

The Cold War and Indigenous People

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

The second half of the twentieth century saw dramatic state movements and expansions around the world into Indigenous people's territories. These state expansions incorporated more of the earth than any time in the past and this shaped Indigenous – non-Indigenous relations around the world. This study examines global post-1945 Indigenous people's history through the lens of the Cold War. Themes addressed herein on the intersections of Indigenous people and the Cold War include modernity, non-Indigenous components of indigenism, decolonization, Cold War structures—particularly the San Francisco System in the Asia-Pacific—, and the nuclear arms race. This study offers a new perspective on the global movement of Indigenous people during the second half of the twentieth century and expands Cold War history beyond interstate relations. It argues that the extent of change in Indigenous societies during the four and a half decades after World War II were so immense that we can place the Cold War alongside other broad patterns of global forces influencing the shape of Indigenous history, including first contacts, the spread of epidemic diseases, missionary work, and colonialism, and that Indigenous territories were essential geographies for waging Cold War.

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Although this study benefited directly and indirectly from others, this author alone is responsible for the content.

Dedication

Issa Murotani Harrison

(室谷一牙)

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Abbreviations

AEC	US Atomic Energy Commission
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
KMT	Kuomintang / Chinese Nationalist Party
ILO 107	International Labour Organization Convention No. 107
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
SCAP	Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
SFPT	San Francisco Peace Treaty
SFS	San Francisco System
UAH	Utari Association of Hokkaido
UDHR	United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCIP	World Council of Indigenous Peoples

Note: References to Internet Web sites (URLs) were accurate at the time of writing.

Introduction

Indigenous History Through a Cold War Lens

“He was not crazy; he had never been crazy. He had only seen and heard the world as it always was: no boundaries, only transitions through all distances and time.”¹ In this realization, Tayo, a Laguna Pueblo Indian with a white father, began to find closure to his post-traumatic stress disorder after his return to the United States from serving in the US military in the Pacific during World War II.² By the time Tayo returned to his family home, uranium mining on their lands had begun, with some sites already abandoned. One of the world’s largest uranium mines would become operational a few years later. Los Alamos, the site where the first atomic bomb was developed—on sacred and culturally significant lands for many Pueblo nations—was a heavily fortified compound covered with a veil of secrecy, and the Trinity test—the first nuclear explosion in the world—had already worked into the story telling of those that witnessed a bright light in a clear sky shortly before dawn on 16 July 1945.

¹ Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), p. 229.

² The author purposefully avoids the use of the term “America” and its derivatives, except in names, titles or quotes to refer to the United States of America and its citizens. As David Vine pointed out doing so is “linguistically more accurate” (*Island of Shame: The Secret History of the U.S. Military Base on Diego Garcia* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009], p. 18).

Tayo confronted and ultimately escaped from the witchery embodied by other Pueblo war veterans and the complex relationship with the surrounding non-Indian society by hiding in an abandoned uranium mine. There he recalled a story his grandma told him about the day the sun rose twice. Although she could not make sense of what she saw, it became clear to Tayo what it was as he walked through the mine with its piles of rock covered in yellow pollen-like dust. “There was no end to it; it knew no boundaries; and he had arrived at the point of convergence where the fate of all living things, and even the earth, had been laid.”³ With this recollection he understood why Laguna and Japanese voices mixed in his dreams. Perhaps some of these voices were from the Ainu.

During the seventies, in pursuit of rights and recognition, some Ainu in Japan adapted examples from Black and Red Power movements in the United States and Indigenous people elsewhere around the world, in addition to the Buraku movement in Japan.⁴ Ainu activists such as Yūki Shōji, after moving from his native Kushiro to Sapporo (Hokkaido), established the Ainu Liberation League (*Ainu Kaihō Dōmei*) and members of the organization began confronting academics they thought were misinterpreting history and irresponsibly or unethically abusing their social positions when they conveyed

³ Silko, *Ceremony*, 228.

⁴ On Ainu – Chinese minority exchanges, see Chapter 4; on the Buraku, see Ian Nish, *Political Protest and Social Control in Pre-War Japan: The Origins of Buraku Liberation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989) and Timothy Amos, *Embodying Difference: The Making of Burakumin in Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2011). This study follows the *Oxford Guide to Canadian English Usage’s* recommendation of capitalizing *Indigenous*, *Native*, and *Aboriginal* when referring to cultural or national groups (Margery Fee and Janice McAlpine, [Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997], pp. 5, 271). Also, see Indian and Northern Affairs, Government of Canada. *Words First: An Evolving Terminology Relating to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada* (Ottawa: 2002).

negative stereotypes of Ainu people.⁵ In 1970, and again in 1975, Bikki Sunazawa, an Ainu artist and woodcarver, handed out billets in protest to the Hokkaido development monument statue “Wind and Snow Group” in Asahikawa’s Tokiwa Park. Built as part of Asahikawa’s eightieth anniversary and the centennial celebrations of the Meiji regimes’ official incorporation of Hokkaido into Japan, the statue consists of one elderly Ainu man sitting on a stump, looking backward while pointing the way forward to three young *Wajin* (ethnic Japanese) men and one woman.⁶ The young *Wajin* pioneers were given dramatic names associated with the story of Japanese development and progress on the island—*the surge, the earth, a fertile plain, and the north wind*—while that of the Ainu man was titled *kotan*, meaning village in the Ainu language. Sunazawa saw this as signifying the Ainu figure’s temporal and spatial stationary status, while the *Wajin* moved forward; it was the only figure with a name rooted in the past and not the present or future. Part of the billet he handed out read:

⁵ Yūki Shōj, *Ainu sengen* [The Ainu Manifesto] (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō, 1980), pp. 179-274; and Richard Siddle, “Academic Exploitation and Indigenous Resistance: The Case of the Ainu,” in Noel Loos and Takeshi Osanai, eds., *Indigenous Minorities and Education: Australian and Japanese Perspectives of their Indigenous Peoples, the Ainu, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* (Tokyo: Sanyūsha Publishing Co. Ltd., 1993), pp. 40-51. A notable dispute between Ainu rights to privacy and academic freedom revolves around the some of the works within Kōno Motomichi’s *Ainu shi shiryō shū* [Collected Materials on Ainu History] (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā, 1980-1987). On this issue, see Tsubute I’inkai, ed., *Ainu neno an charanke: Kōno Motomichi no sabetsu tosho o dangai suru* [Human Discussions: Impeaching Kōno Motomichi’s discriminatory books] (Kōbe: Tsubute shobō, 2001). On other Ainu disputes with academics, see *Tsubute* Vol. 35 (2002); and *Tsubute* Vol. 11 (1996).

⁶ Other local Ainu did not protest the statue. The planning stage of the statue’s design by sculptor Hongo Shin moved forward with only one change despite criticism on the design. While the original model had the elderly Ainu kneeling on the ground, upon criticism the artist changed the posture to sitting on a stump. Hongo maintained that the design was not discriminatory; the position of the Ainu upheld the artistic balance of the statue (“Nokoru ‘jigen no chigau ronsō’: Wadai o maita ‘fūsetsu no gunzō’ [‘Controversy of a different dimension’ remains: ‘Wind and Snow Group’ created a stir],” *Dōkei nyūsu*, Issue 10 (1970), pp. 50-51).

Why do the Ainu have to sit down [in the kotan] and why can't all the figures in the sculptural composition be the same height?

...

It's okay to celebrate the centennial [of Hokkaido's] development, but the Japanese aren't the only people who struggled. We Ainu also struggled and the last hundred years were the time of our humiliation. However, on the centennial we are trying to get rid of the humiliation and the Ainu are also standing at the point of modern consciousness.⁷

Ainu movements grew steadily throughout the seventies⁸ and by the late eighties Ainu began participating in furthering global Indigenous aspirations at the United Nations. On the cloudy afternoon of 10 December 1992 in New York, Nomura Gi'ichi, then president of the Utari Association of Hokkaido, became the first Ainu to address the United Nations General Assembly at the inauguration of the *International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples*. Nomura opined that he probably would not have been able to attend the inauguration ceremonies as an Ainu person if they had been held a few years prior because government officials had continued to claim that Japan was a mono-ethnic nation, and the

⁷ Sunazawa Bikki, "Naze Ainu wa kotan (buraku) ni suwaranakereba naranai noka!! [Why must the Ainu sit in the *kotan* (village)!]," August 1970, Materials Research Office, Asahikawa City Library. On 23 October 1972, the East-Asia Anti-Japan Front, a Wajin terrorist group, blew up the statue as a part of larger attacks on the government. An almost identical statue was rebuilt in 1977; the only difference being a smaller pedestal. Sunazawa, this time with the help of Yūki, handed out new billets in protest (Sunazawa Bikki and Yūki Shōji, "Futatabi 'Fūsetsu no Gunsō' no setchi ni hantai suru!! [Opposing the installation of 'Wind and Snow Group' again!]," October 1977, Materials Research Office, Asahikawa City Library). Appreciation goes to the Asahikawa City Library staff for helping me locate the two billets in their holdings.

⁸ On local movements, see Gary Clark Sala, "Protest and the Ainu of Hokkaido," *The Japan Interpreter* Vol. 10, No. 1 (1975): 44-65; and Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 162-170.

government only recognized the Ainu as a minority in a report to the United Nations dated 16 December 1991.⁹ The Cold War was fresh in his memory. He told the audience that “As a result of border negotiations between the Russian and Japanese governments, our traditional territory was carved up and many of our people suffered forced relocation.” Nomura was referring to three treaties between Russia and Japan (1855, 1875, 1905) that overlooked the Ainu. The non-inclusion of Ainu in border negotiations continued throughout the Cold War within the context of the so-called (in Japan) Northern Territories problem that developed out of the 1951 Japanese peace treaty. Nomura recognized the decomposition of the Cold War as an opportunity for improving Indigenous-state relations:

In this new era in which the world is seeking a new international order following the end of the Cold War, we believe “a new partnership” between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, which includes this world-view [the world as an interrelated community], can make a lasting and valuable contribution to the global community.¹⁰

Despite this momentous opportunity to address the General Assembly, few state dignitaries heard his words; the official formal session of the General Assembly had been

⁹ “Third Periodic Report by the Government of Japan under Article 40 Paragraph 1(b) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” (16 December 1991), UN Document CCPR/C/70/Add.1, 30 March 1992, paragraph 233.

¹⁰ “Inauguration Speech, U.N. General Assembly, 10 December 1992, Ainu Association of Hokkaido (Japan) Nomura, Giichi,” reproduced in Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai, ed., *Ainu Shi: Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai/Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai katsudō shihen* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai, 1994), pp. 810-816. Hereafter cited as AKS.

suspended after the lunch break to open the special meeting where Nomura and eighteen other Indigenous representatives from around the world gave their speeches.¹¹

Although Tayo, the character in the first of these stories, was fictional, his circumstances were real and his story captures the experience of so many Indigenous individuals and nations; such stories, while not necessarily in focus at the time, were part of everyday Indigenous people's lives throughout the Cold War that had lasting legacies, many of which continue to the present. Keresen (Pueblo) people and their lands were an essential part of something much bigger—the extraction of resources and utilization of lands necessary for sustaining nuclear advances. So too were the Ainu and their lands. Some of their traditional territories had been seized by the Soviet Union during the end of World War II, laying an important backdrop of postwar Ainu identity and sociopolitical movements. These narratives portray communities in flux, situated somewhere between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews—seeking inclusion of their histories and identities within a world dominated by nation-states driven by modernity, on state frontier lands used as chess pieces during the Cold War. They embody and embrace a complex point of convergence of local Indigenous subjectivity and global structures and forces, and are but two of the innumerable stories from around the world during the Cold War of Indigenous pain in a world of transition, and their navigation through that pain and the new post-World War II international order.

The Cold War emerged after World War II in both Europe and Asia and quickly spread around the world. The Cold War formed a new global geopolitical order from which

¹¹ UN Document A/47/PV.82.

states expanded aggressively into Indigenous territories, ripping these people from their perceived isolation through modernization and militarization projects in the name of state security and national development. The extent of change in Indigenous societies during the four and a half decades after World War II were so immense that we can place the Cold War alongside other broad patterns of global forces influencing the shape of Indigenous history, including first contacts, the spread of epidemic diseases, missionary work, and colonialism.¹² That is, we can add the Cold War as a component of the multifaceted Indigenous historical experience. Likewise, as states around the world made use of Indigenous geographies for furthering Cold War aims, they worked to spread the Cold War beyond the sole interest and agency of nation-states. The collision of the Cold War with Indigenous people adds important new depth to our understanding of both how the Cold War developed and was played out, and the manner in which Indigenous people around the world dealt with drastic (cultural, political, social, environmental) changes during the second half of the twentieth century.

¹² For example, see Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900, 2nd edition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Brett L. Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Alwyn Austin and Jamie Scott, eds., *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, eds., *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2010); James Sa'ke'j Youngblood Henderson, *The Mi'kmaq Concordat* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 1997); Laurel Evelyn Dyson, Max Hendricks, and Stephen Grant, eds., *Information Technology and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Information Science Publishing, 2007); IWGIA, *Indigenous Affairs: Indigenous Peoples and Technology* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 2003); and Jamie Brown and Tara Tidwell Cullen, "Indigenous Peoples at the World Summit on the Information Society," and "The Digital Divide," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer 2005): 12-36.

Indigeneity, Indigenism, and Indigenous People(s)

The terms *indigeneity*, *indigenism*, and *Indigenous people(s)* are all relational, contested, and vague terms, similar to the use of *peoples* in the United Nations charter and other terms such as *modern* together with -ity and -ism forms. While all three are contested, they are more important than political wrangling may suggest because they have potent tangible and intangible values associated with rights, access to and distribution of resources, and the construction and identities of nation-states.

Indigeneity, while somewhat awkward in its own right, most often refers to *indigenouslyness* or the quality or state of being Indigenous and can refer to historical, cultural, political, and physical characteristics.¹³ While the legal context of the word lends to its appearance as universal and absolute, it is relative to a larger hierarchical field involving the waxing and waning of hegemony, state structures, cultural identity, and global processes making it an ambiguous form of political identity,¹⁴ and not a fixed state of

¹³ On self-determination, see Mark Bennett, "'Indigeneity' as Self-Determination," *Indigenous Law Journal* Vol. 4 (Fall 2005): 71-115; and John Fowler, "The Concept of Indigeneity: Can the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People be Understood within Western Liberal Philosophy?" *Queensland Law Student Review* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2011): 36-46. On marginalization and resistance, see and Melissa Marschke, David Szablowski, and Peter Vandergeest, "Engaging Indigeneity in Development Policy," *Development Policy Review* Vol. 26, No. 4 (2008): 483-488. On joining "-ity" and "ism" words, see Shane Green, *Customizing Indigeneity: Paths to a Visionary Politics in Peru* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 11-17. On historical experiences, see Dale Turner and Audra Simpson, "Indigenous Leadership in a Flat World," *Research Paper for the National Centre for First Nations Governance* (May 2008): 1-19. On indigeneity and postcoloniality, see Jace Weaver, "Indigenouslyness and Indigeneity," in Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), pp. 221-235. Also, see Keri E. Iyall Smith, *The State and Indigenous Movements* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 33-43.

¹⁴ Jonathan Friedman, "Indigeneity: Anthropological Notes on a Historical Variable," in Henry Minde, ed., *Indigenous Peoples: Self-Determination, Knowledge, Indigeneity* (Delft, Netherlands: Eburon Academic Publishers, 2008), pp. 29-48; J. Marshall Beier, "Inter-National Affairs:

being.¹⁵ It is neither fully externally projected or internally adopted or invented. It is a “*positioning* which draws upon historically sedimented practices, landscapes, and repertoires of meaning, and emerges through particular patterns of engagement and struggle.”¹⁶ Because indigeneity is in constant flux, and continually being negotiated in both becoming and being, it follows that the terms indigenism and Indigenous people(s) are similarly fluid.

Indigenism, as the “-ism” implies, refers to particular actions, such as transnationalism, or ideologies and beliefs associated with Indigenous people.¹⁷ In short, while *indigeneity* refers to the state of being Indigenous, *indigenism* refers to social and political movements in support of Indigenous rights and identity. Such social movements often involve an institutional component that bypasses the state level to access global relationships. Such movements form a global movement of Indigenous people with the goal to gain recognition and status as *peoples* through international structures like the United Nations and the initiatives within that body that culminated in the 2007 General Assembly’s approval of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous

Indigeneity, Globality and the Canadian State,” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* Vol. 13, No. 3 (2007): 121-131.

¹⁵ Sita Venkateswar, et al., “Introduction,” in Sita Venkateswar and Emma Hughes, eds., *The Politics of Indigeneity: Dialogues and Reflections on Indigenous Activism* (London: Zed Books, 2011), pp. 1-3. This rest of the book further examines indigeneity and indigenism. Also, see Anna Tsing, “Indigenous Voice,” in Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, eds., *Indigenous Experience Today* (New York: Berg, 2007), pp. 33-67; and Francesca Merlan, “Indigeneity: Global and Local,” *Current Anthropology* Vol. 50, No. 3 (2009): 303-333.

¹⁶ Tania Murray Li, “Articulating Indigenous Identity in Indonesia: Resource Politics and the Tribal Slot,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 42, No. 1 (January 2000): 151.

¹⁷ On Indigenous transnationalism, see Ravi de Costa, *A Higher Authority: Indigenous Transnationalism and Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2006), pp. 1-14; and Ronald Niezen, *The Rediscovered Self: Indigenous Identity and Cultural Justice* (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009).

Peoples.¹⁸ Here, indigenism emerged when local activities merged with global initiatives. Placing indigenism within a historical framework of indigeneity requires some sort of activism, as well as a receptive audience, through an institution or individual subjective actions. In other words, “Indigenism is a crossroads where many agents meet.”¹⁹ This makes changes in the perceptions of dominant non-Indigenous audiences equally as important as the actual Indigenous activism for understanding indigenism.

Although no globally accepted definition of who qualifies as *Indigenous* exists, the trend has been to move toward more inclusive than restrictive descriptions to account for global variation and avoid political battles.²⁰ It is a debate of fundamental interest to nation-states because of its inherent relation to sovereignty and autonomy, resources, power, and identity. A clear example of this was the international debate between the usage of “indigenous people” or “indigenous peoples” where the former allows for legitimate human rights claims as individuals, and the addition of “s” in the later signifies the right to claim political sovereignty as outlined in the United Nations International Bill of Rights.²¹ The meaning of *Indigenous* varies locally and regionally, and some of these

¹⁸ Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Compare with Alcida Rita Ramos, *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998). Also, see Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2005); Richard Borshay Lee, “Twenty-First Century Indigenism,” *Anthropological Theory* Vol. 6, No. 4 (December 2006): 455-479.

¹⁹ Ramos, *Indigenism*, 291.

²⁰ See UN Documents E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/2/Add.6, paragraphs 4-389; and E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/21/Add.8, paragraphs 362-382.

²¹ Example of this is include the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (created in 1982) and the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (created in 2002), which specifically use the word “populations” and “issues” in avoidance of the words “peoples” or “people.” The literature on the definition of Indigenous is extensive. For an overview on definitions and debates, see Douglas Sanders, “Indigenous Peoples: Issues of Definition” *International Journal of Cultural Property* Vol. 8,

meanings do not make it into global debates.²² This helps explain why the first United Nations multi-year investigation into positing a definition was both challenging and has left room for continual debate.

In 1971, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) sanctioned an investigation on the discrimination against “indigenous populations” and to propose remedies to combat the issues under the direction of the Special Rapporteur José Ricardo Martínez Cobo, while Guatemalan lawyer Augusto Willemsen Diaz completed most of the work.²³ Reports from the so-called “Cobo Study” produced working definitions that have been cited frequently in the literature and been influential on advancing debates on definitions. A 1972 preliminary report provided a tentative definition for “indigenous populations” as follows:

No. 1 (1999): 4-13; Ken Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 1-15; Patrick Thornberry, *Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 33-60; Jeff Corntassel and Tomas Hopkins Primeau, “Indigenous ‘Sovereignty’ and International Law: Revised Strategies for Pursuing ‘Self-Determination,’” *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol. 17, No. 2 (1995): 343-365; S. James Anaya, *Indigenous Peoples in International Law*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 100-103; Chris Tennant, “Indigenous Peoples, International Institutions, and the International Legal Literature from 1945-1993,” *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol. 16, No. 1 (February 1994): 1-57; Andrea Muehlebach, “What Self in Self-Determination? Notes from the Frontiers of Transnational Indigenous Activism,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* Vol. 10 (2003): 241-268; Mark Bennett, “‘Indigeneity’ as Self-Determination,” *Indigenous Law Journal* Vol. 4 (Fall 2005): 71-115; Douglas Sanders, “The Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Seven lectures given at the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Tromsø, Norway, in May and June of 1981,” (S.l.: s.n., 1981); and International Labour Office, *Indigenous Peoples: Living and Working Conditions of Aboriginal Populations in Independent Countries* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1953), pp. 1-27.

²² Tsing, “Indigenous Voice.” On how such terms are in constant flux and motion, see Anna Tsing, “Adat/Indigenous: Indigeneity in Motion,” in Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, eds., *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), pp. 41-64.

²³ For Diaz’s account of his involvement, see Augusto Willemsen Diaz, “How Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Reached the UN,” in Claire Charters and Rodolfo Stavenhagen, eds., *Making the Declaration Work: The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 2009), pp. 16-31.

Indigenous populations are composed of the existing descendents of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial condition; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form part, under a State structure, which incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population which are predominant²⁴

The completed Cobo Study proposed a longer working definition for “indigenous communities, peoples and nations.” It reads,

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence

²⁴ UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.566 (29 June 1972), paragraph 34. Paragraphs 36-45 describe the elements of the definition.

as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

- a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;
- b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;
- c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);
- d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);
- e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world;
- f) Other relevant factors.

On an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group).

This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference.²⁵

The Cobo Study was made it clear that there are limitations on the applicability and practicality of drafting a concrete definition for who qualified as Indigenous and reiterated that these working definitions were meant to provide potential guidelines stir debates; debates that have continued to the present.

Indigenous people are understood as having expressed an attachment to land and value sustainable lifestyles, mobility, and cultural conservatism. They have, historically, been economically and politically dominated by outsiders and have a selective and uneven participation with surrounding non-Indigenous societies. This has meant that they have had limited power within the nation-states in which they live or are dominated.²⁶ The global population of Indigenous people is estimated around 350 million people in over seventy countries that make up around five thousand distinct groups.²⁷

Terminology for Indigenous groups vary from specific self identifying names such as Ainu, Siksika, Pitjantjatjara, Batwa, Tao, and Nivkh, to broad inclusive terms related to specific nation-state historical contexts like Aborigine, Aboriginal, Adivasi, Native, hill tribe,

²⁵ UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7/Add.4, paragraphs 379-382.

²⁶ Coates, *A Global History*, 13-15. On state recognition and addressing indigeneity beyond the confines of nation-state-relationships, see Bruce G. Miller, *Invisible Indigenes: The Politics of Nonrecognition* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), pp. 59-67.

²⁷ Estimates range from 250-400 million people, the number of countries ranges from seventy to ninety and the number of distinct groups ranges from 4,000 to 6,000. See IWGIA, *Who We Are: Indigenous Peoples in Asia* (Chiang Mai: Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact and International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2010), p. 6. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *State of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, UN Document ST/ESA/328 (New York: United Nations, 2009), p. 1 cites 90 countries.

scheduled tribe, ethnic minority, Indian, Orang Asli, and First Nation. In this study, *Indigenous peoples* is reserved for use in relation to international discourse on collective rights, names, titles and direct quotation, while *Indigenous people* refers to individuals from diverse Indigenous groups throughout a region or within international context. For local and nation-state level discussion every attempt is made to use the terminology that was in use in the place and time in question.

Cold War

The Cold War historical period lasted roughly from 1946 to 1991, although important continuities predated and outlasted these dates. It evolved out of geopolitical, economic, geostrategic, ideological, and societal concerns from the nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries and legacies of World War II.²⁸ Similar to colonialism, it is difficult to pinpoint a

²⁸ For an Orthodox account of these concerns, see John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 1-25. The *Cambridge History of the Cold War* and *The Oxford Handbook of The Cold War* reflect the definitional variance in the field. The editors of these volumes avoided defining the Cold War in concrete terms. Instead, between them they compiled 106 articles (72 in the former and 34 in the latter) that illustrate examples of Cold War history from a myriad of angles and perspectives. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volumes I: Origins, II: Crises and Détente & III: Endings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) (hereafter cited as *CHCW1*, *CHCW2*, and *CHCW3*); and Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of The Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Prasenjit Duara argued in favour of using the Cold War as a historical period in "The Cold War as a Historical Period," *Journal of Global History* Vol. 6 (2011): 457-480. On key personalities influencing the course, intensity, and duration of the Cold War, see, for example John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005); and Vladislav Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). For the opposite position, that postwar politics influenced personalities, see Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970). On institutions, see Francine McKenzie, "GATT and the Cold War: Accession Debates, Institutional Development, and the Western Alliance, 1947-1959," *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 10, No. 3 (Summer 2008): 78-109; and Noam Chomsky, et al.,

historical and global end-point of the Cold War because many of its subsystems live on. For example, the San Francisco System in the Asia-Pacific lives on, the “hub and spoke” bilateral military alliances with the United States remain, communist governments rule in China and Vietnam, and the Korean peninsula remains divided.²⁹ In other words, the Cold War had time-space pluralities in both its beginnings and decomposition.³⁰

The superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union held considerably more power than other countries, thus polarizing international relations. Resulting tensions climaxed during a period of increased decolonization. The Cold War connection to colonial empires, rising global nationalisms, and the decolonization process, meant that there were regional Cold War variations. For example, while Europe and North America remained

eds., *The Cold War and the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* (New York: The New Press, 1997). On the importance of ideology in the Cold War, see Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); and Gaddis, *We Now Know*. For the Cold War as a battle for hearts and mind, see Melvyn Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, The Soviet Union, and the Cold War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007); Zheng Yangwen, Hong Liu, and Michael Szonyi, eds., *The Cold War in Asia: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (Boston: Brill, 2010); and Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

²⁹ Kimie Hara, *Cold War Frontiers in the Asia-Pacific: Divided Territories in the San Francisco System* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1-9. War crimes trials in Cambodia remain fixed on the years 1975-79, thus eliminating much of the Cold War's role in that country's devastation and Latin American countries continue to deal with the results of Cold War insurgencies and interventions (for example, see Stephen Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2012]). The Cold War contributed to a higher degree of militarization in many areas of Africa – the reverberations of which are still being felt today. On Africa during the Cold War, see Vladimir Shubin, *The Hot 'Cold War': The USSR in Southern Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2008); Sue Onslow, *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation* (London: Routledge, 2009); Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation State* (New York: Times Books, 1998); and Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

³⁰ Rather than the tradition use of ending or endings when referring to the Cold War, the dissertation adopts Kwon's terminology of decomposition. On decomposition of the Cold War as a social order, see Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

comparatively peaceful,³¹ Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East were regions home to violent and devastating wars, revolutions, and insurgencies. Cold War tensions often acted as a blinder that equated nationalisms as a threat to one of the two superpowers, often prolonging colonial rule and increasing violence in independence movements and civil wars. In this sense, the Cold War was a type of colonialism.³²

The superpowers fought to win over the emergent Third World, or neutral states.³³ Nonetheless, the superpowers were not all-powerful and minor powers could, and did, manipulate them and influence their actions.³⁴ Polarization provided a venue for states and non-state people to gain support from one of the two blocs for individual, group, or national interests. Domestic politics, economics, and social movements, such as those concerned with human rights and environmental issues, mirrored Cold War positions.³⁵

³¹ So peaceful that John Lewis Gaddis referred to the Cold War as “the long peace” (*The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1987]).

³² Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 396.

³³ A sample of the many significant works include John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); and Zubok, *A Failed Empire*.

³⁴ For example Tony Smith, “New Bottles for New Wine: A Pericentric Framework for the Study of the Cold War,” *Diplomatic History* Vol. 24, No. 4 (Fall 2000): 567-591.

³⁵ On rights and the Cold War, see Daniel Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); and Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*. On the environmental issues, see J.R. McNeil, “The Biosphere and the Cold War,” in *CHCW3*, 422-444. As Kwon observes, “The bipolar conflict evolved not only according to the superpower state actor’s intentions but also on the basis of existing, locally specific structural and normative conditions and orientations” (Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 18). On state internalization of the Cold War, see Reginald Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Robert Bothwell, *Alliance and Illusion: Canada and the World, 1945-1984* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Griffith, *Politics of Fear*; Steve Hewitt, *Spying 101: The RCMP’s Secret Activities at Canadian Universities, 1917-1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006); and Patrick Major, *Behind the Berlin Wall: East Germany and the Frontiers of Power* (New York:

Science and technology advancements were of particular importance for states during the Cold War. Development in weapons, space exploration, communications, and travel all benefited from the Cold War.³⁶ The development and proliferation of nuclear weapons contributed to the expansion of state power into frontier lands as states worked to secure, extract, and process required resources, build infrastructure (roads, airports, research facilities, power plants and so on) to support the projects, and secured vast lands, islands, and air and ocean space to test and store nuclear devices and their associated wastes. To differing and unequal degrees these developments influenced culture, politics, society, and economy on local, national and global scales.³⁷

The Cold War provided opportunities for US and Soviet empire building. One trait of empire is the presence, maintenance, and expansion of military bases, and economic and cultural integration.³⁸ But state expansions were not limited to the two superpowers; states, old and new, increased state building projects and projection of their power to the

Oxford University Press, 2010); and Mark Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock 'n' Roll: Teenage Rebels in Cold-War East Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).

³⁶ See David Reynolds, "Science, Technology, and the Cold War," in *CHCW3*, 378-399; Roald Sagdeev, "United States-Soviet Space Cooperation During the Cold War," *NASA 50th Magazine* 2008 (http://www.nasa.gov/50th/50th_magazine/coldWarCoOp.html); Special Edition: Science in the Cold War, *Social Studies of Science* Vol. 31, No. 2 (April 2001); and Aaron L. Friedberg, "The United States and the Cold war Arms Race," in Odd Arne Westad, ed., *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. 207-231.

³⁷ For example David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Paul Boyer, *By Bomb's Early Light* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985); and Peter Hayes, et al., *American Lake: Nuclear Peril in the Pacific* (New York: Penguin, 1986).

³⁸ The literature use the terms "empire by invitation," "empire of imposition," and "informal empire" to distinguish from forms of empire referred to in World History where empires were thought of in terms of civilizations. For example Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 23, No. 3 (September 1986): 263-277; Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2000); Gaddis, *We Now Know*, 26-84; Stephen Hugh Lee, *Outposts of Empire: Korea, Vietnam, and the Origins of the Cold War* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), pp. 114-149; and Vine, *Islands of Shame*.

edges of their borders. During the Cold War states moved into their frontier and border areas at a much more rapid and comprehensive manner than in the past. State movements into borderlands took many shapes: roads, railroads and infrastructure; food, resource and energy extraction projects; missionary work, schools and health centres; resettlement programs of people into and away from border regions; military base construction; and exploration and development of sea beds, the atmosphere, and space. This study examines Cold War state movements into Indigenous lands, or state frontiers, that contributed to an expansion, strengthening and maintenance of the global system of nation-states and modernity.

Context

Most, or almost all, studies on Indigenous people focus on local, regional or national issues and histories within colonial frameworks that do little to address the Cold War.³⁹ Likewise,

³⁹ Colonial and postcolonial frameworks that dominate Indigenous historiography are useful for examining the intentions and historical peculiarities of regions and people peripheral to a few key nation-states during the post-World War II era but they are generally analytically oblivious that these same regions and people were subject to Cold War exigencies and that Indigenous people often made use of bipolar geopolitical worldviews for their own purposes. A fundamental assumption in much of the literature is that Indigenous people “operate in a simple structure where the only larger context is the nation-state or some other kind of state.” However, these people were “also part of a dynamic global system, one that is multiplex and contains a number of related processes” (Jonathan Friedman, “Indigenous Struggles and the Discrete Charm of the Bourgeoisie,” in Roxanne Prazniak and Arf Dirlick, eds., *Places and Politics in an Age of Globalization* [Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001], p. 53).

Recent inclusion of Indigenous people in the fields of International Relations including Diplomacy, Global Studies and Cold War Studies signal a continual expansion of themes and scope in Indigenous studies. While these remain largely new and underdeveloped growths within Indigenous studies in the West they are nonexistent in other regional historical studies. Examples include, J. Marshall Beier, *International Relations in Uncommon Places: Indigeneity, Cosmology, and the Limits of International Theory* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); J. Marshall Beier, ed., *Indigenous*

the Cold War has remained predominately a topic for international relations and diplomatic specialists concerned with the history of nation-states during the first four and a half decades after World War II.⁴⁰ Most literature in this genre fits within orthodox, revisionist or post-revisionist schools of thought. The first of these schools, which originated in the forties and fifties, describes literature that emphasize the Soviet Union's role in instigating and maintaining the Cold War and interprets US actions as primarily defensive.⁴¹ As protests on US measures in Vietnam rose in the sixties and seventies, scholars began to challenge the orthodox interpretation and argued that the United States was primarily responsible for waging Cold War.⁴² More recent studies show how US Cold War actions were a continuation of traditional westward US expansionism.⁴³ The post-

Diplomacies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); James Sákéj Youngblood Henderson, *Indigenous Diplomacy and the Rights of Peoples: Achieving UN Recognition* (Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing Ltd., 2008); Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples*; Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997); Niezen, *Origins of Indigenism*; and Daniel M. Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008); and Brian Goehring, *Indigenous Peoples of the World: An Introduction to Their Past, Present, and Future* (Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing, 1993).

⁴⁰ After the collapse of the Soviet Union specialists in the humanities increasingly took it up as an analytical topic. Canadian, US and Australian academics have written important studies that include interpretations of Indigenous history within the context of the Cold War in their particular country of concern. For example, Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America*; Paul C. Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Lackenbauer, *Battle Grounds*; P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Matthew Farish, "The Cold War on Canadian Soil: Militarizing a Northern Environment," *Environmental History* Vol. 12 (October 2007): 920-950; Lianne Leddy, "Cold War Colonialism: The Serpent River First Nation and Uranium Mining, 1953-1988," PhD Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2011; and Anna Haebich, *Spinning the Dream: Assimilation in Australia 1950-1970* (Western Australia: Fremantle Press, 2008), pp. 21-61.

⁴¹ For example, Thomas Baily, *America Faces Russia: Russian – American Relations from Early Times to Our Day* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950).

⁴² Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (Boulder, CO: Pluto Press, 1994; originally published in 1967).

⁴³ Chalmers Johnson's trilogy *Blowback; The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2004); and *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic* (Henry Holt & Co., 2006).

revisionist label includes literature that worked to synthesize the above two schools of thought by showing how both superpowers played equally vital roles for waging and maintaining Cold War.⁴⁴

The so-called “New Cold War History,” has focused more on findings from the opening of multilingual archives after the fall of the Soviet Union than either creating or conforming to a specific school of thought. These works provide new perspectives on major events in the postwar years such as the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and Sino-Soviet split, often confirming what had already been written about,⁴⁵ and argue that there is still much to learn about the Cold War as an era. The “new” Cold War history is also expanding its analytical framework by integrating other global phenomena that are often treated separately and/or as mutually exclusive including nationalisms, regionalisms, decolonization, globalization, local concerns, culture, human rights, the environment, and transnational organizations and movements.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ For post-revisionist histories, see John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); John Lewis Gaddis, “The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War,” *Diplomatic History* Vol. 7, No. 3 (1983): 171-190; and Geir Lundestad, *East, West, North, South: Developments in International Politics since 1945* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁴⁵ For example, see Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split*. The Cold War International History Project significantly aids the field by posting and translating documents (<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/cold-war-international-history-project>). For more a more detailed discussion on the distinction between these see schools, see Odd Arne Westad, “Introduction: Reviewing the Cold War,” in Westad, ed., *Reviewing the Cold War*, 1-23. On connecting Environmental Studies with Cold War studies, see J.R. McNeill and Corinna Unger, eds., *Environmental Histories of the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴⁶ But these generally focus on areas within the national borders of the United States or European countries. For example, Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000); Thomas, *Helsinki Effect*; and Matthew Evangelista, “Transnational Organizations and the Cold War,” in *CHCW3*, 400-421.

Indigenous history represents a new subject of inquiry that fits within the trend of expanding New Cold War History and Indigenous studies. A more comprehensive understanding, acknowledgement, and appreciation of the role of Indigenous people as they experienced it, locally and within its international parameters is one way to deepen our understanding of the Cold War. It also offers a very different perspective of the Cold War – the opposite of the competing nations approach.

Indigeneity existed irrespective of East-West or North-South divides, but indigenism often operated in relation to such divides. For example, Martínez Cobo's original UN sanctioned report on the world's Indigenous populations covered thirty-seven countries. Nine of these were so-called northern, or "developed" countries and the rest were from the global south. None of the initial countries examined thought to be home to Indigenous people were part of the communist bloc.⁴⁷ Likewise, no delegates from Africa, the Soviet Union, China, or other parts of Asia, were present at the National Indian Brotherhood's first or second preparatory meetings for an international conference in Guyana in 1974 and Copenhagen in 1975 respectively, or the first international general assembly later that year in Port Alberni, British Columbia. The National Indian Brotherhood (the precursor to the Assembly of First Nations) was an assembly of status Indian chiefs in Canada, under the presidency of Shuswap activist George Manuel who spearheaded these events.⁴⁸ Practical organizational reasons such as a lack of resources,

⁴⁷ UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/476, page 2 (30 July 1981). Also, see Diaz, "How Indigenous Peoples' Rights Reached the UN," in Charters and Stavenhagen, eds., *Making the Declaration Work*, 23.

⁴⁸ On the National Indian Brotherhood and George Manuel, see Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993).

the organizers explained, accounted for the omission of Indigenous groups from Africa and failed attempts at contact accounted for the absence of people from the Soviet Union and Asia.⁴⁹ The Cold War was a major unmentioned conduit that guided such practicalities.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was a sudden increase in Indigenous mobilization from these areas of the world. It was not that Indigenous people did not exist in communist countries; rather it was partially due to the Cold War that many studies coming from Western Indigenous people and their non-Indigenous supporters could not involve or assess the situation of many of the world's people and that these people were unable to effectively communicate beyond their state boundaries. The Cold War era processes of defining and solidifying nation-state boundaries had important implications for Indigenous studies in addition to the rise of indigenism. The shared experience of falling in between the lines of the creation of modern nation-states—a process that dramatically accelerated during the Cold War—was significant for creating an internationally recognized body of “Indigenous peoples.”

Many Indigenous people used and adopted Cold War language in pursuit of their own interests. Others were not directly interested or concerned with the US-Soviet struggle or related Cold War polemics as they saw it through their own local lenses. Nonetheless, indirect involvement in the Cold War was unavoidable. Indigenous people that were unconcerned with the Cold War were not removed from it, similar to how the Third World advocacy for nonalignment failed to remove them from the bipolar conflict. Indigenous

⁴⁹ Douglas E. Sanders, *The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples*, IWGIA Document No. 29 (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1977), pp. 13-15; and Roger Moody personal communication with Marie Marule Smallface at NIB, Toronto, April 1974 (Roger Moody, ed., *The Indigenous Voice: Visions and Realities, Volume 2* [London: Zed Books, 1988], p. 60).

people who did not argue in terms of the Cold War also entrenched themselves in it by challenging the status quo by offering alternatives to bipolarity and global modernity. As local Indigenous movements became internationalized they became further a part of the Cold War; as states acted at the international level their actions often shaped local Indigenous social and political changes.

This study does not draw on a well-established historiography of the topic because it is nonexistent. An examination, rereading, historicizing, and synthesis of primary documents and secondary materials from a variety of disciplines inspired the selection of topics addressed in each chapter and form the backbone of this study. This study builds off ideas formed and resources gathered since 2002, when I began studying Ainu culture and history. It expands upon *The Indigenous Ainu of Japan and the Northern Territories Dispute*—in which the author completed the first in-depth historiography and reinterpretation of the role of the Ainu within the context of a territorial dispute between Japan and the Soviet Union/Russia—the so-called Northern Territories issue (in Japan)—as well as projects from the Aboriginal Leadership, Governance, Management Excellence program at The Banff Centre and doctoral seminars at the University of Waterloo, by broadening the scope of Cold War era Indigenous – non-Indigenous relations to global comparative history.⁵⁰ This dissertation made use of materials from the Northern Studies Collection and Library at Hokkaido University, Asahikawa City Library Material Research Office, Sapporo-do, Library and Archives Canada, the United Nations Archive and Records Management Section, and numerous Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations, details

⁵⁰ Scott Harrison, *The Indigenous Ainu of Japan and the Northern Territories Dispute* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag, 2008).

of which are included in the notes and bibliography. Interlibrary Loan Services at the University of Calgary (2003-05 and 2010) and, more importantly, at the University of Waterloo (2005-07 and 2010-14) were instrumental in gaining access to a wide variety of materials that aided this study.

The following is an intellectual and political history of Indigenous people and the Cold War that represents a start for further inquiry and projects bringing these two historical sub-fields closer together. It tells stories of the interweaving of externally produced structural change driven by the Cold War and Indigenous people's responses to these; responses that often occurred in tandem with the Cold War developments, rather than as direct causes and effects. The study begins by considering the relationship between Indigenous people and modernity and nation-states (Chapter 1). It discusses the importance of non-Indigenous people and external aspects of Indigenous organizational activities and reasons behind the dramatic increase of non-Indigenous individuals and support groups, as well as sympathetic audiences during the second half of the twentieth century (Chapter 2). It explores the historical relationship between the Cold War and colonial/postcolonial interpretive lenses in Indigenous history (Chapter 3). It observes the connection between the Asia-Pacific Cold War regional system—San Francisco System—and indigenism throughout that region (Chapter 4). Finally, it documents the manner in which the nuclear arms race, and the subsequent expansion of the nuclear cycle and nuclear modernity, was of particular importance for how Indigenous people interacted with their land and fuelling local and global indigenism (Chapter 5 and 6). This study as a whole seeks to illustrate the broad reach of Cold War exigencies and the vital importance of

the Cold War for shaping indigeneity and indigenism in the second half of the twentieth century and raise the importance of Indigenous people and their geographies for understanding the Cold War.

Chapter 1

Cold War Modernity and Indigenous People

Economic development means different things to different people. To almost everyone it is simplified to mean jobs, income, a better standard of living, a better way of life, or improving the quality of life. It has a sinister purpose and meaning to many in the legislative and administrative branches of government ... “the sooner economic development comes, the sooner our Indian trust responsibilities go.”

In Indian country, economic development imposes tremendous pressure to change a way of life, to become assimilated into that nebulous – and polluted – mainstream of American life. And everybody, it seems, is trying and very eagerly willing to do just that – practically all government: local, state and federal, big business and small business, private sector, and even the U.S. Congress.

The author of this 1971 article, Leon Cook, the president of the National Congress of American Indians, goes on to explain that Indian country had been for the most part left

alone, but that the movement of development was coming quickly to Indian country and that it was important “to define, plan, and implement its own economic development in its own style – Indian style.” It left the details of that style to be decided.¹

State projection into spatial and temporal border and frontier lands around the world increased during the Cold War.² Major threats to Indigenous people were related to attempts to achieve modernity through development and progress projects.³ It was not that Indigenous people denied modernity or the development and progress required to attain it, but the Indigenous world generally interpreted them differently through local lenses or were too busy trying to survive amidst the dramatic changes that such projects brought. These state projects often meant dislocation, marginalization, an impediment to their values and, in extreme cases, death. Marginalization did not occur because Indigenous people lived on the fringe of the nation-state but rather in the manner that it incorporated them and their lands through increased interminglement of societies, international economy and security initiatives influenced by modernist thinking.⁴ The greatest state penetration of Indigenous territories came in the form of large scale development projects that included dams, mining, roads, forestry, militarization and resettlement away from areas considered threats to central governments commonly in border areas or frontiers.

¹ Leon F. Cook, “Economic Development in Indian Country: Beware the Bright Lights and Smokestacks,” *NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter 1971): 22. On the formation of the NCAI, see Thomas Cowger, *The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

² Bernard Nietschmann calculated that seventy-two percent of the wars in 1987 were state-to-nation conflicts while only three percent were between states (“Militarization and Indigenous Peoples: The Third World War,” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol. 11, No. 3 [1987]: 7).

³ The *IWGIA Newsletters* (1968-1992), for example, are filled with such examples. Also, see Bodley, *Victims of Progress*.

⁴ Alberto Gomes, *Modernity and Malaysia: Settling the Menraq Forest Nomads* (Routledge, 2007), p. 4.

These were accompanied by state attempts to make such people sedentary, monoculture agriculturalists and adhere to an accepted form of religion. This would bring modernity.⁵

Modernity, as an idea or set of ideas, rapidly spread around the world during the Cold War.⁶ Although specifics varied locally, both superpowers, their respective camps, and newly emergent states adhered to a broad form of modernity rooted in Western ideas and adopted, transformed and shaped by various societies around the world. Indigenous societies, regardless of their location, were connected to modernity and the system of nation-states was at the root of Indigenous – non-Indigenous relations.

⁵ Modernity is traditionally thought of as being singular, or in Cold War historiography, bifurcated. For examples on the spread of modernity into Indigenous lands, see Bodley, *Victims of Progress*; Winona Laduke, *All Our Relations: Struggles for Land and Life* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999); Jace Weaver, ed., *Defending Mother Earth: Native American Perspectives on Environmental Justice* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996); Colin Nicholas, *The Orang Asli and the Contest for Resources: Indigenous Politics, Development and Identity in Peninsular Malaysia* (Copenhagen, IWGIA, 2000); Gillette H. Hall and Harry Anthony Patrinos, eds., *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty, and Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of Pillage of a Continent* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973).

⁶ For more on modernity as an ideology, see Michael Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). A growing number of projects look at multiple modernities. These include Dominic Sachsenmaier and Jens Riedel, eds., *Reflections on Multiple Modernities: European, Chinese & Other Interpretations* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Bruce M. Knauft, ed., *Critically Modern: Alternatives, Alterities, Anthropologies* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002); Volker H. Schmidt, "Multiple Modernities or Varieties of Modernity?" *Current Sociology* Vol. 54, No. 1 (January 2006): 77-97; and Tu Wei-Ming, "Multiple Modernities: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Implications of East Asian Modernity," in Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), pp. 256-266. Multiple modernities existed but this chapter is mainly concerned with a singular and hegemonic modernity that was and is directly related to and dependent on nation-states, regardless of their political orientation, for its perpetuation. On the emergence of "development" as a solution to solve problems of "underdeveloped" and way of attaining modernity in the post-World War II world, see Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

Modernity: Space and Time Reconfigured

The insurgence of modernity and the spread and strengthening of nation-states after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 reconfigured the conceptions of both time and space. In pre-modern times centrally organized societies commonly differentiated between insiders and outsiders based on space and customs or outward appearance. Appearance continued to play an important role in modernity as central governments more rigorously enforced certain appearances and behaviors.⁷

The spread of the idea of temporal homogeneity of social cores of the state and difference between people outside of those cores also took place hand-in-hand with the rise of modernity and nation-states. In this sense modernity could be understood as a set of attitudes and consciousness.⁸ People could exist in the same or different places at the same time or at different developmental stages in time represented by privileging the former in the binary system of civilized and uncivilized. Temporal cultural homogeneity became a necessity for creating nation-states.⁹ Under the nation-state system of Westphalia, governments agreed not to interfere in each other's sovereignty that existed within recognized borders. This system became interlinked with the Enlightenment project that justified territorial expansion and resource extraction as a manifestation of the right to

⁷ David Howell provides a good example of these changes in Japan in *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 162-163.

⁸ Michael Foucault, *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Vintage, 2010), pp. 39-42.

⁹ On the creation of nation-states, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983); and Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalisms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

profit.¹⁰ In this system, however, only *civilized* or *modern* people could establish a nation-state and people falling outside these categories became the so-called uncivilized or traditional non-state people, creating a temporal hierarchy among people.

Regardless of their location, civil society in modern nation-states labelled many of the world's Indigenous people in such binary terms. Therefore, many projects born out of modernity took initiatives to modernize the traditional, to civilize the barbarian,¹¹ and liberate individuals from nature.¹² Indigenous people often consciously resisted complete incorporation into nation-state structures through their own conservatism, political actions or movement to areas further from state control or influence. Their ability to do so decreased significantly after World War II as state powers around the world changed amidst the Cold War confrontation and the number of states drastically increased (see Chapter 3).¹³

The shift to an international system dominated by nation-states, reinforced by modernity—what this study terms the *modernity – nation-state complex*—occurred after

¹⁰ Makere Stewart-Harawira, *The New Imperial Order: Indigenous Responses to Globalization* (London: Zed Books, 2005), pp. 61-62. Also, see Michael Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 290-306.

¹¹ Max Weber saw modernity as an increase of “rationalization and social action of society ... and the decline of conservative traditionalism” of which many Indigenous people were a part. Hegemony is not always formed by coercion, as Weber saw, but often “by allurements, promise and consent” as Gramsci saw it (Eric Kolig, “Introduction: Cultural Revival, The Construction of Indigeneity, and the World-System,” in Eric Kolig and Hermann Mückler, eds., *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific: Recent Problems of Identity in Oceania* [Hamburg: Lit Verlag Münster, 2002], pp. 8-9). The dichotomy between coercion and active, informed consent in the context of modernity poses important yet difficult questions for understanding Indigenous history. Although this study does not address this issue outright, it is a common theme that comes up in many cases in the study such as in cases of nuclearization and the Pacific examined in Chapters 5 and 6.

¹² Brett L. Walker, *Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), pp. 7, 9.

¹³ James C. Scott expands on this idea in *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

centuries of contact between Indigenous and newcomers in settler and internal colonies around the world. The *modernity – nation-state complex* did not incorporate Indigenous people in equal terms but rather justified the acquisition of their lands, resources and authority over them. Indigenous people around the world acted as a yardstick by which dominant societies judged their own modernity. Many newly decolonized people mirrored their colonizing powers and took up these yardsticks and measured their progress between the industrialized world and Indigenous people within their new state borders. For example, just as the Japanese government worked to alter the traditions and appearances of the Ainu and Okinawans to raise the level of Japanese modernity, new state governments in the global south targeted Indigenous inhabitants and their land for development schemes. These two phenomena, modernity and nation-states, therefore did not occur irrespective of Indigenous people, but in relation to them.

Making Indigenous lands and populations legible served the expansion of existing nation-states and emergence of new ones. Legibility, which was dependent on modernity for its form, includes the process of “establishing permanent last names, the standardization of weights and measures, the establishment of cadastral surveys and population registries, the invention of freehold tenure, the standardization of language and legal discourse, the design of cities, and the organization of transportation...”¹⁴ and the standardization of accepted religions and medical practices. Legibility is a process that nation-states utilized to create standards to simplify and name local knowledge and local

¹⁴ Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 2. On the state and modernity also, see Miller, *Invisible Indigenes*, 49-51.

social practices so that they could be centrally recorded, monitored, and manipulated. “The builders of the modern nation-states do not merely describe, observe, and map; they strive to shape a people and landscape that will fit their techniques of observation.”¹⁵ This often involved investing human and capital resources to alter landscapes and geographies. Legibility, as with many nation-state projects, was a matter of degree. In many cases, because local practices often greatly differed from state models, it proved simpler for states to avoid, ignore, or forget Indigenous people and their lands than attempt to make their populations and lands legible to central governments.¹⁶ Top-down government plans often required little local knowledge.¹⁷

Nation-state legibility was also interdependent on modernism, or the thought, practice, and expression of modernity. Modernism, or high modernism in this case, refers to an ideology or faith in continued linear progress of science and technology to control or manipulate society and nature. This faith existed within nation-states irrespective of their political orientations. “The ideology of high modernism provides, as it were, the desire, the modern state proves the means of acting on that desire ...”¹⁸ In other words, high modernism legitimized the spread of the system of nation-states and in return this system spread modernity throughout its borders and eventually internalized by civil society and

¹⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 82.

¹⁶ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 49.

¹⁷ These can include state-state treaties as well as state-Indigenous treaties, policies, and programs. See Chapter 4 herein for an example of the later.

¹⁸ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 89.

citizens.¹⁹ High modernist projects increased around the world in the nineteenth century, but grew even quicker during the Cold War.

One example of this is the position of the Ainu during the reconfiguring of Japanese society with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the birth of the modern Japanese nation-state. The new state, which based its existence on Western models of modernity and built on legacies from centuries of contact with Ainu, strove to make the Ainu “useful citizens” by making their land, appearance, and livelihood legible through a variety of approaches.²⁰ In 1869, it officially incorporated the northern island, known to the Japanese as *Ezo* and various other names that referred to the non-Japanese inhabitants, into Japan by first standardizing its name by renaming it *Hokkaidō*, or “northern sea circuit,” and making it the modern nation’s first colony.²¹ It relocated many Ainu communities and enacted the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act (*Hokkaidō kyūdojin hogohō*) in 1899; a system designed, similar to the Dawes Act in the United States, to govern, educate, and change Indian livelihood into settled agriculturalists. Under the Hokkaido Development Agency (*Kaitakushi*), with support from advisors from the United States, the state performed a

¹⁹ Prasenjit Duara’s point that “Historical consciousness in modern society has been overwhelmingly framed by the nation-state” implies that focusing on state documents and constructs does not always reflect how a society lived. A historical interpretation derived strictly from state documents in the archives would lead, at least to a certain extent, to a simplified and “legible” version of the past (*Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995], p. 1).

²⁰ On the Ainu as “useful citizens,” see David Howell, “Making ‘Useful Citizens’ of Ainu Subjects in Early Twentieth-Century Japan,” *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 63, No. 1 (February 2004): 5-29.

²¹ *Kai* in Hokkaidō could have originally been a reference to the people of the land, but the Chinese character for *sea* was imposed on it. See James Edward Ketelaar, “Hokkaido Buddhism and the Early Meiji State,” in Helen Hardacre, ed., *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan* (New York: Brill, 1997), pp. 535-536. On Hokkaido as Japan’s first colony, see Harrison, *Indigenous Ainu*, 6; and Michele M. Mason, *Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaido and Imperial Japan: Envisioning the Periphery and the Modern Nation-State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1-81.

variety of land surveys to map the geography, build roads, and develop the land.²² Many of these surveys required the use of Ainu knowledge in naming and moving across the land but, as this knowledge was recorded and appropriated, the newcomers illegitimated it.²³

This placed many Ainu in situations where their local knowledge was less functional further encouraging their reliance or dependence on the government. The Japanese state recorded the Ainu in population registries under the distinct category of *former Natives* (kyūdojin), signifying that they did not consider them integral to the national community. If Indigenous people failed to prosper from the programs, or if their situation worsened, it was only natural given social Darwinist thinking that spread around the globe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²⁴ The idea that a person could be both Indigenous and modern at the same time in the same place was a contradictory of terms for the modern

²² On the life of Horace Capron, US advisor to the Hokkaido Development Agency, see Harold Russell, *Time to be Barbarian: The Extraordinary Life of General Horace Capron* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007); on his reports to the Kaitakushi, see *Reports and Official Letters to the Kaitakushi by Horace Capron, Commissioner and Advisor, and His Foreign Assistants* (Tokei: Kaitakushi, 1875).

²³ The Japanese outlawed the use of Ainu language and some cultural and livelihood practices, such as tattooing, hunting, and fishing. The Japanese newcomers appropriated Ainu place names throughout the region and altered their pronunciation and meaning to fit *kanji*, which also made them difficult to discern for Japanese people; a peculiarity of place names in the region that continues today. For example, the capital of Hokkaido, Sapporo (札幌), which uses the characters meaning tag/ticket and canopy/awning/hood, was derived from Ainu *sat poro pet* meaning “the large dried up river;” Shimukappu (占冠), which uses the characters meaning occupy/divine and crown, was derived from Ainu *shi mokap* meaning “the very quiet and peaceful upstream place;” Oshamambe (長万部), which uses three characters meaning long/chief, ten thousand, and section, was derived from Ainu *o samam pet* meaning “river lying downstream;” Kunashiri (国後), which uses the characters meaning country and after, has several roots in Ainu, the most commonly accepted being *kina sir* meaning “grassy lands;” Etorofu (択捉), which uses the characters meaning select and grasp, refers to Etorofu rock/reef that lies in the centre of the island; Shikotan (色丹), which uses the characters meaning colour and cinnabar, was derived from *si kotan* meaning “large village;” and Habomai (歯舞), which uses the characters meaning tooth and dance, was derived from *apu oma i* meaning “sea of drift ice.”

²⁴ On social Darwinism and the Ainu in Japan, see Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu*, 76-112.

state. This contrasted with the Ainu view at the time that only by becoming useful citizens could they maintain their identity.²⁵ This situation emerged during the height of global colonial empires and the birth of modern Japanese state, and remained a part of the states' construction into the Cold War.²⁶

Modernity is hegemonic but not all pervasive. People living in zones outside of nation-states, or so-called shatter zones within or between states, including Indigenous people, were one such counter force. There have also been many state and civil societal challenges to modernity, most of which occurred after 1945, such as the competition between the superpowers, the rise of Communist China amidst the Sino-Soviet split, and *nihonjinron* (theory of Japanese uniqueness) discourse in Japan, but these nation-state challenges to a singular modernity first integrated and incorporated modernism. Thus, many of the challenges to modernity operated within the very system it contested—including indigenism. During the Cold War the system of nation-states reinforced itself as the standard and exclusive possessor of sovereignty, and expanded to eliminate geographical friction and temporal spaces within and in between nation-states in each of the bipolar camps.

²⁵ Howell, "Making 'Useful Citizens'", 6; Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 12; Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Place* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998); and Justin P. Jacobson, "Time and the Ainu: Japanese Nation-Building and the Conceptualization of Difference," *Historical Geography* Vol. 36 (2008): 163-181. Biological and ecological changes in Ezo significantly influenced the application of social Darwinism in Japan. On changes in ecology in early modern Japan, see Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*.

²⁶ Meiji (1868-1912), Taisho (1912-1926), and Showa (1926-1989).

Cold War Modernity

The Cold War shaped modernity by providing a new layer on which it grew and spread. It gave a sense of urgency to many of the projects that enabled increased access to capital, and confirmed the viability of modernity and the system of nation-states. Likewise, modernity shaped the Cold War. Rather than rethinking modernity, the bipolar world forged ahead, often in the name of national security and national progress, and targeted geographies of the globe that had yet been securely incorporated into the system and people that had yet fully internalized modernism, bringing much more of the world into the bipolar system.

Both of the two dominant and opposing political-economic-social organization systems – capitalism and communism – shared similar forms of high modernity. That is, both relied on a nation-state construct and both presumed growth, development, and standardization that contributed to surplus creation on massive scales that were often apolitical.²⁷ For example, the United States and the Soviet Union continued to exchange ideas and methods for large-scale industrial farming during the Cold War.²⁸ One power often picked up where the other left off when large projects were at stake, such as the Aswan Dam in Egypt. Local protests against development projects, regardless of the

²⁷ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 89; Westad, *Global Cold War*, 39-40; Michael Adas, "Modernization Theory and the American Revival of the Scientific and Technological Standards of Social Achievement and Human Worth," in David C. Engerman, et al., eds., *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Cold War* (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), p. 39; Ashis Nandy, "Introduction," in Ashis Nandy, ed., *Science, Hegemony and Violence: A Requiem for Modernity* (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1988), pp. 1-23; and Escobar, *Encountering Development*.

