

#4

December
2021

Autonomies today Indigenous peoples in Latin America

Working Group
Newsletter
**Indigenous
peoples, autonomy
and collective
rights**



PAR TICIPATE IN THIS ISSUE

Natalia Boffa
Patricio Carpo
Santiago Bastos Amigo
Mónica Piceno
Hernández Gaya
Makarân
Germano Alziro
Lima Erileide
Domingues Gislaine
Monfort Laura Gislol
Richard Stahler - Sholk
Fábio M. Alkmin

Autonomies Today: Indigenous Peoples in Latin America - Waldo Lao & Fabio M. Alkmin (Orgs.) - la ed.- Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. CLACSO, 2021.

Digital book, PDF - (Working group newsletters) Digital archive: download and online

ISBN 978-987-813-064-4

1. Armies. 2. Native Peoples. I. Boffa, Natalia II. Hadad, María Gisela, coord. III. Lao, Waldo, ed. IV. Alkmin, Fábio M., ed.

CDD 306



CLACSO

Consejo Latinoamericano
de Ciencias Sociales
Conselho Latino-americano
de Ciências Sociais

Working Group Bulletins Collection

Collection Manager - Pablo Vommaro

CLACSO Executive Secretariat

Karina Batthyány - Executive Secretary

María Fernanda Pampín - Director of Publications

Editorial Team

Lucas Sablich - Editorial Coordinator

Solange Victory - Editorial Management

Nicolás Sticotti - Editorial Fund

Team

Natalia Gianatelli - Coordinator

Cecilia Gofman, Giovanni Daza, Rodolfo Gómez, Teresa Artega
and Tomás Bontempo.

The deposit established by Law 11723 has been made.

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a computer system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

The responsibility for the opinions expressed in books, articles, studies and other collaborations rests solely with the undersigned authors; and its publication does not necessarily reflect the views of the Executive Secretariat of CLACSO.

CLACSO

Latin American Council of Social Sciences - Conselho Latino-americano de Ciências Sociais

Estados Unidos 1168 | C1023AAB City of Buenos Aires | Argentina

Tel [54 11] 4304 9145 | Fax [54 11] 4305 0875 | <clacso@clacsoinst.edu.ar> |

<www.clacso.org>

Coordinators

María Gisela Hadad

Gino Germani Research Institute Faculty of
Social Sciences

University of Buenos Aires

Argentina

giselahadad@hotmail.com

Ruby Araceli Burguete Cal y Mayor

Center for Research and Advanced Studies in
Social Anthropology

Member of CONACYT's System of Public
Research Centers.

Mexico

araceli_burguete@yahoo.com.mx

Newsletter coordinators and editors

Waldo Lao

Degree in Ethnology from the ENAH.

D. from the Graduate Program in Latin American
Integration.

University of São Paulo (PROLAM/USP) Brazil

Fábio M. Alkmin

Geographer, University of Sao Paulo (USP)

Doctoral student in Human Geography (USP)

With support from "Fundo de Amparo à
Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP)

Process nº 2018/22226-4

Brazil



Asdi

Este material/producción ha sido financiado por la Agencia Sueca de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, Asdi. La responsabilidad del contenido recae enteramente sobre el creador. Asdi no comparte necesariamente las opiniones e interpretaciones expresadas.

Content

- 5 Presentation
[Editorial Board](#)
- 7 Attention!
Chile: Conflict in Wallmapu leaves two Mapuche youths murdered
Mexico: Nearly four decades since the emergence of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation - EZLN
- 10 Labor and Racism, Territories and Autonomies
Essay on the Wichí Struggles in Argentina
[Natalia Boffa](#)
- 18 Sociocultural Impacts of Extractivism on Territories and Communities
The experiences of Rio Blanco and Loma Larga in Azuay-Ecuador
[Patricio Carpo](#)
- 33 Guatemala 2021
Between the Creole Nation and the Indigenous Nations
[Santiago Bastos Amigo](#)
- 40 We do not need permission to be free
Second International Meeting of Women in Struggle
[Mónica Piceno Hernández](#)
[Text and photographs](#)
- 51 Indigenous autonomies and their dialogues with anarchism
[Gaya Makaran](#)
- 59 Traditional knowledge and the insurgency of the Guarani-Kaiowá returnees
Horizons of self-determination and territorial autonomy
[Germano Alziro Lima](#)
[Erleide Domingues](#)
[Gislaine Monfort](#)
[Laura Gisloti](#)
- 67 Autonomies, dispossession and indigenous resistance
[Richard Stahler-Sholk](#)
- 76 Interview with Shapiom Nuning Tsetsen
Autonomous Territory of the Wampís Nation (Peruvian Amazon)
[Waldo Lao](#)
[Fabio Alkmin](#)
- 90 Tribute
Edmundo Alex Lemun Saavedra

| Presentation

Indigenous peoples' demands for the recognition of their rights are becoming increasingly present in our continent. At this juncture, the struggle for autonomy has taken center stage as a strategy of resistance that articulates their cultural and territorial demands and their collective rights. These are peoples struggling to continue being peoples, making their autonomies unique and heterogeneous processes, legacies of their most diverse histories and geographies.

The Bulletin: "Autonomies Today", of CLACSO's Working Group "Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights", aims to bring together (throughout its issues) a diversity of autonomous experiences that permeate our Latin American reality. With the collaboration of brief articles and interviews, we seek to build bridges between indigenous peoples in resistance and researchers of the continent, allowing the creation of networks that allow us to advance in this long journey-questioning of human emancipation and decolonization. "We can already see the horizon," some of these comrades tell us.

The bulletin welcomes contributions from other Working Groups, in order to encourage the active participation of the academic community on the topic of autonomies, as well as from indigenous organizations that **c a n** collaborate based on their own experiences. Texts should be short (between 1,500 and 2,000 words) and the bibliography should follow APA + gender norms. CLACSO uses APA + gender norms, including the full names of the authors in the citation.

(for example: Gómez, Fernanda instead of Gómez, F.), to make gender more visible.

From the Working Group "Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights", we invite you and wish you an attentive reading. Doubts, criticisms and collaborations, please contact us by email: boletin.autonomias@gmail.com

In this second issue, we have reflections and analysis on: Chile , Argentina, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Brazil and Peru.

Fabio Alkmin and Waldo Lao

Attention!

Chile: The conflict in the Wallmapu leaves two Mapuche youths murdered



Crédito: Afp/Archivo.

In the first days of November, protests against the state of emergency (since October 14) - which has kept four provinces in the southern macro-zone of the country under military control (Malleco, Cautín, Biobío and Arauco) - imposed by the government of President Sebastián Piñera to curb drug trafficking and the outbreaks of drug-related violence in the region.

terrorists in the region. It resulted in the death of two young community members, Jordán Llempi Machacan and Iván Porma, as well as the wounding of four people by the military and marines in the Araucanía, Biobío region, in the town of Cañete. The Mapuches demand the exit of the military, as well as of the forestry companies from Wallmapu. From the Constitutional Convention, the machi Francisca Linconoa, with a "Basta ya!", demands the immediate departure of the armed forces from the area, as well as the resignation of the president. At the end of the month, in Cuesta del Ternero, Río Negro, Argentina, the young Elías Garau, who was fighting for the recovery of his territories, was also murdered.

Mexico: Nearly four decades of the emergence of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation - EZLN



On November 17, the EZLN celebrated its 38th anniversary of its emergence in the ravines of the Lacandon Jungle in Chiapas - in a place called La Pesadilla, which years later would be known as La Realidad. With a black background flag and a red five-pointed star, they organized hundreds of indigenous Mayan communities (Tzotzil, Tzeltales, Tzeltales, Tzotzil, Tzeltales, Tzeltales, Tzotzil, Tzeltales, Tzeltales, Tzeltales, Tzeltales),

Choles, Zoques, Tojolabales and Mames) under three principles: "do not sell out, do not surrender, do not give up". After ten years of clandestinity, their Ya Basta! resounded on January 1, 1994, declaring war on the State and publishing their First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, where they made their 11 demands: Freedom, Democracy and Justice, Land, Housing, Food, Health, Education, Independence and Peace. At the same time, they also published a series of revolutionary laws: the Law of War Taxes, the Law of Rights and Obligations of the Peoples in Struggle, the Law of Rights and Obligations of the Armed Forces, and the Law of Rights and Obligations of the Armed Forces.

Revolutionary Agrarian Law, Labor Law, Industry and Commerce Law, Social Security Law, Justice Law and the Revolutionary Women's Law. Twenty-eight years have passed since its emergence and in its territory in rebellion, the Zapatista movement is organized in twelve Caracoles with their Good Government Councils, where they exercise processes of autonomy, covering all aspects of community life from: economy, health, education, politics, self-government, culture, etc., where the people command and the government obeys.

Labor and Racism, Territories and Autonomies

Essay on the Wichí Struggles in Argentina

Natalia Boffa

When we speak of Wichí struggles in Argentina, we refer to processes taking place in the north of the country, especially in the Chaco region of the provinces of Salta, Formosa and Chaco. These processes tend to be heterogeneous and open, but contain common and shared anchors. In the brief interview published in the previous bulletin (No. 3), conducted with Ulises Fernández (Lao and Alkmin, 2021), some of these anchorages appeared and I would like to expand on them in order to bring them together or put them in tension with other interviews and observations made during field work I have carried out in Salta in recent years. Above all, I would like to raise a series of questions for future reflections.

* PhD in History, Conicet Fellow - Universidad Nacional del Sur, Coordinator of CEISO (Colectivo de Estudios e Investigaciones Sociales). Researcher and teacher. She is a member of the CLACSO Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights. Contact: nataliaboffa@hotmail.com

Labor and Racism: shared restraints

Work, as a means of subsistence, is a concern that appears in most of the interviews and in Wichí daily life, not only because of the lack of work, but also because of the precarious conditions in which Wichí men and women are employed and because of the prejudices and stigmas that affect this population at the time of accessing certain jobs. For example, they told us that "they [the farmers] do not provide work (...) They have protested to give work to the aborigines. There is a secretary who comes with a pickup truck from there [city], she is standing there, she is talking on the phone for half an hour and then the militiamen come" (CT and PJ, Pozo Nuevo, July 26, 2015). What was repressed was the request for "work for the aborigines", which was not a joint request with the Creoles. Although at other times they have shared mobilizations with the Creoles, in this case they differed. In addition, they commented that the people hired temporarily, such as the Wichí axemen employed to extract wood from the forest, were usually very poorly paid: "he [the contractor] came, he said he wanted me to make that wood, that post, but the price is low, very low" (CT and PJ, Pozo Nuevo, July 26, 2015). Thus, the lack and precariousness of work and the repression of protests, acquired specific forms on these workers. At this point, let us remember what Ulises said, about "we are labeled as lazy but the reality is that there is no work and that is pure racism" (Fernández in Lao and Alkmin, 2021, p. 75). The relationship between work and racism appears in this way in interviews and everyday situations, where claims about the social and economic place assigned to indigenous people in the Chaco region are often shared.

In the same sense, another interlocutor, president of the Bermejo River Fishermen's Commission, stated: "this project that we have does not suit us [the indigenous people], we want to pre-subsistence¹.

¹Project that limits indigenous people in the amount of fish they can catch per day (maximum 30 units), with police control and other restrictions during closed seasons. Resolution 129/12 (extension of Res. 531/09), Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Production, Salta. Also Document Petition for "Increase of fishing quota", Fishermen's Commission. Archivo Comisión de Pescadores, Fiscal Lot 75 (courtesy of FB).

The government is never going to give you that, you have to hold demonstrations to ask for it" (FB, Fiscal Lot 75, July 21, 2012). What they were asking for was a project "more like work". What does this mean? Why was subsistence fishing not considered "work"? Was it access to money or a surplus economy that differentiated the two projects? Why for the government could indigenous "subsistence" not include a commercial and surplus project? What stereotypes does this refer to?

Overall, we can think that the series of stigmas and prejudices that fall on the indigenous population in general, and the Wichí in particular, signify processes of subjection to a place of social, inter and intra-class (collective labor) inferiorization. These processes have been deployed and renewed both from governmental devices (for example, with the resolutions on economic activities) and in other strategies of business groups (when hiring "underpaid" indigenous workers).

They have also been reinforced through the reproduction of negative imaginaries, such as when officials or the press hold the indigenous people responsible for selling posts and decimating the forest; however, for the indigenous people of the area this has recently been a form of subsistence to offset the denial of other jobs or resources, and they do it with the endorsement of the government and at the demand of the businessmen. On the one hand, the Environmental Secretariat of Salta authorizes these extractive practices through the granting of guides without environmental and social impact control; on the other hand, in collusion with the government, logging companies demand a large amount of poles from the indigenous people so that, once the forest is decimated, it has no value for conservation and can be put into production (Sánchez in Carrazán, 2018). This could represent a double articulation of indigenous populations within capital, through their stigmatization and social inferiorization and differentiation from Creoles and through the dispossession of their territories (Trincheró, 2000; Iñigo Carrera, 2011).

Of course, these processes have engendered antagonisms, struggles that have unfolded as permanently as persistent dispossession. In these processes of struggle, work seems to be an interchangeable thing. A Yogi referent (an ethnic group detached from the large Wichí conglomerate) told us: "you claim land, what does the company say, I go to see the State. The State comes and says what it wants, it wants a house, come to an agreement, it wants pensions, it wants work" (CA, La Mora II, July 23, 2013). In general, it is said that there is no work for indigenous people, that is, the social place of indigenous people would be that of available labor; but this place can change in the process of struggle, especially when what is being disputed is land, which is a central means for the territorialization of capital in this region. What is the meaning of labor, then, and is it interchangeable as a commodity?

Did the social place assigned when accessing "work" change? Was racism diluted in the work proposal for CA?



[Near the Sachapera II community, Tartagal, Salta, Argentina, 2015. Photographer: Matías Luna Chima \(UNS-](#)

CEISO volunteer team).

Territory and Autonomy: shared struggles

Work is neither the main nor the only means of Wichí subsistence, but for populations living in rural or peri-urban areas it is usually a complement to the resources obtained from the goods of nature, from the territory. That is why Ulysses said "we need land but jobs and we do not have resources" (Lao and Alkmin, 2021, p. 75). The main sustenance is land and, only in cases of scarcity, dispossession or territorial enclosure, "work" is sought. Thus, work has been the option for families dispossessed of their territories and a complement for those who have managed to remain in a forest redoubt. At the material level, this has two meanings: on the one hand, work allows access to industrialized goods and, on the other hand, it makes it possible to replace the natural goods dispossessed by others available on the market. At this point I ask myself, does this imply a unidirectional subordination to money? How are the specific processes of subsumption produced in this region?

