



THE UNIVERSITY OF
SYDNEY

**Battles for Indigenous self-determination in the
neoliberal period: a comparative study of
Bolivian Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres
Strait Islander peoples' resistance.**

Rachel Lorraine Evans

**A thesis submitted for the Masters of Research degree at Sydney University
in 2019**

Faculty of Social Sciences

Abstract

This comparative study will analyse Bolivia's revolutionary process and Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander resistance movements to assess the Indigenous empowerment model. It will seek to ascertain whether an exchange would benefit both struggles.

Bolivian President Evo Morales, an Indigenous Aymara, is widely recognised as leading a fight against neoliberalism, with a 'cultural, democratic revolution'. The country, with 42% of people identifying as Indigenous (Fontana 2013, para 3), appears to be formalising Indigenous land rights through a 'plurinational constitution' (Burbach, Fox, Fuentes, 2013, p. 80), within an anti-capitalist rubric. Other revolutionary governments in the region — Venezuela, Ecuador, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba — are challenging neoliberalism, but Bolivia seems to be uniquely placed to showcase elements within an Indigenous self-determination model.

In comparison, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in Australia are a minority population of 2.8% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017, para 1), living within a settler colonial state, having survived British invasion of their lands. They have waged heroic battles for land rights and won 33% of their land back from the settler state (Altman, 2014, para 8). However, showing the strength of the colonial project, the majority of land to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders is in remote and arid lands not suitable for agricultural production.

In addition to land rights achievements, through heightened levels of activism, First Nation communities have won battles for cultural space and self-governance bodies within ideological and politically colonised spaces. This is despite having limited representational space within Australian government settings. Currently, it appears communities are under assault from a renewed wave of assimilation.

In comparing battles for self-determination in Bolivia and Australia, this research will focus on struggles around the three pillars of a robust sovereignty model — land rights, cultural rights and self-governance structures. The time period for this study is the neoliberal period from the 1970s onwards, albeit with a focus on some seminal pre-1970s battles. Carried out with a participatory activist research methodology, this project aims to

consolidate scholarly relations between Indigenous resistance in both countries, in an effort to assist battles for self-determination.

Declaration by Author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the body of the text. I have clearly declared the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my Masters of Research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

I acknowledge that an electronic copy of my thesis must be lodged with the Sydney University Library and, subject to the General Award Rules of The University of Sydney, immediately made available for research and study in accordance with the *Copyright Act* 1968.

I acknowledge that copyright of all material contained in my thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of that material. Where appropriate I have obtained copyright permission from the copyright holder to reproduce material in this thesis.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the Gadigal people of the Eora nation upon whose land this research is written. This thesis was inspired by the heroism of activists and scholars, past and present, and in this, it is a collective endeavour.

I am indebted to a range of people. Firstly, a big thank you to my hard-working supervisor, Victoria Grieves, who guided this thesis through its genesis. Her encouragement was critical, as were her offerings of cheese and beverages at particular junctures.

Fernanda Penaloza, as an auxiliary supervisor, also provided crucial insights into comparative studies and has been a consistent source of support and guidance.

I travelled to Bolivia in 2017 to undertake interviews. I am indebted to the contacts in Bolivia provided by Lisa MacDonald, Federico Fuentes, Coral Wynters and Jim McIlroy. I am forever thankful for the good company and stoic patience of Hannah Wykes, who accompanied me on the journey, despite having neither Spanish nor an overriding interest in Indigenous politics. Thanks to Mara Bonnaci and Adam Sharah for teaching me about anti-uranium battles and showing me the beauty of the Australian desert. Thank you too to Federico Fuentes whose electric talks about Bolivia and considered writing about the Andean nation, inspire this study.

I was motivated to research Indigenous resistance by the indefatigable work of Wiradjuri warrior Uncle Ray Jackson, who was a comrade and a friend. Ray, who fought for justice for families devastated by murderous acts by police and prison officers, and a victim of the 'Stolen Generations,' himself, never gave up. He passed away in 2015; his last day spent sitting by the fire at the Redfern Tent Embassy, talking tactics with Aunty Jenny Munro. I also pay tribute to Aboriginal warrior woman Pat Eatock. Thanks too, to Raul Bassi, Ray Jackson's passionate side-kick, who encouraged this research.

Indeed, I want to thank all the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Bolivian Indigenous warriors, whose lives have been savaged by the colonial project, but whose everyday resistance makes change.

I am grateful to Farida Iqbal, a colleague who took time out of her life to debate my work and provide invaluable feedback. Thanks too, to Blair Vidovich, who provided analysis

on the project's philosophical tenets. I would also like to acknowledge the support of friends and family who, despite being significantly less obsessive than me about the complexities of Indigenous activism, were generous with their feedback. Specifically, to family members, Roslyn, Naomi and Frances Evans who gave much-needed encouragement. Thanks to Laurel Mackenzie and Corey Green for providing me hide-away space and desks and to Donna Mulhearn and Martin Reusch for their Labyrinth bush retreat.

Big gratitude to Katy Jenkins and her rainbow family – Maisie and Alfie - for their laughter and motivation. A heartfelt appreciation, too of Eila Vinwynn's welcome sanctuary in the final years of this project. Finally, thank you to comrades Peter Boyle and Pip Hinman for giving me the time needed out from the daily needs of the struggle for this project.

Keywords

Indigenous resistance, self-determination, decolonisation, Bolivia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, empowerment, revolution

Table of Contents

Preliminary Pages	2
List of Abbreviations	9
Introduction	10
<i>Chapter One</i>	
Struggles for Indigenous land rights in Bolivia and Australia in the neoliberal phase	26
<i>Chapter Two</i>	
Songlines and memorias: battles over Indigenous culture in the fight for self-determination	44
<i>Chapter Three</i>	
Empowerment projects for self-determination: Self-governance battles in Bolivia and Australia under neoliberalism	68
<i>Conclusion</i>	97
Appendices	108
A.1. A snapshot of Indigenous held land 1788–2013	
A.2. Indigenous land titling under three tenures	
A.3. National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Organisations	
A.4. Stand out Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander battles in the neoliberal phase	
A.5. Achievements of the Evo Morales-led government	
A.6. Interview questions with Indigenous community members and movement activists from Bolivia/Australia.	
A.7. Interview with Enrique Castana Ballivian May 25, 2016	
A.8. Interview with Odalis Zuazo May 22, 2016	
A.9. Interview with Ken Canning June 22, 2018	
A.10. Interview with Pablo Regalsky May 27, 2016	
A.11. Interview with Zachary Joseph Wone June 25, 2018.	
A.12. Richard Fidler Notes for Presentation ‘Plurinational state, indigenous autonomy in Bolivia’ Calgary June 1, 2016, Socialist Studies Conference, 2016, Calgary, Alberta	
References	240

Abbreviations

AIOC Autonomous Indigenous Territory (Spanish: *Territorio Autónomo Indígena AIOC*)

AMP Senior Elders (Spanish: *Alcades Mayores Particulares*)

CIDOB Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia (Spanish: *Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia*; formerly, Spanish: *Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas del Oriente Boliviano* or CIDOB)

CONAMAQ National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu (Spanish: *Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu* or CONAMAQ)

CPA Communist Party of Australia

FEJUVE Federation of Neighbourhood Councils-El Alto (Spanish: *Federación de Juntas Vecinales de El Alto - FEJUVE*)

GMAR Grandmothers Against Removals

IPSP Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples

MITKA Indian Movement Túpac Katari (Spanish: *Movimiento Indio Túpac Katari*, MITKA)

NGO Non-government organisation

TAI Autonomous Indigenous Territory (Spanish: *Territorio Autónomo Indígena TAI*)

TCO; Native Community Lands (Spanish: *Tierra Comunitaria de Origen*, acronym: TCO; also translated as Communal Lands of Origin)

TIOC Original Peasant and Indigenous Lands (Spanish: *Territorios Indígena Originario Campesinos TIOC*)

TIPNIS - Isiboro Secure National Park and Indigenous Territory (TIPNIS)

WAR Warrior Aboriginal Resistance

Introduction

Indigenous self-determination is a spectre haunting settler colonial states. Battles for land, cultural rights and Indigenous governance challenge social orders that rest on dispossession, plunder and genocide. This research is an attempt to build a scholarly bridge between the apparently disconnected Bolivian and Australian Indigenous movements for sovereignty. As a contribution to decolonisation scholarship, this field is an important realm of investigation. As the neoliberal phase of capitalism and its accelerated resource extraction pushes the planet to climate disaster, societies based on Indigenous ontologies can offer solutions to cataclysmic social and ecological emergencies.