²⁸ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 197.

political stripes of the governing body, were often suspected as communist or imperialist sympathizers. Juxtaposed with Indigenous history, modernity as envisioned by both capitalist and communist blocs were closely related and at odds with Indigenous organizational systems or Indigenous modernities and states around the world perceived these as counter to state interests.²⁹

Modernity fuelled Cold War competition and the Cold War helped spread conceptions of modernity to deeper levels worldwide by expanding modernization projects and encouraging decolonized regions to side with either Soviet or US models of political and economic modernity.³⁰ The United States used modern development as a weapon during the Cold War as it formed the basis of various postwar initiatives such as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, which focused on rebuilding Europe to contain communism and maintain markets for US goods, and the Point Four Doctrine, which aimed to share US industrial and scientific skills in the Third World. The UN, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Atomic Energy Agency adopted similar objectives promoting an internationalization of modern development.³¹ Newly decolonized countries were keen to access aid through these organizations or Soviet or Chinese patronage and organize themselves after the models provided by their colonizers, which

²⁹ Burger, *Report from the Frontier*, 171. High modernists presented and defended “their plans for change as impartial and pragmatic, while characterizing any opposition as self-interested and political” (Tina Loo, “People in the Way: Modernity Environment, and Society on the Arrow Lakes,” *BC Studies* Vol. 142 & 143 (2004): 165). On the emergence of the development discourse, see Escobar, *Encountering Development*. See pp. 31-34 for the Cold War relation to the discourse. Also, see Engerman, et al., eds., *Staging Growth*.

³⁰ “Modernization intensifies interaction among communities” (Wilmer, *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics*, 45. Also, see pages 52-55).

³¹ On development in the Third World, see Escobar, *Encountering Development*; and on Africa, see Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially pp. 91-132.

implied creating nation-states, and working towards abstract ideas of progress and development in order to be recognized and accepted as a modern state by the international community of nation-states. This competition and spread of modernity gave birth to an era of vast nation-state expansion into areas formerly peripheral in space and/or time to states around the world.

“Modernization theory,” largely developed in the United States from the early fifties, saw peasants as the source of radical agrarian revolutions that could easily be influenced by communist designs throughout the Third World.³² The backers of this theory, such as the Rockefeller Institute, also saw peasant communities as too much bound by tradition and conservatism to be agents of change, agricultural innovation, or technological innovation. For this reason the same theory dictated that support should be provided to market orientated agents outside of peasant communities capable of instigating such change. “Community development” or “controlled change,” as the anthropologists and researchers involved in the Cornell–Peru Project who aimed to modernize over two thousand Indians in the Peruvian highlands called it, became an important Cold War strategy of the West.³³

³² On modernization theory, see Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003); Latham, *Modernization as Ideology*; and Engerman, et al., eds., *Staging Growth*.

³³ Eric B. Ross, “Peasants on Our Mind: Anthropology, the Cold War, and the Myth of Peasant Conservatism,” in Dustin Wax, ed., *Anthropology at the Dawn of the Cold War: The Influence of Foundations, McCarthyism, and the CIA* (London: Pluto Press, 2008), pp. 108-110; and Jason Pribilsky, “Development and the ‘Indian Problem’ in the Cold War Andes: Indigenismo, Science, and Modernization in the Making of the Cornell-Peru Project at Vicos,” *Diplomatic History* Vol. 33, No. 3 (June 2009): 405-426.

Modernization theory directly influenced agrarian reform in the Third World and targeted peasants that included Indian and Highland people.³⁴ Anthropologists worked to support and perpetuate the myth that peasants, and other people yet to attain modernity, could not change themselves and therefore needed continued assistance from the outside. In Vico, Peru, anthropologists worked with Cornell University, the Carnegie Corporation, and government to ensure that Indian discontent related to land reforms would not lead to Indian revolutionary action by “raising the status of backwards peoples....”³⁵ The more governments and funding agencies supported agents external to these communities, the more difficult it became for local communities to take control of their lands, further perpetuating the myth that such people could do little on their own to better their lives and avoid falling into communist traps. Putting modernization theory into practice meant that massive colonial era style development projects continued throughout the Cold War era.

Examples from around the world are abundant. In the Canadian province of British Columbia, the government of W.A.C. Bennett spent more money on roads between 1952 and 1958 than in the province’s history, whereupon it began to vastly expand hydroelectric projects.³⁶ The US interstate highway system, initiated by President Eisenhower, composed of 66,000 kilometres of road that connected upward of 400 military complexes throughout

³⁴ On development for solving problems of food and hunger, see Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 102-153.

³⁵ John Gardner, Letter to Clyde Lauriston Sharp, June 5. Carnegie Corporation of New York papers. Series III. A2, Box 124. Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, quoted in Ross, “Peasants on Our Mind,” 119. The Vico project formed the roots of the Peace Corps program under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson (119). The Peace Corps played important roles in the nuclearization of the Pacific, such as the Marshall Islands (see Chapter 4). On Brazil, see Ramos, *Indigenism*, 195-221.

³⁶ Loo, “People in the Way,” 163.

the continental United States and was built to specifications for accommodating military vehicles. It became the largest construction and earth-moving project in US history.³⁷ The interstate system also cut through or ran close to numerous Native American territories; the full extent of which has yet to be studied.³⁸ Rather than investing heavily in roads, of which the Soviet Union had about one percent that of paved roads that the United States had and about twenty-five percent of all total roads in the mid sixties, the Soviet Union spent their resources building rail lines. Most of the 38,000 kilometres of rail laid during a twenty-one year period from 1945 had military purposes. The long dormant Baikal-Amur railroad, far north of the Chinese border, was finally completed in 1969. This line alone was 3,500 kilometers long and helped facilitate the creation of sixty new towns, support its Pacific fleet, and exploitation of natural resources—all initiatives that dramatically increased contact with Indigenous groups across Siberia.³⁹

The number of large dams built around the world, often on or near Indigenous lands, greatly increased during the Cold War. Sixty percent of the over six hundred dams Canada built up to 1984 were constructed between 1945 and 1975.⁴⁰ Japan outdid these

³⁷ Dan McNichol calls it “the largest single engineering and construction project on this planet” (*The Roads that Built America: The Incredible Story of the U.S. Interstate System* [New York: Barnes & Noble, 2003], p. 8. Also, see pp. 127-137).

³⁸ The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development has done research on the relationship between economic development and physical proximity to interstates but has not proved a relationship to support the idea that any Nation near an interstate makes them economically better off than those not (Aboriginal Leadership and Management Program at The Banff Centre, January 2008 led by Stephen Cornell and Manley Begay).

³⁹ J.R. McNeill, “The Biosphere and the Cold War,” in *CHCW3*, 434-437; and Kathlene Tobin, “The Reduction of Urban Vulnerability: Revisiting 1950s American Suburbanization as Civil Defence,” *Cold War History* Vol. 2, No. 2 (January 2002): 1-32. Many roads and settlement projects were initiated during World War II but after the war many of these lost significance and fell out of use.

⁴⁰ Loo, “People in the Way,” 164-165.

numbers and constructed 1,035 dams in just over thirty years from 1956.⁴¹ Dams built throughout the Columbia River basin in the United States supported the high-energy consuming Hanford plutonium processing plants. Many of the dam projects in the Third World were supported by the World Bank, directly infringing on Indigenous lands for the sake of development as a means to support stability of the ruling government and national progress, which often translated into alliances with capitalist or communist powers.⁴² For example, the World Bank supported a one billion dollar concrete dam project in the Philippines, the largest in Asia at the time, which would have required the forced relocation of around 90,000 Bontoc and Kalinga people. The military harassed Igorot (as the Indigenous groups in the area are collectively called) throughout the Cordillera who protested against the pre-construction surveys for twenty years before the government shelved this, but not other development projects.⁴³ Dams on the Rajang River similarly threatened Dayak groups in Sarawak.⁴⁴ States used dams, and the related loans, energy, resettlement and infrastructure projects to contain the bipolar divide and integrate new regions into their core;⁴⁵ from Siberia to India, and throughout the Americas, dams flooded

⁴¹ Walker, *Toxic Archipelago*, 221,

⁴² On the creation of the Third World, see and Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: The New Press, 2007); Lundestad, *East, West, North, South*, 233-284; Mark T. Berger, "After the Third World? History, Destiny and the Fate of Third Worldism," *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2004): 9-39; and Escobar, *Encountering Development*.

⁴³ Philip Razon, "Philippines," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 15 (September 1976): 6; and "Philippines: Nightmare in the Highlands," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 69-86. Also, see Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, "Chapter 6: World Bank and IMF Impacts on Indigenous Economies," in Jerry Mander and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, eds., *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 2006), pp. 49-57.

⁴⁴ Hanne Robenhagen and Henrik Schleicher, "Malaysia: Rajang River Dams Threaten Sarawak Indigenous Groups," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 37 (May 1984): 97-105.

⁴⁵ On the United States' use of dams to contain communism, see Richard Tucker, "Containing Communism by Impounding Rivers: American Strategic Interests and the Global Spread of High

fertile lands and dislocated vast Indigenous populations from their lands and livelihood (Figure 1).

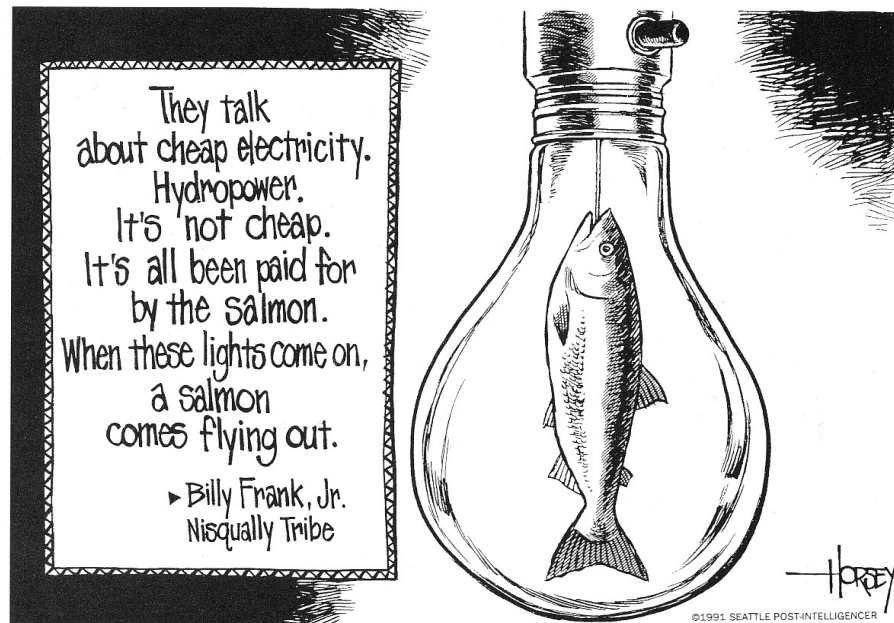


Figure 1: Damning Salmon (David Horsey’s 1991 [Seattle Post-Intelligencer] editorial cartoon of one of the many animated comments by Billy Frank Jr. during his lifetime of fighting for treaty fishing rights in Washington State, reprinted from Charles Wilkinson, *Messages from Frank’s Landing: A Story of Salmon, Treaties, and the Indian Way* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000], p. 92)

Dams in the Early Cold War,” in McNeill and Unger, eds., *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, 139-163. These projects were not attributable to only factors of the Cold War or modernity, but these were important parts of the “hybrid causations” of development and progress. Quote from Walker, *Toxic Archipelago*, xiii-xiv, 16-20.

Resettlement was a component of modernization projects as well as a modernist strategy. State authorities often considered resettlement of Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people into Indigenous lands as a solution to a variety of problems connected to development projects and security that aimed to simultaneously improve the target geography and people.⁴⁶ Reorganizing space through resettlement reconfigured political, social and economic relations and contributed to nation-building—and spreading revolution and quelling imperialism or containing communism depending on the context—by enabling a centralization of political power and easing friction of the transfer of commodities and state ability to track people.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Loo, “People in the Way,” 166. State perception of sea as empty territory requiring state sovereignty and governance led to the creation of the 1982 UN Convention of the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS); in most cases benefiting former European colonial powers who laid claim to vast island and coastal territories inhabited by Indigenous people around the world (Peter Nolan, “Imperial Archipelagos: China, Western Colonialism and the Law of the Sea,” *New Left Review* Vol. 80 (March-April 2013): 77-95.

⁴⁷ Loo, “People in the Way,” 168. The Canadian government’s resettlement of Inuit to the high Arctic in the 1950s is but one case in point. Matthew Farish and Whitney Lackenbauer, “High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik,” *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 35 (2009): 517-544; Alan Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995); Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit: Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-1963* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994); Melanie McGrath, *The Long Exile: A Tale of Inuit Betrayal and Survival in the High Arctic* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2007); Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Rene Dussault, Rene and George Erasmus), *The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994); and Alan Marcus, *Out in the Cold: The Legacy of Canada’s Inuit Relocation Experiment in the High Arctic* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1992).

Circulation and Flow of Ideas, Labour, and Resources

Ideas, objects, and human labour passed across border areas during the Cold War just as they had before and did afterwards.⁴⁸ These circulations and flows enhanced the ability of states to project their power to their borderlands and frontiers or remote regions. The expansion of Marxist and Maoist ideologies and writings around the world was one of the flows that the Cold War facilitated and it inspired Indigenous people around the world. Even though they often interpreted them locally, these ideologies were external to Indigenous communities. By framing their concerns and interests in international geopolitical language, these ideologies connected them directly to Cold War rhetoric and politics. In non-communist liberal and dictatorial countries this often backfired as these states often used it as a means to justify penetration, often accompanied by gross violence, to contain potential communist expansion. The overwhelming focus on US actions, and its association with capitalism, further encouraged a romanticizing of leftist views among Indigenous organizations. They frequently looked to China, Cuba, or the Soviet Union for lessons as the binary opposite to the United States and capitalism. These ideologies were bifurcated but they were false binaries because both systems operated within and were born out of Euro-Atlantic culture and history.

For many Indigenous people, Marxism and Maoism had more to do with resisting imperialism and corporations and fighting for their own political and cultural freedom than it did with uniting with a single cohesive communist bloc or attempting to overthrow the

⁴⁸ For an ethnographic examination of the importance of friction within global connections and flows, see Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

whole so-called free world. Many Indigenous people maintained an attachment to such ideologies even after signs in the West hinted that the Cold War was decaying. Red scares and social control as represented by McCarthyism, for example, extended to many governments well beyond the United States. These ideas sometimes became more radical and destructive as the adopting government interpreted them according to local specificities. Anticommunist governments terrorized many places in the Third World from Chile and Argentina, to Indonesia and South Korea.⁴⁹ In the name of anticommunism, governments in these and other areas often moved into regions predominantly inhabited by Indigenous people and worked to control their communities. Accusations of Indigenous people being communists were widespread.

The Paraguayan ambassador in Buenos Aires told the Danish ambassador they arrested members of the Marandu Project, an Indian organization trying to work out their problems with the dominant society, because they were performing “illegal Communist activities,” and that outsiders should not interfere because it was an internal affair.⁵⁰ The military government in Chile expended much energy searching for Mapuche leaders; some were members of the Chilean Communist Party. This included Rosendo Huenumann, who had been elected to the Chilean Congress in March 1973, six months before the military coup. The military executed him shortly after the coup.⁵¹ The Guatemalan Ministry of Defence deflected blame for a massacre of more than one hundred Indian peasants and placed the blame on “left-wing guerillas who incite the peasants to invade private estates.”

⁴⁹ Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 30.

⁵⁰ International Secretariat of IWGIA, “Paraguay,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 14 (March 1976): 1-2; and “Paraguay,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No 15 (1976): 3.

⁵¹ “Mapuches Continue their Struggle,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 14 (March 1976): 4-6.

More likely it was collusion between big businesses trying to secure land for cash crops and oil development on Indian lands.⁵² In 1979, Amnesty International reported that various rightwing anticommunist groups made up of a large amount of people from the police force and army killed more than 35,000 Indians in Guatemala.⁵³ Guatemala's secret Anti-Communist Army captured many Indian leaders and killed many more for being suspected as communists in part of a "clean-up" campaign.⁵⁴

My 14-year old brother was only the secretary of a cooperative in town, but the army abducted him. They held him for sixteen days. They tortured him – tore out his fingernails, cut out his tongue, cut up the soles of his feet, burned his skin. I saw him afterwards with my own eyes, and I'll never forget it. The army had brought us together, four or five hundred peasants, saying they would show us how they had tortured the "guerillas," and telling us, "If you get involved with this Communism, this is what we'll do to you." And I saw my brother there. In the end, they poured gasoline over him and the other prisoners and set them on fire.⁵⁵

Indians in Guatemala knew about communism but throughout the seventies national Marxist debates attempted to exclude Indians because Marxists in that country

⁵² Jens Lohmann, "Massacre Brings Out Crisis in Guatemala," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 19 (June 1978): 2-5.

⁵³ "Holocaust in Guatemala City," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 24 (April 1980): 13-15.

⁵⁴ Paplo Ceta, "Guatemala: Indian Leaders Report on the Army's Genocidal War," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 30 (April 1982): 40-44.

⁵⁵ Rigoberta Manchú, "Guatemalan Lives," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 12.

thought they lacked contemporary importance for the nation-state, that they were ignorant of their own history, and therefore Indigenous socialism was a contradiction in terms.⁵⁶

The Colombian government considered the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC), which formed in 1971 and was a hub for Marxist orientated Indian organizations, a communist organization and did not mention its name in front of foreign delegations at the May 1979 national seminar on national and international community development. Even more so signaling the non-Indian discomfort with left-leaning Indian organizations was the 1982 Communist Party attack on the CRIC.⁵⁷ Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), the Maoist-inspired insurgency in Peru, tried to take power by force in the country by first moving into the countryside. They argued that they were fighting on behalf of Indian people and to help liberate them but by doing so they brought many difficulties to Indian communities.⁵⁸ Indian groups in Peru were suspect of communism and the left. They thought Marxism still represented Western ideology—a fitting observation considering Marx’s assumption that Indigenous people would disappear⁵⁹—even though at the emergence of some Peruvian organizations they had the view that

left-wing thought constituted a real alternative for the Indian peoples.

However, they came to realise that within the political trajectory of the

⁵⁶ Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indians of the Americas: Human Rights and Self Determination* (New York: Praeger, 1984), p. 112.

⁵⁷ “Columbia: Community Development or Community Repression?” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 23 (November 1979): 3; and Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indians of the Americas*, 108.

⁵⁸ Salvador Palomino Flores, “The Struggle of Indigenous Organisations Today,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 31-32 (June-October 1982): 50-51; and “Communities Caught between Army and Sendero Luminoso,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 48-50.

⁵⁹ Scott Simon, “Indigenous Peoples, Marxism, and late Capitalism,” *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry* Vol. 5, No. 1 (November 2011): 6.

Peruvian left grounded in a Marxist philosophy there was no place for the liberation struggle of indigenous people. Indians must tackle their problems through their own endeavors and free themselves from all forms of western paternalistic ideology.⁶⁰

Church organizations in Central and South America were often divided by anticommunism. Bishop Conferences in Latin America in the sixties and seventies called on the Church to become involved in social action. But because dictatorships often targeted liberal parts of the church “... many other very influential Church officials strongly support the established power, and willingly condemn as ‘communism’ any criticism aimed at the official policy.”⁶¹ This left the Catholic Church divided and uncommitted on a variety of fronts that included their relationships with local Indians.

Governments used anticommunist rhetoric in order to target Indigenous communities throughout the rest of the world as well. The Indonesian state accused FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) in Timor as being communists and used this to justify their invasion.⁶² In the Chittagong Hill Tracts some people believed that the Shanti Bahini had close ties to the Burmese Communist Party, the Arakan Communist Party and other leftist groups but they denied involvement with any Marxist party or group.⁶³ Throughout the Philippines the government labelled as

⁶⁰ “Peru: Mipva Fights to Restore Tawantinsuyu,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 50-51.

⁶¹ “Celem 3: A Big Step Backwards,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 22 (June 1979): 37.

⁶² James Dunn, “Timor: Australia’s Acquiescence of Indonesian Aggression,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 25/26 (March 1981): 73.

⁶³ Colin Johnson, “Eastern India: The Plight of Ethnic Minorities, ‘He Who Lays Down His Gun Lays Down His Freedom,’” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 31/32 (June-October 1982): 95-96.

communists and suppressed with military force tribal people who opposed development projects supported by the government or petitioned for democratic reforms.⁶⁴ The ideology that Indigenous people posed threats as communist or imperialist/reactionary tools largely subsided when threats to ruling governments resolved locally and even more so with the decomposition of the Cold War. Nonetheless, states in some parts of the world, such as in Southeast Asia, have continued to use such accusations to resettle Indigenous communities and to quell Indigenous opposition to development projects and to further incorporate them into the modernity – nation-state complex.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Cordillera Peoples Alliance, *The International Solidarity Conference in the Cordillera, Philippines, Cordillera Peoples Alliance April 21-May 5, 1987* (Baguio City, Philippines: Christian Conference of Asia Urban Rural Mission and Cordillera Peoples Alliance, 1988).

⁶⁵ Christopher Duncan, "Legislating Modernity among the Marginalized," in Christopher Duncan, ed., *Civilizing the Margins: Southeast Asia Government Policies for the Development of Minorities* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 8. Material objects and human labour flows also continued steadily during the Cold War. The Soviet government relocated suspected "disloyal" people throughout their lands. Vietnamese labourers migrated to the Eastern bloc to earn money while Soviet-bloc engineers moved in the opposite direction. Western Europeans migrated to the United States for work while many Western European countries imported refugees to aid in the postwar recovery. The Japanese and South Koreans transferred their technology to the Middle East and other areas. Many countries, not only the superpowers, transferred weapons to their allies. Canada heavily involved itself with military transfers to the developing world. It had several reasons to do so, including the belief that military training contributed to modernization and state building, to keep its own military programs cost-effective, to support NATO, and counter communism. There was often deep contrast between intentions and results of these transfers. Along with weapons transfers there were often exchanges of military personnel who learnt about each other's warfare tactics, like those between Cuba and Vietnam, the CIA and various countries, and the Soviet Union and China. The Sudanese reinterpreted political art from North Korea and incorporated Chinese revolutionary ideas into their aesthetics. The nuclear arms race initiated global flows of nuclear technologies and dangerous radioactive wastes (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Christopher R. Kilford, *The Other Cold War: Canada's Military Assistance to the Developing World, 1945-1975* (Winnipeg, MN: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2010); and Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 30-32.

Indigenous Responses to Modernity

The Navajo opened the Navajo Community College in 1968 – the first Indian operated college in the United States. In 1974, with support from the National Science Foundation, they set up a research panel to “explore technical, social and economic problems that result from the interaction of an underdeveloped economy and rapidly advancing industrialization.”⁶⁶ Urban Indians in the United States created AIM—the American Indian Movement—in 1968 and supported a wide variety of conferences and activities within that country and abroad.⁶⁷ In 1971 it formed the protest “trail of broken tears” in Washington, confronted the US government at Wounded Knee in 1973, organized “The Longest Walk” in 1978 from Alcatraz to Washington, and began supporting Miskito Indians in Nicaragua in the eighties. During The Longest Walk Russell Means, AIM’s first national director, commented on President Carter’s accusations of Soviet human rights abuses: “When President Carter is pointing at injustices in other countries he should remember that three fingers are pointing back.”⁶⁸ Shorty O’Neill, one of the most internationally vocal Aborigines from Australia and representative of the National Federation of Land Councils (formed in 1980), bought one share in Rio Tinto Zinc so that he could attend a shareholder meeting in London in 1982, recognizing that doing so was the only way he could have a say in the company that had heavily invested in mining operations on Aborigine territories in

⁶⁶ “Navajo Community College,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 12 (March 1975): 3.

⁶⁷ Even though most of the attention of Indigenous activities goes to the late sixties and beyond, activities in the late forties and fifties laid much of the groundwork for the movement of the sixties and seventies. On Indian movements in the US in the fifties, see Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America*. Other examples from the fifties are raised at various points throughout this study.

⁶⁸ Eva Bjärlund, “U.S.A.: Leonaed Peltier,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 23 (November 1979): 25.

Australia. He noted that his people were not completely against mining because they mined before Europeans came but that they did not have their whole economy based on mining.⁶⁹ The Sami in Norway fought against the Alta-Kautokeino hydroelectric project.⁷⁰ In July 1979, Chief Jerry Jack of Mowachaht went to Copenhagen and the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) headquarters to meet with the Danish government and the East Asiatic Company to protest their forestry activities that began in the sixties that had deforested much of his people's land and polluted their rivers on Vancouver Island.⁷¹ The Council for Yukon Indians (formed in 1973) proposed creating a separate Indian government with control over resources in June 1978.⁷² One of the largest challenges for the Inuit in Greenland shortly after they established home rule was how to address development. On this issue, Helge Kleivan, one of the founders of the IWGIA, noted a challenge that confronted Indigenous people around the world at the time.

The strictly liberalist version of Western society that emerged during the 1950s and 1960s also represents a great challenge to their political viewpoints and their ingenuity. Is it still possible to achieve a viable new direction of the ongoing development process, and thus realize the assumption that modernity can be achieved without blueprinting the model

⁶⁹ "Protests over Rio Tinto Zinc's Abuse of Native Peoples Stops Annual General Meeting," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 28-29 (October-December 1981): 76-78; and "Aboriginal Nation Fights for Rights," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 31-32 (June-October 1982): 78-83.

⁷⁰ "Sami Rights and the Alta-Kautokeino Case," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 27 (June 1981): 63.

⁷¹ "Canada: The Mowachaht Band and the East Asiatic Co.," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 23 (November 1979): 27-28.

⁷² "Separate Indian Government Proposed for Yukon," *Vancouver Sun*, June 5, 1978 as reproduced in *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 19 (June 1978): 33.

of Western society? This is the great challenge for the people of Greenland, and for their young and courageous politicians. We wish them all good luck in their difficult task!⁷³

A 1971 comic that plays on North American treaties catches the feeling of what many Indigenous people around the world felt about development and land rights at the time. The comic depicts a police officer standing behind a government bureaucrat or company official that, while showing a treaty to a chief, explains, “It’s quite explicit chief... only as long as the sun shines and the river runs.” Sayings like “as long as the sun shines and the river flows” often expressed the unending validity of treaties and Indigenous title to land in Canada and the United States. In the background of the comic a bulldozer begins to plow over a teepee. Beyond the Indian settlement a city spews pollution into the sky blocking the sun, and a dam completely stopped the flow of the river to their settlement. Modernity and state expansion had unilaterally rendered the treaty, and any Aboriginal title to land, invalid (Figure 2).⁷⁴ But it was not always as simple as this. Indigenous people the world over participated in many of these projects either willingly or not, with often-unintended consequences as the quote by Leon Cook of the National Congress at the start of this chapter attests. To the bureaucrat and the bulldozer we could add military and industrial complexes, and just as easily replace teepees with some other form of traditional housing or substandard prefabricated housing provided by governments around the world.

⁷³ Helge Kleivan, “Greenland: From Colony to Home Rule: A Note on Political Mobilization,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 22 (June 1979): 22.

⁷⁴ *Native Nevadan* (June 1971): 3.



Figure 2: As Long as the Sun Shines (*Native Nevadan* [June 1971]: 3)

These same decades saw the rise of national and regional organizations throughout Central and South America. CRIC, the Regional Indigenous Council of the Cauca, held six congresses in local languages in Columbia with the goal of regaining control over traditional territories.⁷⁵ The First National Congress of the Indigenous Peoples of Ecuador was held in December 1977, organized by the Shuar Federation of Ecuador, an autonomous organization since 1964 active in Indian movements. The government decided to forbid the

⁷⁵ "Columbia: CRIC Holds 6th Congress Despite Police Repression," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 27 (June 1981): 61.

meeting at the last moment so it was held in secret.⁷⁶ In January 1978, a group of Mapuches in exile met in London to discuss their problems and vowed to fight against the military dictatorship and the power of bourgeoisie, imperialism and class society.⁷⁷ The First Indian Historical-Political Congress of Kollasuyu (Bolivia) was held in April 1978, in which they expressed their discontent with imperialism, westernization, racism, and colonialism.⁷⁸ At the Fifth Assembly of the Mapuche People from 24 to 27 January 1984, in Temuco, Chile the eighth commission on international work noted, "It is considered that the capitalist system and its economic model has given rise to the deepest economic, political, social, cultural and moral crises ever witnessed in history and that our people suffers from exploitation and the violation of the most fundamental rights of man." And for this reason it concluded it would

extend and deepen the unity between different indigenous organisations of the world and to strengthen the struggle of these peoples; to produce a project on an international level about the rights of all indigenous people and to establish a department of international relations which would have as a goal the development of ties of friendship and fraternity with all peoples of

⁷⁶ "First National Congress of the Peoples of Ecuador, December 1977," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 19 (June 1978): 22-23.

⁷⁷ "The Mapuches Speak Up," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 19 (June 1978): 30-31.

⁷⁸ "A Summary of the First Historical-Political Congress of the Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 19 (June 1978): 14-17.

the world, with governments and institutions for solidarity with the just struggle of all people.⁷⁹

George Manuel, then president of the National Indian Brotherhood in Canada, spearheaded two international preparatory meetings in 1974 (Guyana) and 1975 (Denmark) that laid the groundwork for an international conference of Indigenous people in Port Alberni, Canada, later that year.⁸⁰ This conference, which attracted a total of 260 participants with fifty-two Indigenous delegates from nineteen countries, the largest conference of its kind, culminated in the foundation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP).⁸¹ The WCIP held their second general assembly in Sweden in 1977,⁸² the third in Canberra, Australia in 1981,⁸³ and the fourth in Panama three years later, which welcomed three hundred people from twenty-three countries.⁸⁴ “The World Council for Indigenous Peoples believes that governments of both the right and the left can harm

⁷⁹ “Chile: The 5th Congress of the Mapuche People,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 37 (May 1984): 53-56. Quote from page 56.

⁸⁰ In April 1978, the National Indian Brotherhood in Canada formed an unnamed alliance with the Council of Energy Resource Tribes in the United States, a coalition of twenty-five tribes with large energy resource holdings “working to give Indians greater control over their resources and to use them for economic and political gain” (*IWGIA Newsletter* No. 19 [June 1978]: 32). On Native Activism in the US, see Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America*; and Rosier, *Serving their Country*.

⁸¹ The conference dates were 8-11 April 1974, 16-18 June 1975, and 27-31 October 1975. “World Council for Indigenous Peoples,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 13 (January 1976): 3; and Sanders, *The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples*, 11-18. For discussion on the 1974 Guyana meeting, see Jonathan Crossen, “Decolonization, Indigenous Internationalism, and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples,” PhD Dissertation, University of Waterloo, 2014, pp. 83-113.

⁸² 24-27 August.

⁸³ 27 April to 2 May. “World Council of Indigenous Peoples: Third General Assembly,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 27 (June 1981): 3-6.

⁸⁴ 23-30 September. For more on the WCIP, see Crossen, “Decolonization, Indigenous Internationalism”; Sanders, *The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples*; Rise Massey, “The World Council of Indigenous Peoples: An Analysis of Political Protest,” MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1986; and Jochen Kemner, “Lobbying for Global Indigenous Rights: The World Council of Indigenous Peoples (1975-1997),” *Forum for Inter-American Research* Vol. 4, No. 2 (November 2011). WCIP fonds located at the Library and Archives Canada, RG9439.

indigenous peoples. No one political ideology necessarily supports what indigenous peoples want unless they make up their mind to do so.”⁸⁵ The WCIP also assisted in the organization of five regional branches to further enhance international participation and set WCIP goals and priorities. For example, during the summer of 1979 the WCIP helped coordinate a conference of South American Indian leaders in the hope of creating a regional organization, noting that Central America had already done so. The meeting was supposed to take place in November of that year but was postponed a few months. From the end of February to early March 1980, Indians from across South America assembled in Cuzco, Peru to examine their situations and formed the Indian Council of South America. One of the conclusions of the Congress stated, “we, the Indians, are not a social category, but a people with a common philosophical conception, diametrically opposed to the western-european way of thinking.”⁸⁶ Similar to states, Indigenous individuals and organizations often expressed what they were opposed to or against, rather than what they stood for.⁸⁷ Figuring out their own interests and uniting them with Indigenous people elsewhere took much more effort.

⁸⁵ “WCIP: European Delegation on Central America Visits IWGIA,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 43 & 44 (1985): 312.

⁸⁶ “South America: Important Conference on South American Indian Leaders in Cusco, Peru, November 10-15, 1979,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 22 (June 1979): 42; “How Not to Make Movies in Peru,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 23 (November 1979): 8; and quote is from Ramiro Reynaga, et al., “Press Release,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 24 (April 1980): 7. Also, see Crossen, “Decolonization, Indigenous Internationalism.”

⁸⁷ Historian and political scientist Paul K. Padover noted in 1943, “People don’t unite for, they unite against,” implying that it is more difficult to articulate and gain support for what people stand for than what they are against (“Japanese Race Propaganda,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* Vol. 7, No. 2 [Summer 1943]: 192). This is also applicable for understanding the balance between US containment and integration policies (see Chapter 4).

The International Arctic Peoples Conference, held in November 1973, began a process of internationally organizing Arctic Indigenous leaders. The first Inuit Circumpolar Conference (now the Inuit Circumpolar Council) took place in Barrow, Alaska in June 1977, and the second in Nuuk, Greenland in 1980.⁸⁸ Two of the main themes addressed were resource development and environmental protection.⁸⁹ The International Indian Treaty Council, which formed in 1974, organized the *International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas* in the fall of 1977.⁹⁰ To follow up with the 1977 conference the *NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land* took place in Geneva from 15-18 September 1981. Over three hundred representatives of Indigenous groups and organizations attended and one hundred thirty Indigenous representatives testified how they strove to survive as groups amidst land grabbing by corporations seeking profits from resource extraction and governments escalating the nuclear arms race on their lands. The conference called for further solidarity among Indigenous people to fight for self-determination and ensure their lands and resources were developed in accordance with their values.⁹¹

⁸⁸ 15-18 June 1977 and 28 June to 1 July 1980.

⁸⁹ "Greenland: Inuit Circumpolar Conference," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 25/26 (March 1981): 45; and Eben Hopson Memorial Archives, "Inuit Circumpolar Conference, June 1977" (<http://www.ebenhopson.com/icc/ICCBooklet.html>).

⁹⁰ For the full report see, "International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations – 1977 – In the Americas, September 20-23, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland." *Special Issue: Treaty Council News* Vol. 1, No. 7 (October 1977). For another report on the conference, see the Institute for the Development of Indian Law's *American Indian Journal* Vol. 3, No. 11 (November 1977): 1-23.

⁹¹ "NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and Their Land," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 28/29 (October/December 1981): 79-81. For the full report see, Special NGO Committee on Human Rights. Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation, *International NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land – Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland. September 15-18, 1981* (Geneva: World Federation of Democratic Youth, 1981).

The Fourth Russell Tribunal on the Rights and Situation of the Indians of North and Latin America was held in Rotterdam from 24-30 November 1980. Most of the recommendations that came out of the weeklong tribunal were related to development and human rights. One of the final recommendations from this tribunal was that

The international, multinational and intergovernmental banks (World Bank, Inter-American Bank of Development), as well as the International Monetary Fund, must change their policy in order to avoid the extremely grave consequences caused by the abuse of financial development funds. Projects must be avoided which will cause serious harm to members of the indigenous Indian people. Before funding projects these banks must ascertain whether they are a party to these serious violations of Human Rights.⁹²

This is something the World Bank did end up doing in 1982, but the policy change did not always reflect actions, and debate on the World Bank's Indigenous policy continued beyond the decomposition of the Cold War.⁹³ The complaints presented mainly related to

⁹² Ben Vermeer, ed., *Archive of the Fourth Russell Tribunal On the Rights of the Indians of the Americas* (Zug, Switzerland: IDC, 1985); "International: Recommendations of the Fourth Russell Tribunal," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 25/26 (March 1981): 86-90; and "4th Russell Tribunal: Summary of Selected Cases," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 27 (June 1981): 83-92.

⁹³ World Bank, Office of Environmental Affairs, *Economic Development and Tribal Peoples: Human Ecologic Considerations* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1981); John Bodley, "World Bank Tribal Policy," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 43/44 (1985): 299-309; and Burger, *Report from the Frontier*, 250-256. On the gap between policy and practice, see Tom Griffiths, "Indigenous Peoples and the World Bank: Experiences with Participation" (Forest Peoples Program, 2005), p. 2 and note 12 on page 26; and John Bodley, "World Bank Policy: Criticisms and Recommendations," *WCIP Newsletter* Issue 4 (February 1984): 14-19. In October 2011, a mix of 130 Indigenous people's organizations and supporting NGOs signed and submitted a letter to the World Bank requesting further changes to

government seizure of lands and development projects unilaterally implemented on their lands either by governments or multinational corporations, and funded by international aid agencies or banks.

In October 1982, a conference took place in Washington, DC that directly dealt with Indigenous people and multinational corporations. Some participants at the conference were troubled by how they could bring together the diverse experiences from all of the Americas, Hawai'i, and Australia. But in the end the participants "recognized that indigenous peoples around the world are frequently fighting the same multinational companies. This awareness brought home the need to develop an international communications network among themselves so that they could share information and coordinate activities."⁹⁴

During the negotiations on the formation of Nunavut in Canada the Inuit were not looking to secede but to take more control of their livelihood and ensure southerners did not unilaterally dictate what occurred in their lands.

Nunavut is a huge land of seacoasts and islands, straits and gulfs, where the modern industrial society has penetrated only sparingly to date. The traditional economy of Nunavut has been based on renewable resources of land and sea – the fish and wildlife, primarily. The economy is not quaint, not

their Indigenous policies ("Concerns and recommendations of indigenous peoples on the Safeguard Policy review of the World Bank" [<http://www.indigenousportal.com/Economic-Development/Concerns-and-recommendations-of-indigenous-peoples-on-the-Safeguard-Policy-review-of-the-World-Bank.html>]).

⁹⁴ "Indigenous Peoples vs. Multinationals: Conference Report," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 119-123.

antiquated. It has been the bases of social and cultural stability, and has been what has kept people here down all the ages. If Canada wants to have its territory populated with a stable society in place, the continuation of that economy is vital. ... but in recent times they [northern societies in general] have all found themselves in conflict with more southerly political centres which dispute their ownership and management rights to lands and seas, and which dispute their rights to the political status which they claim. Northern people are also finding themselves in a region of renewed interest for the defense, energy and navigation plans of southern economic and political power centres (for example there is an idea to rebuild the Distant Early Warning defense line – DEW Line). It is important that people of the north have their rights acknowledged considering they are playing such an important role in the future of the security of the south.⁹⁵

...

The people of Nunavut are not greedy. *They are not “anti” development.* Nor do they naively believe in vast, or grand, or magical solutions to longstanding economic difficulties. *What we need is a political framework in which economic development can take place with the full involvement of our people.*⁹⁶

Non-Indigenous people were (and still are) often hesitant or skeptical of indigenism or having Indigenous people speak for themselves in the mass media or in academic

⁹⁵ Dennis Patterson, “Canada: Inuit and Nunavut,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 37 (May 1984): 45

⁹⁶ Patterson, “Canada: Inuit and Nunavut,” 51. Italics added.

discourse. The pervasiveness of modernity blinded many non-Indigenous scholars, writers, and government bureaucrats in thinking that Indigenous individuals would be subjectively biased in their thoughts, too uncivilized or uneducated to think for themselves, or that they either did not exist or their existence was still too traditional to be of use to the modern world or to the betterment of the nation-state, or have an understanding of Indigenous individuals' wants, needs or aspirations. Non-Indigenous specialists thought that they, on the other hand, could better translate the Indigenous situation for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences.

Paternalism continued, yet Indigenous individuals and non-Indigenous sympathizers began to engage with elites of society, whether they were political, entertainment/cultural or academic. Journalist Stan Steiner highlighted one example of this in a 1968 article titled "Who Speaks for the Indian" where he explains how the editor of a large US magazine asked him to interview an "expert on Indians" but did not want him to interview an Indian. When the editor found out that the doctor whom he wanted Steiner to interview was an Indian, even though he did not *look* like one, he said, "I tell you what. You interview him. We will print his picture. But we won't say that he is an Indian. No one will know. Right?" The article title is stylized with a comic drawing of a professor dressed in a graduation gown and mortarboard speaking into a bullhorn standing behind a large head mask of an Indian. Spiraling dashes and dots exit the mask's mouth signifying that the Indian is speaking (Figure 3).⁹⁷ In the same issue of the *NCAI Sentinel* cartoonist *Silly Goose*

⁹⁷ Stan Steiner, "Who Speaks for the Indian," *NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 1968): 3. For documenting contemporary Indian life in his book *The New Indians* (New York: Harper and Row,

made fun of the situation in a comic with the headline “... now we are going to show how the American Indian Works,” in which a distinguished looking gentleman holds a book in his right hand titled “Facts about Indians, by the Non-Indian Authority” and in his left hand a male Indian string puppet clad in traditional garb (Figure 4).⁹⁸ In another cartoon *Silly Goose* comments on the differential treatment between different segments of the US population that could be said of many Indigenous populations at the time. Upon reading a newspaper cover page headline “Poor People March” a traditionally dressed male Indian sitting cross-legged on the ground comments “If Indian have march... it would be called uprising!” (Figure 5)⁹⁹ In other words, Indigenous activism could easily be misinterpreted by surrounding non-Indigenous societies. Indians in the United States also began in the late sixties criticizing false representation of Indians on TV, movies, and textbooks. “Indians are always presented as the omnipresent threat to civilization, the face of evil, the impediment to progress.”¹⁰⁰ This has meant that gaining full participation in development projects on their territories continued to be a serious challenge for Indigenous populations around the world.

1968) Steiner interviewed Indian leaders including Vine Deloria Jr., Clyde Warrior, Melvin Thom, and Herbert Blatchford.

⁹⁸ *NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 1968): 52.

⁹⁹ *NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 13 No. 2 (Summer 1968): 10. Underlined in original.

¹⁰⁰ John Bolindo, executive director of NCAI as quoted in “Indians Criticize ‘False Portrayals,’” *NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 13, No. 3 (Fall 1968): 5.

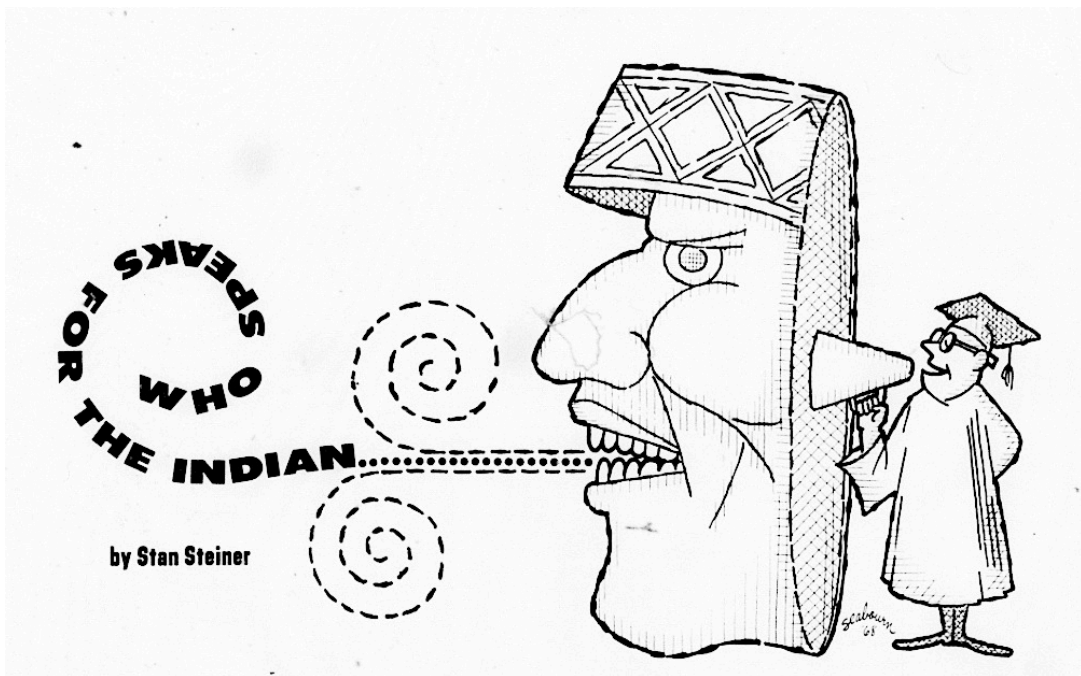


Figure 3: Who Speaks for the Indian? (NCAI Sentinel Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 1968): 3)

... NOW WE ARE GOING TO SHOW
HOW THE AMERICAN INDIAN WORKS.



Figure 4: Facts About Indians (NCAI Sentinel Vol. 13, No. 1 [Spring 1968]: 52)



Figure 5: Indian March (*NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 13 No. 2 [Summer 1968]: 10)

In Canada, outspoken advocates like George Manuel and Harold Cardinal challenged governments to seriously deal with Indians.¹⁰¹ This was a time of speaking up, by Indigenous individuals and non-Indigenous advocates, in support of Indigenous issues. In the seventies governments around the world interpreted these as domestic issues as in the Ainu situation, the Ainu problem, the Indian problem, the Aborigine problem, where the Indigenous groups' name was easily replaceable depending on the location and context, with the unspoken view that such problems and issues would fade with the progression of modernization and their further absorption into the nation-state.

¹⁰¹ George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills, ON: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1974); and Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurting, 1969). Historians were just as slow as governments to notice or take seriously Indian history. For example, see James St. George Walker, "The Indians in Canadian Historical Writing," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1971): 25-51.

These are only a few examples of the numerous Indigenous movements and organizations addressing modernity that began spreading around the world. It is difficult to place various forms of indigenism in a global chronology because they happened in tandem, were mutually influencing, and often the same people and organizations collaborated. By the late seventies indigenism had encompassed the Americas, by the mid to late eighties expanded in Asia-Pacific and by the early nineties, shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, became global. Many of these Indigenous organizations also began gaining UN NGO status from the mid-seventies to eighties creating a new venue for communicating with nation-states outside their domestic boundaries.¹⁰² The delegates in these national, regional and international conferences and organizations labelled their issues as they saw them according to their immediate needs and local historical experiences, often refereeing to the expansion of modernity and nation-states into their lands amidst the bipolar dynamics.

Summary

Indigenous people around the globe have experienced drastic changes from their encounters with modernity and nation-states. The similarity of these experiences brought success stories that often receive less attention. Increased life-spans in many communities have revitalized population growth in communities that suffered from epidemic diseases;

¹⁰² For an example of the exchanges with the United Nations as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples sought such status, see Consultative Arrangements and Relations with the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, Part 1, S-0446-0286-0001 and Consultative Arrangements and Relations with the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, Part 2, S-0446-0286-0002, located in the United Nations Archive and Records Management Section (ARMS), New York.

the unition of people with incredible diversity in language, culture and location has given global power to their local voices; and the tools to successfully operate in modern societies to gain recognition and rights from the international community and the states in which they live. Given the limited resources and power of many Indigenous communities at local levels, the ability and diversity of their organizations and networks to penetrate and work within the domestic and international system of nation-states is impressive.¹⁰³

Shatter-zones or frontier zones faded in the face the sacrosanct modernity – nation-state complex that claimed sovereignty over all territory and people, altering geographies and bodies by increasing and expanding state control of Indigenous lands and people, creating a conceptual temporal divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.¹⁰⁴ During the Cold War, state peripheral areas around the world, which were often centres to Indigenous people, became more important for national security and national progress, both of which required making these spaces legible to central governments. The Cold War helped to justify and legitimize these initiatives by providing a sense of urgency, opening up state coffers and resources for development projects, often in remote or frontier regions of states, on both sides of the Cold War divide and their respective and potential allies. As

¹⁰³ It is these responses that many scholars refer to when they write about “struggles for survival” or “victims of progress.” The former slogan emphasis Indigenous agency and understanding Indigenous people and their history in terms of their actions, while the latter focuses on external forces acting upon Indigenous people where these external forces have limited Indigenous agency to the point of becoming victims in which they have little control. For an example former, see Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples*; on the latter, see Bodley, *Victims of Progress*. On Ainu successes, see Simon Cotterill, “Ainu Success: the Political and Cultural Achievements of Japan’s Indigenous Minority,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 9, Issue 12, No. 3, 21 March 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Hugh Brody presents a locally studied but globally applicable example of structural change to Indigenous lifestyles. His mapping of male-centred Aboriginal economy in the northern British Columbia in Canada showed a gradual shift to an increasingly legible economic and lifestyle patterns around the sixties (*Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* [London: Jill Norman & Hobhouse, 1981], pp. 198-199).

the United States and Soviet Union competed for supremacy, decolonization complicated matters by increasing the number of legitimate participants in international society (see Chapter 3). Leaders of decolonized areas were often locals educated in their former colonial ruler's country. They often willingly bought into the idea that modern nation-state formation was the most promising prerequisite for building an economy, a civil society, and other organizations deemed important for survival as independent and internationally recognized states. In pursuit of Cold War modernization projects that took the shape of dams, mines, resettlement, strengthening of border regions, militarization, and so on, state governments decreased the perceived value of local Indigenous knowledge and societies, threatening their survival.¹⁰⁵

No matter how dramatically states moved into their frontiers their hegemony was not complete. Nation-state sovereignty and modernity throughout the Cold War continued to occur in degrees rather than in binaries, such as civilized-uncivilized, modern-traditional, or capitalist-communist, that limited or simplified alternatives. The more development projects progressed, the more Indigenous people around the world directly and indirectly participated in them, at times tacitly but not always with dissent and at other times embracing such opportunities.¹⁰⁶ Some Indigenous groups in the global south still had the ability to relocate away from development projects in order to maintain their

¹⁰⁵ The threat of "progress" to Indigenous people has been the focus of much attention, notably Bodley, *Victims of Progress* and Burger, *Report from the Frontier*. Chapter 2 looks at how Indigenous and non-Indigenous people countered this threat through liberal guilt.

¹⁰⁶ Wilmer noted, "Indigenous peoples' demand for inclusion in global civic discourses not only challenges the status quo but is in some ways an exercise in the deconstruction of meanings attached to international values such as modernization and development" (*The Indigenous Voice in World Politics*, 36).

traditional lifestyles, but during the Cold War states had expanded into their frontiers to the point that that this had become an aberration.

Cold War modernist initiatives increased the legibility of Indigenous groups around the world. Modernization and state-building projects decreased friction in the flow of people, ideas, and technology. In many instances this proved devastating for Indigenous populations through the construction of roads, dams, mines, resettlement, nuclear technology, and accompanying wars. But these very projects created a shared language and experience from which Indigenous people used to build national, regional and eventually global networks. The postwar challenge for Indigenous people the world over became a continued and greatly expanded movement to assert their place in modern societies as spatial and temporal equals. An opportunity for Indigenous people opened up in the sixties and seventies in the midst of the era of Cold War *détente*, as the optimistic view of modernity that dominated since the end of World War II began to give way to pessimistic and critical evaluations of technological and scientific advancements, nuclear weapons, and environmental issues.¹⁰⁷

A certain degree of legibility, and the degree varied depending on the locale, was (and remains) a prerequisite for Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists to gain support for Indigenous rights and recognition. Legibility reduced the friction of movement of Indigenous people and ideas easing the exchanges among Indigenous people and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, making it more difficult for states to ignore,

¹⁰⁷ Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Jens Riedel, and Domonic Sachsenmaier, "The Context of the Multiple Modernities Paradigm," in Sachsenmaier and Riedel, eds., *Reflections on Multiple Modernities*, 6.

downplay, or counter Indigenous concerns. Legibility was therefore a double-edged sword—it provided simplified information that enabled states to penetrate Indigenous communities and regions, and enabled Indigenous people and their supporters to make arguments and show evidence in a manner that corresponded with state communication methods and ways of knowing.¹⁰⁸ Thus, modernity was both a destructive and empowering force.

Governments often interpreted indigenism and critiques of modernity as illegitimate and/or threats to the wellbeing of the nation-state, but they were usually expressions of frustration of the means by which their communities encountered modernity and their relationships with nation-states. Rather than being anti-modernist, indigenism was often full of announcements, however unclear it may have appeared to states or corporations, of their interests and aspirations in maintaining more control of how they participated in modernity, and their attempts to renegotiate their relationships with the states in which they lived.

¹⁰⁸ The discourses on Indigenous rights that abruptly expanded from the sixties at the United Nations and culminated in the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is an example of encompassing vast Indigenous historical experience in simplified language via legibility that enables Indigenous movements to insert claims into nation-state ways of knowing and communicating.

Chapter 2

The Non-Indigenous Component of Cold War Indigenism

On 10 December 1992 a large crowd gathered under partly cloudy summer skies at Sydney's Redfern Park, Australia, a short distance from an early European landing site, to celebrate the inauguration of the International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples. There, Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating gave a speech to a predominantly Aboriginal audience that would have been difficult to imagine a head of state delivering before World War II, for it proposed a new vision of the nation-state.

That is perhaps the point of this Year of the World's Indigenous People: to bring the dispossessed out of the shadows, to recognize that they are part of us, and that we cannot give indigenous Australians up without giving up many of our own most deeply held values, much of our own identity – and our own humanity. ... We should never forget – they have helped build this nation. ... As I said, it might help us if we non-Aboriginal Australians imagined ourselves dispossessed of land we had lived on for fifty thousand years – and then imagined ourselves told that it had never been ours. Imagine if ours was the oldest culture in the world and we were told that it

was worthless. Imagine if we had resisted this settlement, suffered and died in the defence of our land, and then were told in history books that we had given up without a fight. Imagine if non-Aboriginal Australians had served their country in peace and war and were then ignored in history books. Imagine if our feats on sporting fields had inspired admiration and patriotism and yet did nothing to diminish prejudice. Imagine if our spiritual life was denied and ridiculed. Imagine if we had suffered the injustice and then were blamed for it. ... We are beginning to more generally appreciate the depth and the diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures. ... We are beginning to learn what the indigenous people have known for many thousands of years – how to live with our physical environment. I think we are beginning to see how much we owe the indigenous Australians and how much we have lost by living so apart.¹

Meanwhile, at the United Nations headquarters in New York, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and representatives from eight states gave speeches calling for developing new partnerships with Indigenous people around the world.² Such recognition did not come about easily. Since the end of World War II, an increasingly large number of non-Indigenous people began gathering in offices, apartments, churches, and private homes

¹ Redfern Speech (Year for the World's Indigenous People), Delivered in Redfern Park by Prime Minister Paul Keating, 10 December 1992.

² The states were Canada, Brazil, New Zealand, Fiji, Australia, Nicaragua, Chile, and Norway (UN Document A/47/PV.82).

around the world forming hundreds of organizations concerned with Indigenous cultures, lands and rights, dramatically increasing the audibility of Indigenous voices.

Subjectivity and structures present in today's Indigenous people's movement were formalized during the Cold War era, but we cannot attribute them to purely Indigenous motivations or fully isolate them from factors external to Indigenous people. Indigenous people's pursuit of recognition, rights, and restitution operated and progressed with vital support and feedback, both explicit/direct (labour, lawyers, funding and so on) and inexplicit/indirect (an attentive audience, changing morality) from non-Indigenous people. The increase of non-Indigenous people interested and sympathetic, although not always empathetic, to Indigenous people was an important and necessary component of the rise of indigeneity and global indigenism during the Cold War. Indigenous people did not attain many political, organizational, or law and policy related successes during the Cold War years without some type of non-Indigenous support.

Non-Indigenous people and organizations helped to facilitate and speed up recognition of domestic and international Indigenous rights and claims that fed into the globalization of indigenism. They provided access to state governments, advocated on behalf of Indigenous people and provided an important audience. Without the non-Indigenous contribution Indigenous people could have done little more than talk among themselves or continue to address their concerns to governments within the states they lived that were deaf to their concerns, and international organizations made up of states

that saw their petitions as purely domestic matters in which it was inappropriate to interfere.³

Memories and lessons learned from the two world wars provided significant precedents for the growth of liberal guilt but the Cold War provided the canvas on which it was applied and opportunities to bring together Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, politicize their movements to new degrees, and decrease the friction from which they could move beyond their local, regional and national boundaries on to the global theater. Global Indigenous people's movements, organizations and institutions, while not necessarily products of the Cold War, were popularized and developed at increasing rates within a global atmosphere shaped by the Cold War and within institutions created or significantly influenced by the Cold War, such as the United Nations.

Liberal Guilt

Indigenous people were among many groups that sought restitution after World War II. Jewish communities sought restitution from Germany. The Soviet Union sought payment and justified looting in Germany (and elsewhere in Eastern Europe) as the price paid for

³ For a legal anthropological interpretation of changing "publics" and public opinion on international law not limited to the Cold War era, see Ronald Niezen, *Public Justice and the Anthropology of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). On the "invention of indigenous peoples," see pages 105-136. On general discourse on "publics" also, see Sonia Livingstone, ed., *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere* (Portland, OR: Intellect Books, 2005); Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2002); and Gabriel Tarde, *On Communication and Social Influence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 277-318.

the German invasion and plunder of their own lands.⁴ In Asia, many countries did not immediately seek and demand restitution from their losses to the same extent as in Europe due to the emergence of the Cold War and their need to trade with Japan to secure their own postwar recovery.⁵

Powerful states began giving in to demands of the so-called “powerless.” Human rights dialogue and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, supported and shaped by small states and nongovernmental organizations from around the world, provided justification for individual restitution based on Enlightenment ideals. Minority and gender civil rights movements intensified thereafter, altering and expanding the fluid conception of what human rights included.⁶ Debates on restitution and rights, although lacking enforcement mechanisms, provided fertile ground for Indigenous people to gain important allies, which had been much smaller in numbers before 1945, in their pursuits of recognition, rights, and restitution. While many important organizations began or reformed during the first decade after World War II, indigenism noticeably grew from the sixties in wealthy liberal democratic countries where English was the official language and then spread to Central and South America. Non-Indigenous people in these countries before the rise of the civil rights movement generally did not think that minority rights as discussed in

⁴ Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁵ Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000).

⁶ For an overview see, Akira Iriye and Petra Goedde, “Introduction: Human Rights as History,” in Akira Iriye, Petra Goedde, and William Hitchcock, eds., *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3-24.

the League of Nations after World War I, or in human rights dialogue after World War II, included Indigenous people.

Until the end of World War II, Indigenous struggles, petitions, and protests—framed as grievances, petitions, and entitlements rather than rights—remained largely local; their options for voicing their concerns to attentive audiences outside such areas, as well as their resources for travelling beyond local or national venues were limited. Most Indigenous people never had the luxury of making extensive diplomatic trips beyond their traditional lands. Maori and Six Nations trips to Europe to address the British Crown and the League of Nations in the early twentieth century being the two most often cited exceptions.⁷ But even their demands fell on deaf ears and failed to gain widespread audiences after their prolonged stays in Europe. Domestic and international sympathetic ears, whether they were individuals or organizations, were few until after World War II.

