows are used. Fertilizer is used only about half of the time, and fields have to be used every other year because of the shortage of land. As a result, yields are low. Most Mapuche families earn under $100 per year. Infant mortality is very high - most Mapuche women have lost one or two children at early ages. Usually death results from severe diarrhea caused by intestinal diseases. Diet consists mainly of bread and mote, as well as vegetable soup. Meat and eggs are rare, cheese and milk almost non-existent.

The Mapuche have gone from a good life to desperate poverty. In some areas, the majority of young men have no land and no jobs. They are forced to work for the landlord of the big farms, when work is available, usually during the harvest. The rest of the year, there are only a few permanent workers on each farm, usually white Chileans. The big farms are often used as summer homes for the landlords, and they are unproductive agriculturally. Often much of the land on the big farms lies fallow, or is used as pasture for a few cattle.

The Mapuche were bitter as they watched this land lie useless while they lived nearby without land and without work.

Under the Frei regime, Mapuche land holdings averaged 10 hectares per family. By 1970, the Mapocho had inhabited over 1,000 land claims to Frei's agrarian reform procedure. These claims involved approximately 300,000 hectares. The Mapocho could not carry to power, and signaled a hope that conditions would improve. That hope was shortlived. The Mapocho quickly learned that the Allende government had no real desire to view them as distinct, separate people who were entitled to certain inherent land rights to land and self-government.

Allende promised a massive agrarian reform. The idea was to expropriate the often unproductive big farms, and turn them into cooperatives which could be more intensively cultivated and employ more peasants. The old landlord would be paid compensation by the State.

In southern Chile, the Mapuches represented almost 70% of the rural population, but held only about 20% of the land. Allende proposed that where the big farms which had been stolen, from a nearby reservation, the government would return such land to the reservation at the time of expropriation. Supposedly, the Mapocho would move it hundreds of yards into the adjacent farm in order to restore the old boundary. There the Mapocho would begin to view them as distinct, separate people who were entitled to certain inherent land rights to land and self-government.

The reality of Allende's land reform meant that the white landless peasants were obtaining lands and becoming organized into cooperatives. At the same time, the Mapuche were having to use the same inhuman mechanism to regain their lands. If these same lands had been "reformed" prior to a Mapuche claim then their claim would be null and void. The Mapocho efforts and aided the white peasants in "reforming" land stolen from the Mapocho years earlier.

By early 1971, the Mapocho National Confederation decided to end these practices, and began organizing land invasions. Land reclaiming became a dailyoccurrence throughout 1971. They began as fence-running, when the Mapocho moved the fence line at night to regain the stolen lands, armed with sticks, shovels, wire cutters and an occasional old rifle, would take a long line of fence and move it hundreds of yards into the adjacent farm in order to restore the old boundary. Ther the Mapocho would remain to guard their turf against the landlord.

Invasion and confrontation were done without the consent of the workers of the farm. When the Mapocho had occupied the farm, they immediately set up barricades to prevent the landlord from attacking with a gone squad. The landlords used pick-up trucks and high powered rifles.

As of this writing, there are still 15 Mapuches being held prisoner by Pinochet. They are:

Domingo Curupi Arribada
Hilario Lienlaf Marinco
Victor Mofuvecayo Canililo
Rafael Failf Canino
Flavestino Castelb Drafial
Jose Lavers Lerman
Oscar Guarel Humpersac
Jorge Rafael Leufuman Canepari
Juan C. Mapucru Minoct
Juan Manccurion Levmar
Jose Quitilnt Quopil
Cesar Quoquip
Manuel Ayvah Huamucues (Freo)
Juan N. Ascencio Rain
Raman H. Rallli Haukiny

Individuals, groups, organizations and governments wishing to aid these imprisoned Mapuches should write the Chilean embassy in your country or directly to:

Gen. Pinochet, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile.
BOOK REVIEWS

PEDAGOGY OF THE OPRESSED

Although this book has been out for several years, we feel compelled to make a comment on it. For some folks this may be a rebuke, but for others it may be their first exposure to this book that we feel needs to be talked about.