While this project only touches on the theme of Indigenous-led answers to the existential threat facing humanity, it explores at length, the importance of Indigenous sovereignty models. An auxiliary aim of this project is to accentuate the dialogue about experiences of resistance between the global south and the global north.

This thesis is a comparison of Indigenous Bolivian and Australian battles for empowerment in the neoliberal phase. The battles of Bolivia's Indigenous people and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, while superficially unconnected are bonded through a common philosophy, communal practice and determination to resist a colonial agenda. Bolivia is a focal point for this research because its 'government of the social movements' (Achtenberg 2015, para 6) is an experiment in Indigenous emancipation.

A good deal of popular work on Indigenous self-determination, as well as that of a more scholarly nature, has employed such a comparative perspective. Drawing out similarities and differences across nation-state boundaries can uncover intercontinental colonial strategies and strengthen a global solidarity response. However, due to the dominant imperialist paradigm there is a scholarship emphasis towards the global north. This emphasis could explain the fact that, by and large, Australia's self-determination studies have not included research on Bolivia's sovereignty model. Indeed, as yet, no scholarly comparison between Bolivian Indigenous resistance and Indigenous Australian struggles exists. This study is shifting the gaze to Bolivia and privileging this global south example, to explore whether its Indigenous revolution provides elements of empowerment within its land, cultural and self-governance practices. This comparative research into battles for Indigenous land, cultural and sovereignty rights is not without complexities, as will be discussed below.

Commonalities in contestations

A reason for the lack of scholarship about Indigenous resistance in Bolivia and Australia is that differences between the struggles of the two nations' First Nations appear too overwhelming to make a contrast possible. They seem to offer little in common. Bolivia was colonised by Spain, Australia by Britain. Forty-two per cent of Bolivia's population are of Indigenous descent, the highest percentage of indigenous people of any nation in the Western hemisphere (Fontana 2013 para 3), (TeleSur 2015, para 2). In Australia, only 2.8% of the population identify as Indigenous (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017, para 1). Bolivia is a small land-locked nation situated in the multi-nation, Spanish-speaking, Latin American continent. Australia is an English-speaking nation and the sixth-largest country in the world, located within the geographical region of Oceania. Australia is an imperialist country, while Bolivia is part of the exploited third world. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander resistance is struggling under an assimilationist push.

However, while Indigenous Australian and Bolivian communities host different historical and linguistic features along with global positioning, they confront common enemies. The imperialist profit paradigm targets homelands, kinships and organisations. In this, the two apparently disparate resistance struggles are interlinked. Through this lens, similar obstacles, solutions to the colonial project and alliances that wage battles against it, become clearer.

In an attempt to corral this study into a manageable work load, this investigation is mainly limited to the current neoliberal stage. Seminal battles, which had lasting effects on land, cultural and governance rights, preceded this phase, so a few examples of these formative fights pepper this study. However, predominantly this work concentrates on the neoliberal period that started in Chile under the Pinochet dictatorship in 1973 (Connell & Dados 2014, p.122) and spread to Bolivia and Australia with privatisations and financial deregulation (Dixon 2001, para 29). The elites also fragmented unions, peasant and urban organisations (Linares 2007, para 14). The neoliberal phase under investigation is defined by as having the core ideals of 'competition between nations, regions, firms and of course between individuals' (George 1999 para 4). Neoliberalism moves wealth from the poor to the rich (George 1999 para 4).

This investigation uses the terms 'Indigenous Bolivia' and 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander' communities. The descriptors Indigenous Australians and First Nations are also utilised. The use of this terminology is complex, and this study does not want to gloss

over any definitional intricacies in describing Indigenous communities. The term Indigenous is ‘used to encompass a variety of Aboriginal groups ... coming into wider usage during the 1970s when Aboriginal groups ... pushed for greater presence in the United Nations (UN) (First Nations & Indigenous Studies, 2009, para 6).

This study uses the term ‘Indigenous’ to refer to both Bolivia’s 36 distinct Indigenous communities and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in Australia. The term ‘Aboriginal’ is used to refer to issues that apply only to Aboriginal communities based in Australia, and ‘Torres Strait Islander’ when referring to matters pertaining to these communities. It is important to recognise that some Aboriginal people do not like to be called ‘Indigenous’ (Behrendt, 1996, p.1). The use of the term Indigenous can also refer to specific Indigenous nations — for example, Eora in Sydney, Australia or Aymara in Bolivia. There is great diversity of Indigenous experiences in both Bolivia and Australia. This project uses the Indigenous category, not to imply homogeneity but because it is a workable category often used by Indigenous people themselves. Additionally, this project will further explore the complexity of Indigenous identification as a site of cultural struggle.

This investigation is divided into three chapters. Each chapter will explore and compare campaigns in Bolivia and Australia around three pillars of Indigenous sovereignty: land, cultural rights and self-governance bodies. A concluding chapter will assess the consequences of Indigenous struggles in each country, their sovereignty fights and observe some overarching themes linking these struggles. It will draw some conclusions for successful Indigenous self-determination battles and models. Indeed, campaigns for self-determination seem to have benefited from coalitions between Indigenous and socialist forces in ‘black-red’ alliances (campaign coalitions between Indigenous, communists and socialist forces) (Townsend 2009, p.5). While not an overarching theme, this research explores the importance of these ‘black-red’ alliances to self-determination struggles.

As this is a thesis about self-determination and sovereignty defining these two concepts is a critical beginning to the investigation and will be explored in the next segment.

Self-determination and sovereignty

For most Indigenous communities, self-determination is a condition conducive to the practice of ‘their spiritual, social, cultural, economic and political rights, as well as their practical survival’ (Hocking 2005, p. 2). Moreover, sovereignty — a term that is used interchangeably with self-determination — is an act of power against a ruling party; asserting

sovereignty is a state of defiance. ‘No other person, group, tribe or state can tell a sovereign entity what to do with its land and/or people. A sovereign entity can decide and administer its own laws’ (Pelizzon 2016, para 6). This study into self-determination was inspired by a range of factors and will be examined in the next section.

Investigation Impetus

The motivation for this research stems from a trip to Bolivia and from involvement in Aboriginal rights’ campaigns on Gadigal land, Sydney. An initial visit to Bolivia in 2006, with interviews with community organisers and author Franz Chavez, was a heady introduction to Bolivia’s Indigenous-led politics. Reflections on my stay were published in the activist newspaper *Green Left Weekly* and in online blogs.

Compelled to discover ‘the social relations of struggle in which a movement finds itself’ (Kinsman 2008, para 9), this research developed from a case study on Bolivia, into a comparative study of Indigenous Australian and Bolivian resistance. Aboriginal activist, Pat Eatock, motivated me to study Aboriginal sovereignty movements. Uncle Ray Jackson, a member of the stolen generation and leader of the Stop Deaths in Custody campaign urged me to focus on self-determination battles in Australia. Both Pat and Uncle Ray emphasised a need for research to develop a ‘political commitment to taking up the side of the oppressed and exploited’ (Kinsman 2008, para 4). Finally, this work is informed by Bell Hooks’ caution against academic research for its own sake. Hooks noted: ‘Theory is not inherently healing, liberatory, or revolutionary. It fulfils this function only when we ask that it do so and direct our theorizing towards this end’ (Hooks 1991, p. 2). The studies theoretical basis will be examined in the next segment.

Foundational framework

Deriving inspiration from Bell Hooks, this thesis utilises an empowerment-based conceptual framework, applying a Marxist foundational approach, influenced by Indigenous ontologies. Perhaps this appears to provoke insurmountable conceptual dilemmas. This segment of this investigation will briefly explore these cosmologies. At first glance, these two approaches appear oppositional. One posits a post-capitalist, post-Enlightenment, Western derived, liberal, scientific approach. Marxism’s ideas are building on Western liberal thought, a metaphysics that arose during the death throes of feudalism. Liberal thought drove and justified the formation of the capitalist mode of production. Conversely, Indigenous

cosmology is based on a communitarian, equalitarian mode of production. It stems from a pre-class era, with environmental and relational tenets.