Within the construct of nation-states, Indigenous people had few options for maneuvering and expressing discontent other than to the governments of nation-states in which they were living. Many Indigenous people around the world experienced inequalities in civil, social and political rights within the states they lived. Even after gaining citizenship and suffrage, continued discrimination often continued to hasten their ability to influence

⁷ Carl Carmer, *The Story of Des-ka-heh, Iroquois Statesman and Patriot* (Hogansburg, N.Y. Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, St. Regis Mohawk Reservation, Six Nations Confederacy, n.d., 197?); Ronald Niezen, "Recognizing Indigenism: Canadian Unity and the International Movement of Indigenous Peoples," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 42, No. 1 (January 2000): 122-125; Niezen, *Origins of Indigenism*, 31-36; Grace Li Xiu Woo, "Canada's Forgotten Founders: The Modern Significance of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Application for Membership of the League of Nations," *Law, Social Justice and Global Development* (2003). Keith Newman, *Ratana Revisited: An Unfinished Legacy* (Auckland, Aotearoa: Reed Publishing, 2006), pp. 119-146.

domestic state politics.⁸ These same governments mapped their territories, conducted census reports, created legislation and school systems designed to make their populations and lands legible and therefore controllable from a centralized government. Even after North America and Western Europe recovered from World War II, states in the decolonizing world were too focused on their own economic, political and security interests and improving the living standards of the legible citizenry to be bothered with marginalized Indigenous people. Even if they were citizens, many Indigenous people were still in the process of becoming useful citizens of both established and nascent internationally recognized states. Governments concerned with their own survival in a bipolar world caught up in modernity trumped what they saw as marginal people or threats to the expansion of state control and national development.

Indigenous people had little say in development projects until the seventies, because development initiatives that infringed on the human rights of Indigenous people began gaining the attention of non-Indigenous people who launched a variety of initiatives

⁸ For examples on Indigenous citizenship issues, see Barbara Joyce Hocking and Barbara Ann Hocking, "A Comparative View of Indigenous Citizenship Issues," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 2, No. 1 (1998): 121-131; Patricia Wood, "Aboriginal/Indigenous Citizenship: An Introduction," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2003): 371-378; Elizabeth Elbourne, "'The Fact So Often Disputed by the Black Man': Khoekhoe Citizenship at the Cape in the Early to Mid Nineteenth Century," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2003): 379-400; Alcida Rita Ramos, "The Special (or Specious?) Status of Brazilian Indians," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2003): 401-420; David Mercer, "'Citizen minus?': Indigenous Australians and the Citizenship Question," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2003): 421-445; Richard Siddle, "The Limits to Citizenship in Japan: Multiculturalism, Indigenous Rights and the Ainu," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4. (2003): 447-462; Patricia Wood, "A Road Runs Through It: Aboriginal Citizenship at the Edge of Urban Development," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2003): 463-473; Alan Cairns, "Afterword: International Dimensions of the Citizen Issue for Indigenous Peoples/Nations," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2003): 497-512; Wale Adebani, "Terror, Territoriality and the Struggle for Indigeneity and Citizenship in Northern Nigeria," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 13, No. 4 (2009): 349-363; and Brian Donahoe, "On the Creation of Indigenous Subjects in the Russian Federation," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 15, Nos. 3-4 (2011): 397-417.

to raise awareness of such situations predominantly in rich democratic countries.⁹ The development of nascent states in a bipolar world, along with multifaceted forms of colonialism, thus became a similarity that crossed through Indigenous historical experience.

Liberal guilt often guided state government initiatives during the fifties and sixties to better the Indian condition in liberal democracies. Liberal guilt began in liberal democracies, but non-democratic states seeing the benefit in such action for attaining modernity in their own states later adopted similar unilateral steps, including resettlement, introduction of non-Indigenous medicine, education programs, missionary work, and assimilation to *improve* the situation of Indigenous people and eliminate *their problems*. The increase in international organizations that specifically dealt with Indigenous people from the late sixties to early seventies illustrates a shift toward providing an audience for, and much later privileging Indigenous people's concerns and voices rather than those of external non-Indigenous experts.

George Manuel compared this reinvigorated non-Indigenous interest in Indian people to the earlier European *discovery* of the Americas and its inhabitants in 1492. During the earlier discovery, he says, "we knew where we were all the time. It was the Europeans who were lost." The difference with the rediscovery that began in the fifties and boomed during the sixties was that "this time some at least knew that they were lost."

⁹ Indigenous people also voiced their opinion on the infringement of human rights and later chapters document more of these cases. For example, in the spring of 1980 a delegation of representatives from the Six Nations, Lakota and the Indian Law Resource Center travelled to Geneva to address the UN Human Rights Commission ("U.S.A.: Complaints from Native Nations before U.N.," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 25/26 [March 1981]: 77-79. See pages 82-85 for a declaration by Indigenous women to the UN).

Manuel explains, “The explorers of the sixties came to the Indian world in three different guises.” Youth disillusioned with their own Western world “wanted the Indian to save their souls!” Drove of anthropologists bent on helping Indians and telling them how to properly do things became so common that he jokingly remarked: “among Indian people ... the average Indian family consisted of a man, a woman, two children and an anthropologist on summer vacation.” The third group of the new explorers consisted of government consultants. Like the anthropologists, they had been a part of Indian communities well before the sixties, but during this decade governments began spending vast sums of money on writing reports that would fix *Indian problems* around the world and show international observers that governments were doing their best to resolve the problems of *their* Indians.¹⁰

Liberal guilt was connected to global modernity, or we could say that liberal guilt was modern guilt, because many of the programs and audiences that rose from liberal guilt continued to operate with the mindset that decreasing spatial and temporal friction to national development and progress would benefit Indigenous people and raise the statistics often used in judging the advancement of societies. These most often focused on tangible rather than intangible measurements and statistics associated with a high quality of living, such as monetary wages, employment rate, infant mortality, and life expectancy, with less attention on overall spiritual, social and cultural wellbeing, the health of the environment, and the suitability of their governance and politics.

¹⁰ Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 156-161.

State officials often thought that recognition of Indigenous voices would delegitimize, weaken, or challenge the state and its pursuit of modernity. It did not help that many outspoken Indigenous people and organizations often declared that Indigenous ways and thinking were not compatible with modernity or Western imperialism or colonialism on which states had depended for so long. With the rise of liberal guilt, there was emerging recognition that Indigenous protests and demands were not always out to subvert the system of nation-states or modernity. Numerous cases attest to how Indigenous people around the world played important parts in strengthening the countries in which they lived. Examples were abundant and ranged from serving their country during wartime, working as labourers in rebuilding many countries after wars ended, and living as symbiotic, although not always peaceful, neighbours. For example, in Southeast Asia they helped balance ecosystems, labour, and trade between valley people and the highlands. Non-Indigenous individuals, organizations and states were slow to make such recognitions, and when they did it often occurred within the context of human rights, anti-discrimination laws, and environmentalism within an international community of nation-states increasingly interested in highlighting their moral high ground while pointing fingers at their Cold War opponents.¹¹

The Mixed Blessing of Liberal Guilt

For Indigenous people, liberal guilt was often a mixed blessing. It was not always a beneficial relationship because it was not centrally coordinated, had no leaders, and no one

¹¹ Rosier, *Serving their Country*.

strain was hegemonic. That is, liberal guilt came in many forms from different parts of society, was in flux, expanded nonlinearly, and interpretations varied. The first international legal instrument specifically on Indigenous people came in the 1957 International Labour Organization Convention 107 (ILO 107), the “Convention concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries.” It encouraged their assimilation or integration into larger state societies because the moral assumption at the time was that these people had proved that they would not die out as followers of social Darwinism had predicted, but with modernization of their social and political structures and development they would eventually disappear as distinct people. Governments thought aiding and easing the process of absorbing Indigenous populations into mainstream societies was a reasonable approach to ensure the well-being of these people.¹²

The Australian government, in attempt to avoid international pressure concerning discriminatory laws and reacting to internal political pressure, took notable steps to

¹² ILO 107 came into force on 2 June 1959. It was signed by 28 states and later replaced by the 1989 ILO 169 of 1989, which came into force on 5 September 1991. ILO, “C107 - Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 (No. 107):” and ILO, “C169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169).” The ILO had indigenous issues on its agenda since 1921; in 1926 it established a Committee of Experts on Native Labour, whose work informed the drafting of a number of conventions throughout the thirties. The ILO set up the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour in 1951, which led to the publication of International Labour Office’s 1953 *Indigenous Peoples: Living and Working Conditions of Aboriginal Populations in Independent Countries*. The goal this publication was to produce an international study on “social and economic aspects of the problem of indigenous peoples in independent countries and to indicate the aims, scope and results of the national and international action undertaken to integrate them into the economic life of each country and improve their living and working conditions” (p. iii). It was argued, “the problem of indigenous peoples in independent countries can best be understood in an international context” (p. iv). For other ILO and international action preceding ILO 107, see pp. 569-614. On ILO 107 also, see Anaya, *Indigenous Peoples*, 54-61; Thornberry, *Indigenous Peoples*, 320-338; and Hurst Hannum, “New Developments in Indigenous Rights,” *Virginia Journal of International Law* Vol. 28, No. 3 (1988): 652-653.

assimilate Aborigine people into the dominant settler society between the fifties and seventies.¹³ In 1969, the Canadian government attempted similar action when it released the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*, commonly called the *White Paper*,¹⁴ which would have eliminated the long standing Indian Act.¹⁵ While the goal from the beginning of the Department of Indian Affairs was to eventually not have a need for the department, the timing of the white paper, being for the good of Indians by the action of non-Indians, was in line with international trends. In other words, the convergence of domestic liberal guilt and international pressure that pointed out a state's historical injustices made for a variety of government decisions to take action showing they were addressing the said historical injustice to gain a clear national conscious, international prestige, and minimize local or national inconveniences. NGOs and other organizations such as church groups often, no matter how well intentioned, contradicted and therefore complicated local Indigenous calls for rights. The environmental movement, which also allied with Indigenous people, was at times also a hindrance for many communities.¹⁶ Calls to stop a particular hunting or fishing practice or a method of agriculture, especially swidden farming, were some of the most notable examples.

¹³ For example, see Chesterman, *Civil Rights*; and Haebich, *Spinning the Dream*.

¹⁴ Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*, presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969).

¹⁵ Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), pp. 47-79; and Scott Harrison, "Challenge to the Indian Act in 1973," 2006, unpublished, pp. 4-6 (<http://www.scottharrison.com/downloads/IndianAct.pdf>).

¹⁶ Finn Lynge (translated by Marianne Stenback), *Arctic Wars, Animal Rights, Endangered Peoples* (Hanover: NH: University Press of New England, 1992); George Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Mark Nuttall, *Arctic Homeland: Kinship, Community and Development in Northwest Greenland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

United Nations, Human Rights, Environmentalism

Liberal guilt was also connected to the rise of human rights discourses at the United Nations. Human rights issues at the United Nations did not initially include Indigenous people but they later provided openings for them and their supporters to present their concerns as human rights discourse on the international stage created new international norms. Daniel Thomas states that “International norms are standards of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity in world politics” and that “Because states are, at least in part, products of international society, the identities and interests that drive state action are inextricably intertwined with international norms.”¹⁷ He concludes by stating “International human rights norms affect the behaviour, the interests, and the identity of states by specifying which practices are (or are not) considered appropriate by international society. It is difficult to understand their effects, however, with a state centric view of international society.”¹⁸ Indigenous societies around the world became an important component of emerging human rights norms and are illustrative of non-state effects of those changing norms during the Cold War era.

The 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was the first international declaration of its kind and it inspired a wide variety of rights based initiatives at both local and international levels. The UN General Assembly accepted nine rights based treaties, seven of which it ratified during the Cold War. This represented a

¹⁷ Thomas, *Helsinki Effect*, 7, 14.

¹⁸ Thomas, *Helsinki Effect*, 281. Also, see Christine Min Wotiplka and Kiyoteru Tsutsui, “Global Human Rights and State Sovereignty: State Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties, 1965-2001,” *Sociological Forum* Vol. 23, No. 4 (December 2008): 724-754.

radical shift in international law from pre-World War II years as it slowly expanded to allow non-state organizations and people to observe, participate in, and influence an organization made up entirely of states. These treaties also came to force in an era of a radically changing international setting. By the time the General Assembly adopted the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1965, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in December 1966, Third World countries counted for most of the new UN membership that had increased nearly 130% since the end of World War II. By the time these covenants gained enough signatories to enter into force, a decade later in the case of the later two, that number had grown by nearly one hundred ninety percent.¹⁹ These new states were not permanent members of the UN Security Council but they held rotating posts, the number of which increased from 1966, and had numerous opportunities outside the Security Council to participate in the UN system, influencing its structure and direction, including the elevation of ECOSOC within the UN,²⁰ which became the supervisory body for later initiatives on Indigenous issues, such as the Cobo Study and the subsequent Working Group on Indigenous Populations. These covenants along with the UDHR make up the core international human rights system and

¹⁹ Calculated from United Nations. "Member States" (<https://www.un.org/en/members/growth.shtml>). The end of formal colonies and formal empire, it appears, was necessary for the rise of rights based internationalism that rose in the seventies (Samuel Moyn, "Imperialism, Self-Determination, and the Rise of Human Rights," in Iriye, et al., eds., *The Human Rights Revolution*, 172).

²⁰ Amy Sayward, "International Institutions," in Immerman and Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, 379-380.

reflect Cold War exigencies in the separation of rights deemed important to each side of the Cold War divide.²¹

The 1975 Helsinki Final Act, the final agreement of the multiyear Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), also reflected Cold War pressures.²² The Soviet Union and the other thirty-four states that signed the Helsinki Act willingly did so even though not all states agreed with the attachment of human rights within it, because the more a state became concerned about and identified with international society, the more international norms mattered. Many states thought they could sidestep the human rights sections while still benefitting from the agreement. For example, by committing the signatories to respect the frontiers of the Baltic States, the Soviet Union received recognition of its influence in the eastern bloc from over thirty heads of state, settling some territorial issues from the end of World War II. Important for Indigenous people was that it also reinforced the UDHR by requiring the signatories to submit reports on minority groups and human rights issues within their state borders. This formally brought these

²¹ For analysis of United Nations human rights treaties and Indigenous people, see Rhiannon Morgan, *Transforming Law and Institution: Indigenous Peoples, the United Nations and Human Rights* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). For general overviews on the connections between the Cold War and human rights, see Rosemary Foot, "The Cold War and Human Rights," in *CHCW3*, 445-465; Aryeh Neier, *The International Human Rights Movement: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 138-135; and Barbara Keys and Roland Burke, "Human Rights," in Immerman and Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, 486-502. For a good summary of the newest historical perspectives on the long process of creating the International Bill of Rights, see Susan Waltz, "Universal Human Rights: The Contribution of Muslim States," *Human Rights Quarterly* 26 (2004): 799-844.

²² "Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe, Final Act" (<http://www.osce.org/mc/39501?download=true>). See part VII for human rights. In addition to human rights, the act also addressed the environment. The two best studies on the Helsinki process and the spread of human rights are Thomas, *Helsinki Effect*; and Sarah Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). The former focuses on Helsinki's influence on norms and the later on rights advocacy.

issues, which were previously strictly considered domestic matters under Westphalian tradition, into the realm of international relations. This Cold War agreement officially opened human rights and minority issues within states to state-to-state international critique.²³

In addition to CSCE reports, states that signed onto the other UN rights related treaties also began submitting occasional reports, often in defense of international accusation of defying various human rights, for critique. These documents became important for many Indigenous movements as they used them in the international arena to provoke dialogue within international bodies and gather support to pressure states to take further action domestically.²⁴ The solidification of international human rights norms and the mobilization of non-state actors' advocacy for rights contributed to increased state identification with international society and the decomposition of the Cold War.²⁵

Even though none of the treaties specifically had Indigenous people in mind, as they were predominantly concerned with the rights of the individual, the treaties and governing organizations left enough ambiguity for Indigenous people and their supporters to slowly insert their interests. International norms affected domestic political change by providing platforms and documentation that domestic movements could use to bypass domestic

²³ For example, the second US report to CSCE devoted a rather large amount of space addressing international criticisms of the Indian situation in the United States ("Fulfilling Our Promises: The United States and the Helsinki Final Act: A Status Report" [November 1979]). For a critique of this submission along with some proposed recommendations, see Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indians of the Americas*, 173-179.

²⁴ On the AINU use of Japanese reports sent to the UN, see Harrison, *Indigenous AINU*, 86-106; generally, see Niezen, *Origins of Indigenism*.

²⁵ Thomas, *Helsinki Effect*, 287; and Daniel C. Thomas, "Human Rights Ideas, the Demise of Communism, and the End of the Cold War," *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring 2005): 110-141.

governments and pressure the international community for recognition and restitution.

While this never resulted in immediate or epoch-making moments, in the long run it contributed to the creation of an epoch-making system that sustained slow moving talks for the more than three decades it took from the initiation of ECOSOC's investigation of global Indigenous discrimination under the direction of the Special Rapporteur Martínez Cobo until the UN General Assembly's acceptance of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007.²⁶

Indigenous people and their supporters made extensive use of the UN human rights treaties. Although none of the UN treaties were legally binding, they provided flexible and malleable substance to base morally grounded arguments and increase pressure on state governments and for continued international support. This did not mean that states easily or quickly changed domestic policies or attitudes but many states worked to justify to international audiences the situation of Indigenous people within their borders and show that they were taking progressive actions to remedy complaints. Although it may seem that human rights had become or were in the process of becoming international norms in the Euro-Atlantic, states often used the very same Cold War rhetoric to justify massive investments into arms, policies, and personnel that were often corollaries to the denial or avoidance of addressing human rights around the world, notably in the case of Indigenous people.²⁷ It was the underlying transnational networks, not states or the United Nations,

²⁶ On the history of UNDRIP, see Charters and Stavenhagen, eds, *Making the Declaration Work*, especially pages 10-182.

²⁷ Burger makes a similar remark but isolates to it the West's war against Communism and "the suspension of civil rights in many countries in the Third World" (*Report from the Frontier*, 51), but Cold War histories are full of examples that extend beyond the Third World, civil rights and

which drove and sustained the emerging dialogue of human rights and interest in the plight of Indigenous people—state structures simply offered the movement a politicized legitimacy.

Environmentalism

The environmental movement began when the Cold War was in full swing. Rachel Carson's 1962 influential book *Silent Spring* explained how chemicals and pollution could spread through and between ecological zones, especially through water cycles.²⁸ Fear of nuclear fallout and its effects on the environment, people, and other living beings gave rise to the anti-nuclear movement. In 1971, in opposition to nuclear tests in Amchitka, Alaska, a small group of activists from Vancouver formed what became one of the largest environmental activist groups in the world, *Greenpeace*. The following year they established their name in the Pacific as they sailed in opposition to French nuclear tests in French Polynesia.²⁹ Soon Greenpeace, by opposing nuclear tests, became directly and indirectly involved with

Western perpetrators. The denial of certain rights were often justified by protecting other rights and state security interests that included the desire from modernity and state capacity to reach and secure resources and ensure their continues existence by repressing potential and perceived domestic and international threats to the existence of the said state. Also, see Brady Tyson and Abdul Aziz Said, "Human Rights: A Forgotten Victim of the Cold War," *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol. 15, No. 3 (August 1993): 589-604.

²⁸ Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Mariner Books, 2002; original 1962). Also see the early seventies bestseller, Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle: Nature, Man & Technology* (New York: Knopf, 1971).

²⁹ Greenpeace, "Our History" (<http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/en/campaigns/history/>); and Greenpeace, "The Founders" (<http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/en/campaigns/history/the-founders/>). See Chapter 5 and 6 for more on nuclear issues. For a detailed history of Greenpeace and its founding personalities, see Frank Zelko, "'Make It a Green Peace': The History of an International Environmental Organization," PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 2003. Zelko addresses the Amchitka voyage in pages 137-202 and the Pacific Voyage in pages 212-277.

Indigenous movements around the world because it was on Indigenous lands that these tests most commonly occurred (for more on nuclear history and Indigenous people, see Chapters 5 and 6). Greenpeace was neither alone nor unique in some respects; during the seventies, thousands of such organizations addressing the environment, social justice, and Indigenous rights were established around the world.³⁰ The incredible variety of non-Indigenous movements operated according to their own agendas and mixed with, supported, and complicated Indigenous movements around the world.³¹

Non-Indigenous Organizations

Non-Indigenous people's interests in the plight of Indigenous people led to the creation of a variety of organizations with mandates and visions that addressed Indigenous people's struggles. Such organizations provided some of the first non-state venues for Indigenous people to express their concerns to attentive non-Indigenous audiences. The formation and

³⁰ Paul Hawken, *Blessed Unrest: How the Largest Movement in the World Came into Being and Why No One Saw it Coming* (New York: Viking, 2007). Also, see Michele Betsill and Elisabeth Corell, eds., *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008). The environmental movement was not always against modernization projects; rather many sought to sustain modernization to the highest degree possible without inflicting immediately noticeable harm on the environment and human populations. Environmental purists, on the other hand sought to remove humans from environmental ecology. For an example of the variation between antipollution and nature conservation movements, see Motoko Oyadomari, "The Rise and Fall of the Nature Conservation Movement in Japan in Relation to Some Cultural values," *Environmental Management* Vol. 13, No. 1 (1989): 23-33.

³¹ Held in Stockholm, Sweden on 5 June 1972, the *United Nations Conference on the Human Environment* became the first UN summit on the environment. *The Third World Alternative Conference* organized alongside the UN to highlight nongovernmental concerns. Although a group of US Indians took part in this later conference and denounced the United States representatives of not representing Native interests, they also came to disagree with the Third World conference itself for being too focused on science ("Indians Criticize Ecology Parley," *NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 28, No. 3 [June-July 1972]: 4).

growth of these organizations occurred in conjunction with the rise of domestic Indigenous organizations and boosted the ability of Indigenous people to capture widespread public attention.³²

Church groups and missionaries had (and have) a complex and at times contradictory relationship with many Indigenous people. Although this relationship was often questioned, as in the case of the Summer Institute of Linguistics or various forms of missionary or residential schools, many church groups and organizations played key functions in indigenism around the world during the Cold War.³³ They provided spaces for informal and formal meetings to discuss their concerns and funded the research and publication of a wide variety of conferences and reports. One of the most notable of these on the international stage was the World Council of Churches (WCC). Established in 1948, “Solidarity with Indigenous Peoples” is currently one component buried within one of the seven programs the WCC reaffirmed in 2012.³⁴ The WCC began its official interest in

³² For an overview of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous transnational, regional and national/sub-national organizations, see Morgan, *Transforming Law and Institution*, 72-84. Also, see Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indian of the Americas*, 57-62; Burger, *Report from the Frontier*, 275-279; and Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples*, 246-249. For a list of a plethora of organizations directly and indirectly connected to Indigenous people, see the Appendix in Hawken, *Blessed Unrest*, 191-302 and the accompanying website, wiser.org (formerly wiseearth.org) that keeps an updated list of the organizations. As of February 2014, the site listed 4,569 organizations under the heading “Indigenous peoples and rights.” Also, see Armand S. La Potin, ed., *Native American Voluntary Organizations* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987). More broadly, see Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

³³ For example, see Søren Hvalkof and Peter Aaby, eds., *Is God an American? An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1981).

³⁴ World Council of Churches, “Programmes” (<http://www.oikoumene.org/en/programmes/unity-mission-evangelism-and-spirituality/just-and-inclusive-communities/indigenous-peoples.html>). The KGB strove to strengthen its grip on religion, what Marx denounced as “the opium of the people,” in attempt to both control it and use religious groups, including the WCC as agents of

Indigenous issues in the late sixties when it established a “Programme to Combat Racism” because it decided racism, linked to economic and political exploitation, was an essential area of interest to churches.³⁵ In 1971, the WCC backed a meeting of a dozen Latin American anthropologists and two other social scientists from the United States and Sweden in Barbados. The non-Indigenous participants analyzed the situation of missionary and state threats to Indians in South America and wrote a widely distributed declaration that stimulated the organization of many local and regional Indigenous organizations and helped inspire the first UN sanctioned study on discrimination against Indigenous populations.³⁶ Indian people were later included in two other WCC supported Barbados meetings that took place in 1977 and 1993. The WCC was also one of the main non-state funders of the WCIP, which played a significant part in the organization of global Indigenous networking.

A number of secular non-Indigenous organizations came and went between the sixties and seventies but three international ones stand out. Concerned about the treatment of tribal people in Brazil, a small group of British citizens founded Survival International in London in 1969. This organization mainly worked, and continues to work, in advocacy and lobbying on behalf of tribal and so-called un-contacted tribes. The next two organizations focused more on the documentation and dissemination of Indigenous issues than direct

influence. On KGB infiltration of the WCC, see Christopher Andres and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), pp. 487-497.

³⁵ Walter Dostal, ed., *The Situation of the Indian in South America: Contributions to the Study of Inter-Ethnic Conflict in the Non-Andean Regions of South America, Bridgetown, Barbados, 1971* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1972), pp.11-12.

³⁶ On the Barbados Conference see *Declaration of Barbados* (IWGIA Document No. 1,1971); Dostal, ed., *The Situation of the Indian in South America*; and Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indians of the Americas*, 56-62.

advocacy in hope that doing so would bring greater awareness of these people in dominant society.

A group of social scientists from Harvard University, led by anthropologist David Maybury-Lewis, created Cultural Survival in 1972, to raise awareness of the impact of increased development schemes in South American rainforests on the Indian groups there, promote alternative development policies that would protect Indigenous rights, and to give back to the communities where they performed research. In 1976, after several years of impromptu fundraising initiatives, they launched a variety of publications and newsletters that later became *Cultural Survival Quarterly*.³⁷ A group of anthropologists based in Europe also concerned with human rights abuses in South America formed the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs in 1968 in Copenhagen. IWGIA worked closely with other non-Indigenous organizations, such as Survival International and the Minority Rights Group, but one of their early objectives was to work with and support the work of Indigenous organizations.³⁸ For example, IWGIA facilitated many opportunities for George Manuel to network with other Indigenous people in northern Europe and other non-Indigenous groups and the subsequent creation and sustainment of the WCIP.³⁹ IWGIA occasionally focused on specified regional concerns but their focus expanded with time and resources. Their newsletters, reports and publications include information on a wide variety of

³⁷ Agnes Portalewska, "The Significance of 2012 for Cultural Survival," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 2012): 12-13.

³⁸ The Minority Rights Group International, founded in the sixties, has also published a variety of reports and studies on innumerable reports on Indigenous people around the world (<http://www.minorityrights.org/643/publications/publications.html>).

³⁹ On the formation and early years of this organization see the first several years of *IWGIA Newsletters* and Jens Dahl, *IWGIA: A History* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 2009).

Indigenous groups from tribal to urban people, making it the most diverse and global of these three organizations.

Regardless of which of these, or the many other non-Indigenous organizations, played the largest role in Indigenous internationalization, there was usually one or several non-Indigenous organizations, whether they were national or international in scope, that provided vital and timely support to Indigenous people through funding, networking, and/or publications. These organizations dramatically increased the ability of Indigenous people around the world to attend and convene conferences, and raise awareness and acknowledgement of their existence, concerns, and rights.

Summary

Indigenous people had attempted to gain regional and international audiences and support networks for centuries, but it was not until the sixties that movements in wealthy Western liberal countries gained international attention and until the seventies when it became accepted internationally that Indigenous rights and concerns were not merely domestic matters of nation-states. By the early seventies the number of internationally recognized states had dramatically increased, most of which were from the global south. Many of these states supported the international dialogue on human rights and early international studies on Indigenous people as most commonly represented by the one led by Martínez Cobo.

Legacies of World War II fed into liberal guilt and geopolitical maneuvering that saw the birth of dozens of new states (decolonization), the International Bill of Rights, seven

other UN rights related treaties, the Helsinki Final Act, international monitoring and reporting of human rights, and environmental and civil rights movements that included Indigenous people and spread around the world. In the seventies, concerned non-Indigenous lawyers, anthropologists and student activists created an incredibly diverse array of organizations that directly and indirectly supported Indigenous people around the world through conferences, lobbying, and the writing and distribution of reports. This increased attention to Indigenous people, or non-Indigenous indigenism—which started in missionary and anthropology circles because missionaries and anthropologists had lived in Indigenous communities, was not epoch making as change was slow and more often than not policy changes differed from action and from country to country. Nonetheless, the Cold War era—an era of changing international human rights norms that provided venues for expressing human rights concerns—saw a dramatic increase in the number of people attending conferences on and talking and writing about Indigenous issues around the world.

Chapter 3

Cold War, Decolonization, and Indigenous People

Both sides of the bipolar political divide targeted Indigenous people in decolonizing regions around the world. In Laos, the Pathet Lao and the United States both recognized the importance of recruiting, training and arming the Hmong.¹ The United States provided aid for an estimated quarter million Hmong and Yao hill people.² Burma gained independence in 1948 under a one party socialist government that eliminated rival parties and began attacking the Karen in January 1949. Yearly aid from Western countries and the World Bank helped sustain the government attacks.³ The Kachin along the Burma-Chinese border received arms from China and support from the Burmese Communist Party and began moving its leadership to the left. The Karen on the Thai-Burmese border, on the other hand, had no intentions of cooperating with the Burmese Communist Party because they thought the BCP only demanded dominance over other groups.⁴ France and the CIA used hill tribes for opium production and counterinsurgency. By focusing on the dynamics of the opium

¹ Bernard Fall, "The Pathet Lao: A 'Liberation Party,'" and Joel Halpern and Peter Kinstadter, "Laos: Introduction," in Kinstadter, ed., *Southeast Asian Tribes, Volume 1*, 245, 249; and Keith Quincy, *Hmong: History of a People* (Cheney, WA: Eastern Washington University Press, 1988), pp. 161-203.

² Halpern and Kinstadter, "Laos: Introduction," in Kinstadter, ed., *Southeast Asian Tribes, Volume 1*, 246.

³ "Burma: The Situation of the Indigenous Peoples," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 24 (April 1980): 96.

⁴ Peter Jull, "Canada: A Perspective of the Aboriginal Rights Coalition and the Restoration of Constitutional Aboriginal Rights," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 30 (April 1982): 90-93.

trade, the outcome of the Chinese civil war, decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia the CIA actively supported some tribes, threatened some to fight on the CIA side, and the Kuomintang (KMT)—the Chinese Nationalist Party—bribed and forced others to trade and work for them.⁵ Highland people in state border and frontier areas became important players for balancing state concerns in a bipolar world.

Global indigenism emerged at the convergence of many global forces, including the emergence, presence, and decomposition of a bipolar world order and the transformation of colonial orders. World War II weakened European countries, making it difficult for them to fully regain their colonial empires, and the Cold War provided the context for the postwar changes in colonial empires, the postwar rise in nationalisms and the decolonization process that expanded around the world giving rise to many new states.

The United Nations had fifty-one original member countries in 1945; not one of which had universal suffrage. By 1961, that number had doubled and by 1981 it tripled, thereafter the number of new countries began to slow until the dissolution of the Soviet Union.⁶ The two superpowers viewed emerging nationalisms and independence movements as potential threats to their interests. Decolonization in the emerging bipolar world could not be left to the fate of grassroots revolutionary nationalisms; rather they required controlling or manipulation, because nascent states could form alliances with one

⁵ Alfred McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). On opium production see pages 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 91, 105, 247, and 263. On counterinsurgency see pages 94, 98-99, 100, 106, 151, 264-281, and 297-315.

⁶ None of the decolonized states ever gained permanent seats in the UN Security Council (whose membership was determined and then frozen by the first five nuclear powers) but they did hold significant sway within debates in the UN and many took non-permanent one to two year terms on the Security Council.

side or the other of the bipolar divide and could either inhibit or promote access to resources, military bases, markets, sea-lanes, and the like, and thus tip the scales in one direction or another.

The US was already present in many parts of the Third World through its own history of imperialism and later its military and cultural expansion during World War II. The Soviet Union began to take greater interest in the Third World from 1953, as Khrushchev solidified his power.⁷ With this change in direction to the Third World, Soviet propaganda often pointed to Western colonialism and discrimination to argue that the capitalist way did not lead to freedom for decolonizing people and was thus a false form of modernity. Because decolonization meant so much for the Cold War system, maintaining the status quo of colonialism or quasi-colonial structures, in some cases, proved more beneficial than supporting full independence. This meant that the Cold War acted as a catalyst to prolong colonial rule, thus reshaping postwar decolonization processes, often contributing to increased violence in independence movements and civil wars.⁸

On the flip side, nationalist movements in the Third World internalized and utilized the bipolar split to meet their interests. Anticolonial and postcolonial political movements made use of the superpower conflict to gain access to resources, gain external and internal recognition and legitimacy, and to secure their own positions in the international order of

⁷ Roy Alison, *The Soviet Union and the Struggle of Non-Alignment in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁸ As Westad observed, "In an historical sense – and especially as seen from the South – the Cold War was a continuation of colonialism through slightly different means. ... In the Third World superpowers practiced a form of colonialism remarkably similar to those honed during the last phase of European colonialism: giant social and economic projects, bringing promises of modernity to their supporters and mostly death to their opponents or those who happen to get in the way of progress" (*Global Cold War*, 396).

nation-states. For example, Cold War geopolitical strategies drove the construction of dams throughout the Third World, especially in contested zones that stretched across the underbellies of the Soviet Union and China from the Middle East to Southeast Asia.⁹ In short, the Cold War was simultaneously (1) externally projected into colonial and decolonization movements, and (2) internally manipulated by postwar nationalistic and independence movements even though many of these had their roots in pre-World War II history. These processes emphasized the importance of the nation-state¹⁰ and left out international acknowledgement of the Indigenous populations that states absorbed.

Ethnographic Literature in Southeast Asia from 1945-1991

Literature on Indigenous people in Southeast Asia from the end of World War II to the fall of the Soviet Union is predominantly from anthropological perspectives. Therefore, investigating this topic requires historicizing anthropology and teasing out the historical aspects of anthropological surveys. When authors addressed the post-World War II years in relation to Indigenous people, they mainly used a colonial or postcolonial lens within the boundaries of the state in question and remained largely oblivious to other global systems like the Cold War, despite their studies being a part of them. This does not mean that the Cold War did not impact these people. Rather it shows a general trend that places Indigenous people within colonial or postcolonial frameworks within the bounds of a

⁹ Richard P. Tucker, "Containing Communism by Impounding Rivers: American Strategic Interests and the Global Spread of High Dams in the Early Cold War," in McNeill and Unger, eds., *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, 139-163.

¹⁰ Nicholas Guyatt, "The End of the Cold War," in Immerman and Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, 610.

particular nation-state and that such lenses alone are inadequate for addressing the Cold War. This trend falls out of the larger development in Indigenous histories and debates on indigeneity that are present in areas outside of this region. Generally, academic disciplines in the arts and social sciences follow patterns of the nation-state and operate from within the boundaries of the people/place in question and often times within the contemporary theoretical limitations or blinders from within the author's own nation-state, and with the case of studies on Indigenous people were often from a different nation-state than the people under investigation. For example, until recently anthropologists most often studied societies other than their own and within the physical boundaries of the state or colony of which the people or culture under investigation lived at the time of fieldwork. Likewise, historians, when they take up topics of Indigenous people, tend to follow state boundaries even when groups live in areas that overlap boundaries. These patterns generally hold for Southeast Asia.

Anthropological studies in Southeast Asia from 1945 to about 1965 were primarily concerned with classifying and categorizing cultural groups in a particular country and/or comparing groups within the region. The first of such books, published in 1950, is *Ethnic Map and Groups of Northern South Asia*. The most broadly scoped, however, is the 1964 *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia* edited by the three anthropologists Frank Lebar, Gerald Hickey and John Musgrave with contributions by several other specialists with more local concerns.¹¹ The focus of these books is on describing contemporary religious,

¹¹ John F. Embree and William L. Thomas, *Ethnic Map and Groups of Northern South Asia* (New Haven: Yale Southeast Asia Studies, 1950); and Frank M. Lebar, Gerald C. Hickey and John K.

linguistic and social situation of the various ethnic groups in the region; the pervading atmosphere of the Cold War of that time period is of little concern in their writings.

Anthropological studies continued to be the dominant source of literature on Indigenous people in the region after the mid sixties, but the difference lies in the sources used. Up until this point, a great deal of the literature relied mainly on non-academic written accounts from travelers, missionaries, and colonial civil servants. From the mid sixties onward there were a growing number of anthropologists performing more extensive fieldwork in the region upon which newer works became based. The increased presence of anthropologists coincided with an increase of both US and local government interest in the region's borderlands, especially during the Vietnam War. Many of the authors of works published between the mid sixties and 1991 worked for or were funded by government agencies related to the concerned area. For example, Peter Williams-Hunt became the first advisor for Malaya's Department of Welfare for the Aborigines, and after being renamed the Department of Orang Asli Affairs Iskandar Carey became the advisor.

Orang Asli, a term the British used synonymously with Aborigine, is a generic Malaysian label meaning "original people" or "natural people" that refers to non-Malay Muslim people indigenous to peninsular Malaya. Similar to the term *Indian* in North America it has since been internalized by these people.¹² The eighteen groups included under the umbrella of Orang Asli vary in population, culture, religion, and language. The

Musgrave, *Ethnic Minorities of Mainland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1964).

¹² The British used the terms Aborigines / Aboriginal population and Orang Asli interchangeably. On the use of the term Orang Asli, see Iskandar Carey, *Orang Asli: The Aboriginal Tribes of Peninsular Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976), 3; and Alberto Gomes, "The Orang Asli of Malaysia," *IAS Newsletter* No. 35 (November 2005): 10.

British established the Department of Welfare for the Aborigines shortly after the end of World War II to win over the Orang Asli, during the so-called Emergency, the fight against communists in the area, and the two above-mentioned advisors wrote important studies on the Orang Asli.¹³

British anthropologists wrote about the Orang Asli as if the British had always been in Malaya, with an authoritative, sensitive yet paternalistic voice that began the impression of the Aboriginal population as primitive and peace loving. Williams-Hunt often wrote about the Orang Asli for the benefit of the government and military forces moving into the jungle. The forward in Williams-Hunt's 1952 book by General Sir Gerald Templer, High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya, begins by stating, "Without some understanding of the background and outlook of these fascinating people, it is impossible to make use of them on operations. ... I hope that a great many of the Security Forces and others whose duty takes them into the jungle will seize the opportunity to read this book."¹⁴ All the authors in *Highlanders of Thailand* were associated with the Thai government's Tribal Research Centre/Institute in Chiang Mai.¹⁵ With the help of anthropologists interested in applied anthropology, the Ministry of Interior created this centre in 1965 as part of a larger joint Royal Thai Government – USAID – CIA program to promote security and control of Thailand's then porous northern border areas against potential communist movements.¹⁶

¹³ Peter Williams-Hunt, *An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1952); and Carey, *Orang Asli*.

¹⁴ Williams-Hunt, *An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines*, Foreword.

¹⁵ John McKinnon, ed., *Highlanders of Thailand* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1983).

¹⁶ Kwanchewan Buadaeng, "The Rise and Fall of the Tribal Research Institute (TRI): 'Hill Tribe' Policy and Studies in Thailand," *Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. 14, No. 3 (December 2006): 359-384. For a longer treatment of applied anthropology and the support of US government in Thailand,

The Advanced Research Projects Agency of the US Defense Department contracted out a wide variety of research projects and conferences such as the one that culminated in Peter Kunstadter's two volumes *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations* of which most of the articles were written by specialists that worked for government agencies on topics that were of interest to their sponsoring agencies during the Cold War.¹⁷ Any article title within the set is illustrative of this, for example: "The National Minorities of China and their Relations with the Chinese Communist Regime," "U.S. Aid to Hill Tribe Refugees in Laos," "The Thai Mobile Development Unit Program," "The Strategic Hamlet Progress in Kien Hoa Province, South Vietnam: A Case Study of Counter-Insurgency," and "Mountain Minorities and the Viet Minh: A Key to the Indochina War." The areas and topics of study in the two volumes were linked to finding out more about minority and tribal groups in areas where Communist organizations operated or areas they were more likely to penetrate. Overall the volumes read like a large manual on *winning over the Aboriginal populations* in areas of strategic interest to the US and non-communist governments during the height of the war that embroiled the region.

Financed to varying degrees by the Advanced Research Projects Agency, the RAND corporation sponsored Gerald Cannon Hickey to perform fieldwork in Vietnam from 1963

especially how all USAID activities during this period were connected to counterinsurgency and nation-building see, Eric Wakin, *Anthropology Goes to War: Professional Ethics & Counterinsurgency in Thailand* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1992), pp. 119, 125. On anthropological participation in USAID and the World Bank, see Arturo Escobar, "Anthropology and the Development Encounter: The Making and Marketing of Development Anthropology," *American Ethnologist* Vol. 18, No. 4 (November 1991): 658-682. Also, see Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 160-167.

¹⁷ Peter Kunstadter, ed., *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations*, 2 volumes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

to 1974. RAND, originally created as a think-tank for the US Army Air Force in 1948, became an important funding agency for many anthropological projects in the region. Hickey's two main publications on the central Highland people of Vietnam, *Free in the Forest* and *Sons of the Mountains* were predominantly based on this fieldwork.¹⁸ Having been in the unique position of performing fieldwork during the Vietnam War, his books are both informative as they offer glimpses of a time of transition for the Highlanders and matter for skeptics. Having worked for the US government as the US public became more critical of the war in Vietnam, his academic qualifications as an objective voice came into question.¹⁹ In his earlier work he mentions little on global or even regional issues that brought the United States into Southeast Asia or even what they were doing there. Rather than a narrative or explanation of regional events his works generally narrow the focus and are descriptive with a hint of support for the Highlanders as he claimed to have worked to speak and act as an intermediary on their behalf with the US Administration in Vietnam.

Subtracted of any obvious political debate much of his work describes the life of the Highlanders before, during, and after the Vietnam War. However, by not openly addressing the political aspects of what was happening Hickey either unconsciously approved of the status quo or intentionally avoided the topic as doing so may have encouraged greater

¹⁸ Most of his later works consist of information or reinterpretations of these seminal studies. Gerald Cannon Hickey, *Free in the Forest: Ethnohistory of the Vietnamese Central Highlands, 1954-1976* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); and Gerald Cannon Hickey, *Sons of the Mountains: Ethnohistory of the Vietnamese Central Highlands to 1954* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). Hickey's later books make a significant amount of reference to these two books. For example, *Shattered World: Adaptation and Survival among Vietnam's Highland Peoples during the Vietnam War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

¹⁹ Gerald Cannon Hickey, *Window on a War: An Anthropologist in the Vietnam Conflict* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2002), pp. xviii-xix, 296-305; and W. R. Geddes, "Research and the Tribal Research Centre," in John McKinnon and Wanat Bhruksasri, eds., *Highlanders of Thailand* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 2-12.

criticism for his involvement with the US government in a time of increasing tension over the Vietnam War in the United States. In other words, the Cold War acted as a blinder to anthropological research at the time. It was only much later, in his memoir *Window on a War: An Anthropologist in the Vietnam Conflict*, that he began to reflect on his research and the US role there; anthropologists continue to debate his life's work.²⁰

The role of anthropology in supporting state military and security interests was not new to the bipolar era,²¹ but with a dramatic increase in government patronage to the academy the numbers of scholars performing applied research—including anthropologists—increased considerably during the emergence of the Cold War. At the end of the war in the United States, for example, there were about 600 anthropologists and this number rose to about 4,000 by the fifties. The relationships between government and anthropology created during the war were so strong that scholars rarely voiced concern of applied anthropology for the first two decades of the Cold War.²²

²⁰ David H. Price further analyzes Hickey's involvement with RAND in "Counterinsurgency, Vietnam, Thailand, and the Political Uses of Militarized Anthropology," in Laura McNamara and Robert Rubinstein, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons: Anthropologists and the National Security State* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research, 2011), pp. 51-76. On RAND and the Advanced Research Agency, see Fred Kaplan, *Wizards of Armageddon* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983).

²¹ Scholars have made significant contributions to our understanding of the threats to the field as well as the "weaponizing of anthropology" during Nazi Germany, both world wars, and beyond. For example, David H. Price, *Weaponizing Anthropology: Social Science in the Service of the Militarized State* (Petrolia, CA: Counterpunch, 2011); David H. Price, *Anthropological Intelligence: The Deployment and Neglect of American Anthropology in the Second World War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Wax, ed., *Anthropology at the Dawn of the Cold War*; Laura Nader, "The Phantom Factor: Impact of the Cold War on Anthropology," in Noam Chomsky, et al., eds., *The Cold War & The University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* (New York: The New York Press, 1997), pp. 107-146; and Andrew Evans, *Anthropology at War: World War I and the Science of Race in Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

²² Dustin Wax, "Organizing Anthropology: Sol Tax and the Professionalization of Anthropology," in Wax, ed., *Anthropology at the Dawn of the Cold War*, 134; Chomsky, et al., eds., *Cold War and the University*, 1-34; and Price, *Threatening Anthropology*, 3-5. On the very active role of social

The structures from whereupon researchers performed fieldwork were well within the bounds, confinements and functioning of nation-states, whether it was one local to Southeast Asia, such as Thailand or Malaya, or a foreign power, and they all operated within a Cold War framework in Southeast Asia before and after the outbreak of war in Vietnam that soon consumed the region. State governments internalized broader bipolarity to suite their interests and to make more of the areas within their borders legible to central governments. If scholars wanted to perform fieldwork in the region and protect their informants and their own careers they had to avoid certain topics local political leaders, Cold War powers, and funding organizations forbade.²³ Regardless of the absences of any critical analysis of the Cold War in the literature they richly describe the transition and overlap of the colonial era and the emergence of the bipolar world and how it was internalized at local levels throughout the region.

Indigenous movements in many parts of Asia did not move onto the global stage until after the collapse of the Soviet Union. With a decline of hegemony, Indigenous voices moved beyond local and national discourses and into global institutions and networks and those global institutions and networks spread into new localities. The rise of Indigenous voices could be misinterpreted as signaling two processes, that (1) that Indigenous people, began to speak in protest or make a more assertive attempt to negotiate with other people, and that (2) hegemony was singular, as in a particular nation-state or government or process such as colonialism or the Cold War, rather than an integrated plurality of systems.

scientists in the Pacific from the second half of the forties onward, see Roger W. Gale, *The Americanization of Micronesia: A Study of the Consolidation of U.S. Rule in the Pacific* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979), pp. 73-79.

²³ Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 152.

Indigenous people, however, have always negotiated their positions and voiced discontent when they saw fit. The change was that an attentive and engaging audience arose out of a predominantly Western liberal guilt (see Chapter 2) and technologies allowed for easier networking between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous supporters.²⁴ Hegemonies inherent in colonialism, decolonization, Cold War, nationalisms and modern nation-state formation overlapped, tightened and relaxed in relation to each other forming “hybrid causation” in a “bufferless web.”²⁵

The number of member states at the UN had tripled by 1980 with the most significant additions made between the mid fifties to the late seventies. Newly independent countries moved to solidify their borders and negotiate their positions within a global framework as evidenced in the 1955 Bandung Conference, which stressed the importance of nascent states in the bipolar order.²⁶ On the intellectual front, postcolonialism emerged as a field of thought as represented by Franz Fanon’s writings on Algeria and Edward Said’s ideas on “orientalism” in the Middle East.²⁷ The core concern of the audience continued to

²⁴ For a broader look at how friction contributes to new historical experience, see Tsing, *Friction*.

²⁵ Quotes come from Walker’s *Toxic Archipelago* (p. 16), although he originally used them in explaining environmental problems in the former and the connections among living things in the later.

²⁶ On the conference, see George McTurnan Kahin, *The Asian African Conference: Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955* (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1956). Carlos P. Romulo highlighted the need for the West, especially the United States, to gain a positive rapport in Africa and Asia because otherwise it would “become a happy hunting ground for the Communist propagandists” (*The Meaning of Bandung* [Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1956] (quote from page 53). For more recent interpretations of Bandung, see See Seng Tan and Amitav Acharya, eds., *Bandung Revisited: The Legacy of the 1955 Asian-African Conference for International Order* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), and Prashad, *The Darker Nations*, 31-50.

²⁷ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1963); and Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994 [1978]). On the influence of Fanon on Faust Reinaga, a revolutionary Indian intellectual from Bolivia, see Crossen, “Decolonization, Indigenous

be that of the nation-state and literature that grew out of these movements were unconcerned with the internalization of the Cold War that had taken place in localities around the world. A decrease in colonial hegemonies was one factor that enabled the birth of new nation-states, but in many areas the Cold War affected the timing and structure of decolonization. Decolonized states bought into the ideas of modernity that increased legibility and development projects within the bounds of perpetuated colonial borders, programs, and institutions. Bipolar tensions aided in facilitating these processes by incorporating them into the international community. New states, therefore, often perpetuated methods for attaining modernity learned from European colonial powers, blended these with domestic interpretations of bipolar politics, and imposed their own hegemonies over indigeneity.

The direction of decolonization and hegemonies imposed by new states were often supported and shaped by global Cold War concerns both externally and internally. For example, during World War II the United States and the Soviet Union saw nationalisms around the world as positive movements against the colonial order. But after the war the United States interpreted nationalisms in northern Vietnam and Cambodia, and elsewhere, as being driven and spoon-fed by a unitary communist bloc of the Soviet Union and China and that any new decolonized state under the influence of that bloc would threaten the so-

Internationalism," 23. The postcolonial sub-field of Subaltern Studies that came out of India began only in the early eighties.

called “free world.”²⁸ These new hegemonies in recently decolonized states are evident in the lack of any serious study of Indigenous people within early postcolonial literature.²⁹

Post-1991 Literature

The decomposition of the Cold War did not mark a clear division for Southeast Asian historiography of Indigenous studies. As in other times, there are both continuities and breaks and not all of these coincided with the fall of the Soviet Union or other geopolitical markers commonly used in marking transitions of the Cold War. Many of the pre-1991 arguments and themes continue to the present, as do many of the governmental and institutional structures. Change is represented by the emerging presence of non-anthropological disciplinary literature such as those by historians and political scientists.³⁰ A more prevalent addition is a larger presence of local, regional and global institutions/non-governmental organizations that support local research activities, communication between organizations, or publications with Southeast Asian topics rather than mostly organizations with state patronage. These include the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, Cultural Survival, the Center for Orang Asli Concerns, and

²⁸ On the external change in identity of Asian political movements from positive to negative in US thinking, see Bruce Cumings, *Parallel Visions: Making Sense of American – East Asian Regions at the End of the Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). Kwon argues that focusing only on the external changes renders “peripheral” states as unrealistically homogeneous and therefore it is also important to note inside out as well as outside in socio-political changes (Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 89). Kwon provides examples related to Vietnam on pages 89-96.

²⁹ Kwon’s *The Other Cold War* (pp. 121-138) looks broadly at rethinking postcolonial histories in relation to the Cold War.

³⁰ The first political history of Malaysia’s Orang Asli is Roy Davis Linville Jumper’s *Power and Politics: The Story of Malaysia’s Orang Asli* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997).

Asia Indigenous Peoples' Pact.³¹ Regardless of their creation dates (which in the case of the above examples range from 1968 to 1992) these organizations only began publishing works on Indigenous issues in Southeast Asia from the early nineties. One partial transition or shift is from academic work and publications indirectly in support of nation-states or at least their frame of references, through their organizations, tutelage or financial support, to publications in favour of supporting Indigenous people's initiatives and concerns or at least what some academics think is beneficial for them. A few examples include *Vines that Won't Bind: Indigenous Peoples in Asia; Malaysia and the Original People; Southeast Asian Tribal Groups and Ethnic Minorities*; and *The Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia: A Resource Book*. The majority of such publications are edited volumes, but there are the odd exceptions of monographs such as one by Colin Nicholas, the founder and coordinator of the Centre for Orang Asli Concerns, titled *The Orang Asli and the Contest for Resources*.³² These authors, aware that pure objectivity in understanding the human condition in the past and present is a fallacy, opt to openly support organizations that they think will benefit and more responsibly address the people they write about. Many of these scholar-activists such as Nicholas remain skeptical of purely academic pursuits.³³

³¹ The Thai government closed the Tribal Research Institute in Chiang Mai in 2002.

³² Christian Erni, ed., *"Vines that Won't Bind:" Indigenous Peoples in Asia* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1996); Robert Knox Denton, et al., *Malaysia and the Original People: A Case Study of the Impact of Development on Indigenous Peoples Needham Heights* (MA: Allyn & Bacon, Cultural Survival Studies in Ethnicity and Change, 1997); Cultural Survival, ed., *Southeast Asian Tribal Groups and Ethnic Minorities: Prospects for the Eighties and Beyond* (Cambridge, MA: Cultural Survival, 1987); Christian Erni, ed., *The Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia: A Resource Book* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 2007); and Nicholas, *Orang Asli*.

³³ Nicholas, *Orang Asli*, xx; Centre for Orang Asli Concerns, "About COAC and our position on information sharing" (http://www.coac.org.my/codenavia/portals/coacv2/code/main/main_art.php?parentID=0&artID=11374563787944); and Colin Nicholas, "Acting on the Knowledge: Seeking Recognition of

Generally these books concentrate on Indigenous people's interests, concerns and situations and their search for solutions to contemporary issues. However, due to the combination of sponsoring structures, such as non-governmental organizations, and subjectivity, including concerns of the people involved, there is a tendency to overlook broader historical phenomena outside of colonialism, such as the Cold War. Colonialism is usually a component of the historical interpretations herein and states in Asia often ironically use it in a narrow conception to argue that indigeneity is an issue associated with European colonialism and settler states, and therefore not applicable to Asia. Many studies in this category respond to this thinking and ask not if Indigenous people exist in Asia, but address how to identify them and address their history and contemporary issues.³⁴

Historical scholarship on Indigenous people during this period was new for the region, but its topics and themes represent literary continuity rather than transition. Historians and political scientists responded to previous debates and themes that began in anthropology. For example, most of the Malayan Emergency literature deals with British perspectives through a colonial or Cold War lens and mention little about the Orang Asli. Conversely, work that focuses on the Orang Asli usually uses a colonial framework when interpretations or explanations move beyond local situations. Historian John Leary's 1995 book *Violence and the Dream People* represents the first study to challenge anthropological

Malaysia's Orang Asli," Keynote Address presented at the "National Conference on Communities, Cultures and Change in Malaysia – Indigeneity, Identity and Social Transformation," organized by the Kadazandusun Chair and the School of Social Sciences, University Malaysia Sabah, Kota Kinabalu, 6-7 December 2005. Available online at (http://www.coac.org.my/codenavia/portals/coacv2/code/main/main_art.php?parentID=11400226426398&artID=11511193672920#AOTK). Ono Yūgo, a geography professor at Hokkaido University in Japan also takes the stand that academics have responsibility to also be activists.

³⁴ Erni, ed., *Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia*.

assumptions by debunking the myths and stereotypes that he says un-objective anthropologists acting as “apologists” created and perpetuated that the Orang Asli in Malaya are gentle, nonviolent pacifists.³⁵ Leary, skeptical of early anthropological research approaches, makes use of a wide variety of documents and interviews as well as his own experience of having worked as a young soldier during the Emergency to counter these myths by showing how the Orang Asli were active and often violent participants in the Emergency. Because his focus is spatially local/domestic and temporally focused on the Emergency years (1948-1960), there remains room to explain and narrate how societies, Indigenous or not, shift and change depending on circumstance, such as during wars. *Violence and the Dream People* is nonetheless successful at bringing in a historian’s eye to Orang Asli involvement in the Emergency.

The debate of the relation between anthropology and history is not a new one, however. Leary’s work fits into observations made almost fifty years ago by Keith Thomas, and more recently by others such as Clifford Geertz and Don Kalb, et al. who suggest that historians will benefit from reading anthropology and not fearing that one discipline will swallow or pollute the other. Leary’s work represents only a slow move toward the inclusion of other disciplinary research on indigeneity amidst the preponderance of anthropological studies in Southeast Asia.³⁶

³⁵ John Leary, *Violence and the Dream People: The Orang Asli in the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1960* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 1995), p. 3.

³⁶ Keith Thomas, “History and Anthropology,” *Past & Present* Vol. 24 (April 1963): 3-24; Clifford Geertz, “History and Anthropology,” *New Literary History* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Winter 1990): 321-335; and Dan Kalb and Herman Tak, eds., *Critical Junctions: Anthropology and History beyond the Cultural Turn* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

Roy Jumper's work continues on Leary's premise focusing on modern Orang Asli political movements and their historical use of violence.³⁷ Similar to other literature there is a disconnection between local issues surrounding Orang Asli actions (in this case the stress on acts of violence) and global, cross-regional, or even regional issues. Orang Asli focused literature rarely incorporate comparative studies with other Indigenous people within a Cold War context.

Another example of the various new interpretations of Southeast Asian indigeneity is that of taking a critical look at traditional "area studies" such as Southeast Asia, East Asia, South Asia and Central Asia. By questioning the boundaries and meanings of such areas, it is possible to make new interpretations of regions that include those that might overlap many of these areas and states and form a coherent and integrated whole as was done in creating the *Southeast Asian Massif* or *Zomia*. James C. Scott popularized the latter term in his 2009 book *The Art of Not Being Governed*, but William van Schendel, who works mainly on Bangladesh and from a cross-disciplinary approach between history, anthropology and sociology, coined the term in 2002.³⁸ Van Schendel takes a broad approach and questions

³⁷ Roy Davis Linville Jumper, "Malaysia's Senoi Praaq Special Forces," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence* Vol. 13, No. 1 (2000): 64-93; and Roy Davis Linville Jumper, *Death Waits in the "Dark:" The Senoi Praaq, Malaysia's Killer Elite* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001). The debate on (non)violence in Orang Asli society continues. See for example, Robert Knox Dentan, "Cautious, Alert, Polite, and Elusive: The Semai of Peninsular Malaysia," in Graham Kemp and Douglas P. Fry, eds., *Keeping the Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peaceful Societies around the World* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 136-151; Robert Knox Dentan, *Overwhelming Terror: Love, Fear, Peace, and Violence among Semai of Malaysia* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008); and Alberto Gomes uses this debate in his introduction to set the stage for the rest of his book (*Modernity and Malaysia*, 2-3).

³⁸ Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*; and Willem van Schendel, "Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Jumping Scale in Southeast Asia," *Environment and Planning D* Vol. 20, No. 6 (2002): 647-668. Jean Michaud used the term *Southeast Asian Massif*, which overlaps with

why we understand or *know* some regions, such as Southeast Asia that was a convenient concept created during World War II and standardized within the Cold War,³⁹ and are ignorant of other areas that scholars could potentially see as an area such as much of the area that Highlanders live that cross several of the traditional areas of study in Asia.

In 2010 the *Journal of Global History* published a series of six articles that responded to the challenge. Once again the debate between the relation between anthropology and history came into light, especially in Jean Michaud's article where he argues that historians continue to spend little effort studying Highland communities because of the difficulty in dealing with a variety of languages, physical access, and more importantly because it

is also the case that the location (on the margins of colonial and imperial domains), the peoples (mountain minorities without political unity), and the texts that they produced (dispersed and very unevenly preserved), all pertain to a subsidiary universe that, some would argue, was and remains of little historical and intellectual consequence in global terms.⁴⁰

However, there has yet been a response of how such debates around area studies relates to the study of indigeneity or the Cold War in Southeast Asia or any other reworking of space in the area. Such questions could help reposition historians to see the historical and

Schendel's and Scott's term, several years earlier in 1997 in "Economic transformation in a Hmong village of Thailand," *Human Organization* Vol. 56, No. 2 (Summer 1997): 225.

³⁹ C. M. Turnbull, "Regionalism and Nationalism," in Nicholas Tarling, eds., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, Volume 2* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 586-588.

⁴⁰ Jean Michaud, "Editorial – Zomia and Beyond," *Journal of Global History* Vol. 5, No. 2 (2010): 187-214. William G. Clarence-Smith, ed., "Zomia and Beyond," Special Edition, *Journal of Global History* Vol. 5, No. 2 (2010).

intellectual importance of more seriously examining the region and its diverse Highlander populations.

