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RESIST

Newsletter #211

A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority

December, 1988

Between Two Futures —

Santiago Journal

GEORGE R. VICKERS

Sunday in Santiago. It's spring in Chile, but this day is abnormally hot, with a bright sun and clear sky. Most stores and factories are closed so the smog that normally envelops the city is absent, and as the bus from the airport approaches the outskirts of the capital there is a clear view of the surrounding mountains. The main avenue into the center of town is littered with fliers, but there are few cars on the street. Clusters of pedestrians line the sidewalks waiting for buses or watching carloads of young men race up and down the avenue, signs protruding from the car windows or draped over the hoods. The signs mostly say "SI" in large letters, and many have a smiling photo of President Augusto Pinochet dressed in a suit and tie. Many of the pedestrians gesture with thumbs down to the cars as they speed by.

It's October 2, 1988, three days before the national plebiscite on the future of the Pinochet's military dictatorship. With me on the bus is Mara Miller, a writer and member of the Board of Trustees of Sarah Lawrence College. We are part of a four-member delegation organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the US, and are among several hundred foreigners in-

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Over a million "NO" supporters celebrating victory in Bernardo O'Higgins park in Santiago October 7, 1988. Photo: La Epoca.

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vited to observe directly the conditions of the plebiscite. We've come at the invitation of the Chilean chapter of Service for Peace and Justice (SERPAJ), a key organization in the nonviolent movement for social justice, with branches in ten Latin American countries.

"Va a Caer," He Will Fall.

Today is the last day campaigning is permitted, and this afternoon is the final rally by the "SI" forces, those supporting continued military rule. Yesterday's last rally by the opposition drew a million people from all over Chile to a park on the outskirts of Santiago. Today's crowd is much smaller. Perhaps a hundred thousand people have gathered in the main center of town (the opposition had been denied use of the center), and there seem to be almost as many "NO" supporters lining the sidewalks, thumbs down, as "SI" people marching or driving along the avenue with their pictures of Pinochet.

From among the clusters of people on the sidewalks we hear a chant repeated over and over. During the next days we'll hear this rhythm again and again, from car horns, bus horns, musical instruments and other voices. Often the sound will be greeted with smiles and cheers. The words are "Va a caer," he will fall.

But today the chant is greeted with violence. As Mara and I walk along Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue, we see five men in leather jackets and dark glasses grab a young "NO" supporter and beat him to the ground before turning him over to uniformed Carabineros (police). A few blocks further along we see four similarly dressed men attack another youth, and we watch reinforcements from a special force of Carabineros assigned to riot duty attack onlookers with billy clubs. Meanwhile, the men in leather jackets seize "NO" leaflets and start a bonfire, to the cheers of demonstrators. We are told by bystanders that similar acts of violence have been frequent in the preceding days.

This is our introduction to Pinochet's "protected democracy." The plebiscite is more show than substance. Under the 1980 constitution written by the military, even if the "NO" wins, Chile will not return to "democracy" in any ordinary sense of the word. A new legislature will have very limited powers, one-third of the

Mideast Referendum Passes in Cambridge

In an historic vote on November 8, residents of Cambridge and parts of Somerville, Massachusetts, passed a non-binding public policy referendum which calls on US elected officials to condemn Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights and the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza; to stop all expenditure of US taxpayers' money for Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza; and to favor the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, with peace for all states in the region including Israel.

The wording of the referendum differed from others in California and in Newton, Mass., in that it stresses US responsibility and support for the occupation, as well as the use of taxpayer money to pay for Israeli violence against Palestinians. Organizers said this clear and direct language was key to the victory, in an election with 86%

voter turnout and very few blanks on this question. The Coalition for Palestinian Rights sponsored the referendum and waged a grassroots campaign to convince voters to break the silence on US Middle East policy. Despite opposition from local organizations and representatives (Congressmen Joe Kennedy and Barney Frank), the Coalition garnered 53% of the vote. This reveals an important shift in public opinion which has not been reflected in the national debate.

The success of the Cambridge referendum should encourage other groups concerned with current Middle East policy to direct their efforts towards local communities through grassroots campaigns, in addition to lobbying local and national policy makers. For more information, contact the Coalition For Palestinian Rights at (617) 661-9167.

members of a new Senate will be appointed by Pinochet, Pinochet can remain as head of the Armed Forces until the next century, Pinochet will be a Senator for life, Pinochet will oversee the transition to civilian rule, and it will be virtually impossible to amend the constitution.

As support for the opposition has grown, so has a campaign of intimidation against "NO" supporters by security forces, right-wing groups, and pro-government media. Opposition activists have been beaten, fired from their jobs, and otherwise threatened. During our week-long stay we witness examples of this intimidation: pro-government newspapers print names of those who are signed up as poll watchers for opposition parties; companies take out ads supporting the "SI," falsely listing the names of their employees as supporters; people on waiting lists for government built housing receive letters from official agencies implying that approval depends on a vote for the "SI"; and pensioners are told that their pensions will be doubled if they vote to support Pinochet.

Mood Grows More Tense.

Late on Monday we hear that the US State Department has received information about plans by Pinochet to either call off the plebiscite or "modify" results. Opposition press on

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Cry, Sacred Ground: Big Mountain U.S.A.