Beyond these processes, the aspects that cannot be supplied or supplemented with "work" or money are the symbolic meanings of the forest and its entities, as well as its local and cultural history. Ulises explained it in the following way:

We were taught that nature must be respected and defended, that is where you can see the difference between the thinking of our own communities with Western ideas, our people never reached the excessive use of the land but rather always maintained a balanced relationship. (Lao and Alkmin, 2021, p. 76).

In this sense, claims to territory, as socio-territorial struggles, contain within them the struggles for the production and reproduction of life, but would overflow it in its symbolic, cosmo- gonic and ontological senses. The problem is that the territorialization of capital has occurred more rapidly and brutally than the territorialization of other forms of life and, hence, its capacity to impose itself and to articulate within itself the heterogeneous local histories (Quijano, 2000; Mançano Fernandes, 2005). So, do we have to think about the "end of history" of the Wichí populations of Salta and Formosa? What does this mean?

How can we think of the different forms of life, of which capitalism is only one, without reducing them to the homogeneous idea of "non-capitalist" societies, or without denying their coetaneity by thinking of them as "pre-capitalist"?



Source: Tola, Florencia (2014) Consanguineous spouses and lovers among the Toba (Qom) of the Gran Chaco. Available at: <https://journals.openedition.org/jsa/13742?lang=en>

A central aspect to understand this could be the territorialization of the Wichí struggles, which is antagonistic to the territorialization of capital, but not in a reflexive and dichotomous sense. The Wichí socio-territorial struggles challenge the pre-assigned and fixed spaces, established at least cartographically since the end of the 19th century and put into production since the end of the 20th century; but they recognize that these fixed spaces were places of protection against the advance of evictions, although insufficient. From these spaces, the collectives in struggle have set in motion, albeit with difficulty, Law 26.160 of 2006, which establishes a deadline for carrying out a territorial survey of the country's indigenous communities and prohibits evictions. While the law represents a much-vaunted advance in indigenous rights, our interlocutors, in part, perceived it as a deception. They said to us:

The survey, the government provides the budget to carry out the survey. Once this gets to the final part, Carboncito, we are out of competition directly [immobilized]. "Where is Carboncito? Up to here. So this is fiscal: to the clearing". The soybean farmers over there, over there, when we realize we are locked up. (DP and MJ, Carboncito, July 18, 2012).

This means that, once the hectares occupied by the community have been measured (limited to the places where the dwellings and immediate surroundings are located), the rest of the land is freed for production. In contrast, the Wichí socio-territorial struggles seek to redefine the hegemonic meanings of spatiality, in the sense analyzed by Gordillo (2010), presenting processes of reterritorialization, not only due to the spatial displacements they have suffered, but also due to the contrast of the meaning of territory with other meanings, including the idea of private property.

The territorial meanings that prevailed in the Wichí narratives expressed their anchoring in autonomies. In this sense, Ulises commented: "the Wichí people consider that we will have autonomy when we become the protagonists of the issues that are carried out [in] the Wichí community".

our communities" and explained that "we must first be recognized as subjects with rights and this is closely linked to the recognition of the territory in order to then be able to move forward with other aspects" (Lao and Alkmin, 2021, p. 77).

In short, territory has always appeared as something central in the narratives, we wonder if, in relation to this, the demand for work would be relative? Furthermore, in order to gain access to the territory they are demanding recognition as subjects of rights, but to what extent does this reverse the inferiorization (racism) they have been suffering? For example, the territorial survey process recognizes rights, but does not deliver property titles, does this mean a half recognition, a strategy of temporary subordination to achieve capitalist territorialization in the future? How have the communities and intercommunity organizations appropriated this to advance their autonomy?

We were left wondering.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Carrazán, Cristina (February 18, 2018). Timber theft plagues northern farms. *El Tribuno*. Retrieved from <https://www.eltribuno.com/salta/nota/2018-2-18-0-0-0-0-denuncian-el-robo-de-madera-de-fincas-privadas-y-areas-reservadas>.
- Gordillo, Gastón (2010). Desiring another place: Guaraní reterritorializations. In G. Gordillo and S. Hirsch (Comps.), *Movilizaciones indígenas e identidades en disputa en la Argentina* (pp. 207-236). Autonomous City of Buenos Aires: La Crujía.
- Iñigo Carrera, Nicolás (2011). *Génesis, formación y crisis del capitalismo en el Chaco, 1870-1970*. Salta : EUNSA.

Sociocultural Impacts of Extractivism in Territories and Communities

The experiences of Rio Blanco and Loma Larga in ^{Azuay-Ecuador}¹

Patricio Carpo*.

Introduction

The development of mining under extractivist modality is covering the global south due to the demand of the industrialized countries of the north and fundamentally due to the new wave towards new technologies; according to,

* PhD in sociology from the University of Alicante, Spain. Professor and researcher at the University of Cuenca-Ecuador. Researcher of the CLACSO Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights. Contact: patricio.carpiob@ucuenca.edu.ec

¹This article is based on the "Study on social impacts of large-scale mining in two mining areas in the province of Azuay (Kimsakocha-Río Blanco) conducted by the University of Cuenca with a team of researchers under the coordination of the author. The participants were: Marisol Galarza in the socio-political dimension; Fabian Martinez in the socio-cultural dimension; Martin Carpio P. in the environmental dimension; Nataly Torres in the economic dimension; Andres Martinez in the legal dimension and Xavier Galarza in the elaboration of cartography and as field researchers, Daniela Samaniego and David Fajardo. Colleagues from the communities of Rio Blanco and Kimsakocha participated with interviews and in several workshops and in the Forum of return of the information in the Aula Magna of the University of Cuenca on December 11, 2019).

Enrique ^{Viale}² and as a pathetic example, Latin America extracts 15.2% of gold and only consumes 3%, extracts 45.1% of copper and consumes 6.1%, data that show who needs and where the mining resources are.

Countries such as Ecuador are the source of a vast reservoir of minerals ranging from coveted gold and silver to lithium and other rare minerals required for electric cars, cell phones, computers, etc., which marks scenarios of strong tensions and conflicts between pro-surrender governments, mining chambers and transnational companies, all focused on extraction and populations threatened by the ravages of industrial mining processes.

Mining becomes a problem and a conflict when concessions intersect with spaces and territories established as protected areas, moorlands or water sources and the territories of communities, villages, peasant communities or indigenous nationalities that ancestrally live there. The Ecuadorian Constitution already establishes in several articles restrictions for metallic mining and secondary laws regulate the activity. On February 4, 2018 the Constitutional Referendum and Popular Consultation was held which among other aspects raised a question on limiting metallic ^{mining}³ which had a favorable vote equivalent to 68.62% at the country level; on March 24, 2019 the Girón canton in Azuay where INV Metals operates with its Loma Larga (Kimsakocha) project in popular consultation decided a resounding no to mining with 86.79% of the vote. Finally the city of Cuenca said no to mining and YES to water in the popular consultation of February 7, 2020 with around 80% of the vote.

However, over and above the legal framework and the popular mandate, mining projects seek to exceed legality and do not appear to be

² Enrique Viale is an Argentine environmental lawyer, defender of the human rights of communities under extractivist pressure; the data corresponds to one of his twitter posts on March 18, 2021.

³ Question 5 of the referendum was posed as follows: "Do you agree with amending the Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador to prohibit metallic mining in all its stages, in protected areas, in intangible zones, and urban centers, according to Annex 5?".

The company continues with its pretensions to continue in the territories with minerals at the cost of legal chicanery, media support and even violence in the communities in resistance.



Credit: <http://defensoraspachamama.blogspot.com> (disclosure).

Socio-cultural impacts and their interrelationships

From a complex perspective, sociocultural impacts are an agglomeration of dialectical interactions between the dimensions of the socio-territorial system. Thus, in the communities involved in the Loma Larga or Kimsakocha and Río Blanco mining projects in the province of Azuay, Ecuador, they converge in a set of events and processes that are deconfiguring the territorial organization. The first rupture is caused by the State's action in granting concessions for areas in sensitive ecosystems.

violating constitutional legal mandates⁴. The implantation of mining companies in the territory generates ruptures in economic relations and community lifestyles; exacerbates processes of social stratification, privatization of community areas and deterritorialization, leads to strong disruptions in the social fabric and generates high levels of socio-environmental conflict.

The socio-cultural dimension is the most decomposed and conflictive within the socio-territorial system, as it is affected by the contradictions and imbalances that the mining activity has generated in each of its dimensions, mainly because the territory represents the continent on which culture is reproduced; if it loses stability, the community is left in a situation of vulnerability.

In this sense, the socio-cultural system with its processes of change maintains a timeline in its rural and peasant-based organizational matrix combined with ancestral elements expressed in indigenous cultural practices (medicine, community organization and control over the territory, productive systems, relationship with the ecosystem), but today it is suffering disruptions. Currently, the breakdown of the social system in both Rio Blanco and Kimsakocha is generated by mining activity, whose companies take on leading roles in the absence of the state and articulate the communities either through governmental institutions or directly with organizations created for this purpose under the umbrella of local development.

The ethnographic (testimonial) work leads us to conclude that the nature of the conflict is of a structural nature due to the ontological meaning of life. For western modernity, the world that exists is above all progress, economic development, growth, entrepreneurship, utility, profitability, market; it is the individual in struggle for prosperity concentrated in his tenacity and effort to have. Behind this conception is the omnipotent power of the system that seeks to subsume all that exists.

⁴Constitutional articles: Rights of nature (71 to 74), healthy environment (14-15); environment and nature (395 to 397): protection of biodiversity (400 to 403); natural heritage and ecosystems (404 to 407) and in the competences of the GADs (Title V, chapter IV).

type of economic and socio-cultural organization to the spheres of capital. Here the problem is that "The market does not guarantee that the economy fits into the ecology, since the market undervalues future needs and does not take into account the external damages to market transactions" (Martinez-Alier J., 2019). These visions are represented in the territory by the State, development institutions and GADs, as well as by mining companies.

On the other side persist logics of resistance represented by peoples and communities with different degrees or levels of ancestral-ethnicity, fundamentally raised by women and whose axis is the defense of life and their habitat. Escobar defines this situation as ontological: "the perseverance of communities and ethnic-territorial grassroots movements involves resistance, opposition, defense and affirmation of territories, but can often be described more radically as ontological" (Escobar, 2015). The deep culture that underlies here is in the identity-unity of being with nature; knowledge and practices that are historically dragged in a constant process of autopoiesis, adaptation, resilience and social metabolism. In this contradiction and as already mentioned, the mining company and its economic, political and social scaffolding is undoubtedly the disruptive factor in the territory.

At the beginning, the idea of the community begins to change, the idea of the community changes, the people's imaginary, the people's perceptions, when they expect that the mine will bring them benefits, that it will bring development in practice, and change the idea that development is a product of what they can do, then of course, as there has also been a lack of State there, then apparently the mine was going to cover that lack, so that makes people start to hope in those facts, they start to generate a kind of competition between families, between communities to see who can get a job, who can get some benefit. (Franklin Sarmiento, Agustín Cueva collective).

The original social and political impact is the establishment of an external centrality in the territory on which the community and its way of life are reorganized; a centrality that is also invested with power: politically, in the sense that it is the only one of its kind in the country.

The company has the economic power to compete with local governments and communities for their resources; to mobilize repressive public and private forces to exclude communities from their physical environment; to guarantee itself stability in the media and even in the courts of justice.

Consequently, the impact that the development paradigm and the mining presence contribute to is the affirmation of new values and cultural and economic perspectives in the relationship between humans and nature, imposing the logic of price and resources on what was previously complementarity and reciprocity.

From these new visions, other processes lead to the agglomeration and chaining of new impacts:

- The clientelistic attitude of community organizations and even parish and municipal governments to obtain funds and projects without questioning the strategic objectives of the mining companies.
- The splitting of communities between those who accept and access resources from mining sources and those who question it.
- Competition and jealousy among GADs over the distribution of royalty resources. The limited financial capacity and weak management capacity of the parish GADs has repercussions on their autonomy to govern their territory and attend to the demands of the population. This situation has allowed the mining companies to present themselves as the strategic partner to fulfill local planning, under a clientelistic and dependent relationship, promoting unsustainable development, since the resources injected are targeted to specific interventions and not to long-range processes.
- Development becomes a reward for a certain position of support and displaces the rights to a dignified life that the development regime proclaims in the Constitution.
- Mining and companies consolidate paternalistic positions and become protagonists in the tension for territorial control.

Although industrial processes have not yet occurred due to the suspension of these activities in the two projects, the use of moorland land for infrastructure, camps, roads and tailings dams impacts the vegetation cover and the ability of the moors to retain water, threatens to contaminate these resources through leaching, and alters the natural landscape.

From a community perspective, the extractive processes, due to the risks implied by the social and environmental impacts that have already been generated from the project implementation activities, should not be carried out in this area, not even with negotiations on compensation or stricter environmental controls, the communities that are threatened simply reject them outright, although other pro-mining sectors encourage them, which contributes to a conflict, for the time being without a concerted solution.

From a rights-based approach, the constitutional paradigm shift is closely related to the recognition of nature as a subject of rights. However, one of the most relevant aspects in this regard refers to the principles of prevention and precaution, respectively, because in the extractivism issue, both from the prevention (scientific certainty of environmental impact), there are doubts regarding the approval of environmental management plans, and the corresponding issuance of administrative authorizations (environmental licenses) for the exploitation stage, so that these licenses have been observed by the control authority (Comptroller General of the State).

Politically, the impact of mining translates into a dispute for territorial control between Mining-State and organizations against and in favor. Each actor develops power strategies that contribute to increased tension and violence. In Río Blanco the conflict is so intense that families fear for their lives; promoters in alliance with the mining companies ask the State to militarize the area to reactivate the extractive activity; the anti-mining sectors appeal to the courts to definitively expel the companies, while the pro-mining sectors appeal to the State to expel the mining companies from the area.

In the midst of this, families yearn for peace and emphasize that the conflict is foreign, imposed by mining.

In this dispute there is a dispersed and hidden actor: illegal miners who want the territory to be cleared of companies, the State and environmental activists in order to carry out this illegal activity. The social impacts that remain for the communities are insecurity, violence, and daily uncertainty.

Territorial control at the political-jurisdictional level, in terms of law, is marked by the clash of competences between the GADs and the central government. The institutional design since 2008 shows a Constitution split in two: the first, which recognizes the rights of nature, and state responsibility in relation to environmental protection, conservation and reparation; and the second, which does not escape from the classic development model, which allows the exploitation of resources, as long as it is guided by environmental protection parameters.

The unleashed environmental and political plot has been taken to a legal level through the judicialization of the processes, with emblematic triumphs by the actors in a situation of resistance: such is the case of Rio Blanco (with the suspension of activities, and with an extraordinary action of protection awaiting to be sent by the Constitutional Court), and Kimsakocha (with the triumph of the YES vote in the public consultation of March 2019, in response to which the government announced the displacement of the extractive installations to another neighboring canton within the same concession but which was already neutralized with the public consultation of Cuenca on February 7).)