“... because the enemy may use of them at any time.”

The Orang Asli had a complex historical relationship with the Cold War and decolonization during the so-called “Emergency” of 1948 to 1960. None of the Orang Asli were ever an isolated group. They traded, befriended and fought with the Malay, Chinese and British who lived in coastal areas for generations. Japan’s invasion of Southeast Asia during World War II brought an end to British control of their Malayan colony. With the British gone, the Chinese-dominated Malaya Communist Party retreated into the jungle and took up the main offensive against the Japanese. Their survival depended on the use of guerrilla warfare and, importantly, complex relations with the Orange Asli that included trade, marriage, aid, and hostilities.⁴¹

At the end of World War II, the British moved to reconsolidate control in their former colonies. The Communists in Malaya posed a threat to British rule and future economic development in the hills needed to help rebuild their empire. In response to Communist initiated armed violence in early 1948, the British declared a Malayan wide *emergency* in June the same year. The British and communists also attempted to confiscate

⁴¹ The Semai often gave food to the Chinese communists. “We gave them help. The Communist terrorists killed a teenage girl, but we gave them tapioca and other food when they passed through. We really hate getting mixed up in other peoples’ squabbles. We want to live slamad, in peace and security”(quoted in Robert K. Dentan, “The Semai of Malaysia,” in Leslie E. Sponsel, ed., *Endangered Peoples of Southeast and East Asia* [Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000], p. 214).

arms that the Orang Asli possessed because, as one captured communist remarked, “the enemy may use them at any time.”⁴² This quote could also refer to how both the British and communists saw the Orang Asli as people that lacked their own agency that they could sway one way or the other.

To isolate the Communists, the colonial government began resettlement programs for many Chinese and Orang Asli groups they feared were aiding the Communists. The fenced in resettlement communities provided generally poor living conditions with little chance for regular Orang Asli sustenance activities. This was an attempt of making these people legible to the state, without having to invest more heavily to scale and record vast areas of jungle. Many Orang Asli died under the conditions and countless others escaped. An increasing number of Orang Asli communities in the jungle began to decline British coercive offers to relocate, moved further into the jungle and sought closer relations with the Communists.⁴³ The realization of the failure of the Orang Asli resettlement campaign brought a change in policy in 1953, shortly after the British adopted a Cold War understanding of the event in the aftermath of the Korean War.⁴⁴ Since removal of the

⁴² PRO. Kew, CO 1022/16, Weekly Intelligence Summary for week ending 23 October 1952 as quoted in Leary, *Violence and the Dream People*, 147. The Natural Rubber Bureau in the United States put out an advertisement that helped muster support for greater security and stability according to US interests by connecting communism to the threat of domestic development. It argued that natural rubber equals better roads and cheaper goods. “Protecting The Rubber Grower: Japanese occupation during the war encouraged banditry. Today, scattered Communist-led gangs harass rubber planters in Malaya. In spite of such incidents, production is at a high peak” (*Life Magazine* January 30, 1950, p. 5).

⁴³ On resettlement see, Leary, *Violence and the Dream People*, 42-66; and Carey, *Orang Asli*, 306-309.

⁴⁴ Philip Deery, “The Terminology of Terrorism: Malaya, 1948-1952,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. 34, No. 2 (June 2003): 231-247.

Orang Asli from the jungle proved unsuccessful, the British chose to move into the jungle to both fight the communists and win Orang Asli allegiance.⁴⁵

To increase the legibility of frontier areas, the British colonial government created a myriad of inter-jungle programs that revolved around the Orang Asli. They centralized Aboriginal programs by creating the Department for Aboriginal Affairs, an intelligence agency under the guise of a welfare program that they modelled after the US Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Australian Department of Aborigines,⁴⁶ and built forts deep in the jungle. In mid-1956, the British advisor for the department, R.O.D. Noone, formed the Senoi Praaq, an elite Orang Asli armed force designed to fight communists in the jungle.⁴⁷

The British Cold War effort to eliminate communists in Malaya forced a greater number of Orang Asli into contact with the non-Orang Asli population, dramatically changing their relationship. The government took more interest in the livelihood of the Orang Asli than at any time before this and during the Emergency they set a precedent for developing programs directed at the Orang Asli that steadily increased thereafter. The Orang Asli became ever more involved with the British, Malay and Communist populations in attempt to balance relationships that would best work to their benefit.

With the official end of the Emergency in 1960, the newly independent Malay nation-state became embarrassed by the presence of so-called primitive people and used the same organizations the British inaugurated during their fight with the communists to

⁴⁵ Alun Jones, "The Orang Asli: An Outline of their Progress in Modern Malaya," *Journal of Southeast Asia History* Vol. 9, No. 2 (September 1968): 295-301.

⁴⁶ Nicholas, *Orang Asli*, 107.

⁴⁷ For more on the Senoi Praaq see, Leary, *Violence and the Dream People*, 140-159; Jumper, "Malaysia's Senoi Praaq Special Forces"; and Jumper, *Death Waits in the "Dark"*.

assimilate and *civilize* the Orang Asli. Communist insurgencies from Thailand to Malaysia from 1973 reinforced the need for security in the state's northern jungle areas. Development, resettlement and assimilation policies pursued.⁴⁸ In 1977, Senoi Praaq veterans began the political movement of the Orang Asli with their establishment of the Peninsular Orang Asli Association of Malaysia or POASM (*Persatuan Orang Asli Semenanjung Malaysia*).⁴⁹ Amidst Cold War security operations the British began to see value in the Orang Asli beyond trade and provided them with tools and larger audiences required to politicize their movements.⁵⁰ Cold War operations simultaneously provided the new Malay state with a structural foundation from which to launch aggressive development and assimilation programs in Orang Asli homelands.

Until 1955 the Vietnamese government relations with the Highlanders remained mainly trade orientated and they made little attempt to incorporate Highlanders into their political organizations and when they did they were mostly unsuccessful.⁵¹ As hostilities

⁴⁸ Signe Howell, "The Indigenous Peoples of Peninsular Malaysia: It's Now or Too Late," in R.H. Barnes, Andrew Gary, and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *Indigenous Peoples of Asia* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 1995), pp. 276-276; Karl Hack, "Corpses, Prisoners of War and Captured Documents: British and Communist Narratives of the Malayan Emergency, and the Dynamics of Intelligence Transformation," in Richard J. Aldrich, et al., eds., *The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-65* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. 211-24; Kirk Endicott and Robert Knox Dentan, "Into the Mainstream or Into the Backwater: Malaysian Assimilation of Orang Asli," in Duncan, ed., *Civilizing the Margins*, 41-42; and Leary, *Violence and the Dream People*.

⁴⁹ Jumper, "Malaysia's Senoi Praaq," 69.

⁵⁰ The Orang Asli were also connected to the Cold War in other subtle ways. For example, the Iranian revolution in 1979 raised Muslim consciousness and proselytizing in Malaysia and the department in charge of Orang Asli began an even stricter assimilation programs to convert all Orang Asli to Muslim (Kirk Endicott, "The Batek of Malaysia," in Sponsel, ed., *Endangered Peoples*, 113-114; and Westad, *Global Cold War*, 288-289).

⁵¹ Bernard Fall, *The Two Viet-Nams: A Political and Military Analysis* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p. 16.

increased between the nationalists and the French, and later the United States, fighting increased in the highland regions throughout Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

Under the leadership of Noone, the Senoi Praaq travelled to Vietnam to assist the United States gain the support of and train central Highland people to fight against nationalist Vietnamese supporters. The idea was that because the Senoi Praaq proved successful at helping the British defeat the Communists in Malaya this Orang Asli organization could train Highlander communities in the Vietnam to do the same.⁵² The program proved inadequate, largely because it did not take into account vast local differences between Orang Asli and the Highlanders, but the CIA continued to train and aid Highland communities throughout the war in attempt to control illegible areas. This later had devastating effects when Highlander territories became a target for some of the heaviest US bombing and use of defoliants in the region killing up to 200,000 Highlanders.⁵³

The North Vietnamese communists also included the Highland people in their state building initiatives from the fifties onward. They encouraged development projects and immigration into highland areas to ensure no future challenges to their government would arise from the region. Fear of areas outside the reach of central powers often coincided with prior prejudices towards so-called non-modern inhabitants not under their rule. Subsequent acts toward nation-building and modernizing the country in the form of development and progress initiatives inherited from the late colonial era led to increased

⁵² Jumper, *Death Waits in the "Dark,"* 77-132.

⁵³ Grant Evans, "Central Highlanders of Vietnam," in Barnes, et al., eds., *Indigenous Peoples of Asia*, 247-249.

road and industrial development in such areas, including logging, mining and dam construction. These initiatives in turn contributed to policies of resettlement and assimilation. The North Vietnamese government defended these initiatives as moral duties toward so-called underdeveloped and isolated people whose livelihood practices damaged the environment. But they had more pragmatic concerns related to security measures, creating stronger borders and stabilizing governments and people friendly to the French and United States in the area.⁵⁴

Government programs into state frontiers also occurred elsewhere. East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) government settlement programs in the Chittagong Hill Tracts began after independence. During the British colonial era the Chittagong Hill Tracts were under strict supervision and they only allowed non-tribal people access to land and trade under strict supervision. The USAID funded the construction of a dam at Kaptai, flooding nearly half of the tribal lands in the area. This forced many of the 100,000 affected to relocate further into the hills on less fertile land during the early sixties. About ninety percent of the resettled were Chakmas, an event they termed *Bara Parang*, the Great Exodus. The dam was only the start of a number of large projects to develop the region such as roads that facilitated the movement of Bengali government troops, hundreds of thousands of settlers, and businesses into the area. Violent clashes in the Tracts increased in 1974, three years

⁵⁴ Patricia Pelley, *Postcolonial Vietnam: New Histories of the National Past* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 70 and 78-109.

after Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan, when the Shanti Bahini—the military arm of the region’s Indigenous groups—clashed with government forces.⁵⁵

Sometimes, government funded institutions played important roles in aiding movements into state frontiers. The East-West Center in Honolulu, created in 1960 as a counterpart to Moscow’s Friendship University, among other activities, “coordinated grants for Indonesian military officers who were undergoing small-arms training before the 1965 military coup that, with the goal of eradicating communism, left a half-million Indonesians dead.”⁵⁶ This entailed increased government movement into so-called underdeveloped areas populated by Indigenous people to enforce missions of resettlement and logging in the name of development in the quest for modernity and maintaining US presence in the region.

Indonesia put an end to Portugal’s colonial rule when it invaded Portuguese Timor in 1974. In order to maintain an ally in the region after the war in Vietnam and protect sea routes, the United States continued its aid to Indonesia and became its main arms supplier enabling the initiative. The United States supported the Indonesian action because of the strategic importance of the Malacca, Lombok, Sunda and Ombai-Wetar straits around Indonesia for its nuclear submarine fleets. The most important of these being the later, which was within the Portuguese colony. The United States had little faith in the claim by the FRETILIN, the independence party in East Timor, that they would remain non-aligned

⁵⁵ “Bangladesh: Chittagong’s Hill Men Struggle to Put Their Case,” *IWGIA Newsletter*, No. 37 (May 1984): 15-17; and Bangladesh: Tribals Fights for Land in Chittagong Hill Tracts,” *IWGIA Newsletter*, No. 27 (June 1981): 29-44; and “People versus Power: The Geopolitics of Kaptai Dam in Bangladesh,” *International Journal of Water Resources Development* Vol. 18, No. 1 (2002): 197-208.

⁵⁶ Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 244.

and would maintain peaceful relations with Indonesia. With the coup d'état in Portugal in 1974, the United States feared that if the revolutionary Portuguese moved closer to Moscow, Moscow would support an independent East Timor. This would threaten their access to the straits and therefore the safety of their nuclear fleet in the region. The UN annually condemned Indonesia's occupation, which directly or indirectly decreased the population by at least ten percent through violence, resettlement, settlement, famine, and disease. Nonetheless, the fear of losing secure access to the deep straits near East Timor and subsequent CIA and World Bank support of Indonesia ensured that most Western countries saw the issue as a bilateral and later a domestic Indonesian matter. FRETILIN and the Indigenous inhabitants gained few supporters outside the Third World, sympathetic scholars, and other Indigenous people during the Cold War.⁵⁷

As the Philippine government increased its penetration of so-called undeveloped areas in the Cordillera region with the support of the World Bank, tribal leaders were murdered as they attempted to protect their land from resettlement schemes, flooding

⁵⁷ Dunn, "Timor," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 25/26 (March 1981): 65-76; Jill Jolliffe, "East Timor: Jakarta's Hard Men March on Timor's Revolution," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 37 (May 1984): 57-59; Jerry K. Sweeney, "A Matter of Small Consequence: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Tragedy of East Timor," *The Independent Review* Vol. 7, No. 1 (Summer 2002): 91-102; Jill Jolliffe, "The War Indonesia Denies: Documents Suggest Fighting in East Timor Continues," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 29 April 1980, pp. 1, 28; United States, Congressional Budget Office, *U.S. Naval Forces: The Peacetime Presence Mission* (Washington, DC: Congress of the United States, 1978), pp. 23-25; Brad Simpson, "'Illegally and Beautifully': The United States, the Indonesian Invasion of East Timor and the International Community, 1974-76," *Cold War History* Vol. 5, No. 3 (2005): 281-315; and Luís Nuno Rodrigues, "Cold War and Colonialism: The Case of East Timor," in Jeffrey A. Engel, ed., *Local Consequences of the Global Cold War* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2007), pp. 296-313. The National Security Archive holds a variety of documents showing that the United Kingdom also supported Indonesia's invasion and occupation (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB174/indexuk.htm>). On Indonesian violence in West Papua, see "West Irian: Indonesian Army Slaughters 5,000," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 87-89; and Victor Kaisiepo, "The Free Papua Movement Fights Back" *AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review* Vol. 19, No. 3 (1987): 47-51.

from proposed dams, and logging.⁵⁸ In response to a wide variety of economic development projects the Igorot, as the Indigenous people of the region are collectively called, increased their political and military organization, although like many Indigenous movements they were fraught with divisions and fragmentation. The Cordillera People's Association, the largest of such organizations, spearheaded an important conference for the growth of a pan-regional Indigenous movement. In the spring of 1987 they, along with eight other organizations from the region held the *International Solidarity Conference in the Cordillera*. Including delegates from nine countries throughout Asia-Pacific and observers, over 100 people participated in the five-day conference. This was one of the first opportunities for Indigenous people in Asia-Pacific to network and learn about each other first hand and collectively pass a number of resolutions including perhaps the most important, to hold another conference with the goal of creating a regional Indigenous organization.⁵⁹ While such events in North, Central and South America were quite common by this time this represented a new beginning for indigenism in the Asia-Pacific. The following year a major conference was held in Chiang Mai, Thailand initiating the formation of the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact, which was formally created in 1992.

Thai and US governments invested heavily in research on the Highlanders of Thailand. Information gathered in government-supported studies helped the resettlement of Thai and Burmese Hmong refugees in Bolivia. Ignoring the numerically dominant Indian

⁵⁸ Lin Neuman, "Philippines: Tribal Leader Murdered," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 25/26 (March 1981): 62-64.

⁵⁹ Cordillera Peoples Alliance, *The International Solidarity Conference in the Cordillera*; and Douglas Lummis, "International Solidarity Conference in Cordillera, Philippines," *AMPO: Asia-Pacific Quarterly* Vol. 19, No. 3 (1987): 32-37.

population of that country, the Bolivian government offered 50,000 acres of “virgin arable land” north of La Paz for the resettlement project. Indian organizations in Bolivia opposed the scheme because it would infringe on their lands.⁶⁰ This represents an interesting case of government-sponsored displacement of Indigenous people by other Indigenous people. The location is even more interesting because some people considered the impoverished Indian people of Bolivia, similar to Indigenous communities around the world, as ripe for communist infiltration. For example, Ruth Kirk, the Chairman of the Indian Affairs for National Federation of Women Clubs noted, “In Bolivia ... Indians comprise ninety percent – 90% - of the population, and almost that large a percentage in Peru’s population, yet they have access in many cases, to not enough land or other resources to keep body and soul together. Could Communism ask for more fertile soil? Hardly.”⁶¹ In Peru, rather than recruit Indian people, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) massacred villages.⁶² General Pinochet’s regime in Chile actively repressed the Mapuche through violence and land grabbing. Similar stories of Indigenous people caught somewhere between communist movements, Western supported regimes for the sake of regional stability, and development schemes

⁶⁰ “Bolivia: Refugees from Indochina to Settle in Bolivia, New Strategy to Facilitate the Implementation of the Plan to Bring in White Colonists from Africa?” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 19 (June 1978): 18. Five hundred Hmong refugees were also resettled near Cacao in French Guyana (“The New Life Project or Resettling the Hmongs of Laos in Bolivia,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 22 [June 1979]: 40-41). The US government also encouraged Okinawan relocation to Bolivia. See Pedro Iacobelli, “The Limits of Sovereignty and Post-War Okinawan Migrants in Bolivia,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 11, Issue 34, No. 2, 26 August 2013; Uemura Hideaki, Kimura Makiko and Shiobara Yoshikazu, eds., *Shimin no gaikō: Senjū minzoku to ayunda 30 nen* [Diplomacy by Citizens: A 30 Year Path with Indigenous Peoples] (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppanyoku, 2013), pp. 160-170; Kozy Amemiya, “The Bolivian Connection: U.S. Bases and Okinawan Emigration,” in Johnson, ed., *Okinawa: Cold War Island*, 53-70; and Taku Suzuki, *Embodying Belonging: Racializing Okinawan Diaspora in Bolivia and Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2010).

⁶¹ “When Does Real Action Start?” *NCAI Bulletin* Vol. 2, No. 11 (September 1949): 4.

⁶² “Peru: Communities Caught in between Army and Sendero Luminoso,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 48-50; and Pribilsky, “Development and the ‘Indian Problem,’” 408.

were plentiful in Central and South America,⁶³ but where in no way limited these geographies.

France gave their colonies in the Pacific the option to gain independence. But because the French came to value their Pacific possessions for enhancing their nuclear program, especially after Algeria gained independence, they threatened to remove complete economic support from those areas that chose independence.⁶⁴ This was a false choice and a guise of colonialism that went largely unchecked by the United States, the dominant power in the region. This was because the United States wanted to maintain France as an ally, keep France's support in NATO and other US initiatives in Europe, and that they too required the Pacific for their nuclear program (see Chapter 6).

Cold War decolonization also influenced Australia's assimilation policies in the fifties and sixties. The Australian government became anxious amidst the threat of nuclear war and increased critical press from the decolonizing world.⁶⁵ It feared that its race-based policies towards Aboriginal populations would bring criticism from the decolonizing world and the communist bloc that would decrease their international status.⁶⁶ For Indigenous people in North America, the decolonization – Cold War collision was not free of violence but it was generally much more peaceful than in most other parts of the world and

⁶³ Rabe, *The Killing Zone*. Also generally, see *IWGIA Newsletters* 1968-1992.

⁶⁴ "New Caledonia: Kanaks Work for Independence in 1984," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (March 1983): 90-92; and "Pacific: Island Nations, Independence and Constitutions," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 37 (May 1984): 118-122.

⁶⁵ On Australian anxiety in relation to Asia in pre-war years see David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Australia, 1850-1939* (St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1999).

⁶⁶ Haebich, *Spinning the Dream*; and John Chesterman, *Civil Rights: How Indigenous Australians Won Formal Equality* (St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2005).

provided inspiration for Indigenous movements around the world.⁶⁷ Wounded Knee showed that even the so-called “free world” had various unresolved issues between Indian and newcomer societies. Indians in the United States used ideas of the US Point Four Doctrine and foreign aid programs to show the government what it was they wanted from the government.⁶⁸ Eleanor Roosevelt often wrote on the Indian situation in the country. She wondered if,

even our own government, which should be their greatest supporter, is on their side. ... What we do for our Indians is watched by people all over the world. And the Indians feel quite rightly, I believe, that our treatment of them is not enhancing the respect for democracy nor the feeling that we try to give all our people equal freedom in our country and equal justice. Both in the UN and in our contacts with nations outside there is a realization that a great nation must respect small nations and must keep its word. Otherwise, there is no security for any small nation.⁶⁹

While some Orang Asli were helping the CIA train Highlanders in Vietnam, some US Indians fought alongside US troops and others still in the United States offered their support by offering to entertain US troops with dance and performance. Indians in the

⁶⁷ For an example from the Ainu, see *Anutari Ainu* Vol. 1, June 1, 1973, p. 5.

⁶⁸ For example, see “‘Impressions’ by Executive Director,” *NCAI Bulletin* Vol. 3, No. 1 (October 1957): 7.

⁶⁹ Quoted in “Mrs. Roosevelt Urges Justice for Indians,” *NCAI Bulletin* Vol. 5, No. 1 (February 1, 1959): 3

United States used their loyalty to the country⁷⁰ and international relations to further their movement. The US government used such opportunities to show the communist world that Indians in their country were advanced, well off, and valued. In January 1972, Henry Lyle (Hank) Adams, director of the Survival of American Indian Association, and according to Vine Deloria Jr. “the most important Indian,”⁷¹ began organizing a peace voyage to Hanoi. On 19 July 1971, the Hanoi government’s Committee for Solidarity with the American People invited them to visit in February 1972. Russell Means, a prominent figure in the US Red Power movement, was also supposed to be one of the five members and said they would seek “international recognition for Indian nations.”⁷² Adams said they would go as “pro-American Indian People, holding, however, a judgment that America has been predominantly wrong in its roles in Vietnam.”⁷³ “Indians must be restored to some kind of international stature.”⁷⁴ He said there were two threats to the trip: “the hostility of the Communist Party of U.S.A,” who are opposed to some Indian views, and intermediary peace groups that might try to use Indians for their own purposes.⁷⁵ Interestingly, he did not mention the connection between international and domestic aspirations in halting the trip until after the fact; Adams was charged with illegal fishing for asserting treaty rights to fish in Washington State and in late January after turning himself in the trip plans fell apart.

⁷⁰ “All-star Troupe of Indian Dancers and Singers Offers to Visit Viet Nam to Entertain Men in U.S. Armed Forces,” *NCAI Sentinel* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter 1967): np.

⁷¹ Vine Deloria Jr., “The Most Important Indian,” *Race Relations Reporter* 5, no. 21 (November 1974): 26-28. For more on Adams, see David E. Wilkins, ed., *The Hank Adams Reader: An Exemplary Native Activist and the Unleashing of Indigenous Sovereignty* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2011).

⁷² “Indians Seek Recognition,” *Native Nevadan* Vol. 8, No. 10 (February 1972): 4.

⁷³ “Indian Delegation on Peace Voyage,” *Native Nevadan* Vol. 8, No. 9 (January 1972): 2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Hank suspected that one of the reasons for Washington State's charges were to prevent the trip.⁷⁶

During the fall of 1971, another group of Indians, led by Dennis Morrison, announced that they met with Communist China officials to ask for economic aid. He said China was targeted for their attention because they were well aware of the US position on the Indian "and since no two nations are further apart' ideologically than the U.S. and Communist China, he said he wanted to see if the Chinese response to Indian problems would be more positive."⁷⁷ US-China rapprochement occurred the following year and the Indian dialogue with China did not mature.

In Canada, George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, shaped international Indigenous movements in innumerable ways. One example of this was his popularization of the term "Fourth World" to refer to the uniting forces between Indigenous people throughout the Americas and Eurasia. Mbuto Milando, a Tanzanian diplomat stationed in Ottawa, first suggested this concept to Manuel who developed it into a framework for his own thinking on Indigenous people. The term quickly spread through a variety of milieus. His 1974 co-authored book *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*⁷⁸ first captured his ideas on the concept in print and his connections at the IWGIA, Survival International and other Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations and individuals,

⁷⁶ Hank Adams, "Essay, January 14, 1972, Survival of American Indian Association," in Wilkins, ed., *The Hank Reader*, 45.

⁷⁷ "Indians Seek Recognition," *Native Nevadan* Vol. 8, No. 10 (February 1972): 4. On the fish-in issue within a Cold War context, see Rosier, *Serving their Country*, 237-242. On the Vietnam War and Indian movements, see pp. 242-253. Also on the fish-in issue, see Wilkinson, *Messages from Frank's Landing*; and Wilkins, ed., *The Hank Reader*, 19-88.

⁷⁸ Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*. On the influence of Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere on George Manuel, see Crossen, "Decolonization, Indigenous Internationalism," 28-32 and 55-58.

such as lawyer Douglas Sanders, inserted the term in their various anthropological and law publications making it standard lexicon in Indigenous studies within the decade. The term worked to include Indigenous people into the hierarchical framework of nation-states as conceived during the Cold War that divided the world into three components. The First World referred to the so-called free world or capitalist countries, the Second World denoted the communist world and the eastern bloc, and the Third World the emerging states in Asia and Africa created as part of the decolonization process. In making use of the *Fourth World*, Manuel strove to show that Indigenous people were still part of the colonial order or yet decolonized nations who strove for something different than gaining independence and creating nation-states based on modernity as encouraged by international norms.⁷⁹ This deliberate use of terminology placed Indigenous voices and organizations within international relations without limiting the operational space of indigenism. The very idea of Indigenous people, as people of the Fourth World, that permeates Indigenous studies today, was born out of local and international decolonization processes submerged in a Cold War order.

Summary

Cold War and colonial/postcolonial studies provide few narratives and explanations of each other's fields; this skews Indigenous historiography. Both colonial/postcolonial and

⁷⁹ Anthony Hall, *The American Empire and the Fourth World* (Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003), pp. 209-292; Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993); and Kathy Seton, "Fourth World Nations in the Era of Globalisation: An Introduction to Contemporary Theorizing Posed by Indigenous Nations," *Fourth World Journal* Vol. 4, No. 1 (1999).

Cold War scholars focus on the nation-state as the primary mode of analysis, but they differ on their focus and they both exclude interpretive lenses in their efforts to enrich our understanding of their particular focus. The former is better at integrating minority voices but does so at the expense of eliminating bipolar geopolitics, and the later is better at explaining diplomatic and political histories but at the expense of eliminating voices perceived to be marginal to state powers.⁸⁰ That is, the nation-state framework that has, to date, predominated in the historical scholarship has obscured the relationships among indigeneity, the Cold War, and decolonization.⁸¹ Southeast Asian Indigenous studies historiography is one example of the disjuncture between the colonial lens predominant in Indigenous studies that misses the Cold War, the postcolonial lens that avoids the Cold War and Indigenous people, and the Cold War lens that has yet to seriously address Indigenous people and inadequately attends to colonialism and postcolonialism.

Literature from 1945 to 1991 portrayed Indigenous people in Southeast Asia as subjects of nation-states. Local and international bipolar interests in a decolonizing Southeast Asia drove research agendas for the majority of the literature, especially until the seventies. During the early emergence of the decomposition of the Cold War there was a faint, but noticeable change in the structure and subjectivity of many studies as seen through the increase of transnational non-governmental organizations' involvement in

⁸⁰ Kwon, *The Other Cold War*.

⁸¹ Scholars have begun to recognize the intricate connection between decolonization, the Cold War, and social movements. However, as in the case of Indigenous Studies, the focus remains on the nation-state. Some of these great works include, Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*; Major, *Behind the Berlin Wall*; Westad, *Global Cold War*; and Jeremi Suri, "The Cold War, Decolonization, and Global Social Awakenings: Historical Intersections," *Cold War History* Vol. 6, No. 3 (August 2006): 353-363.

Asia. As the structure of organizations sponsoring research changed (from state or non-state organizations) so did the subjectivity. Throughout the Cold War, subjectivity was that of the researcher, civil servants or the state auspices, whereas afterwards the subjectivity of Indigenous people became increasingly evident in the literature as critique of anthropological approaches increased.

Indigenous people around the globe were as inseparable from the Cold War as they were from colonialism and decolonization. In the global south, they often occupied areas communist forces relied on for mustering strength, and in turn were targets for containment and integration by both sides of the divide, whether they were supporting powers or local communities. They were people that lived within colonized and formerly colonized countries and continued to live in marginal sectors of nascent states. In some cases, such as in the Pacific Islands, lands that were transferred from the League of Nations Mandate system to the UN Trusteeship System, and the Dutch, French and British colonial holdings, the Indigenous inhabitants gained a high degree of independence or political representation during the Cold War. But the dominating powers still maintained the ability to influence the economy, development, security, and politics of these regions. In other areas, such as in Southeast Asia, Indigenous people were minority populations quite often located in areas where colonial powers had little influence or regions that colonial powers protected from influx of settlement and development. During the Cold War, governments often perceived these formerly marginal areas as keystones for maintaining security and national development. But for Indigenous people their lands were neither marginal nor peripheral but central.

Chapter 4

Cold War Structures and Indigenous People in the Asia-Pacific: The San Francisco System¹

Differing Cold War structures dominated the Euro-Atlantic and the Asia-Pacific regions; the Yalta system defined the former and the San Francisco System the latter.² The post-World War Two regional order in Asia-Pacific was built on legacies of the Japanese colonial empire, the outcome of the Chinese civil war, centuries of US and European presence in the region, tensional ebbs and flows between Russians and Japanese in Northeast Asia, and the emerging Cold War in Asia. The San Francisco Peace Treaty (SFPT) was therefore not only the final agreement that ended World War II in the Pacific but it developed as a part of such legacies and the changing East Asian dynamics during the early Cold War. It continues to be

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was originally written for presentation at the *Third International Forum for Peace and Prosperity in Northeast Asia Conference, Sixty Years of the San Francisco System: Continuation, Transformation, and Historical Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific*, 28 April 2012, held at the Balsillie School of International Affairs, University of Waterloo and publication as “Chapter 10: The Cold War, The San Francisco System, and Indigenous Peoples,” in Kimie Hara, ed., *The San Francisco System and Its Legacies: Continuation, Transformation, and Historical Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific* (London: Routledge, forthcoming), 25pp. Portions of the sections on Okinawa and the Ainu are also under review for publication (with Kimie Hara) as “The Cold War, the San Francisco System, and Indigenous Peoples of Japan: Okinawa and the Northern Territories,” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, special edition on Japan’s Cold War, 31 pp. The author wishes to thank the conference committee for the invitation, and the participants, especially Mark Selden, for their questions and comments on the conference paper, and Kimie Hara for important feedback on this chapter.

² Hara, *Cold War Frontiers*, 2-9.

a major foundation of the postwar regional structure in the region, the San Francisco System.

The San Francisco Peace Treaty represents a process in which the Allies moved to break apart Japan's colonial empire within the emerging Cold War order. Since the United States took initiative creating the treaty, it reflects US Cold War concerns in the region.³ By agreeing to the treaty, Japan relinquished vast portions of its colonial empire. However, the treaty left many uncertainties for state relations in the region because it did not specify the geographical limits of the territories released or to which state Japan released them (Figure 6). However, states were not the only parties to become entrapped by and take part in the development of the San Francisco System; although Indigenous people in the former Japanese empire were not party to the discussions during the treaty making process, it had lasting effects for them. This chapter looks at how peculiarities of indigenism among Marshall Islanders, Okinawans, Ainu, and Aborigines in Taiwan—Indigenous people who lived in or had attachments to lands disposed of in the treaty—grew in tandem with developments of the San Francisco System.

³ Hara, *Cold War Frontiers*.



Figure 6: San Francisco Peace Treaty Related Territories (Map by author and S. Murotani)

Militarization of Indigenous Lands

The San Francisco Peace Treaty aided in dividing the Asia-Pacific region between capitalist and communist blocs. For the United States, it contributed to containing communism somewhat closely to the Acheson defence line, the details of which are explained later in this chapter. “Containment” gave a certain amount of freedom to the Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China (PRC), and North Korea to act within the communist bloc without US interference. On the other side of the coin, the treaty also allowed the United States to integrate non-communist areas into its political, economic, strategic, and cultural

sphere of influence. Two examples of this strategic integration took place in the Pacific Islands and Okinawa.

“For the Good of Mankind:” Nuclear Tests in the Marshall Islands

Bikini Atoll is one of twenty-nine atolls and five islands spread over close to two million square kilometres that make up the Marshall Islands, located north of the equator in the Pacific Ocean. The people of these islands have had close contact with Europeans since the Spanish arrived on their shores in the sixteenth century. Passing from one colonial power to the next, the area was permeated by foreign presence, trade, and religion. The Cold War era, however, brought a new twist with the presence of the US military bases, missile testing, radioactive fallout from the testing of atomic bombs, and associated wastes.

The SFPT served the United States to maintain their sphere of control north of the equator in the Pacific, the “American Lake,” or more correctly the “US Lake,” in the Pacific that it had created with its military island-hopping in their offensive against Japan in World War II.⁴ Japan relinquished the Pacific Islands, formerly a part of the League of Nations Mandate System, in Article 2 (d) of the SFPT, endorsing the 1947 resolution of the United Nations Security Council that the United States take control of these islands as part of the UN International Trusteeship system. Chapter twelve of the UN Charter, also signed in San

⁴ On the formation of “American Lake” north of the equator, see, Hara, *Cold War Frontiers*; and John Dower, “Occupied Japan and the American Lake, 1945-1950,” in Edward Friedman and Mark Selden, eds., *America’s Asia: Dissenting Essays in Asia-American Relations* (New York: Vintage, 1971), pp. 146-206.

Francisco, sets out the guidelines for this system of which Article 76 is of particular interest.

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to

the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.⁵

The United States initially proposed the insertion of articles that would allow for “strategic” areas within trusteeships in the charter and later designated Micronesia such an area.⁶ Article 82 outlines how any areas within a trusteeship could be designated as “a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.”⁷ In other words, the United States was able to unilaterally designate any area of a trusteeship as a strategic trust without the need to grant the Security Council access to such areas. Article 83 grants the Security Council, over which the United States has veto power, sole power to alter strategic areas or trusteeships.⁸ Nonetheless, part two of this article confirmed that the “basic objectives” in the above quoted Article 76 would still apply to strategic areas, but since international agreements were often subservient to the interests of nation-states and broader geopolitics, the objectives in this article took secondary importance.

⁵ Charter of the United Nations, pp. 48-19.

⁶ “Negotiation of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Former Japanese-Mandated Islands in the Pacific Concluded between the United States and the Security Council of the United Nations, April 2, 1947,” *FRUS, 1947* Vol. 1, pp. 258-278.

⁷ Charter of the United Nations, p. 51.

⁸ For background on this, see Gale, *The Americanization of Micronesia*, pp. 47-88; Hal Friedman, *Creating an American Lake: United States Imperialism and Strategic Security in the Pacific Basin, 1945-47* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), especially pp. 72-79; and Hal Friedman, *Governing an American Lake: The US Defense and Administration of the Pacific, 1945-1947* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan University Press, 2007), pp. 117-156. Also, see Donald McHenry, *Micronesia: Trust Betrayed: Altruism vs Self Interest in American Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1975), pp. 2-10 and 32-35; Hayes, et al., *American Lake*, 23-26; and Hara, *Cold War Frontiers*, 101, 103.

The United States subsequently maintained military bases and performed military tests on many of the islands in the region.⁹ Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands is one such case of the change from occupation to strategic trust area in the Pacific.

On August 10, 1945, President Truman declared that

though the United States wants no territory or profit or selfish advantage out of this war, we are going to maintain the military bases necessary for the complete protection of our interests and of world peace. Bases which our military experts deem essential for our protection, and which are not now in our possession, we will acquire.¹⁰

In the following months, the United States moved aggressively to secure thousands of military posts throughout the Pacific that it had built or occupied by the end of the war. One Sunday after church on Bikini Atoll in February 1946, Commodore B.H. Wyatt spoke with biblical analogies, giving the islanders a sense of global importance and asked the religious Bikini people if they would temporarily relocate so that the United States could use their atoll to test bombs “for the good of mankind and to end all world wars.” After talking as a group, Juda, the leader of the Bikinians, replied, “We will go believing that everything is in the hands of God.” Given the local people’s experience during World War II of being caught between Japan and the United States, a short-term move appeared a small price to pay for world peace. In retrospect, this formal dialogue between Wyatt and the Bikini people was

⁹ Vine, *Island of Shame*, 41-55; Friedman, *Creating an American Lake*.

¹⁰ “President Truman’s Report to the Peoples on War Developments,” *New York Times*, 10 August 1945, p. 12.

merely formal given the military superiority over the islanders and the fact that President Truman had already approved Bikini as the test site for Operation Crossroads,¹¹ an experiment partially born out of rivalry between the Army and Navy, which would test the effect of atomic bombs on a variety of warships.¹² In approving the Crossroads tests, Truman had approved the detonations of one-third of the US atomic bomb stockpile at that time.¹³

The following month, the US Navy transported the Bikinians to Rongerik Atoll, two hundred kilometres to the east of their atoll. On 7 July 1946, four months before the United States submitted its trusteeship proposal regarding the Pacific Islands to the United Nations and almost five years before the signing of the SFPT, the first of twenty-three atomic and hydrogen bomb tests took place on Bikini Atoll. Due to radioactive fallout and the inadequacy of some islands for supporting human communities, the Bikinians went through five relocations becoming “nuclear nomads.”¹⁴ Radioactive fallout from these and the forty-four other nuclear bombs dropped elsewhere in the Marshall Islands over the next eleven years had grave health and social consequences for many of the Indigenous

¹¹ Jack Niedenthal, *For the Good of Mankind: A History of the People of Bikini and their Islands* (Majuro, MH: Bravo Publishers, 2001), p. 2; and Jonathan Weisgall, *Operation Crossroads: The Atomic Tests at Bikini Atoll* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994), pp. 106-115. For contemporary US perspective of the Bikini people as backwards, see Lt. E.J. Rooney, “The Strange People from Bikini,” *New York Times*, 31 March 1946, pp. 23, 25 and Carl Markwith, “Farewell to Bikini,” *National Geographic* Vol. 90 (July 1946): 97-116, who noted that “Civilization and the Atomic Age had come to Bikini, and they had been in the way” (p. 116).

¹² Friedman, *Creating an American Lake*, 67; and Weisgall, *Operation Crossroads*, 13-17.

¹³ Weisgall, *Operation Crossroads*, 30.

¹⁴ Weisgall, *Operation Crossroads*, 4. The reference of “nomad” to the numerous forced relocations of the Bikini people was likely first made by Admiral Carleton Wright, the first deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, in 1948, “The Navy is running out of deserted islands on which to settle these unwitting, and perhaps unwilling, nomads of the atomic age” (HSB, 24 November 1948 as quoted in Leonard Mason, “Relocation of the Bikini Marshallese: A Study in Group Migration,” PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1954, p. 359).

inhabitants.¹⁵ The testing eliminated important fishing and gathering grounds through radioactive pollution and occasionally incinerating parts of or all of some atolls. Many of the islands the United States relocated the Bikinians to were either prohibited for habitation because of the islanders' spiritual beliefs or were inadequate to support human habitation. Relocation to smaller islands and into US constructed housing meant living closer together, altering social structures. The relocations also increased their dependence on the United States for food imports and housing material.

The residents of Kwajalein, located about four hundred kilometres to the southeast of Bikini Atoll, became connected indirectly to the Western Shoshone in the southwest of the United States through the MX nuclear missile project. After World War II the United States used local labour to clean debris off the island and construct a base before relocating the islanders away from US housing and buildings to Ebeye. During the nuclear tests on Bikini and Eniwetok, Kwajalein served as an important support site. In 1959 the atoll became the Navy's target for firing ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missile) from California, which required relocating those on Lib to Ebeye. While the Shoshone lands were the main location for their launch sites and storage, the United States spent \$1 billion on the missile range in Kwajalein to test them. In 1964, the United States implemented a 99-year lease of the atoll for \$750,000. The same year the Army took over the atoll and moved the

¹⁵ For a historical case study that examines the "Bravo" test through a Cold War Lens, see Martha Smith-Norris, "Cold War Casualties: The Impact of the American Nuclear Testing in the Pacific, 1954," in Dennis O. Flynn, Artero Giráldez, and James Sobredo, eds., *Studies in Pacific History: Economics, Politics and Migration* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 223-251. For a case study on the Enewetakese and the Cold War, see Martha Smith-Norris, "American Cold War Policies and the Enewetakese: Community Displacement, Environmental Degradation, and Indigenous Resistance in the Marshall Islands," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* Vol. 22, No. 2 (2011): 195-236.

missile touch down site from south of the atoll to the centre of it, thereby the economical and practical need arose to relocate the inhabitants of the middle of the atoll also to Ebeye in exchange for a monthly twenty five dollar inconvenience fee to some of those relocated. Ebeye grew from five hundred people in 1951 to 4,500 in the mid sixties.¹⁶ The US military continually tried to decrease or minimize expenditures for the inhabitants while at the same time heavily investing in the base and the missile system.¹⁷ The project increased the number of sites off limits to the local population and completely reshaped the demographics of the island through an increase and resettlement of the population that encouraged a shift to wage economy.¹⁸

In the process of petitioning the United States for health services, aid, and compensation related to the atomic tests, the Bikinians—and Marshallese in general—organized to deal with US bureaucracies and litigation. The Bikinians, frustrated by the negotiations and slow-moving clean-up efforts, took the US government to court in 1981.¹⁹ Individual volunteers from the US Peace Corps and organizations such as Cultural Survival and the Pacific Concerns Research Center magnified the local Islanders' efforts from the

¹⁶ Darlene Keju and Giff Johnson, "Kwajalein: Home on the 'Range,'" *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 33 (1983): 93-109.

¹⁷ Smith-Norris, "American Cold War Policies and the Enewetakese."

¹⁸ Giff Johnson, *Collision Course at Kwajalein: Marshall Islanders in the Shadow of the Bomb* (Honolulu: Pacific Concerns Research Center, 1984).

¹⁹ In 1982, the Department of Energy took control of environmental monitoring in the Marshall Islands to further integrate health and environmental research into their "Safeguard C" plan. This plan was a provision of the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty that maintained Johnson Atoll as an every ready atmospheric test site in the event that the Soviets broke the treaty (IPPNW, International Commission to Investigate the Health and Environmental Effects of Nuclear Weapons Production. Institute for Energy and Environmental Research. *Radioactive Heaven and Earth: The Health and Environmental Effects of Nuclear Weapons Testing In, On, and Above the Earth: A Report of the IPPNW International Commission to Investigate the Health and Environmental Effects of Nuclear Weapons Production, and the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research* (London: Zed Books, 1991), pp. 74-75.

eighties onward, as they documented and disseminated their findings on the impact of the nuclear arms race in the Pacific.²⁰ Opinions and positions between US government departments and their personnel were far from homogeneous but Henry Kissinger, the national security advisor at the time, best sums up the overriding attitude with his 1969 comment, “There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?”²¹ In other words, in a broader Cold War picture a small Indigenous population was inconsequential next to the importance of the arms race and ensuring that the United States kept one step ahead of the Soviets in nuclear technology (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6).

Since 1991 the Republic of Marshall Islands has been a member state of the United Nations, making its people somewhat different from other Indigenous people, but even though they have their own state, their sovereignty is neither full nor complete. In 1983, sixty percent of Marshall Islanders’ votes favoured the Compact of Free Association, which took effect three years later. The compact recognized the sovereignty of the Republic of Marshall Islands and provided a US \$150 million compensation trust fund in exchange for the dismissal of then current claims in the courts and forfeiting the right to pursue future legal action against the United States. The Compact also guaranteed US military and strategic use of the islands, including a thirty-year lease of Kwajalein Island as a missile

²⁰ For example, Peace Corps Volunteer Jack Niedenthal first went to the Marshall Islands in 1981 and has lived and worked as the Bikini Government Liaison since. Holly Barker, also originally part of the Peace Corps in the late eighties, works for the Embassy of the Republic of Marshall Islands and has written several books and position papers in support of litigation efforts after attaining a PhD in Anthropology. Micronesia Support Committee, *Marshall Islands: A Chronology: 1944-1983* (Honolulu: 1978, 1981, 1983); Johnson, *Collision Course at Kwajalein*; and Catherine Lutz, ed., *Micronesia as Strategic Colony: The Impact of U.S. Policy on Micronesian Health and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Cultural Survival, 1984).

²¹ Walter Hickey, *Who Owns America?* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 208.

range (one of the main sites for Reagan's Star Wars program). The combination of continued health claims associated with radiation sickness and the Department of Energy's release of thousands of classified documents that confirmed the extent of fallout contamination and use of the Marshallese in radiation experiments, contributed to a new Marshallese effort to rethink the circumstances in which they had agreed to the original compact.²² The Marshallese claims in relation to Cold War-era weapons testing continue to the present.

Okinawa: Cold War Islands

Okinawa, or the Ryūkyū Islands, consists of almost sixty small islands that stretch over one thousand kilometres through the western Pacific from Kyūshū (Japan) to Taiwan. In 1609, the Satsuma domain of Tokugawa Japan annexed the Amami Islands, the northern part of the Ryūkyū Islands, placing Okinawa in a complex dual relationship with Beijing and Satsuma until 1879, when the Meiji government unilaterally declared Okinawa a Japanese prefecture.²³ Sixty-six years later, Okinawa, devastated by the bloody battle known as the "typhoon of steel," became both pawn and benefactor of the two-pronged US military strategy of containment against both Japanese re-militarization and communism. This battle resulted in destruction of the islands' ecology and infrastructure, and caused a

²² Embassy of the Republic of Marshall Islands, "Nuclear Issues" (<http://www.rmiembassyus.org/Nuclear%20Issues.htm#History>). During the Bush administration's war on terror in the aftermath of 9/11, the government reclassified many of these documents (Barbara Johnson and Holly Barker, *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War: the Rongelap Report* [Wallnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008], p. 32).

²³ For pre-World War II Okinawan history, see George Kerr, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*, revised edition (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2000).

staggering loss of lives, including approximately one-third of the Okinawan population and some Ainu soldiers.

With Japan's surrender to the Allies, the United States moved to secure direct control over Okinawa. This ended the status of Okinawa as a second-class prefecture and left the population stateless. Emperor Hirohito and the Japanese politicians in Tokyo aided in the process of detaching Okinawa and its approximate population of 500,000 inhabitants from Japanese control, in an effort to safeguard the emperor's postwar position, and limit US occupation of the mainland.²⁴ The Diet abolished Okinawan voting rights in late 1945, along with those of Taiwanese and Koreans.²⁵ While communism was expanding its sphere of influence and the Cold War intensifying on a global scale, Mao Zedong's victory in China in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War less than a year later fuelled US fears in Asia, and from a US perspective justified the creation and maintenance of numerous military bases in Okinawa. Article 3 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which assured exclusive US control of the Ryūkyūs along with other islands in the Pacific, aided in turning the islands into some of the most important US military bases in the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan's change in status from US enemy to ally in the emerging Cold War and the consolidation of the US sphere of control north of the equator in the Pacific—the “US lake”—brought a new hegemonic order to Okinawa, further complicating the structural and

²⁴ For population figures, see Statistics Bureau, ed., *Japan Statistical Yearbook 2013* (Tokyo: Japan Statistical Association, 2013), pp. 37–38. John Dower, *Japan in War and Peace* (New York: New Press, 1993), p. 171; and Koji Taira, “Okinawa's Choice: Independence or Subordination,” in Johnson, ed., *Okinawa: Cold War Island*, 174.

²⁵ Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), pp. 626–627.

subjective identity of Japan's southern frontier.²⁶ In response to an early State Department proposal to return the islands with the signing of a peace treaty, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) General Douglas MacArthur in 1947 cabled George Marshall, secretary of state:

Control over this group must be vested in the United States as absolutely essential to the defense of our Western Pacific Frontier. It is not indigenous to Japan ethnologically, does not contribute to Japan's economic welfare, nor do the Japanese people expect to be permitted to retain it. It is basically strategic, and in my opinion, failure to secure it for control by the United States might prove militarily disastrous.²⁷

George Kennan, director of US State Policy Planning Staff, supported in 1948 MacArthur's "offshore island strategy," highlighting the importance of Okinawa for US bases.²⁸ The islands became the military keystone of the US defence in the Pacific, first against Japan

²⁶ On the formation of the "US lake," see note 4. On structure and subjectivity, see Glen D. Hook and Richard Siddle, eds., *Japan and Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 2003).

²⁷ Quote from US Department of State, *FRUS*, 1947, Vol. 6, p. 512. Also, see Takemae Eiji, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy* (New York: Continuum, 2002), pp. 443-444; and Masahide Ota, "U.S. Occupation of Okinawa in Relation to Postwar Policy toward Japan (1945-1953)," in by Masahide Ota, ed., *A Comprehensive Study on U.S. Military Government on Okinawa* (Nishihara: University of Ryukyus, 1987), pp. 5-35.

²⁸ US Department of State, Policy Planning Staff, "Conversation between General of the Army MacArthur and Mr George F. Kennan," PPS 28/2, March 5, 1948, in Thomas Etzold and John Lewis Gaddis, eds., *Containment Documents on American Policy and Strategy, 1945-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 228-230. The documents that Kennan produced shortly after this meeting represented the change in emphasis from reforming to restoring Japan. For background details on how Kennan used this meeting with MacArthur to rein him in, see John Lewis Gaddis, *George Kennan: An American Life* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), pp. 300-303 and D. Clayton James, *The Years of MacArthur: Volume III: Triumph and Disaster, 1945-1964* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985), pp. 221-235.

during the early post-World War II years, and then against communism in the Cold War. In a 1949 article in the *New York Times*, General MacArthur explained the shift:

Now the Pacific has become an Anglo-Saxon lake and our line of defense runs through the chain of islands fringing the coast of Asia. It starts from the Philippines and continues through the Ryukyu Archipelago, which includes its main bastion, Okinawa. Then it bends back through Japan and the Aleutian Island chain to Alaska.²⁹

Secretary of State Dean Acheson's 1950 "defence perimeter" speech, which drew on NSC 48 and the discussions between Kennan and MacArthur, transformed this line from concept to official policy.³⁰ Shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War, which started with the North Korea's attack on the South in June 1950, President Truman moved to include South Korea and Formosa (Taiwan) within US defences.

US military bases today occupy approximately eleven percent of all Okinawa and around twenty percent of the main island. To provide one example of the size of some bases, the Kadena Air Base, taken over from the Japanese, accounts for eighty-three percent

²⁹ "M'Arthur Pledges Defense of Japan," *New York Times*, 2 March 1949, p. 22. MacArthur later clarified that this statement did not reflect a new policy at the time, as only the president or secretary of state could do so, that such broad defences were beyond his responsibility, and that he merely made an observation in reaction to a query at the press conference (Douglas MacArthur, "Letters to the Times," *New York Times*, 4 February 1957, p. 17).

³⁰ For a copy of the speech, see *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 22 (January 23, 1950), p. 116. Copies of NSC 48/1 and 48/2 are reproduced in Etzold and Gaddis, eds., *Containment Documents on American Policy and Strategy*, 251-276. Acheson acknowledged the connection of his defence perimeter to the one MacArthur described in his interview with *New York Times* in Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York, W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1969), pp. 365-357.

of the town land. There are more than five cities where bases account for between twenty and eighty-four percent of city land.³¹ Throughout the Korean War, US military bases on Okinawa proved invaluable for US-led United Nations military operations. In April 1952, slightly less than two years after that war broke out, the San Francisco Peace Treaty took effect, securing the indefinite US control of the islands. The bases later enabled, served, and supported the United States during the war in Southeast Asia and the CIA's activities in the Himalayas.³²

During the occupation period, US authorities encouraged the use of *Ryūkyū* as opposed to *Okinawa* in reference to the islands and its people, as one way of encouraging a non-Japanese identity for the islanders.³³ Until rapprochement with China in the early seventies, the United States emphasized to Japan that they were in Okinawa to contain communism.³⁴ During negotiations with China, however, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and President Richard Nixon told the Chinese that the military presence in Okinawa could serve to contain future Japanese re-militarization and expansion, despite the fact that during the wars in Korea and Vietnam the United States had been encouraging

³¹ Global Security, "Kadena Air Base" (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/kadena.htm>); and Patrick Smith, "Inertia on Display," in Johnson, ed., *Okinawa: Cold War Island*, 283.

³² On the Himalayas, see S. Mahmud Ali, *Cold War in the High Himalayas* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); John Kenneth Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War: America and the Tibetan Struggle for Survival* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999); Kenneth Conboy and James Morrison, *The CIA's Secret War in Tibet* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002); and Joe L. Leeker, "Missions to Tibet," *The History of Air America* (last updated 4 March 2013) (<http://www.utdallas.edu/library/collections/speccoll/Leeker/history/Tibet.pdf>).

³³ Chalmers Johnson, "The 1995 Rape Incident and the Rekindling of Okinawan Protest against the American Bases," in Johnson, ed., *Okinawa: Cold War Island*, 129; and Steve Rabson, "Assimilation Policy in Okinawa: Promotion, Resistance, and 'Reconstruction,'" in Johnson, ed., *Okinawa: Cold War Island*, 144-145; Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 440-443.

³⁴ In the early postwar years, the United States told Australia and the Republic of China (ROC) their presence on the islands was to contain Japan.

Japan to remilitarize and become more engaged through both economic and military incentives. More likely, Kissinger and Nixon were more worried about the double-digit growth of the Japanese economy and the growing trade imbalance with Japan.³⁵ In addition to (reluctantly) dealing with the burgeoning trade deficit with Japan, the United States also needed China's cooperation to end the war in Vietnam and to isolate the Soviet Union's increased expansion into the Third World. Likewise, Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai thought closer ties with the United States could work to their advantage, while their relationship with the Soviet Union continued to sour in the Sino – Soviet Split and signs that the Cultural Revolution was losing momentum.³⁶ These ties between China and the United States allowed for Japan to move closer to China shortly thereafter.

The uncertain status of Okinawa under US control lasted almost thirty years. When Japan regained administrative rights over the islands in 1972, the Okinawan landscape had been dramatically changed from the pre-World War II period by the presence of a large number of US military facilities taking up a significant portion of Okinawan land, sea, and airspace. The large US presence in Okinawa is what made the Cold War a turning point in

³⁵ For various accounts of these Sino-US meetings, see Michael Schaller, *Altered States: The United States and Japan since Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 225-231; Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War: The politics of Insecurity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 264-268; Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 269-276; and Raymond Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*, revised edition (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute, 1994), pp. 279-294.

³⁶ Schaller, *Altered States*, 210-244; Michael Schaller, "Japan and the Cold War, 1960-1991," in *CHCW3*, 156-180; Sergey Radchenko, "The Sino-Soviet Split," in *CHCW2*, 349-372; Lüthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split*; Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, 238-276; and Chen Jian and David L. Wilson, "All Under the Heaven is Great Chaos: Beijing, the Sino-Soviet Border Clashes, and the Turn toward Sino-American Rapprochement, 1968-69," *CWIHP Bulletin*, no. 11 (Winter 1998-99): 155-175.

Okinawan history, because it greatly impressed upon prior ambiguities in Okinawan identity.

Cold War exigencies, as reflected in the SFPT, largely silenced the Okinawan history of ambiguous and changing identities, identities that were not always externally forced upon the people, as is often associated with colonial annexations. As a trading partner with both China and Japan, the Ryūkyū Kingdom had adopted both Chinese and Japanese culture. After the Satsuma domain incorporated the archipelago into its sphere during the Tokugawa era, the Satsuma stressed differences between them and the Ryūkyūans to gain status within the Tokugawa worldview. As a Japanese prefecture, the Okinawans reacted flexibly to Japanese assimilation policies in the nineteenth century, even to the point of enthusiastically adopting Japanese names and customs.³⁷ When the Japanese colonial government in Korea searched for examples for how to change Korean personal names to Japanese, it followed examples from Hokkaido and Taiwan, because the example of Okinawa was not a suitable equivalent since local resistance was not comparable.³⁸

Despite the difference in status between Hokkaido as Japan's northern frontier for pioneers to develop and extract resources, and Okinawa as an integral part (prefecture) of Japan,³⁹ the Japanese capital treated Okinawans differently from the Japanese people in *naichi*, or mainland Japan. For example, in 1903, the Japanese government placed Okinawans beside Austronesian people from Taiwan and Ainu from Hokkaido at the Osaka Industrial Exposition. They protested against the idea of being compared with Native

³⁷ Rabson, "Assimilation Policy in Okinawa," 136-142.

³⁸ Harrison, *Indigenous Ainu*, 34-35.

³⁹ The Japanese rulers from Satsuma, and later the central government in Tokyo, ruled Okinawa more like an integral part of Japan than a colony.

people they deemed as primitive and backward savages.⁴⁰ A historical look at Okinawan identity demonstrates an appreciation of the importance of retaining a unique language and culture, while at the same time maintaining flexible and malleable identities.

When debate on Okinawan reversion to Japan increased from the late sixties, discussion about Okinawan identity came to the fore. Arguments in favour of rejoining Japan were sincere, as many Okinawans saw that option as superior compared with subordination to the US military. Their hope was that, through reversion to Japan, Okinawa could rid itself of US military bases. In Article 3 of the SFPT, Japan did not renounce its right, title, and claim to Ryūkyū as it did other islands specified in Article 2. Some scholars claim that this “residual sovereignty”⁴¹ meant that only Japan could claim sovereignty over Okinawa; this in turn limited the options available to the Okinawans as well as encouraged the United States to quiet any local nationalistic movements.⁴² More recent interpretations place the issue within a Cold War context and suggest that the United States purposefully created ambiguities in the treaty by neither renouncing nor affirming Japanese sovereignty, so as to allow for flexibility on the status of the islands, that could change depending on how the Cold War played out.⁴³

⁴⁰ Rabson, “Assimilation Policy in Okinawa,” 133-148; Richard Siddle, “Colonialism and Okinawan Identity before 1945,” *Japanese Studies* Vol. 18, No. 2 (1998): 117-133; and Hiroaki Fukuchi, “Issues Arising from Historical and Current Perspectives on Okinawa,” in Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute, ed., *NGO Information in Regard to the Fifth Periodic Report of the Japanese Government on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)* (Osaka: Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute, 2008), n.p.

⁴¹ “Statement by John Foster Dulles (September 5, 1951),” *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 25, No. 638 (September 17, 1951): 455.

⁴² Koji Taira, “Troubled National Identity: The Ryukyans/Okinawans,” in Michael Weiner, ed., *Japan’s Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 161.

⁴³ Hara, *Cold War Frontiers*, 158-184.

Portraying Okinawa as only a victim of the era and global circumstances oversimplifies its history and inadequately conveys the fluid boundaries of the Okinawan identity. The use of the concept of indigeneity by a small number of Okinawans may appear misplaced when examined as a reaction to Cold War pressures and the US presence on the islands and compared to narrow connotations of Indigenous people as primitive hunter-gatherers that lingers in Okinawa.⁴⁴ Indigeneity in Okinawa, however, is one aspect of the historically flexible and ambiguous Okinawan identity(ies) that has emerged because of the Cold War, one of many nationalisms present in the islands. The postwar Japanese search for and shifting of its own identity as homogenous allowed for other identities within Japan to challenge and speak out against the state.⁴⁵

Closer ties developed between many Okinawans and Ainu who were simultaneously negotiating their position and identity with the Japanese government from the seventies. During the early twentieth century, Okinawans generally looked askance at being placed beside the Ainu as Natives. The Japanese government's abandonment of Okinawa, and the experience of a period of statelessness during the US occupation from 1945, contributed to the growth of the concept of indigeneity in some corners of Okinawan activism. During the initial return movement from 1969, most Okinawans favoured a return to Japan, because Cold War exigencies limited Okinawan options. After the return, many Okinawans realized that showing such support did little to change the situation of US bases—the return movement morphed into growing public protests and insistence on a unique identity.