PEDAGOGY OF THE OPRESSED is a very arduous work that explains the world and the processes of these two books that cut across nationalities, cultures, and races. It is by no means an easy book to read, because the nature of the world it talks about is complex. The author, Paulo Freire, is a sociologist who lived in exile in Geneva, Switzerland. He was sent into exile because of his work at raising the consciousness of the oppressed peasants and Native people, about the nature of the oppression they experience.

The book is a powerful teaching and guideline that should be read by all peoples. It contains some very significant thoughts that relate to the Native struggle in North America. In particular, those processes that are discussed in the book are those that are essential to the understanding of the conditions that exist there. First, the phenomenon of the oppressed acting like the oppressor in the way that those who benefit from the conditions that they live in. This needs to be seen in contexts which extend beyond these two specific examples, and which lead to an understanding that entire ways of life are being oppressed. This is the phenomenon of “disinterpretation.”

The process of “disinterpretation” is explained as a mechanism that an oppressed people may use to confirm the complaints of the oppressed, then to process those complaints through whatever bureaucracy, or other institution, and then hand down a “prescription” based on the oppressor’s analysis.

There are examples in the U.S. that are the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act and the “American Indian Policy Review Commission.” Both are in that they use Anglo systems to receive Native people’s complaints, their complaints are received in accordance with U.S. government goals, and the results include a “reaffirming” of the situation that can be resolved.

But these same processes exist whether one is fighting nuclear reactors, land use, or too laws. The end result remains the same — the continuned oppression of the people. The important message in this book is that once an oppressed people understand the nature of their oppression, they are better equipped to take actions that can change that condition. We feel that PEDAGOGY OF THE OPRESSED can be a very good tool for the struggle to maintain human dignity and freedom, and highly recommend it to our readers.

THE REBIRTH OF CANADA’S INDIANS — Harold Cardinal

THE FOURTH WORLD — George Manuel

We are reviewing these two books together because their themes and ideas in both books are extremely influential in the affairs of Native people in Canada, 2) both books are authored by Native people and the ideologies and strategies that are examples of the process of oppression in North America. 3) both books should be seen in the context of the analysis presented in PEDAGOGY OF THE OPRESSED.

Both Manuel and Cardinal are politicians among the Native people of Canada. Both are well known internationally, in British Columbia, and in a former president of the National Indian Brotherhood. Harold Cardinal comes from Alberta, where he was president of the Alberta Indian Association. In 1976, he left that organization to take a job in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

REBIRTH OF CANADA’S INDIANS is Mr. Cardinal’s second entry in the literary field. His first book, FOR?('S, was an attempt to analyze the workings of Canadian oppression and to present a Native position for a better way. It sounded thought-provoking in tone, but that was in the past. Coincidentally, Mr. Cardinal’s new book was released just prior to his DIA appointment. If the first book was a critique of Canada’s treatment of the native populations, REPRESSIVE must be seen as the author’s assessment of the Native people’s own society. This book is an attempt to present a global analysis of the Native people’s position.

Both authors argue that the only way that Native, or indigenous, peoples will find freedom is that they will model themselves after the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. The books try to argue that there exists a fourth political world composed of indigenous peoples whose countries are not members of the UN, a non-UN. The authors state that the political task of these Fourth World peoples is a move toward assimilation and integration in the interest of economic prosperity.

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In December, 1968, Mohawks at Akwesasne blocked the border between the United States and Canada to prevent Canadian restrictions against free border-crossing for Native peoples as guaranteed under the Jay Treaty. It was a precedent-setting action to provide information to raise support for the fifty persons arrested, and an 8½ X 14" offset reproduction of news clippings about the struggle followed.

The first few issues were passed out in Pottersville, Vermont, at the Antiotics-Putney Graduate School. The problems of small circulation, paper shortage, and the lack of a paid staff meant that the first two or three issues were often sent out over the course of a few days. As the paper grew in stature, the newsprint supply was distributed in quantities sufficient to keep up with the demand.