In terms of gender, a significant impact on the communities in the two areas with mining projects is the emergence of women as actors on the resistance side; in Rio Blanco and Kimsakocha they are the ones leading the social mobilization processes in front of the State and in the courts, as well as in demonstrations and the media. This has a high impact on the revalorization of rural women in their own communities as an example of how rural women can be revalued in their own communities.

of tenacity and in the city of Cuenca, raising awareness of an issue that is not sufficiently addressed by the public.

On the pro-mining side, women are the ones who have organized themselves in various associations for productive and income-generating projects with the perspective of improving the family economy.



Credit: <http://defensoraspachamama.blogspot.com> (disclosure).

Thus, the position of organized women's groups that play a central role in the socio-political process surrounding mining projects, specifically in the Rio Blanco project, reflects different positions on the use of the territory, for example, the Mujeres Unidas por el Desarrollo (Women United for Development) have a vision of modernization of the living conditions of women and the population in general, and on the other hand, groups such as Sinchi Warmi and Defensoras de la Pachamama assume different positions on the use of the territory.

The relationship with the land from conservation, sustainable management of its resources, human rights and the rights of nature, positions that are distant and conflicting in the same common area.

In structural terms, it should be noted that women are the most affected by the social conflict because they are linked to the habitat and are responsible for the material and cultural reproduction of their families, and the conflict substantially alters the community dynamics and security for these families. Raúl Zibechi summarizes in one sentence the gender perspective in the midst of the mining conflict: "They dream of work. They dream of preserving life" (Zibechi, 2019).

The community perspective

The present study obtained criteria from the perspective of the communities through a set of dialogue methods and was able to determine that there is a powerful common basis for facing the conflict and uncertainty in which they currently find themselves. For the communities, regardless of their position regarding the mining project, the fundamental thing is to recover peace and for their territory to once again be a place to live without tensions and with the options to move within it without limitations, as it has always been; taking advantage of the natural resources they have in a healthy and free environment (they refer to renewable natural resources: water and soils); in the two areas of the mining projects, the development options that they propose for the future are determined by a political vision of the control of the territory, of the strategic objectives that the community wants and the respect of external actors such as the State, mining companies or institutions that arrive with models under imposition.⁵

For the pro-mining communities in the two areas, their needs, interests and aspirations are for the betterment of their communities.

⁵ These expressions were expressed by people from the communities of the two project areas at the Forum "Reflections on possible impacts of mining in Azuay" organized by this study at the University of Cuenca on December 11, 2019 to share preliminary advances.

In these sectors, immediate needs take precedence, which obscure their views on the territory, the resources being extracted, and the threats, risks and vulnerabilities to which they may be victims; they clearly consider that mining is a threat to the territory, the resources being extracted, and the threats, risks and vulnerabilities to which they may be victims. In these sectors, immediate needs take precedence and obscure their views on the territory, the resources that are extracted and the threats, risks and vulnerabilities of which they may be victims; they clearly consider that mining is an alternative to escape from abandonment and poverty and their aspiration is to live in a peaceful environment, without violence and with development opportunities.

For them, the first step is the definitive exit of the mining company from the area, as it represents a permanent environmental threat to the community habitat; it has divided the territory by privatizing areas that were previously for community use and, above all, it has generated a scenario of social conflict between communities and families.

Concomitant with this socio-territorial vision, the alternatives and their management must be an endogenous process, generated from deep community reflections where men and women decide the ways to improve their lives; therefore, projects or programs that have not been analyzed in the community are not acceptable.

...We have to work with the communities on alternatives to the mining activity... we have been talking with the people... if there are alternatives to develop other activities, in such a way that it is not the only thing that can be thought of as mining, but agricultural activities, agricultural production, there is even a tourist potential that can be developed because the compañeros, especially the compañeros of Rio Blanco have been working extensively on local proposals to develop tourism, taking advantage of the great variety of natural resources, cultural resources, also the coexistence of the people and production in the zone, they have been working for some time now to strengthen and prepare the conditions for tourist activity....

our mission is to ensure that the moors are protected, that the water is protected... (Interview Carlos Morales, President of the GAD Parroquial de Molleturo, Noticiero W Radio Ecuador, April 24, 2019).

For the territorial and environmental defense organizations, the struggle of many years of resistance allowed them to understand the political interactions between the State and mining transnationals, which, complemented by a strong distrust of public institutions due to their little or no effectiveness in meeting the needs of these parishes, has strengthened their local identity and autonomy from State power.

From all this analysis it can be seen that there is a set of latent needs in the territory whose management does not imply large investment processes, but rather dialogue, organization and political will of the parties involved, always considering the risks of irreparable repercussions on the habitat, contemplating the levels of threats and understanding the vulnerability of the ecosystem.

The decisive task for decision-makers is to promote a ^{minka}⁶ for another perspective of community development to overcome the conflict, eliminate the impacts that have become evident and promote a sustainable and sustainable life dynamic in and with the affected population.

⁶ Minka: ancestral community practice where resources and wills are pooled for a common project.



National Anti-Menra Assembly. Credit: /www.planv.com.ec (disclosure)

Regarding rights, it is necessary to emphasize community empowerment for their defense and exercise, promoting articulations at the local, national and international levels, struggles that, together with social mobilization, have achieved the suspension of mining activities in the two areas. However, it is necessary to promote and inform communities and citizens in general about the guarantees they have for the exercise of their rights in order to achieve greater identity in their defense and overcome the political manipulations that always appear in the midst of conflict to channel discontent for personal or partisan purposes.

What identifies us, and how we have sustained ourselves in this struggle, I believe and I also know our comrades and the whole group, all the communities that we have been in, to maintain the care of the environment.

contamination for that reason I think it is a fundamental reason because we want to leave for our children, our grandchildren, and above all to leave rooted a resistance of the communities and to root a way of life that should be without affecting the issue of life..." (BQ, Cauquil-San Gerardo Community).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Appadurai, Arjun (September 25, 2019). *OTHER EDUCATION*. Retrieved from Futures of education: imagination and aspiration : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rdJ5iX8DIBo>
- Carpio Benalcázar, Patricio (2019) *El Buen Vivir, Utopía para el siglo XXI*. Madrid. FUHEM
- Office of the Ombudsman in Investigation No.1 Case DPE-0101-010101-209-2018-002344-LAL. (2018). *Investigation No.1 Case DPE-0101-010101-209-2018-002344-LAL*.
- El Comercio (July 2019). *EL COMERCIO*. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/USER/USER/Desktop/ETAPA%20MINERIA/Biblio%20Mineria/Augusto%20Flores_%20.%E2%80%98Impacto%20es%20irreversible,%20pero%20buscamos%20que%20sea%20el%20menor%E2%80%99%20_%20El%20Comercio.html.
- Escobar, Arturo (2015). *Territories of difference: a political ontology of "territorial rights"*. Retrieved from Cuadernos de Social Anthropology : <file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/1594-3273-1-PB.pdf>
- Gomez Orea, Domingo, (2001). Madrid: Agrícola Española.
- Gudynas, Eduardo (2015). *Extractivisms, ecology, economy and politics of a way of understanding development and nature*. Lima: Púrpura&Púrpura SAC.
- iagua. (n/d). *iagua*. Retrieved from Preocupados: contaminación del agua a causa de la minería: <https://www.iagua.es/blogs/carlos-revillacalcina/preocupados>
- Idrovo, U. Jaime (May 14, 2019). *Culture and archaeology in Rio Blanco*. (E. Con-sultor, Interviewer).
- Martinez Alier Joan (September 25, 2013). *Letras Verdes*. Retrieved from Conflictos ecológicos por extracción de recursos y por producción de residuos: <https://revistas.flacsoandes.edu.ec/letrasverdes/article/view/824>

- Martinez Alier Joan J. (December 08, 2019). *Conflictos ecológicos por extracción de recursos y por producción de residuos*. Retrieved from https://www.flacsoandes.edu.ec/sites/default/files/agora/files/1240523156.3._conflictos_ecologicos_por_extraccion_de_recursos_y_por_produccion_de_residuos_joan_martinez_alier_1.pdf.
- PDOT (2015). *Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial de Molleturo*.
- SENPLADES (2011). *Guide of contents and processes for the formulation of Development Plans and Land Use Planning of provinces, cantons and parishes*. Quito: Senplades.
- Svampa, Maristella (2012). Commodity Consensus, Ecoterritorial Turn and Critical Thinking in Latin America. *OSAL Movimientos socioambientales en América latina* N 32, 2.
- Svampa, Maristella (March-April 2013). "Commodities Consensus" and valuation languages in Latin America. *New Society* N°244, 31. Retrieved from Commodity Consensus and Valuation Languages in Latin America: <https://nuso.org/articulo/consenso-de-los-commodities-y-lenguajes-de-valoracion-en-america-latina/>
- Svampa, Maristella, & Viale, E. (2014). *Maldevelopment, the Argentina of extractivism and dispossession*. Buenos Aires: Katz Editores.
- TerraAmbiente Consultores (2015). *Rio Blanco Project Environmental Impact Study*. Basin.
- Ther Rios, F. (2012). Antropología del territorio. *Open Edition Journals*, 5.
- Toledo, Edgar (January 25, 2019). (P. Illescas, Interviewer).
- Zibechi, Raul (August 10, 2019). *La lucha de las comunidades contra la minería, Defensoras de la Pachamama*. Retrieved from <https://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=259227>.

Guatemala 2021

Among the Creole Nation and Indigenous Nations¹

Santiago Bastos Amigo* Santiago Bastos Amigo*
Santiago Bastos Amigo* Santiago Bastos Amigo*
Santiago Bastos Amigo* Santiago Bastos Amigo

This year marks the 200th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Guatemala and the 150th anniversary of the triumph of the so-called liberal revolution. The years 1821 and 1871, frame the emergence and consolidation of Guatemala not only as a republic but as a nation. The exclusionary way in which this Guatemalan nation has been built has provoked that after these two hundred years, it is being questioned and a plurinational state is being called for, formed by indigenous nations in addition to the ladino and/or creole nation.

But far from attending to or giving channel to these demands, the violent denial of any avenue of change shows how, once again, we are facing a reinforcement of the project of the creole nation. This has been the attitude of the Guatemalan oligarchy since it renewed its power with the proclamation of the Republic of Guatemala: to maintain a nation made in its own image.

+ He is a researcher from Guatemala, research professor at CIESAS, and is part of the Communication and Analysis Team El Colibrí Zurdo. Researcher of the WG "Indigenous peoples, autonomies and collective rights".

Contact: santiagobastos@gmail.com

¹Posted in *Coming out of the deception. 200 years, nothing to celebrate*. Pablo Sigüenza and Norma Chamalé, editors. Parutz' Editorial, Guatemala, 2021

and likeness where only those who are like them fit, while the rest do not deserve any rights, they are only meat for work and dispossession.

1

Thus, we can consider the short history of the Republic of Guatemala as the attempts of ladino, Mayan and other indigenous Guatemalans and Afro-descendants to put an end to the exclusionary way of handling power by the Creole oligarchy and to broaden that initial idea of nationhood. But this history shows how this oligarchy has repeatedly refused to extend the benefits of citizenship to the rest of its supposed compatriots.

We could even consider that the current situation has certain similarities with the one that occurred after the triumph of the so-called liberal revolution in 1871. On that occasion, the political ascent of the settlers from the west of the country, among them many powerful ladinos, meant the recreation of many of the colonial exclusions experienced by the indigenous people in the context of the supposed transformation of Guatemala into a "ladino nation".

Given the need to create a State and an economic infrastructure for agro-export, certain benefits of the citizenship were extended to a sector of ladinos, and "the ladino" became, over the next 100 years, the subject of the Guatemalan nation, with the apparent disappearance of the criollos from the ethnic bipolarity that has governed the life of this country ever since.

But the criollos did not disappear at all. They managed to insert the new powerful ladinos into the oligarchy without changing its elitist and exclusionary sense: they "criollized" them, "cleansed" their blood by renewing it with the Europeans who joined the coffee elite. There was another sector of ladinos who obtained local and regional power, but always working for these farmers. The military were among the few who have benefited politically and economically from this alliance. But for

For most of those who came to be considered ladinos in these years, this condition had only one consolation: "I am poor but not Indian".

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the attempt of the ladinos to expand that nation to include themselves: that is how we can understand the revolution of 1944 and the decade that followed, and later, the whole cycle of protests, rebellions and revolution that ended with the peace of 1996. All this forced the oligarchy to expand the community imagined in the discourse, but there was never a real will to create a Guatemalan nation beyond a poor and militarized rhetoric. If with difficulty they assumed the ladino, the indigenous and the indigenous represented everything that the criollos denied and blamed them for the backwardness of the country, despite the fact that they carried most of the work that provided the wealth that sustained them.

2

After the signing of the peace, the Creole oligarchy has tried to maintain its exclusive control of power with a move partly similar to that of 150 years ago. The crisis that implied all the questioning of the system was confronted with the merciless genocide that is the most evident sample of the creole nature of the regime; and the peace agreements pretended to forge conditions for those democratic forms and that certain distribution of wealth that the Guatemalan society needed. Since the indigenous people -especially the Mayas- had joined this general questioning with their own demands, they conceded the re-knowledge of Guatemala as a "pluricultural, multiethnic and multilingual" nation. They looked for some Mayas - "the allowed Indians"- to become allies and supporters of this formula that only acted as a new discourse for the sacrosanct national unity.



Credit: Omar Pérez Pablo - Community Press

As we have all seen in these last decades, this change towards multiculturalism -in itself superficial- only remained in the background, and only as long as they needed it. On the contrary, the insertion of the Guatemalan economy in the neoliberal globalization - as before in the coffee sector- is once again recreating the Creole project of an exclusive and increasingly unequal nation. This time, the alliance is again with transnational capital, which now seeks the territories and the resources therein -as labor is no longer needed, it has had to go elsewhere to find a way to survive-.

Among the forces present in the country, the oligarchy that feels itself to be criolized and acts as such has chosen to ally itself with the so-called "emerging economies", basically organized crime sectors that in part come from the widespread corruption among the military since decades ago, from the drug trafficking gangs and in part from the politicians who have associated themselves with all of the above. In this neoliberal context, this triple alliance between oligarchy, transnational corporations and military-narcos is once again acting according to the Creole ethos, seeking to impose its interests in a stratified and racist conception of society based on privileges (for them) and not rights (for all). For this reason, they have turned parliamentary life and judicial action into mere platforms for enrichment emptied of political or legal content.

3

But in Guatemala there are many people who are not willing to see this happen and have been opposing their demands, their rights and their lives to this exclusionary and murderous project for decades. Fifty years ago, the class project that sought to build a true Guatemalan nation brought together many of these efforts. Now, in large part, it is the indigenous people who have marked a path since the 1990s, when they assumed that their struggle was that of a people, the Mayan people, to break with the Creole way of understanding Guatemala. In this way they seek to maintain what makes them different without having to be inferior.