⁴⁴ Uemura, et al., eds., *Shimin no gaikō*.

⁴⁵ On the change from the pre-war multi-ethnic to postwar mono-ethnic Japanese identity, see Oguma Eiji (translated by David Askew), *A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self Images* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002).

Connections with Ainu and a non-Indigenous NGO aided the spread of the concept of indigeneity within Okinawa. Starting in 1981, the Utari Association of Hokkaido, the largest Ainu organization in Japan, began performing annual memorial services in Okinawa for the Ainu who had died there during the last major battle of World War II.⁴⁶ In 1984, Cikap Mieko, a prominent Ainu activist, and Takara Ben, an Okinawan poet in favour of separate Okinawan identity, met in Kyoto at a conference on minority people's discrimination. Ainu activists increasingly travelled to Okinawa after this.⁴⁷ The Okinawans' first appearance at the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1996 was the result of increased contact with the Ainu and the Citizens' Diplomatic Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (*Shimin gaikō sentā*), the same non-partisan NGO that has helped Ainu attend such events since 1987. It was concerned citizens and students, not Indigenous people, who created this NGO in 1982, although Ainu, Okinawans, and other Indigenous people have greatly influenced its mission and actions.⁴⁸ Okinawans have been attending United Nations forums ever since.⁴⁹ Many of the arguments the Okinawans have presented at international forums about their identity are related to the US military presence that still

⁴⁶ "Kimun utari tō mae de no icharupa [Icarpa (memorial) in Front of Kimun Utari Tower]," *Senkusha no Tsudoi*, Issue 29 (1 January 1982), pp. 1, 5-6, in *AKS*, pp. 471, 475-476.

⁴⁷ Richard Siddle, "Return to Uchinā: The Politics of Identity in Contemporary Okinawa," in Hook and Siddle, eds., *Japan and Okinawa*, 138.

⁴⁸ Uemura, et al., eds., *Shimin no gaikō*. Also, see Citizens' Diplomatic Centre, "What is SHIMIN GAIKOU CENTRE (SGC)?" (<http://www005.upp.so-net.ne.jp/peacetax/e1.html>).

⁴⁹ For the first Okinawan position paper to the Working Group, see Yasukatsu Matsushima and Shimin Gaikō Centre, "Statement to the 14th Session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations," 30 July 1996, unpublished; Shimin gaikō sentā and Matsushima Yasukatsu, "1996.7 Dai 14 kai Kokuren Senjūmin Sagyō Bukai sankan kanren shiryō – pojishon pēpā [A position paper for the 14th session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations]," 29 July–2 August 1996, unpublished; and Kikuza Yasuko, "Ryūkyū Okinawa minzoku to senjūken [Ethnic Ryūkyū Okinawan's and Indigenous Rights]," *Impakushon* Vol. 167 (February 2009): 86-91.

exists on their islands. Just as in the case of the Ainu, there are many Okinawans who view themselves as more Japanese than “Indigenous”; others, now a small minority, see it the other way around.

Through a new relationship with the United States and Japan, the Cold War helped to shape the postwar understanding of Okinawan identity, both externally and internally. The victim persona that some scholars refer to in regards to their relationship with the US military and Japan could also be understood as an attempt to negotiate their interests in the form of some Okinawans’ efforts to learn from Ainu experiences at the United Nations and to begin to reformat their identity as “Indigenous people.” Okinawan indigenism could be seen as an attempt to continue to oppose the bases from a position that highlights who they were, are, and aspire to be. Although it was not until 1996 that the first delegation of Okinawans submitted a report to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, these sentiments were part of a longer history, dating from well before World War II, that grew more readily from consequences of the US – Japan Security Treaty (1951), its renewal (1960), and the Okinawan reversion (1972).

Okinawa differs in some regards to the other Indigenous people: examining Okinawans as Indigenous people may complicate or confuse predominant understandings of their past and present. Nonetheless, including Okinawa in this dialogue speaks to the complexity and diversity of people that qualify as Indigenous. It would be a fallacy to not include Okinawa in such views due to their pursuit of state-making under the Ryūkyū Kingdom or the current small numbers of Okinawans pursuing recognition as Indigenous people. Doing so would necessitate a critique of many other Indigenous people around the

world who had their own empires and who owe their current status as Indigenous to the work of a small corner of their society.

The cases of Okinawa and the Marshall Islands highlight the complexities of indigeneity during the Cold War. Okinawan and Marshall Island histories are rooted in complex colonial pasts: both were administered by the United States immediately after the war, both were part of the ambiguous disposition in the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, and both became part of the “US lake” in the Pacific. These two cases provide examples that complicate the understanding of sovereignty and illustrate one of many legacies of regional Cold War structural relationships with the United States. The subordination of the Marshall Islands and Okinawa to distant governments and continued Cold War structures in the region ensures that their status and identity remains a contested topic.

Development, Borders, and Sovereignty

The territorial divisions reinforced by the SFPT provided opportunities for governments in Formosa and Japan to focus on economic development. Such projects took the form of large development projects in a variety of milieus, including industry, energy, and food production. Government-initiated development projects in turn reinforced state sovereignty in some places while ensuring that others would continue to be contested. Development issues connected to contested borderlands had a complex relationship to

Indigenous inhabitants—the Ainu in Japan⁵⁰ and the numerous Aboriginal groups in Formosa. Tensions from border disputes contributed to state hegemonies that encouraged a silencing or “forgetting” of their presence. Territorial disputes contributed to states’ desire to project their power to their borders, often “peacefully,” through development and economic projects that displaced Indigenous people’s land and cultures. On the other hand, border tensions provided political focus for the Indigenous pursuit of rights in local and international settings, where they often used such tensions to their advantage.

Ainu: Borders and Limiting Identity

Ainu now live throughout Japan, but the northernmost island of Japan, Hokkaido, is the only Ainu homeland recognized by the Japanese government. This Tokyo-centric view supports the official national history and understanding of the state’s northern boundaries while simultaneously limiting the boundaries of Ainu history, culture, and identity. In addition to Hokkaido, the Ainu traditionally lived in Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands, the southern tip of Kamchatka, and northern Honshu. Utilizing a worldview centred on the Okhotsk Sea region when analyzing Ainu history complements both the centrifugal Russian/Soviet and Japanese interpretations of the region and each of these states’ historical interpretation of the Ainu. When we move beyond the interpretation of

⁵⁰ Not to mention the Uilta, Nivkh, and Ainu in Sakhalin and the Uilta and Nivkh in Hokkaido. The Uilta and Nivk are the two other Indigenous groups of Sakhalin, but will not be discussed. See note 57.

“Hokkaido as homeland” and look at these people more correctly as an evolving Okhotsk culture, we are better positioned to see the Ainu relationship to the Cold War.⁵¹

Unlike the situation in Germany, which came under split four-power control at the end of the war in Europe, the United States dominated the postwar occupation of Japan and quickly set up SCAP under the direction of General Douglas MacArthur. In an attempt at democratization, SCAP relaxed the hold on previously persecuted socialists. Some Ainu in Hokkaido, including a few men from Sakhalin and the Kurils, took advantage of this fairly liberal postwar atmosphere and became politically active while pressing for social equality.⁵² Most Ainu energies at this time were focused on an eventually unsuccessful protest by the Ainu Association of Hokkaido against land reforms initiated by SCAP that would directly affect Ainu provisional land-holding, as directed by the outdated 1899 Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act. After two years of unsuccessful petitioning to the Hokkaidō-chō and SCAP, SCAP implemented the land reform and over 1,200 Ainu lost land.⁵³ Emerging Asian Cold War tensions, combined with an already anticommunist General MacArthur, created conditions for SCAP to clamp down on socialist movements in Japan, directly affecting Ainu leftist movements.⁵⁴ Strangled by Cold War prerogatives, the

⁵¹ On the history of the region, see John J. Stephan’s two books, *The Kuril Islands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); and *Sakhalin: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). For Ainu focused history, see for example Emori Susumu, *Ainu minzoku no rekishi* [A History of the Ainu] (Urayasu-shi: Sōfūkan, 2007); Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*; and Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu*.

⁵² “The Ainu Comes Back,” *Newsweek*, 18 February 1946, p. 48; and Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu*, 152-153.

⁵³ Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu*, 147-153; Harrison, *Indigenous Ainu*, 72-75; and Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 439-440.

⁵⁴ Schaller, *Altered States*, 12-18; and Yoshihisa Masuko, “Maboroshi no Ainu dokuritsuron o omou: choro ni shikin o okutta GHQ no shin’i [In Search of the Mysterious Ainu Independence Proposal: GHQ’s Real Intention in Sending Money to Ainu Elders],” *Asahi Jānaru* Vol. 31 (1989): 87-90.

Ainu Association suffocated in tandem with this early liberal phase of the occupation and became inactive for a dozen years.⁵⁵

Not all Ainu ceased protesting and petitioning the government, however. One incident where Ainu movements continued was in relation to Soviet-captured territories at the end of the war. The Soviet Union broke the Japanese–Soviet Neutrality Pact with its movement into Manchukuo on 9 August 1945, approximately eight months before the pact’s expiration.⁵⁶ Two days later, a part of that same offensive force moved into Sakhalin. The Soviets began their invasion of the Kuril Islands, starting in the north on 24 August and continuing south to Uruppu. Once they confirmed that US troops had not yet established themselves in the area, a separate fleet from Sakhalin moved into the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomai islets. Between 1946 and 1948, the Soviets relocated most of the Ainu in Sakhalin and the Kurils, along with all the Japanese, to Hokkaido.⁵⁷

The SFPT is only the latest in a long historical line of documents relating to state boundaries in the Okhotsk region. Unlike the treaties of 1855, 1875, and 1905, which dealt with borders in this region, the Soviet Union did not sign the 1951 peace treaty.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁵ On the US shift from reform to restoration of Japan with the resultant purges of leftists in Japan from 1948 onwards, see James, *The Years of MacArthur*, 221-247.

⁵⁶ Boris Slavinsky (translated by Geoffrey Jukes), *The Japanese–Soviet Neutrality Pact: A Diplomatic History, 1941-1945* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

⁵⁷ Some Uilta and Nivkh also moved to Hokkaido in the postwar years. See Tangik Itsuji, “Aru Nibufu jin no senzen to sengo [The Story about a Nivkh Family before and After World War II],” *Wakō daigaku gendai jinken gakubu kiyō* Vol. 4 (2011): 129-143; Tanaka Ryō and Gendānu Dāhinien, *Gendānu: Aru hoppō shōsūminzoku no dorama* [Gendanu: The Story of a Northern Ethnic Minority] (Tokyo: Gendai Shuppankai, 1978); and Fukutomi Setsuo, *Hito ga sono tochi ni ikiru koto: ryōdo to jūmin/sensō* [About People That Live on their Land: Territory, Residents, War] (Tokyo: Abaraki Kyōdō Insatsu, 1999?), p. 11.

⁵⁸ In addition to addressing trade, the 1855 Treaty of Shimoda drew a border between Czarist Russia and Tokugawa Japan between Etorofu and Uruppu, while Sakhalin was to be subject to both

ambiguities in the final dimensions and disposition of southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in the SFPT, along with the Soviet Union's movement in violation of the Neutrality Pact and their decision not to sign the treaty, ensured disagreement on border lines and state sovereignty in the Okhotsk region. The highly politicized debate over the four islands to the northeast of Hokkaido reinforced the boundaries of postwar Ainu argumentation, identity, politicization, and internationalization.

Cold War tensions and the SFS contributed to the speed with which Japan moved to shift its national identity, from multiethnic to homogenous. The early postwar years were important for the structural shift of the process, such as limiting citizenship, but the decades that followed proved more important for the changing of social consciousness through the *nihonjinron* (theory of Japanese uniqueness) discourse.⁵⁹ This in turn made it easier to downplay, ignore, and/or forget the historical and then contemporary Ainu presence in the region. Official recognition by either the Soviet or Japanese governments of Ainu still living in Sakhalin, or of an unassimilated Ainu identity, would have complicated claims to the islands by both states. The Japanese had to show that the lands in question were not taken by force from another state or even from people traditionally with no state.

countries. In the 1875 Treaty of Saint Petersburg Meiji Japan gave up claim to Sakhalin to Russia in exchange for the Kuril Islands from Uruppu north to Kamchatka. The 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth ended the Russo-Japanese war, granted southern Sakhalin to Meiji Japan, and upheld Japan's presence in Manchuria and Korea.

⁵⁹ Oguma, *A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self Images*. On *nihonjinron*, also see Harumi Befu, *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001); and John Lie, *Multiethnic Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

This is how some Ainu first became involved and then subsequently erased from the Japanese movement to regain the Northern Territories.⁶⁰

During the fifties, some Kuril Ainu voluntarily took part in a grassroots movement that presented the Ainu as so-called living witnesses, to prove that Japan had singlehandedly developed the Kuril Islands and did not take them in greed. This was also a direct defence against the 1943 Cairo Declaration, which stipulated that the Allies would expel Japan from all “territories which she has taken by violence or greed.”⁶¹ In aiding this movement, some Ainu could have benefited through a return to the islands, recognition of their history in the region, or monetary compensation. By the late sixties, however, Ainu participation in the “return” movement ended and mention of the Ainu disappeared from the dialogue. The two main reasons for this are both related to Cold War exigencies. First, scholars who focused on the Ainu became more involved with the return movement in an attempt to supply the government with their opinions on the Yalta Agreement, in which the “Big Three” (Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt) had agreed to “hand over” the Kuril Islands and “return” southern Sakhalin to the Soviet Union in return for Soviet entry into the war against Japan.⁶² Takakura Shin’ichirō, a prolific writer on Ainu history based at Hokkaido University, contributed to the silencing of the Ainu in the movement as he increasingly wrote in support of the government’s position on the islands, opining that the Ainu were either relics of the past who had died out or been fully assimilated.⁶³ Japan’s 1953 report to

⁶⁰ This section on the territorial dispute makes use of Harrison, *Indigenous Ainu*, 71-83.

⁶¹ *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 9 (December 4, 1943), p. 393.

⁶² *Department of State Bulletin* Vol. 14 (February 24, 1946), p. 282.

⁶³ Harrison, *Indigenous Ainu*, 75-76. Despite the serious controversy that surrounds Takakura’s writings and his responses to various critiques, it should be noted that Takakura is a so-called

the International Labour Organization epitomized the government's position on the matter, when it stated that there were no Indigenous populations in Japan, because "Japan lost all its dependent territories."⁶⁴ This statement reinterprets Hokkaido and Okhotsk regional history to support the Cold War stance against the Soviet Union. Ironically, Okinawa was not under Japanese control at this time.

Mention of the Ainu disappeared completely from the main dialogue of the return movement when it gained more steam after the United States stated in 1969 that it would "return" Okinawa to Japan. The Japanese government quickly made a conscious connection between Okinawa and the islands to the north of Hokkaido. With this shift, the government took more control of the return movement; consequently, grassroots movements, such as those including the Ainu, had less room to act on their own accord.

Within the dialogue of the Northern Territories problem and the SFPT, Hokkaido became a forgotten internal colony in the literature and was internationally recognized as an inherent territory of Japan. The Cold War helped solidify the borders of northern Japan on this island and ensured that Tokyo supported the continuation of a semi-colonial administration to direct its development on a Cold War frontier. This in turn influenced the predominant Japanese national understanding of the Ainu, by limiting Ainu history to the

founding father of Ainu studies and his writings have been extremely influential in the study of Ainu history and the history of Japan's northern areas. See, for example, David Howell, "Is Ainu History Japanese History?" in Mark J. Hudson, Ann-Elise Lewallen, and Mark K. Watson, eds., *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), pp. 104-106 and note 4 on p. 115.

⁶⁴ Ainu Association of Hokkaido, "Statement Submitted to the International Labour Conference, 75th Session, June 1988, Material 4," in Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai, ed., *Kokusai kaigi shiryōshū 1987 nen – 2000 nen* (International Conference Resources, 1987-2000) (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai, 2002), pp. 127-128.

boundaries of Hokkaido. Recognizing Indigenous people in the Northern Territories or other areas in the Okhotsk was counter to Japan's interest in maintaining unquestioned sovereignty of the island and claim to the four islands; it was also counter to US goals of strengthening Japan's hold on Hokkaido so as to limit Soviet movement in the Okhotsk region. From the early eighties, the Utari Association of Hokkaido (UAH), other Ainu organizations, and individual Ainu have moved to assert the Ainu component of the Northern Territories, but were largely unsuccessful in gaining recognition by any state governments or by most academics.⁶⁵

In 1969, the Hokkaido Government's Northern Territories Countermeasures Headquarters began creating annual slogans as part of the "return" movement. A large sign of the twenty-fourth slogan, "The Four Island Return for Building Trust and Peace" (*shinrai to heiwa o kizuku shima henkan* – 信頼と平和を築く四島返還), sits atop the main entrance of the Hokkaido Government building in Sapporo.⁶⁶ Some Ainu have noted that they will not likely be the recipients of the peace and trust or beneficiaries of a "return." Today, this sign is a reminder that many residual Cold War mentalities, goals, and perceptions that gloss over Ainu history continue to exist today. This method of first insisting on a final goal as a prerequisite for improved relationships or trust is a "positional" style of negotiation—a style that tends to bring deadlock rather than resolution.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ UAH published their position on the dispute in Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai, *Chishima rettō no Ainu minzoku senjū ni kan suru shiryō* [Documentation of the Kuril Ainu] (Sapporo: Shadanhōjin Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai, 1983).

⁶⁶ For a full list of the annual slogans, see "Hoppō ryōdo ni kansuru hyōgoshū [Collection of Slogans for the Northern Territories]," Hoppō ryōdo taisaku kyōkai [Northern Territories Countermeasures Association] (<http://www.hoppou.go.jp/inform/data/slogan/>).

⁶⁷ For example, Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to Yes* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991).

The Ainu connection to the San Francisco System and its transformation is also seen through early UAH and other Ainu organizations' overseas visits to and studies of other minority and Indigenous people and the impact these had on empowering a resurgent Ainu movement during the seventies. Disbanded after SCAP applied land reforms to Ainu lands, the UAH was re-formed in 1960. It continued to be a left-leaning organization; many Ainu continued to interpret their status not as a racial, but as a socio-economic condition.⁶⁸ This is an indication of the influence other social movements in Japan, such as the Buraku Liberation League, had on the association. To help minimize discrimination, they changed the organization's name from the Ainu Association to the Utari Association of Hokkaido, where *Utari* means comrade or fellow in the Ainu language.⁶⁹

From the early seventies, UAH leaders had ties with the Socialist Party of Japan, which in turn had contacts with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). These ties facilitated in 1974 the first Ainu delegation overseas exchange with Communist China, as part of the Japan-China Friendship Association. Subsequent visits to foster exchanges with China's minority people occurred in 1976, 1978, and 1983. These visits encouraged broader Ainu interest in China's minorities and international Indigenous people.⁷⁰ For example, Kaizawa

⁶⁸ See for example Sasaki Masao's editorial in *Anutari Ainu*, 1 June 1973, p. 8.

⁶⁹ The name change to UAH took place in 1960; they reverted back to the original name in 2009. In English correspondence the Association has consistently used the name "Ainu Association of Hokkaido." For more on the name change, see Harrison, *Indigenous Ainu*, 91.

⁷⁰ Kaizawa Tadashi, ed., *Hokkaidō Ainu Chūgoku hōmon danki* [Report on the Hokkaido Ainu Visit to China] (Sapporo, 1975); the following sections in *Anutari Ainu*: Vol. 1, p. 8; Vol. 2, p 5; Vol. 4, p. 2; Vol.6/7, pp. 1-2; Vol. 9, pp. 1-2; and Vol. 17, p. 4; the following sections in *Senkusha no tsudo*i (all located in *AKS*): No. 11 (March 1976): 7; No. 20 (1 January 1979): 2; No. 35 (30 January 1984): 12; No. 35 (30 March 1984): 4; Mongkjargal, "Ainu no kaigai kōryū to minzoku no fukken – 1970 nendai no Ainu Chūgoku hōmon ga motarashita mono [Intercultural Exchange and the Restoration of Indigenous Rights: The Ainu Delegations to China in the 1970s]," *Wakō daigaku gendai jinkenbu kiyō* Vol. 3 (2010): 117-135; Kayano Shigeru, *Our Land was a Forest* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press,

Tadashi, who went on the first two exchanges, was later a participant in exchanges with Indigenous people from around the world and was involved with editing large volumes on Ainu history throughout the eighties. Along with Kayano Shigeru, he fought against the expropriation of their lands for the construction of a dam on the Saru River, initiating the first court case in Japan that examined the relationship between the Japanese nation-state and Indigenous people within its territories.⁷¹ Narita Tokuhei, who visited China first as the group's secretary in 1974, then as the group leader two years later, ran as a candidate from the Ainu Youth Vote Council, in the national House of Councilors election in 1977. Narita's election platform included the restoration of the rights of Ainu, Uilta and Nivkh as minority people and educational changes that would account for the presence of the Ainu people. This was significant at the time because the Japanese government and media were referring to Ainu as Ainu-descended residents or Ainu-descended Japanese and not as a specific group of people. This was probably the first time that any Ainu made such a public stance; Narita's candidacy played a significant role in broadening national recognition of Ainu existence.⁷²

The activities of these Ainu delegations relied on Ainu initiatives but the Cold War and the Northern Territories problem shaped the location and timing of such trips. Changes

1994)—originally published in Japanese as *Ainu no ishibumi* [An Ainu Monument] (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1990), pp. 151-152; and Emori, *Ainu minzoku no rekishi*, 559-562.

⁷¹ Kaizawa Tadashi, *Ainu waga jinsei* [My Ainu Life] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010); and Mark Levin, "Essential Commodities and Racial Justice: Using Constitutional Protection of Japan's Indigenous Ainu People to Inform Understanding of the United States and Japan," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* Vol. 33, No.2 (2001): 419-526.

⁷² "Ainu sonchō no tane maita: kore o sutāto dai ni [I Sowed the Seed of Respect for the Ainu]," *Hokkaidō Shinbun*, 12 July 1977; Emori, *Ainu minzoku no rekishi*, 541-542, 544; and Ifunke no kai, ed., *Ifunke "komori uta:" Aru Ainu no shi* [Ifunke "lullaby:" The Death of an Ainu] (Tōkyō: Sairyūsha, 1991), pp. 147-162.

in international relations in the first half of the seventies, notably the Sino – US rapprochement against the backdrop of the Sino – Soviet split, made opening of the Sino – Japanese diplomatic relations and accordingly the official Ainu exchanges with minorities in China possible.⁷³ Meanwhile, despite a kind of Soviet – Japanese détente during the seventies, the underlying tension over the Northern Territories ensured that a similar exchange did not occur with minorities or Indigenous people in the Soviet Union, such as in Sakhalin or the Amur River region where the Ainu had historical roots. The Soviet Union consistently said that there were no Ainu left in their territories after the war and if there were then they had been assimilated. Allowing for a similar kind of minority exchange as the one between Ainu and Chinese minorities could have complicated or even countered this position on the Ainu and brought focus to territories seized during the final days of World War II.

An overseas visit by UAH and other Ainu organization representatives that had an even larger impact on the future direction of Ainu internationalization as *Indigenous people* occurred after their third visit to China. In December 1977, two Eskimo from Barrow, Alaska, on their way home from an International Whaling Commission conference in Tokyo, stopped in Nibutani, Hokkaido, and visited Kayano Shigeru, a prominent Ainu political and cultural leader. Their goal was to “establish relations with the Ainu, and include them in the Arctic solidarity of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.”⁷⁴ The following

⁷³ Many other Ainu also began travelling overseas from the early seventies. For example, *Anutari Ainu* mentioned Wounded Knee in the United States in 1973 after Hiramura Yoshimi took a trip to the United States (Vol. 1, 1 June 1973, p. 5)

⁷⁴ “Whalers Face-off Opponents in Tokyo for IWC Showdown,” *The Arctic Coastal Zone Management Program Issue* 8, part 1 (December 1977).

July, Eben Hopson, the mayor of Barrow, officially invited a group of Ainu to Alaska.⁷⁵

Twelve Ainu visited the North Slope Autonomous Region. One of the most surprising features of the visit for the delegates was the degree of autonomy the Eskimos had and the fact that their government was run on taxes raised as a part of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims settlement. This settlement had developed in part from the Inupiat fight against Project Chariot, the US Atomic Energy Commission's (AEC) plan to use nuclear bombs to excavate a deep-water harbor. This was part of the US aim to develop peaceful purposes for nuclear explosions, so that the Commission could continue nuclear tests, despite the emerging global concern on radiation fallout and the nuclear test-ban treaties between the United States and Soviet Union (see Chapter 6). In other words, developments that had emerged from negotiations that were rooted in Cold War exigencies inspired the Ainu.

The official Ainu exchanges in the seventies with minorities in China and Alaskan Eskimos spurred an increased internationalization of the Ainu indigenism. More frequent visits to Indians and Inuit communities in Canada and the United States began shortly after the trip to Barrow; in 1981, Narita Tokuhei and Yokoyama Takao became the first Ainu to attend the World Council of Indigenous Peoples conference as observers in Canberra, Australia. The main item Narita wanted to raise there was the Northern Territories issue and the general neglect of the Ainu in that situation.⁷⁶ With such international contacts and

⁷⁵ *Senkusha no Tsudoi*, No. 19 (1 October 1978), supplement, in *AKS*, 384-386. Kayano, *Our Land was a Forest*, 153. On pages 151-153 Kayano also comments on the second Ainu visit to China. The original Japanese version is in Kayano, *Ainu no ishibumi*, 192-194.

⁷⁶ Narita changed his name to Akibe Tokuhei in 1990. Yokoyama was the husband of Ainu poet Chiri Yukie's niece Yokoyama Mitsumi. See Emori, *Ainu minzoku no rekishi*, 561; and "Kono sakebi sekai e / Ainu daihyō genjyūmin kaigi hatsusanka / shōsūminzoku to rentai / 26 nichi kara Gōshū de / mazu obuzābā [A Cry to this World / Ainu Representative's First Time to Participate in Indigenous

influence, an increasing number of AINU began challenging the Japanese state, proudly redefining their identity as Indigenous people in language shared by the global Indigenous movement.⁷⁷

The San Francisco System and Aborigines in Taiwan

Domestic US politics, the Chinese Communist Party's rise to power, the KMT's retreat to Taiwan and border regions in Southeast Asia, and the outbreak of the Korean War all provided important backdrops to decision-making behind the SFPT. The Cold War and the SFPT directly influenced the post-1951 economic and political developments in Taiwan,⁷⁸ thus altering the political and economic atmosphere from which the numerous Aborigine groups in Taiwan emerged onto domestic and international arenas as Indigenous people.

The KMT attempted to reincorporate Taiwan back into mainland China shortly after the end of the war.⁷⁹ They increased their control over the island after they retreated there, but major postwar changes in political, educational, and land reforms on the island did not occur until after the implementation of the SFPT. In March 1949, Acheson suggested using

Peoples Conference / Solidarity with Minorities / To Australia from the 26th],” *Hokkaidō Shinbun*, 19 April 1981, reproduced in Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai AINU shi henshū i'inkai, ed., *AINU shi shiryō hen 4: kingendai shiryō 2* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai, 1989), pp. 1047-1048.

⁷⁷ On internationalization of AINU, see Harrison, *Indigenous AINU*, 84-116; and Kelly L. Dietz, “AINU in the International Arena,” in William Fitzhugh and Chisato Dubreuil, eds., *AINU: Spirit of a Northern People* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution with University of Washington Press, 1999), pp. 359-365.

⁷⁸ Taiwanese economic development was rapid and successful but Odd Westad reminds us that it was an anomaly rather than a norm in places where the United States intervened during the Cold War (*Global Cold War*, 404).

⁷⁹ Stephen Phillips, “Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations Under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948,” in Murray A. Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (expanded version)(Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp, 2007), pp. 275-319. For a critical look at the early post-WWII Taiwan years, see George Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1965).

the “Formosan autonomy movement” to US advantage,⁸⁰ but the United States did not initially place Taiwan within the limits of its containment policy. Acheson and others in the Truman administration did not want an independent Taiwan, because they hoped to develop relations with the CCP and halt rumours that suggested the United States would intervene on behalf of Taiwan in the event of cross-strait hostilities.⁸¹

With the outbreak of the Korean War, US thinking on the strategic importance of Formosa quickly changed. This war scared the United States into thinking that communist forces were on the verge of spreading throughout the region. Truman responded by deploying the Seventh Fleet of the US Navy to the Taiwan Strait and by providing continued economic and military support to the KMT. The implementation of the SFPT, in which Japan renounced rights and claims to Formosa, and reinforced by the Treaty of Taipei signed between Japan and ROC, contributed to KMT survival and allowed it to solidify its hold in Taiwan by focusing on internal reform.⁸² In doing so, the KMT created a system on the island that changed little for almost forty years. The Aborigine population (as well as the

⁸⁰ Stephen E. Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 192, note 54.

⁸¹ Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence* (2003), 193, note 69.

⁸² The Treaty of Taipei was signed on 28 April 1952, the same day the SFPT took effect, and came into force on 5 August. This treaty formally ended the war between Japan and the ROC (Article 1), acknowledged the SFPT (Article 2), and recognized ROC nationals to include inhabitants of Formosa and the Pescadores and their descendents according to ROC law (Article 10). Japan abrogated the treaty on 29 September 1972, after opening official diplomatic relations with the PRC. For a copy of the treaty, see “Treaty of Peace between the Republic of China and Japan,” in China. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ed. *Treaties between the Republic of China and Foreign States (1927-1957)* (Taipei: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1958), pp. 248-253. Also, see Man-Houng Lin, “Taiwan’s Sovereignty Status: The Neglected Taipei Treaty,” in Hara, ed., *The San Francisco System and Its Legacies*; and John W. Dower, “The San Francisco System: Past, Present, Future in U.S.-Japan-China Relations,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 12, Issue 8, No. 2, 24 February 2014; and Koji Taira, “The China-Japan Clash Over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, n.d. On reform, see Peter Chen-main Wang, “A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970,” in Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History*, 320-338. Acheson, *Present at the Creation*, 349-352.

non-Aborigine population) could not advance their own political agendas until the eighties. By this time, the economic development projects initiated decades earlier had created a Taiwanese middle class that favoured democratic reform⁸³ and state recognition of Aborigine groups.

The KMT replaced Japanese with Mandarin for the upper class and as the educational language of instruction for both the Aborigine population and the Taiwanese. Neither of these communities were native speakers of Mandarin, but it took the Aborigine population longer to make the transition because of the larger difference between their languages and Mandarin and because they continued to associate Japanese with political and social prestige. By the late fifties, after the KMT implemented a more thorough Mandarin education system, the Aborigine population realized that, without skill in Mandarin, they would have little hope for social or political mobility. They began to make quick progress in learning the language, while simultaneously emphasizing the Chinese aspects of their identity.

The flexibility that many Aborigine communities showed in reshaping their external identity did not develop in the postwar era. For example, before Japan took control of the island in 1895, many Aborigines near the western coast, so-called “cooked” Aborigines (*shúfān*) of the plains, had used both their Chinese and Aborigine identities to maximize political control, trade, and relations between the “raw” Aborigines (*shēngfān*) of the

⁸³ Phillips, “Between Assimilation and Independence,” 302.

mountain regions and Chinese traders.⁸⁴ After Japan took control of the island they downplayed their Chinese connections and highlighted their association with Japan. They studied the Japanese language; some Aborigines went to Japan to study and work. During the late fifties, they switched the emphasis once again but without entirely giving up identifiers of prestige such as the Japanese language. With little room to move politically within the government, or stress their separate identity, Aborigine groups began to focus on social mobility that included stressing the Chineseness of their identity through their use of Mandarin and movement into the cities for work.⁸⁵

Martial law, combined with rapid economic development, helps explain the peculiarities of the Aborigine movement in Taiwan. The KMT initiated martial law in 1947 in response to a Taiwanese uprising that “epitomized the collision between decolonization

⁸⁴ On the history of Plains Aborigines, see Melissa J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); and John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

⁸⁵ Henrietta Harrison, “Changing Nationalities, Changing Ethnicities: Taiwan Indigenous Villages in the Years after 1946,” in David Faure, ed., *In Search of the Hunters and Their Tribes: Studies in the History and Culture of the Taiwan Indigenous People* (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2001), pp. 50-78. On the Japanese colonial era, see, for example, Kitamura Kae, *Nihon shokuminchika no Taiwan senjūmin kyōikushi* [A History of Taiwan Aborigine Education under Japanese Colonialism] (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008); Scott Simon, “Formosa’s First Nations and the Japanese: From Colonial Rule to Postcolonial Resistance,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 4 January 2006; Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003); Paul Barclay, “An Historian among the Anthropologists: The Inō Kanori Revival and the Legacy of Japanese Colonial Ethnography in Taiwan,” *Japan Studies* Vol. 21, No. 2 (2001): 117-136; KA F. Wong, “Entanglements of Ethnographic Images: Torii Ryūzō’s Photographic Record of Taiwan Aborigines (1896-1900),” *Japan Studies* Vol. 24, No. 3 (2004): 283-299; Eika Tai, “The Assimilationist Policy and the Aborigines in Taiwan under Japanese Rule,” *Current Politics and Economics of Asia* Vol. 6, No. 4 (1999): 265-300; Wu Wei-chi, “Inō Kanori, Japanese Ethnography and the Idea of the ‘Tribe’,” in Faure, ed., *In Search of the Hunters*, 39-49; and Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 133-173.

and reintegration.”⁸⁶ Aborigine and Taiwanese petitions for self-government abruptly ended. Two years after the implementation of the SFPT, the KMT concluded a Mutual Defence Treaty with the United States. From the mid fifties, the KMT began to undertake an impressive quest of “industrialisation-first” to both protect itself from potential invasion from mainland communist troops under Mao Zedong and to build up strength to retake the mainland. This, along with the CCP’s bombing of Quemoy (Jinmen) and Matsu (Mazu) in 1958, moved the KMT closer to the United States and increased the need for martial law to maintain control of the island. The government specifically targeted Aborigine people because of their distinctly non-Han identity—the Han idea of Aborigines was that they were warriors—and the potential for guerilla warfare launched from the mountain regions.

The ROC continued with the Japanese administrative reserve systems for the mountain Aborigines after it took control of Taiwan. This meant that reserve lands were considered state-owned property that Aborigines could not sell. In 1962, the ROC signed on to ILO 107 as the representative for China in international organizations such as the UN. It did so in part to distinguish ROC and PRC treatment of Indigenous inhabitants.⁸⁷ Four years later, the government reorganized the reserve system by registering land with individuals, rather than collective Aborigine groups. The new rules allowed for sale only to other Aborigine people and required the lands to be cultivated or ceded to the government, creating a variety of loopholes for the government and Han individuals and companies to access reserve lands. Under ROC rule there was an influx of industrial projects and

⁸⁶ Phillips, “Between Assimilation and Independence,” 292.

⁸⁷ Scott Simon, “Multiculturalism and Indigenism: Contrasting the Experiences of Canada and Taiwan,” in Tak-Wing Ngo and Hong-zen Wang, eds. *Politics of Difference in Taiwan* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 17 and 26.

returning Nationalist veterans from mainland China into the mountain regions. These changes, adding to the forced relocations and regroupings experienced under Japanese rule, further altered Aborigine organization structures and dislocated them from their lands.⁸⁸

The more the government focused on economic and development projects the more the Aborigine population became alienated from their lands. This was particularly the case for those living in the mountain regions of the island, where many development projects were sited. The subsequent influx of Aborigine people into the cities in search of work had two important corollaries. First, it reinforced their familiarity with the Chinese language and Chinese way of life as taught in the education system. This enabled many of the migrant workers to better liaise between their communities and the Chinese. Second, urbanization provided more opportunities to network with people from other Aborigine communities. They began to notice similarities in social dislocation across the diverse Aborigine groups. These convergences set the stage for the birth of the Formosan pan-Aborigine social movement that emerged with the establishment of the *Mountain Greenery* newspaper (1983) and the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (1984), the first Aborigine nongovernmental organization in Taiwan.⁸⁹ Partially because it involved sympathetic

⁸⁸ Ku, "Rights to Recognition," 108; Simon, "Multiculturalism and Indigenism," 26; Scott Simon, "Paths to Autonomy: Aboriginality and the Nation in Taiwan," in Carsten Storm and Mark Harrison, eds. *The Margins of Becoming: Identity and Culture in Taiwan* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 224-225; Scott Simon, "The Underside of a Miracle: Industrialization, Land, and Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Summer 2002): 64-67; and Hsiangmei Cheng, "The Amis of Taiwan," in Sponsel, ed., *Endangered Peoples*, 55-68.

⁸⁹ Scott Simon, "Writing Indigeneity in Taiwan," in Shih Fang-long, Stuart Thompson, and Paul-François Tremlett, eds., *Re-Writing Culture in Taiwan* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 57. On the increase of Indigenous literature since the 1980s, see Tao Tao Liu, "The Quest for Identity in the

Taiwanese and church groups, this movement reinforced the Aborigine reliance on Mandarin and urbanization to successfully operate in the greater Taiwanese society.

After the Nationalist government lifted martial law in 1987, the Aborigine movement grew rapidly. Demonstrations on behalf of Aborigines quickly increased during the late eighties alongside other political demonstrations.⁹⁰ Aborigine people, with frequent aid from the Presbyterian Church, established new publications and NGOs. In the early nineties, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines became involved with the regional NGO the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact and began attending international events such as the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations. Aborigine indigenism increased in conjunction with support from non-Aborigine allies and a decrease in harsh Taiwanese government control Aborigine groups.⁹¹

Cold War nuclear proliferation (similar to many other Indigenous people such as the Marshall Islanders mentioned earlier in this chapter and other examples described in Chapters 5 and 6) also impacted Aborigines on Taiwan, specifically the Tao (or Yami) on Lanyu Island. In Taiwan, the nuclear debate arose from the KMT attempt to solidify its borders and preserve its political organization through development of its economy, military, and identity. The KMT pursued nuclear projects without much local protest

Writings of the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan," in Faure, ed., *In Search of the Hunters and their Tribes*, 173-201; and Chiu Kuai-Fen, "The Production of Indigeneity: Contemporary Indigenous Literature in Taiwan and Trans-cultural Inheritance," *The China Quarterly* (2009): 1071-1087.

⁹⁰ Liu, "The Quest for Identity," 176.

⁹¹ Fiorella Allio, "Building a Political Platform for Themselves: On Taiwan's Austronesian Peoples," *China Perspectives* Vol. 18 (July-August 1998): 52-60; Kun-hui Ku, "Rights to Recognition: Minority/Indigenous Politics in the Emerging Taiwanese Nationalism," *Social Analysis* Vol. 49, Issue 2 (Summer 2005): 99-121; and Michael Rudolph, *Ritual Performances as Authenticating Practices: Cultural Representation of Taiwan's Aborigines in Times of Political Change* (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2008).

thanks to secrecy, martial law, and framing it in terms of defence and economic development. The Cold War helped ensure that the CCP – KMT relationship and their respective borders remained tense. Even though the KMT had signed a Mutual Defence Treaty with the United States in 1954, the KMT feared that should the United States not protect it from a potential CCP attack it would need its own nuclear arsenal.⁹² If the international community were to prohibit a militarily nuclear Taiwan, then at least the government could use nuclear energy to support their rapid economic growth and offset other energy imports.

It is interesting that many governments, including the ROC, talked about using nuclear energy to offset energy imports or increase energy security because industry and transportation still relied on oil, and many countries that pursued nuclear energy still had to import uranium, new expensive technology, and sometimes the reactors and personnel. This argument focuses only on one component of energy security and one small phase of the nuclear cycle—the production of energy—and does not address exploration and mining, processing, shipping, plant maintenance and termination, or waste disposal (see Chapters 5 and 6). Under martial law in Taiwan there was little space to raise such issues.

Immediately after the CCP tested a nuclear bomb in the Lop Nur desert in Xinjiang in October 1964, the KMT began pursuing a nuclear program. In 1969, the KMT began construction of several nuclear projects, including a Canadian-supplied reactor that became

⁹²David Albright and Corey Gay, “Taiwan: Nuclear Nightmare Averted,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (January 1998): 54; Stephen Engelberg, “Taipei Halts Work on Secret Plant to Make Nuclear Bomb Ingredient,” *New York Times*, 23 March 1988, pp. A1, A15.

operational three and a half years later.⁹³ In 1978, the government announced to the Tao on Lanyu Island, numerically the smallest Aborigine group in Taiwan with around 4,000 people, that it would build a fish-canning factory near their villages that would provide them with jobs. Three years later, Tao villagers began working as labourers for its construction only to find out later that it was actually a radioactive waste disposal site. Within a decade the government shipped 40,000 barrels of nuclear waste to the dump. The problem of nuclear waste on Lanyu became a key point in the pan-Aborigine movement's petitions to international bodies to secure rights and recognition as Indigenous people.⁹⁴

Japan's disposition of Taiwan in the SFPT created the as yet unresolved problem of which government holds its sovereignty. The Taiwanese government's recognition of Aborigine groups within its borders is part of a process that highlights a unique Taiwanese identity that is separate from the boundaries, and therefore the sovereignty, of Communist China. Government recognition of Aborigine groups within Taiwan politicizes their

⁹³ Albright and Gay, "Taiwan: Nuclear Nightmare," 55. Since Taiwan did not produce its own uranium, it still had to import fuel for the reactors.

⁹⁴ Rosa Enn, "Indigenous Empowerment Through Collective Learning," *Multicultural Education & Technology Journal* Vol. 6, No. 3 (2012): 149, 152-153; Gillan Chi-Lun Huang, Tim Gray, and Derek Bell, "Environmental Justice of Nuclear Waste Policy in Taiwan: Taipower, Government, and Local Community," *Environment, Development and Sustainability* Vol. 15 (2013): 1561; Rudolph, *Ritual Performances*, 42-50; Simon, "Paths to Autonomy," 230; Linda Arrigo, "A Minority within a Minority: Cultural Survival on Taiwan's Orchid Island," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol. 26, No. 2 (Summer 2002): 56-61; Keith Bradsher, "Nuclear Dump Disrupts a Peaceful Taiwan Island," *New York Times*, 30 June 2002, p. 3; Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines, "Report of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines, Presentation to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, from 19th to 30th July, Geneva, Switzerland," 1993, unpublished; Iohani, "The Situations and Problem of Taiwan Indigenous People," submitted to United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, 28 of July 1993 morning session, unpublished; Mark S. Miller and Cultural Survival, *State of the Peoples: A Global Human Rights Report on Societies in Danger* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), p. 76; Howard R. Berman, "Taiwan: Statement on the Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 62 (December 1990): 111; and "Orchid Island - Nuclear Waste and the Yami," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* Vol. 11, No. 3 (Fall 1987).

identity. Recognition provides some political power, both domestically and internationally, to an increasing number of Aborigine groups. Recognition, however, is not simply granted by the government, but is dependent on the successful mobilization of Aborigine people and their allies. These state – Aborigine relations are mutually influencing and, importantly, delineate Taiwan’s identity as different from that of mainland China.⁹⁵

Summary

Cold War systems, such as the San Francisco System, did not define historical agency or subjectivity per se, but they formed the background in which states, organizations, and people acted. The Cold War and the SFS shaped the parameters in which Indigenous people in Japan’s colonial empire and within its postwar boundaries were historicized.⁹⁶ Likewise, the evolving Cold War and SFS provided the international background for the shape and timing of indigenism in the Asia-Pacific.

The Cold War and the SFPT contributed to many rapid changes for the Bikini, and Marshallese as a whole. Nuclear testing on their islands began before the implementation of the SFPT, but the treaty ensured that the Marshallese relationship to international and regional bodies would remain unclear and in constant flux. Being geographically distant

⁹⁵ Ku, “Rights to Recognition”; and Rudolph, *Ritual Performances*; Michael Rudolph, “From Forced Assimilation to Cultural Revitalization: Taiwan’s Aborigines and their Role in Taiwan Nativism,” in Barry Sautman, ed., *Cultural Genocide and Asian State Peripheries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 63-101; and Simon, “Multiculturalism and Indigenism,” 20-23. On general issues of recognition and non-recognition, see Miller, *Invisible Indigenes*.

⁹⁶ As Yoshikuni Igarashi argues, the Cold War political paradigm was “the condition that enabled Japanese society to forget its past” (*Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000], pp. 20, 198-199).

from the United States, the state that dominated their administration, and other powerful states, they obtained a high degree of independence in the early eighties compared to the other three cases discussed in this chapter. Yet they continue to have a complex relationship with the United States, partially in relation to past and present US missile and bomb testing in and around their islands. As the Lucky Dragon incident illustrated, the United State's tests simultaneously influenced the Marshallese, other states and international developments surrounding nuclear issues, and their legacy remains as the Marshallese relationship to the United States continues to evolve.

Okinawan protest against the presence of US military bases have taken many forms and have continued to the present. The tense trilateral relationships between the Japanese government, the US military and Okinawans served to support new approaches to understanding Okinawan identity, including indigeneity. Recognition of Okinawans-as-Indigenous by other Indigenous people and nongovernmental organizations, despite its small movement and lack of recognition by the Japanese government, complicate issues for the Japanese government that often resists challenges to a homogeneous national identity. Indigeneity, as expressed since the Cold War era and beyond, is often a politicized and marginal form of identity used to gain recognition and to claim rights within states. It is likely that Okinawa's relationships with the Japanese and US governments, and regional security issues, will continue to provide the backdrop for the development of indigenism in the islands.

Japanese government policies related to the Ainu that served to assimilate the Ainu into mainstream Japanese society have only recently recognized their Indigenous identities

and cultural rights; while continuing to limit debate and recognition of associated political rights.⁹⁷ In 1991, the government recognized the Ainu as a minority, and began programs in support of preserving their traditional culture after the inauguration the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act of 1997. Just over two decades after Nomura Gi'ichi became the first Ainu to address the United Nations and eleven months following the inauguration of UNDRIP, both houses of the Diet submitted to international pressure in advance of the 2008 G8 summit at Lake Toya in Hokkaido and recognized the Ainu as Indigenous people.⁹⁸ This nascent government recognition of Ainu-as-Indigenous leaves unanswered how⁹⁹ or if the government will address Ainu history in relation to outstanding border issues with Russia. It also leaves open the potential for Ainu to reassert their history in the region and reopen debates that some Ainu have pursued—that they should be included in relevant negotiations or at least be recognized as one of the concerned parties—that were sidelined by both Japanese and Soviet/Russian governments. Recognition of Ainu history in the region and willingness to bring various Ainu into such conversations and hold serious dialogue would contribute to bringing all historically relevant issues to the table. But such action would also be connected to broader Ainu-government relations and discussions that

⁹⁷ On pre-UNDRIP history, see Siddle, “The Limits to Citizenship in Japan.”

⁹⁸ Shushō kantei, Fukuda naikaku kanbō chōkan danwa, “‘Ainu minzoku o senjū minzoku to suru koto o mitometu ketsugi’ ni kansuru naikaku kanbō chōkan danwa [The Chief Cabinet Secretary Discussion on the ‘Resolution Calling for the Recognition of the Ainu as Indigenous Peoples’],” 6 June 2008 (<http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/tyokan/hukuda/2008/0606danwa.html>). For a copy of the resolution, see Sangi'in, sangi'in no ugoki (<http://www.sangiin.go.jp/japanese/ugoki/h20/080606-3.html>). In 1996, a Japanese court recognized that the term “indigenous people” applied to the Ainu. For an English translation of the case, see “Kayano et al. v. Hokkaido Expropriation Committee” (translated by Mark Levin), *International Legal Materials* Vol. 38, No. 2 (1999): 394-429.

⁹⁹ There is not one unified Ainu voice that speaks to how they want to be involved and what they see as potential solutions to the territorial conflict that addresses both international and domestic concerns.

are also taking place, including the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion.¹⁰⁰ If the past is to inform the present, growth and changes in Ainu indigenism and Japanese or Russian support of Ainu rights as Indigenous people will remain slow, hesitant, calculated, and will reflect developments in negotiations between Japan and Russia over islands in the Okhotsk region.

Aborigines in Taiwan have reframed indigeneity from highlighting an *otherness* to suggesting that indigeneity is a part of Taiwanese self-identity. Many Aborigine areas were still under direct military control into the nineties—a decade that saw the ROC initiate quotas for Aborigine legislatures and include Indigenous rights in the constitution. The rise of the Taiwanese-nationalist party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), as the main alternative to the KMT, required Aborigine people to find a political balance between the parties. Nonetheless, the majority of Aborigine people continued to vote for the KMT, the party they associated with political stability. In addition, the KMT has less historical baggage of colonial expansion into Taiwan associated with the Hoklo (the so-called native Taiwanese that began arriving from Fujian province in China during the seventeenth century) dominated DPP.¹⁰¹ Constitutional revisions in 1994 incorporated the term “indigenous people” (yuánzhùmín) and 1997 included the term “indigenous peoples” (yuánzhùmínzú), paving the way for legal reference to international understanding of

¹⁰⁰ The twelve-member Expert Meeting Panel on Ainu Policy first created by the Liberal Democratic Party in 2008 had only one Ainu member and ran for only a year. Late in 2009, the Democratic Party of Japan created the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion, which had five Ainu on board.

¹⁰¹ Scott Simon, “Negotiating Power: Elections and the Constitution of Indigenous Taiwan,” *American Ethnologist* Vol. 37, No. 4 (2010): 726-740.

collective rights.¹⁰² The turn of the century saw the addition of new legislative acts relating to Indigenous peoples.¹⁰³ There are, however, discrepancies between these laws and their implementation that does not guarantee the Aborigine struggle for survival. By 2008, the government officially recognized fourteen Aborigine groups in Taiwan, while there remain “plains” Aborigine groups in the process of seeking such recognition.¹⁰⁴

Japan’s renouncement of Formosa in the SFPT, the escalating Cold War in Asia and the subsequent structural shifts of the San Francisco System meant that Taiwan has remained an ambiguous body. This has made it difficult for the Aborigines to represent themselves in some international forums. For example, in 1991, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines became the first Aborigine group originating from Taiwan to be welcomed at the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations since 1972,¹⁰⁵ the year after Taiwan was

¹⁰² Simon, “Paths to Autonomy,” 226; and Scott Simon, “Taiwan’s Indigenized Constitution: What Place for Aboriginal Formosa?” *Taiwan International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2006): 256.

¹⁰³ These include the Status Act for Indigenous Peoples (2001), the Regulations Regarding Recognition of Indigenous Peoples (2002), the Name Act (2003), the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples (2004), the Indigenous Peoples’ Basic Act (2005), and the Indigenous Autonomy Act (2010). Scott, “Paths to Autonomy,” 235-237. The Ministry of Justice lists over 180 laws and regulations that refer to “indigenous peoples” (Simon, “Multiculturalism and Indigenism,” 27). On the changeability and variability of plains Aborigines identity in Taiwan, see Melissa J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁴ The government has said it will not recognize the plains groups or *Ping-Pu* because they were not registered as Indigenous people during official periods of registration in the fifties and sixties. On the recognition and struggle of the plains groups, see Jolan Hsieh, *Collective Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Identity-Based Movement of Plain Indigenous in Taiwan* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 3-6, 18- 47-50. Dorothy I-ru Chen, “From Assimilation to the Assertion of Subjectivity: Critiques of Indigenous Educational Policies in Taiwan,” in JoAnn Phillion, Ming Tak Hue, and Yuxiang Wang, eds., *Minority Students in East Asia: Government Policies, School Practices and Teacher Responses* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 233.

¹⁰⁵ Allio, “Building a Political Platform,” n.p. On Aborigine participation in the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues from 2002 to 2010, see Yedda Pameleq, “No People are an Island: On Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples in the Permanent Forum and the Austronesian Forum,” in Sonja

replaced by the PRC as the UN member representing China.¹⁰⁶ This has meant that the Taiwanese government could not vote on or sign onto the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and is not recognized as a signatory of ILO 169. The government's move to address Indigenous issues indirectly suggests that Taiwanese identity is separate from that of mainland China.

Indigenous populations are themselves full of regional and local diversity. Each group of people looked at in this chapter can be further divided into unique local communities with variations in language, culture and history that are reflected in contemporary pan-Indigenous cohesion and indigenism. Therefore, it is challenging to find solutions that are not only fitting for states but flexible enough to account for diversity of the many concerned people. In the past, many states, including those in the Asia-Pacific, developed and applied policy models to a wide range of diverse Indigenous people. These cookie-cutter models have done little to settle issues between the two sides. Generic models, based on predetermined positions, that presume that any settlement will be final, have not solved issues between Indigenous people and states; there is no reason to think that such methods would help resolve broader legacies associated with the San Francisco System.

As the decades since the emergence of the SFS have shown, it is easier to write about than to implement methods for resolving issues related to the SFS; the conclusions herein are no different. Nonetheless, there are a few broad observations worth noting. First

Peschek, ed., *Die indigenen Völker Taiwans: Vorträge zur Geschichte und Gesellschaft Taiwans* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 123-142.

¹⁰⁶ "UN Gives Peking Taiwan's Seat," *The Globe & Mail*, 26 October 1971.

of all, attempting to alter the structure of a system through laws and policies may be the easiest for governments to focus on but they may easily be ignored or lack resources for implementation and therefore falter in their ability to alter entrenched underlying beliefs, behaviours, and systems which policy and action should consider.¹⁰⁷

Historical reconciliation is an initial step required for any meaningful settlement to outstanding regional issues. A depoliticized and denationalized understanding of the region's history is not only important but also necessary for clarifying the past and understanding contemporary beliefs, behaviors, and positions. This includes understanding the relationship of Indigenous people to domestic and inter-state relations. Academic studies, while only one part of the equation, can contribute to dialogues based on non-partisan, non-political, and non-nationalistic understandings of both historical and contemporary situations. This will remain a challenge because historical studies are rarely separated from national perspectives. Studies should foster clarity without sacrificing an acknowledgement of multifaceted complexities. For example, if the remnant territorial conflicts in the Asia-Pacific were and are simultaneously communal societal and international conflicts, then communities, including Indigenous people, should play an active role, alongside state and organizational actors, in resolving these issues.¹⁰⁸ Any settlement on issues related to the SFS will depend on the ability of all concerned parties to move beyond positional bargaining by developing relationships, clear and effective means

¹⁰⁷ Scott makes a similar point in relation to reforming institutions (*Seeing Like a State*, 255-256).

¹⁰⁸ Kwon advocates the involvement of community in solving conflicts related to war (*The Other Cold War*, 97). For a complexity and systems approach to conflict resolution, see Giorgio Gallo, "Conflict Theory, Complexity and Systems Approach," *Systems Research and Behavioral Science* Vol. 30 (2013): 156-175.

of communication, mutual understanding of each side's interests, options, and alternatives to settlement. To ensure that settlements remain in place and outlast shifts in political winds they will require flexibility and fairness for all sides, and mechanisms that ensure accountability to settlement commitments.

Chapter 5

The Nuclear Arms Race and Indigenous People

After creating the world and all living beings during the Dreamtime, the Rainbow Serpent took refuge underground and was not to be disturbed; if it awoke and rose from the ground it would bring destruction. The Rainbow Serpent represents the delicate balance between creative and destructive forces. Creation stories related to serpents are found around the world and in Indigenous stories these spirits often lay near sacred sites and often overlapped with rich uranium deposits. Avanyu, the horned serpent in Tewa stories in New Mexico, lives under the waters of the Rio Grande River and its tributaries and warns about the dangers of disrupting the area. The Los Alamos National Laboratory appropriated lands in which a pre-Columbian rock art depicting Avanyu lies.¹ *Tsoodzil* (Mount Taylor)—the turquoise mountain—in the Diné language, is one of the four sacred mountains that mark the four directions and the boundaries of the Diné Nation in the United States and is the resting place of three creation spirits;² extensive uranium mining near this site began in 1979. In 1980, a giant stone snake formation emerged on the Jackpile uranium mine

¹ For a picture of the rock, see LA-UR-04-8964 (Los Alamos, NM: Los Alamos National Laboratory, 2006), p. 71.

² Robert McPherson, *Sacred Land, Sacred View: Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1992), p. 15-23. It is also a sacred mountain for the Acuna, Laguna, Zuni and Hopi. It could also mean Tongue Mountain or Prayer Mountain.

located near one of seven Laguna Pueblo villages.³ Djidbidjidbi (Mount Brockman) on Mirarr traditional lands in Australia's Northern Territory is the resting place of the Rainbow Serpent. These lands, along with the traditional lands of the Jawoyn, Limilngan, Murrumburr, and Bunidj all lay within Kakadu National Park. Surveyors discovered uranium near the Rainbow Serpent's resting place in 1969 and extensive mining at these "windows in the park" began in 1980, awakening the spirit.⁴

In September 1992, international stories of the Rainbow Serpent—discussion on the balance of creation and destruction—came together in the form of The World Uranium Conference; a depiction of a Rainbow Serpent etched into a rock on uranium rich Njamal lands in Western Australia, in which a serpent attacks two human figures, became the symbol for the hearing. For six days, over one-hundred twenty Indigenous and non-Indigenous speakers gathered from around the world in picturesque Salzburg, Austria to discuss the effect of nuclear adventures on their lands and lives before an international Board of Listeners. Indigenous speakers from around the world attended—Acoma, Adivasis, Ainu, Anishnabe, Aymara, Ayta, Cherokee, Chukchi, Cree, Dene, Diné, Havasupai, Hopi, Inuit, Itelmen, Kazaks, Khasi, Kokotha, Laguna, Lakota, Maohi, Marshall Islanders, Muskogee, Nentsy, Nivkh, Palau, Pitjantjatjara, Quechua, Shoshone, Sioux, Southern Paiute,

³ Leslie Marmon Silko, *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit: Essays on Native American Life Today* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), pp. 126-127, 132-133.

⁴ Kakadu Park surrounds the Ranger mine on three sides while the Koongara site (not currently being mined) sits squarely within the park; a park which came about as a result of the Russell Fox reports. Phil Niklaus, "Land, Power and Yellowcake," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 34 (July 1983): 7; and Russell Fox, *Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry: Second Report* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1977), p 35. Also see Australia, Ranger Uranium Mine Inquiry, *Uranium: Australia's Decision: Comments and Background Papers on the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry (folder)* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1977).

Tibetan, Tobar, and Yakima—and provided brief accounts of their encounter with various parts of Cold War nuclear arms race.⁵

The nuclear arms race involved enormous stockpiling of weapons, fear of nuclear war, and diplomatic negotiations to quell those fears. It also dramatically expanded every stage of the nuclear cycle/system that nuclear bomb production relied on regardless of the political orientation of the producing state. Reverberations of the nuclear arms race were felt much deeper than state relations. The fictional character Tayo, introduced at the beginning of this study, represents but one story of the intricate and inseparable connection Indigenous people around the world had to the nuclear arms race at every stage of its development (Figure 7). Uranium from around the world came from and was processed on Indigenous lands; almost all nuclear tests were performed on, above, under, below, or directly beside their lands and waters; their lands and waterways near them became vital for the deployment and storage of nuclear weapons; and subsequently governments around the world targeted their lands for the sites of a wide range of radioactive wastes created at various stages of the cycle. Indigenous people from Africa to Australia, from the Soviet Union to the Americas were at the forefront of the nuclear arms race.

⁵ World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth: Testimonies, Lectures, Conclusions: The World Uranium Hearing, Salzburg 1992* (Munich: World Uranium Hearing, 1993). The picture was used for the conference proceedings book and their memos. Claus Biergert, who spearheaded the conference, continues to use the image for the Nuclear Free Future Award Foundation. For an explanation of the use of the image, see World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, inside cover and p. 12.