While not the main focus of this research, an examination of Marxist philosophical foundations suggests some commonality with aspects of Indigenous ontologies. Although he was inspired by the ideas of the European scientific revolution, Karl Marx recognised and critiqued colonialism's enslavement of Aboriginal people (Marx 1867 p. 531). Marx and Friedrich Engels developed Marxism's philosophical and scientific tenets — dialectics and materialism — together. Inspired by the tenets of Western liberal empiricism, they posited that the material world is primary and provable. To counter mechanical versions of materialist philosophy, they argued for a dialectical approach — that 'an interconnected, eternal motion exists within all phenomena' (Engels 1873-1886, para 1) (Marx and Engels 1869, para 4) (Engels 1896, para 4, 5). This empiricism contrasts with Indigenous spirituality. This approach conceptualises a circular notion of 'progress', motivated by a profound interdependence between objects and within social interactions (Spirkin 1983, para 3, 7). Key Marxist philosophical tenets 'philosophers have merely interpreted the world, the point is to change it' and 'the history of all existing societies is the history of class struggles' denote a struggle ethic (Marx 1845, para 11, 12). This resonates with Indigenous communities fighting racism, segregation and exclusion. The other Marxist offering is dialectics, which hosts similarities with Indigenous ontologies. For instance:

(In) Aboriginal cosmology there is not this distinction between the sacred and the profane; the sacred, while being a paradigm for proper existence, is also present in the contemporary world. It is the thread of interconnectedness between the Dreaming, humans and the natural world (Grieves 2009, p.11)

Interdependence and relational reasoning drive Indigenous Bolivian Aymara philosophical tenets. In fact, it builds on the Marxist dialectic, adding one more recognised dimension. This is the Aymaran trivalent logic. The Aymaran 'plurivalence' is neither formalistic nor absolutist. It is neither A nor B, but can be A, B, or C. The "sense of plurivalence" can be grasped by means of the short Aymara word *ina*: "maybe yes and maybe *no*" (Note, Munter 2009, p. 93). That is,

'Things' or events will never be experienced or seen as just 'good' or 'bad', but can always present both — or more — aspects simultaneously or alternately. People will manage 'the things of life' according to this conviction, both in everyday and in ritual practices (ibid).

Ecological custodianship is another parallelism between Marxist and Indigenous cosmologies. Professor Max Charlesworth describes Indigenous Australians as having a

sophisticated set of religious beliefs that were ‘geosophical or earth-centred (Koorie Mail, 2009, p. 46). Tasmanian activist Puralia Jim Everett explained:

Aborigines have the responsibility to be custodians of land, sea and sky. They must remain accountable to the ecological world, which accepts Indigenous intrusion and use of that ecology only on sound practices of interaction with the spirit of the land (Grieves 2009, p.13).

Equally, Bolivia’s Indigenous cosmology emphasises a profound interrelationship between the physical elements. Marx echoes environmental stewardship tenets of Indigenous philosophies. He wrote:

An entire society, a nation, or all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not owners of the earth. They are simply its possessors, its beneficiaries, and have to bequeath it in an improved state to succeeding generations (Butler 2009, para 9).

Upon examination, an oppositional assessment of scientific Marxian ideas versus Indigenous cosmologies does not bear up under scrutiny. There are correlational tenets between Marxist dialectics, the Aymara relational trivalent logic and the Indigenous cosmological focus on interconnectedness. The emphasis on a communitarian ethic and environmental protection in both Marx’s writings and Indigenous approaches reveal additional commonalities. A Marxist vision for a communal mode of production and the lived experience of communitarian Indigenous mode of production introduce more common areas of agreement.

Indeed, it could be argued that Bolivia’s Indigenous-led government is applying an Indigenous cosmological approach alongside elements of Marxist philosophical tenets, in particular, the struggle ethic, to guide its revolution. So, while posing a complexity to this research’s methodological framework, this thesis will straddle both conceptual frameworks to explore Indigenous self-determination battles in Bolivia and Australia. It aims to bridge a gap between these scholarship fields and activist worlds. This research project includes interviews with six subjects. The ethical approach taken towards the activists interviewed is explored below.

Ethics and Interviews

This section of the research examines how information was gathered from Bolivian and Australian-based Indigenous people and activists. It illustrates the tensions around identifying as ‘Indigenous’ and the participatory framework under which interviews were conducted. In keeping with an emancipation frame, this research applies a participatory activist research approach. It employs the narratives of six activists, scholars and social workers to analyse battles for land, culture and self-governance in Bolivia and Australia. I applied for and

received ethics clearance for human research from the University of Sydney. While conceiving this research project, I collaborated with academics on the methodological frame, and constructed questionnaires for interview subjects,

The qualitative research methodology employed in this research is important to this research for three reasons. Firstly, through activist work in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, I have developed a trust and rapport with a number of advocates. I wanted to explore their opinions in greater depth. Interviews (a qualitative approach) are an optimal way to do this. Ethnographer Philippe Bourgois lived with and studied his community in a socially marginalised community in East Harlem. While my work is not strictly ethnographic, Bourgois's reflections on the techniques used in this methodology influenced my decision to employ this research methodology. Bourgois noted:

Participant-observation ethnographic techniques ... are better suited than exclusively quantitative methodologies for documenting the lives of people who live on the margins of society that is hostile to them. Only by establishing long-term relationships based on trust can one begin to ask provocative questions, and exact thoughtful answers (Bourgois, 2006, p.12-13).

I made every effort to interview campaigners with whom I had developed a campaign rapport. I made it clear to my Bolivian research participants that I was involved in Indigenous rights campaigns and my Aboriginal informants already knew this.

The second reason to choose the interview method was that a qualitative methodology tends to be much more useful for illuminating the meaning of social processes. Set questions give significant insight into the participants' life experience of racism and the campaigns and conceptualisations around self-determination. Such subject matters cannot be properly explored through a quantitative survey or poll.

The third important reason for using this methodology is that this research is a study in empowerment. Colonisation has attempted to silence Indigenous people. Privileging the voices of Indigenous people is an anti-colonial act in itself.

This study utilises a decolonisation and participatory action research approach. Participant Action Research (PAR) follows an approach inspired by Paulo Freire that immerses the scholar into community. It has four tenets. Firstly, a

collective commitment to engage an issue or a problem. Collective reflection is the second component of PAR. The third facet is that the research has to be mutually beneficial for the researcher and the participant. The final tenet of PAR is building an alliance that develops between researcher and participant (Campbell 2011a-b, 9:30-1:07)

PAR addresses an additional pitfall that can trap non-community activists. Some activists from outside the community can assume they are able to save the communities with whom they are engaging by delivering a sharper analysis, a clearer funding proposal or a better formulated argument to a government official. A ‘white man’s burden’ (Hitchens 2004, p 63-63) approach. Situating the marginalised community at the helm of the research can abate this problem.

To recruit interviewees, I asked Aboriginal rights campaigners I worked with if they would participate. For Bolivian interviews I emailed contacts I acquired through my 2006 visit and asked if they would allow me to re-interview them. I also asked if they knew anybody else who it might be suitable for me to approach for an interview. In accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, participants were advised in consent and participant information forms and in spoken briefings that they are not obliged to partake in the research, could do so independently and of their free will and may withdraw at any time. I was targeting public, activist figures in both Australia and Bolivia who all had a history of speaking to researchers and journalists. However, in line with the recommendations in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct, candidates were informed if they withdrew at any time, they would suffer no disadvantage and information was provided about counselling services if they required it. Moreover, I assured the interviewees their interviews were confidential. None of the interviewees were concerned with confidentiality. However to fulfil the requirements of ethical research, during the field work I kept a soft copy of the master list with a neutral file name. The laptop is secured with a password that will be changed every year during the project’s life. The study materials will be kept for five years after the project’s completion.

The interview questions address three main themes. Firstly, what is the strength of Indigenous rights movements in Bolivia/Australia? What social forces assist anti-racist struggles? Are the movements working with or against the government and state institutions? Secondly, how far has the Bolivian/Australian state decolonised? Does it enact Indigenous land, cultural, and political rights or detract from them? Finally, how far have Indigenous people advanced in their self-determination struggles in Bolivia/Australia?

This research records the opinions of six activists, scholars and service providers. Murri elder Ken Canning languished for ten years in Brisbane’s Boggo Road Jail. He emerged as an activist, campaigning for Indigenous pedagogy in university settings. He is active in the Indigenous Social Justice Association, campaigning for justice for families in deaths in custody cases.