Since then, the conception of these indigenous peoples as nations has been consolidating: collectives with a history linked to a territory, who therefore share a culture and an identity that had been denied by the colony and later by the republic. After the multicultural espejismo, which - as with the Ladino nation - sought to create a cosmetic way of responding to these demands without affecting the criollo power, the self-assumed indigenous peoples of Guatemala have been advancing towards their reconstitution as the nations they seek to be.

Thus, in the face of violent and unpunished attempts to restore once again the creole nation, the demand to consider Guatemala as a plurinational country, formed by the indigenous nations and the criollo-ladino nation that never wanted to admit them into its interior, is gaining more and more strength; and a sector of the non-indigenous are also moving in that direction, assuming themselves as mestizos instead of ladinos. This questions one of the ideological bases that has served to justify the dominance of the Creoles: the idea of the nation as unique, monocultural, and the exclusive identity of its members. The indigenous nations are proposed from another more updated and inclusive framework that would imply a renewal of this concept-identity-feeling that is part of our lives; that no longer seek sovereignty as a state but the exercise of their self-determination within the Republic of Guatemala.

But for this proposal to truly represent a turning point in the troubled history of this country, there is still a long way to go. It would be necessary to define these nations in their content and membership, since the indigenous peoples were never nations in the current sense and there are many issues to recreate and rethink; it would be necessary for the members of these historical collectives to give their shared identity a political sense that supports and pushes their national character. On the other hand, non-indigenous Guatemala should be invited to rethink itself as a nation and within the nation, in order to add it to the plurinational project; only in this way could sufficient political strength be achieved to stand up with real possibilities to that oligarchy that has been refusing to lose its privileges for so long. But above all, I believe, it would be necessary to put an end to the power structures -

represented

in these criollos, but that go much further - that have excluded during these two hundred years the majority of Guatemalans from the minimum benefits of belonging. If not, this new formula would only be one more mask of the Creole nation.

We don't need permission to be free

Second International Gathering of Women in Struggle

Mónica Piceno Hernández*.

Text and photographs

"More than feminists, we are women fighting in every possible way in this war against dispossession and death."

Words from Comandanta Amada.

From December 27-29, 2019, in the Zapatista mountains in resistance and rebellion, Chiapas, Mexico, the *Second International Meeting of Women in Struggle* was held. According to data from the Zapatista compas, for three days we gathered more than 3,000 women from 49 countries. In the Semillero "Huellas del caminar de la comandanta Ramona" (Traces of Comandanta Ramona's Journey), in the Whirlwind of Our Word Center, the whole organization was in charge of

* D. candidate in Sustainability Sciences at UNAM, Campus Morelia, Mexico. She is part of the Laboratory of Ecology and Social Aspects in Community Forests of the Institute for Research in Ecosystems and Sustainability, IIES. Invited researcher of the WG "Indigenous peoples, autonomies and collective rights". Contact: monpiceno@gmail.com



The women's group and the militia compas always guarded the entrance and the surrounding area, creating an atmosphere of security and respect. We met for three days with the same objective: to meet with other women who struggle to share our pains, our joys and to generate proposals to organize ourselves beyond our geographies, to face together what the Zapatista comrades have called *a war for life*. On the 26th we met again at the installation of the mega-camp, with music, dance and war cries... The coven began!

On December 27, Comandanta Amada inaugurated the meeting with moving words of welcome, followed by an opening ritual and a parade of fellow militia women. On that first day of activities we dedicated ourselves to listening to the women who shared the ways in which they have experienced violence. On the second day we gave space for proposals for organization and articulation among women and women's collectives.







The third day was dedicated to culture, art and celebration. We talked about violence, pain and rage, and it was essential to assume what makes us think differently from others, and to come together to generate collective organization, because we all have a space, we all matter, and as Comandanta Amada said: "*we are all different, but we know that it is no good if we are all the same in thought and manner, difference is not weakness, but a powerful force*".

At the table of denunciations, we were able to listen to the countless ways in which we are violated as women, from our childhood until we become *women of judgment*. We were able to listen to fellow women defenders of the environment who came from native peoples of Mexico and other countries such as Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Brazil, who denounced the dispossession of their common goods such as land, water and forests. We were able to listen, feel and share with our hearts and tears the mothers who have not seen their daughters again because they have been murdered or disappeared; the migrants who have been violated in their homes, and the women who have been forced to leave

their homes.



We share the pain of those who have been assaulted by their parents or partners, receiving hatred from that which seemed to be love, and we share the pain of those who have been assaulted by their parents or partners, receiving hatred from that which seemed to be love. We share the pain of those who have been assaulted by their parents or partners, receiving hatred from what seemed to be love. We listen to the injustice, impunity and misogyny that oppress our lives and hurt us to death.

Women from all over the world came to the mountains of southeastern Mexico to share the violence they experienced at the hands of men and also at the hands of women who think and act in a machista manner, and who found refuge in the community. With painful testimonies, we confirmed that unfortunately, as girls, young women, adults or women in court, we have all experienced some form of violence, from strangers or even from those who were supposed to be there to love and support us. We were able to hear and confirm that violence against us is embedded in a system that hurts us and kills us, and that it is not just violence

against us.

that violates us even more because of our social condition or dissident gender identities, as in the case of trans and *queer* women.

Espirulina, a trans compañera from the Mexico City-based collective Flor y Piedra, shared with us her experience at the meeting and how moving it was for her to have been admitted to El Semillero: "[...] *I came to meet others like me, and it comforts us to know that others also got rid of their fear, we are very moved that they let us in[...] in this meeting we all fit regardless of what we have in our genitals, and the best thing is that it helps to make other women aware of the fact that there are other realities and sometimes the term woman falls short for all the sexual diversity that exists*". Regarding gender identity and ways of resisting violence, Lucero, a Zapatista from the caracol of La Realidad, shared with us: "*We can't make a distinction, their will is respected, it doesn't matter to us, it is their decision and their taste, what we tell them is to organize themselves, we respect everything and what we want is for us to be together, to organize ourselves and respect each other*".





The issue of how to organize ourselves is key, there are as many proposals and ideas as there is diversity among women. The important thing is to reach an agreement to stop this massacre and recover the value and joy of living. If we talk about feminisms, there are also many. Also, in the words of the Geobrujas Collective, organizing ourselves responds more to the need to stay alive, healthy and strong than to the discourses. *"All the movements that are taking place in the world seem important to us, being in a Zapatista space is a symbol of political resistance for the women of the world, and these 26 years of creating these autonomous spaces is an inspiration, but also all the popular, urban movements in each context and raising our voices from other forms of struggle is important, and leads us to understand that there are many feminisms [...] it is important to start from the different social, cultural and environmental contexts"*.

The convergence of slogans, perspectives, opinions, cultures, idio- mas and bodies allowed us to see the common wounds and at the same time the diversity of proposals for organizing ourselves, revaluing our potential as the *women we are* and recognizing that, as the Zapatista compas say, "*more than feminists...we are women who fight in every possible way in this war against dispossession and death.* For the Zapatistas, at the moment of making decisions, organizing and carrying out the work necessary for the reproduction of life, such as working the land, unity is required "[...] *it is fucking capitalism that wants to finish us off, that wants us divided,*" says compa Lucero.



At any time during the meeting, slogans such as "la culpa no era mía" (the fault was not mine), which became popular after the 2019 protests in Chile, could be heard. "*Arriba el feminismo que va a vencer*" which has accompanied various feminist movements in Latin America. We also listened to "*Qué- malo todo y pinta la pared*" which emerged from the feminist riots in Mexico City, and "*Ni una menos*" which takes us back to the first years in which in Mexico and other countries the crime of *Feminicide* was legally recognized.



The most representative slogans of the international feminist movement in recent years were combined with those that have been sung for decades by indigenous women and women from social organizations defending their territories, such as the chant of the women of Chiapas: "*We women will leave the apron and if necessary we will take up the rifle*", who also sang: "*When the people rise up for bread, freedom and land, the powerful will tremble from the coast to the mountains*", a slogan that has been sung for decades in the contexts of popular and peasant struggle in Mexico.

This second meeting of women who struggle was a space without men, who were excluded not in a sexist or separatist manner, but to demonstrate that as women we can also organize ourselves. "*Here we did not allow men to enter because we have to show that we can do all the work ourselves [...] this is the example we want to give to the comrades of the world, that, in different places, countries or states, if we organize ourselves collectively we can fight*".

The free expression of emotions, without taboos and without limitations was also a characteristic of convergence. By finding ourselves in a space where we identify ourselves as gender and at the same time without the presence of judgment and repression that machismo has imposed on us, we were able to recognize and revalue ourselves by embracing our differences, respecting our origin, our culture and our beliefs, making emotions a tool to understand other struggles, to move through the injustice that we all live and to put ourselves in the shoes of others.



For all the women who struggle, those of us who attended and those who could not, the Zapatista compas represent a great inspiration. We are immensely grateful that they received us in their mountains, to share with them the black starry night and the light of each morning. We hope to meet whenever we can, in every possible geography. Because we do not need permission to be free.

Indigenous autonomies and their dialogues with anarchism¹

Gaya Makaran

The Latin American experiences of the first decades of the 21st century, marked by the effervescence of the subaltern sectors against the dominant models of the nation-state and neoliberal capitalism, struggles that were in part co-opted by the populist reformism of the "progressive period" whose programmatic failure gave way to the period of the "return to the right", show, once again, the evident impossibility of the state path to fulfill the expectations of social emancipation. Hence, autonomy, in its anti-systemic sense, reappears today as a concept, demand and emancipatory practice, as an alternative to the electoral pendulum, since it questions the State in all its formats, party colors and underlying ideologies.

The objective of this essay is to outline a dialogue between the contributions of anarchist political ^{theory}² and indigenous autonomous projects.

* Researcher at the Center for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CIALC) of the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Her research interests are: Latin American nation-state and indigenous movements, nationalisms, anarchisms and autonomies in Bolivia and Paraguay. Invited researcher of the WG "Indigenous peoples, autonomies and collective rights". E-mail: makarangaya@gmail.com

¹ This text is based on article Makaran, 2020.

² It is not our aim to present a detailed tour of anarchist theory on the subject of autonomy, a work masterfully done by other authors. See, for example, Albertani, 2011; Brancaloneone, 2019.

in order to broaden and deepen the debate on Latin American autonomy. I start from the conviction that such a dialogue is not only possible, but has been actively taking place for some time now, taking into account the points of convergence, the political involvement and the reciprocal lessons, both historical and current, between Latin American anarchists and indigenous, peasant and popular struggles³. In this sense we think of autonomy as a horizon of desire and as a concrete practice, both in its individual and collective dimension, understood as a path towards social emancipation. From this we highlight its anti-state and anti-capitalist potential, as well as its anti-authoritarian and anti-hierarchical potential.

Autonomy has been a key aspect for anarchist reflection and action practically since its beginnings as a political and ideological current, as stated in the manual *Basic Anarchism*: "in the second half of the nineteenth century anarchists were called not only anti-authoritarians and revolutionary socialists, but also autonomists and federalists" (VV.AA., 2010: 108). In this sense, autonomy meant, on the one hand, the organizational principle of a new social structure alternative to the State, where autonomous entities (municipalities, communes, unions, etc.) would associate freely and horizontally.) would associate freely and horizontally, replacing centralist, hierarchical and authoritarian state forms (Proudhon's federative principle) and, on the other hand, it referred to individual and collective freedom as opposed to all forms of heteronomy (an approach later developed by Castoriadis), being a commitment to self-determination and self-management as principles that internally govern life in common.

Hence, the critique of the State as the ultimate concentration of oppressions and the symbol *per se* of heteronomy is necessarily linked to an alternative proposal of social organization that would enable social self-determination or, as Bakunin calls it, "self-organization".

³ This is not the space to account for the links of Latin American anarchism with indigenous, workers' and popular struggles in Latin America. See some readings in this regard: Cappelletti and Rama, 1990; Gómez Muller, 2009; Rodríguez García, 2012; on the last decades: Barret, 2011.

and free administration of their own affairs from the bottom up, without the least violence or interference from above" (2017: 395). Thus, anarchism from its beginnings bets on a social organization based on the federation of autonomous entities, decentralized, but articulated, supported by the collective ownership of the means of production and direct democracy. In this way, the anti-state character of autonomy is united with its anti-capitalist character, as autonomy is necessarily a space for the construction of an anti-authoritarian socialism and free association, together with a commitment to radical democracy and self-government.

In Latin America, the concept of autonomy was historically linked to the resistance of colonized peoples. Thus, the libertarian horizon of social emancipation has been linked to the struggle for self-determination of indigenous peoples, differentiated from national societies in the context of internal colonialism (González Casanova, 1969). With their own territory and political, economic and cultural forms, whose modernization and capitalist subsumption has been relatively late and incomplete, the native peoples have managed to achieve different levels of relative *de facto* autonomy from the State-capital which, by marginalizing them, has allowed, contrary to its interest in hegemony, the existence of "other" spaces in constant rebellion that dispute its political, economic, territorial monopoly and legitimate violence.

I do not intend here to give an account of the entire rich debate on indigenous autonomy, a debate which, by the way, was changing its focus, adjusting to the times, geographies, possibilities of interference in state policies and, above all, to the disappointments suffered by the people. I will concentrate on the anti-systemic potential of autonomy in open disagreement with its liberal conceptualization present in international law and national legislations, which limits it to certain forms of self-government without societal projection, subordinated to the "national" government in key issues, over a reduced and colonized territory, within the framework of the administrative division of a nation-state and multiculturalist policies of diversity management. This type of approach sees autonomy as a virtuous solution.

The "problem of diversity" in the framework of national states, a type of cultural encapsulation that in no way disputes the very form of the State, much less capitalism⁴. It is worth noting the narrowness of this type of state-centric visions and, above all, the disappointing results for the indigenous subjects themselves in countries where autonomous regimes have succeeded in being legislated.⁵

This does not mean that I disregard different strategies of the native peoples, among which the autonomy claim can be channeled through legal channels, taking advantage of systemic cracks to patch them in their favor⁶, as long as these proposals contain an anti-systemic potential and take into account the limits of the official path. In this sense, by "anti-systemic potential" I mean the existence of a political horizon and concrete practices that, without explicitly declaring themselves anti-state and anti-capitalist, question the State and capital, eroding the principle of the monopoly of politics, territorial sovereignty or legitimate violence, testing their own forms of direct democracy, community economy, territorial control, education, care, etc.,

⁴See, for example, this definition by Díaz-Polanco: "The autonomous entity does not come into existence by itself, but its conformation as such takes place as part of the political-legal life of a State. The autonomous regime responds to the need to seek forms of political integration of the national State based on coordination and not on the subordination of its partial collectivities" (2003: 153).