Book Review

KEN HALE

Anita Parlow. 1988 *Cry, Sacred Ground: Big Mountain U.S.A.* Christic Institute, Washington, D.C. (pp 1-212) \$15.00

“**M**y name is Phillip Altsisi, I am Mexican Clan and (born for) Edge Water. I am from Big Mountain and I conduct the Wind Way Ceremony.

“I live here. I want to continue living here the way I have always lived. I do not know the Whiteman laws. I do not even know how to live in their world. I want to continue with my sheep, horses and my children. I only know our life. Our life that moves in a circle that has no end. Nothing is wasted. Even death brings new life.

“I pray with my Ceremonial Bundles that we call ‘Dah Nídiilyééh’ to stay here. I will not sell any more sheep. All I know how to do is herd sheep and conduct ceremonies and stay home. I will not move.” (p. 55-6)

In December of 1974, the Navajo-Hopi Indian Relocation Act was enacted by Congress, partitioning into two equal parts 1.8 million acres of land formerly held in common by the two tribes. Enforcement of the Act implied the resettlement of 100 Hopis and some 11,000 Navajos; families and individuals who found themselves to be living on land partitioned to the other tribe. The affected Hopi families have now resettled. Navajo resettlement, however, has been traumatic, even disastrous, for many of the people involved, and approximately 1,500-2,000 Navajo have steadfastly resisted resettlement. A group of forty-five resisters have filed suit (*Manybeads vs. United States*) in federal court arguing that the



The barbed wire fence was the first tangible evidence of the Congressional decision to resettle the eleven thousand Navajos. The fence has become the metaphor for the Navajo disinheritance and was the focus of the earliest actions of the Navajo resistance. Photo: Dan Budnik.

Relocation Act (Public Law 93-531) violates the essential principles of their religious belief. In particular, the suit charges that relocation, by disrupting the sacred and ritually unalterable relationship between the land and the practitioners of Navajo religion who live on it, infringes on the practice of that religion, thereby violating the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment.

Anita Parlow's *Cry, Sacred Ground* is a superb single volume source of information on the history and current progress of the resistance by the Big Mountain community to the 1974 Relocation Act. While the book is unapologetically in sympathy with the cause of the Navajo resisters, it presents a thoroughly honest documentation of all of the historical and political factors which form integral parts of the dynamic of the Big Mountain dispute. It recognizes the justice of the positions represented by both of the Indian parties to the dispute, and it presents all of the detail needed to

understand fully the factors, rooted in the interests of forces external to the Indian communities themselves, which have been most instrumental in creating the dispute in its present form. That the dispute has been created by economic and political forces has been clear at least since 1944 when Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials began "receiving inquiries from Standard Oil and other energy companies about exploring for oil and other minerals on Hopi land," posing such questions as: "What would be the leasing procedures in the absence of a council? Who had the authority to lease the land lying inside the 1882 Hopi reservation but outside the exclusively controlled grazing District 6?" (pp. 23-4) The area referred to, established in Chester A. Arthur's Executive Order of 1882, is the disputed area now referred to as the Joint Use Area (JUA). The energy companies' questions concerning it have been raised repeatedly ever since, and

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Sacred Land

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the 1974 Relocation Act was offered as the "final solution."

In reality, of course, the origins of this most recent massive relocation program directed against Indian peoples are to be found in events more deeply and firmly rooted in the progress of the United States in its program to gain power over the land for the purposes of economic exploitation and expansion. It is important to realize, that the United States has been indiscriminate in its pursuit of its own agenda. While it is sometimes said that the 1974 Relocation Act renders some justice to the Hopi people, the situation is much more complicated. Many traditional Hopi people view the Act with the same displeasure as do the Navajo resisters, putting their allegiance to their religion ahead of any other consideration. And, on the very land in question, the United States has dealt with the Hopi in an outrageous manner.

Tradition of Hopi Resistance

For some forty years following the 1882 Executive Order—which gave occupancy rights, not title, to the Indian people involved—repressive actions were directed with great energy against the Hopi who refused to relinquish their children to Bureau of Indian Affairs schools or who insisted upon continuing to practice their religion. This period coincided largely with the era of the General Allotment Act of 1887, which resulted in the loss to Indian peoples of nearly seventy percent of their lands in areas controlled by the United States.

Courageous Hopi resisters, like Yukiuma, founder of the Third Mesa village of Hotevilla, were dragged from their houses by the calvary because of their opposition to the US policy of kidnapping Indian children for schooling, a policy they correctly saw as one which could spell the end of their culture. Measures like the Religious Crimes Code, issued by Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles H. Burke, in 1883, were in large part directed against Hopi ceremonial leaders, who were seen as a threat to the plans which the United States had in relation to Indian communities. The resistance by Hopi religious leaders continues today, and the tradition of Yukima is embodied in such figures as Thomas Banyacya, whose opposition to the 1974 Relocation Act is part and parcel of a life of resistance to illegitimate



Over 1,200 families succumbed to the pressures of the Relocation Act and moved without the benefit of a replacement home. Many people live in make-shift houses built like this one on Dinnebito Wash. Photo: Kenji Kawano.

authority in defense of human dignity.

