

To the final preambular paragraph, the Center proposes adding the following phrase: "and recognizing that certain indigenous peoples may have additional and more extensive rights according to their particular characteristics and circumstances."

Inuit Circumpolar Conference

In the third preambular paragraph, it should be made more clear that the rights of indigenous peoples are a direct consequence of their original use and occupation of their traditional territories. The Conference feels that the essential spiritual and material relationship that indigenous peoples have with their lands, resources and environment should be emphasized.

In the seventh preambular paragraph, development is specifically linked to indigenous peoples but not to their traditional territories. The Conference believes that Inuit society and culture could be strengthened through the right of development and through control of and participation in orderly developmental activities in and affecting their territories. In addition, it should be made clear in the last paragraph of the preamble that States should take prompt and effective measures to implement the draft declaration but only "in conjunction with the indigenous peoples affected," and not unilaterally.

As the above comments, suggestions and recommendations illustrate, there is a wide gap between many of the state's positions and the positions of indigenous nations as reflected in views expressed by non-governmental organizations like the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and the Indian Law Resource Center. As long as the state's governments insist on the view that "self-determination equates to secession" and the state must have absolute control over indigenous territories and peoples, it may not be possible to achieve a political settlement between nations and states through and instrument like the Draft Universal Declaration now under consideration. By not compromising with the indigenous nations on terms to be contained in the Draft Declaration, state's government risk a quite natural reaction by nations which seek greater control over their own political, economic and social destinies. By continuing to deny the right of self-determination to indigenous nations, and by denying the territorial integrity claimed by Fourth World nations, states avoid reality. As many of the world's wars now waged in the world demonstrate, Fourth World nations will not be denied the right to freely determine their own political, economic and social future. The Draft Universal Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples could have a profound affect on political relations in the world, and perhaps by having terms agreeable to both nations and states, a more peaceful world will emerge.

Book Review:

Dan Jacobs: *The Brutality of Nations*, Paragon House Publishers, 1987. 383 pages.

An Internal Matter of a Sovereign Nation, a review of *The Brutality of Nations*, by Dan Jacobs.

"An internal matter of a sovereign nation," thus United Nations Secretary General U Thant described the war between Nigeria and Biafra. What he meant by this was that the genocide being committed by the government of Nigeria was not of direct concern to the United Nations. It was also not of direct concern to the governments of England and the United States. The human suffering, the loss of lives perhaps in the millions, did not draw a reaction from the U.N., the United States or England, nor did it deter them from their goal of helping Nigeria retain control over Biafra.

But this lack of concern would not have been publicly acceptable. The starvation caused by the Nigerian blockade had to be covered up and denied. This was made difficult by wide publicity given to the famine and a world-wide relief effort to provide food to civilians in Biafra. In order to constrain knowledge of the Nigerian use of starvation as a tactic of war and to prevent food aid from reaching Biafra, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was suborned into frustrating the relief efforts it claimed to be running.

The stories of starvation were denied as Biafran propaganda. All relief effort was forced to go through the ICRC. Nigeria prevented any food from reaching Biafra while being praised by the U.S. and England for its willingness to allow the food in. And the Red Cross sat on its hands while claiming that Biafra was refusing the food in order to use the starvation of its people to gain world sympathy. Biafra was turned into a giant concentration camp and the war was won by Nigeria.

That this was done, and was done actively by England with the assistance of the U.S. and the U.N., is carefully laid out in great detail in this book. Sixty pages of notes document the sources of Jacob's informa-

tion. During the crisis Jacobs worked as a consultant to UNICEF and had direct knowledge of false statements made by U Thant to the press in order to assist in the cover-up.

A better title of this book might have been "The Brutality Towards Nations." While it is concerned with the immense brutality towards the Ibo

nation by the government of Nigeria, a similar story could be told of many other nations that have suffered genocide while the governments of the world did nothing, hid the facts or actively helped.

Jacobs does not make the general case that states are interested in the preservation of their boundaries to the

extent that a successful secession in another state is seen as a threat to all states. He dwells primarily on the direct interests of the major players in Nigeria, mainly in the oil that Biafra threatened to secede with. But the point is brought out by the facts related in the book, for example when he talks of the efforts of the ICRC to establish structures to prevent a repeat of the Biafran famine:

So the ICRC attempted to strengthen the Geneva Conventions in "conflicts not of an international character" [nations attacked by states]. There was great resistance to this in the meetings of government representatives; leadership of the opposition came from two countries which had themselves a short time before been killing large numbers of people they claimed as their own citizens - Pakistan and Iraq. As a result the Red Cross did not gain the added authority it sought to aid civilians in wars such as Nigeria-Biafra.

If there were any who doubted that states subjected their own populations to genocidal attacks, this book should at last bring them back to reality. More importantly, it should also make clear that states will see it to be in their interest to help suppress a nation's efforts to become independent from another country.

Jerome E. Taylor
Associate Editor



BRUNO GABRIEL

A Miskito Nationalist and Revolutionary

He was a Miskito hero, a patriot, and a best friend. He was an Astro, a Miskito nationalist and revolutionary who took on the responsibility of leading a desperate fight to liberate his people from Sandinista occupation.

Bernard Q. Nietschmann
University of California - Berkeley

On my first day in Costa Rica a bomb explosion prevents me from meeting the ARDE leaders. Misurasata people brush the bombing aside as a fact of life for a resistance organization. Their real concern is what has happened to Comandante Alwani whose base camp was hit by a very large Sandinista operation and nothing has been heard from inside for days since the frantic radio messages that the camp was under heavy attack and the boys were pinned down by Piri crossfire.

Alwani means thunder in Miskito and it is the nom de guerre of Bruno Gabriel who has 200 men under his regional command which is located at Gunpoint, a high-ground tropical rain forest area west of Tasbapauni, on the banks of Pearl Lagoon. Years ago I used to sail from Tasbapauni