⁵The Plurinational State of Bolivia and the 2010 Framework Law on Autonomies are often mentioned as an exemplary model of indigenous autonomy legislation in Latin America. However, it presents strong limitations and contradictions, such as the reinforcement of state and partisan control over indigenous governments and little capacity to prevent extractivist penetration in the territories. See López and Makaran, 2019.

⁶In fact, in our research practice we have observed, in the framework of an enormous diversity of indigenous proposals and strategies of struggle conditioned by their particular historical, geographic and socio-political circumstances, that autonomy projects born of conflict with the nation-state and capitalism, can seek at the same time and in a strategic manner legal recognition to ensure the minimum margin of operation, which then in practice is intended to be exceeded. To mention some examples of this strategy, we can see the case of the municipal autonomy by "uses and customs" of Cherán in Michoacán or Ayutla de los Libres in Guerrero, Mexico; the indigenous reservations in Colombia with the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC), the Guarani Charagua Iyambae Autonomy in Bolivia, and a long etcetera.

aiming at the substitution of the functions of the capitalist state by self-organization and collective self-management.

It is crucial to underline the inevitably "impure" character of anti-systemic autonomies, which can hardly demand an obligatory autarchy or imagine themselves in a total "outside", as they are immersed in a complex web of relations with the State-capital, where the permanent state efforts to destroy or pacify them, are met with the creative response of "those from below" who, in their apparent acceptance of the rules of the institutional game, from their resistances tend to "rebel" against this same State. Hence, the anti-systemic character of an indigenous autonomy does not reside, for me, in its lack of state recognition, although of course it can be as in the case of neoZapatista autonomy, but in the way in which it questions and confronts the existing system, as I have pointed out above.

Now, if we take up the contributions and experiences of both anarchists and indigenous peoples in the field of autonomy, we can identify a certain "basic structure" necessary for any project with anti-systemic projections: in the political field it will be direct democracy and self-government; in the economic field, the commons, self-management and anti-capitalism; in the socio-cultural field: culture, education, care and autonomous subjectivity; and finally, justice, the resolution of internal conflict and self-defense. These fundamental pieces of the basic structure of any collective autonomy, separated here for reasons of expository clarity, are in fact ordered anarchically, that is, horizontally and non-hierarchically, intertwined and condition one another, since they are all indispensable for full social self-determination. Thus, for example, freedom and political horizontality are interdependent with economic equality, as illustrated by Bakunin's classic quote: "Freedom without socialism is privilege and injustice; socialism without freedom is slavery and brutality" (2017: 9); just as the existence of a free culture and subjectivity is indispensable for building and strengthening egalitarian and anti-authoritarian political and economic relations. Not to mention the internal regulation of conflict, distribution of justice and the ability to defend against

grievances.

without which no autonomy, however successful it may be in other respects, could be sustained.

Indigenous autonomous projects, based on their long tradition of resistance against the colonizing State-capital, where they mobilize their own forms of social organization, such as democracy and community self-management, enter into a rich dialogue with anarchism, mutually broadening their anti-systemic scope. The convergence of indigenous sociabilities forged in the anti-colonial struggle with libertarian approaches may be surprising: the desire for freedom⁷, for self-determination vis-à-vis the State, for the (re)construction of a society without domination, rooted in the long memory of a non-state past and in the awareness of their current capacity for self-regulation based on their community institutions and territorial control. In this sense, it is not a matter of returning to "uses and customs" anchored in prehistory, nor of preserving purities inherited from the ancestors, but of dynamic practices and forms that adapt to changing times and are constantly reinvented with the aim of enhancing the social capacity for self-determination.

Hence, anti-systemic autonomies would be a negation of the idea of integration into the institutionality of the state and a struggle to break free from its monopolistic ambitions, while at the same time a constant effort against authoritarian and hierarchical structures that can copy state and capitalist logics within the spaces and among subjects that claim to be autonomous. To this end, mobilizing anarchist theory helps us to identify and strengthen the anarchizing autonomous features that would allow us to speak of a social emancipation in process, while at the same time detecting at an early stage tendencies that could lead to the emergence of an autonomous society.

⁷ Thus, the Guaraní of the Bolivian Chaco define autonomy as *Iyambae*, that is: "to be free, without an owner, like our ancestors who were autonomous without even knowing the word. As *Mburuvicha* Castro Balaza from the Huacaya municipality in Bolivia says: "We want to be us, *iyambae*, that nobody is going to come and command us, to tell us what to do in our own house. We don't want that anymore. We want to be in charge of ourselves, to govern ourselves. [...] That is, we want to recover the past of the ancestors, the grandparents, without the State". (Personal interview in April 2017, in López and Makaran, 2019: 291).

that can be reproduced internally. In this sense, indigenous peoples are accompanied by anarchists who extend the principle of autonomy beyond the indigenous community to apply it to all types of subaltern collectives, understanding autonomy as an indispensable condition of anarchy, that is, of a social order without coercion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albertani, Claudio. "Wild flowers. Reflexiones sobre el principio de autonomía", in *Pensar las autonomías*, Mexico, Bajo Tierra, Sísifo Ediciones, 2011, pp. 53-69.
- Bakunin, Mikhail. "Statism and anarchy", in Dolgoff, Sam, *La anarquía según Bakunin*, Barcelona, Ariel, 2017.
- Barret, Daniel. *Los sediciosos despertares de la anarquía*, Buenos Aires, Libros de Anarres, 2011.
- Brancaleone, Cassio. "Bajo el signo de la autonomía: aportes desde una teoría política anarquista", in Makaran, Gaya, López, Pabel and Wahren, Juan, *Vuelta a la autonomía, Debates y experiencias para la emancipación social desde América Latina*, Mexico, Buenos Aires, CIALC, UNAM, Bajo Tierra, El Colectivo, 2019, pp. 47-80.
- Cappelletti, Angel J. and Rama, Carlos M. (comps.). *El anarquismo en América latina*, Caracas, Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1990.
- Díaz-Polanco, Héctor. *Autonomía regional, la autodeterminación de los pueblos indios*, Mexico, Siglo XXI, 2003.
- Gómez Muller, Alfredo. *Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in Latin America. Colombia, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico*, Medellín, La Carreta Editores, 2009.
- González Casanova. Pablo, *Sociología de la explotación*, Mexico, Siglo XXI, 1969.
- López, Pabel and Makaran, Gaya. "Autonomía indígena en disputa: entre la reconstitución de la territorialidad comunitaria y el cerco estatal. La experiencia guaraní en Bolivia (2009-2018)" in Makaran, Gaya, López, Pabel and Wahren, Juan, *Vuelta a la autonomía, Debates y experiencias para la*

emancipación social desde América Latina, Mexico, Buenos Aires, CIALC, UNAM, Bajo Tierra, El Colectivo, 2019, pp. 279- 319.

Makaran, Gaya. "Autonomías antisistémicas. Diálogo entre la teoría anarquista y las autonomías indígenas en América Latina", *Nuestra Praxis*, Revista de Investigación Interdisciplinaria y Crítica Jurídica, México, núm. 7, 2020, pp. 13-34, ISSN: 2594-2727.

Rodríguez García, Huascar. *La choledad an- tiestatal. El anarcosindicalismo en el movi- miento obrero boliviano (1912-1965)*, La Paz, Muela del Diablo, 2012.

VV.AA.. *Anarquismo básico*, Madrid, FAL/ CNT, 2010.

Traditional knowledge and the insurgency of the Guarani-Kaiowá retaken peoples Horizons of self-determination and territorial autonomy

Germano Alziro Lima*
Erileide Domingues**
Gislaine Monfort***
Laura Gislotti****

To move forward is our task, that everything we have lived through will sooner or later have the great reward of seeing our territory free (LINCOPI, 2010, p. 10).

* Councilor of the Retomada Aty Jovem and graduate student of Geography at the Federal University of Grande Dourados. Invited researcher of the CLACSO Working Group Indigenous peoples, autonomies and collective rights. E-mail: germanolimaalziro@gmail.com

** Conselheira da Retomada Aty Jovem. Invited researcher of the CLACSO Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights.

*** Compõe a Coletiva Autônoma de Apoio Mútuo aos povos indígenas e a Marcha Mundial das Mulheres/ Dourados, Master in Geography - PPGG- Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados. Invited researcher of the CLACSO Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights. Email: gislaineconfort@gmail.com

**** Compõe a Coletiva Autônoma de Apoio Mútuo aos povos indígenas e a Marcha Mundial das

Mulheres/ Dourados, adjunct professor of PPG em Educação e Territorialidade da Faculdade Intercultural Indígena and of PPG em Entomologia e Conservação da Biodiversidade. Invited researcher of the CLACSO Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights. E-mail: lauragislotti@gmail.com

The banishment and plundering of biodiversity regulated by State terrorism and capital through neo-extractivism has been permanently combated by the expressions of autonomous struggles, by the forms of self-governance, self-management and self-defense of the indigenous peoples. The predatory model of capitalist globalization clashes with the anti-colonial disobedience of the peoples and the geopolitics that resembles 'geographies and calendars from below' (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010; Luna, 2016).

In this sense, the anti-colonial struggles of the Guarani-Kaiowá peoples of the central-west region of Brazil are insurgent from the self-organization processes in the territorial community bases, articulated to the action of traditional territorial groups such as the Aty Guasu (Council and Great Assembly), the Kuñangue Aty Guasu (Council and Assembly of the Mulheres) and the Retomada Aty Jovem (Council and Assembly of the Youth) and to the processes of territorial retaking.

The movement to strengthen political self-determination and territorial autonomy has as its strategic base the processes of retaking (jaike jey) the Tekoha (ancestral territory/place where 'one is') as an insurgent spatial practice that emerges from the historical resistance of the people, a process that was strengthened in the mobilizations of the 1970's and has been seeded from the collective community deliberation organized together with the ñande ru and ñande sy (political and spiritual leaders) with the force of prayer. "Essa é a nossa arma, é a reza" (Martins, 2006, p. 144).

The retaken are expressions of the anticolonial struggle manifested as autonomous actions of recovery of the Tekoha and direct actions in response to the State and the war caused by the neo-extractivism that sustains the karaí reko (way of being and living of the whites/indigenous). And they are processes that arise from the participation of different generations and human political agents and divinities that make up the politics and permanent resistance that seeks to recompose life and rebuild the Tekoha, the Teko porã (good living) and the Teko araguayje (mature and sacred way of being).

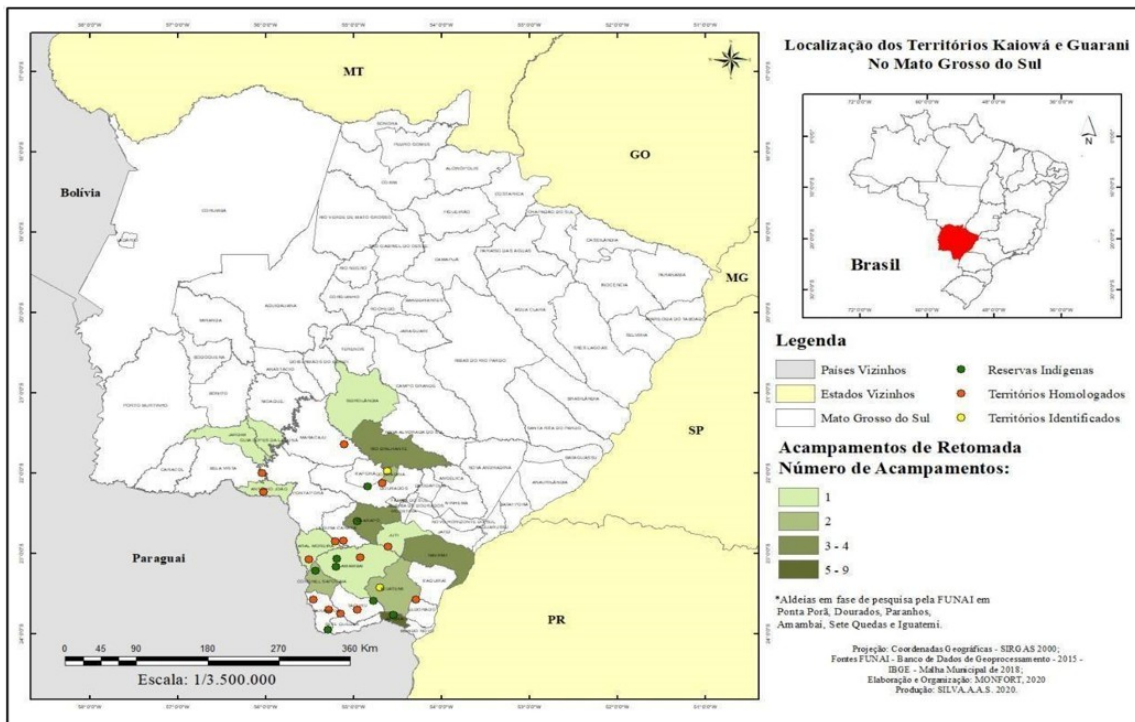
It is the reappropriation of the territory that allows the strengthening

of traditional knowledge, solidarity, ways of cultivating the land and the

sents in the traditional socio-ecological system and autonomy is a vital source of this path. In the face of the monopoly of force and violence of the State and the model of the political necroeconomy of neo-extractivism, which promotes the state of exception and the deflagration of agrochemical attacks as a continuous regime, free self-determination and autonomy is established as the central axis of the retaken and self-organizing processes.

Below we share a map of the current territorial organization of the Guarani-Kaiowá peoples (Figure 1.) and an image that demonstrates the di- mensions of a retaken (Figure 2.)

Figure 1. Current organization of the Guarani-Kaiowá territories



Silva (2020) and Monfort (2020). Source: Monfort and Gisloti (2020).

Figure 2: Retaken Guyra Kambi'y, Douradina, Mato Grosso do Sul



Photo: Germano Lima.

Words of Kunumi Poty Rendy'i, counselor of the Retomada Aty Jovem da Retomada Guyra Kambi'y:

We Guarani-Kaiowá return to our traditional land to have our sustainability and to learn things anew, to retake knowledge anew. We return to our traditional lands to take up life again and be happy. Before the arrival of the colonizers we Guarani-Kaiowá were in our territories and we were joyful, happy, we sang, we made our rituals and crafts.

That is why we return to our territories, that is the most important place. But there is a problem, when we go back there, the land is in the hands of white men, farmers with agribusiness. It is the white people who are destroying the forest and this leads to climatic changes. According to the Guarani-Kaiowá tradition, when the bush and the rivers are optimal, when they are not destroyed, the grapes come and the plantation improves. But as the agribusiness does not think about that, it only knows how to destroy the forest, it happens

to climatic changes and to stop collapsing. That is why we fight to retake the land, to have sustenance, to continue life, to plant the trees again and to take care of the rivers again.