The Indian New Deal, inaugurated by Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, replaced the policies of the Allotment Act with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This was seen as a period of great hope by many people who were deeply disturbed by the disastrous effects of United States Indian policy. A number of ideas thought to be both progressive and humane were brought into the arena of Indian Affairs. But ideas which are good in the abstract often suffer and lose when they are presented in the name of "progress" and backed by powerful political and economic elements. One such concept was "self-government" for Indian people. The Indian Reorganization Act effectively destroyed what remained of Indian self-government by replacing traditional structures with "tribal councils" modeled after American constitutional government. For the Hopi, this inevitably resulted in divisions within the community. The new councils were supported by only BIA employees and converts to Christianity. They were incompatible with traditional Hopi political organization based on a complex system of clans.

Although the councils were the creations of the United States government, and when needed its tools, it was perhaps to be expected that the United States would ignore the Hopi Tribal Council when it was convenient to do so. And it soon did just that, when it

unilaterally removed almost four-fifths of the 1882 reservation from Hopi use. As a result, the Tribal Council was discredited and disbanded in 1943—it did not convene again until the fifties, at the dawn of the current phase in the assault on Indian resources. John Boyden, a lawyer "friend of the Hopi" and tireless "champion of progress" succeeded in resurrecting the Tribal Council, and he worked with great energy to urge the Hopi to seek financial compensation from the Indian Claims Commission for Hopi lands which had been alienated from them. The Hopi, never fooled by this sort of trickery, vigorously opposed monetary compensation for their lands. They did so on the traditional religious grounds that the land cannot be sold. And they knew, of course, that acceptance of the "monetary damages" would extinguish their title to the land. The Tribal Council itself joined in opposing the settlement.

While Boyden lost in this effort "on behalf of the Hopi," he was never idle, and in 1958, he persuaded Congress to pass an act authorizing the Hopi and Navajo tribes to sue each other to "determine their rights and interests." This, in many ways, is the genesis of the present situation. Over the objection of the traditional leaders, the Hopi tribe sued the Navajo nation in *Healing v. Jones* of 1962. The court decided that the Navajo and Hopi tribes had "joint, undivided and equal interest"

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in the surface and subsurface of the JUA. Since title to the land was now "vested," this amounted to an invitation to the energy companies, an invitation which Peabody Coal was quick to accept, obtaining a lease to Black Mesa signed jointly by the Hopi and Navajo councils—again, over the objections of traditional leaders who steadfastly opposed the leasing and rape of lands held sacred by them.

Initial Navajo Rejection of the Tribal Council

Resistance to foreign exploitation of sacred lands and to the attendant interference which traditional life and religion was as strong among the Navajo as among the Hopi. And Navajo rejection of the tribal council system of government institutionalized by the Indian Reorganization Act was initially vigorous. However, largely through the notorious livestock reduction program of the Collier era, the Navajo people were forced to seek help from the Navajo Council. This circumstance fundamentally altered the distribution and structure of political power within the Navajo community. And this in turn had important consequences for land use on the Navajo reservation. Among the capabilities of the Council is that of enabling the Bureau of Indian Affairs to sign away Navajo land to multinational companies, a process which began on a large scale in the administration of Raymond Nakai, elected Tribal Chairman in 1963.

The Navajo tribe, with a population approaching 200,000, is the largest in North America. Its economic problems are extreme, and the pressure on the tribal government to seek revenue in the form of royalties from land leases is enormous. Administrations subsequent to Nakai's have striven to increase this revenue by renegotiating existing leases at more favorable royalty rates, by taxing the energy companies, and by exploring additional ways to exploit tribal resources. The current Navajo Tribal Chairman, Peter MacDonald, hopes to move the Navajo Nation out of the status of royalty holder, giving it the status of owner in the lucrative energy business. And he sees the 1974 Relocation Act, with its provisions for the acquisition of new lands, as an opportunity to begin charting this new destiny for the Navajo people. His position seems to require him to take a cynical attitude toward the cultural

destruction this entails: "I don't think culture is living in a hogan, running around a breechcloth and sitting by a stream looking at the stars."

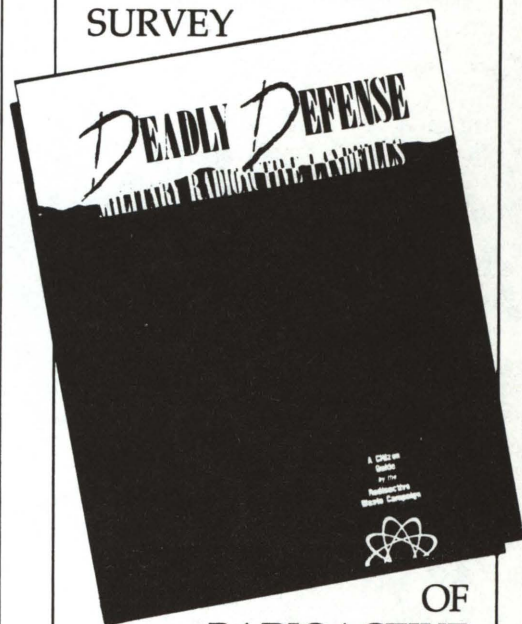
Development is more important than Navajo culture, it would seem. This voice represents one position which many Indian people feel compelled to take when confronted with the terrible dilemma faced by embattled indigenous peoples the world over. It is an understandable position, to be sure, but the experience of countless local communities which have accepted this position without restraint, and without equitable integration of the traditional culture and philosophy, shows that the consequent loss of cultural wealth is eventually deeply regretted.