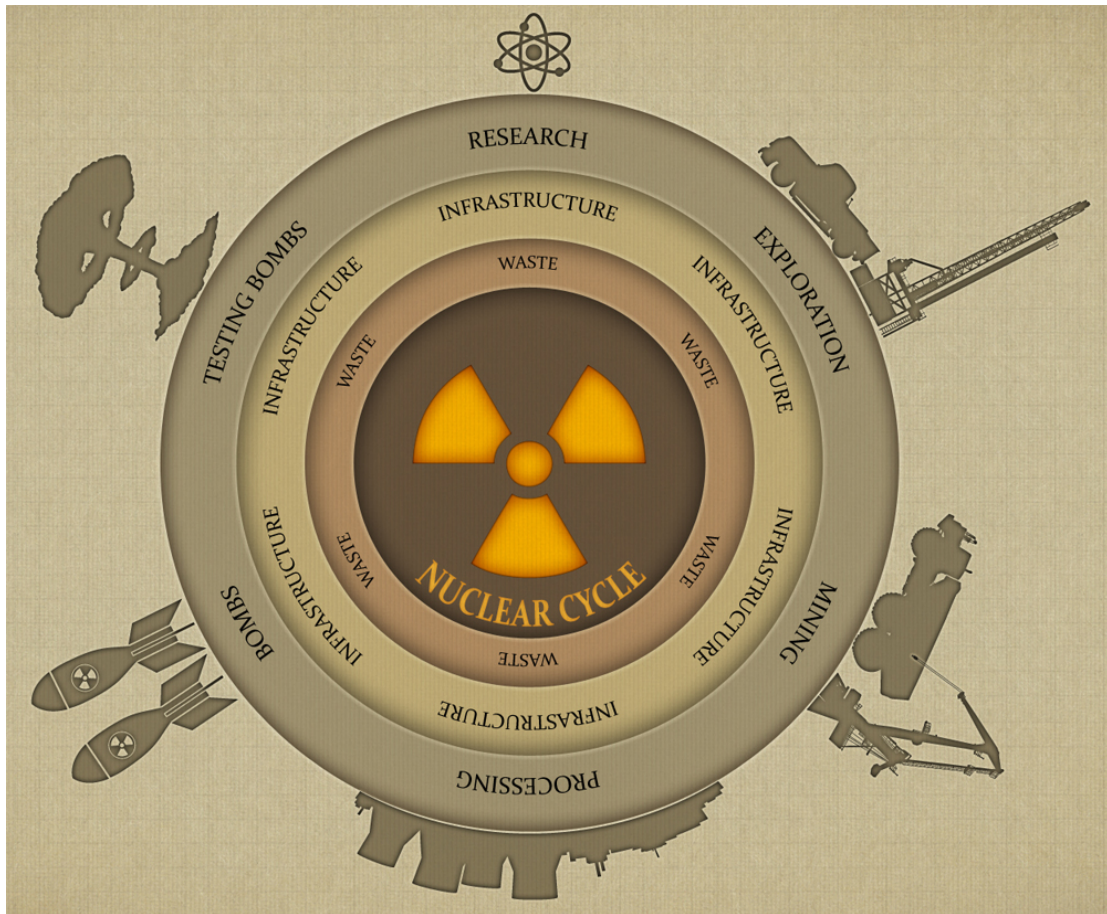


Figure 7: The Nuclear Cycle (Diagram by author and S. Murotani)

Every stage of the expanding cycle required ever-increasing infrastructure (roads, buildings, plants, runways, bunkers) and human resources that came in the form of scientists, universities, and state-owned and private companies.⁶ Wastes and accidents were a natural part of the system. For Indigenous people uranium mining, bomb explosions, and waste disposal were but one component of development projects and exploitation of natural and human resources that took place on their lands. The postwar

⁶ On Cold War architecture in the United States, see Tom Vanderbilt, *Survival City: Adventures Among the Ruins of Atomic America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002).

expansion of infrastructure, dams, mining, forestry and so forth also rapidly changed the face of Indigenous cultures externally and internally.⁷ One important distinction between other development projects and those of the nuclear cycle is that the latter was covered with the silences of secrecy and it radiated landscapes and people. But radiation did not always matter for policies and practices; what has been historically (and contemporarily) considered as being nuclear, what Gabrielle Hecht terms *nuclearity*, “is a contested technopolitical category” that “shifts in time and place.”⁸ That is, many parts of the nuclear cycle shifted between conceptions of benign development projects and secret state projects depending on the situation. It is within such shifts where the Indigenous relationship to the nuclear Cold War often fell.

The Arms Race

The nuclear age began well before the Cold War; it matured after its onset, and persisted after its decline. The late nineteenth century proved important for understanding radiation. French scientist Henri Becquerel observed that certain elements damaged unexposed photographic plates and that some elements could change air into a conductor of electricity.⁹ Shortly afterwards, in 1898 Pierre and Maries Curie built upon these

⁷ See Note 5 in Chapter 1 for examples.

⁸ Gabrielle Hecht, *Being Nuclear: Africans and the Global Uranium Trade* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), p. 14. See also pp. 15-16.

⁹ Kelley Wilder, “Visualizing Radiation: The Photographs of Henri Becquerel,” in Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, eds., *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 349-368; and Nahum S. Kipnis, “The Window of Opportunity: Logic and Chance in Becquerel’s Discovery of Radioactivity,” *Physics in Perspective* Vol. 2, No. 1 (2000): 63-99.

observations and identified the element radium as the most powerful of these.¹⁰ Scientists continued to perform numerous experiments and made other relevant discoveries into the twentieth century, but it was not until World War II when states began to invest heavily and pursue weapons potential of the atom.

The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union began atomic bomb projects out of fear of Nazi Germany producing a nuclear bomb first, even though that country gave up serious pursuit of it in 1942.¹¹ Soviet leaders were suspect of scientists but they managed to carve out an area that kept them connected to international research until the British and the United States instilled publishing bans on nuclear studies. The Soviets progressed slowly in their underfunded and understaffed nuclear program until after the United States exploded two bombs over Japan, where upon they developed a more serious program.

Britain joined the United State's Manhattan Project in 1943, under the leadership of Colonel Leslie Groves.¹² Although the project began as an initiative to compete with an equivalent Nazi German program, Groves later admitted that Germany was not their only concern:

... there was never from about 2 weeks from the time I took charge of this project any illusion on my part but Russia was our enemy and the project was conducted on that basis. I didn't go along with the attitude of the country

¹⁰ Kathleen Krull, *Marie Curie* (New York: Viking 2007); and "Marie Curie and the Science of Radioactivity," *American Institute of Physics* (<http://www.aip.org/history/curie/curie.pdf>).

¹¹ German scientists likely continued research and may have exploded a radioactive device in March 1945 (Rainer Karlsch and Mark Walker, "New Light on Hitler's Bomb," *Physics World*, 1 June 2005, pp. 15-18).

¹² For details on Groves and the project, see Robert S. Norris, *Racing for the Bomb: General Leslie R. Groves, The Manhattan Project's Indispensable Man* (South Royalton, VY: Steerforth Press, 2002).

as a whole that Russia was a gallant ally. I always had suspicions and the project was conducted on that basis.¹³

The United States tested their first plutonium bomb on 16 July 1945, just over two months after Germany surrendered, at the Alamogordo Bombing and Gunnery Range in New Mexico. Shortly thereafter Truman approved the use of two bombs, one of each uranium and plutonium, in a one-two combination against Japan. Regardless of the reasons behind Truman's decision,¹⁴ two weeks after the bombing of Hiroshima Stalin initiated a new nuclear agenda that replaced the small-scale wartime Soviet nuclear program.¹⁵ The nuclear arms race came to dominate world politics for the next four decades. In 1949, the Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in the Kazakh Steppe and their first hydrogen bomb a

¹³ United States Atomic Energy Commission, *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer: Transcript of Hearing before Personnel Security Board* (Washington, DC: 1954), p. 173.

¹⁴ The reasons for Truman's decision to use the bomb are still hotly debated and focus on assigning an order of importance to factors contributing to the decision that include a combination of the desire to quickly end the war in the Pacific and save lives, US domestic political considerations such as avoiding a congressional investigation of the highly secret and expensive Manhattan project, to avenge lost US lives, to aid Truman's dealing with Stalin, following the culture of war which assumes the use of available weapons, and racial discrimination. For a summary of the many arguments, see Michael J. Hogan, ed., *Hiroshima in History and Memory* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); Tsuyoshi Hasegawa argues that the Soviet entry into the war was more significant than the bombs for ending the war (*Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* [Cambridge: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2005]); Garry Wills contends that it was to save political and military personnel positions (*Bomb Power: The Modern Presidency and the National Security State* [New York: The Penguin Press, 2010], pp. 24-30); Gar Alperovitz has been at the front of asserting that the bombs were used to intimidate the Soviets (*The Decision to Use the Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* [New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995]; and *Atomic Diplomacy*. On using the bombs because they were available, see Gaddis, *We Now Know*, 86-88.

¹⁵ For details of the Soviet nuclear program see Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb*. Less than two years after its inaugural edition (and two years before the first Soviet explosion of a nuclear device) the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* began a doomsday clock on the cover of their June 1947 edition. It symbolized "the urgency of the nuclear dangers that the magazine's founders--and the broader scientific community--[were] trying to convey to the public and political leaders around the world." The clock began at seven minutes to midnight, with midnight signifying global catastrophe (<http://www.thebulletin.org/content/doomsday-clock/timeline>).

mere four years later. Over the next few decades Soviet Union spent vast resources stockpiling nuclear weapons. By the mid eighties they amassed a stockpile of around 40,000 nuclear warheads, almost double that of the United States at the time.¹⁶ The nuclearization of the Soviet Union secured its position as a superpower and was a major factor in the creation and shaping of global tension.¹⁷

Ideology, fear, political maneuvering, modernization, decolonization, corporatism and technological advances all fuelled the growth and spread of nuclear technologies beyond the two superpowers.¹⁸ Britain exploded its first bomb in 1952, France in 1960, China in 1964, India in 1974, with others obtaining nuclear technologies and many more participating willingly or not in various stages of nuclear weapons production.¹⁹ The possession of colonies was an important mark for international recognition and prestige and a sign of being a modern state during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The nuclear club and all it contained, what this study calls *nuclear modernity*—one component of the modernity – nation-state complex (Chapter 1), became a similar status symbol during the Cold War and created important convergence points for Indigenous – Indigenous and Indigenous – non-Indigenous relations.²⁰

¹⁶ Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb*; and Natural Resources Defense Council, “Table of Global Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles, 1945-2002” (<http://www.nrdc.org/nuclear/nudb/datab19.asp>).

¹⁷ Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb*, 364; Holloway, “Nuclear Weapons and the Escalation of the Cold War, 1945-1962,” in *CHCW1*, 396.

¹⁸ Aaron Friedberg, “The United States and the Cold War Arms Race,” in Westad, ed., *Reviewing the Cold War*, 207-231. For an interesting discussion on the spread of “nuclear things,” see Hecht, *Being Nuclear*.

¹⁹ On proliferation and non-proliferation, see Francis J. Gavin, “Nuclear Proliferation and Non-Proliferation During the Cold War,” in *CHCW2*, pp. 395-416.

²⁰ On nuclear modernity, also see Hecht, *Being Nuclear*; and Hecht, *The Radiance of France*. Danielsson and Danielsson (*Poisoned Reign*) refer to it as “nuclear colonialism.”

Nuclear threats and fears ensured that conventional surrogate wars replaced direct US – Soviet confrontation. The decomposition of the Cold War left behind many legacies of the nuclear arms race, including vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons and weapons grade uranium and plutonium, and immense amounts of dangerous wastes deposited around the world with no known long-term storage or clean-up solutions.

“Your Government Has Decided It For You:” Securing, Mining, and Processing of Uranium

The exploration and securing of uranium reserves quickly moved global during the final year of World War II and into the early Cold War years.²¹ To secure global supplies of uranium and thorium, the United States and Britain created the Combined Development Trust in 1944. The Trust’s two aims were “to procure enough uranium for the Manhattan Project; and also to prevent other countries – the Soviet Union in particular – from acquiring uranium for their own projects.”²² Before the implementation of this Trust, companies predominantly mined uranium and radium as a byproduct from other metals, such as gold, and they were generally only sold in small amounts for industries like ceramics, glass, photography, and for illuminating materials.²³ Three months after Japan surrendered, General Groves, the Chairman of the Trust, reported that “it appears that the

²¹ The quote in the subtitle is what a village priest in India says his people were continually told when they asked questions regarding the appropriation of their sacred groves and burial grounds for a uranium tailing pond (World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 125).

²² Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb*, 174.

²³ For a case study of women involved with painting clock dials with radium paint, see Claudia Clark, *Radium Girls: Women and Industrial Health Reform, 1910-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

Trust group of nations controls 97% of the world's uranium output from presently producing countries," that "With regard to thorium the Trust group of nations controls about 65% of the world supply in India and Brazil" and that it would not be likely to control one-hundred percent of these materials globally because some were likely to be found in the Soviet Union and others deposits had yet been discovered.²⁴ British and US actions at the time represented their thinking of the importance and scarcity of these two ores and were a sign of emerging friction with the Soviet Union. Their ventures both reflected and increased Cold War tensions.

Even though the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb in 1949 igniting the commonly cited start of the arms race, the importance of securing *all* supplies for the United States and Britain decreased along with three developments: (1) deposits become more readily known proving that the ores were not as rare as they first thought – and by 1952 the United States and Britain no longer faced shortages of material but had surpluses; (2) also in 1952, the United States successfully exploded a hydrogen bomb, a device that required less uranium; and (3) nuclear weapons production moved to focus more on delivery systems. With this shift the United States began supporting private companies to take over uranium developments.²⁵ In 1954 the United States amended the Atomic Energy Act to allow for the possibility of civilian run nuclear plants and further exchanges with its

²⁴ *FRUS: Diplomatic Papers, 1945* Vol. 2, pp. 84-85. For a copy of the Trust see *FRUS: Diplomatic Papers, 1944*, pp. 1026-1028. "Anglo-American Declaration of Trust," *NuclearFiles.org: Project of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation* (http://www.nuclearfiles.org/menu/key-issues/nuclear-weapons/history/pre-cold-war/manhattan-project/declaration-of-trust_1944-06-13.htm#).

²⁵ Jonathan E. Helmreich, *Gathering Rare Ores: The Diplomacy of Uranium Acquisition, 1943-1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. xi, xiii, 225-231. In addition, uranium was often denuclearized as a product and therefore not subject to IAEA oversight (Hecht, *Being Nuclear*).

allies by supporting the transfer of restricted technical information.²⁶ Canada and other countries also began denationalizing the uranium industry, although not without close government involvement.²⁷ The integration of government national security goals and private businesses and multinational corporations shaped the industry. It simultaneously legitimized and sanitized uranium, making it similar to other ores and resources as a commodity, yet one that was shrouded in secrecy, and it broadened the mining of these resources through increased encroachment onto many Indigenous lands. In 1945 world production was estimated at 507 tonnes of uranium (tU) and production peaked in 1980 at 69 692 tU before falling in the late eighties and stabilizing around low to mid 30 000 tU from the nineties onward.²⁸ In other words, the exploitation of uranium continued to expand through most of the Cold War as it shifted from an item considered as being nuclear and governed by strict rules and fixed prices, to a banal mineral with a market value.²⁹

Local people, Indigenous or not, often informed prospectors of potential uranium locations. But more often the industry relied on core samples from drilling and other geological surveys. Uranium mining procedures changed along with available technology but the implementation of such technologies was, especially in cases that decreased health

²⁶ Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as Amended (P.L. 83-703).

²⁷ Leddy notes the similarities in government treatment of uranium and timber on Serpent River First Nation (“Cold War Colonialism,” 128).

²⁸ OECD, *Nuclear Development Forty Years of Uranium Resources, Production and Demand in Perspective: The Red Book Retrospective* (Geneva: OECD Publishing, 2006), p. 91.

²⁹ June H. Taylor and Michael D. Yokell, *Yellowcake: The International Uranium Cartel* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979); and Earle Gray, *The Great Uranium Cartel* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1982). Also, see Thomas L. Neff, *The International Uranium Market* (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1984); and Harry Swain, “Why Canada Supported a Uranium Cartel,” *The Globe & Mail*, 12 July 2011. More recently Hecht has explained the de-nuclearization of uranium and its movement toward a market driven mineral in *Being Nuclear*. Pages 49-82 look at the global transition and pages 83-170 look at the transition within Africa.

risks and pollution, limited by governmental and corporate interests of profit seeking and avoiding inconveniences to ensure steady supplies. Open-pits, underground mine shafts and leaching were the most common types of mines throughout the forty years after the war. Extracted ore, usually only a few tenths of percent uranium, goes through several stages of high energy consuming processing before it can be used for bomb construction (or even operation in nuclear energy plants). To obtain uranium in high enough concentrations for enrichment it is crushed, ground, and then processed with an acid or base that removes up to ninety percent of the uranium. This first stage of processing uranium ore produces two things: yellow cake (U_3O_8) and a substantial amount of wastes. The wastes consist of the left over acids and bases and the left over rock, which contains about eighty five percent of the original radioactivity of the unprocessed ore, as well as heavy metals. Every ton of yellowcake results in hundreds of tons of wastes with the liquid wastes having about twice as much volume as the solids. Yellowcake then goes through a high-energy consuming process of enrichment turning it into a metal (U_{235}) for use in weapons (approximately ninety percent) or nuclear energy plants (approximately three to five percent).³⁰ Throughout the Cold War this energy came from a variety of sources including fossil fuels and electricity from dams, often located on or near Indigenous lands.

³⁰ For a more detailed explanation of the various mining, refining and enriching processes in jargon free language with useful diagrams, see Arjun Makhijani and Scott Saleska, "The Production of Nuclear Weapons and Environmental Hazards," in Arjun Makhijani, Howard Hu, and Katherine Yih, eds., *Nuclear Wastelands: A Global Guide to Nuclear Weapons Production and its Health and Environmental Effects* (Cambridge: MA: The MIT Press, 1995), pp. 28-53.



Figure 8: Worldwide Uranium Resources (This is an approximate representation only—for details, see OECD, *Forty Years of Uranium Resources*. Map by author and S. Murotani)

Africa

Belgium Congo was home to one of the first and best-known uranium mines that operated throughout World War II. Because nearby copper and tungsten mines proved more valuable as war materials the Shinkolobwe uranium mine came close to closing as resources were redirected to the other mines. After the Manhattan Project began, the United States and Britain looked to Belgium Congo for uranium and to prevent it from falling into the hands of Nazi Germany. The Belgian Congo had such a high grade of uranium in the mined ore that it sold uranium for almost half the going rate. Since global demand was still relatively low, this made extensive uranium mining in other places, like in Canada or the United States, impractical. Belgium whisked the stockpiled uranium in the Congo to New York

upon the German invasion; an unexpected but welcome surprise for the Manhattan engineers charged with building production plants under General Groves. Because it was of such high grade compared to ore mined in the United States, the AEC quickly moved to secure the rest of the Belgium Congo stockpile. This rich and comparatively cheap uranium became the material for some of the first Manhattan experiments. By dealing with Belgium rather than the people of the Congo to secure these uranium stockpiles the United States and Britain made effective use of colonial relationships. By 1948 the Shinkolobwe mine was nearly dry and the AEC began looking for new sources.³¹

Many of these new sources were located in Canada and the Canadian government and mining companies proved eager to help develop them. With a guaranteed market for uranium, exploration activities increased and uranium mining boomed for a decade until the United States decided to limit their purchase of uranium to domestic sources. This boom left many Aboriginal communities in Canada from Ontario, Saskatchewan, and the Northwest Territories with large amounts of wastes on and near their lands, altering landscapes and social structures. Attention south of the border was redirected to the uranium rich lands of the Diné, Sioux and Pueblo. Nonetheless, uranium exploration and extraction continued throughout Africa.

During the eighties, uranium accounted for approximately ninety percent of Niger's exports. The mining and infrastructure was mainly located in the desert, disrupting the

³¹ Peter H. Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us: Uranium and Native Americans* (Santa Fe, NM: Red Crane Books, 1994), pp. 21, 31; and Helmreich, *Gathering Rare Ores*, 5-7.

Tamacheq and Ful people's ability to live off the land.³² Mining of phosphate, a material with high amounts of uranium within it, in Morocco impaired Beduin migration routes. France's Atomic Energy Commission in 1948 began uranium exploration in Gabon, one of the territories of French Equatorial Africa, and began mining operations one year after Gabon achieved independence. The Olko mine, located on Bambuti/Mbuti lands, operated for forty years. The Khoikhoi and other Bantu-speaking people either worked or lived near South Africa's three uranium mines at Palaborwa, Witwatersrand, and Karoo Basin (Cape Province). Because the mines were unregulated, these people were exposed to radioactive materials in the mines and tailing piles.³³

Rio Tinto-Zinc, one of the largest mining companies in the world and closely associated with the British government, obtained a license in the seventies to control the Rössing mine in Namibia through South Africa, the occupying country. This mine became the second largest open-pit mine in the world at that time. The company exported the uranium to Britain, France, and West Germany, despite a UN regulation that refrained countries from dealing with South Africa.³⁴ Workers, including hundreds of Ovambo, were subject to poor working conditions, exposure to high levels of radiation, and low wages. Some Indigenous people targeted Rio Tinto-Zinc to highlight the dangers of uranium

³² Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 76-77; Ester Krumbholz and Frank Kressing *Uranium Mining, Atomic Weapons Testing, Nuclear Waste Storage: A Global Survey* (New York: World Uranium Hearing, 1992), pp. 79-80; OECD Nuclear Energy Agency and the International Atomic Energy Agency, "Statistical Update 1990: Uranium Resources, Production and Demand" (Geneva: OECD Publishing, 1990).

³³ Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 77; Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 82; and IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 155.

³⁴ Countries got around this regulation by changing the nationality of the uranium (Hecht, *Being Nuclear*, 36, 85-106).

mining and the contradictions of obtaining resources, having a UN ban on trading with South Africa, and having about one quarter of Rio Tinto-Zinc's investment come from councils that declared they were nuclear free.³⁵

North America

In North America, uranium mines and processing sites were often located in areas state governments saw as internal frontiers with impoverished populations in need of development. Many government agencies, the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the AEC and the Department of Labour in the United States for example, often promoted uranium mining and processing as a promising solution for Indian communities' economic development.

The Los Alamos National Laboratory, a secret laboratory that became the centre of the construction of atomic weapons under the Manhattan Project, was built on sacred Pueblo lands. The geographical features that enabled the Pueblo to minimize encroachment onto their lands until the end of World War II were the same features that caught the attention of the US government as an ideal place for the laboratory—its perceived

³⁵ "Inuit Fight against Arctic Pilot Project," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 30 (April 1982): 78-79; Alun Roberts, "Namibia: The Plunder of Namibia's Uranium," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 25/26 (March 1981): 46-51; Alun Roberts, *The Rossing File: The Inside Story of Britain's Secret Contract for Namibian Uranium* (London: Namibia Support Group Committee, 1980); Randolph Vinge, "The Namibian File," *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 5, No. 2 (April 1983): 345-360; Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 77; Greg Dropkin and Davis Clark, "Past Exposure. Revealing Health and Environmental Risks of Rossing Uranium" (London: Namibia Support Committee/PARTIZANS, 1992); and Moody, *Plunder!*

remoteness, inaccessibility, harsh climate, and minimal population.³⁶ In addition to this laboratory, acquiring sites for processing nuclear materials for the first bomb were essential and General Groves looked across the country for a secure location. The criteria for the location were numerous: a relatively small concentration of people, an adequate distance away from rail lines and highways, access to large amounts of clean water and considerable electrical supply, and a favourable climate.³⁷ In 1943, the AEC acquired over 1,700 square kilometres of land around the small village of Hanford on the Columbia River in Washington State. They relocated over 1,500 people including the residents of Hanford and White Bluff as well as the Wanapum Indians. This last group was resettled just west of Hanford at Priest Rapids and denied unrestricted access to the lands for reasons of national security. Hanford's nuclear facilities, like those later built along the Savannah River in the southern United States, produced no electricity but rather used massive amounts of electricity and water to create weapons grade plutonium. As plutonium production progressed so too did the wastes, which they stored onsite.

Land acquisitions, restrictions on land use and flooding of lands from dams built throughout the Columbia River system for supplying electricity to the plutonium plant altered the river systems and living patterns of numerous Indian groups along the rivers.³⁸

³⁶ Joseph Masco, *The Nuclear Borderlands: The Manhattan Project in Post-Cold War New Mexico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 99-159; Hal Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges: The Los Alamos Area Since 1880* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 208; Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 243-249; and Simon Ortiz, *Woven Stone* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1992), pp. 293-363.

³⁷ Dams were already being constructed on the Columbia and the AEC easily appropriated them (Norris, *Racing for the Bomb*, 213-226).

³⁸ Hanford further complicated Indigenous livelihood in the region for only a year earlier the US Army took over grazing lands for the Yakima Training Center (Yakima Firing Range). Robert E.

Many Native Americans continued to fish from the same rivers, with somewhat decreased access, in which Hanford released the water used to cool its reactors—water that had become radioactive and warmer than the original source. The Yakima, Colville, Nez Perce, Coeur d’Alene, Spokane, Kalispell, Umatilla, and Klickitat people lost access to the Hanford area that many still used for hunting and spiritual sites. Pollution from Hanford, much of it radioactive, was predominantly in liquid and gaseous states and was steadily released into the environment from 1944 to 1977.³⁹ Many of these people experienced increased cancer rates related to Hanford’s plutonium processing and the nearby uranium mine on the Spokane reservation and the processing plant that abuts that reservation.⁴⁰ Because of their dependence on fish from the Columbia River a study found that Native Americans in the area were tens times more likely to get cancer than non-Native people in the area—people who already had increased risk from living near Hanford.⁴¹

Ficken, “Grand Coulee and Hanford: The Atomic Bomb and the Development of the Columbia River,” in Bruce Hevly and John M. Findlay, eds., *The Atomic West* (Seattle: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest in association with the University of Washington Press, 1988), pp. 21-38; and Northwest Power and Conservation Council, “Hanford Nuclear Reservation” (<http://www.nwcouncil.org/history/Hanford.asp>).

³⁹ For example, see Zhores A. Medvedev (translated by George Saunders), *Nuclear Disaster in the Urals* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), pp. 147-155; Kate Brown, *Plutopia: Nuclear Families, Atomic Cities, and the Great Soviet and American Plutonium Disasters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 165-171, 178-188, and 221-230; Daniel Grossman, “Hanford and Its Early Radioactive Atmospheric Releases,” *The Pacific-Northwest Quarterly* Vol. 85, No. 1 (January 1994): 6-14; and Michele Stenehjem Germber, *On the Home Front: The Cold War Legacy of the Hanford Nuclear Site* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

⁴⁰ The mining pits still contain contaminated water and a significant amount of tailings. Dawn Mining Company operated Midnight Mine on the Spokane reservation and the nearby processing plant (Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 75; and Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 50).

⁴¹ Helen Grogen, et al., “A Risk-Based Screening Analysis for Radionuclides Released to the Columbia River from Past Activities at the U.S. Department of Energy Nuclear Weapons Site in Hanford, Washington,” Centers for Disease and Control Prevention, November 2002, pp. v, 1-4, 5-1, 7-5, 7-11, 8.

Since the early eighties, as the United States declared Hanford to become one of three potential sites for long-term storage of nuclear wastes, the surrounding Indian groups became actively involved by performing environmental studies and taking part in other environmental stewardship initiatives. The government eliminated Hanford from the list of potential waste sites in 1987 (although wastes produced there remained), but Indian movements continued by becoming involved with the site's Cultural Resources Management Plan.⁴²

In the fifties, the time of the uranium-mining boom in Canada, Cold War systems that demanded more fuel benefited from government and industry discrimination against Aboriginal people. At this time Indians in Canada still had no right to vote or hire lawyers to negotiate with large mining companies, but had to rely on the Department of Indian Affairs to negotiate on their behalf. From 1969 onwards, many Indians took stronger stances on a variety of issues, but the uranium industry, which followed the ebbs and flows of the US market, continued to alter a growing number of Indian communities.

In 1943, Grove's acquired property around Canada's Great Bear Lake and on the Colorado Plateau through the US Army supported firm Ventures, Ltd. A year later Canada took control of Venture's claims and ensured that the Crown would control any radioactive materials in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon by nationalizing Eldorado, a company that operated a gold mine at Great Bear Lake from which it produced a small amount of

⁴² Lynn A. Robbins, "The Participation of Sahaptin-Speaking Native Americans in the Hanford Site Resource Management Plan," *Environmental History Review* Vol. 14, No. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 1990): 116-128; and Russel Jim, "Yakima councilperson's statement to the Senate Subcommittee on the Environment, 1980," in Roger Moody, ed., *Indigenous Voice: Visions & Realities, Volume 1* (London, Zed Books, 1988), p. 157.

uranium as a byproduct. Eldorado moved on to become an active player in the US – British nuclear project by supplying much of its needed uranium through mining at Great Bear Lake, at various sites in Saskatchewan, and by processing ore from Africa.⁴³

The uranium deposits north of the Serpent River First Nation at Elliot Lake in Ontario provided this Indian group with a decade worth of dangerous jobs while they helped Canada meet US demands for the ore until 1958. Benefits dwindled as the industry busted and left the community with contaminated water and land that significantly changed the way they could interact with their land. In response the community further organized to obtain aid to rehabilitate the land.⁴⁴

From the fifties onward, Saskatchewan, two provinces to the west, became the centre of uranium mining in Canada. Cree, Chippewyan and Metis lived on or near massive deposits at Cigar Lake, Cluff Lake, Key Lake, Beaverlodge, and Rabbit Lake. During the late seventies, the government strongly encouraged the Dene of Carswell Lake in Saskatchewan to give up their lands for economic development in the form of uranium mining. The provincial government granted AMOK, a French government owned company, exploration and development rights to Carswell Lake area without negotiating with the Dene.⁴⁵ In

⁴³ Eldorado remained a crown corporation until 1988. Helmreich, *Gathering Rare Ores*, 43; and Robert Bothwell, *Eldorado: Canada's National Uranium Company* (University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 148-149. On Dene unknowing complicity and victim position on the mine, see Peter C. van Wyck, *The Highway of the Atom* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2010). Library and Archives Canada holds the Eldorado Nuclear Limited Fonds, of which the following were accessed: MG55/30 Vol. 224-227; RG134 Vol. 148; RG134 Vol. 155; RG134 Vol. 166; and RG58 Vol. 14.

⁴⁴ Leddy, "Cold War Colonialism"; and Lorraine Rekmans, Keith Lewis and Anabel Dwyer, eds., *This Is My Homeland: Stories of the Effects of Nuclear Industries by People of the Serpent River First Nation and the North Shore of Lake Huron* (Serpent River First Nation, 2003).

⁴⁵ "U.S.A.: Comtroller General's Report to the Congress on Federal Agencies that Provide Assistance to Indians," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 22 (June 1979): 45-46.

1957, the current site of the Lac La Hache First Nations community was chosen because there were good chances that the province would build a road to the site, to the east of Wollaston Lake. Instead the province built the highway to the west of the lake to allow for development of uranium deposits at the Rabbit Lake mine. All these communities benefited to one degree or another from these mining activities since they represented the few permanent communities while numerous mines opened and closed. Because of their continual presence they were also some of the first people to notice, be affected by, and confront pollution from the mining industry. For example, from 1975 to 1977 large amounts of untreated waste from the Rabbit Lake mine leaked into Wollaston Lake. Wastes were eventually placed in settling ponds but radioactive wastes continued to seep into the groundwater.⁴⁶

The Lac La Hache community had expressed concern about uranium mining since at least the early seventies but only from the mid eighties did their activities begin to move well beyond their community.⁴⁷ In July 1984, Lac La Hache sent a letter to numerous Indigenous councils, advisory councils and anti-nuclear groups calling for support to help stop further uranium mining. The letter cited the example of how by the time the mines at Uranium City closed in the far northwest of Saskatchewan the nearby lakes had died and tailings left in the open continued to spread radiation and other heavy metals. Most of the population left except for two hundred or so Aboriginal people. The letter also referred to

⁴⁶ Goldstick, *Wollaston*; Jim Harding, *Canada's Deadly Secret: Saskatchewan Uranium and the Global Nuclear System* (Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing, 2007), pp. 84-101.

⁴⁷ The community received electricity for the first time in the early seventies from diesel electrical generators, telephone lines in 1977, one TV station in 1980, one satellite channel in 1984 and they began their own radio program the following year (Goldstick, *Wollaston*, 27-28).

the problems from Elliot Lake. They were worried that similar scenarios would occur in their community, especially if construction continued of a new mine at Collins Bay that would exploit deposits laying under Wollaston Lake just north of the old Rabbit Lake mine.⁴⁸ This letter writing, along with a Greenpeace campaign, spearheaded a wide variety of activities that spread beyond their community, even gaining attention from as far away as Sweden.⁴⁹

Further north, companies began searching in the late sixties for uranium deposits in the Thelon Basin Keewatin region of the Northwest Territories (now the Kivalliq region of Nunavut).⁵⁰ Exploration activities of drilling, low flying aircraft and increased rubbish strewn about the area disrupted the landscape and contributed to the depletion of the Beverley and Kaminuriak caribou herds that crossed through the area during migration.

Earlier mining operations and the establishment of schools helped bring more Inuit together. These centralizations contributed to changes in Inuit lifestyles, making it easier to politicize and organize their communities when numerous companies began uranium exploration in the area. Although about half the community faced unemployment at the time, many Inuit in the area still relied on caribou for their livelihood and this provided fodder for Inuit political movements. The Inuit took the federal government to court in 1981 and obtained a court ordered temporary freeze on exploration. The Inuit continued to fight against the federal government and an array of legal experts from six mining

⁴⁸ Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 75; Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*; and Moody, ed., *Indigenous Voice, Volume 1*; Uranium Institute, 15th International Symposium, 1991. Lac La Hache Band letter (13 July 1984), "After the Water is Contaminated, What Will We Live On?" in Moody, ed., *Indigenous Voice, Volume 1*, 148-150.

⁴⁹ Goldstick, *Wollaston*; and Harding, *Canada's Deadly Secret*, 84-90.

⁵⁰ Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 41.

companies to obtain a permanent halt to exploration and have the court recognize their Inuit rights in the area. This was significant in that it was both the first time the Inuit had taken the Canadian federal government to court and the first time to have their Inuit rights addressed in court. Inuit continued to fight for a permanent halt of exploration. In the late eighties, the local Inuit had the support of other regional organizations and defeated a German proposal to exploit the areas ores in the form of two open pits, a uranium mill and tailings ponds. Community opposition continued into the nineties and these court cases became the backdrop for negotiations surrounding the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the creation of Nunavut in 1999.⁵¹

As the Canadian government saw the uranium industry as supporting Canadian interests and national security, and spent billions of dollars on its development, it neglected to seriously work with Aboriginal communities whose lands were targeted.⁵² Since all major uranium deposits exploited and/or processing plants during the Cold War in Canada were on or bordering Aboriginal territories, or territories claimed by Aboriginal people, the government tended to view the two interests as mutually exclusive. By favouring the uranium industry, Canada replaced the United States as the world's leading uranium producer in 1984 at which time it exported approximately eighty-eight percent of its

⁵¹ Warren Bernauer, "The Uranium Controversy at Baker Lake," *Canadian Dimension*, 3 February 2012 (<http://canadiandimension.com/articles/4470/>); Warren Bernauer, "Uranium Mining, Primitive Accumulation and Resistance in Baker Lake, Nunavut: Recent Changes in Community Perspectives" (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2011), pp. 43-57; Robert McPherson, *New Owners in Their Own Lands: Minerals and Inuit Land Claims* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), pp. 47-56, 81-87, 123, 164-167, 171-201; Michael Keating, "Inuit Never Had Land Rights, Lawyers Tell Hearing," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 23 (November 1979): 32-33; Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 41-42; Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 75; Marc Denhez, "Aboriginal Rights Raises Difficult Questions," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 24 (April 1980): 55-60; and Harding, *Canada's Deadly Secret*, 90-100.

⁵² Quoted in Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 40.

annual production.⁵³ Such a large amount of production also meant that Canada became home to some of the world's largest amounts of radioactive wastes. By 1987, there was approximately 130 million tonnes of waste in Canada from the mining and milling of uranium; enough waste to cover a 7,200 kilometre long two lane highway across the country from the Pacific to Atlantic just over a metre deep.⁵⁴ There was (and remains) no known long-term waste management system for these materials. Although not as large as the Canadian uranium boom, but certainly better documented, these same decades saw an upsurge in uranium mining in the United States, mainly in the southwest of that country.

In mid-1951 the bulletin of the National Congress of American Indians mentioned that uranium was found on Navajo and Laguna lands without making any further comment.⁵⁵ Almost a year later in an upbeat note it reprinted part of an article stating,

Uranium destined for atomic bombs is helping relieve the plight of the Navajos, proud Indians whose poverty has come in for nationwide attention. As yet, it can't be said to be enriching them – not by ordinary standards. It is providing jobs for a good many and dropping money into tribal coffers to

⁵³ Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 41. In addition to US demands for uranium, as nuclear proliferation increased, other countries contributed to the growth of the uranium industry. For example, West Germany in 1989 required 3300 tons of uranium oxide to fuel its twenty-three nuclear plants. Their imports came from Australia (38%), South Africa (33%), Canada (11%), Namibia and Niger (7% each). "This means that West German uranium demands affect Native peoples worldwide, specifically Australian Aborigines, Canadian Natives, and the African populations of South Africa, Namibia and Niger" (Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 125).

⁵⁴ Density of tailings estimated at 1.6g/cm³ as per Wise Uranium Project estimate. See Goldstick, *Wollaston*, 107; Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 12-14; and Magnus Isacasson's film *Uranium* (National Film Board of Canada, 1990) looks at Elliot Lake, Port Radium, Uranium City, Key Lake and Clearwater. Jim Harding, who worked as a consultant during the film's production, notes that the Department of Indian and Northern Development and industry employees made attempts to discredit the film (Harding, *Canada's Deadly Secret*, 102-108).

⁵⁵ "Uranium Finds on Navajo and Laguna Lands," *NCAI Bulletin* Vol. 2 (June-July 1951): 6.

help develop the primitive land. Monument No. 2, operated by Vanadium Corp., on the northern part of the reservation employs about 80 Navajo currently. Most of the workers live on the side of the mine's hill, in tiny homes surrounded by cactus and sage bush. Actually 300 people live in the vicinity, including children.⁵⁶

The NCAI had bought into the idea of modernity not disagreeing with the article that the reserve was primitive and that the miners lived beside cactus and sage and that the uranium mining could help the country and the Navajo. This seemed to be little more than a reflection of official US policy.⁵⁷ For example, a report prepared by the United States Commission on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Madrid (1980) noted how Indian groups could use extraction of uranium and other resources to help lift them out of poverty and that the United States would ensure that they receive the best possible economic and environmental arrangements.⁵⁸

The Navajo Tribal Council aggressively pursued energy development, including uranium, but all was not in their hands. The AEC, acting on behalf of the Diné, eventually

⁵⁶ "In the News," *NCAI Bulletin* Vol. 2 (May-June 1952): 5. For the original article cited, see Gordon G. Gauss, "Uranium Mining Gives Navajos Extra Jobs," *Indian Evening Gazette* Vol. 52, No. 231, 15 May 1952.

⁵⁷ In exchange for large sums of money, the NCAI worked with the Department of Energy on nuclear waste research and encouraging the placement of Monitored Retrievable Storage of nuclear wastes on Indian lands (LaDuke, *All Our Relations*, 100-101).

⁵⁸ (November 1980): 159-162, cited in Cobo Study XVII, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/21/Add.4, 136. The part of the Pine Ridge reservation that the US government separated from the reservation during World War II to use as a bombing range ended up being very rich in uranium. The land was supposed to be returned to reserve jurisdiction after bombing practice stopped, but in 1975 one of the former Tribal Council members signed the land away without full consent of the reservation. The complicated and bloody history at Wounded Knee and the shootings at Pine Ridge could have been inflated because of the uranium reserves (Bjårlund, "U.S.A.: Leonard Peltier," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 23 [November 1979]: 23-26).

signed contracts with fifteen corporations. At the peak of the mining activity in 1978, this accounted for over three hundred uranium leases covering two hundred fifty thousand acres of Diné land that the government expected to expand to three and a half million acres.⁵⁹ Despite one of the Diné chairman's boast that "In one year, the Navajo Nation exports enough energy resources ... to fuel the needs of the state of New Mexico for 32 years," the Diné remained one of the poorest people in the United States and eighty-five percent of households had no electricity. Given that the US government and the BIA had already mapped out plans to exploit uranium on these lands following the 1973 energy crisis and Nixon's announcement of "Project Independence," tribal councils and individuals were in a disadvantaged position from which to prevent or shape uranium development; many willingly approved the leases in exchange for new income, many others did so under pressure.⁶⁰

Throughout the fifties, ventilation in many of these mines was either poor or nonexistent. Federal inspectors knew about the widespread problem that included mines with ninety to one hundred times the maximum safe levels of radon. By the mid seventies,

⁵⁹ Marjane Ambler, *Breaking the Iron Bonds: Indian Control Over Energy Development* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1990), p. 152; and Hosteen Kinlichee, "An Overview of Uranium and Nuclear Developments on Indian Lands in the Southwest," *Southwest Indigenous Uranium Forum Newsletter* (September 1993): 5-7.

⁶⁰ "USA: Big Mountain Navajo Resist Forced Relocation," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 28/29 (October/December 1981): 66-68. For President Nixon's speech introducing the project, see "[323] Address to the Nation About Policies To Deal With the Energy Shortages," 7 November 1973. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Richard Nixon, 1973* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975), pp.916-922. For a summary of Project Independence, see Federal Energy Administration, *Project Independence: A Summary* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office: November 1974).

Diné workers began to die of cancer and develop serious respiratory disorders.⁶¹ Meanwhile, the massive amounts of tailings throughout their land and pumping liquid wastes into surface water and other unprotected areas, where they could seep into the groundwater, ensured that people living nearby, in addition to the miners, suffered the effects that included increased rates of birth defects, bone cancer, ovarian cancer, miscarriages, sudden infant death syndrome, genetic abnormalities, and learning disabilities.⁶²

In most cases, Navajo miners were “only informed of the ‘problem’ in the mines after they had contracted a fatal disease.”⁶³ The mining companies and the AEC worked to avoid panic in the mines and mills, protect profit, and national security.⁶⁴ Duncan Holaday, an expert in the field of radiation and a key figure in studies on uranium mine safety, had argued that it was the AEC’s and not the individual state’s responsibility to ensure safe working conditions. He thought the AEC was trying to hold the state(s) responsible. He also wrote, in reference to those who suffered mining related health issues, “These unfortunates were as surely victims of the Cold War as those who died in Korea – but the official agencies, state and federal, have largely washed their hands of them and disclaimed

⁶¹ Molly Ivins, “Uranium Mines in West Leave Deadly Legacy,” *New York Times*, 20 May 1979, p. 1, 44; Robert J. Roscoe, et al., “Mortality among Navajo Miners,” *American Journal of Public Health* Vol. 85, No. 4 (April 1995): 535-540; Doug Brugg, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis, eds., *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Victor E. Archer, Dean Gillian, and Joseph K. Wagoner, “Respiratory Disease Mortality Among Uranium Miners,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* Vol. 271 (1976): 280-293; and Jonathan M. Samet, et al., “Uranium Mining and Lung Cancer Among Navajo Men,” *New England Journal of Medicine* Vol. 310, No. 23 (June 7, 1984): 1481-1484.

⁶² Molly Ivins, “Califano Talks to Navajos About Health Problems,” *New York Times*, 28 April 1979, p. 8; and Valerie Kuletz, *The Tainted Desert: Environmental Ruin in the American West* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 19-32.

⁶³ Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 65.

⁶⁴ Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 64.

responsibility. It is a sorry record!”⁶⁵ In one case, rather than ventilate mine shafts at Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico, Anaconda stripped off a few hundred feet of soil and gravel and turned the mine in to a 2,700 acres open pit, the largest of its kind from 1952-1982. Some engineers of large companies simply had no training in mine ventilation. After the AEC released a pamphlet on mineshaft ventilation guidelines in 1954, companies continued to disregard the information.⁶⁶ Changes in the law or guidelines did little to advance better ventilation in mines.

Scientists and governments had been aware of the health risks of uranium mining at least since the forties. By the early fifties, approximately seventy percent of the uranium miners from Eastern Europe had died of lung cancer. Political maneuvering between government departments, Congress, the AEC and big mining companies pursued. The mining companies argued that any disruption would decrease profits, end the possibility of creating new nuclear power plants, and be a major loss of electrical power—a valid threat while trying to prove US superiority over the Soviet Union. The public knew little of the vast uranium mining problems in western United States until J.V. Reistrup broke the silence on official denials of the health hazards of uranium mining with his 1967 *Washington Post* article “Hidden Casualties of Atom Age Emerge.”⁶⁷ The Lucky Dragon incident, in which a Japanese fishing crew was irradiated by a nuclear test in the Marshall Islands, had already

⁶⁵ Duncan Holaday, letter to Stewart Udall, 29 January 1979 quoted in Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 65.

⁶⁶ Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 69, 70, 71.

⁶⁷ J.V. Reistrup, “Hidden Casualties of the Atom Age Emerge,” *Washington Post*, 9 March 1967, pp. A1 and A6. For more discussion on Reistrup, see Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 79-80; and Samuel Walker, *Containing the Atom: Nuclear Regulation in a Changing Environment, 1963-1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 241-248.

sparked a global concern of radioactive fallout in the late fifties;⁶⁸ now radiation in mines was causing death by lung cancer. LaVerne Husen, the director of Public Health Service in Shiprock, likened breathing the highly contaminated uranium mine air as “sort of like walking around with an atomic bomb in your lungs.”⁶⁹ Indian people had directly and indirectly supported their country’s national security and state interests with little to show but poor wages, sickness, and environmental degradation of their lands.⁷⁰

The Diné, Hopi and Pueblo began taking a stronger stance on uranium mining as more people began to die and get ill. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz fought an uphill battle to have the AEC toughen mining regulations in the late sixties, but the results continued to sideline the people most affected by the industry.⁷¹ The Diné made a variety of cases for compensation from the early seventies but such activities saw little progress until the end of that decade after former Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall willingly took responsibility for public welfare and fought for the cause. Only then did the AEC begin to enforce its own rules.⁷² By this time there were a thousand plus abandoned and un-reclaimed mines in the southwest United States that continued to pose health risks long after the companies and government moved out. In addition to court cases and lobbying

⁶⁸ Ralph E. Lapp, *The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon: The True Story of the Japanese Fishermen who were the First Victims of the H-Bomb* (Baltimore, MD: Benguin Books, 1957); and Lawrence Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Volume 2, Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954-1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 146-148, 153-154.

⁶⁹ Tom Barry, “Bury My Lungs at Red Rock: Uranium Mining Brings a New Peril to the Reservation,” *The Progressive* Vol. 43, No. 2 (February 1979): 27.

⁷⁰ Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 101-126.

⁷¹ Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 81-94

⁷² In 1990, President Bush signed the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act, Public Law 101-426 on 15 October 1990, which included an apology to the individuals and families harmed by uranium mining. On court cases that brought this about, see Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 75, 95-126.

Congress numerous Indian communities began developing their own internal committees to take action locally and approach the government to take responsibility for minimizing risk from these mines. In the late eighties, Indian environmental concerns presented at a program at the University of New Mexico culminated in the formation of the Southwest Indigenous Uranium Forum. This forum began holding annual meetings for the region's Indigenous people to discuss and disseminate information on problems related to uranium mining. Over the next two decades, it eventually grew to involve Indigenous people from well beyond the region, including those from Alaska and Bolivia.⁷³

Australia

The fifties was an exciting decade for Australia. It was a time of vast uranium discoveries and British atomic bomb tests, which fuelled optimism about the importance of the country in the Western bloc.⁷⁴ Uranium discoveries on and near Aboriginal lands brought land rights to focus in Australia. Beginning in the mid sixties the Australian government created a variety of legislation that addressed Aboriginal land rights. In 1976, the government created the Aboriginal Land Rights Act. One of the outcomes of this act was that it made it easier for companies to exploit uranium on Aboriginal lands. By 1978, over thirty companies had six hundred plus claims on Noonkanbah station in Western Australia. A cartoon from 1978 captures the feeling of the updated Act and the quick industry response

⁷³ *Southwest Indigenous Uranium Forum Newsletter* (September 1993); and "Indigenous Uranium Forum," *The Energy Net* (<http://www.energy-net.org/01NUKE/UM-3.HTM>).

⁷⁴ David Lowe, "Australia's Cold War: Britishness and English-Speaking Worlds Challenged Anew," in Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British World* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), p. 364.

(Figure 9). The diptych's left caricature, labelled "1878," depicts an unclothed Aboriginal man wearing a headband strapped in a large neck chain, commonly in use at that time, which stretches across the page. The image on the right, labelled "1978," portrays a shirtless jean-clad Aboriginal man with his neck shackled in a chemical chain labelled "U-R-A-N-I-U-M."⁷⁵ Over the hundred-year period one neck chain was simply replaced by a more modern one.

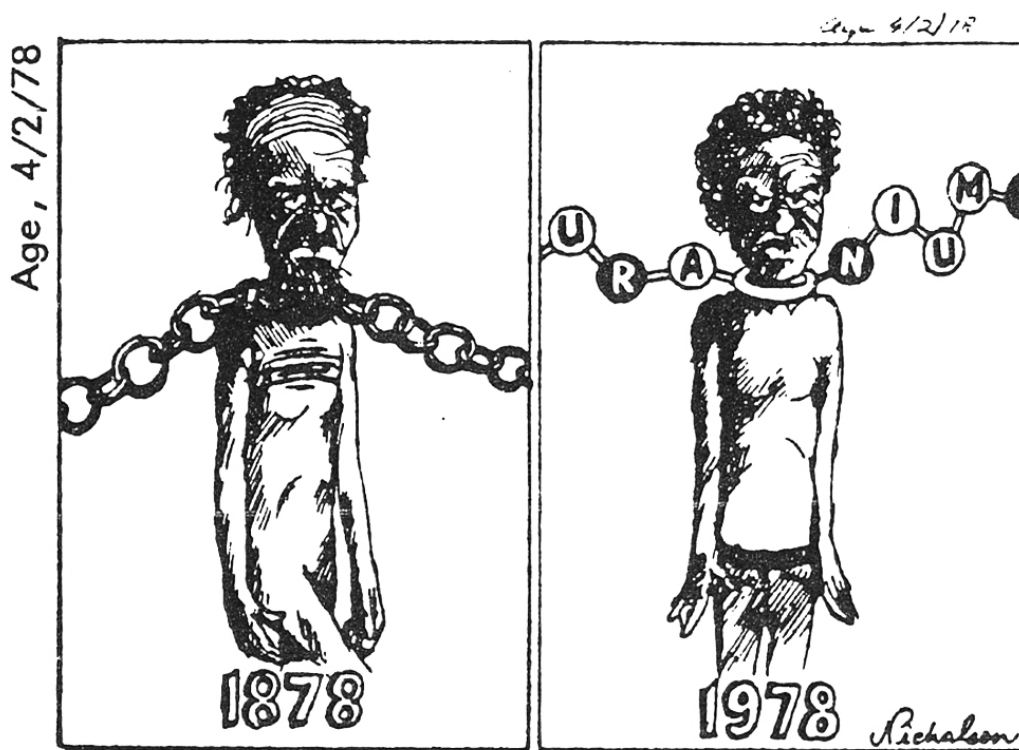


Figure 9: U-R-A-N-I-U-M (*The Age*, 2 April 1978, reproduced in *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 20-21 [December 1978]: 12-13)

⁷⁵ *The Age*, 2 April 1978, reproduced in *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 20-21 (December 1978): 12-13.

By the end of 1979, the Australian government approved mining projects at Rangers and Nabarlek in the Northern Territory and Yeelirrie in Western Australia. These mines, and others, operated adjacent to Aboriginal sacred sites, on Aboriginal territory, or on lands excised from national parks. The Rudall River National Park was known as a “three act nightmare’—a uranium mine, inside a national park, on Aboriginal land.”⁷⁶ Exploitation of uranium discovered in South Australia in 1975 began in 1988. The Roxby Downs Mine (Olympic Dam) became the region’s largest user of underground water and produced millions of tonnes of tailings a year and at least double that of liquid wastes. This has destroyed Kokatha and Arabana Aborigine mound spring sacred sites where artesian water rises to the surface. The mining companies, protected by clauses in their leases, also refused to compensate them for losses of land or allow the former inhabitants unsupervised access to other sites.⁷⁷

The Australian government was sensitive to criticism raised by Aboriginal people and their supporters during mining developments. For example, in the late seventies and early eighties the Australian Minister for Science and Environment asked Film Australia to delete remarks by some scientists and change other “facts” in a film on the environmental effects of uranium mining in Kakadu National Park and the government tried to suppress distribution of such films.⁷⁸ Lucrative contracts to sell the uranium to the United States, Europe and Japan ensured the Australian government supported the mining sector, often

⁷⁶ The quote is from Niklaus, “Land, Power and Yellowcake,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 34 (July 1983): 7.

⁷⁷ Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 76; and Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 20-26.

⁷⁸ “Australia: Government Bans Export of Film about Noonkanbah,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 28/29 (October/ December 1981): 70-71. The film can be viewed online (http://www.abc.net.au/aplacetothink/?#watch/mh_1980/sacred_ground/watchVideo).

arguing that doing so was helping to slow the proliferation of nuclear weapons, since a steady supply of uranium would theoretically quell the need to produce plutonium for energy use and the production of plutonium through fuel cell reprocessing.⁷⁹

Many Aborigines and supporting organizations were aware of the problems associated with uranium mining from Canadian and US examples that had shown that uranium mining and milling contributed to air, soil and water pollution, and to higher cancer rates. Since Australian uranium mining developed after those in Canada and the United States, the Australian Aborigines and their allies easily made such connections. IWGIA, for example, identified similar circumstance between uranium exploitation and Indigenous people in Australia, Canada and the United States.⁸⁰ Reports illustrated how the European public was informed of the hazards of nuclear power plants, but not of uranium mining. To publicize the hazards, a group of three NGOs organized an international conference in Copenhagen in October 1979, *Uranium Mining: A New Threat to the Peoples of the Third and Fourth World*. Over three hundred people participated with representatives from Indian nations throughout the United States, Aborigines from Australia, Greenlanders, and Namibians. Mick Miller, an Aboriginal statesman from Queensland, stated the reason why he travelled to Denmark:

For six years now, we have told the Government that we did not want uranium mining to take place on our reservations. The Government listened

⁷⁹ Statement by the Prime Minister the Right Hon. Malcolm Fraser, p. 4 in Australia, Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, *Uranium: Australia's Decision*.

⁸⁰ *Natural Peoples News*, a periodical published by CIMRA, also compiled uranium and other nuclear issues related to Indigenous people around the world (especially No. 1, and 2/3 [1978]).

to us – and then did exactly what they wanted to do. So in order to put pressure on the Australian Government, we decided to send representatives to as many countries as possible and explain our situation.⁸¹

All participants agreed that to prevent intrusion and the infiltration of government and corporate uranium programs into their lands they had to fight to gain external acknowledgement of their rights to their land and this would require international pressure.⁸²

These conclusions came from the inability of Aborigines to make effective use of domestic channels to alter or influence development on their lands. For example, the commissioners of the second Fox Report on uranium mining at the Ranger site issued in 1977, stated that despite widespread Aborigine opposition to the mining throughout the 1975 hearings, “In the end, we form the conclusion that their opposition should not be allowed to prevail.”⁸³ Big Bill Neidjie of the Bunji clan, who worked as a ranger at Kakadu, was one of the main opponents of the mine. He wrote,

Everybody is pushing us. Pushing, pushing, pushing. Now they want us to sign but they don't understand what it means for us. This is our life.

Everybody said “you’re asking far too much money” ... Now I’ll ask one

⁸¹ “Survival is the Issue,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 24 (April 1980): 68.

⁸² “Uranium Mining: A Threat to the Fourth World,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 23 (November 1979): 29-32; and “Survival is the Issue,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 24 (April 1980): 65-71; and “Proposed Uranium Mining and Waste Storage in Western Australia,” *WCIP Newsletter* Issue 2 (April 1983): 23-26.

⁸³ Niklaus, “Australia: Land, Power and Yellowcake,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 34 (July 1983): 11; and Fox, *Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, Second Report*, 9.

question. How much is your life worth? How much do I have to pay you so I can take your life away? People will say that we are just trying to make trouble now and stop everything, but we don't want trouble. We just want you to understand what we are giving up...our life. It will cost Pancon money. It will cost us our life.⁸⁴

Aborigine apprehension about uranium mining and government-implemented amendments to laws that made it easier for industry to operate were well known outside Aborigine communities.⁸⁵ In 1981, the World Council of Churches reported an Aborigine explain, "When things get difficult for government they simply bring in new law" and that "law is white man's method of manipulation."⁸⁶ An eight hundred person blockade at Roxby Down uranium mine in the summer of 1983 "led to little beyond arrests and silence"⁸⁷ as mining operations continued. Even an official from the Northern Territory government recognized the force of uranium prospecting: "If you want to win a land claim, you've got to make sure it's got no uranium."⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Niklaus, "Australia: Land, Power and Yellowcake," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 34 (July 1983): 8.

⁸⁵ In addition to above cited *IWGIA Newsletters*, see Elizabeth Adler, et al., *Justice for Aboriginal Australians: Report of the World Council of Churches Team Visit to the Aborigines, June 15 to July 3, 1981* (Sydney: Australian Council of Churches, 1981); and various issues of *Natural Peoples News*.

⁸⁶ Adler, et al., *Justice for Aboriginal Australians*, 22-23; and Jan Roberts, *Massacres to Mining: The Colonisation of Aboriginal Australia* (Victoria: Dove Communications, 1981), pp. 125-136.

⁸⁷ "Australia: 'We Don't Need Roxby!'" *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 35 & 36 (October & December 1983): 32.

⁸⁸ "Australia: Draconian New Criminal Code Act in Northern Territory," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 35 & 36 (October & December 1983): 44. For more on Australia, see Burger, *Report from the Frontier*, 186-191. A planned uranium enrichment factory in Papua New Guinea was connected to the Australian uranium mining industry ("Land Rights Problems," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 20-21 [December 1978]: 13.).

Other Areas

The presence of radioactive materials on Yanomamo lands has been known since 1951 and many studies have been done on the Yanomamo because of this, including a ten-year study financed through the AEC. Uranium exploration began in 1970 when the Brazilian government set aside money to create a nuclear program in the hope of gaining international status. Exploration was performed through aerial photographs, radar and infrared technology by US companies contracted by the government. In 1975 they discovered large uranium deposits in an area inhabited by more than two thousand Yanomamo. Brazil signed an agreement with Germany the same year to exchange nuclear technology for the resources extracted from these Yanomamo lands. Shortly thereafter both the Brazilian and Venezuelan governments closed Yanomamo areas to foreign anthropologists.⁸⁹ This made it more difficult for the international community to see the ecological, biological and societal changes brought by government built highways and airstrips to gain access to these areas and the subsequent resource extraction.⁹⁰ Unlike in much of the First and Third World where capitalist countries prospected and operated mines, political borders limited the communist bloc's access to uranium.