For that reason, we Kaiowá, we return to the territory, so that this tekoha, can return to be as it was before, to have forest, to clear the river, to have fish, to have more animals, birds and medicinal plants. And not to have millet and cane plantations. This is not important, especially for the Kaiowá, this is what destroys the land, passes poison, destroys everything. But when there is death, there are rivers, there the earth is born again, the earth is happy. That is the idea of the Kaiowá and Guarani, we return again to the territory to protect the land. Because for the Kaiowá the land is more important because Pa'í Kwará (Sun) was the one who made it. For the Kaiowá, Pai Kwará made the land for the indigenous people. That is why we came back to take it back, to be happy again.

For the Kaiowá, our land is where we are born, where our ancestors lived and were buried. That is why we retake it. The process of retaking began since the arrival of the colonizers and is still strong within the Guarani-Kaiowá territory. We are not invading, we are returning to recover our tekoha, to guarantee sustenance and life.

From my Guarani-Kaiowá people to the world:

Many whites ask why the Indians came back to retake the land and usually they say: "the Indians began to invade my land". This is not so! The retaking began when many villages had no more space to live and to plant. Why do we return to our traditional land? We call our territory tekoha territory and when we went back to recover we no longer found that sacred place, with the bush, the rivers are already polluted, the bush has been destroyed by agribusiness. My ancestors were expelled by the ka-rai (white) colonizers from the place where they lived. They left the sacred places looking for another place to live. They left the sacred place that the Ñanderu, the Pa'í Kwará, the great God, had made. For the Kaiowá, the animals, the plants,

estavam nesse lugar. But the colonizers saw and withdrew them, expulsaram of their own land.

The Kaiowá had to look for places to live and we fought hard to demarcate our territories from where we were expelled. In the places where we are now, many of them are retaken and we always try to make re-takings on the side of a mountain, on the side of the river or in a place far from the whites. We fight to guarantee the retaken territory and we stay because of this fight. That's the question, why do we take it back? To retake our tekoha, our traditional land.

But the whites made the paper, for the whites the most important thing is the paper and the letter. And when they expelled my ancestors, my ancestors' ancestors, the whites went to the city's neighborhoods and wrote 'that land belongs to me, so many hectares' as if no one was living there. But in that place lived our ancestors who were expelled. That is why we took it back. But when we return, the place is not more beautiful, it is different. For the old people who still live there, the histories and geographies that they know about the place remain in their memories. When they return to the retaken, they shout when they see their place destroyed and the river polluted, the bush destroyed, the medicinal plants finished and today what they have is agribusiness, soybean and transgenic millet. And that is not the food that we humans consume. They plant for export and to have more money in their bank.

For us indigenous people, mainly Guarani-Kaiowá, money is not important. Money is more of a paper, money was not made by us. According to the elders, for us the most important thing is the land because the gods, the Pa'í Kwará made the land for the Guarani-Kaiowá and the most important thing is to take care of nature. I would like to cite the example of the songs, which is made to protect nature, the song of the sun, the song of the water, the song of the plants, to take care of the forest, we sing to save, we sing when it is hot to save the territory. Because the chuva is a blessing, it takes care of the bush, of the animals. This for the Guarani-Kaiowá is the important thing. But for whites, what is more important is money,

the paper. But for us, the most important thing is the land. Because it is on land

we plant the manioc, the millet, where the main one is the white millet that is sacred Avati Jakaira, because for the Guarani-Kaiowá the gods when they made the land made the seed of avati jakaira sprout so that the Guarani-Kaiowá would take care of it and it would sprout again. That is why for us the most important thing is the land and not the money. It is the land, to plant, to live, to feast, to celebrate the plantations, to make the rituals and to take care of the land.

Speech by Erileide Domingues, councilwoman of Retomada Aty Jovem do Tekoha Guyraroká

Since I was eight years old, I began this struggle, observing, and today, thinking about the importance of retaking, I say that to retake is to return to value what our ancestors left for us, our ancestors. Not to value is a disgrace to our ancestry and to everything that is ours (...) We should not need to demarcate whether the land is ours, the whites do not have to say that the land is ours, we know that it is ours. The earth was made for every creature on earth. But it is not any place that we take back, we know the meaning of that place. An example of this is Guyraroká, there is no other Guyraroká, it does not exist, it is that one, it always was and always will be. So, as my husband is the main leader alive as a pray-er, he knows the history and the importance of taking back this place. His dream is to guarantee this territory as a village, to recognize that it has always been a village and always will be. It does not matter how the struggle is. But the retaking is an autonomy of the indigenous people wherever it is, but it is not any place that we retake. This honoring of our ancestors is to value that which has always been our territory and we are here as young people in this struggle for each territory retaken, we know it is ours. And we know that it is part of our life, of our past, of our present and it is our future that we are building anew. It is for autonomy that we have done this, it is for autonomy that we are here, with the importance of saying that the Tekoha belongs to us and will always belong to us!



Source: ASCURI (left); Scoott Hill/ Mídia Índia (right)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERÊNCIAS

Lincopi, Maria Jose. *Repression and the State in Two Hundred Years*. In: Bicentennial of the Chilean State Balances of colonialism in the Mapuche people. Proceedings of the I Mapuche Colloquium, Special Edition, p. 09-10, 2010.

Luna, Diana Itzu Gutiérrez. *Other societies: recovery, reconfiguration and territorial re-signification in Mexico. Approximations to the Zapatista territorial expression in Chiapas (2000-2016)*. Tese (Doutorado em Estudos Sociais Agrários) - Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2016.

Martins, Eliezer. *A Terra como chão sagrado e como valor cultural*. Tellus, n. 10, p. 143- 145, 2006.

Monfort, Gislaine C. Gisloti, Laura J. *Necro- poder e crimes socioambientais do agro- negócio, lutas anticoloniais e resistências socioterritoriais kaiowá e guarani*. Boletim Geocrítica Latinoamericana, Clacso, p. 138- 157, 2020.

Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia. *The root, colonizers and colonized*. In X. Albó, & R. Barrios. In: *Violencias encubiertas en Bolivia*. La Paz: Editorial Piedra Rota, 2010.

Autonomies, dispossession and indigenous resistance

Richard Stahler-Sholk

Introduction

Autonomy in all its diversity of expressions has become a fundamental axis of resistance for indigenous peoples. This essay aims to offer some reflections on the dynamics and dilemmas of autonomy struggles in Latin America, with particular reference to the experiences in Mexico.

The current phase of global capitalism, characterized by Harvey (2004) as "accumulation by dispossession", has intensified the dispossession of land and territories to the detriment of indigenous communities. *Land grabbing* for large-scale investment purposes, whether by national or transnational capital, in mining, hydrocarbon, agro-industrial, energy, infrastructure, and so-called ecotourism megaprojects, particularly affects indigenous communities, for whom land is not simply a commodity but the material component of a broad notion of territory, a space for social and identity reproduction.

* Professor of Political Science, Eastern Michigan University. Co-editor with Edgars Martínez Navarrete of the thematic issue of *Latin American Perspectives* on "Indigenous autonomies in the face of the contemporary crisis of capitalism", forthcoming. Guest Researcher of the WG "Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights" Contact: rsholk@gmail.com

Autonomies today. Indigenous Peoples in Latin
America Number 4 - December 2021

Neo-extractivism as a strategy as a model of political economy adopted by some progressive governments generates contradictions for indigenous peoples. On the one hand, critics of the conventional concept of development argue that the old "Washington consensus" on neoliberal policies has been transformed into a new "*commodity* consensus" (Svampa 2019); where the global market demand for raw materials imposes an implacable dynamic at the level of political economy and ideology, with socioeconomic impacts that can only be resisted with a new paradigm of good living, rights of nature, and defense of the commons. On the other hand, there are those who point to the possibility of a progressive variant characterized by a redistributive state, a model they call "resource nationalism" (Ellner 2021). They argue that economic development led by a leftist government can bring benefits to indigenous peoples, and that communities have the right to choose their strategy for negotiating with the state.

These debates overlook the fact that the nation-state in Latin America is a historical and social construct, built on the basis of colonialism, territorial dispossession, and the ideological structures of ethnocide and assimilationism. In this sense, the intermediary and guiding State of the development model is a prism of power relations in exclusionary societies, reflecting the interests of capital and to some extent its own interests as a bureaucratic apparatus. Both the neoliberal framework and the state-centric "post-neoliberalism" that underlies neo-extractivism leave little room for self-determination for indigenous peoples.

In the Mexican case, indigenous peoples find themselves cornered between capital, the State, and the de facto powers of organized crime, three coercive powers intertwined in what Speed (2016) characterizes as "multi-criminal neoliberalism". This violence in its multiple dimensions (Aguilar Flores and Echavarría Canto 2019) includes a wave of assassinations of indigenous activists, especially women socio-environmental defenders, in addition to direct and structural violence associated with massive territorial displacement that manifests itself as

migratory flow. As Mariana Mora (2021) analyzes, this situation drives indigenous peoples to move from autonomy as a defense mechanism to a proactive autonomy, a practice that can be conceived as the exercise of prefigurative politics, building the community and the society in which they would like to live in their daily lives.

1. Autonomy as the key to resistance

Indigenous autonomy has been a weapon of anti-colonial struggles for centuries, but recent decades have seen new expressions; representing a central current in the rise of social movements responding to the exclusions imposed at the socioeconomic level by neoliberal policies, and at the political level by regional disappointment with liberal-representative democracy and its partisan-electoral mechanisms. The diversity of autonomy models (González et al. 2021) reflects the variety of historical experiences, as well as of regional or community organization strategies, of negotiation or disengagement with respect to state institutions, and of responses to the various neo-extractivism and neoliberal multiculturalism proposed by the respective governments.

Autonomy as a process that is built as we go along - the "ca- minar preguntando", in the language of the Zapatistas - is a way of creating constituent power in the face of constituted power. From this perspective, the spaces in which autonomy is exercised (self-government, participatory assemblies for decision-making, communal work, sustainable resource management, education for liberation, horizontal social relations, etc.) are shaping the collective subjectivity of indigenous peoples. This is not a static identity, but a dynamic in constant change, where the communities are the protagonists of the process, drawing on historical memory without being prisoners of the past (Tischler and Navarro 2011).

In contrast to the neoliberal paradigm based on the fiction of a society of individuals with equal rights of citizenship and participation in

In the market, autonomy opens the space for the self-definition of the subject as an original people with group identity and rights. The vindication of the territory and of the community destabilizes the legitimizing logic of neoliberalism, which is challenged by experiences of antagonism from below (Chenaut and Valladares 2017).

2. The dilemmas of autonomies

Among the dilemmas of autonomies is the dilemma of negotiating with the political-legal apparatus of the State or refusing to recognize its legitimacy, that is, whether to seek *de jure* or *de facto* autonomy, options that can be conceived as two poles of a continuous spectrum. The constitutional reforms implemented in recent decades in several Latin American countries that recognize their pluriethnic character, on the one hand, open a space for the possible re-foundation of the State, but, on the other, may represent the trap of neoliberal multiculturalism. The official recognition of the self-governing customs and traditions of indigenous peoples leaves open the question of who defines and validates customs, and how far the authority of customary law extends. The conflict over the right to have rights was clearly evidenced in the case of the long negotiations between the Mexican State and Zapatismo in the framework of the San Andres Accords. Between the time of the signing of the Accords in 1996 and the distorted version that emerged in the Indigenous Law of 2001, the phrase "subject of rights" became "object of public interest", and the federal government ultimately did not cede control over land and natural resource rights.

Related to this dilemma is the debate on what has been called the judicialization of politics. Although the recognition of uses and customs is a conquered space, resorting to legal instruments implies recognizing the authority of the State and the supremacy of its legal instances. It also entails the possible disadvantages of a professionalization of the struggle that separates technicians, lawyers, and interlocutors from their community roots, with the corresponding risks of co-optation of leaders and/or demobilization of the grassroots. Even in

In the cases of progressive governments that appear to be allies of indigenous peoples, as in Bolivia and Ecuador, divisions have been created between indigenous groups over the negotiation of concessions.

Another dilemma arises with respect to the ambiguity of international law. The right of indigenous peoples to free, prior and informed consultation on the use of their territories, ratified in Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, leaves a wide margin of interpretation on the figure of consultation and its legislative implementation at the national level. Rigged consultations are common, the result of the dichotomy between the paradigm of representative liberalism, which assumes that the State is empowered to organize a vote of individuals, and indigenous traditions that grant the community the right to organize the times and forms of consultation on its collective will. Consultations from above, of indigenist cut (Manzo 2019) or simulations of consultation (Gasparello 2020), end up undermining the legitimacy of the authorities that emerge from the autonomous processes of self-government. Even anthropological and other academic experts find themselves in uncomfortable positions when an indigenous group apparently chooses to accept a megaproject in the territory that may harm others whose opposition was not heard in the consultation (Hale 2020). The challenge is to enter into a dialogue of knowledge with the accompanied communities, without reproducing the hierarchies of "expert" knowledge (Hernández Castillo 2016).

The conflict between consultation mechanisms became evident around María de Jesús Patricia Martínez (*Marichuy*), a Nahuatl woman designated by the National Indigenous Congress as a candidate for the 2018 presidential elections in Mexico. The signature collection process imposed by the National Electoral Institute as a requirement demanded new cell phone numbers and internet connections, a procedure denounced by the candidate as racist, classist and exclusionary. In any case, the candidacy was aimed more at mobilization and awareness-raising than at the electoral game, as was the Other Campaign launched by the Zapatistas to expose the lack of real inclusion in the electoral process.

context of the 2006 elections. When the government of Andrés Manuel López Obrador called for a referendum in August 2021 on the investigation of former presidents for corruption, only 7% of voters participated in the referendum vote organized by the government. The National Indigenous Congress responded with the counter-proposal of a process of community assemblies to prosecute the political system as a whole. Finally, the way to consult and represent the will of the peoples can be organized by the electoral-populist model, or it can be conceived as a mechanism of active participation organized horizontally by autonomous communities.

3. Some lessons from the autonomous experiences in Mexico

The lack of legitimacy of the official authorities, as well as the flawed processes of a certain representative democracy, has forced several indigenous peoples in Mexico to create their own structures of self-government from below. These alternative governments, with or without official recognition, organize themselves to provide the services and functions of the State, including (badly or not) even public security, as seen for example in the Regional Coordination of Community Authorities (CRAC) that serve as community police in Guerrero, the Community Guard of Ostula, and the Community Round in Cherán, Michoacán.

In filling such functions, the autonomous movements have the opportunity and the need to recreate an institutionality with a different logic. For example, the Zapatistas try to avoid the professionalization of positions in order not to fall into bureaucratization and verticality. Hence, they practice the "3 R's" of frequent rotation, accountability, and revocation of mandates when the community deems it appropriate. The education and health promoters are appointed by the community and receive guidance from the assembly; a mechanism also used for the distribution of community tasks to support these activities, so that the community as a whole feels that it is participating in the service to the people.