Why Relocate 2,533 Navajos?

Coal occupies a central position in the Big Mountain story, it is clear. As a student of Navajo language and culture for the past forty years, I understand why there is resistance to relocation. And I can understand why coal and development shrivel in significance before the principles of the Big Mountain resisters, both Navajo and Hopi. The side of the resisters is easy for me to understand. But there are big questions which remain. One is this; granted the desire of the power interests to clarify title to the lands, why wasn't the *Healing v. Jones* decision sufficient? Why was it necessary to partition the Joint Use Area? In short, why was relocation of 2,533 Navajo families necessary? It is hard to believe that Arizona's Senator Barry Goldwater, the principal force in getting the 1974 Relocation Act through Congress, worked exclusively in the interests of the Hopi. Is it perhaps just as likely, perhaps more likely, that he worked *against* the Navajos, a growing political force in the Southwest?

Whatever the answer to this question might be, it is an immutable fact that relocation is a crime, comparable to other criminal acts of relocation and internment committed against defenseless peoples, including the Navajos of Kit Carson's era. Opposition to and denunciation of this crime is of course a central concern of Navajo and Hopi people who are suffering the effects of relocation, but it also a central concern of many Big Mountain support groups which exist in the coun-

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Tuesday say that the dictator is likely to stage provocations including blackouts and bombings that will be blamed on left-wing guerrillas, and used as an excuse to call of the plebiscite.

There's a growing sense of tension through the day. At the Vicariate of Solidarity (the human rights office of the Catholic church), at the Chilean Human Rights Commission, and at a number of opposition offices, files have been moved elsewhere, and there are plans to disperse staff before the day is over in anticipation of military raids. We ask if we can return on Thursday to get reactions to the results and are told that any plans beyond Wednesday must be very tentative.

Late Tuesday afternoon we visit the headquarters of the "Command for the 'SI'" and meet with Manuel Figueroa, the head of the press office, and his "interpreter," Jaime Cumplido, an amiable fellow in a grey suit with a very military-like bearing and appearance. After a two-hour discussion about the campaign, Jaime tells us he is confident that a majority will support Pinochet tomorrow, and that in his opinion, "the best years in Chile's history were between 1974 and 1982 — then we didn't have politicians."

The war of nerves reaches a peak Tuesday night. At about 10PM, about the time most Chileans are finishing dinner, the lights go out all over Santiago. The 1973 coup was preceded by a blackout in Santiago, during which the military units moved into key positions. Since that time the military has used blackouts on a few occasions as a warning to opposition forces. The longest of these was a week ago, the night of the final opposition demonstration, when lights were out for an hour and a half in some areas.

After the blackout at least three explosions can be heard from our hotel in the center of the city, and foreigners run into the hallways and lobby, wondering if everyone's fears are going to be realized. It's only psychological warfare, however, and a half-hour after they went out the lights come back on in the center of town. In the "poblaciones," the poorer neighborhoods that ring the city, the blackout lasts until 4AM.

The Day of the Plebiscite.

Early Wednesday morning our delegation fans out to get as broad a

picture as possible of the situation on voting day. One goes to the Northern city of Antofogasta, where a number of key military bases are located. Another travels to a suburb of Santiago, and Mara visits women's polling places throughout the capital. There are separate polling places for men and women, a fact we found startling, but no one we interviewed — on both the right and the left — thought it worth mentioning (and men we interviewed were quite certain that a greater proportion of women would vote for the "SI" because they were impressed by strong men and more easily intimidated. As it turned out, a majority of both men and women voted "NO").

I travel around the Metropolitan region of the city with Peter Weiss of the Center for Constitutional Rights, William Crotty, a political scientist from Northeastern University, and two members of a delegation from the National Lawyers Guild. At two wealthy and middle-class polling places we find

military helicopters flying overhead, and taunting the Cabineros about not wanting "Almeyda votes". (Clodomiro Almeyda is the jailed head of the Allende faction of the Socialist Party). As the day wears on it appears that last night's jitters may have marked the end of the campaign of intimidation, rather than the start of more violent suppression of the vote. There are long lines at the polling places, but cooperation among poll workers and poll watchers is the norm, and the opposition radio station reports few significant problems.

While both opposition forces and government supporters have elaborate systems in place to report vote totals from around the country, "official" results will not be announced for at least ten days. The Ministry of the Interior is supposed to begin releasing unofficial returns at 9PM, but after releasing a few initial returns showing the "SI" leading, the ministry stops reporting results and says there are

Whiffs of tear gas float by and diners grab for handkerchiefs as tears stream down their faces and they gasp for breath. A little later the lights go out in Santiago's center, and at our candlelit meal we alternate sips of wine with covering our faces to avoid more whiffs of gas. Later we learn that in several poor neighborhoods Carabinero have opened fire on demonstrators and at least one fourteen year old boy has been killed.

relatively short lines of voters and few problems. At around 8:30AM we reach Huechuraba, a poor area on the outskirts of Santiago whose residents are known for their militant opposition to Pinochet.