Another interviewee, young Gumbaynggirr man Roxley Foley, is the son of well-known activist Gary Foley. Roxley sees himself as ‘an ambassador for my community and a supporter of others at the (Aboriginal Tent) embassy to function in their ability to work’ (R. Foley, personal communication, June 18, 2016). At the time of the interview Foley had finished assisting the Canberra-based Aboriginal Tent Embassy in establishing a library, established an activist Freedom Summit Conference in Alice Springs and was collaborating with #sosblackaustralia.

Zachary Joseph Wone, from the Kabi Kabi Nation of the Dundaburra clan was, at the time of the interview, the Secretary of the Maritime Union of Australia Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Sydney Branch Committee, National Convener of Labor for Treaty and the Deputy Vice-President of Australia’s South Sea Islanders Port Jackson. Wone organised meetings and training sessions for young Aboriginal people. A colonial legacy can bring about hesitancy around identifying as Indigenous. However, all the Aboriginal interviewees identify, and are recognised, as Aboriginal.

My ability to speak Spanish facilitated communication with the Bolivian research participants. All the Bolivian interviewees, Enrique Castana Ballivian, Odalis Zuazo and Pablo Regalsky worked within Indigenous communities, or published articles about land management and Indigenous rights.

Working for the non-government organisation (NGO) and research centre, *Fundación Tierra*, Enrique Castana Ballivian, is a researcher with Aymaran roots. He says: ‘I do feel that I have roots, indigenous roots; Aymara of course because most of my family came to La Paz from the Yungas, which is a rural area near the city, but now I say I am *mestizo* (mixed race). It’s complicated (E. Ballivian, personal communication, May 25, 2016). Enrique’s responsibilities were: ‘conducting research, particularly in the eastern part of the country and we’re going to be looking at the soya complex there and trying to see issues [of] differentiation amongst the peasantry’ (ibid, May 25, 2016).

Similarly, Odalis Zuazo, is working in peasant and Indigenous land projects within the NGO *Fundacion Renace*. She belongs to ‘the intercultural women of Alto Beni (Upper Beni). I have a small productive plot/piece of land of cacao there (Alto Beni), so I consider myself as part of these women as well. I have the experience of being a farmer’ (O. Zuazo, personal communication, May 22, 2016). While claiming Indigenous roots, Odalis did not identify as Indigenous. ‘[Y]ou could say I’m mestiza (mixed blood). This would be my denomination/designation. I am a mestiza as I consider myself as intercultural like I said. Intercultural people like me are those who...belong from one place to another’ (ibid, 2016).

While these two research participants did not identify as Indigenous, claiming Indigenous roots and *mestizo* identification indicates a tension that expresses itself in the identification of Bolivia's 'intercultural' population. These contradictions are expressed by Bolivian social theorist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui. She explains the conceptualisation and value system of *mestizo*:

We call ourselves Colectivo Ch'ixi — from the Aymara word meaning 'stain'. We are meztizos, but we have a strong Indian stain in our soul. We are 'impure'. And we have to recognise also that there is a European stain in our bodies and in our subjectivities. And the good part of that stain is the idea of freedom and individual rights. From the Indian part we get the idea of community and of cycle, intimacy and the cycles of nature. But we do recognise the value of individual freedom and rights — sexual rights, the right to have a sexual identity that is different from the rest, or of abortion (Weinberg 2014, para 6).

The third interview subject, Pablo Regalsky, is an Argentinian scholar based in Cochabamba, who is a 'member of CENDA, [El Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino; Centre for Andean Communication and Development] and for them, advised the Unity Pact [Pacto de Unidad in the Constituent Assembly of 2006/7]. I am a member of a peasant organisation. I am a member of the University [University Major San Simon of Cochabamba]' (Regalsky, personal communication, May 27, 2016). Pablo writes on the topic of Indigenous people. In addition to these primary sources, this study utilises secondary sources. They are examined in the next section.

Literature review

Adding to the primary sources used to assess battles for self-determination in the neoliberal phase in Bolivia and Australia, this thesis is informed by a range of secondary sources. This segment of the research explores these influences. The work utilises literature across disciplines that cover Indigenous and Marxist philosophy, decolonisation theory, self-determination and sovereignty discourses. It is guided by works dealing with Bolivia's and Indigenous Australia's history, politics and dialogue. The resources include on-line media sources, data and reports from government departments (Australian Bureau of Statistics), research units, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and studies and analysis from scholars and activists.

This literature review confirms that a comparative study of Australian and Bolivian Indigenous peoples' battles for self-determination in the neoliberal period is a site of new scholarship. From this literature the development of appropriate and meaningful questions to prepare for the collection of raw data, was made possible.

As this research is using a PAR approach, I utilise the intellectual labour of activists, and their organisations. University research tends to privilege its own scholarship — peer reviewed online journals, and published work, for example. This work contains important academic rigour — ethical clearance for qualitative and quantitative research, carefully researched arguments and considered analyses. However, this university scholarship can reinforce an oppressive approach. It can facilitate a knowledge flow ‘away from the community, often times into the academic community. ... As in all things, academic research has its own web of power relations.’ (Lisahunter, Emerald, Martin 2008, p.16). Therefore, this study of Indigenous resistance will use work from journalistic publications (*Koorie Mail*, *TeleSur*, *Green Left Weekly*, *NITV News*, *Solidarity Magazine*, *Creative Spirits*, *The Conversation* and *NACLA*), the progressive research unit, The Australia Institute and non-government organisation, Oxfam. Importantly, these publications highlight contemporary activist campaigns.

To develop this project’s analysis of neoliberalism and develop its foundational Marxist and Indigenous cosmological scaffolding, I utilise the work of the following authors: Franz Fanon (1961); Raewyn Connell and Nour Dados (2014); Susan George (1999); Norm Dixon (2001); David Harvey (2005) (2009); Karl Marx (1867); Frederick Engels (1873-1886); (Marx and Engels 1969 para 4); (Engels 1886-1893); (Marx and Engels 1869, 1896); Andrew Spirkin (1983) and Simon Butler (2009). For an appreciation of Indigenous ontological tenets this research utilises the work of Victoria Grieves (2009); Sylvia Kleinert and Margo Neale (2000) and Stanley Robinson (2000).

Scholarship about Indigenous battles in Bolivia

Given this project’s theoretical foundations, this research privileges authors who write with and for marginalised communities. However, opposing opinions, ideas and analyses are considered. On Bolivia, the authors who influence this research fall into four categories.

Firstly, writers who take an anti-neoliberal position, record Bolivia’s rich social movements, its 1952 revolution (to varying degrees) and Indigenous people’s critical role within them. These authors reflect the intellectual and practical work of the anti-colonial *Indianista*, the Indigenous peoples and the socialists, and chart the rise of *Movimiento AL Socialismo* — Movement Towards Socialism (MAS — Spanish spelling), as a black-red (Indigenous-socialist) coalition. Some specialise in MAS’s agrarian, economic, or social reforms. All the authors in this field are pro-revolution, but do not all position themselves as

favourable to the MAS government. They are Mark Weisbrot, (2006); Vibeke Andersson and Havard Haarstad (2007, 2009); Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl (2006, 2014); Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomas (2005, 2007); Jesus Lopez and Pablo Turrion (2007); Forrest Hylton (2003) (2006); Jerry Ladman (1982); Jim Shultz (2008); and Rory Carroll (2006). Journalists who write within the same frame and inform this research are Benjamin Dangel (2014, 2015); Bret Gustafson, (2016) (2016); and Emily Achtenberg (2012- 2016).

The second category of scholars who influence this research are authors who deepen this research's comprehension of Bolivia's project within a Marxist standpoint. They cover Bolivia's economic and social history, the nature of a revolutionary state, MAS's anti-imperialist stance and role in Latin America's 'pink-tide' governments and examine the nature of extractivism within an international capitalist market. They are Marta Harnecker and Federico Fuentes (2008); Roger Burbach (2016); Richard Gott (2005); James Dunkerley (2007); Federico Fuentes (2006, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014); Pablo Stefanoni (2016); John Riddell (2011); Steve Ellner (2014); Peter Baker (2015); and Alvero Linera Garcia (2008) (2012) (2013) (2014). Salvador Schavelzon (2016) adds an analysis of Indigenous Bolivian *cosmovision* (Pachamama – mother earth philosophy) 'Vivir Bien' (the MAS government's environmental 'live well' principle, the *ayllus* (Bolivia's Indigenous governance structures) , and the nature of the Bolivian constitution. All these authors add weight to the proposition that a black-red alliance was critical to Morales's 2005 victory.