Active participation and the formation of a sense of collectivity are fundamental axes of the processes of autonomy, as opposed to the centralized and vertical mode of an electoral-representative government. In the communities of Oaxaca, for example, with a long history of autonomy, the concepts of communality, or commonality, serve as a reservoir of historical memory for contemporary organization in struggles against neoliberal dispossession (Composto and Navarro 2014). In the case of Milpa Alta in the periphery of Mexico City, the indigenous peoples, although they have lost their language and other elements of identity, have recurred to their community traditions to defend their communal goods against the depredations of neoliberal globalization (Carmona Motolinia and Tetreault 2021). Likewise, the Purepecha community of Cherán, Michoacán, another urbanized town, in the face of the onslaught of the interests of capital, the State and organized crime, rediscovered a repertoire of collective traditions such as the protection of the forest, the organization of bonfires and neighborhood assemblies, as bases of unity in resistance to build a project of autonomy (Ventura Patiño 2012). Like other indigenous peoples in resistance against mining megaprojects (Valladares 2017), the demand for the right to autonomy serves as a banner for struggles that proceed simultaneously through legal-institutional and direct action channels.

The Zapatistas, who have focused mainly on the construction of de facto autonomy within their communities, have built a new subjectivity in the daily emancipatory practice through autonomous schools, community health centers, and collective productive projects that transform the members as they go along (Baronnet, Mora and Stahler-Sholk 2011; Stahler-Sholk 2015; Mora 2017). A common element in all these autonomous struggles is the strategy of ethnic rearticulation and recreation (Martínez Aparicio 2017; Bastos 2017, 2021), in which peoples claim their right to define their collective identity and their way of interacting with others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aguilar Rivero, Mariflor, and Laura Echavarría Canto, coords. *Violencia, territorio, y extractivismo*. Mexico: UNAM.

Baronnet, Bruno, Mariana Mora Bayo, and Richard Stahler-Sholk, comps. (2011). *Luchas 'muy otras': Zapatismo, autonomía, y las comunidades indígenas de Chiapas*. Mexico: UAM-Xochimilco, CIESAS, and UNACH.

https://www.casadelibrosabiertos.uam.mx/contenido/contenido/Libroelectronico/luchas_muy_otras.pdf.

Bastos, Santiago (2020). Community, Dispossession, and Ethnic Rearticulation in Mexico and Guatemala. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 16(2): 109-129.

Bastos, Santiago (2017). Mezcala: Dispossession, conflict and ethnic recreation in a small peripheral community. Pp. 184-207 in Santiago Bastos and María Teresa Sierra, coords, *Pueblos indígenas y Estado en México: La disputa por la justicia y los derechos*. Mexico: CIESAS.

Carmona Motolinia, José Ramón, and Darcy Tetreault (2021). Pueblos originarios, formas de comunalidad y resistencia en Milpa Alta. *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* 65(241), Jan.-Apr.: 155-180.

Chenaut, Victoria, and Laura Valladares de la Cruz, coords (2017). Ethnicity, territory,

and indigenous peoples: Paradoxes and challenges of neoliberal policies. Centro de Estudios

Sociais, *Publicação Semestral* No. 28, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal. <https://journals.openedition.org/eces/2924?file=1>

Composto, Claudia, and Mina Lorena Navarro, comps (2014). *Territorio en disputa: Despojo capitalista, luchas en defensa de los bienes comunes naturales y alternativas emancipatorias para América Latina*. Mexico: Bajo Tierra Ediciones.

Ellner, Steve (2021). *Latin American Extractivism: Dependency, Resource Nationalism, and Resistance in Broad Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Gasparello, Giovanna (2020). Megaprojects for consultation: Rights or simulations? Experiences in Mexico. *LiminaR. Social and Humanistic Studies* 18(2), Jul-Dec: 124-141.

González, Miguel, Araceli Burguete Cal y Mayor, José Marimán, Pablo Ortiz-T., and Ritsuko Funaki, coords (2021). *Autonomías y autogobierno en la América diversa*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Hale, Charles R. (2020). Using and Refusing the Law: Indigenous Struggles and Legal Strategies after Neoliberal Multiculturalism. *American Anthropologist* 122(3): 618-631.

Harvey, David (2004). *El nuevo imperialismo*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal.

- Hernández Castillo, R. Aída (2016). *Multiple Injustices: Indigenous Women, Law, and Political Struggle in Latin America*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Manzo, Carlos (2019). La consulta indigenista: El olvido como argumento. *La Jornada, Ojarasca Suplemento Mensual* No. 267, Jul.: 6-7, <https://ojarasca.jornada.com.mx/2019/07/13/la-consulta-indigenista-el-olvido-as-argumento-7163.html>.
- Martínez Aparicio, Jorge (2017). San Francisco Cherán: Community revolt for autonomy, territorial reappropriation and identity. *Economía y Sociedad*, 21(36): 145-166.
- Mora, Mariana (2021). Entre la autonomía como ejercicio propositivo y la autonomía a la defensiva, transformaciones de sentidos políticos indígenas frente a la violencia extrema en México. Pp. 507-534 in Miguel González, Araceli Burguete Cal y Mayor, José Marimán, Pablo Ortiz-T., and Ritsuko Funaki, coords. *Autonomías y autogobierno en la América diversa*. Quito: Abya Yala.
- Mora, Mariana (2017). *Kuxlejal Politics: Indigenous Autonomy, Race, and Decolonizing Research in Zapatista Communities*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Speed, Shannon (2016). States of Violence: Indigenous Women Migrants in the Era of Neoliberal Multicriminalism. *Critique of Anthropology* 36(3): 280-301.
- Stahler-Sholk, Richard (2015). Resistance, identity, and autonomy: The transformation of spaces in Zapatista communities. *Pueblos y fronteras digital* 10(19), Jun.-Nov.: 199-227. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=90638786009>
- Svampa, Maristella (2019). *The frontiers of neo-extractivism in Latin America. Conflictos socioambientales, giro ecoterritorial y nuevas dependencias*. Guadalajara: CA- LAS. <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/25058/9783839445266.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Tischler, Sergio, and Mina Lorena Navarro (2011). Time and memory in socio-environmental struggles in Mexico. *Desacatos* 37, Sept.-Dec.: 67-80.
- Valladares de la Cruz, Laura (2017). The disposal of indigenous territories and resistances to mining extractivism in Mexico. Centro de Estudos Sociais, *Publicação Semestral* No. 28, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal. <https://journals.openedition.org/eces/2291>.
- Ventura Patiño, María del Carmen (2012). Process of autonomy in Cherán. Mobilizing the right. *Espiral, Estudios sobre Estado y Sociedad* 19(55), Dec: 157-176.

Interview with Shapiom Nuning Tsetsen

Autonomous Territory of the Wampís Nation (Peruvian Amazon)

Waldo Lao*
Fabio Alkmin**

**Shapiom, thank you very much for the interview. To begin with
How would you like to introduce yourself?**

My mother still alive tells me that my original name in my language is SHARIAN, but this name is not in my official Birth Certificate, being of my mother's exclusive knowledge. My married name is SHAPIOM NONINGO SESEN (it comes from Shapiom Nuning

* D. from the Graduate Program in Latin American Integration of the University of São Paulo - PROLAM/USP. Researcher of the CLACSO Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, Autonomies and Collective Rights. Contact: waldolao@gmail.com

** Brazilian geographer graduated from the Universidade de São Paulo (USP). Currently, in his PhD in Human Geography (USP), he researches processes of indigenous autonomies in the Brazilian Amazon, with support from the "Fundo de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo" (FAPESP), process nº 2018/22226-4, and from the "Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel" - Brazil (CAPES) - Funding Code 001. Researcher of the CLACSO Working Group Indigenous peoples, autonomies and collective rights. Contact: fabiogeo@usp.br



Credit: Luis Enrique Becerra.

Tsetsén), in turn, SHAPIOM comes from SHAPIAMA (Loreto surname). The missionary gringos in the 70's changed my name to the current name: SHAPIOM NONINGO SESEN.

He currently holds the position of Technical Secretary of the Autonomous Territorial Government of the Wampis Nation, a position of trust ratified by the current Pamuk of GTANW.

In general terms, at that time, what was the situation of the indigenous peoples in Peru?

In order to understand in a didactic way the general situation of the indigenous peoples or native nations of Peru, we make two divisions:

a) Current Internal Situation. - To a large extent, the first communities, called "Native Communities" by the State, arose as from

From the 1960s onwards, with the enactment of Law No. 20653 (Decree Law No. 20653 - Law of Native Communities and the Promotion of Agriculture in the Jungle and Ceja de Selva Regions) (1974), later modified by DL No. 22175 (1978), the original organizations were born in the 1970s. From the first years of the nucleation of the families of the native nations, the State, through the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano-ILV, began the implementation of bi-linguistic schools and therefore official education in a large part of the Amazon region. After five decades, the general situation of the native nations can be characterized in the following aspects:

Territorial tenure: For many native peoples or nations, the problem of recognition and titling continues to be the main problem and demand that AIDSESEP and its local and regional organizations (109 federations and 09 regional ones) continue to lead. According to the statistics of the aforementioned organization, there are a total of 1,097 communities demanding recognition and titling, of which 301 are for recognition and titling, and 796 for titling. In addition, there are demands for the extension of land titles from 279 communities (AIDSESEP public statement, August 2017). In recent years, the State has received large funds (USD 80 million) as external debt to meet these demands, however, these funds have only served to solve the bureaucratic burden of the entities responsible for the attention of territorial rights (regional governments, MINAGRI and MINAM), but little has been done to realize the dreams of the native nations, which shows little or no interest in due attention to the legitimate demands of the communities and native nations and consequently remain pending attention.

Trafficking of community and ancestral lands, promoted by the state authorities themselves, especially in the Ucayali region, together with the peak of drug trafficking in several regions, exacerbates and violates the rights of native nations.

The presence of illegal mining and logging in the different Amazonian areas and regions is another of the current pressing problems that have been destabilizing the original communities and families (Amazonas, Madre de Dios, Ucayali and Loreto regions).

Invasions of Natural Protected Areas, often with the consent of the authorities responsible for conservation, illegal miners and loggers have been destroying protected areas such as Manu, Pacaya Samiria, Sierra del Divisor, Cerro Azul, Bahuaja Sonene, Ichijat Mujat, Imiría, Cerro Escalera (AIDSESEP press release quoted above).

Health and education services: These services still in charge of the State, continue to be very precarious and lacking in quality. The health system in the communities (health centers and health posts) are either lacking in basic medicines or are in short supply, a situation that is complicated by their geographic location far from the main health care centers. The same happens with the state education system in the Amazon: infrastructure or deteriorated schools, in many cases in very bad condition, lack of implementation of school materials, poorly trained teachers, among other aspects that make education poorly implemented and do not strengthen the cultural system of the native nations.

Economy and alternative community development: This is another one of the most striking problems at present and on which the native nations have not yet been able to discover the right path for its implementation. Although since the origin of the first communities almost all the native nations have been concerned with establishing their economic system through various communal initiatives, all this has meant successive failures; the same happened with the initiatives of the original organizations of the 70s. At present, almost all the original nations are on the path of marginality - "marginal economies", resulting in simple and large consumers and with little entrepreneurship. The existing indigenous organizations are great "demanders" (to the state) and assume very scarcely

This situation places us at a historical disadvantage, but in any case, it is a challenge that cannot be postponed and needs special attention.

External situation. - The relationship of the native nations and their institutions with the State and the governments in power is lukewarm, distant and historically unequal. Public policies are formulated from the national and regional bureaucracy and lack effective social inclusion, are incoherent, with a colonial bias, in the sense of imposing plans, programs and projects that often affect the very life of the native nations. The existence of Law No. 29785, Law on the Right to Prior Consultation and its Regulation, DS No. 001-2012-MC does not guarantee at all the respect of the collective decision of these nations, on the contrary, of more than 50 prior consultations developed to date by the State (sectors and levels of government) the final decision is always made by the State. On the other hand, the political participation of the native nations continues to be an unresolved issue by the State, because the existence of the so-called "Native Quota" that has been implemented since 2002, through Laws such as the Regional Elections Law, the Law of

N. 27683 and the Municipal Elections Law, Law No. 26864, establish a 15% participation rate for the representatives of the native peoples, whose application in practice divides the voters, because each political party or movement is obliged to incorporate an indigenous candidate in its list. On the other hand, the native nations have not yet developed any effective, adequate and creative system as a response to actively promote the need for political participation, which is currently a new challenge - not a cultural one - but an intercultural need and demand of the present time.

Currently, what are the main demands of the Peruvian indigenous peoples vis-à-vis the State?

The movement of the native nations, according to the current social, political and claiming tendency, is grouped in two groups:

a) Native nations in autonomous processes: according to the conclusions of the AIDSESEP meeting and the autonomous processes (Lima, 13 and 14/12/2018) are identified as 13 of different levels of progress: 06 constituted, 02 advanced and 05 in initial state. The principal demands of them are mainly:

Recognition of the ownership of integral territories. Recognition of the collectivities or native nations as subjects of rights, through the enactment of a specific and express norm and not only an interpretative one, a positive relationship, expressed in a dialogue of equals - nation to nation dialogue. Establishment of a system of concertation and not prior consultation, but rather concertation of plans, programs and projects in which the position and demands of the nations are respected.

b) Native nations that maintain their conventional organizational processes: currently represented by AIDSESEP have their own demands and according to the document produced by the same (Indigenous Action Plan for the Defense of the Amazon, the Peoples and the Climate of Humanity, December 2018), presented to the Vizcarra government and the current government contains 04 themes and 14 thematic axes that constitute in force the set of demands agreed upon by the network of local and regional organizations that are members of AIDSESEP. The four issues and their thematic axes are: I. Fundamental Right to Territory:

I.1 Territoriality, 1.2 Indigenous climate resilience and 1.3 Protection of PIACI. II. Fundamental Right to Self-Determination: 2.1 Self-government as peoples, 2.2. Indigenous Justice, 2.3. Indigenous security and surveillance and 2.4. Social Participation. III. Fundamental Right to Self-Development: 3.1 Control of the megaproject, 3.2. Full Life Economy, 3.3. Social Services. IV. Fundamental Right to Identity: 4.1. Social Equity, Indigenous Health, 4.3. Indigenous Education and 4.4. Intellectual Heritage

How is it that the idea of "progress", disseminated by the State and transnational corporations, is affecting the community life of indigenous peoples in the Amazon?

Of course, first the name "progress" appears in the state and governmental discourse, currently disguised under the name of "development".