As we arrive we see an armed patrol of black-bereted commandos circling the area in a small convoy that includes a South African-made light tank with a machine gun on top, a truck of armed commandos, and a jeep with another machine gun. The men's polling place is next to a Cabinero post, and approximately 6,000 residents are waiting in a single line to get in. The gates are barred by soldiers on the inside and Carabineros outside, and every once in a while the gates open, admitting five people from the line.

The waiting voters maintain a tight discipline and good sense of humor, gesturing (not with their thumbs) at

delays. At 10PM we learn that members of the Cabinet and the heads of the Armed Forces have been summoned to a meeting at the Presidential Palace. Meanwhile, opposition forces report that the "NO" has a steady and commanding lead of about 60%. Finally, at 2:30AM, the meeting at the Palace ends and the Interior Minister concedes that the "NO" seems to have won, and that the government will accept the decision.

When all the returns are in on Thursday, the government's unofficial totals are 54.7% for the "NO," 43% for the "SI." The opposition's figures are on the same order of magnitude (they give the "NO" 56%). This is a substantial margin of victory, though not as great as many in the opposition expected. The campaign of intimidation is no doubt partly responsible for the lower

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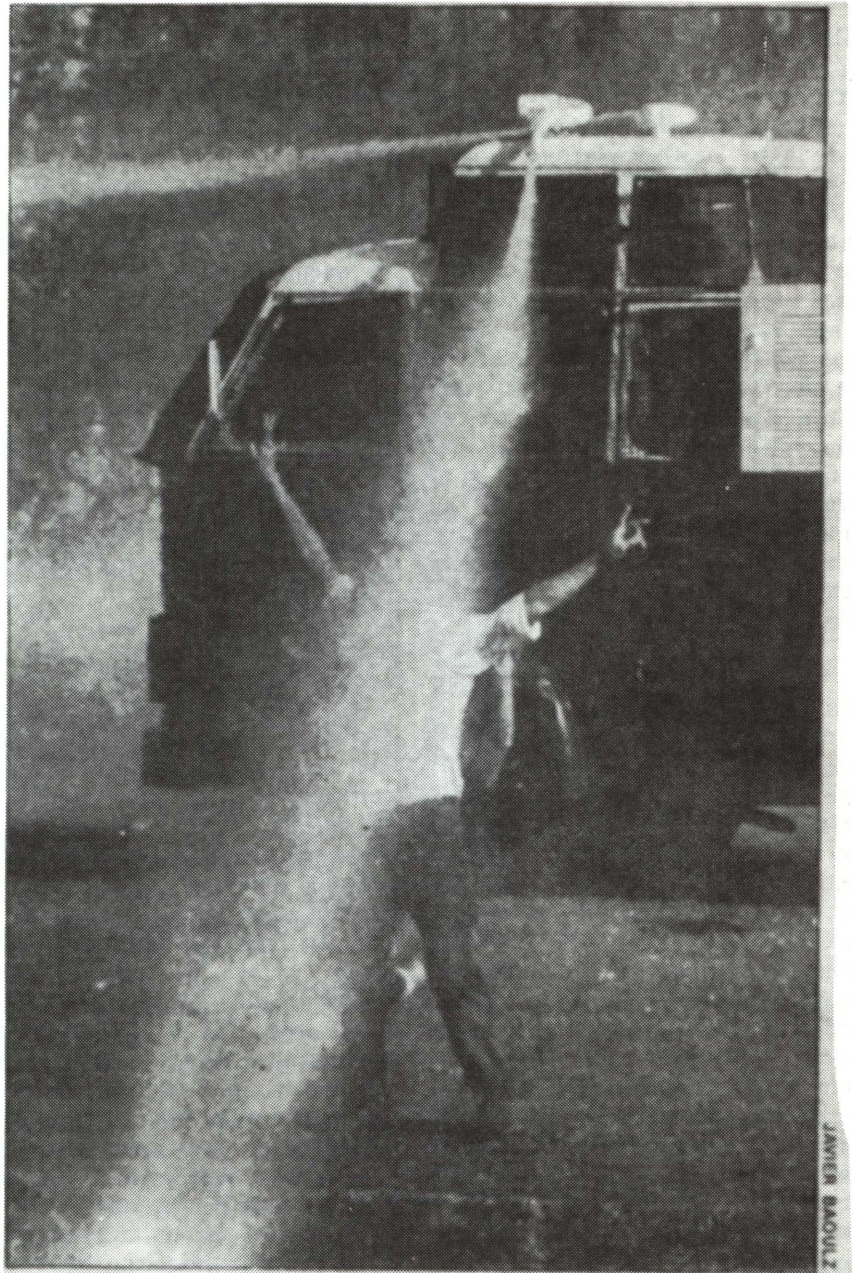
total (in the days immediately preceding the vote, many opposition leaders told us they thought the "NO" would get 60 to 70%), but it is also evident that fifteen years of indoctrination with a virulent anti-communist ideology has had some effect on society. In interviews with "SI" supporters at polling places we seldom heard praise for Pinochet, but frequently heard fears of a Russian take-over.

Between Two Futures.

On Thursday and Friday the sense of possibility raised by yesterday's vote confronts the reality of the last fifteen years. Many offices are closed by noon on Thursday, and restaurants around the city fill up with parties of "NO" supporters loudly celebrating their triumph.