The third category of authors this research utilises are anthropologists and historians who record Bolivian Indigenous before the Spanish invasion, or post-colonial Indigenous Bolivia. They inform this project on Bolivian Indigenous ontology. They include Robert Andolina; Sarah Radcliffe; Nina Laurie (2005); Francisco Garrido; Diego Salazar (2017); and Andrew Canessa (2007) (2014). An interview conducted by Bill Weinberg (2014) with commentator Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui assists this research's comprehension of Bolivian Indigenous philosophical tenets regarding the Aymara 'trivalent logic'.

The fourth category of authors that influence this research are pro-Indigenous, decolonising writers who take a critical position on the Evo Morales government and that government's economic, Indigenous or extractivist programs. They include: Maristella Svampa (2015); Webber (2011, 2011a, 2012, 2017); James Petras (2006, 2012) Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2015); and Nicole Fabricant (2012). Journalists that fall into this category are David Hill (2015); Jean Friedman-Rudovsky (2010); Linda Farthing (2015); and Devin Beaulieu and Nancy Postero (2013).

Scholarship about Indigenous battles in Australia

Authors that influence this project's work on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history and politics fall into four categories. Firstly, decolonising authors who position themselves with community, culture and campaigns. They offer historical context to colonialism's genocide, inform this work on the nature and state of colonisation's legacy today, and record campaigns for self-determination. They are; Gary Foley, Gumbainggir Professor of History (2010, 2012); Larissa Behrendt, Eualeyai/Kamillaroi woman and Professor of Law (2012, 2015); Victoria Grieves, Warraimay historian (2015, 2009); Bruce Pascoe, from the Bunurong clan, of the Kulin nation (2009); Colin Tatz (1999); Sarah Maddison (2009); Scott Bennett (1989); Thalia Anthony (2010); Jon Altman (2009abc, 2011, 2014); Irene Watson Tanganekald; Meintang-Bunganditj Professor of Law, (2009); Richard Broome (2010); Bruce Elder (2003); James Jupp (2001); Robyn Moore (2017); Bain Attwood (2000, 2005, 2007); and Rosemary Neil (2002). Journalists' and researchers' work that inhabit this decolonising literary realm, as Murri activist Sam Watson; Professor Thomas Edwin "Tom" Calma, AO (2009); Dan Harrison (2014); Mardi Reardon-Smith (2012); Alex Bainbridge (2015); Kerrie Smith (2017); Cathy Howlett, Monica Seini, Diana McCallum, Natalie Osborne (2011); Kirstie Parker (2010); Bob Gosford (2016); Natalie Whiting and Nicola Gage (2015); Mia Pepper (2014); Diane Fields (2015); Ashleigh Telford (2015); Darumbal woman, Amy McQuire (2015); Paul Daley (2014, 2015, 2016); Ben Courtice (1997); Chris Graham (2013, 2016); Gerry Georgatos (2014); Rachael Hocking (2015); Barbara Hocking (2005); Anthony Loewenstein (2013); Calla Wahlquist (2015); Jeff McMullen (2014); Padraic Gibson (2013); Pip Hinman (2012, 2016); Sue Bolton (2017); Mara Bonacci (2014); Phil Laird (2015); Daniel Cotton (2017); Peter Robson (2008, 2010); Linda Seaborn (2014); Jim McIlroy and Coral Wynter (2015); Sam Wainright (2017); Emma Murphy (2012); and Chris Peterson (2015).

The second category of pro-Indigenous Australian authors that influence this work are historians whose record of seminal land rights battles assisted evidencing the tactics and strategy of militants and their organisations. They record a 'black-red alliance' but do not take a position on the benefits, or problems within these coalitions. They are Jolly Read and Peter Coppin, (2014); Anne Haskins and Victoria Scrimgeour (2015); Chris Martin (1995); Meredith and Verity Burgmann (1998); Charles Ward (2012); Noel Loos (1997); Ronald Hill (1995); and Jon Piccini's work on the protest movement of the sixties (2013).

The third category of authors utilised write from a decolonisation viewpoint and use a Marxist theoretical frame. These writers record the economic benefit of land dispossession to the colonial state and provide analysis of social movements, and the communist movement's support for Aboriginal communities. All these authors write from a critical, yet sympathetic standpoint regarding the role of communists and socialists within Aboriginal campaigns: Terry Townsend (2009); Martin Taylor (1997); and Humphrey McQueen (2004). The work of Marxist anthropologists Hannah Middleton (1977) and Rose Frederick (1987) assists this work's positioning regarding pre-Invasion land and governance structures. Anthropologist Victoria Burbank (2011) adds present-day analysis to this research.

The fourth category of authors are neoliberal. Noel Pearson (2000) is a lawyer from the Bagaarmugu and Guggu Yalanji nations. His work elucidating a pro-austerity position as a solution to drug and alcohol issues in rural Indigenous communities is instructive to this project. McDonald (1982) is an ex-Communist Party member who writes in an ardently critical manner about the communist strategy and land rights. His work provides a counter-argument to the position that black-red alliances assisted land rights battles. While McDonald is virulently anti-land rights, his reflections are important to include, as they offer lucid summations against revolutionary strategies for sovereignty. This next segment will explain the format this investigation will take.

Research Road Map

This section of the investigation provides a guide to how this thesis will explore battles for self-determination in Bolivia and Australia. In Chapter One: *Struggles for Indigenous land rights in Bolivia and Australia in the neoliberal phase* battles for land rights are examined. Land rights are a key component for Indigenous self-determination. The chapter explores an apparent discord between Indigenous land rights and capitalism. It examines two significant strikes in Australia, one in the Pilbara, Western Australia in 1946 and the 1966 Wave Hill strike by the Gurindji in the Northern Territory and explores land rights struggles and victories in the neoliberal phase. This segment examines the actions of the Australian government in the neoliberal period (1980-current day) to assess if they are taking land from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

It also explores the ascendancy of current Bolivian president Evo Morales's party MAS and contrasts the Bolivian 'communitarian socialist' government's redistribution of land to Indigenous communities, to that of the Australian governments. Findings in this

research explore a possible disjuncture between the Bolivian government's Indigenous land reclamation policies, anti-neoliberal framework and developmental practices. The associations between Indigenous and socialist forces, known as 'black-red' alliances, in battles for land rights, is examined.

Chapter Two: *Songlines and memorias: battles around Indigenous culture in the fight for self-determination*, explores battles for cultural rights, the second prerequisite of a robust Indigenous sovereignty model. Colonial governments have attempted to assimilate Indigenous people into settler structures and norms. Therefore, campaigns to retain and recover language, customary practices and laws, ceremony, songlines and cosmologies, are critical empowerment areas of struggle. Cultural practices also contribute to Indigenous health, wellbeing and resilience. Conversely, colonial settler state elites also depoliticise and appropriate Indigenous culture for the capitalist market and establishment propagandistic purposes. This chapter examines decolonising programs, battles for new constitutions and campaigns for identity reclamation and language rights. The effects of neoliberalism in both nations will be examined. An exploration of Indigenous cultural principles will examine the divergences between Indigenous ontologies and neoliberalism's philosophical tenets. This chapter examines debates within Indigenous communities around the positive or negative aspects of an Indigenous state.

Chapter Three: *Empowerment projects for self-determination: self-governance battles in Bolivia and Australia under neoliberalism* explores campaigns for governance structures for Indigenous peoples in Australia and Bolivia. It explores the nature of self-determination and sovereignty. It examines and compares pre-invasion Indigenous kinship structures in Bolivia and Australia, and their post-colonial formations. It makes an assessment of how neoliberalism affected Indigenous communities in Australia and Bolivia and explores key battles for self-governance. It investigates battles in the neoliberal period that have furthered sovereign power and explores economic sovereignty measures employed by the Bolivian government. It develops the discussion around the role of Indigenous peoples in the governing state apparatus. In examining Bolivia's communitarian socialist, plurinational governance structures this chapter explores the history of socialists' support for federated, autonomous bodies. It examines coup threats the Bolivia's Indigenous governance project has survived and the creative tensions and criticism the government faces around mineral wealth development.