(national development), etc. Which, in the light of truth, turns out to be conventional and convincing rhetoric for the majority of the population, especially the Spanish-speaking population. Under this discourse disguised as innocuousness, the governments of the day continue to apply the policy of exploitation of raw materials or commodities through concessions granted to large transnational corporations, facilitating absolute freedom as dictated by the constitution. The implementation of this discourse greatly affects the native nations, since the raw materials coveted by the companies are found in their territories. It is enough to look at the case of the so-called "four basins" (Pastaza, Marañón, Corrientes and Tigre) in which different companies have operated for almost half a century, leaving great destruction of virgin forests, contamination of rivers, lakes and streams, significantly affecting wildlife and human life. According to recent research on this internationally known case and only as a panoramic sample we can extract some data on prioritized environmental damages (impacts): 32, only in lot 192 and 474 oil spills in different lots, of different magnitude of impact (La sombra del petróleo: Informe de los derrills petroleros en la Amazónica peruana entre el 2000 y el 2009, León, Aymara y Zuñiga, Mario, March 2020) data that allows us to conclude that, indeed, the application of the word "progress" has been seriously affecting the life of the native nations by destroying their territories, forests and biodiversity on which their basic food, housing, health, their survival and the continuity of their existence and identity depend.

Could you tell us about the resistance against the actions of extractive companies in your traditional territory?

Extractivist companies, especially oil companies, have been operating in the territories of the Wampís nation since the 40s and 60s, with the incursion of a group of oil companies called the "Santiago group", made up of three transnational companies: Mobil Oil Company, OXY and Petroleum, which carried out the first oil explorations in the territories of the Wampís nation. The first incidences or rejection of the oil operations occurred right from the birth of the Wampis.

of the first indigenous organizations (1970s), in defense of the territories and their natural benefits. Subsequently, the position of formal collective rejection is given and increased, carrying out the respective campaigns, in the first moments led by the CAH (Kanus case) and OSHDEM (Kankaim case). This strategy is maintained until the years 2015 in which the GTANW is born, being assumed by the same in union with the Achuar people, FENAP (case of the oil company GEO PARK), achieving the definitive withdrawal of this company. Some of the forms of "resistance" to the incursions of the companies include: maintaining the unity and political cohesion of the communities and their authorities, avoiding the division of positions, i.e., ensuring that the company concerned does not manage to divide the affected families; local, national and international advocacy plan implemented intensively with the support of technology that includes the possibility of reaching the sources that finance the companies and the management of the company involved, mobilizing the fabric of strategic alliances, individual, institutional, etc., local, national and international, among others, local, national and international, among other forms depending on the context and nature of the problem.



Credit: Pablo Lasansky - IWGIA.

On November 28, 2015, the Wampís Nation proclaimed its autonomy, an autonomy that was characterized by not having the permission of the State, but had the recognition of 85 communities.

Could you tell us what this moment was like?

As explained in other sections of this interview, the birth of the GTANW was a long-standing process, we would say, even coming from the ancestors (original autonomy) and assumed in the current life (reconstruction of autonomy). In a very abbreviated way, we can say that the formal beginning of the reconstruction of the ordinary autonomy may not have a precise date because the socio-territorial claiming struggle comes, more expressly and declared since the incursions of the Incas Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, continuing in colonial times and up to the present. However, we can point out two historical moments that marked the collective sign of the reconstruction and reconfiguration of the territories. On the side of the Wampís of Kanus (agglutinated in the CAH), who, together with the Awajun, presented a formal petition to the State for the creation of an AGUARUNA AND HUAMBISA COMMUNAL RESERVE in the territories surrounding the titled territories (1985), that is, those hills and mountains that were left out of the official recognition system in favor of the native nations. The objective of this petition was to achieve the territorial reconfiguration, that is, the compacting of the ancestral territories. The State never responded to this petition, leaving it as a frustrated aspiration and for which other claim alternatives were chosen. On the side of the Wampís of Kankaim, united in OSHDEM, following their own internal process, in 1994 they agreed on the reconstruction of their ancestral territories, declaring and self-recognizing the territories not titled as their ancestral territories. These two transcendental steps are the formal foundations that give equally formal origin to the processes of collective debates for the proclamation of the autonomy of the Wampís nation. In fact, and with greater force and vigor, the process of internal debate began in the two basins from 2012 onwards, building the first draft of the autonomous Statute in charge of the person who in life was Dr. Pedro García Hierro, consigning the name of "nation" name that Dr. Pedro did not agree with, but that

the Wampis insisted on the coining of this name. In the I SUMMIT OF THE WAMPIS NATION held with massive participation of the Wampis, in the community Soledad, Kanus (27-29/11/2015), event in which participated Mr. Conrad Feather of Forest People Programme, who announced to the world the birth and the autonomous proclamation of the GTANW and the first act was drafted by Mr. Gil Inoach in his capacity as technical support (Ordinance No.001-2015-GTANW-CCNN SO- LEDAD, RIO KANUS). Thus the birth of the GTANW was sealed, according to the text of the aforementioned ordinance.

How did the process of organizing into a Federation for the recognition of your autonomy come about?

We do not understand it that way. That is to say, we did not organize ourselves in a federation for the reconquest of our autonomy. Let me explain briefly, in the 40's and until the 50's the Wampis people, families and clans of the two basins lived dispersed in the headwaters of the creeks and rivers but always occupying and using the big rivers (Kanus and Kankaim and creeks that are tributaries of them), since the times of the Yaunchuk Uun, Initiak or Eak (ancestors), but not as communities, but as clans; but see the clans that lived in the Kanus river mouth and the legend of the division of languages between the Wampís, Achuar, Shuar and Awajun that also implied the socio-territorial division that we know today (the territorial occupation is ancestral) and is not configured by the current communities, but much earlier. From the 1960s onwards, families and classes began to settle on the banks of the great rivers (sedentary and permanent settlements); previously they were migratory or nomadic and with this the first schools arose, called bilingual schools, led in their first moments by the religious (Catholics and Protestants, especially from SIL). The first indigenous organizations in Peru began in the 1970s, although some, for example, the Yanasha have been in existence since the 1960s (Yanasha Congress). The population of the Kanus basin nation, we were an integral part of the Aguaruna and Huambisa Council (CAH) (1976), while the communities of the Kankaim basin, were organized in the Shuar Organization of the Kankaim basin.

Morona (OSHDEM) (1980s). In fact, they were necessary processes or perhaps unavoidable paths, steps for the beginning of the reconstruction of the autonomy, however, the objectives of the federations or local organizations, does not foresee in their statute the conformation in the autonomies, but they are of vindictive types, such as: community health care, defense of territorial rights, intercultural education, etc., being the territorial objectives the most relevant and priority of all the indigenous organizations of Peru. Of course, the steps that I mention were necessary spaces that gave account of the millenary existence of the Wampís nation and it is enough to know some stories of how and why the first iimarus (chiefs of the communities) of the first communities fought with the agents of the National System of Social Mobilization-SINAMOS of the government of Juan Velasco Alvarado and priests when they cut the territories considered theirs and taken to the dungeon in Santa María de Nieva (years 60-70). This shows that the Wampís were individually and collectively aware of their thousand-year existence and that the territories also belonged to them for thousands of years and, therefore, they were aware of the cuts made by state agents when demarcating their territories for official titling. Successive governments and their actions, especially the periods of Fujimori's government with the passing of the Law for private investment in the development of economic activities in the lands of the national territory and of the peasant and native communities (Law No. 26505, July 1995) and the Law No. 26505, July 1995) and the Law No. 26505, July 1995. 26505, July 1995) and the curtailment of the two constitutional rights, the current constitution of 1993 (right of inalienability and inalienability) and Alan Garcia with his policy of the dog in the manger that ended with the event known as Baguazo, deepened the collective conscience of the millenary tenure of the territories, but did not give rise to the beginning of the reconstruction of autonomy, but rather reinforced it.

In general terms, how does the Wampís Autonomous Territorial Government function and how is it organized in the territory?

The WGANW is a representative institution of the original Wampís nation, whose legal status is not circumscribed by any national

regulation, but has the force of legitimacy, political force and has

socio-historical-cultural and territorial basis (based on its cultural elements and millenary territorial tenure) undeniable by western science, inasmuch as it expresses the socio-historical and biophysical and psychological existence. In that sense, it is the extension or creative adaptation of the primordial ancestral organization in agreement and adoption of certain western elements (for example, the writing, to establish the agreements in documents, etc.), so that, without fear to be mistaken we can denominate the GTANW as a relational and intercultural autonomy.

For the socio-political and territorial functioning, a basic structure has been adopted that can be described as follows:

1. The highest supreme organ: There is the UUN IRUNTRAMU (meeting or Assembly of Elders, equivalent to the national Congress), oversees and decides the political life of the Wampís nation. It is constituted by the elected representatives of the communities that make up the nation, and also, according to the autonomous statute, includes the communities of the Ta- jimat Aents de Kanus (awajun) people (art. 48.1).

2. The second level is the Pamuk and his Atukes (similar to the Axis), which executes the plans, programs and social management of the GTANW of the entire Wampís nation, that is, of the population of the two basins with a vision of collectivity as a nation.

3. At the third level are the basin governments (Kanus and Kankaim), whose supreme authority is the Matsatkamu Iruntramu or Basin Assembly, that is, the assembly of the communal authorities of each basin and leads the processes of each basin. At the executive level it is represented by Waisram and his Ayatke who lead the execution of plans and programs and the problems of each basin.

4. Finally, there is the communal government as the basis and social foundation of the GTANW, with its mandate and internal autonomy, whose highest authority is the Irutkamu Iruntramu or Assembly of the Communities. At the executive level is the Communal Board of Directors, represented by its Iimaru (chief) and other authorities.

What do you consider to have been the greatest difficulties of the post-WGANW projects?

We, the main promoters of GTANW, have always kept in mind that the greatest difficulties and complexities are not outside the Wampís nation, but mainly internal. It is about the divergent and many dissenting positions of the youth and current generation that as a consequence of the negative impact of the official education are changing their behavior, the way of understanding things from the school teachings and learning.

Do you consider that this process has influenced other Amazonian peoples?

Not to a great extent, nor in all cases, because before 2015 some native nations were already functioning with the case of the Achuar people of Pastaza and the process of the autonomy of the Awajun was mentioned, but since the birth of the GTANW, as I have briefly explained in previous lines, we opted for a different strategy, the reconstruction of our autonomy, in practice, in fact, de facto, exercising our rights, without waiting first for the official state recognition. Based on this strategy, the first five years have consisted of a preparation and preparation stage, a process of collective self-reflection to identify the changes suffered from ancestral life to the present, that is, participatory diagnosis processes to identify the main problems in the 13 thematic axes established by the autonomous statute of the WGANW. Starting this year, the application stage is beginning with force, that is, the progressive implementation of the "process of processes", which means, the development of activities and actions aimed at the attention and solution of the identified problems, all oriented to the achievement of Tarimat Pujut (Quality of Life, abundance, peace and tranquility). Specifically, all the paths, or rather, each path is a complex process such as education, health, youth, women, etc.. And all are oriented to the achievement of Tarimat Pujut.

How do you define autonomy for the Wampis?

The Wampis nation defines the original or ancestral autonomy as that developed without the influence of external agents, which was the system of life that gave rise to the first knowledge, wisdoms, practices, intelligence and in general the whole range of socio-cultural practices, that is, the capacity for broad individual and family self-sufficiency, the primordial socio-territorial governance that allowed the birth of the system of cultural conservation of territories, forests and biodiversity. A system of life that in essence cemented the achievement of Tarimat Pujut and that, in the case of the Wampis nation, was the direct consequence of the application and observance of five principles that are defined as:

Principle of territorial integrity, 2. Principle of the exhaustibility of nature's bounties, 3. Principle of protection and conservation (Principle of the minimum affectation in time and principle of the minimum affectation of the occupied area), 4. Principle of the special and spiritual relationship with nature and 5. All this meant the achievement of quality of life (health, peace of mind, abundance and peaceful life).

When the Wampis nation speaks of autonomy today, we are referring to the process of reconstruction of that capacity for self-sufficiency, management and leadership of the common destiny and socio-territorial governance, but in direct relation and especially with the State and civil society; that autonomy that is claimed, cemented and based on the patterns of cultural elements, augmented with new elements, including cognitive, technical and other cultural elements that in concrete terms we would say as relational and intercultural autonomy. However, the essence of the current autonomy maintains the same primordial and ancestral goal which is the achievement of Tarimat Pujut, that is, the continuity of the cultural identity and the system of conservation of the territories, forests and biodiversity.

Tribute Edmundo Alex Lemun Saavedra



Edmundo Alex Lemun Saavedra was born on May 10, 1985. He lived with his parents and 8 siblings in Requen Lemun, a Mapuche community located in the commune of Ercilla, Malleco province, in Araucanía (ninth region of Chile). A 17 year old high school student, he worked for his community with commitment and solidarity, and used to share spaces with his parents.

and to be part of the activities in the struggle for the Mapuche people's ancestral rights.

On November 7, 2002, a group of 40 Mapuche men, women, children and elderly people entered the Santa Elisa farm, owned by Forestal Crececx S.A., a subsidiary of Forestal Mininco S.A., to collect firewood to take to their homes. They made a fire for cooking and to

indicate their

presence in the occupied territories, an activity they had been carrying out on a daily basis for several months.

Police (carabineros) were sent to expel the community members from the area, who were preparing food when the officers approached them and began shooting. Alex Lemun was shot in the head by Carabineros officer **Marco Aurelio Treuer Heysende**. Members of the Mapuche community assisted Alex Lemun and took him in an ox cart about 100 meters from the scene, where he was picked up by an ambulance. After being taken to three different hospitals, and spending five days in agony, Alex Lemun passed away.

After the assassination, the Chilean State initiated the "Operation Plan for Peace" (2002-2005), articulated by private and governmental sectors, seeking to stop the mobilizations of the Mapuche People with the application of the Anti-terrorist Law, persecutions for "illegal terrorist associations", militarization by repressive police forces, harassment and information campaigns through the commercial mass media.

The trial of Marco Aurelio Treuer, Alex Lemún's murderer, began in the ordinary courts, but a few days after it opened, it was transferred to the military courts, which dismissed the case in 2004. Treuer had only one disciplinary process in which he was found responsible: he was given one day's punishment. Due to the impunity and ineffectiveness of the Chilean justice system, Alex Lemún's parents took the case to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which accepted the case in 2012.

Almost 19 years later, the case was reopened on Monday, September 27, 2021, in the Court of Angol, after the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 2017 demanded that the State of Chile recognize its responsibility in this case. On October 25 of that year, the Criminal Oral Trial Court (TOP) of Temuco sentenced Carabineros Colonel **Marco Aurelio Treuer Heyse** to three years in prison. However, the sentence was considered to have been served because of the time Treuer has spent in prison.

with different precautionary measures while the process was being developed. In other words, the Angol Court decided to leave Marco Treuer Heysen, guilty of the murder of Mapuche teenager Alex Lemún Saavedra, without effective punishment. Alex's family will file an appeal for annulment against the trial, beginning the twentieth year of seeking justice for the murder of their son.



Sonia Saavedra and Edmundo Lemun, Alex Lemun's parents (<https://interferencia.cl>)