The land locked Soviet Union, the communist bloc in general, and latecomers to the nuclear race had less opportunity to prospect around the world for uranium and focused

⁸⁹ In 1979, uranium deposits were discovered between the borders of the Yecuana and Yanomami in Venezuela ("Venezuela: A Report on the Situation of the Yanomami," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 28/29 [October/December 1981]: 36).

⁹⁰ "Brazil: Yanomamo Threatened by Nuclear Power," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 16 (December 1976): 6-8; Norman Gall, "Atoms for Brazil, Dangers for All," *Bulletin for Atomic Scientists* Vol. 32, No. 6 (June 1976): 4-9, 41-48; Shelton Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 101, 104-105; and Cobo Study XVII, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/21/Add.4, p. 190.

on resources in areas within their boundaries. Until the sixties, most of the Soviet uranium came from East Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. Thereafter, as access improved and costs decreased, they located and began exploiting four deposits in the Yenisey region in Siberia, traditionally the lands of Samoyeds, Kets, and Evenks.⁹¹ The Soviet Union also imported uranium from China and North Korea.⁹²

Processing plants and other research facilities were shrouded in secrecy. For example, people surrounding the first plutonium processing plant at Mayak were sworn to secrecy and it was not until 1992 that President Boris Yeltsin opened the area to foreigners. Even when waste from the plant disposed of in rivers began affecting the health of nearby inhabitants, few people complained or had access to information regarding their safety. One of the underground storage tanks filled with radioactive wastes exploded in 1957 and released a large amount of radionuclides into the atmosphere, adding to the constant dumping in neighbouring lakes and rivers. More than forty years of nuclear contamination have made it one of the most contaminated places in the world. Subsequently, some of the Baskir and Tatar residents, who made up the majority, were relocated without government support, while others left amidst the highly contaminated areas.⁹³ Non-Indigenous people were similarly victimized by nuclear development throughout the Soviet Union since the government enforced secrecy made no distinction between Russian and non-Russian

⁹¹ Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 109, 124.

⁹² Shimotomai Nobuo, *Ajia reishensi* [Cold War History in Asia] (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2004), pp. 28-32.

⁹³ Medvedev, *Nuclear Disaster in the Urals*. Medvedev first reported the Urals disaster in the *New Scientist* in 1976, and further commented on it in the following year before the publication of the above work. See “Two Decades of Dissidence,” *New Scientist* Vol. 72 (1976): 265-266; and “Nuclear Disaster in the Soviet Union,” in Alan Roberts and Zhores Medvedev, *Hazards of Nuclear Power* (Nottingham, UK: Spokesman, 1977), pp. 58-73. Brown, *Plutopia*, 172-177 and 189-220.

people. For this reason, some people, like the Baskirs and Tatars who continue to suffer the consequences of Cold War national defence initiatives, do not connect their plight with nationalism or ethnic rights. The relocated people had difficulties in finding new jobs because they were not permitted to talk about where they had come from, why they moved or what they did. In fact, many of them never knew the details of what exactly they were working on, why they were relocated or why they were told not to drink, bathe, or even go near the highly contaminated Techa River.⁹⁴

In the People's Republic of China several groups of people were affected by uranium mining, testing and waste disposal including the Uiger, Kazakh, Kigiz, Xibo, Tajik, Uzbek, Tatar, Western Mongols, and Tibetan people. Uranium mines existed and still exist throughout China, with some of the richest sources in Tibet, including the Tibetan sacred site of Riwoche Hill.⁹⁵ India's Jadugara mine, of which about fifty percent of the miners were tribal, produced about two hundred tonnes of yellowcake annually. Many of the tribal people, such as the Santal, Mundu, and the most adversely affected Ho, were illiterate and

⁹⁴ Paula Garb and Galina Komarova, "Victims of 'Friendly Fire' at Russia's Nuclear Weapons Sites," in Nancy Lee Peluso and Michael Watts, eds., *Violent Environments* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 287-302; Medvedev, *Nuclear Disaster in the Urals*, 131; Brown, *Plutopia*, 197-203; and Mira Kossenko, "Where Radiobiology Began in Russia: A Physician's Perspective," Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Fort Belvoir, AV, 2011. The United States could have made the event public because it knew of the explosion and had sent a U2 spy plane to take pictures of the damage (the U2 plane was shot down) but it chose not to in order to prevent blowback attention of its own nuclear accidents. For details on the flight plans see the recently declassified Gregory W. Pedlow and Donald E. Welzenbach, *The Central Intelligence Agency and Overhead Reconnaissance: The U-2 and Oxcart Programs* (History Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), pp. 170-177, available from the National Security Archive Website (<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB434/>).

⁹⁵ Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 77; Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 100-101; and World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 53-56.

forced to work in the mines with little use of proper protective equipment exposing many of them to high levels of radiation and thus increased incidence of lung cancer.⁹⁶

Summary

Uranium mining contributed to a loss of Indigenous traditional lifestyles. Working in mines provided less time for traditional pursuits and less time to dedicate to their communities' social and cultural livelihood. Sacrificing tradition for wage work seemed fitting with the times and was encouraged by many state government agencies and some Indigenous governments. States often saw mining as a way to introduce or increase wage style labour in Indigenous communities with the hope that it would decrease their dependence on the states and simultaneously decrease state responsibility. In other words, mines and processing plants brought on by Cold War dynamics fuelled further Indigenous people's movement into dominant societies that were wrapped up in discourses of modernity—continual development and progress—in addition to national security. Because state governments and companies with government support initiated exploration, mining, and processing, rather than collaborating equally with local Indigenous populations, progress did occur but it often took on different forms than locally intended or expected. “Progress” took the form of increased cancer rates and other ailments, increased dependence on wage labour, increased Indigenous political movements domestically and internationally, and their alliance with sympathetic non-Indigenous organizations. It also left many Indigenous

⁹⁶ Miller, *State of the peoples*, 77; IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*; Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 94-95; and World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 122-128.

populations with less control of their livelihood, as most did not control the mines.

Uranium mining also contributed to drastic changes in the environment, meaning that pollution made drinking the water or living on the land, let alone living off the land, a health hazard. This advanced form of colonialism, justified by the Cold War, contributed to further assimilation, but always incomplete, of Indigenous people.

Indigenous people were not always against mining or resource extraction. In many cases local Indigenous people or their governments/leaders actively supported or encouraged “development” on their land.⁹⁷ Despite this, mining companies and their representatives and state government bodies, like the AEC, frequently kept local people uninformed of the known hazards associated with uranium mining. For example, the AEC spent enormous sums of money on propaganda films, comics and advertisements promoting a positive image of nuclear energy.⁹⁸ The Soviet Union strictly enforced secrecy over all such activities.⁹⁹ Companies downplayed hazards of uranium mining and processing to ensure higher profits and governments often did so under the guise of national security or national development.

The health risks involved with uranium mining were well known and documented by the mid forties, but this contributed little to changes in mining safety. Companies and

⁹⁷ For example it was a Navaho named Martinez who brought in the first samples of uranium in the Grant Uranium Belt (Ortiz, *Woven Stone*, 295-296).

⁹⁸ On the trilateral cooperation between scientists, industry and government to promote positive aspects of the atom, see Louis Gwin, *Speak No Evil: The Promotional Heritage of Nuclear Risk Communication* (New York: Praeger, 1990), pp. 29 onwards. The US government did not implement guidelines for communicating risks nuclear plants until after the Three Mile Island accident. Also, see Wyck, *Highway of the Atom*, 39 and note 72 on pages 213-214 for more sources that discuss US and Canadian knowledge of the hazards of uranium mining.

⁹⁹ Roy Medvedev and Zhores Medvedev (translated by Ellen Dahrendorf), *The Unknown Stalin: His Life, Death, and Legacy* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2003), pp.121-180.

their representatives often declared that health reports were inconclusive and others said that mining was actually good for health. In response to health risk complaints, state governments and departments, such as the AEC usually acted slowly, made counter arguments, hushed dissent, or created policies when pressures mounted but then left them unenforced.¹⁰⁰

The tropes “national sacrifice area,” “geography of sacrifice,” and “sacrifice zone” have been applied to uranium geographies, most commonly the desert regions in the United States including the four corners area of the southwest United State where the four states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona meet; an area concomitant with the Diné and Hopi reservations.¹⁰¹ Such terms imply that the federal government created a policy that would allow, and encourage, energy resource extraction on Indian lands for the good of the nation, even if it would be impossible to reclaim the lands afterward. In other words, Indian lands were expendable for the security of the nation, especially in the case of uranium mining.

Although it never became official US federal or state government policy, similar ideas did occur in reports written by government agencies. For example, a 1978 Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory report that discussed what to do with uranium tailings suggested the possibility of using desert areas where thick vegetation would not grow and

¹⁰⁰ For example, the US Department of Interior’s Bureau of Mines created a film on radiation in mines and ventilation (http://archive.org/details/Radon_in_mines). The Indian government mass circulated a glossy publication, “Nuclear Power is Safe” (World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 126).

¹⁰¹ Russell Means used the trope “national sacrifice area” in reference to the destruction of US Indian lands by the uranium industry in a speech given in July 1980 at the Black Hills International Survival Gathering in South Dakota (“Marxism is a European Tradition,” *Akwesasne Notes*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Fall 1980): 17-19. For “geography of sacrifice,” see Kuletz, *Tainted Desert*, 27 and 94-97.

zoning “the land in uranium mining and milling districts so as to forbid human habitation.”¹⁰² But this suggestion was not a final solution or recommendation, rather it illustrated that even Los Alamos scientists were dumbfounded about what to do with the growing amount of tailings and they recognized it was going to become an increasingly important environmental problem that would surpass health risks associated with wastes from reactors. Rather than a well thought out genocidal plan, such references were an admission that the degree of destruction of lands and danger of the pollutants was beyond the then known technologies or science to address the issue in any reasonable manner. Openly admitting the health and environmental hazards would have challenged the nuclear program so the involved government agencies and companies more often than not either ignored or downplayed such risks. This was representative of scientific, corporate and government narrow focus and short-term planning.¹⁰³ Rather than official policy to destroy the environment or decimate Indigenous people, Cold War geopolitics and paranoia of falling behind in the nuclear race, backed by the modernity – nation-state complex (Chapter 1), internal colonialisms, and racism drove the continually expanding nuclear cycle.

The unbalanced relationship between the state and Indigenous communities usually meant that regardless of whether the latter supported the projects or not, they had limited

¹⁰² David R. Dreeseon, “Uranium Mill Tailings Environmental Implications,” *Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, Mini-Review (LASL 77-37)* (February 1978): 4. A study by the National Academy of Sciences refers to the low probability of fully rehabilitating some coal-mining areas (*Rehabilitation Potential of Western Coal Lands* [Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1974], pp. 85-86). For more on the history of tailings and clean up, see Eric Mogren, *Warm Sands: Uranium Mill Tailings Policy in the Atomic West* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).

¹⁰³ Public reactions from Rachel Carson’s 1962 *Silent Spring* turned environmental concern into a political movement that recognized the connections between interconnected environmental systems. In 1970 Nixon created the US Environmental Protection Agency.

ability to dramatically shape locations of mines, plants and disposal sites, and the timing of implementation of the industry. Indigenous agency certainly existed but was under-resourced when compared to government or government backed industry. Indigenous communities began with little leverage to negotiate the percentage of profit, mine safety, health services, wages, or reclamation projects. But in the long run the experience with uranium mining and processing provided Indigenous communities with tools and leverage they could use to challenge government and industry paternalism. Health concerns and environmental degradation caught the attention of numerous non-Indigenous organizations as well as the occasional politician. Lawsuits pursued that acted as catalysts for increased funding into many communities that came hand in hand with greater community political and cultural organization.

Chapter 6

The Nuclear Arms Cycle and Indigenous People

“The Italian navigator has landed in the New World.”

“How did he find the natives?”

“Very friendly.”

—Coded telephone conversation confirming the world’s first self-sustaining nuclear reaction, 2 December 1942.¹

Novaya Zemlya is part of the semi-nomadic reindeer herding Nenets territories stretching along the Barents Sea and Kara Sea coasts in the Arctic. It is a glacier and tundra covered archipelago made up of two islands separated by the narrow but turbulent Matochkin Strait. In 1954, the Soviet government authorized the construction of “Object 700,” turning

¹ The ad hoc code created conversation was between Arthur Compton, from Enrico Fermi’s laboratory in Chicago, and president of Harvard University James Conant who was overseeing the program. Arthur Compton tells his version of the conversation in *Atomic Quest: A Personal Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 139-145. Quote from Walter Sullivan, “Top Scientists Recall Birth of Atomic Age 25 Years Ago Today,” *New York Times*, 2 December 1967, p. 43. Also, see William Laurence, “Atomic Birthday Set for Tomorrow,” *New York Times*, 1 December 1946, p. 27; and Masco, *Nuclear Borderlands*, 112.

the archipelago into its northern nuclear test site. Its geography was essential for making the archipelago the state's second highly restricted centre for testing nuclear weapons; it was a remote distance from large population centres, it was considered a large expanse (over 90,000 square kilometers) of apparently empty and barren frontier land that could support tests on a variety of terrains.

Between 1955 and 1957, the Soviet government relocated the more than one hundred Nenets families living on Novaya Zemlya to nearby islands and the mainland, providing a small sum of money and new huts to live in, while the incoming Russians involved with the tests occupied their dwellings.² In total about ninety atmospheric tests and forty-one underground tests took place on Novaya Zemlya beginning in 1955, including the most powerful nuclear bomb ever exploded, *Tsar Bomba*—over ten times more powerful than all explosives used in World War II combined. The Nenets relocation sites, while still within their traditional territories, did little to protect them in the long run because the lands and waters on which they depended lay within the predominant radioactive fallout paths—that of *Tsar Bomba*, for example, moved southwest of Novaya Zemlya, before crossing eastward across Siberia³—radiating the lands and foods many depended on, likely contributing to a doubling of cancer rates and other ailments in their population.⁴ Some Nenets who saw and heard some of the bombs thought it was *Oval*, the

² Paul R. Josephson, *Red Atom: Russia's Nuclear Power Program from Stalin to Today* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), p. 286.

³ "Nuclear Debris Cross Siberia: Big Radioactive Cloud May Reach Alaska Tomorrow," *New York Times*, 1 November 1961, p. 17.

⁴ Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP), *Persistent Toxic Substances, Food Security and Indigenous Peoples of the Russian North. Final Report* (Oslo: AMAP, 2004), p. 165.

local evil underground spirit, trying to escape.⁵ A reindeer breeder on Vaygach Island, located between Novaya Zemlya and the mainland, asked a Western trained Nenets doctor, “I always feel explosions. And why, tell me, please, doctor, why do they wipe us out in this way? Would it not be better to shoot all of us Nentsy on one day?”⁶

Nuclear explosions have left no part of the globe unaffected.⁷ With the exception of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Indigenous people have had the closest physical, temporal and most dramatic relationship to nuclear explosions. Irrespective of the country testing bombs (or their political orientation), most tests were performed on, above, below, or adjacent to Indigenous people’s lands. Dominant state societies, building on colonial perceptions, conceptualized such geographies and people as peripheral, uninhabited, or minimally

⁵ Valery Lebedev, “Gargantuan Bomb Could Save Civilization,” *Moscow News* Vol. 49-50, 19 December 1996, p. 13.

⁶ Quote from World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 230. Also see pages 228-232. L.R. Serebryanny, “The Population of Novaya Zemlya from 1877 to 1956: A Historical Geographic Essay,” *Polar Geography* Vol. 20, No. 3 (1996): 199-208; Vitaly Khalturin, et al., “A Review of Nuclear Testing by the Soviet Union at Novaya Zemlya, 1955-1990,” *Science and Global Security* Vol. 13 (2005): 1-42; and Michael Jasinski, et al., “Russia: Of Truth and Testing,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* Vol. 58, No. 5 (September/October 2002): 60-65; Richard L. Miller, *Under the Cloud: The Decades of Nuclear Testing* (New York: Free Press, 1986), pp. 336-342; the RAIPON Information Center, “Evenki Hydropower Station doesn’t have a right to exist!” (<http://www.raipon.info/en/component/content/article/8-news/45-evenki-hydropower-station-doesnt-have-a-right-to-exist.html>); The RAIPON Information Center, “Resolution of the 6th Congress of the Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation, April 24, 2009” (<http://www.raipon.info/en/the-vi-congress.html>); IWGIA, *Indigenous Peoples of the Soviet North* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1990), pp. 15,16; IAEA, *Nuclear Explosions in the USSR: The North Test Site Reference Material* (Vienna, Austria: The Division of Nuclear Safety and Security, 2004); and Vitaly Khaturin, et. al., “A Review of Nuclear Testing by the Soviet Union at Novaya Zemlya, 1955-1990,” *Science and Global Security* Vol. 13 (2005): 1-42. Russia continued nuclear testing on Novaya Zemlya into the 2000s (Michael Jasinski, Christina Chuen and Charles D. Ferguson, “Russia: Of Truth and Testing,” *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* Vol. 58 [2002]: 60-65). Radiation was not the only hazard to Nenet health as the Arctic also accumulated other persistent toxic substances (AMAP, *Persistent Toxic Substances*).

⁷ IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven and Earth*, 1-47 and 159-171.

inhabited with inconsequential populations; the ideal places for testing nuclear weapons and disposing of radioactive wastes.

The bomb, in addition to the other stages of the nuclear cycle, added new layers to Indigenous history as states strove to attain and maintain nuclear modernity and national security. “The atomic bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn’t. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.” Mao Zedong told this now famous quote to the US journalist Anna Louise Strong in the summer of 1946, well before the communists won the civil war and took control of China.⁸ After Mao came to power in October 1949, he continued to express contempt for the bomb while expending much energy trying to obtain it.⁹ However eager Mao may have been to develop the bomb, he was in no way unique. As the United States and Soviet Union advanced their arsenals, other states around the world worked hard to possess this “paper tiger.” And those that developed it joined the two superpowers in testing them. From 1945 until 1992, six countries performed just over two thousand nuclear tests; only two of which were tested in a direct act of state-to-state war—Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the rest were reserved for expendable testing grounds in state and colonial frontiers, most often inhabited by Indigenous people (Figure 10). Biosphere tests, including those performed in

⁸ Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume IV* (Foreign Languages Press, 1961), p. 100.

⁹ John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai, *China Builds the Bomb* (Stanford University Press, 1988); and Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (Knopf, 2005), pp. 368, 371 and 400-402.

the atmosphere, on the ground, under water, or in space accounted for approximately one-quarter of these and underground tests the remaining three-quarters.¹⁰



Figure 10: Worldwide Nuclear Tests (Visual approximation of numbers from Fedchenko and Hellgren, “Appendix 12B,” in *SIPRI Yearbook, 2007*, 555-556. Map by author and S. Murotani)

¹⁰ These numbers are derived from Vitaly Fedchenko and Ragnhild Ferm Hellgren, “Appendix 12B. Nuclear Explosions, 1945–2006,” in *SIPRI Yearbook, 2007* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 552-557. The use of the words “tests” or “shot” in relation to nuclear explosions deserves a word of caution. These words are only two of many commonly used euphemisms that make up *nukespeak* that helped sanitize various stages of the nuclear cycle. The use of such words stress control and safety and reduce potential alarm of the short-term and long-term dangers from such experiments. Since all explosions/tests had potential military uses, whether they were dropped in war, tested for military purposes or for “peaceful” purposes, all explosions are looked at together. See Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 9; and Stephen Hilgartner, Richard Bell and Rory O’Connor, *Nukespeak: The Selling of Nuclear Technology from the Manhattan Project to Fukushima*, revised edition (San Francisco: Sierra Book Club, 2011).

Scientists, industry and governments knew about the negative biological effects of radiation from the early uranium mining projects and experiments with radium (Chapter 5), and British scientists knew early on about potential dangers of radiation contamination from nuclear weapons. Britain's Military Application of Uranium Detonation Committee (MAUD) completed its two final reports in 1941. In the first of these it stated,

We have now reached the conclusion that it will be possible to make an effective uranium bomb which, containing some 25lb of active material, would be equivalent as regards destructive effect to 1,800 tons of T.N.T and would also release large quantities of radioactive substances which would make places near to where the bomb exploded dangerous to human life for a long period.¹¹

Nonetheless, during future tests the radiation effect of nuclear explosions was often downplayed as a means to gain support for their detonation and quell fears in areas where they were tested.

The United States built the first bombs to gain allied advantage during World War II. With the emergence of the Cold War, nuclear tests became essential to ensure that either the United States or the Soviet Union would keep or at least not lose technological

¹¹ The MAUD report also predicted that it would be feasible to build an atomic bomb before the war ended and spurred the US to heavily invest in a nuclear bomb program. "Report by MAUD Committee on the Use of Uranium for a Bomb, 1941," *NuclearFiles.org: Project of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation* (<http://www.nuclearfiles.org/menu/key-issues/nuclear-weapons/history/pre-cold-war/manhattan-project/maud-report.htm>). For more on MAUD, see Margaret Gowing, *Britain and Atomic Energy, 1939-1945* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964), pp. 41-89. Both parts of the MAUD report along with appendices are on pages 394-436.

advantage of nuclear weapons. This included the ability to make a complete “first strike” or an equally threatening “counter-strike.” This planning led to various programs that included everything from limited nuclear war, or flexible response, to the more probable mutually assured destruction, or the suiting acronym, MAD.¹² For Britain and France, continual nuclear explosions were part of an effort to ensure that they could defend themselves in the event the United States would not actively and quickly defend them if hostilities rose in Europe, and to maintain political influence as world powers.¹³ For China, the bomb meant at first that it could more confidently maintain security against threats from the United States, and later split away from the Soviet Union, and possibly lead the communist world.¹⁴ China and other countries that later developed nuclear capabilities tested their bombs, the numbers of explosions and test sites, however, do not compare to the two superpowers.¹⁵

While all state governments did their best to keep the public uninformed about the dangers of testing or exploding bombs, most countries proved more secretive than the United States. Whereas the Soviet Union, China, Britain, and France kept quiet, the United States did its utmost to provide a pleasant image of the bomb and calm the public about any

¹² On US nuclear war strategies in general, see John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy During the Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 1982, 2005). Francis Gavin importantly points out that we still understand far less than is commonly assumed about the history of nuclear strategy and that this has created many false assumptions in contemporary policy on nuclear issues. On the politics behind the strategies and the myth of flexible response, see Francis Gavin, *Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America's Atomic Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

¹³ Hecht, *The Radiance of France*.

¹⁴ Lewis and Xue, *China Builds the Bomb*.

¹⁵ The tally of tested nuclear devices between 1945 and 1992 vary according to sources and methods of counting. According to SIPRI they are as follows: United States: 1032; Ussr/Russia: 715; UK: 45; France: 204; China: 38; India: 1 (Fedchenko and Hellgren, “Appendix 12B,” in *SIPRI Yearbook, 2007*, 555-556).

concerns with its testing, such as radioactive fallout. This included inviting people to witness the tests and a wide array of propaganda material from pamphlets to videos and directing the media.¹⁶

United States

In maintaining nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, the United States detonated more nuclear devices than any other state, approximately 1,032 between 1945 and 1992, and performed countless other radiation tests. One hundred six tests took place at five sites in the Pacific, 945 on eleven sites within the fifty US states spreading radioactive fallout across the country (Figure 11), two in Japan, and three in the south Atlantic. Most of these tests occurred after the outbreak of the Korean War.¹⁷ During the Korean War, both the Army and Navy requested the development of tactical nuclear weapons and the AEC fully cooperated. In addition to its test sites in the Marshall Islands, the United States acquired testing sites closer to home. Studies showed that, given predominantly westerly winds the East Coast would have been safest for testing activities within the continental United States. Nonetheless, the government thought it more convenient to appropriate lands

¹⁶ Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Volume 2*, 153-154.

¹⁷ There were twenty-four joint US-UK tests at the Nevada test site (US Department of Energy, *United States Nuclear Tests, July 1945 through September 1992* [Las Vegas: US Department of Energy, 2000], pp. xi, xiii, xv). Also see Fedchenko and Hellgren, "Appendix 12B," in *SIPRI Yearbook, 2007*, 555-556.

already under its control that were close to the weapons research facilities, thus prioritizing lands in the southwest of the country.¹⁸

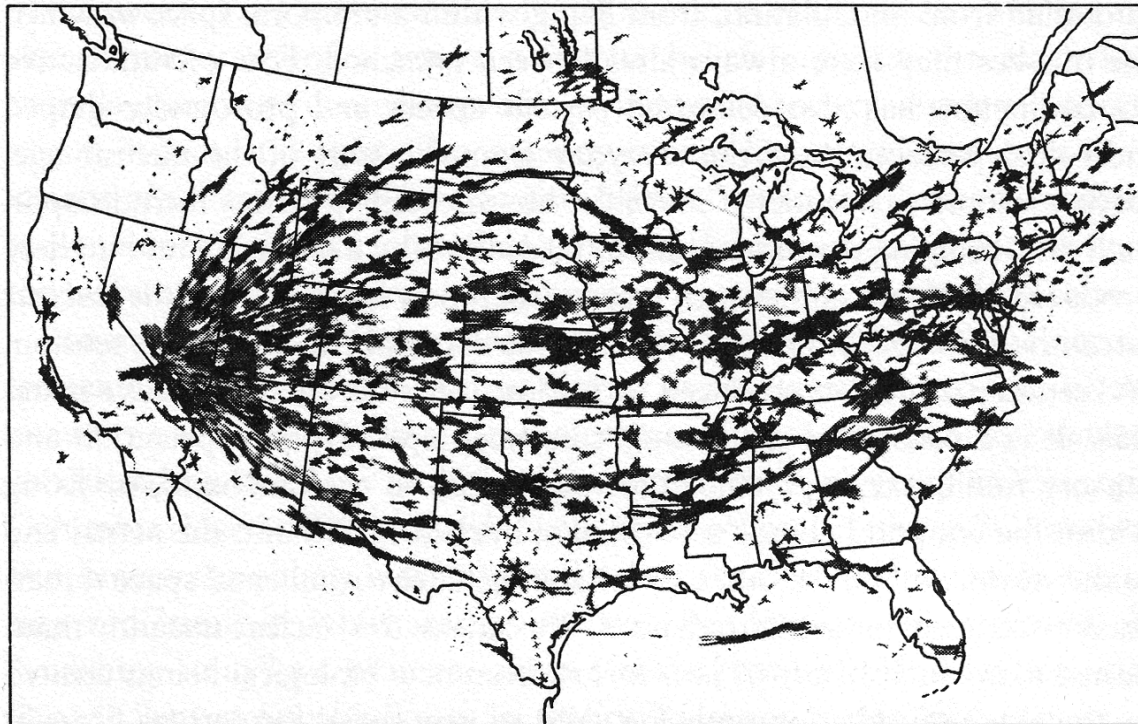


Figure 11: Fallout Trajectory on the Continental United States (Miller, *Under the Cloud*, 444)

In December 1950, Truman approved a section of the Nellis Air Force Gunnery and Bombing Grounds for testing nuclear weapons, a site originally chosen by the AEC for the tests.¹⁹ Early in 1951 Truman signed Executive Order 10218 that “reserved and set apart for national defense and other governmental purposes as an airspace reservation within

¹⁸ IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 53-55.

¹⁹ Roosevelt created this range in 1940. For more on the Nellis base, see David Loomis, *Combat Zoning: Military Land-Use Planning in Nevada* (Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1993).

which no person shall navigate an aircraft except by authority of the United States Atomic Energy Commission..." thus greatly expanding the area.²⁰ These were the traditional lands of the Western Shoshone and South Paiute. Because the government detonated over nine hundred nuclear devices on this site between 1951 and 1992, the Newe or Western Shoshone have often been referred to as "the most bombed nation on earth."²¹ The government kept the neighbouring Indian communities uninformed of any potential dangers from testing and some of these people would gather on nearby hilltops to watch the tests.²²

Over the next several decades the Newe, having experienced both nuclear testing and nuclear deployment on their territories, continued to insist that they had never relinquished title to any of the lands appropriated by the government for testing nuclear weapons and therefore refused to accept payment for them.²³ A Newe representative told a large international audience in 1992: "The psychological and physical effects of nuclear

²⁰ In 1955 the site's name changed from the Nevada Proving Grounds to the Nevada Test Site. In 2010 the site became the Nevada National Security Site. "Renaming the site the Nevada National Security Site better reflects the critical and diverse role it plays in national security" ("Nevada nuclear bomb site given new name," *United Press International*, 23 August 2010 [http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2010/08/23/Nevada-nuclear-bomb-site-given-new-name/UPI-39551282594195/]). Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon, *Killing our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1982), p. 58; and "Establishing an Airspace Reservation Over The Las Vegas Project, Las Vegas, Nevada," Executive Order 10218, 28 February 1951 (<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/executiveorders/index.php?pid=935&st=nevada&st1=>).

²¹ World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 68-171; and Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 75. "The most bombed country on earth" is usually made in reference to Laos. The testing of bombs in the continental US spread radioactive materials throughout the country and beyond. For the spread of radioactive hotspots in the country, see Figure 11. For global spread, see IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 1-47 and 159-171.

²² Kuletz, *Tainted Desert*, 3-4.

²³ Joe Sanchez, "The Shoshone: Following Earth Mother's Instructions," *Race, Poverty and the Environment* Vol. 3, No. 3 (1992): 10-11, 19; and "The Case of the Western Shoshone," in Vermeer, ed., *Archive of the Fourth Russell Tribunal*, 35.A-U (fiche 95-98).

testing and exposure to radiation has certainly added to the trouble of this generation. We have lost this generation. We will not lose another.”²⁴ But the US State Department interpreted such opposition to officially surrender their territories as a local constraint to a more pressing international problem.

The State Department’s concerns were much more broad than the worry about inflicting harm on or killing some of its own citizens or other country’s citizens.²⁵ Of deeper concern was the US ability to maintain nuclear superiority in the face of the Soviet threat. Geopolitical and economic concerns trumped local domestic welfare. While working to maintain global geopolitical-strategic superiority the United States strove to propagate a positive image as a peace pursuing country and minimize their image as a militaristic country. The Eisenhower administration thought the negotiations around nuclear test bans provided such an opportunity. A test ban had the potential of maintaining important allies such as Britain, France, Germany and Japan and would prove advantageous to the United States because their stockpile was likely greater than that of the Soviets at the time. This would prevent the Soviets from overtaking their technology and stockpile, and prevent other countries from obtaining the bomb. Another advantage was that the United States had the technology to perform flyovers and check if the Soviets were following the ban, while the Soviets did not have allies close enough to the United States that would allow their short-range low altitude planes to do the same.²⁶ Despite the ban, the State

²⁴ World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 168.

²⁵ Wasserman and Solomon, *Killing Our Own*.

²⁶ Armed Forces Special Weapons Project, “Technical Analysis: Radioactive Fall-Out Hazards from Surface Bursts or Very High Yield Nuclear Weapons,” May 1954 (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB94/tb01.pdf>); “Report of NSC Ad Hoc Working

Department and the AEC wanted to ensure that they could still make advances in nuclear technology and explosions.

The Case of the Inupiat and Project Chariot

Over 6,500 kilometres north of the Marshall Islands and 320 kilometres north of the Arctic Circle lay Point Hope, Alaska, also known as Tikigaaq, meaning *index finger*, by its inhabitants the Inupiat. In January 1959, Alaska became the forty-ninth, largest, and one of the poorest US states. So drab was the situation for some people that in early 1960 a representative of the first Alaskan state legislature told the Wall Street Journal, “economically, you can’t justify Alaska’s existence.”²⁷ Many Alaskans welcomed the associated economic and development opportunities that came with Cold War military interest in the area, including Project Chariot, a plan to use five nuclear explosions to excavate a harbour near coal deposits within the Arctic Circle about fifty kilometres south of Point Hope.²⁸

Group on the Technical Feasibility of a Cessation of Nuclear Testing,” 27 March 1958 (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB94/tb02.pdf>); Letter from Philip J. Farley, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Atomic Energy, to Joseph J. Wolf, Director, Office of Political Affairs, United States Mission to NATO and European Regional Organizations (USRO), 28 March 1958 (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB94/tb03.pdf>); and Department of State memorandum of conversation, “Meeting with Disarmament Advisors,” 28 April 1958 (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB94/tb04.pdf>).

²⁷ “Alaska’s Ordeal,” *Wall Street Journal*, 16 March 1960 quoted in Donald Craig Mitchell, *Take My Land, Take My Life: The Story of Congress’s Historic Settlement of Alaska Native Land Claims, 1960-1971* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2001), p. 2.

²⁸ On Cold War military bases in Alaska, see Laurel Hummel, “The U.S. Military as Geographical Agent: The Case of Cold War Alaska,” *Geographical Review* Vol. 95, No. 1 (January 2005): 47-72.

Project Chariot had its roots in observations made during earlier hydrogen bomb tests in the Marshall Islands. The world's first hydrogen bomb test, codenamed *Mike* of operation *Ivy*, took place in Eniwetok Atoll in the Marshall Islands on 31 October 1952.²⁹ The bomb obliterated one of the islands in the atoll and observers were quick to notice potential uses of the hydrogen bomb for excavation projects.

Edward Teller, the controversial and outspoken father of the hydrogen bomb, lobbied the government and the AEC to establish the Lawrence Livermore Radiation Laboratory to further develop of the hydrogen bomb as the main US defence against the Soviet Union.³⁰ At Livermore, Teller had freedom and funds to work as he pleased with little interference from the AEC. From the mid fifties, in the midst of debate on nuclear fallout in the presidential election and serious international talk of banning nuclear tests, Livermore began to brainstorm and propose peaceful uses for nuclear explosions. In 1957, the AEC approved the creation of Project Plowshare under the direction of Teller and its mission to investigate non-military uses of nuclear weapons and provide a positive public image of nuclear technologies by producing *clean* hydrogen bombs free from radioactive fallout.³¹ At the same time, Teller and his colleagues publicly proposed the military need for

²⁹ Holly Barker, *Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004); and Smith-Norris, "American Cold War Policies and the Enewetakese," 202.

³⁰ For more on Teller and his involvement in these and the below episodes, see Istvan Hargittai, *Judging Edward Teller: A Closer Look at One of the Most Influential Scientists of the Twentieth Century* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2010), pp. 205-378.

³¹ Dan O'Neill, *The Firecracker Boys: H-Bombs, Inupiat Eskimos, and the Roots of the Environmental Movements* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994; Philadelphia, PA: Basic Books, 2007), pp. 20-27. Citations are to the Basic Books edition. Trevor Findlay, *Nuclear Dynamite: The Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Fiasco* (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1990), pp. 2-19.

producing clean bombs free of radioactive fallout,³² blurring the distinction between peaceful and military benefits of developing such technology.

Because an international test ban would put an end to their project to experiment with hydrogen bombs, Project Plowshare pursued ideas of using explosions for non-military excavation purposes around the world. A few of their plans included making a second canal running through Israeli territory to avoid future problems as occurred with the Suez Crisis, to make the Panama Canal a sea level canal to increase its efficiency by eliminating the need for locks, and using nuclear explosions in the development of northern Alberta's oil sands in Canada.³³ Nevertheless, Teller argued that before foreign countries would permit multiple nuclear explosions on their territory his team first needed to test the feasibility of nuclear excavation on US soil; Project Chariot became that test. This is interesting because the United States Navy had already displaced people in the Pacific for testing weapons. Their goal was to use nuclear bombs to blast out a deep-water harbour at Cape Thompson near Ogotoruk Creek, a site chosen because they thought it was remote and close enough to coal deposits to economically justify the need for a harbour. For the Inupiat of Point Hope, Ogotoruk Creek was a vital site for collecting eggs and hunting caribou, two forms of food on which their community relied.

Teller made several trips to Alaska to convince the non-Native population of the safety and need for Project Chariot. Similar to how Commodore Wyatt told the Bikinians

³² Katherine Magraw, "Teller and the 'Clean Bomb' Episode," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* Vol. 44, No. 4 (May 1988): 34.

³³ O'Neill, *Firecracker Boys*, 24. David Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry and the Conservation Board* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993), pp. 445-453; Scott Kaufman, *Project Plowshare: The Peaceful Use of Nuclear Explosives in Cold War America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 40-41, 97-122.

that they had searched the globe for the best site to test nuclear bombs and that their atoll ranked number one, Teller told the non-Native people of Alaska that they chose the site after looking around the whole world, giving a sense of global importance to the Alaskan geography and people.³⁴ Teller gave the impression that they could perform any feat with nuclear excavation in order to improve upon the geography. A local newspaper quoted Teller as saying, "If your mountain is not in the right place, drop us a card."³⁵ Teller played on local sentiments when he told local audiences that they would only go through with the test if it proved to be economically sustainable, that the project "needs big people ... and big people are found in big states," that they would spend two-thirds of the \$5 million dollar budget in Alaska, and that it was a safe procedure.³⁶ With such statements Teller and his team blurred the boundaries between the Cold War, modernity, state-building, and scientific discovery. It also justified further state penetration into one of the country's peripheral areas, but once again an area not peripheral to the people that lived there.

Teller's team made no effort to inform the Inupiat of Point Hope, the people living closest to the test, until they demanded a meeting with the AEC. In a subsequent meeting the Inupiat tape recorded AEC staff lying to them about potential health risks and damage to their lands. The AEC told them that the radiation from the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the test bombs in the Marshall Islands produced no negative problems for

³⁴ O'Neill, *Firecracker Boys*, 34.

³⁵ *Anchorage Daily Times*, 26 June 1959, p. 11 as quoted in O'Neill, *Firecracker Boys*, 96.

³⁶ Paul Brooks and Joseph Foote, "The Disturbing Story of Project Chariot," *Harper's Magazine* (April 1962), pp. 62, 65; and O'Neill, *Firecracker Boys*, 35-36, 40.

humans or the plants and fish they consumed.³⁷ A few Point Hope residents had served in the US military in the Pacific and saw Nagasaki first hand and heard about the destruction of the tests at Bikini Atoll.³⁸ They continued to oppose Project Chariot despite the AEC's assurance that it would benefit them. With support from a few environmental scientists from the University of Alaska and representatives from the American Association on Indian Affairs, a New York based non-profit organization, they held a regional conference in 1961 from which the twenty-eight delegates created the regional organization *Inupiat Paitot* and called for the annulment of the AEC's withdrawal of lands around Cape Thompson.³⁹ A year later they set up *Tundra Times*, the first statewide Native newspaper. This paper highlighted Native interests, concerns and viewpoints largely missing in the other Alaskan newspapers that, for the most part, supported AEC initiatives.

Project Chariot provided the spark for three hundred Point Hope residents and sympathetic non-Native organizations to start a movement that rapidly spread throughout the state. The discovery of oil on Prudhoe Bay in 1968 and the need for a pipeline to transport the oil added a sense of urgency to address and resolve Native concerns and claims. While the nuclear arms race provided the impetus for increasing Alaska wide Native solidarity, energy and oil provided the need for the US government involvement to

³⁷ O'Neill, *Firecracker Boys*, 122-141. For radiation effects from buried material, see Caroline Cannon, "High Hopes: Testimony on Human Radiation Experimentation," *Race, Poverty & the Environment* Vol. 5, Nos. 3-4 (Spring/Summer 1995): 28. On Inupiat responses to the burial of radioactive material in 1962, see Edith Turner, "There Are No Peripheries to Humanity: Northern Alaska Nuclear Dumping and the Inupiat's Search for Redress," in Barbara Rose Johnson, ed., *Half-Lives and Half-Truths: Confronting the Radioactive Legacies of the Cold War* (Santa Fe, NM: A School of Advanced Research Resident School Book, 2007), pp. 77-95.

³⁸ O'Neill, "Project Chariot," 34.

³⁹ O'Neill, "Project Chariot," 34.

bridge the gap between differing priorities and goals of corporations, the US government, and Native groups in Alaska. The subsequent negotiations culminated in the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement.⁴⁰

This settlement, designed to resolve Native land claims and spur economic development, provided US government recognition of Alaskan Native title to forty-four million acres of traditional lands in the state and paid nearly one billion US dollars in compensation, while simultaneously extinguishing any remaining Native title. In addition, those enrolled in the act received shares in village and/or regional corporations that held the land title, making Native Alaskans shareholders in corporation owned land. In addition to altering Native communities relationship to their land, it also altered Native – US government relations. The kind of legacy the act has left behind in Alaska, as attorney and writer, Donald Mitchell, points out, “... depends upon who is asked the question.”⁴¹ Whether or not the Ainu who visited the North Slope in 1978 (Chapter 4) were aware of these controversies, it inspired a reconsideration of the Ainu relationship with the Japanese government.⁴²

⁴⁰ Other issues that fed into increased Native solidarity in Alaska included a US Army Corps proposal to build a dam on Yukon River that would have flooded seven Native villages and a breeding area for waterfowl. For further details on the formation of Alaskan Native state wide political organization, see Mitchell, *Take My Land, Take My Life*, 11-81; and Mary Clay Berry, *The Alaska Pipeline: The Politics of Oil and Native Land Claims* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), pp. 34-52. The AEC continued to pursue nuclear testing in Alaska and chose a location even closer to the Soviet Union on the Aleutian Islands (Dean Kohlhoff, *Amchitka and the Bomb: Nuclear Testing in Alaska* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010]).

⁴¹ Quote from Mitchell, *Take My Land, Take My Life*, 493.

⁴² On the negotiation process and the controversial results of the act, see Roy M. Huhndorf and Shari M. Huhndorf, “Alaska Native Politics since the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* Vol. 110, No. 2 (Spring 2011): 385-400; Mitchell, *Take My Land, Take My Life*, 337-541; Berry, *The Alaska Pipeline*; and Canada. Northern Affairs Program. Circumpolar &

Australia

Another part of this globalizing movement of Indigenous people related to nuclear testing occurred on Aborigine territories in Australia. During an eleven-year period beginning in 1952 the British conducted twelve tests at Monte Bello, Emu, and Maralinga as well as numerous “minor trials” involving plutonium at the last site.⁴³ The test sites, similar to others around the globe, were chosen from a mix of perceived remoteness and convenience. Monte Bello, in addition to being a remote island, was thought to be useful for simulating an explosion in a harbour and thus prove important for yielding results of what it would look like if a bomb were dropped near London, England. Being distant from main roads, rail lines and dense populations Emu provided a remote site; but it was so remote by British standards that they sought terrain closer to ground transportation routes. Maralinga, also in South Australia, became that site. The tests and subsequent radioactive contamination affected numerous Aboriginal groups: Ngalea, Guguda, Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara, Mirning and Wirangu homelands either included or lay congruent with Maralinga, Emu was home to the Yankunytjajara, and well over 4,500 Aboriginal people, not 417 as claimed by the British at the time, lived near Monte Bello.⁴⁴

Scientific Affairs Directorate Lennard Sillanpaa, *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act: The First Twenty Years* (Canada Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Circumpolar and Scientific Affairs Publication, 1992). Inuit in Canada also saw the act as important for understanding land claims in Canada. See Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, *The Alaska Native Claims Settlement: A Report on a Trip to Alaska by Representatives of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada* (Canada: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1974).

⁴³ Nuclear explosions in Australia ended in 1957 but were followed by the so-called minor trials. From 1962 to 1991, the British moved their underground testing to the US Nevada test site.

⁴⁴ Stewart Firth, *Nuclear Playground* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), p. 72; Royal Commission, *The Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia: Volume 1*

Prime Minister Robert Menzies dominated Australian politics during his time in office from 1948 to 1966, a time that overlapped British testing in the country. Menzies was anti-communist, pro-British, and thought a closer connection with Britain during the Cold War would increase Australia's international prestige. He continued in his predecessor's footsteps and eagerly sought collaboration with the British nuclear program, welcomed the British nuclear tests, and took the very limited British information on the tests at face value by denying any risks associated with them. His announcement of the tests in early 1952 was representative of the overriding government opinion even after public backlash rose in the early eighties.

In the course of this year, the United Kingdom Government intends to test an atomic weapon produced in the United Kingdom. In close cooperation with the government of the Commonwealth of Australia, the test will take place at a site in Australia. It will be conducted in conditions that will ensure that there will be no danger whatever from radioactivity to the health of the people or animals in the Commonwealth.⁴⁵

Menzies and his government dominated the official discourse and information available to the media during the tests. It was clear that during the testing years the government and non-Aboriginals alike had little concern for the Aboriginal populations near the three sites.

Neither affirming nor denying the hazards for Aborigines, the 1985 *Report of the Royal*

(Canberra: Australia Government Publishing Service, 1985), pp. 118-120. Also, see Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 76; and IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 105-122.

⁴⁵ As quoted in IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 108. For more on Menzies and the tests, see L.J. Louis, *Menzies' Cold War: A Reinterpretation* (Victoria: Red Rag Publications, 2001).

Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia stated, “There was a failure at the Hurricane trial [the first British test in Australia at Monte Bello] to consider the distinctive lifestyles of Aboriginal people. As no record was made of any contamination of the mainland, it is impossible to determine whether Aborigines were exposed to any significant short or long-term hazards.”⁴⁶ On the Totem 1 tests at Emu, the report similarly noted that Aboriginal lifestyles were not accounted for in the planning of the tests. It acknowledged that “inadequate resources were allocated to guaranteeing the safety of Aborigines...” and that accounts of a “black mist” that passed over their lands after the tests and its negative health consequences that Aborigines had talked about for many years before it gained publicity were likely credible. Ultimately, however, the report concluded with a contradictory statement. It suggested that Aborigine accounts of the black mist might have been nothing more than “a psychogenic reaction to a frightening experience...” Whether the mist was a fabrication, actual, or a combination of both, the Commission believed that radioactive fallout did occur on Aborigine communities but the lack of information prevented them from concluding what kind of health risks fallout had.⁴⁷

The second round of tests on Monte Bello failed to consider the consequences for Aborigines even though such problems were recognized at Maralinga. The story is similar to all the other tests, including the minor tests involving plutonium, the most dangerous element in the world with half-lives ranging from twenty minutes to tens of millions of

⁴⁶ Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia: Conclusions and Recommendations* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1985), p. 15.

⁴⁷ Quotes from Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission: Conclusions*, 16-17. For details of accounts and evidence, see Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission: Volume 1*, 174-194.

years.⁴⁸ Some officials had responsibilities for warning Aborigines to stay away from these sites, but they were under resourced for the job covering such large areas. “They could be sitting behind a salt bush and you would never know: even low flying aircraft would not pick them up. So, in that sense, he would be a foolish man to guarantee that he could ensure us that there were no natives in the area...” This was not, however, the official opinion at this time.⁴⁹ Even in 1985, the Commission recognized how little was known of Aboriginal lifestyles and recommended a clean up of Maralinga and Emu so that Aboriginal people could have unrestricted access.⁵⁰

Although Aboriginal people were neither equal citizens nor accurately included in the census at the time of the tests, the Royal Commission’s report showed that more information was available than what the British or the Australian federal government made use of or acknowledged during the testing years as well as in government reports that came out in the early eighties. Throughout these years, Aborigines, unaware of the hazards, moved through the areas and there were reports of some Aborigines using bomb craters for temporary campsites.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Pu₂₃₉, the main isotope used in weapons production, has a half-life of 24,000 years. The half-lives for the other fourteen isotopes of plutonium range from twenty minutes to eighty-two million years. By-products of enrichment, U₂₃₈ and U₂₃₅, present in depleted uranium (DU) used in military projectiles and armour, have a half-lives of 4.46 billion and 700 million years respectively and will eventually decay into lead. Every year nuclear processing plants produce about five hundred thousand tonnes globally. Health risks of DU are hotly debated. For more on plutonium, see Jeremy Bernstein, *Plutonium: A History of the World’s Most Dangerous Element* (Washington, DC: Joseph Henry Press, 2007).

⁴⁹ Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission: Volume 1*, 172. A good summary of the Report is in Firth, *Nuclear Playground*, 70-82.

⁵⁰ Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission: Conclusions*, 19-26, 31-32.

⁵¹ Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission: Volume 1*, 319; and IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 112.

The Australian government and public largely ignored Aborigine voices that told of various consequences of atomic tests in the country. It was only after former British and Australian servicemen publicized their declining health from participating in the tests that the government and public began to notice the Aborigine presence in the issue.⁵² As the decades progressed official Australian and British government positions on the history of the tests bifurcated. The 1985 *Report of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia* showed a history of secrecy, lack of Australian controls, disregard of Aborigine welfare, and placed responsibility for much of the human and environmental harm on the British. A British report that followed took an opposing stance that the tests were examples of a close, friendly, and collaborative relationship between the two countries.⁵³ This left the Aborigines positioned between two governments not wanting to accept or acknowledge responsibility for claims that began appearing more political than historical.

Until this bifurcation the Australian government as well as the Australian public rarely questioned the British story. Any opposition or counter narratives were usually discredited as being a communist plot or favouring Soviet advancement in nuclear technology while not supporting the West. So, when some Aborigine groups like the Yanykuntjaras became politically active over nuclear issues during the sixties, the government and public acted with disinterest. Only with the new Labour government in 1972, a political party with no ties to the nuclear tests, did the government begin to look

⁵² Keith Suter, "British Atomic Tests in Australia," *Medicine and War* Vol. 10 (1994): 201; and Roger Cross, "British Nuclear Tests and the Indigenous People of Australia," in Douglas Holdstock and Frank Barnaby, eds., *The British Nuclear Weapons Programme, 1952-2002* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), pp. 76-90.

⁵³ Dieter Michel, "Villains, victims and heroes: Contested memory and the British nuclear tests in Australia," *Journal of Australian Studies* Vol. 27, No. 80 (2003): 221-228, 260-263 (notes).

more critically at the history of the British tests. The timing of this coincided with a decade of quick growth of Aborigine rights movement in the country coupled with a Pacific-wide concern about continued French nuclear testing in the region and growing Australian nationalism. As the Australian government and public began rewriting their historical memory on the era of testing, concluding with the 1985 Royal Commission, some post nineties cleanup projects, and compensation to Aborigine communities, uranium mining continued to expand throughout the country.⁵⁴

The Pacific

The Pacific Ocean covers more than one-third of the Earth's surface and contains thousands of islands with over a hundred different Indigenous people. The region's early connection with the nuclear age came from a convergence of colonial and wartime legacies, decolonization, and pragmatic political conveniences of the nuclear powers.

Rather than disappear during the postwar years, the legacies of former eras and structures including the League of Nations mandate system, colonies, and World War II

⁵⁴ On clean-up, see Alan Parkinson, "Cleaning-Up Maralinga," in Holdstock and Barnaby, eds., *The British Nuclear Weapons Programme*, 91-100. Michel, "Villains, Victims and Heroes." Aborigines gained strength and insight from building ties with non-Indigenous people and organizations in addition to building ties with other Indigenous people. For example, in 1988 two Aborigines visited Bikini and saw many similarities (Suter, "British Atomic Tests in Australia," 202; and "Aborigines-Bikinians Find Common Ground," *Marshall Islands Journal* Vol. 3 [March 3, 1988]: 3). Also, see Jan Roberts, *Massacres to Mining: The Colonisation of Aboriginal Australia* (Victoria: Dove Communications, 1981), pp. 46-49; "Nuclear Fission," *New Statesman* 27 July 1984, pp. 18-19; "Fallout of a Cloud of Secrecy" *New Statesman*, 30 November 1984, pp. 19-20; "More Fallout Still to Come," *New Statesman* 15 February 1985, pp. 20-21; "Australia: More Evidence of Nuclear Testing Harming Aborigines," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 38 (July 1984): 3-9; Burger, *Report from the Frontier*, 187; and Firth, *Nuclear Playground*, 70-82. For a critical history of Indigenous – non-Indigenous relations from 1950 to 1970, see Haebich, *Spinning the Dream*.

bases, shifted to serve Cold War goals. Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter called for the decolonization of non-self governing territories and Chapter XII asserted that the trusteeship system would work to create self-government or independence for former mandate areas. In 1946, eight UN member states created a list of territories to be considered Non-Self Governing Territories set for eventual decolonization.⁵⁵ However, the nuclearization of the Pacific in the form of nuclear testing, deployment of nuclear weapons and submarines, and radioactive waste disposal complicated decolonization and the management of the trusteeships. The decolonization process of British colonies grew steadily after they finished their nuclear tests in the region in the sixties. Kiribati, the site of some British tests discussed briefly below, went through various reforms that included self-rule (1971) and internal self-government (1975) before it gained independence in 1979. Vanuatu (formerly New Hebridean), a joint British-French colony, only gained independence in 1980, largely due to French reluctance to let go of its Pacific colonies.⁵⁶ This made Vanuatu the last British and first French possession in the Pacific to gain independence.

The trust territories under US administration also went through various negotiations with that country in pursuit of higher degrees of self-government. Guam had been a US territory since 1898 and had little chance for independence as that country

⁵⁵ Seventy-four territories were included on the original list. UN General Assembly Resolutions 9(1) of 9 February 1946, 66(1) of 14 December 1946, 67(1) of 14 December 1946, 1969(XVIII) of 16 December 1963, 1970(XVIII) of 16 December 1963, and 1971(XVIII) of 16 December 1971.

⁵⁶ France included French Polynesia and New Caledonia but stopped providing the General Assembly with updates on their status the following year and removed them from an updated list in that included 64 territories in 1963. The UN General Assembly placed New Caledonia back on the list in December 1986 and on 17 May 2013 it voted to place French Polynesia back on the list.

moved to absorb the island as an *unincorporated territory*. In 1970, the people of the Northern Marianas sought closer ties with the United States rather than independence. Negotiations began in 1972 and a commonwealth agreement took effect several years later. While the remaining trust territories have gained a kind of independence, they remain economically reliant on the United States. These territories remained important for regional US foreign policy and defence strategy throughout the Cold War and beyond (Chapter 4). The French, because of their reliance on two atolls in French Polynesia as their only nuclear test sites for over thirty years, were the most reluctant of the colonial powers in the Pacific to let go of their holdings. They worked to incorporate their Pacific colonies into the French Republic as overseas territories and discredit local independence and anti-nuclear movements in the region.⁵⁷ Although the pursuit of nuclear weapons was a direct consequence of the Cold War, it was a continuation of colonial relationships and mentalities of empire that eased the transition of French testing zones from Algeria to the Pacific.

All three countries that tested nuclear weapons in the Pacific viewed the region as isolated, far away from large human populations, or at least as human populations that held little political or economic power. They saw the vast Pacific Ocean as a divider rather than a unifier for the people and cultures of the region.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ On the global movement of nuclear disarmament see Lawrence Wittner's three volumes on the subject, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Volume 1, One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement Through 1953* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Volume 2*; and *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Volume 3, Toward Nuclear Abolition: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971 to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003). Island territories of former colonial powers also significantly contributed to maintaining large overseas territories through exclusive economic zones as outlined in the 1982 UN Law of the Seas (Nolan, "Imperial Archipelagos").

⁵⁸ Maclellan, *After Moruroa*, 16.

The United States brought the region into the imaginary of the nuclear age when they used the base at Tinian in the Northern Mariana to launch the Enola Gay toward Hiroshima. Three days later, Bockscar left the same base to drop its nuclear cargo on Nagasaki. After World War II ended, the United States was the first country to begin using the region for nuclear tests in 1946 (Chapter 4). Following in the footsteps of the United States, Britain and France also took to using the region to advance their nuclear technology.⁵⁹ The British used their influence as the head of the Commonwealth to use areas “where Aboriginals could not be” in Australia and their status as a colonial power and their alliance with the United States to secure other sites.⁶⁰ The French, after losing their test site when Algeria won independence, moved their experiments to their Pacific colony of French Polynesia. France depended on this area for their tests and according to a French Army study on the Asia-Pacific region to fulfil “its destiny in the Pacific hemisphere as a medium-sized world power.”⁶¹ Because of this perceived need to keep a foothold in the Pacific, the French government rarely criticized or challenged US dominance in the Pacific as they regularly did in Europe over US cultural penetration and their dominance in NATO. This was because challenging the United States in the region had potential to highlight that they too were using their colonies to test nuclear devices.⁶²

⁵⁹ See Chapter 4 for a discussion on US nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands.

⁶⁰ Quote from Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal: Volume 1*, 318-319. Also see, Robert Cross, “British Nuclear Tests and the Indigenous Peoples of Australia,” in Holdstock and Barnaby, eds., *British Nuclear Weapons Programme*, 75-88; and Firth, *Nuclear Playground*, 70-82.

⁶¹ Quote from French Army study on the Asia-Pacific region, cited in Maclellan, *After Moruroa*, 75.

⁶² On French motivations in general, see Denise Fisher, *France in the Pacific: Power and Politics* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013).

The British continued testing nuclear weapons and worked to explode a hydrogen bomb before the mounting discussion on test ban treaties took solid form during the late fifties. During a Cabinet discussion on their development of the hydrogen bomb, Prime Minister Winston Churchill argued, "We could not expect to maintain our influence as a world power unless we possessed the most up-to-date nuclear weapons."⁶³ Global unease with fallout rose after the irradiation of the fish and crew of the Japanese boat *Lucky Dragon* with the US hydrogen bomb test *Bravo*; this encouraged the British to seek a supposedly more isolated region than South Australia. They resolved to reconsider test sites in the Pacific Islands they had previously discounted due to inconvenient logistics and their relatively dense population. According to Squadron Leader Roland Duck,

When we were first given the task of finding a site, we decided the nicest way and the easiest way was to find a vast expanse of water. The largest amount of water with the least land is the Pacific. So we took a large map of the Pacific and we really settled our finger and put it down rather like picking a winner and we got Christmas Island and Malden Island.⁶⁴

These islands, now part of the Republic of Kiribati, became another theatre of British tests. *Operation Grapple*, the British hydrogen bomb test series, began before, overlapped, and outlasted the last set of tests, *Antler*, at the Maralinga site in Australia. The British finished their major tests by the time the Limited Test Ban Treaty took effect in 1958. When this

⁶³ Quoted in Losena Tubanavau, et al., eds., *Kirisimasi: Fijian Troops at Britain's Christmas Island Nuclear Tests* (Suva, Fiji: Pacific Concerns Research Centre, 1999), p. 4.

⁶⁴ Quoted in IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 124.

treaty fell apart several years later the United States made a deal with Britain to exchange test data for the use of the Britain's Pacific test sites. In 1962, the United States added twenty-four tests to the area's toll and other tests continued for another year thereafter bringing the total to thirty-three for the area.⁶⁵

Throughout these tests, Micronesians and Polynesians inhabited Kiritimati (Christmas Island) and other surrounding islands in the Line Islands, and the slightly more distant Phoenix and Gilbert Islands. Although Malden Island, in the southern part of the Line Islands, had prehistoric Polynesian ruins, it was, and remains, uninhabited. The British took some families onto boats during some of the larger hydrogen tests at Kiritimati but most of them were simply told not to look at the flash. The British also employed several hundred Fijians to help prepare for the tests. Most of them were unaware that they were going to be part of the nuclear tests until they arrived on the islands.⁶⁶ The United States thought it unnecessary to evacuate anyone, although some voluntarily left. The United States provided three months worth of canned food for the remaining people after they completed the tests. For survey and cleanup operations, the United States evacuated the islanders from 1964 to 1967, upon which many of them relocated throughout the central Pacific on their own accord.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 123-132; Robert Norris, Andrew Burrows and Richard Fieldhouse, *Nuclear Weapons Databook, Volume V: British, French, and Chinese Nuclear Weapons* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 34-42; John Walker, *British Nuclear Weapons and the Test Ban, 1954-1973* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 21-90.

⁶⁶ Tubanavau, et al., eds., *Kirisimasi*.