The best known of early editors was Gerald Gambill. He was selflessly for the traditional people, inspiring many throughout the United States. He seemed to work non-Indian. He was immune to United States laws concerning immigration because he was under the protection of the Mohawk Nation. He was held in jail for several days, pressured, and bullied, and as a result of the testimony of Native people, an administrative judge of the Immigration Department handed down a decision which allowed him to continue to work in the United States in association with AKWESASNE NOTES.

But there were other kinds of problems also. Some Native people claimed that he was too impersonal and almost impossible to work with. There were allegations to the effect that he was not always completely candid when giving reports, that he utilized a peculiar gift of eloquence to confuse and obscure issues that concerned community people, and that he acted with insensitivity to the concerns of the Mohawk people.

Native people who came to work for NOTES, especially those who came to do political work with the newspaper, did not last long. Most departed on a sour note. Whenever there was a disagreement, many report that the disagreement was resolved in Rarihokwats' favor because he was able to threaten that if things did not go his way, he was ready to leave as editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. For most of that time, no one was prepared to do what responsibility, and things continued on as before.

The one thing that is probably certain in this story is that the Daily Star was now in any way or forever in this way. By the summer of 1976, there were four representatives of the Mohawk Nation to the Akwesasne Notes Association, a handful of Native staff working in the areas of production, advertising, and sales of AKWESASNE NOTES, although there was a staff of at least five persons in the early 1970s. The Rarihokwats led a more private existence, learning the operations which have come to be called AKWESASNE NOTES. Some of those who had been involved in the paper for several years had long experience in the Native movements, and still others who came possessed training in newspaper production operations.

The arrival of new people inevitably gave rise to a number of conflicts. It is probable that the essential conflict involved the reluctance of people to adopt unquestioning obedience to theories of Native life from a personality who had never lived in a Native way and had almost no idea what sense to make of the Southern Hemisphere. There was little interest in that group, that the Colonial system had had a profound impact on the way of life, and he had made many friends, both among Native people and among non-Natives. The group began, in time, the most widely recognized spokesperson on Native affairs in the Western Hemisphere. For a period of over 20 years, there was a position of a seat in association with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

In November, 1969, following a White Roots of Peace trip, Gerald Gambill was refused admission into the United States by border officials. For a while, Canadian officials were trying to persuade him to return to Canada, but after a few hours they relented.

A few days later, in the heat of the controversy over the鲻Hox, Canada, and United States border officials, the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne gathered in council and, after some debate, the Bear Clan adopted General Council. They have given the name "Rarihokwats," which in English means "He Das Up Information." He promised, in turn, that he would follow the rules of adoption of the Mohawk Nation.

Adoption into one of the nations is a great honor, but if one were to go back to the records, the name which is intended as a protection by an alliance with the Nation, is the offering of a family and the right to reproduce. A perfect example of the laws of the Mohawk Nation, and it is bestowed upon an individual who has proven to be of great benefit to the people. The adoptee is required to be a helper of the people, to give support to the work of the Nation, and to follow, in the case of an adoptee of the Mohawk Nation, the Law of Peace.

The early 1970s were troubled times for the Native people, locally and nationally. The new AKWESASNE NOTES rose quickly to national prominence, as did the traditional Mohawk Nation. To encourage the printing of the paper grew from a printing of 10,000 in October 1969 to a printing of 56,000 by October of 1973. During that period it evolved from a clipping service to a travelling group, the White Roots of Peace. The paper began publishing a personality who had never lived in a Native way and had almost no idea what sense to make of the Southern Hemisphere.

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In December, 1977, the White Roots of Peace went on tour. The details surrounding the actual history of this tour are contradictory and, in several cases, are not accurate. Rarihokwats was in charge of the tour. Upon its return, he gave a report to the staff: "The Four Arrows by which he promoted the new White Roots of Peace. The Mohawk council attempted to recall him to answer questions about his behavior. He refused to return.