Meanwhile, near the Presidential Palace ("La Moneda"), repeated efforts by "NO" supporters to stage rallies are broken up with tear gas and acidified water sprayed from high-pressure nozzles off of special South African-made vehicles. There's an almost ritualistic quality to the confrontation. Throughout the day and into the night, bands of "NO" supporters waving flags and chanting slogans roam through the center, and are periodically attacked by racing truckloads of Carabinero special force units. The celebrants disperse after each attack, but the Carabineros make no effort to pursue them and the bands re-form a block away to repeat the process. Once again the rhythmic honking of horns to the chant of the "NO" supporters is heard throughout the city, but the words of the chant have changed. Instead of "Va a caer," the new version is "y ya cayo," he has fallen.

But the words are premature. In a scene that is almost surreal, we're having dinner Thursday night at about 8PM. Pinochet is scheduled to make a televised speech, his first post-plebiscite public statement, and the restaurant owner brings out a TV so we can listen. Pinochet appears (in uniform once again, apparently abandoning the civilian clothing he's worn since the spring) and announces that he will abide by the results of the plebiscite and the terms of the 1980 constitution. He will not step down, he says, and he will not permit any changes in the procedures established by the 1980 constitution.



La Epoca, viernes 7 de octubre de 1988

A "NO" supporter is sprayed with high-pressure acidified water off a South African-made riot vehicle the day after the victory.

Even as he speaks, whiffs of tear gas float by and diners grab for handkerchiefs as tears stream down their faces and they gasp for breath. A little later the lights go out in Santiago's center and at our candlelit meal we alternate sips of wine with covering our faces to avoid more whiffs of gas. Later we learn that in several poor neighborhoods Carabinero have opened fire on demonstrators, and at least one fourteen year old boy has been killed.

The bizarre shifts in mood continue on Friday. The coalition of opposition groups has received permission for a rally in Bernardo O'Higgins Park at

3:30 in the afternoon. From all over the city buses and cabs, packed with singing citizens, work their way toward the park while on foot thousands upon thousands of people waving national and party flags stream into the huge grounds. By 5PM well over a million people have arrived, and musicians, comedians and singers lead the immense crowd in celebration. The feeling is both joyous and self-confident. A brief statement, jointly signed by the sixteen opposition parties, is read at the end, expressing their determination to remain united, and

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calling for direct talks with Armed Forces concerning changes in the constitution.

As the crowd disperses and groups of stragglers head away from the park, new confrontations with the Carabineros occur. More than thirty foreign journalists are beaten during the course of the evening. Later that night, and again in Saturday night, armed bands of thugs attack "NO" supporters in a variety of areas around the city. License plate numbers and witness testimony identifies many of them as members of *Avanzada Nacional*, (an extreme right-wing party formed by Pinochet.) It is a sobering reminder that, while Chileans have expressed a desire for a return to democracy, Chile is not yet democratic.

Looking Ahead.

In the weeks since the government's defeat there are signs that Pinochet's inability to control the outcome of the plebiscite has weakened his hold on power. Long-rumored tension between Pinochet and at least two other members of the junta (Matthei and Molina) have become visible. When Matthei entered La Moneda for the emergency meeting the night of the vote, for example, he told reporters that it appeared the "NO" had won, thus undermining any effort to deny the outcome. After the vote, Pinochet's wife said the outcome showed the irresponsibility of the Chilean people: the next day Matthei's wife said she thought the Chilean people were very responsible.

It also appears that Pinochet no longer has a free hand in running the machinery of government: there have been several cabinet shake-ups since the plebiscite, and in one instance only hours after the government announced that hard-line Interior Minister Sergio Fernandez (who was campaign manager for the "SI") would retain his post, Pinochet reversed himself and announced that he would accept Fernandez' resignation. Despite Pinochet's firm declaration that there will be no changes in the constitution, leaders of *Renovacion Nacional* and three smaller parties that supported the "SI" announced within days of the vote that they believed some constitutional changes were needed.

For its part, the opposition has

displayed organizational skill and unity elusive since 1973. Thus far there seems to be broad agreement among a range of political parties within the opposition that differences in ideology and program should be held in abeyance until civilian rule is restored. In practical terms, this means uniting behind a Christian Democrat candidate for the Presidency next year. But there are personal and historic differences encompassed within the coalition. There will be temptations and opportunities for these differences to come to the fore in the months ahead. And with diminished international attention on events in Chile, there is great likelihood that Pinochet, the military, and right-wing groups will attempt to disrupt opposition cohesion through provocation and intimidation.

Few in the opposition have illusions about the difficulties ahead. On Friday and Saturday we met with two groups preparing for the worst. They are interdisciplinary teams of doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, sociologists, and social workers who have been treating victims of torture. Most of them are, themselves, survivors of torture, and most returned to Chile within the past three years after long periods of exile.

These teams are not only treating torture victims, they are also training people to face torture. They conduct workshops for union organizers, human rights activists, and others who may be rounded up in a government crackdown. The workshops are designed to educate participants about the physical and psychological reactions they might experience if tortured, and about techniques they could use to cope with these reactions. After fifteen years of military rule, Chile is like a giant laboratory for studying torture. As one psychiatrist told us, "We have people who were tortured before we began this work, who participated in the development of the workshops and were subsequently arrested and tortured again, and who now tell us what was different between the first experience and the second."