In the conclusion, common themes from both resistance struggles will be explored. Conclusions will be drawn about Bolivia's Indigenous governance 'black-red' experiment

and the 'black-red' alliances in Australia, along with comparing the strengths of both Australian and Bolivian Indigenous battles for self-determination.

Chapter One

Struggles for Indigenous land rights in Bolivia and Australia in the neoliberal phase

To explore and compare Indigenous land rights battles in Bolivia and Australia, this section examines an apparent discord between capitalism and Indigenous relationship to land and community. It contrasts Britain's and Spain's colonial strategies of domination and key moments of Indigenous resistance to it. Additionally, this chapter contrasts the Bolivian 'communitarian socialist' government redistribution of land to Indigenous communities, to that of Australian government's policies in the neoliberal phase. Findings in this research point to a disjuncture between the Bolivian government's Indigenous land reclamation policies, anti-neoliberal framework and developmental practices. It explores claims the Bolivian government is not genuinely implementing pro-Indigenous land reforms. Finally, in comparing land rights battles in Bolivia and Australia, the associations between Indigenous and socialist forces, known as 'black-red' alliances, are examined.

Colonisation and capitalism's land-centred project

This section of the investigation examines the colonial settler strategy in Bolivia and Australia. An exploration of the nature of colonialism demonstrates an incompatibility between that strategy and Indigenous land rights. The development of the early mercantilist system was inextricably tied up with the plunder of the Americas. Rich European nations occupied poorer nations in the 16th century and up till the 20th century. Spain colonised Latin America in the 1500s and Britain's colonial invasion of Australia began in 1788. By the early 1900s, about 85 per cent of the Earth's land was under Europe's direct colonial domination (Said 1979, p 41). Colonisation's voracious appetite ravaged Indigenous communities through political and military assault (Mander and Tauli-Corpuz, 2006 p.14).

Acting in accordance with the expansive drive of early capitalism, colonisers in both Bolivia and Australia imposed colonial settler-states. Patrick Wolfe defines these states as a 'land-centered project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment, with a view to eliminating Indigenous societies' (Wolfe 2006. p. 393). Expansionist feudalism precipitated capitalism's expansion, at the expense of Indigenous collective land practices. Karl Marx noted the 'enslavement and

entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production' (Marx 1867 p. 531). The economic structure of capitalist society grew out of the social order of feudal society, and was replicated in colonisation projects.

Britain's assault on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities was rapacious. Colonial forces invaded Australia — the world's sixth-largest country by total area — when the Aboriginal population had grown to approximately 1.2 million people (Williams 2013, para 8). Britain's aim was to achieve the exclusive occupation of land to expand their colony (Wolfe 2006 p. 93). Occupying governing bodies dispossessed communities from their land, declaring Australia legally empty under the doctrine of *terra nullius*.

Attacks against First Nations people proceeded through three phases: physical killings, protectionism and finally assimilation policies. The frontier wars began the colonial assault, followed by mass imprisonment, slavery and language suppression. Assimilation included circumventing Aboriginal marriages and stealing children (Maddison 2009 p. 5). Britain's attempted genocide of First Australians was so extreme that 'by 1933 First Nation numbers had declined to less than 10% of the likely 1788 figure' (Jupp 2001 p.153). Nonetheless, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities survived British frontier homicide, established civil and land rights movements in the mid-20th century and currently make up 2.8% of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017, para 1).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities settled Australia's large expanse 65,000 years ago (Weule, James 2017, para 1) while in comparison, Bolivia's Indigenous people first inhabited western-central South America '21,000 years ago' (Ladman 1982, p. 15). Christopher Columbus sailed to the Bahamas, Cuba and Hispaniola in 1492, precipitating Spain's invasion and occupation of Latin America. An estimated '70 million Indians lived in Latin America when Columbus sailed towards its shores thinking he had found a back door to Asia. A century and a half later, there were just 3.5 million' (Dryburgh 2011, para 5). Bolivia was rich in silver, and to extract its wealth the Spanish Crown authorised enslavement, carried out mass murder and 'history's largest act of larceny' (Fuentes 2012, para 8).

Both Britain's and Spain's colonial projects amounted to what American pan-Africanist Du Bois called 'a global belt of white supremacies' (Kramer 2016 p.246) attacking Indigenous land rights, culture and self-governance structures as barriers to progress. Contemporary Aboriginal and Bolivian Indigenous land rights battles are waged against this

racist colonial heritage. The colonial phase has been replaced by advanced capitalism which impoverishes the world's Indigenous population within exploiter and exploited nations. Capitalism's recent neoliberal phase is designed 'for exclusively short-term gain ... and unfortunately their target for resources are all too often on native lands' (Mander and Tauli-Corpuz, 2006 p.3).

Capitalism institutes a range of anti-collectivist processes and works against Indigenous land stewardship. Geographer David Harvey identifies the system's land grab as 'the commodification and privatization of land — forceful expulsion of peasant populations; conversion of various forms of property rights — common, collective, state, etc. — into exclusive private property rights' (Harvey 2009, p. 74). Moreover, the market-orientated system of production and distribution led to a 'suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative, indigenous, forms of production and consumption' (ibid, p. 74). This privatisation of common land is hostile to Indigenous land practice, argues Aboriginal activist Roxley Foley.

The question of land and people being connected and inseparable kind of seems like a given. I think that division is very much a modern neo-capitalist creation usually to divorce people from that perception, so land can be extorted and used for gain. I mean if we look at even every European, even British history, land was considered the commons of the people and the people's duty to protect and administer so that's a very modern change even when you look at white society (R. Foley, personal communication, June 18, 2016).

Similarly, Bolivian Indigenous identity is deeply embedded in caring for their homelands. Bolivia's Indigenous philosophical and spiritual approach, *pachamama*, is a theoretical and practical framework of attending to their estates. Activist Luis.A Gomez explored Indigenous peasants' views on this approach:

The *pachamama* is the mother from which we come ... the *pachamama* is everything that exists in our habitat. ... It's what sustains us and everything around us ... is the mother who gives to us, and you can't exploit her. The *pachamama* punishes such exploitation (Webber 2011a, p. 284).

Against the colonial and capitalist settler drive on their land, Indigenous people in Bolivia and Australia fought back. This next section of the study explores this resistance.

Early land rights battles in Bolivia

Upon invading indigenous Incan land in the mid-1500s, the Spanish attempted to destroy their state apparatus, steal their land and decimate their population. Spain conducted 'the largest demographic destruction in human history' (Eakin 2007, p. 59), co-opted a layer

of compliant Incan nobility, enslaved the remainder of the Incas and their descendants, forcing 'tribute' on the living and the dead (Galeano 1973, p. 49). Land vacated by indigenous people through murder, illness and attempts to escape enslavement were

quickly absorbed by the wealthier Spaniards and a new class, the *hacendados*. Initially obtaining their labour from the mobile population of Indian servants known as *yanacondas*, the Spaniards soon found that ex-originarios were more willing to work the Spanish estates in exchange for usufruct land use (Eakin 2007, p. 61).

Indeed, rather than destroying indigenous forms of territorial organisation, the Spanish Conquest subordinated them to its own interests. Klein (2005) argues many ancient

ayllus came to be known as *comunidades* (communities) according to the old medieval Spanish usage of the term. The caciques or heads of the *ayllus* became known as *taseros* (assessors) and had the task of collecting taxes from the indigenous subjects of the Crown (as cited in Kay & Urioste 2005 p. 2).

Fighting off these co-opting strategies, the first major Indigenous-led land rights battle in Bolivia was the daring 'Great Rebellion of Peru and Upper Peru'. It was a fight that almost defeated Spain. Led by Aymara leaders Tupac Katari (originally Julian Apaza) and wife Bartolina Sisa in 1781, '40,000 Indigenous troops laid siege to Spain's Viceroyalty of Peru from El Alto, Bolivia's highest town' (Hylton Thomson 2007, p. 13). Katari and Sisa's army killed 10,000 occupiers, leading what is described as 'Bolivia's first revolutionary phase' (Hylton and Thomson 2007, p.17). Bolivian Indigenous people fought valiantly against the 1524 Spanish invasion, but were unable to defeat the more technologically superior invaders. While not victorious, Katari and Sisa's sacrifice is being remembered by the current Morales-led government, in a campaign to facilitate cultural dignity (Burbano 2008, para 7).