Dozens, perhaps hundreds, of letters were sent by him to NOTES supporters throughout the world, stating that a vacation was planned, the vacation was cancelled, a vacation was planned, the vacation was cancelled, and that his departure constituted a split. The Mohawk Council advised the staff of AKWESASNE NOTES to withdraw their support of the Rarihokwats until some final and fair determination could be made in disposal of the matter.

Following numerous councils and much discussion, the decision was reached, in Council on November 5, 1977. On that day, the Mohawk Council decided to release Gerald Thomas Gambill from his responsibilities to the Mohawk Nation, to recall the name "Rarihokwats" and to return him to the people from which he had come. It was a serious blow to all concerned, and a conclusion not reached lightly. With that action, a nine-year drama of friendship and struggle, of minor victory and sometimes crushing defeat, of inspiration and disillusionment, had come to a close. In the country of the Hau de no sau ne, Rarihokwats is no more.

There have been many enquiries by our friends and supporters in this matter. The official position here is that Gerald T. Gambill no longer holds the name Rarihokwats, and he is no longer associated with AKWESASNE NOTES in any way. He has not worked on the paper since February, 1977. We express no antagonism toward the Native people who travel with the Four Arrows and who recognize that some of those people are being valued for their native causes, and are trying to advance the movement toward a new natural way of life, but we must also state at this time that AKWESASNE NOTES has no attachment to or any interest in that group, that the group does not in any way support or promote AKWESASNE NOTES, nor do we know the purpose of the group in raising money.

To many people who read this, it will sound like the story of a white man who came into conflict with some Indians over the publication of a Native newspaper, and who was, probably unfairly, the loser in that conflict.

But here, the feeling is that the process was far from that simple. He had won our trust, confidence and friendship through his strong and consistent work in the interest of the Nations. And he lost that trust, confidence, and friendship because some things became no longer important to him, and when he had apparently perceived that his own mission was more important than his responsibilities to the People.

AKWESASNE NOTES DECEMBER 1977 PAGE 31
LETTERS

Notes:

Dear Editor:

Readers of AKWESASNE NOTES might be interested in the following quote from R. H. Schoolcraft's book 'Journal of a Tour into the Interior of the Mississippian and Ioway, which was published in 1824: Schoolcraft made the journey in 1814 and 1815. He writes:

'...while on my journey, in my progress, I found myself in the most difficult situation possible, and was forced to lie in wait for the Indians. I had with me a good many of my men, and was followed by a large party of the tribes, who were at that time upon the borders of the river. I was determined to make use of whatever means were necessary to protect myself and my party. I therefore continued to march [and] to make use of whatever means were necessary to protect myself and my party.

I have now received and read your two most recent issues of AKWESASNE NOTES and I am grateful for the work you do. I have never felt more strongly that the Great Spirit is with us and that we must continue to work towards a just and equitable future for all.

The United Nations, in recent years, has become increasingly prominent in the world. It is a forum where nations come together to find solutions to global problems. I believe that the Great Spirit is guiding us towards a better future. We must continue to work together and be guided by the wisdom of the past and present leaders of our community.

My heart goes out to all those who have suffered because of the colonialist policies of the United States. We must continue to fight for justice and to build a better world for all.

I hope you will continue to publish AKWESASNE NOTES and to bring the voice of the people to the world.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Editors:

NOTES

General: 106, 1, P.3

Joseph E. Smith, 609, 3, P.3

Dear Mr. Smith,

I hope you print this letter.

Thank you.

McGwire

Joe Albright

M. Oakley, Champaign, Illinois 61801

Dear Editor:

This is a response to a letter in the Autumn 1978 issue. I agree with the comments about the government's treatment of its citizens, particularly the Native Americans. I believe that the government should be held accountable for its actions and that the people should have a voice in the decisions that affect their lives.

I hope you will continue to publish AKWESASNE NOTES and to bring the voice of the people to the world.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Editors:

Thank you.