In the aftermath of October 5, Chile is clearly in a state of political transition. But to what? As the opposition seeks to negotiate directly with the Armed Forces about changes in the terms for restoring democracy, the most difficult issue will be what to do about past human rights violations by the military. In Argentina, Uruguay, Guatemala and El Salvador, restora-

tion of civilian rule has not meant much real reduction in the veto power of the military over political decisions. New civilian regimes have been required to abandon legal and moral efforts to hold accountable those who ordered or carried out the killings, tortures, and disappearances of citizens during the period of military rule.

In Chile the military is taking no chances. In 1978 the junta proclaimed an amnesty that prevents any civilian government from trying to hold military officers accountable for actions in the years after the coup. Human rights groups like the teams treating torture victims and organizations representing relatives of the disappeared are in the forefront of efforts to forge a unified position by the opposition that will demand changes in the amnesty law permitting a full accounting of what was done, and at least partial accountability and punishment for the most terrible crimes. Only after such an accounting, they argue, can the process of psychic and moral reconciliation of Chilean society truly begin.

As negotiations over the terms for restoring civilian rule begin, it's hard to imagine the military regime that carried out the terror submitting itself to judgement for its actions, and it remains to be seen whether the opposition unity will hold. The temptation for the opposition to choose between *power* and *justice* — to choose *power over justice* — will be great, indeed. In other countries it has been too great. □

George Vickers is a professor of sociology at Brooklyn College and is a member of the Resist board.

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Sacred Land

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try. *Cry Sacred Ground* has been produced as an educational tool for use in Big Mountain advocacy and for those working in support of the lawsuit filed by *In Defense of Sacred Lands/Big Mountain Legal Office* on behalf of traditional practitioners of Navajo religion.

This brief review touches only on certain historical aspects of the issues covered in the book, which examines the Big Mountain case from all angles. It includes interviews with Navajo and Hopi people directly affected by the dispute, as well as interviews with politicians and other individuals representing the two sides of the issue. Most of the Navajo interviews begin in the traditional manner, with identification of the speakers' clan affiliations—and, for the most part, the Navajo is spelled correctly. The book details the history of the Joint Use Area in relation to energy development and the Indian people, as well as the past and on-going history of relocation as it affects actual Navajo families. It also details the history and progress of the Navajo resistance to the Relocation Act, and it includes an important chapter on the Navajo religious philosophy which underlies and determines the resistance to relocation. Its extraordinarily useful

appendix gives a chronology of events and a series of historical maps of the Hopi and Navajo reservations. The photographs and artwork lend further dignity to this fine book.

"The Big Mountain people make the stand. They have the spiritual awareness that this land belongs to the Hopi and Navajo people and that it should not be divided. They believe that there should be no boundaries because the Hopi and the Navajo people have always lived this way—together as brothers and sisters."—Navajo Councilman Larry Anderson (p. 147) □

Ken Hale is a member of the Resist board, and of Linguists for Nicaragua. He is a student (and teacher) of linguistics, specializing in the languages of the Southwest and Nicaragua.

Production of Cry, Sacred Ground was initiated three years ago by an advisory council of seven Native Americans from six tribes. The project invited Anita Parlow, attorney in federal Indian law and editor of an oral history book on the Black Hills in South Dakota, to produce a similar project on the Big Mountain situation.

Ninety letters of invitation from five Navajo Chapters affected by the 1974 Navajo Hopi Indian Relocation Act were sent to the Sacred Lands Project, and after several meetings with both Navajo and Hopi elders the work began. The Christic Institute, a Washington D.C.-based public interest law firm, was approached by the Project to provide organizational support.

The Sacred Lands project is serving as a link between the affected communities and national organizations as well as Congress. The book is designed to expand the scope of organizing efforts to stop the relocation, specifically by emphasizing religious freedom and human rights aspects of the debate.

Cry, Sacred Ground will be distributed to church, civil liberties, national Indian rights, environmental and human rights organizations at the request of Indian groups such as Dineh Against Relocation and the Dineh Bikeyah Committee. The book is available to individuals for \$15.00 from the Christic Institute. Checks should be made out to the Sacred Lands Project of the Christic Institute, and mailed to the Sacred Lands Project of the Christic Institute, 1324 North Capitol Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Grants

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Americans (and vice versa), and to express the Nicaraguans' desire for peace and friendship with the people of the US.

Two of the students are in their third year of high school, one is a first year university student in Electrical Engineering, and one is a fourth year Psychology student. They spoke to students at universities and high schools in San Francisco, Berkeley, Hayward, Ukiah, Fresno, Davis and Santa Cruz, and also traveled to L.A., Boston and Chicago at the end of the tour.

In other projects the Maestros have provided instruction to over 400 Nicaraguan workers and technicians. Last summer the group sponsored the "Eugenio Maria De Hostos Brigade" of Puerto Rican special education professionals who provide training workshops to parents and teachers of children with special needs in Nicaragua. Two members of

Maestros are setting up an English language department at the Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Managua. English language instruction is necessary for Nicaraguan technicians, since the language is a prerequisite to apply for funding and scholarships to attend international conferences and training programs, enabling Nicaraguans to participate in the international arena.