⁶⁷ IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 123-132; and Stewart Firth and Karin von Strokirch, "A Nuclear Pacific," in Donald Denoon, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 336-338. Further north, at and near Johnson Atoll the US held twelve atmospheric and stratospheric tests from 1958 to 1962 and an additional four atmospheric tests

As Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to a voluntary moratorium in 1958, France was still in the midst of becoming a nuclear power. France began construction of a nuclear testing site in their Algerian colony in the late fifties and exploded their first nuclear device in early 1960. Because of its late admission into the nuclear club, France needed to perform tests to catch up to the other nuclear powers, so they chose not to sign the Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963. France maintained rights to continue testing in Algeria for fifteen years after that country won independence with the 1962 Treaty of Evian. The year Algeria won independence, France began construction of a new test site in French Polynesia, another colony on the other side of the planet.⁶⁸ By the time France pulled their testing operations out of Algeria in 1967, they had conducted seventeen tests at two locations in the Sahara desert near areas inhabited by Tuareg nomadic people.⁶⁹ The timing of French use of the Pacific for testing came after nearly two decades of testing by the United States and Britain came to an end in the region. As the United States and Britain abandoned atmospheric tests they moved the underground testing to Aleut, Eskimo and Indian traditional lands in the continental United States and Alaska.⁷⁰

Similar to other nuclear states, France made use of territories acquired during the colonial era. Following in British footsteps with their stance on Australia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the French government thought they could use the Marquesas

above the Pacific Ocean. Hawai'i is the closest inhabited area near Johnson and was prone to fallout (Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 34-35).

⁶⁸ The area took this name in 1957.

⁶⁹ Robert Norris, "French and Chinese Nuclear Weapons Testing," *Security Dialogue* Vol. 27, No. 1 (1996): 40-41; Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 76; IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 133-150; and Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 73-75.

⁷⁰ On the US tests in the Aleutian Islands in Alaska, see Dean W. Kohlhoff, *Amchitka and the Bomb: Nuclear Testing in Alaska* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).

Islands to offload surplus convicts in the late nineteenth century. Under order from the government, Admiral Dupetit-Thouars sailed to this group of ten islands and ceremoniously claimed them for France in the mid-nineteenth century. It mattered little that the islands were inhabited. The Admiral, having no such orders, then sailed to Tahiti and performed a similar but unsanctioned ceremony; France later retroactively supported it. The Tahitians were able to absorb many of the Europeans that took up residence there even after the area became an official colony in 1880.

The French initiated no drastic development schemes on the islands until well into the twentieth century because they thought the islands relatively poor. The further away from Tahiti the less the French had influence even into the thirties. During World War II, most of the Polynesians supported Free French under General de Gaulle and three hundred islanders fought for France in North Africa, Italy, France, and Germany. The return of these veterans represented the start of local Polynesian political movements. Even as late as 1956, when de Gaulle visited the islands for the first time, there was little concern for nuclear issues that had already risen elsewhere in the Pacific. A key reason such news had not become widespread knowledge throughout these islands was because Tahiti had no newspaper and only one radio station from which to disseminate news and the French controlled the broadcasting. Between 1957 and 1958, as the local Polynesian government tried to gain more control of their islands they came into conflict with French patriots. France, busy with the war in Algeria, knew that their time was running out for access to the

nearby and accessible test site in that country and began planning a relocation to their colony in the Pacific.⁷¹

Before testing began on two uninhabited atolls in the southwest of French Polynesia clashes between the locals and the French governor increased as they realized they had little control in preventing the French test nuclear bombs in the region. Despite local protest and arguments of the illegality of the project, the French brought in thousands of soldiers and Foreign Legions, who doubled as engineers, to build the test sites on Moruroa and Fangataufa. They set up camp on these two atolls as well as on Hao, a couple hundred miles to the northeast, as a rear base. Some two thousand military men and a three and a half kilometre long runway soon overwhelmed the eight hundred Polynesian inhabitants on that island. The French soon after built a secondary and larger rear base on Tahiti along with another large runway. There, the seven thousand men, mostly single and wealthy by local standards, had a dramatic social and political effect on the island. The number of cars increased quickly, as did the number of relationships between local women and French officers.

As local resentment grew, so too did violence between the islanders and the newcomers. But many Polynesians also contributed to the urbanization of the region. Enticed by high wages scores of the islanders took contractual construction jobs. Even though their contracts often stipulated that the French would supply transportation for the workers to return to their island of origin, technicalities and lack of service boats often

⁷¹ This following section on France is based on Robert Aldrich, *France and the South Pacific since 1940* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993); Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign*; Firth, *Nuclear Playground*, 83-119; Roy Smith, *The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement: After Moruroa* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997); and Maclellan, *After Moruroa*.

prevented this, making Tahiti the main depot. Upon completion of their contracts, therefore, many of them went to Tahiti to spend their earnings in the city.⁷²

De Gaulle and the government in Paris promised the Polynesians that the tests would bring wealth to the islands, but instead it first brought social disruption, deceit, new health risks, and hardened colonial policies. These traits, however, are not unique to communities, Indigenous or not, in times of change and transition in modernization projects, and the French presence was not all negative. The drastic influx of French military personnel brought with it large transfers of goods, money, infrastructure and the creation of a consumer society. A major concern for Ma'ohi, the Indigenous people of Tahiti, and *demi*, or the half-French half-Ma'ohi, in favour of independence or autonomy appears not to have been "development" itself, but rather who was in control of it, since the policies, programs, and structures the French put in place created local economic dependence on France.⁷³

Atmospheric testing began in 1966 and continued until 1973, despite mounting international concern of fallout that originated from Australia and New Zealand and soon engrossed other Pacific people, South America and beyond.⁷⁴ From 1973 onwards, the French moved their tests underground on Fangataufa atoll. This did little to quash regional concern because, even though these two atolls were uninhabited, other nearby atolls in all

⁷² IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 133-150.

⁷³ Maclellan, *After Moruroa*, 116-122.

⁷⁴ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *French Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere: The Legacy of Legality* (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1974). On protests against France that continued through the early nineties, see Ramesh Thakur, "The Last Bang Before a Total Ban: French Nuclear Testing in the Pacific," *International Journal* Vol. 51 (Summer 1996): 466-486.

directions but the south were populated.⁷⁵ Some Ma'ohi and *demi* politicians fought hard yet unsuccessfully to stop the tests and to have details about the consequences of the tests on the environment and their livelihood explained to them. Local political parties, however, generally acted in self-interest making them volatile as they shifted between positions and created coalitions with their rivals who often lacked articulate political stances.⁷⁶ There are several reasons for this lack of cohesion. To start, the French held control of the press, radio and television in the region and downplayed fears of fallout and manipulated politics by only presenting the French government's position and advertising political bodies and people it supported.⁷⁷ Secondly, as the French military activities provided most of the coveted and prestigious jobs and economic opportunities for the local people, dissent meant attacking one's own or family member's source of livelihood. Lastly, during elections the French military personnel who moved to the region as part of the nuclear program had their votes count locally rather than in their home constituencies in France, making it difficult for local parties to gain prominence.

On one occasion in 1966 John Teariki, a local politician, had the chance to make a speech in front of de Gaulle during his visit to the islands to witness an atomic test.

No government has ever stopped nuclear testing until having acquired all the atomic weapons it wanted. No government has ever been honest enough nor had the cynical frankness to admit that its nuclear testing entails health

⁷⁵ Norris, et al., *Nuclear Weapons Databook, Volume V*, 206.

⁷⁶ Maclellan, *After Moruroa*, 123.

⁷⁷ Maclellan, *After Moruroa*, 122-125, 128-136; and more generally Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign*.

hazards. No government has ever hesitated to expose other peoples – particularly if they are small and defenceless – to these dangers. The Americans exploded their most powerful bombs among the inhabitants of the Marshall Islands. The English used Christmas Island, surrounded by atolls peopled by Polynesians. The Russians preferred to make their tests among the peoples of Siberia. The Chinese government chose a region inhabited by Tibetans and Mongols. The French first exploded their bombs in Africa and are now ready to do so in our islands.⁷⁸

Teariki showed that despite French secrecy around the testing locals had been following and noticing similarities of nuclear tests around the world. Teariki then went on to petition de Gaulle to stop the tests but the President left without comment and the press avoided publicizing the event. Two days later, de Gaulle flew to the test site and waited for more favourable weather that would blow the fallout to the east. After waiting for two days, the hoped for weather did not come and the Admiral in charge detonated the nuclear device in order to please de Gaulle. The westerly winds carried fallout to the more populated islands including Western Samoa, Fiji, and New Zealand.⁷⁹ The French never reported any damage or leakage of radioactive materials into the environment from this or any other test.

Throughout the region, adverse health issues became pervasive, including premature births, birth defects, and a jump in cancer rates. In addition, ciguatera spread throughout the Pacific in conjunction with both the nuclear tests and infrastructure

⁷⁸ Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign*, 99.

⁷⁹ Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign*, 96-103.

buildup as part of the militarization.⁸⁰ Ciguatera occurs in coral reef fish in the tropics that accumulate toxins. It is often associated with the degrading health of coral ecosystems and human destruction of coral reefs from activities such as nuclear tests, shipwrecks and building dredges and harbours. Human consumption of contaminated fish can bring upon a wide range of health risks.⁸¹ Making direct correlations between health issues and nuclear tests is difficult because the French were secretive of public health statistics in the region in addition to the outcomes of their tests. In the summer of 1985, to protect their privacy they even sunk the Greenpeace vessel *Rainbow Warrior* while docked in New Zealand's Marsden Warf in Auckland, because the ship's crew had intentions of boating into waters off the test sites.⁸²

The Cold War provided important context for continued French colonial policies in the Pacific under de Gaulle.⁸³ Tahiti was transformed from a potential "refuge and a centre of rebirth for our whole civilization" in "the beginning of the era of nuclear energy ...

⁸⁰ Tilman A. Ruff, "Ciguatera in the Pacific: A Link with Military Activities," *The Lancet*, 28 January 1989, pp. 201-204.

⁸¹ Mireille Chinain, et al., "Ciguatera Risk Management in French Polynesia: The Case Study of Raivavae Island (Australes Archipelago)," *Toxicon* Vol. 56 (2010): 674-690; Teina Rongo and Robert van Woesik, "Ciguatera Poisoning in Rarotonga, Southern Cook Islands," *Harmful Algae* Vol.10, No. 4 (2011): 345-355; Mark P. Skinner, et al., "Ciguatera Fish Poisoning in the Pacific Islands (1998 to 2008)," *PLOS Neglected Tropical Diseases* Vol. 5, No. 12 (2011): 1-7; and Naomasa Oshiro, et al., "Ciguatera Incidence and Fish Toxicity in Okinawa, Japan," *Toxicon* Vol. 56 (2010): 656-661.

⁸² Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 32-33; Firth, *Nuclear Playground*, 109-119; and IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 133-150 provides short overviews of the testing and environmental damage. On the *Rainbow Warrior* also see the Forward by Chris Masters in Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign*, ix-xv. For background information on the French Atomic Energy Commission and its nuclear program as related to environmental pollution, see Albert Donnay and Martin Kuster, "France," in Makhijani, et al., eds., *Nuclear Wastelands*, 435-486.

⁸³ On France and the Cold War, see Frank Costigliola, *France and the United States: The Cold Alliance Since World War II* (New York: Twayne, 1992). On the early Cold War years, see Wall, *The United States and the Making of Postwar France*; and William I. Hitchcock, *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe 1944-1954* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

opening the way for either advancement or the complete annihilation of mankind” as de Gaulle told an audience in Papeete in 1956,⁸⁴ to a centre for a militarized nuclear playground that contributed to advancing nuclear weapons technology which brought, in only a few short decades, drastic change for the people of French Polynesia. In January 1963, de Gaulle told a delegation of Tahitians: “In the name of the French nation, I have [in addition to providing economic aid] also decided to build a nuclear base in the Gambier Islands ... I have not forgotten all that you have done and this is one of the reasons why I have chosen to install this base in Polynesia.”⁸⁵ Part of the economic aid came through growth in tourism and immigration. Most of the immigrants in the region were French and worked for the nuclear program. The accompanying modernity in the form of social and economic “development” brought with nuclear advances contributed to a silencing of local Ma’ohi protest and the sprawling of Ma’ohi slums.

In total, the French tested 193 nuclear bombs (46 atmospheric and 147 underground, plus other plutonium experiments) in French Polynesia. The cycle of local petitioning, French sidestepping of local demands, propaganda, and secrecy continued throughout the French nuclear testing on Moruroa and Fangataufa regardless of the French government in power. From de Gaulle to Chirac, nuclear testing continued for thirty years.

⁸⁴ Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign*, 29.

⁸⁵ Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign*, 56; and Elaine Shaw and Roger Wilson, *French Polynesia: The Nuclear Tests: A Chronology, 1767-1980* (Greenpeace, 1981), in Vermeer, ed., *Archive of the Fourth Russell Tribunal*, 58.F.3 (fiche 128); and “The Next Could be Fatal,” *De Groene* (8 August 1981) in Moody, ed., *Indigenous Voice, Volume 1*, 140-142

The French need for these two atolls for their tests also explain France's reluctance to decolonize the islands despite numerous independence movements.⁸⁶ Like so many other states claiming places for military purposes, the French oppressed political opposition and independence movements while simultaneously offering funds and modernization that created further dependence. Local resistance and calls for independence did not stress their indigeneity as in New Zealand, Australia or other areas in the Pacific, but was closer to that in the Marshall Islands or Okinawa that called for restructuring the relationship with the dominating country. Politicians or organizations made extensive use of regional anti-nuclear movements but those that stressed their identity as Indigenous and who sought connections with the broader Indigenous movement were a minority. This was likely because the Indigenous movement in French Polynesia and throughout the rest of the Pacific was neither centralized nor unified on their interests and means to obtain them. While the concept of Indigenous people and associated rights was vague and contested in French Polynesia during the era of French nuclear testing, environmental issues associated with nuclear tests had the power of science and affected all people. The shape of economic dependence, intermixed with politics and fears

⁸⁶ Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff provide coverage of political movements in *The French Pacific Islands: French Polynesia and New Caledonia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Danielsson and Danielsson's book is a sympathetic interpretation of the wax and wane of French Polynesian independence movements that places more emphasis on French nuclear testing (*Poisoned Reign*). For a well-balanced narrative, see Stephen Henningham, *France and the South Pacific: A Contemporary History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), pp. 117-177. The *IWGIA Newsletter* contains several articles on French Polynesian independence movements, for example, see No. 34 (July 1983): 83-92; No. 35 & 36 (October & December 1983): 151-165; No. 45 (April 1986): 160-171; and No. 46 (July 1986): 91-98. French nuclear tests and decolonization were also intertwined in other areas in the Pacific such as New Caledonia (See the following *IWGIA Newsletter*: No. 28 & 29 (October & December 1981): 72-74; No. 33 (March 1983): 90-92; No. 35 & 36 (October & December 1983): 127-131; and No. 48 (December 1986): 68-70.

surrounding nuclear environmental consequences that arose from this experiment in nuclear modernity, shaped the French Polynesians' cautious view on the Indigenous movement. Nuclearization of the Pacific provided a key platform from which the Pacific Indigenous movements sprang forth in close connection with the anti-nuclear and independence movements.⁸⁷

Soviet Union

Between 1949 and 1990, the Soviet Union conducted around 715 nuclear tests.⁸⁸ They performed most of these tests at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan and on Novaya Zemlya islands in the Arctic, but there were 115 smaller test sites throughout the Soviet Union that hosted so-called "civilian" or "peaceful" tests. Similar to tests by other countries, secrecy was paramount regardless of the test category or site location. These had various repercussions, from fallout and direct contamination of the ground and water, for numerous groups including the Kazakh, Khanty, Mamsi, Evenk, Yakut, Chukchi, Nenets, and Eskimosy. The government rarely conducted health related research related to testing in any of these areas; when they did the results remained closed to the public.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Kekuni Blaisdell, "The Indigenous Rights Movement in the Pacific," *Motion Magazine*, 25 May 1998; Roy Smith, *The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement: After Moruroa* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997); and Stewart Firth and Karin von Strokirch, "A Nuclear Pacific," in Denoon, ed., *Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands*, 324-358.

⁸⁸ Fedchenko and Hellgren, "Appendix 12B," in *SIPRI Yearbook, 2007*, 555-556.

⁸⁹ Miller, *State of the Peoples*, 77; IPPNW, *Radioactive Heaven*, 89-104; and Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 107-114.

About ninety atmospheric tests and forty-one underground tests took place on Novaya Zemlya and numerous more in areas throughout the north, including about seventeen in the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic of eastern Siberia, often as so-called peaceful explosions in attempt to gain access to oil deposits.⁹⁰ After the Soviet Union collapsed, the Kazaks gained independence and became nuclear free. Nonetheless, the legacy of the nuclear tests lives on in the form of radiated environments and health problems being passed down from one generation to the next. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the people of the north followed in the footsteps of other circumpolar people by supporting the idea of a nuclear-free north.⁹¹

That the communist bloc was, with minor exceptions, geographically contiguous meant that it had less opportunity than the capitalist bloc to explore and extract uranium, test bombs, store weapons, and dispose of nuclear wastes beyond their immediate borders. The Soviet Union developed the bomb, tested it, and disposed of their wastes in relative isolation compared to the capitalist world. Their stronger authoritarian hold made it easier to keep the developments secret and local people uninformed or at least restrict their ability to protest against any phase of the cycle.⁹²

⁹⁰ World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 116-121.

⁹¹ The lack of resources and lack of clarity of opened archives related to nuclear related health issues is noted in Albert Donnay, et al., "Russia and the Territories of the Former Soviet Union," in Makhijani, et al., eds., *Nuclear Wastelands*, 364-367. Also, see the film *Silent Bombs: All for the Motherland*, directed by Gerald Sperling (Canada, 2009); and Medvedev, *Nuclear Disaster in the Urals*.

⁹² In addition, the only significant transfer of Soviet nuclear technology was to Communist China. This limited the spread of such technologies compared to extensive technology transfer among non-communist countries. China conducted all its nuclear tests at the 100,000 square kilometres Lop Nur test site in Xinjiang. Norris, et al., *Nuclear Weapons Databook, Volume V*, 324-356; Lewis and

Nuclear Weapons Deployment, Storage, and Accidents

The nuclear cycle did not end with testing. Weapons produced during the Cold War were shipped to and stored in bases around the world. The United States, the Soviet Union, and others tested nuclear devices as psychological threats and for technological development. Likewise, the objectives of deployment were two-pronged; it was a method of intimidation just as it was a part of a strategy to ensure maximum damage of and defence from the enemy. The Cuban Missile Crisis is one example where both sides realized that they had to avoid nuclear war.⁹³ Nonetheless, states continued to deploy nuclear weapons around the world—much of them on or near Indigenous lands. For example, the United States began storing nuclear missiles on Okinawa after the Cuban crisis and had them aimed at China.⁹⁴ The Pacific Ocean became an important area for US and French military strategy. Besides testing weapons in the region, many of the islands provided ports for their nuclear Navy. Hawaiian nuclear facilities have directly affected Hawaiian culture through land

Xue, *China Builds the Bomb*, 175-206, 241-245; and Alexandra Brooks and Howard Hu, "China," in Makhijani, et al., eds., *Nuclear Wastelands*, 487-519.

⁹³ For example, James G. Hershberg, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in *CHCW2*, 65-87; and James Blight and Janet Lang, *The Armegedon Letters: Kennedy / Khrushchev / Castro in the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012). On the difficulty of addressing the powerful and seemingly deterministic body of work on nuclear issues by theorists / strategists that have reinforced such perspectives and for explanations on how nuclear strategy often differed from policy, see Gavin, *Nuclear Statecraft*.

⁹⁴ Jon Mitchell, "'Seconds Away From Midnight': U.S. Nuclear Missile Pioneers on Okinawa Break Fifty Year Silence on a Hidden Nuclear Crisis of 1962," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 10, Issue 29, No. 1, 16 July 2012; and Hans M. Kristensen, Robert S. Norris and Matthew G. McKinzie, *Chinese Nuclear Forces and U.S. Nuclear War Planning* (Federation of American Scientists/Natural Resources Defense Council, 2006), pp. 127-172.

acquisitions and influx of large numbers of foreigners.⁹⁵ Guam, which has been a part of the United States since the end of the nineteenth century, became the largest nuclear base in the Pacific. The original islanders, the Chamorro, had no political representation or self-determination within the United States. Guam eventually became able to send a delegate to Congress but they were not entitled to vote.⁹⁶

The US also tried to maintain access to other island ports in the Pacific it deemed important for its nuclear fleet. One such place was Palau, located approximately one thousand three hundred kilometres to the southwest of Guam. Along with the Marshall Islands, the Mariana Islands and the Caroline Islands, Palau became a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under US administration in 1947. In 1978, the Palauans elected and formed their own government. The following summer Palauans voted overwhelmingly (92%) in favour of a nuclear-free constitution. The US Trust Territory Court ruled that the process leading to the referendum was invalid and forced a redrafting of the constitution. The new draft simply excised the nuclear-free clause.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 35; and Mansel G. Blackford, "Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control: The Case of Kaho'olawe," *Journal of American History* Vol. 91, No. 2 (September 2004): 544-571.

⁹⁶ Krumbholz and Kressing, *Uranium Mining*, 30-31; Lisa Linda Natividad and Gwyn Kirk, "Fortress Guam: Resistance to US Military Mega-Buildup," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 19, Issue 1, No. 10, 10 May 2010; Catherine Lutz, "US Military Bases on Guam in Global Perspective," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 30, Issue 3, No. 10, 26 July 2010; and Laurel Monnig, "'Proving Chamorro': Indigenous Narratives of Race, Identity, and Decolonization in Guam," PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois, 2007. In 1995, the US Congress designated the Chamorro as "Native American Pacific Islanders," therefore affording the same rights as Native Americans (*Chamorro Tribe* [<http://chamorrotribe.webs.com/>]; and Federal Register, Vol. 60, No. 173, 7 September 1995, pp. 46598-46599).

⁹⁷ J. Roman Bedor, "We Appeal for Life," *Gensuikin News* Vol. 107 (Autumn 1983) in Moody, ed., *Indigenous Voice, Volume 1*, 135-139; "Palau: Alternative Nobel Peace Prize Recipients," *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 35 & 36 (October & December 1983): 161-165; and Arakawa Syunji, "Heightened Tensions in Belau: The Nuclear-Free Constitution in Crises," and "Skewing Self-Determination:

For the United States, Palau provided a convenient location for nuclear submarines and ships with nuclear weapons to port. Because the United States refused to publicize which of its ships carried nuclear weapons, such a move by Palau threatened the US Navy. The Palauans rejected the redrafted version of the constitution and pushed for a third referendum that would include the nuclear-free clause. In 1980, Palau officially voted in the first nuclear-free constitution in the world, but not without continued pressure from the United States. The next few years saw negotiations for a Compact of Free Association that brought promise of economic “development” in return for the US nuclear transit rights in Palau. This was a similar strategy to the one France used throughout its Pacific colonies.

Section 324 of the latest version of the Compact, signed in January 1986, stated, “... the Government of the United States has the right to operate nuclear capable or nuclear propelled vessels and aircraft within the jurisdiction of Palau without either confirming or denying the presence or absence of such weapons within the jurisdiction of Palau.”⁹⁸ While President Reagan unilaterally terminated the trusteeship for the Northern Marianas, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, Palau remained under the Trusteeship Agreement because the Palauans had not yet approved the Compact.⁹⁹ Given

Interview with Peter Sugiyama, Peace Politician,” *AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review* Vol. 19, No. 3 (1987): 52-56.

⁹⁸ Quote from Republic of Palau, Compact of Free Association, Section 324.

⁹⁹ Proclamation 5564 of November 3, 1986. “Placing Into Full Force and Effect the Covenant With the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Compacts of Free Association With the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands,” 101 Stat. 2027-2030.

that section 324 of the Compact conflicted with the constitution, it failed to gain the three-quarters approval until 1993. The following year Palau became independent.¹⁰⁰

The US utilized more of the world's oceans for its nuclear naval fleet than the Soviet Union, but one important area for Soviet nuclear submarine deployment in Northeast Asia is worth mention. The importance of the Okhotsk Sea, enclosed by the Kuril chain to the east and Hokkaido to the south, provided a natural hub that protected a Soviet nuclear submarine fleet in an area that had ice-free passages into the Pacific. This region of Northeast Asia gained importance in the seventies as the Soviet Union developed nuclear submarine technology that would have allowed them to fire missiles that would reach continental United States from these protected waters.¹⁰¹ This is another reason why the Kurils became important for the Soviet government and justified their refusal to listen to Ainu petitions for land there or give into Japanese government demands over the Northern Territories.

Accidents in the processing, transportation and storing of nuclear weapons and waste was an inherent risk that states willingly accepted. One survey of the nuclear powers lists 1,054 military "accidents," to say nothing of civilian nuclear projects, between 1947 and 1991,¹⁰² but public access to nuclear history lags so the actual number is probably greater than this. For example, the World Health Organization signed an agreement in 1959

¹⁰⁰ Arnold H. Leibowitz, *Embattled Island: Palau's Struggle for Independence* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996); and John Hink, "The Republic of Palau and the United States: Self-Determination becomes the Price of Free Association," *California Law Review* Vol. 78, Issue 4 (1990): 915-971.

¹⁰¹ Geoffrey Jukes, "Can the Southern Kurils be Demilitarized," in Kimie Hara and Geoffrey Jukes, eds., *The Northern Territories, Asia-Pacific Regional Conflicts and the Åland Experience* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 62-82; and World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*, 119.

¹⁰² "Accidents, Leaks, Failures and other Incidents in the Nuclear Industrial and Military" (<http://www.ib.cnea.gov.ar/~protrad/biblioteca/3Accidentes.pdf>).

with the International Atomic Energy Association that gave the IAEA veto power over WHO reporting on nuclear accidents.¹⁰³ But in the pursuit of nuclear arms technology, it is often difficult to distinguish between accidents, planned experiments, cover-ups, and negligence from scientific unknowns. It was not in the best interest of states and their supporting organizations pursuing nuclear technologies to publically announce such shortcomings in the face of fighting the Cold War; geopolitics, economies, and perceptions took precedence over the safety and health of the environment and people. Nonetheless, given that nuclear materials are the most hazardous materials known, with many materials with half-lives that last into the tens of thousands of years, some of the most dangerously polluted places on earth are areas around former processing plants, most of which were on or near Indigenous territories, and because they were already highly polluted geographies they often became the targets for radioactive waste disposal.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Oliver Tickell, "Toxic Link: The WHO and IAEA," *The Guardian*, 28 May 2009; the agreement, approved by the 12th World Health Assembly on 28 May 1959 (WHA 12.40), is posted in part three "Agreement Between the International Atomic Energy Agency and the World Health Organization" of this page: International Atomic Energy Agency Information Circular, "The Texts of the Agency's Relationship Agreements with Specialized Agencies," INFCIRC/20, 23 September 1960 (<http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/Others/inf20.shtml#prot3>). Also, see Nuclear Information and Resource Service, "Conflicting Mandates, Co-Opted Studies: Atomic Energy Agency and the World Health Organization" (<http://www.nirs.org/radiation/whoiaeastatmt.pdf>). On the IAEA's cooperation with other organizations, see Paul C. Szasz, "The Law and Practice of the International Atomic Energy Agency (Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency, 1970), pp. 257-326. Eric Schlosser, *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2013). On US concerns of their own nuclear safety between the forties and eighties, see the declassified documents posted by the National Security Archive on 9 June 2014 (<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevult/ebb475/>).

¹⁰⁴ LaDuke, *All Our Relations*, 95-111; Randel Hanson, "Half Lives of Reagan's Indian Policy: Marketing Nuclear Waste to American Indians," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 25, No. 1 (2001): 21-44; and Mander and Tauli-Corpuz, eds., *Paradigm Wars*, 167-170.

Responses

Silence. A silence that speaks so much louder than words sums up much of the world's Indigenous people's involvement with the nuclear cycle during the Cold War. Silence on the dangers of mining and milling, silence on the dangers of radioactive fallout, silence of the wastes, silence of intentions, and so on. These silences were legitimized by states through the desire to protect and promote national security and prosperity, and technologic advancement. Propagated through unequal relationships between state governments and Indigenous people, state-endorsed expansion of the nuclear cycle utilized colonial and racial thinking toward people in state margins. When individuals or groups of people confronted any part of the nuclear cycle during the Cold War, state responses varied but frequently included accusations of being unpatriotic, a communist, a spy, an imperialist, incarceration or internment at camps/gulags, and economic aid to support community development. Physically many of the sites of the nuclear cycle, including the roads and runways that transported them, are places "with no public memory."¹⁰⁵ These silences are one of the legacies of the nuclear arms race.

Silence was a part of the relationship between human pain and the legitimacy of modern states, which "require pain and acceptance of that pain from their subjects and citizens, particularly at key historical moments. The act of interpreting and contextualizing such pain as dignified national sacrifice is critical to state legitimacy ..."¹⁰⁶ Pain from the

¹⁰⁵ Herman Agoyo calls the Los Alamos National Laboratory "a place with no public memory" ("Who Here Will Begin This Story," *Race, Poverty & the Environment* Vol. 5, No. 3/4 [Spring/Summer 1995]: 37).

¹⁰⁶ Walker, *Toxic Archipelago*, 9.

nuclearization of indigeneity as discussed in the present study came in the form of dislocating people from their land and spirituality, polluting environments, the absorption of toxins into bodies, and the resulting diseases and deaths.¹⁰⁷ But with rise of a more sympathetic non-Indigenous audience and the subsequent declining hegemony of the Cold War, it became harder to interpret all forms as sacrifice by Indigenous people in the nuclear cycle as dignified; a limit was being placed on what people would accept for the good of the nation and its security. Because the stories of pain from the nuclear cycle come from people predominantly marginal within the system of nation-states, it makes it easier to ignore by those who write national histories who often interpreted these stories as subversive to state (and often corporate) interests.

The very marginality of people and place that allowed for the mining and processing in the first place allowed for the silencing of the pain. But the silence of Indigenous pain from the nuclear cycle was not complete as Indigenous people around the world increasingly raised the issue in national and international settings.¹⁰⁸ As with other topics

¹⁰⁷ In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), Sara Ahmed, notes that “The differentiation between forms of pain and suffering in stories that are told, and between those that are told and those that are not, is a crucial mechanism for the distribution of power” (p. 32).

¹⁰⁸ Literature on physical and emotional trauma of Indigenous exploitation, including pain, and subsequent mobilization to reclaim spaces and cultures are too vast to reference in full, but include: Winona LaDuke, *The Militarization of Indian Country* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2013); Marie Battiste, *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); Marie Battiste and James (Sa’ke’j) Youngblood Henderson, *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage* (Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing, 2000); Henderson, *The Mikmaw Concordat*; Rebecca Lawrence, *Shifting Responsibilities and Shifting Terrains: State Responsibility, Corporate Social Responsibility, and Indigenous Claims* (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockhomiensis, 2009); Antoon Leenaars, et al., “Genocide and Suicide among Indigenous Peoples: The North Meets the South,” *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* Vol. 19, No. 2 (1999): 337-363; Hokkaidō Daigaku Ainu Senjūmin Kenkyū Sentā, ed., *Ainu kenkyū no genzai to mirai* [The Present and Future of Ainu Studies] (Sapporo: Hokkaidō daigaku shuppansha, 2010); Ui Makiko, *Ainu tokidoki Nihonjin* [Ainu, but

in Cold War – Indigenous relations, the nuclear cycle—in part and in whole—represents a structure that oppressed and victimized Indigenous people while it simultaneously promoted community organization and resistance. This suggests that indigenism involves the remembering and politicizing of historical pain.¹⁰⁹

It is difficult and artificial to separate Indigenous responses to various stages of the nuclear cycle because much of the cycle occurred simultaneously and Indigenous people around the globe learnt about each other's relationship with the nuclear age without necessarily compartmentalizing each stage of the cycle or even isolating the Cold War from various forms of colonialism, social Darwinism, and other pre-World War II legacies. Indigenous individuals, organizations, and their non-Indigenous allies utilized their experiences with the nuclear cycle in a variety of ways. Some used it to improve local economies and infrastructure and work towards higher degrees of autonomy within already existing states, while others used it to highlight Indigenous rights, including land and water rights, cultural survival, recognition, environmental protection, and sovereignty. These movements were closely linked with anti-nuclear and environmental movements, which increases the difficulty in separating them. In some cases, such as during testing in Australia, the Aborigines knew few details about the nuclear tests and few people in the settler government paid attention to their concerns until after military personnel and

Sometimes Japanese] (Tokyo: Shakai hyōronsha, 2009); and Okada Michiaki, *Mirai e: Wakaki Ainu minzoku kara no dengon* [Toward the Future: A Message from Young Ainu] (Sapporo: Sapporo terebi hōsō kabushiki gaisha, 2008). In addition, see Note 5 in Chapter 1.

¹⁰⁹ To ensure that stories of historical pain are not silenced or forgotten, Ahmed suggests “we must first bring them into the realm of political action. Bringing pain into politics requires we give up the fetish of the wound though different kinds of remembrance. The past is living rather than dead; the past lives in the very wounds that remain in the present” (*Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 33. Also see pages 20-41, and 200).

media began discussing the issue well after the fact. In many other cases, such as in French Polynesia and in the Diné nation, Indigenous people were active participants in the nuclear cycle and only began opposing it when they found out more information about the consequences of radiation, other pollutants, and atomic war as they also sought independence or greater autonomy within existing state structures.

At the first Inuit Circumpolar Conference in Barrow Alaska in June 1977, one of the resolutions agreed upon was for peaceful uses of the Arctic. “RESOLUTION 77-11 (Concerning peaceful and safe uses of the Arctic Circumpolar Zone)” resolved

(a) that the Arctic shall be used for peaceful and environmentally safe purposes only, and that there shall be prohibited any measure of a military nature such as the establishment of military bases and fortifications, the carrying out of military maneuvers, and the testing of any type of weapon, and/or the disposition of any type of chemical, biological or nuclear waste, and/or other waste. Further, present wastes be removed from the Arctic;

(b) that a moratorium be called on emplacement of nuclear weapons; and

(c) that all steps be taken to promote the objectives in the above mentioned.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ *Arctic Journal* (June 1977); and “Inuit Circumpolar Conference Formed,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 18 (August 1977): 8-9.

In July 1977, for the first time in thirty years an Ainu person, Narita Tokuhei, ran for candidacy in the Japanese national elections. One of the items on his policies regarding international relations was to oppose war and forbid nuclear weapons.¹¹¹ The American Indian Environmental Council, the International Indian Treaty Council, Aboriginal people from Australia, the North Queensland Land Council, SWAPO of Namibia, and Greenlanders participated in an international conference on *Uranium Mining and Peoples of the Third and Fourth World* that convened in Copenhagen in October 1979. Shortly after the conference they cabled Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary General of the United Nations, requesting that they be allowed to present their cases “to the united nations general assembly through a specially appointed body.”¹¹²

The *International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas* assembled in Geneva in September 1977. Most reports and presentations, especially the one by the Economic Commission Report, dealt with post-World War II issues.¹¹³ Over one hundred thirty Indigenous representatives attended the *International NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and Their Land* in Geneva (15-18 September 1981), which built on the 1977 initiative. Several organizations presented reports that addressed the need for dealing with the global Indigenous relationship with nuclear arms. The Report of Commission Three on “Transnational Corporations and their Effect on the Resources and the Land of Indigenous Peoples” and the Report of Commission Four, “The Impact of the

¹¹¹ Emori, *Ainu minzoku no rekishi*, 541; and Richard Siddle, “Ainu: Japan’s Indigenous People,” in Michael Weiner, ed., *Japan’s Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*, 1st edition (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 32-33.

¹¹² “Our Most Serious Concern,” quoted in Moody, ed., *Indigenous Voice, Volume 1*, 158.

¹¹³ “International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations,” *Special Issue: Treaty Council News*.

Nuclear Arms build-up on the Land and Life of Indigenous Peoples” both addressed the need for states, the UN, and corporations to seriously consider the implications of various parts of the nuclear cycle on Indigenous people and their lands. The reports gave a sense of urgency by noting that Indigenous people were only the first to suffer from the nuclear arms race and that the same issues were a serious problem for the rest of humanity as well; Indigenous people were simply a temporary buffer.¹¹⁴

Indigenous organizations from around the world submitted forty-seven cases to the *Fourth Tribunal on Indians of the Americas* held in Geneva in 1981. The Tribunal’s board chose fourteen to present during the proceedings, two of which received a great deal of attention. The first was the case presented by a Quiche Indian from the Committee for Peasant Unity that dealt with massacres of Indians at the Spanish embassy on 31 January 1980. The second was the Western Shoshone accusation that the United States had forcefully taken their land and tried to enforce monetary compensation that the Shoshone refused to take. The Shoshone testified that the United States illegally occupied their lands and attempted to extinguish their Aboriginal title so that they could establish the MX missile site on their land.¹¹⁵ “Soon after the Russell Tribunal, the US government stopped

¹¹⁴ Reports located in Special NGO Committee on Human Rights. Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation, *International NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land*. Other reports that mentioned concern for parts of the nuclear cycle included those by the International Indian Treaty Council, the WCIP, the Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan. Also see, “NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and their Land, Geneva,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 28/29 (October/December 1981): 79.

¹¹⁵ “4th Russell Tribunal: Summary of Selected Cases,” *IWGIA Newsletter* No. 27 (June 1981): 85; “The Case of the Western Shoshone,” in Vermeer, ed., *Archive of the Fourth Russell Tribunal*, 35.A.1 to 35.U.6 (fiche 95-96); and Moody, ed., *Indigenous Voice, Volume 1*, 143-145

specifying where the MX would be placed.”¹¹⁶ The Cobo Study summarized many of the findings around the world in its 1983 report further publicizing the Indigenous connection to the nuclear cycle even though it avoided mention or analysis of the Cold War, the geopolitical construct from which the issue grew.¹¹⁷

Indigenous people and their non-Indigenous allies continued protesting, convening conferences, and petitioning governments throughout the rest of the Cold War and beyond.¹¹⁸ As Oscar Rodriguez, an Apache from Texas used to tell Winona LaDuke, an Anishnaabe involved in various Indigenous movements, “[I]t’s tough being an Indian in the nuclear age.”¹¹⁹

Summary

The growth and spread of Cold War nuclear modernity shaped the timing and form of numerous local Indigenous movements around the world. World War II gave birth to the first state sponsored nuclear projects but it was the Cold War that ignited, enlarged, and

¹¹⁶ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indians of the Americas*, 63.

¹¹⁷ Cobo Study IV, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/476/Add.5 (1981), p. 10; and Cobo Study XVII, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/21/Add.4, pp. 100, 136, 140, 141, 144, 147, 153, 190.

¹¹⁸ The World Uranium Hearing of September 1992 was endorsed by the WGIP in UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/1994/7, pp. 3-7. The Dutch Centre for Indigenous Peoples Congress in 1994 stated, “There should be a demilitarization of indigenous territories, including cessation of nuclear testing on indigenous territories” (Dutch Centre for Indigenous Peoples Congress, “Voices of the Earth; Indigenous Peoples, new partners, the right to self-determination in practice,” 25 May 1994 in UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/1994/7, p. 13). For testimonials at the hearing, see World Uranium Hearing, ed., *Poison Fire, Sacred Earth*. The WCIP also took some initiatives to address nuclear issues. For example, see R9439, World Council of Indigenous Peoples, Container 3, File 9, Sami Council, The Nordic Sami Council, General Material, 1990-1992, Letters between the WCIP to Sami Council dated 7 and 28 September 1990, and 19 April 1991 (LAC).

¹¹⁹ Bartholomew Dean and Jerome Levi, eds., *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p. ix.

propelled the cycle around the world leaving virtually no part of the globe untouched. From the Lakota and the Diné to the Evenks and the Tao, from the Ovambo and the Tamacheq to the Bikinians and the Ma'ohi, Indigenous people around the globe were at the front end of each stage of the nuclear cycle from theoretical development to the search for materials, from mining to processing and transportation, from testing to disposal and accidents. The impacts and consequences of the nuclear arms race were similar regardless of which side of the bipolar divide the nuclear cycle occurred because it depended on science, technology, and its interaction with the environment, and not differences in state political organization, ideology, or policies; plutonium and uranium and their by products and potential to disrupt ecosystems for tens of thousands of years are the same the world over.

Indigenous people dynamically responded, adapted and changed according to their circumstances. Indigenous responses were varied in their activities, resistances, collaborations, negotiations, and so on, but broadly speaking their outcomes share many commonalities. The expansion of the nuclear cycle into Indigenous areas brought nuclear modernity. Indigenous people increased contact and integration with non-Indigenous people and organizations and changes in their environment meant changes in, loss of, but not usually complete loss, of their ways of life. They gained jobs and experience in the mining industry and benefited from new infrastructure, economic development, and further integration into non-Indigenous societies. On the other side of the coin, they were essentially a human “distant early warning” system or canaries in the mines, testing fields, and waste sites. Interaction with nuclear projects and the threat of living on highly polluted lands was a catalyst for community organization, politicization, renewal of identity and

pride, increased collaboration with non-Indigenous organizations, and further association with the international Indigenous movement to degrees that enabled them to confront governments and industries in attempt to reclaim the lands or at least minimize risks from tailings and other wastes.

Dangers of mining were well documented but the findings were not well publicized. Uranium mining for Aboriginal people in North America appeared attractive as a means to develop their economies and decrease dependence on federal governments. If consultation and information provided to local communities about uranium mining and the hazards appeared sparse in North America, Indigenous people around many other parts of the world were even more in the dark. Many Indigenous people relied on local, national, and international media and reports to draw their own conclusions. Others took advantage of increased access to telephones, TV and radio and other electronic and transportation methods to learn about instances of uranium mining and amplify their movements beyond their local communities. As the uranium mining and processing industry expanded beyond its roots in the nuclear arms race to the market economy, its branches continued to spread around the world. Like a web, no part of the nuclear cycle operated independently without having an impact on other regions or mines often half a world away and almost always irrespective of nation-state borders.

That uranium mining continued to expand on Indigenous lands while grass-roots organizations and governments began recognizing the harm of nuclear tests could be interpreted as historical irony, but it also illustrates how deeply entrenched Cold War systems of the nuclear cycle had become, the flexibility and adaptability of the cycle, and

the ease at which state and corporate actors compartmentalized various parts of the cycle as their focus remained on linear development rather than viewing the nuclear cycle as a whole. Because the industry was dominated by a handful of corporations supported by an even smaller number of states, patterns of uranium development were similar. These similarities meant that as Indigenous people around the globe experienced similar issues from being at the front end of the nuclear cycle, they along with non-Indigenous people and organizations could easily note them and learn from them which helped to develop emerging patterns of Indigenous responses.

The pursuit of nuclear weapons changed landscapes, communities, politics, and economies and influenced human actions irrespective of ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, or citizenship. Although Indigenous communities have frequently been the first to experience the devastating effects of radionuclide pollution and dominant societies are likely to be more spatially and temporally distant from such sites, such distance does not relieve non-Indigenous societies from damages and dangers. The nuclear cycle, while initiated by states, is beyond their complete control. Health and environmental consequences make no distinction between people or peoples, and state to state nuclear technological flows represent only one of many possibilities, and even these were not centrally controlled by any one power. Fallout occurred globally, wastes traveled (and continue to travel) through oceans, rivers, underground aqueducts, and food chains. From the Cold War to the present, “containment” and “clean-up” are in degrees and temporally limited to a small fraction of the life span of some of these materials, making such terms disturbing nukespeak euphemisms.

The arguments that states make to justify the exploitation of minerals or testing sites based on such places being remote lands, terra nullius and/or undeveloped with uncivilized people in need of economic development, which the nuclear cycle could provide, are but one part of the ideological nuclear modernity that became embedded in the *modernity – nation-state complex*. The expansion of the Cold War originated nuclear cycle worked toward eliminating conceptually remote or peripheral people or regions around the world, thus further integrating Indigenous people into the global order.

Conclusion

The Cold War Catalyst

This study began with the story of the fiction character Tayo, a mixed ancestry Pueblo Indian, who returned home during the transition between World War II and the Cold War. His search for renewal and understanding of his place at the margins of two societies through ceremony in a changing modern world connected and converging through global forces confirmed that change is continual, and dealing with change is essential for survival. Change brings uncertainty of the unknown, but hope, as Tayo's Old Grandma reminds us, comes from understanding that stories of the present and future have precedents in the past. "I guess I must be getting old,' she said, 'because these goings-on around Laguna don't get me excited any more.' She sighed, and laid her head back on the chair. 'It seems that I already heard these stories before . . . only thing is, the names sound different.'"¹ Looking at the past through various lenses is essential for understanding that while stories may seem similar, with merely different names attached, there remain subtleties in the changes and continuities of the stories and naming. These subtleties are important not only for providing a more nuanced understanding of the past but also for providing a stronger foundation from which to propose or at least more appropriately debate solutions and

¹ Silko, *Ceremony*, 242.

direction for the future. While stories of Indigenous history during the Cold War may appear similar to those of prior eras, with similar effects of other broad global phenomena, giving the feeling that they represent a kind of continuation of colonialism—an advanced form of colonialism—the speed, degree, and intensification of change in Indigenous societies and their subsequent social and political movements during the Cold War were much greater than in times past.

The second half of the twentieth century saw dramatic state expansions around the world. Nation-state formation and the solidification of borders not only continued but also increased during the Cold War. During the Cold War, states drew and redrew lines between capitalist and communist spheres through state frontiers that intersected, crossed and ran through Indigenous lands. Incorporating more of the earth than any time in the past, states penetrated regions throughout the globe inhabited by many Indigenous people previously peripheral or less touched by nation-state activities; no place was too remote or peripheral for waging Cold War. Subsequently, this increased the intensity of contact between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. During the Cold War and beyond, Indigenous people had few places to retreat from the advancement of states into their lands. Cold War projects did not leave after the Cold War ended, as was common after other global wars; states stayed and their legacies lingered. Global state penetration into Indigenous lands, and therefore their cultures and livelihood, was more complete and inseparable than times past. Indigenous people responded in a variety of milieus. But because it seemed so similar to past stories, the Cold War has often been sidelined in Indigenous histories, while the literature continued to focus on familiar ground. The same holds for the non-inclusion of

Indigenous people in Cold War histories that have comfortably continued to focus on states and key diplomatic figures as the sole players and the most important agents of cause and effect during that era.

Environmentalist and journalist Paul Hawken points out that, “Scientific experiments repeatedly show that groups of educated, urbanized people pay no attention to unfamiliar objects in front of them if they focus too strongly on familiar ones. What we already know frames what we see, and what we see frames what we understand.”² Regardless of the accuracy of this comment or the experiments that led to such a conclusion, this observation is relevant to the predominant studies of the Cold War and Indigenous people that traditionally see the two as unconnected. To illustrate that Indigenous people, indigeneity and indigenism developed in tandem with the Cold War, and emphasize the Indigenous movement’s transnationalism and the global reach of the Cold War, this study followed themes, systems, and cycles through discussion on modernity (Chapter 1), non-Indigenous components of indigenism (Chapter 2), decolonization (Chapter 3), Cold War structures (Chapter 4), and the nuclear arms race (Chapters 5 and 6).

Bringing indigeneity and indigenism into debates about modernity, Chapter 1 introduced relationships that acted as a backdrop throughout the study—the continual presence of the *modernity–nation-state complex* throughout the Cold War. That is the term this study used to refer to the close relationship between the expansion of modernity and nation-states. Although the Cold War divide represented two alternatives for organizing societies, they adhered to a similar form of modernity through progress and development

² Hawken, *Blessed Unrest*, 15.

projects. Rather than a competition over two separate forms of modernity, the bipolar split represented a split in the means and methods of attaining modernity.

Both superpowers and newly emergent decolonized states adhered to a similar form of modernity; it was a driving force in the global system of nation-states, and nation-states utilized modernity for their own legitimacy and to justify their relationship with Indigenous people both before and during the Cold War. The overlapping of postwar decolonization and the Cold War helped maintain this relationship.

Indigenous people, no different than many people around the world, both resisted and sought to further become a part of development projects to attain modernity according to their own terms. But the strong and heavy arm of modernity backed by nation-states in the bipolar world left little room for Indigenous people to assert their perspectives on modernity and the projects for development and progress that it brought. Modernity became a tool for established and nascent state security. Post-World War II Indigenous people around the globe adapted to a drastically changing world fixated on Cold War modernity that often dislocated them from their lands, livelihood, and culture. Seen from Indigenous people's experiences, Cold War modernity and the globalization of development projects that it spurred appear as an advanced form of colonialism. Nonetheless, Cold War indigenism does mark the beginning of widespread Indigenous assertion to shape modernity—a process that has continued beyond the decomposition of the Cold War to the present. The mutually influencing features of the postwar years—modernity, nation-states, and decolonization within a Cold War matrix—were

fundamentally important to the postwar Indigenous experience and defining means by which Indigenous people increased contacts with states and non-Indigenous people.

Development projects had many ecologically and culturally negative side effects for Indigenous people. However, the positive by-products were just as important.

Development projects provided many Indigenous people, like the Ainu of Japan and the Aborigines of Taiwan, with the tools, resources and ability to better function within dominant societies from which they built pan-Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances to further develop relationships, interests, and options for movement within their respective societies and internationally.

Indigenous people challenged modernity and tried to work themselves into its narrative rather than fight against the conception of nation-states. Indigenous people often worked to function within the confines of the nation-state and further become a part of it through their own aspirations. The problem here is that since the nation-state could not exist without modernity, changes and challenges to modernity through Indigenous input would necessarily change the nation-state. Because of the modernity–nation-state complex, there was (and arguably remains) resistance to Indigenous (as well as other alternative) conceptions or input to modernity, because any challenge to modernity was a challenge to the nation-state. So while Indigenous people did not often directly challenge the status quo of the nation-states in which they lived it was often interpreted as such. It was almost as if emerging “Native Pride” baseball caps, t-shirts, and bumper stickers were misread as “Subvert the Dominant Paradigm.”

The discourse on human rights and the rise environmentalism within non-Indigenous organizations and inter-state organizations, such as the United Nations, directly fed into the discourse of local indigenism and responses to modernity, which provided a foothold from which indigenism launched onto national and international stages (Chapter 2). Non-Indigenous leftist ideologies inspired Indigenous people to assert their rights and position within modernity at the same time that human rights discourse expanded with the help of Cold War interstate negotiations, such as those that culminated in the Helsinki Act. While human rights initially did not explicitly apply to Indigenous people, human rights geared institutions provided essential platforms for Indigenous people and their non-Indigenous counterparts to more easily access domestic and international audiences. Obtaining audiences in turn legitimized Indigenous movements and linked them to other emerging global movements, most notably environmentalism. These connections were not necessarily frictionless but they did allow for easier access for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to take part in a multifaceted indigenism that gradually grew more complex as the Cold War progressed.³ When looked at broadly, the global Indigenous movement during the Cold War represents a hybrid middle ground of convergence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous societies, reminiscent of the theme of the first United Nations International Year for Indigenous Peoples in 1992, “A New Partnership;” a partnership that is still in the making.⁴

³ On friction in Indonesian global connections, see Tsing, *Friction*.

⁴ In agreeing with Manjusha Nair’s observation that “The popularity of the notion of Indigenous peoples is primarily due to transnational networks that give them a common platform of articulation,” and that there are two distinguishable scales of global and local that contribute to the discourse on indigeneity that grew in coordination with a newly attentive audience, it becomes

Discussing the triangular relationship among the Cold War, decolonization, and Indigenous history worked to expand Indigenous history beyond the often-overwhelming grasp of colonial lenses and to deepen the understanding of the Cold War beyond state actors (Chapter 3). For the most part scholars within Southeast Asian area studies that focus on Highland people, as in other area studies, have not significantly performed cross-regional comparative studies or integrated their studies within the framework of the global movement of Indigenous people or the Cold War. The general thematic separation of the historical processes of the Cold War and decolonization has limited our understanding of these two phenomena by first too narrowly interpreting the former as a predominantly geopolitical confrontation between the two superpowers and their allies, mainly in the Euro-Atlantic region, and second by interpreting the latter process as a separate isolated system.⁵ Neither process, the Cold War or decolonization, could have proceeded independent of the other.⁶

Indigenous people were often located in essential spaces for shaping both the Cold War and the decolonization process, especially in the Third World. Intellectually, Indigenous people began making use of Cold War and decolonization terminology for their own political, economic, and cultural survival aims to argue that another level existed within the framework of First, Second and Third Worlds—a space that become known as

essential that historical studies address cross-regional and global historical trends to more fully grasp indigeneity and indigenism. Quote from Manjusha Nair, "Defining Indigeneity: Situating Transnational Knowledge," *World Society Focus Paper Series, Zurich* (2006): 3-4.

⁵ Also see Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 37-79.

⁶ There is a continued need to look at relations among First, Second, Third, and Fourth Worlds together in the same field of study.

the Fourth World. This became an important means by which indigenism worked to assert its presence in domestic and international theatres.

Asia was an important site for both the Cold War and development of indigenism. Except for major wars such as those in Korea and Southeast Asia, the Asia-Pacific is commonly overshadowed by studies from the North Atlantic in Cold War Studies and Indigenous histories in Asia-Pacific receive far less attention than narratives from former Anglo settler states, even though most of the world's Indigenous people live in Asia. The very recentness of the Indigenous movement in the Asia-Pacific region, being slightly later than in the Americas and British settler states, coincides with developments emerging from the Cold War and the San Francisco System, the system that has dominated the region since the birth of the Cold War in Asia and that grew and was maintained through the pervasive presence of the United States in Japan and the rest of the region. The San Francisco System not only defined Cold War state relations in the region, it also acted as the backdrop for the development of indigenism in the region (Chapter 4).

With the emergence of the Cold War in Asia, governments aggressively increased their state control, especially in state frontier or border regions. Militarization of Indigenous lands and border and development issues illustrated how regional indigeneity, especially the timing of the pursuit Indigenous identities and claims, was inseparable from the development and evolution of the San Francisco System and regional state pursuit of

sovereignty in politically ambiguous frontiers.⁷ The influence of the Cold War and the San Francisco System on Indigenous history was not always pervasive or obvious in local and national histories because the global Cold War was often adopted, reinterpreted, and signified to meet local and regional peculiarities; likewise, it did not operate in isolation from other global and regional phenomena.

As states moved to erase Indigenous identities to support their claims to sovereignty to the edges of state borders, Indigenous people moved horizontally. Marshall Islanders increased regional networks, Okinawans worked with NGOs and Ainu, Ainu built on examples from the Burakumin, minorities in China, and Aboriginal people in North America, and Aborigine people in Taiwan built pan-Aborigine networks, worked with church groups, and branched into regional Indigenous movements such as the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact. The San Francisco System created a situation where ambiguous state frontiers and Indigenous people became politicized at the same time. States in the Asia-Pacific, as elsewhere, have tended to view the two as mutually exclusive as issues concerning Indigenous people are predominantly understood as domestic affairs. However, Indigenous people lie in the shadows of international state relations; they were and continue to be intricately connected to international issues in the region, especially in state frontiers.

Indigenous people around the world had a close relationship with the nuclear arms race and nuclear cycle, which often played out in such frontiers (Chapters 5 and 6). The

⁷ The preamble and Article 30 of UNDRIP address militarization (United Nations, *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* [New York: United Nations, 2008], pp. 2-3 and 11.

bipolar competition gave birth to the nuclear arms race and nuclear modernity, which drastically expanded each stage of the nuclear cycle around the globe. Each stage of the cycle—the exploration, mining and processing of radioactive materials, the building, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons and the disposal of related wastes—predominantly took place on or near Indigenous lands. The nuclear arms race prolonged many colonial relationships among Indigenous people and states well into and beyond the decomposition of the Cold War. It also importantly shaped the postwar Indigenous movement by connecting it to global structures and non-Indigenous movements, such as environmental and antinuclear movements, which provided important allies and additional challenges. Interaction with the nuclear cycle changed the way Indigenous people around the world interacted with their land and fuelled new political movements directly connected to the Cold War that expanded beyond local communities to national and international stages as they petitioned for rights and recognition. Indigenous people will continue to deal with the serious ecological and social changes brought on by the nuclear cycle for generations to come.

Systems rarely, if ever, operate in closed partitions with tidy, well-defined boundaries—this includes the Cold War system. By stressing the Cold War, this study did not dismiss the importance of any other era, structure, process, or relationship to the history of Indigenous people such as first contact, ecological factors, colonialism, or particular local factors, for any specific group of people in a particular place or time. The bipolar conflict rarely, if ever, operated in a purely hegemonic manner, as it was an open rather than a closed system. Nonetheless, there were adequate similarities in Indigenous

history around the world in relation to the Cold War to suggest there were global “Indigenous experiences” rather than a multitude of unconnected micro-local or nation-state centric sui generis experiences of any particular Indigenous group. The focus on the Cold War represents one more layer for deepening our understanding of local, national, and global Indigenous histories.

Global Indigenous people’s historical relationship to the Cold War is an example of how localities are often subject to global dynamics.⁸ Cold War history represents a space for viewing the mutually influencing relationship between global and local agency and their respective structural limits. Integrating Indigenous people into our understanding of the Cold War illuminated how Cold War exigencies influenced not only nation-states politically, economically, ideologically, culturally, militarily, and the like, but also how they shaped trans-national and non-state identities and movements. Global indigeneity and the Cold War were both highly nuanced and relational global phenomena.

Indigenous people contributed to the global expansion of the Cold War by actively using the Cold War language and rhetoric (even though it was locally reinterpreted) to further their own aims. Viewing Indigenous and Cold War history in tandem reveals that the rise and consolidation of nation-states was more important than colonialism not for the emergence of ad hoc movements, but the drastic increase of Indigenous people’s movements onto national and global stages. The Cold War provided the atmosphere and opportunity to bring together Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, politicize their

⁸ Also see Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions in Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 16; and Kwon, *The Other Cold War*, 22.

movements to a new degree, and move them beyond their local, regional and national boundaries into global frameworks. Subjectivity and structures present in today's Indigenous people's movements were formalized during the postwar era as they responded to ebbs and flows of the Cold War, increasing their opportunities to challenge what they thought was reasonable to sacrifice for national security and national development. In other words, the Cold War acted as a catalyst for the birth, shape, timing, and growth of global indigeneity and indigenism in the second half of the twentieth century.

Whether it was in Hokkaido, the Pacific Islands, Siberia, or one of a myriad of other places, Indigenous people and the lands they inhabited were at the frontlines of the Cold War. The Cold War developments of modernity, non-Indigenous factors, decolonization, the San Francisco System, and the nuclear arms race were played out in relation to Indigenous lands and people and each played their part characterizing post-World War II Indigenous history and defining the contours and development of the Cold War. Indigenous geographies were essential for states as they consolidated their borders and expanded modernization projects to their frontiers. National security and national development interests—two features that states around the world valued regardless of which side of the Cold War curtain they fell—trumped the needs and aspirations of Indigenous populations in areas states considered as remote parts of the world and of their own territorial holdings. Decolonized states absorbed Indigenous geographies, geographies that communist and capitalist blocs worked to gain favour and control in attempt to balance or gain advantage during the Cold War. Cold Warriors drew and redrew lines, which often

crossed through areas home to Indigenous people, of containment and integration between communist and capitalist blocs. Indigenous geographies were vital for rise of the nuclear arms race, as Indigenous lands supported most of the global expansion of the nuclear cycle. In short, Indigenous geographies and people located in state frontiers and peripheries were essential for state expansion during the Cold War in the name of national security and development as well as for waging and maintaining Cold War. The Cold War and indigenism were mutually dependent phenomena.

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