Thomson Top

1325 Soret Street

Artesia, Calif 90701
POSTERS

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4. Zuni Governor
5. Three Sisters
6. Sitting Bull
7. Grandma Hunter
8. Poundmaker
9. Family Portrait
10. Shackled Native
11. Three Horsemen
12. First Carrier
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17. Shrine of Hypocrisy
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AN APPRECIATION OF KAHOHES

Wounded Knee
26. Crow Dog

Three Sisters
Zuni Governor

INT IOTIMNN
Shackled Native

11. Family Portrait

13. First Carrier

17. Blackfoot Chief

20. Rush Gatherer

23. Wintu Woman

24. Shrine of Hypocrisy

THE NEW CALENDAR

Posters are 17 by 22 inches and are $1 each, or 3 for $2.00. One Poster, "Splinters of the Tree," (No. 28,) is in four colors and is $2 each. Please add $2.25 for cardboard mailing tube. Posters are available in wholesale quantities at $50 for an assortment of 100. We reserve the right to substitute in selections of posters when we are out of stock. Order from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

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ADDRESS:

For each dollar (or whatever you can) you send we'll send a sample copy and information sheet.

AKWESASNE NOTES DECEMBER 1977 PAGE 33
A New Book

A BASIC CALL TO CONsciouSNESS

This book is the latest publication of AKWESASNE NOTES. It is a compilation of the three position papers of the Has de no son te, or Six Nations, and contains what is probably the most concise and comprehensive critique of Western Civilization through Native eyes in print, with a prelogue from the editors of AKWESASNE NOTES. This book will be available in late January, 1978, $2.00

Wholesale

Crafts

AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer what is probably the finest line of authentic Native crafts available anywhere in North America. Of special interest is the line of hand crafted baskets made of black ash splints and sweet grass. Mohawk basket makers are world famous for their excellent craftsmanship and produce baskets of a quality unsurpassed at any price. These baskets are authentic products made for practical use and the pack baskets, especially, are lightweight, sturdy, and in every way superior to any of the back-pack apparatus made of canvas or aluminum. Other baskets which are available include corn washing baskets, storage baskets, and fancy swing baskets. There are also kettle baskets, pin cloths, and strawberry baskets.

In addition to baskets, we carry a fine line of beaded moosehide, earrings, necklaces, hair ties, chokers, and other products. Most of these products are one-of-a-kind items. A typical wholesale order would have a retail value of $25. Your proposal would be $100 plus a few dollars shipping. Order from:

Katenares
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

When our 1978 calendar came back recently from the printer, it became immediately evident that our resident artist, Kahonhe (John Rueding) had outdone himself once again. Since 1969, when his work first began appearing in NOTES, Kahonhe's drawings have become something of a trademark for us. Our thanks to Kahonhe invariable brings some other magazine or newspaper that has reprinted one of them and in this way, we find our total work growing and strengthened.

We are always proud and happy when that happens. His distinctive line drawings are not only pretty to look at and pleasing to the eye — but the careful observer will also glean from them much visual detail about Iroquois culture and history.

Every one of his drawings for the 1978 calendar, for instance, depicts a scene of traditional Iroquois self-sufficiency; an attempt to give an authentic visual sense of the way of life of our people. Every tool, every

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress, accompanied by 200 striking photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Peter lemon in the Los Angeles Free Press says: "A record of anger and courage, of pride and humanity, to be read with compassion and dignity — and feelings of the heart for the greatness which broods upon the Sioux Reservation." 282 printed pages, $4.95.

Turtle, Bear and Wolf

A new book of poems, by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. Songs of reverence and affirmation, fault as a bewitching. Gary Snyder says of this book: "Glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, that is of the true Mindnature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, the teaching is taught in the Old Way. Blue Cloud does not seem magnificent. He lives in the present, totally." $1.75.