Bolivia won independence from Spain and formed a republic in 1825. But this government was anti-Indigenous, with the state 'explicitly deny[ing] citizenship rights to the indigenous population which, at that time, represented 80 per cent of the Bolivian population' (Kay and Urioste 2005, p.2). However, pre-colonial land tenure forms still prevail today, more than 500 years later, in some parts of the western Andes, where there are significant overlaps between existing local, political administrative and territorial structures (*provincias, cantones, secciones, municipios*) and the earlier territorial forms of organisation (*senorios, ayllus, markas*). (ibid).

The Bolivian revolution of 1952 was the next significant phase in Bolivia's land rights battles. A workers and peasants revolution, it 'led to an agrarian reform that broke up the hacienda system in the Andean highlands, which had bound much of the Indian population to the land in virtual servitude. (Burbach 2009, para 7). However, its effectiveness was contradictory, and in the 1960s and early 1970s 'a new pastoralist class built on sugar

cane and cotton farming, as well as logging the native rain forests, challenged Indigenous land ownership' (Burbach, 2009, para 9). Activists escalated their struggles in this period, assisted by progressive and communist forces.

In the 1960s, an Indigenous resistance, *katarismo*, formed. It reflected a synergising of revolutionary socialist currents and Indianist anti-colonial politics — a stronger form of Australia's nascent black-red alliance. Named after Tupac Katari, this political current was rooted in the migration of landless Indigenous Aymaras to the cities. The political instrument forged in this period was the Partido Indio de Bolivia (Indian Party of Bolivia, PIB — Spanish spelling), established in 1968 by Fausto Reinaga. He 'criticised the use of *mestizaje* [mixed race] as a national revolutionary ideology and placed colonialism and the "Indian question" at the heart of his radical reinterpretation of Bolivia's past, present and future' (Hylton and Thomson, 2007, p. 87). The origins of Morales' political party MAS can be traced back to this militant current.

The next element of this investigation explores similarities in early land rights resistance by Indigenous communities in Australia.

Early land rights battles in Australia

First Nation communities in early British colonialism led similar battles against their oppressors. Britain legitimised robbing Aboriginal land by claiming 'crown ownership' and 'leasing' the land to pastoralists (Taylor 1997 p. 8). Pemulwuy was a key Indigenous resistance leader in the Botany Bay area. He was a spiritual leader, defined as a 'clever-man' by his community. He led a twelve-year fight against Britain's invading troops and united three tribes in resistance. A more detailed exploration of early Indigenous resistance to colonial England merits further study, but this project can only briefly note that early resistance was heroic, sustained and varied.

Within the colonial settler state social order, pastoralists were both the shock troops and the rising elite class. This landed elite fought Aboriginal communities for fertile grounds and in many cases became vigilante 'death squads' (Taylor 1997 p. 8). Dispossessed Aboriginal people were forced to become stock workers in slave-like conditions on agricultural properties, in many cases receiving no cash wages at all.

This was the situation for Aboriginal workers on Western Australia's (WA) Pilbara sheep farms. Between 1946 and 1949 Aboriginal labourers, fought back (Read and Coppin 2014, p. 53) and organised a seminal strike. A commendable two hundred law men from

twenty-three Aboriginal groups gathered in Skull Springs on 1942 and after six weeks' discussion a consensus was reached to begin a strike on May 1, after the end of World War II (Hess 1994 p. 68). Aboriginal militants, Clancy McKenna, Dooley Bin Bin and Nyamal Elder Peter 'Kangushot' Coppin from the Pilbara, led this seminal fight. To quell the strike, police 'seized Aboriginal strikers at revolver point who were put in chains' (Foley and Anderson, 2006, p. 86). While demanding better pay and conditions, the fight raised issues about freedom from racist 'protection' boards and land rights. Police suppression of the strike was brutal; strikers were arrested and imprisoned under 'legislation that made it illegal to "entice" Aboriginal workers from their employment' (Haskins and Scrimgeour, 2015, p. 96) (Foley and Anderson, 2006, p. 86).

In organising support for the strike, Aboriginal militants allied with progressives and communists who opposed inequities within the capitalist system (Latner 2005, 112). The Pilbara strikers hosted discussions with the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), which was 'at the forefront of the few organisations pushing for a better national deal for Aboriginal people ... and it offered backing and support' for the strike' (Read and Coppin, 2014 p. 53). The black-red alliance (campaign coalitions between Indigenous and communist forces) was strong enough to strike a blow against the interests of the pastoralists and government backers. The role of non-Aboriginal, communist unionist Don McLeod appeared critical. He was also arrested during the strike under the law against enticing Aboriginal workers from their place of employment but was freed when Aboriginal strikers marched on the prison where he was held (Foley 2010, para 19). The Communist Party used Don McLeod's standing as a white supporter and gathered assistance from union and 'women's groups in Perth who protested to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization in New York' (Haskins and Scrimgeour, 2015, p. 96).

The Pilbara strikers won their battle in 1946, when the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission granted Aboriginal employees in the 'Northern Territory the same terms and conditions as non-Aboriginal employees' (ibid). The Pilbara militants won the first major victory for Aboriginal rights. This inspired the next seminal wages and land rights battle — the Gurindji strike. The communists' assistance to the Pilbara strike developed standing among the community and is the next focus of this research. Land rights battles in Bolivia and Australia appear to be aided by black-red alliances. The following section of the research explores these relationships, the momentous Gurindji strike and its leadership.

Black-red alliances and the Gurindji strike

The battle of the Gurindji stockmen for wages and land occurred in the lead up to the neoliberal phase as Aboriginal activists intensified land rights, cultural and political struggles. The strike is widely described as the most formative battle for land in the modern-day land rights movement. In rural Australia the landed elite paid ‘poor wages to Aboriginal stock workers, often paying them late, provided substandard housing and meals, and sexually abused Aboriginal women’ (Attwood 2000 p.9). These injustices sparked the Wave Hill Station strike in 1966 of the Gurindji people, in the Northern Territory (NT).

To weaken the fight, the NT Cattle Producers Council and NT government attempted to discredit the campaign and sow divisions within its ranks. They claimed the strikes were engineered by communists using Aborigines for political purposes (Attwood 2000 p.4). The strikers and their supporters demanded land rights in May 1967, relocating to ‘Wattie Creek, naming the new settlement Daguragu’ (Martin 1995, para 10). When the Gurindji reoccupied their traditional land at Daguragu, land rights became an important issue, challenging the fundamental tenant of the colonial settler paradigm. State control of land through pastoral leases was confronted and the idea of transferring it back into the collective stewardship of Indigenous Australians was popularised. The communist-led NSW Builders Labourers Federation contributed financially to the Gurindji strike, and the union ‘became closely involved with the Sydney black movement from the late 1960s onwards’ (Burgmann M and V, 1998 p. 136). Frank Hardy, Communist Party member and author of *The Unlucky Australians* (1968), was a key collaborator, assisting in formulating the strike’s demands and publicising it on the national news (Ward 2012 p. 218). This seminal fight, fortified by a black-red alliance, led to a wave of successful land title claims.

The Gurindji led a heroic nine-year fight — the longest strike in Australia’s history. It was a watershed moment when, in August 1975 Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam poured sand into the hands of Gurindji leader Vincent Lingiari, ‘to signify the return of part of the Gurindji’s traditional lands’ (Martin 1995, para 10). In the wake of the strike, the Whitlam government introduced the country’s first *Racial Discrimination Act*, ended the White Australia Policy and ‘formally abandoned a policy of assimilation’ (Gibson 2013, para 19). These early campaigns paved the way for the land rights gains of the 20th century.

Research participant Ken Canning commented on the positive relationship between Aboriginal communities and communists. However, he mentions a tendency for the party to try to control the movement.

Go back historically. ... We had the Communist Party right behind us. They tried to control the movement, but they were right behind us. They walked hand in hand with us. The Communist Party, it's always been the far left and people who are seen as weirdo or wacko or whatever, who have been there (Canning personal communication June 22, 2016).

A more critical assessment on the role of communists in Aboriginal rights campaign has been posited by ex-Communist Party member Geoff McDonald. He argues communists were exploiting Indigenous people (McDonald 1982 p. 9). Communists in the Aboriginal rights campaigns offered no agency or leadership to Aboriginal communities, McDonald claims. This was because the communist strategy reflected their Marxist outlook. 'Marxists,' stated McDonald 'are revolutionaries with a singleness of purpose, fighting for a definite objective about which there can be no compromise. This objective is a separate black nation' (McDonald 1982 p. 34). Indeed, Indigenous self-determination necessitates community autonomy in decision-making. A controlling approach cannot facilitate such autonomy. Ken Canning agrees that the Communist party 'tried to control the movement'. However, 'they were right behind us' (Canning personal communication June 22, 2016). This reflects a tension within the Communist Party's approach to supporting Aboriginal self-government.