Maestros also works against US intervention in Central America and supports the right to bilingual education and bilingual ballots in the US, and the rights of immigrants in general. The group is 80% women, and includes many lesbians and gay men. The group deals openly with homophobia and discusses cultural differences in perceptions of sexuality when training brigades for teaching in Nicaragua.

Resist's grant went to support organizing efforts for the tour of Nicaraguan youths this past fall.

The Resist Pledge System

The most important source of Resist's income is monthly pledges. Pledges help us plan ahead by guaranteeing us a minimum monthly income. In turn, pledges receive a monthly reminder letter (in addition to the newsletter) which contains news of recent grants and other Resist activities. So take the plunge and become a Resist pledge!

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GRANTS

Center For Community Action, Inc.,
P.O. Box 723, Lumberton, N.C.
28359.

Robeson County, North Carolina is predominantly Black and Native American, yet, not to anyone's surprise, land and institutions, both public and private, are controlled by whites. In an area three quarters of the size of Rhode Island, there are five separate school systems and wide disparity of income and treatment based on race, class, and sex. Robeson County is the home of the Lumbee, the largest Indian tribe east of the Mississippi. Local activists say the rural county in southeastern North Carolina could be located in racist South Africa. The power system, via political favoritism, hiring discrimination, intimidation, control of educational resources, control of land, and control of the court system, has effectively prevented members of the Black and Indian communities from uniting into a strong coalition. The absence of justice for the majority in the county has become commonplace and life-threatening.

The Center For Community Action (CCA), formerly Robeson County Clergy and Laity Concerned, was formed in 1980, as a way of creating a sustainable base for community change among all three major racial groups in the area. Prior to its existence efforts towards institutional change had concentrated on strategies of electoral politics, voter registration, lawsuits and isolated protests. A long-term grassroots effort to organize and build multi-racial leadership had not been attempted. In its eight years, the CCA has developed a broad constituency and indigenous leaders have emerged, implementing specific campaigns to promote community interests.

In recent months the Center finds itself at a critical period in the social change process. A respected Native American attorney and candidate for Superior Court Judge, Julian Pierce, was assassinated at his home last March. The murder closely followed the seizure of the *Robesonian* newspaper office by two Native American men demanding governmental intervention into the official corruption in Robeson county. On March 8th, a referendum to merge

the five school systems passed by a narrow margin. The election of Julian Pierce would have signalled the beginning of the end of the white political power structure.

While significant change will undoubtedly develop, and much of the corruption exposed through grand juries, indictments, trials and lawsuits, the CCA is asking how long it will take for institutional changes to occur; how will the community maintain momentum, and how will the citizenry hold new leaders accountable? As a community-based group, concentrating on the development of indigenous leadership, the Center has established a five-year Leadership Development Project which aims to organize member groups in major population centers throughout the county; provide an organizational base for individuals to develop their understanding, skills, and self-confidence as they enter new leadership roles; and plan and win many short and long-term issue campaigns decided on by the members of each group. Campaigns include halting the construction of a proposed hazardous waste facility, pressuring for accountability in 17 unsolved murder cases; and encouraging full congressional hearings and investigation into corruption, drug-trafficking, and violations of civil rights in Robeson County.

Resist's recent grant went towards CCA's leadership organizing work.

Survivors, Inc., 95 Standard St., Matapan, MA 02126.

Survivor News, a newspaper for, about, and partly by low/no income people, grew from a project to provide people with information about benefits, and to supplement the welfare rights manual, *You Can Apply*. The idea expanded to become an organizing tool for poor people and their advocates. The goal of the editorial collective is to inform poor people of their rights, provide a forum for their voices to be heard, and to educate people and develop theory about social welfare issues. In the long-term, the group intends to participate in building a national organization of poor people and their advocates to work for change in the

social welfare system.

While *Survival News* focuses on Massachusetts, it also publishes national news about social welfare issues and related political developments in the areas of housing, health care, child care, food, income supplements and social services. Many of the articles are written by poor people; and low-income writers, poets, graphic artists and photographers are paid for their work.

The paper is one project of ARMS (Advocacy for Resources for Modern Survival). The group is also active in lobbying at the State House, participating in demonstrations, providing skills workshops, producing a video about the Employment and Training Program in Massachusetts, and contributing to books about women working against poverty. ARMS is also working with a larger coalition of activists on a community education project to change the images and stereotypes that haunt people forced to depend on public assistance.

Resist's grant went towards the cost of producing the newspaper.

Maestros Por La Paz, 2440 16th St.,
P.O. Box 230, San Francisco, CA
94103

Maestros Por La Paz was initiated by the Elders For Survival in 1986 as a response to a call for English language instruction from an environmental agency in Managua, Nicaragua. Maestros organized San Francisco Bay Area educators in the First Teachers Brigade to Nicaragua in 1986, with eight North Americans providing intensive English courses to Nicaraguan environmental technicians and biologists.

Maestros is a multiracial organization which provides educators with a vehicle through which to express concrete solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and support Nicaraguan self-determination. This fall the group sponsored a tour of four Nicaraguan youths to the San Franciscan Bay Area. The goals of the tour were to facilitate student to student communication, to present the reality of Nicaraguan youth to North

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