Native Onours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie. "He is an explorer with an open and unique perspective. If you remember the search to find your own hill, or valley, or garret (Karoniaktatie calls it 'a place/to plant my seeds') — or you're still looking — this collection could add some insights and fresh directions to your journey. In time you wonder if you'll ever travel/in time you will/cease... The approach here binds two cultures — it is an interesting marriage, enhanced by Karoniaktatie's striking designs and illustrations." $2.50.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Anymore

A fresh new printing of this important book is in. Part of it, the story of the occupation of the BIA takeover in Denver, is now history. But out of that came the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, still the most provocative platform of what do the Indians want? available. The Twenty Points, plus the government's rebuttal and a reply to the government's rebuttal, are examined, analyzed, and the decade ahead, $1.95.

A Message To All People: Hopi

Chimborazo: Life On the Hecidens of Highland Ecuador

This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for the job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: divining the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for us to tackle their problems and after that to leap always a let-down. And they come around again, the things that are really concerned; they begin to decide what has been passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandparents, they think of their own children. Who am I, an Indian? they ask... And during three centuries is when you are almost blessed to be here. With photographs and poetry.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

This attractive collection of fifteen teaching legends of the Iroquois is part of the Six Nations Indian Museum Series published by AKWESASNE NOTES. The book is 99 pages, softbound cover, with striking illustrations by Kahonhe. The tales are an Tahendara remember them being told to them. For many of them, along with the text, are photographs which tell the story — and aid non-readers in remembering the story. Tales of the Iroquois is a unique gift for children or adults and is excellent for use in classrooms. ISBN 0-914838-14-8.

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When you make your order, please add a small amount to cover the costs of postage & delivery which is $1.75.

and if you'd like another dollar or two to buy a book for a prisoner, we'll match it with the same — thanks for helping.

Books on this page are available for wholesale distribution.
POETRY


NATIVE COLOURS by Karen L. Stieck-Fresh and insightful with illustrations by the author. Paperback $2.50.

WHISPERING WINDS: POETRY BY YOUNG AMERICAN INDIANS edited by Terry Allen. Includes a brief biography of each poet. Paperback $1.95.

POLITICAL WORKS


ALCATELA: NOT AN ISLAND by Indians of all Tribes. Edited by Peter Blue Cloud. The story of the occupation. Paperback $3.95.


GENOCIDE IN PARAGUAY edited by Richard Arens. Documents the destruction of the Ache People that is taking place in Paraguay today. Hardcover $10.00.


WORKING WITH WOOL by Noel Bennett and Tina Bighorne. How to Weave a Nataro Stock. Paperback $4.50.


NEW AND RECOMMENDED


SHELTERS, SNACKS AND SHANTIES by Hyemeyohsts Snowbird. How to construct your shelter in the woods using only materials on hand. Paperback $3.95.

POETRY


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WUNISH / GO IN BEAUTY

Wunish, Grandfather.

Wunish to a world that was not entirely lost to me while you were alive, a world that put its face to the sky and smiled, a world of grace and confidence. The silent past that grazed like a dow at dusk on the ghostly meadows has blinked into the secret wood.

Wunish to the weatherbrown house weeping in waves of goldenrod and yarrow, to country lanes beckoning through forgotten summers across the borders of blackbird and wild grape, to the guiding call of a distant crow deep within the timeless forests of the Cohannet and Assonet, by the Council Oak, Amawon's Rock, and Metacomet's Cave (the arrowhead treasures hidden under the seasons) by the sands of the Pokomosker, “bitter-water bays,” ancient shores of the Mettoposset and Piscasset.

Wunish to rainy day adventures by the glowing hearth, legends of our People, tales of Maushop, Wampawong families (our little relatives in the waters, the woods, and the winds).

Wunish to cool stables smelling of leather and dung, to windstung iceboats slicing Winnicunnel Pond, Wuniish to the boy that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know singing to the Sacred Rock above the wrinkling bay.

No one should think it strange that when I became a man, legends of our People, tales of Alan shop, Wampanoag fables by the sands of the Pokanoket. “bitter-water bays.”

The grand father is gone the boy will not be found again, by the Council Oak, Anawon's Rock, and Metacomet's Cave across the borders of blackbird and wild grape, the silent past that grazed like a doe at dusk on the ghostly meadows that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know while you were alive, the silent past that grazed like a doe at dusk on the ghostly meadows that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know while you were alive.

Wuniish, Grand father.

For the whole, simple, storied world that died (our little relatives in the waters, the woods, and the winds).

Grandfather and I together sought that bov and his dreams. Too soon and left him alone.

to the wistful yesterdream remembrance of Grandmother, that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know.

now the grandfather is gone the boy will not be found again, and only I am left to keep the visions and recount the dreams.

Wuniish to the grinding lacunae humor, to the wistful yesterdream remembrance of Grandmother, to the whole, simple, storied world that died too soon and left him alone.

Wunish to the boy who found the visions of a people in Grandfather's eyes. No one should think it strange that when I became a man Grandfather and I together sought that boy and his dreams. Now the grandfather is gone the boy will not be found again, and only I am left to keep the visions and recount the dreams.

munionguput (Medicine Story)

Shards lay in the rain like fallen leaves. 3 Hawks pass overhead: darker against a dark sky.

Broken vessels remind me of odors and textures we once knew better... of how much we have lost between sounds.

Hawks winging remind me of the flights into exile our history has endured and of those we experience internally when we seek to name ourselves.

and the rain? well, it reminds me that the Spirit cannot be bargained for like peace nor compromised like the land.

The Spirit like the rain does not die, even if our Vision passes, confused and sad, or if our children forget our songs.

—Shawanat

SHIYOOSH, GRANDMOTHER

In the eloquence of silence, there evoked in my soul the conception of reason

Your wisdom and knowledge we dismissed as the manifests engulfed us.

You magnified and personified the harvest of Norbexxa

Had life prevailed, existence diminished, death extended

The presence of movement, yet entombed by manifestations

Faith that constricts and imprisons my soul

Faith that constrained Maqwah—

Maqwah, as he sought to preserve the soul—

There she sat, imprisoned, overcoming with love, barricading with love, overwhelming with love.

"Thy will be mine."

Had faith or love wavered

Maqwah, manning yet of the spirit: to fear you is to perish, to doubt is death, to believe is immortality, is then immortality the achievement?

Shiyoosh, you were blessed, minds cannot endure, the ages have claimed you

Bacu, lost, wept, the cry of the desolate

Forgetting, lamenting

Bacu, Maqwah, Shiyoosh, you are embraced within the recesses of her mounds, there to nourish our dreams—

—Wopishtikwansin (Betty Laverdure)

EYE OF GOD

Sway song

Chant of the old

Breaths of ancestors

Whisper the shore

Rays of memories

Pass in aurora

Grandfather speaks of yesterday

The legend moonlight hunts.

Oh, morning

My spirit draws near you

The rain clears the air

My heart feels the sun

Long ago the waves

were saltier

and songs, send her off to that

secrets lie inside this mountain

curl in blackblue strands

of hair flying behind

wetgrass sticks in rain

quietly

humming nouveau songs

we rest in sweetgrass

young-eyed old men wipe

their mouths to sing

my past skitters out of me now, it is revealed

moments will endure, truly

truth at this time before our lives are impaled, only

branded men chant that song

"she'll be going down to chloce... that school soon"

it is a trap of simple string

see, how they hold in her closet

and songs, send her off to that

school yes give her that silly life

if the heart is left free

the moment will

endure

—Lesion Saunter

NEW YORK CHRISTMAS 1973

Four came to sing

Strapping young men singing

“We wish you a merry Christmas...”

“We wish you a merry Christmas...”

“We were visiting when they knocked

Mercedes ran down and gave them a dollar.

“We wish you a merry Christmas...”

It’s a nice custom,” we said.

Yeah,” he shrugged. “You don’t

give them something they break

your picture window.”

“And a happy New Year!”

—Ismaelillo