So far, the examinations of Indigenous resistance in Bolivia and Australia against the forces of colonial and early capitalism, indicate anti-systemic trajectories. Battles waged by Bolivian and Australia's Indigenous communities in the mid-20th Century laid the basis for strong land rights claims in the current phase. To assess the strength of land rights battles today, this next section of research will explore critical land rights battles in the neoliberal phase in Bolivia and Australia.

Land Rights battles in the pre-neoliberal phase in Bolivia and Australia

The capitalism of the early colonial period has been superseded by a more entrenched and organised system of neoliberal capitalist dominance that operates globally (Amin 2014 p. 4). Tauli-Corpuz, the current UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, explored capitalism's incompatibility with Indigenous values. She noted: 'Indigenous people are being pressured to permit conversion of our economic systems into the capitalist framework of high productivity and profitability, which are not primary values we share' (Mander and Tauli-Corpuz 2006, p. 18). In the lead-up to the neoliberal period in Bolivia and Australia, Indigenous movements grew stronger.

Bolivian Indigenous forces consolidated from the 1970s and 1980s onwards, with political left forces cohering and with the rise of the *Coca Wars* — a land rights and anti-

imperialist campaign. The Coca Wars battles were led by Bolivian Indigenous militants and have their origins in the government's incursions against the mining industry. In 1985, President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada closed the state-run tin mining company putting more than 20,000 miners out of work (Dangl 2007, p.38). This weakened the militant, communist-led Central Obrera Boliviana (Bolivian Workers' Center, COB — Spanish spelling). The tin mines had been 'nationalised after a popular revolution in Bolivia's historic 1952' (Finnegan 2002, para 15) and were characterised as being worked by 'the core of Latin America's most combative proletariat in the second half of the twentieth century' (Hylton 2003, para 4). Miners left the mining region, with many residing in either El Alto or nearby Los Yungas and Chapare.

Many of the predominately Indigenous miners turned to coca growing to make a living (Fuentes 2006 para 6). By 1989, Bolivia produced enough coca paste to make 286 tons of cocaine, and in 1988, *Law 1008* made traffickers guilty until proven innocent (Hylton 2003, para 5). The United States (US) eradicated coca plants and murdered unionists. Former mining unionists counter-organised and waged a *Coca No Es Cocaína* (Coca is not Cocaine) campaign. Steeped in 'their own brand of miner unionism' (Fuentes 2014, p.9), the *cocalero* regions became epicentres of resistance, influenced by traditions of militancy. In 1988-90, the coca growers' movement, 200,000-strong, established itself as the vanguard of resistance to imperialism in Bolivia. Vital to Bolivia's future self-determination project, Indigenous activist Evo Morales emerged as a leader of the coca unionists (Fuentes 2014, p.9).

The Coca Wars put pressure on the conservative president Lozada's government (1993 to 1997) to enact the *National Agrarian Reform Service Law (1996)*, INRA, which 'encouraged the formation of collectives in indigenous communities ... as well as attempting to finally define productive use of land and determine the legality of various categories of land titles' (Council on Hemispheric Affairs 2007, para 4). The Coca Wars provided the inspiration for the next social movement explosions against the neoliberal privatisation agenda, the Water and Gas Wars. These movements provided a powerful anti-corporate nexus, consolidating into a strong black-red alliance.

In Australia, land rights battles in the 20th century (Pilbara and Gurindji), elicited significant land rights victories from the 1960s onwards. Professor Jon Altman elucidates:

...[I]n 1788 Indigenous nations possessed the entire continent. Then during a prolonged period of land grab from 1788 to the late 1960s Indigenous peoples were dispossessed. But then from the late 1960s, there has been an extraordinary period of rapid legal repossession and restitution (Altman 2014, para 8) (Appendix 1).

Michael Mansell, Palawa descendent from the Trawlwoolway and Pinterraier group and leader of the Australian Provisional Government notes: ‘Aborigines currently own, or have native title to, 2.3 million square kilometres of land, or 31% of Australia’s land mass’ (Mansell 2015, para 5). However, ‘ownership remains heavily skewed in favour of remote Australia and away from densely settled Australia where land is more commercially productive, and where Aboriginal people have been more thoroughly dispossessed’ (Altman and Hinkson 2010 p. 263-264) (Appendix 2). Indeed, out of three forms of Aboriginal land tenure, two are weak. Non-exclusive possession ‘provides a weak form of property rights that need to be shared with other interests, most commonly commercial rangeland pastoralism’ (Altman and Hinkson 2010, p. 263-264) (Appendix 1). Land has not been granted in optimal areas. Most land title, ‘94 per cent has been granted in Western Australia ... places where few people — Aboriginal or not — choose to or could live. There is no exclusive Native Title land in the ACT, Tasmania and Victoria and only 5 square kilometres in New South Wales’ (Gosford 2016, para 11). Agreements in mineral rich areas favour corporations over Aboriginal communities. Indeed, mining and extractive activities rarely benefit communities (Howlett, Seini, McCallum, Osborne, p.317).

After the Gurindji strike, another critical point in land rights battles in Australia was the fight waged by Torres Strait Islander Eddie ‘Koiki’ Mabo. The federal *Native Title Act 1993* was passed after a ten-year legal campaign about Eddie Mabo’s Mer (Murray Island) land title rights. In early campaigning Mabo collaborated with the Communist Party, recognising their non-paternalistic approach (Loos 1997, p. 111). The High Court finally upheld claims to Mabo’s tribal lands and overturned ‘the doctrine of *terra nullius*, which assumed that Australia was unoccupied at the time of British settlement’ (Hill 1995, para 1). The victory removed the colonialist legal lie and ‘Australian law finally recognised that Indigenous people were actually here and that we had a system of laws and governance’ (Behrendt 2006, para 2).

Mining companies saw Mabo as a significant threat and ran a scare campaign. ‘*Business Review Weekly* ran a cover which screamed: "Aboriginal Takeover". And the cover of the May 1993 *Australian Farm Journal* asks "Land Rights: Is Your Farm Under Threat?"’ (Boyle, 1997, para 3). Accordingly, the pro-mining Howard government (1996-2007) narrowed the circumstances under which communities could claim title. They could claim only if ‘they can demonstrate traditional rights to the land and occupation according to traditional law, they have not moved (or been forced) off the land, and, the Crown has not extinguished native title’ (Boyle 1993, para 6). The Mabo victory was an important step in

recognising Indigenous land management and collective ownership of land. But the victory was double-edged. Indigenous activist Gary Foley explained:

Judges decided that 'native title' existed in 1788, and therefore must 'survive' today in those parts of Australia where freehold title did not exist. This finding meant that in all the main populated areas of Australia where freehold title of land predominates, the Aboriginal people had been dispossessed, without compensation, and had little or no chance of succeeding in any native title claims. This aspect of the Mabo decision represents the greatest single act of dispossession in Australian history since 1788 (Foley 1997, para 14).

As part of a neoliberal pushback against land rights' victories of the 1970s, state and federal governments developed native title systems that use absurdist frameworks of 'continual connections with land'. Erecting significant barriers for Indigenous land reclamation, communities

have to participate in a Western legal process that requires institutional codification of traditions and customs. ... For example, Section 3 of the Aboriginal Lands rights NT Act requires Aboriginal people demonstrate that they are a local descent group with primary spiritual affiliation for sacred rights entitled as a right to forage over the land claimed. ... And they have to prove the maintenance of connection with land and waters since colonisation. Through these requirements Indigenous Australians have become trapped in the Western legal definition of authenticity to gain formal title to their ancestral lands and the onus is on them to prove this (Altman 2009, 12:50-13:40).

For example, the land claim of the Yorta Yorta people, based in north-east Victoria and southern New South Wales, failed on appeal in 2002. The High Court determined that the claimant's traditional connection to their land had been 'washed away by the tides of history' (Maddison 2005, p. 120). Proving connection with land is difficult when colonial dispossession has resulted in 70% of Aboriginal people living in urban areas (ibid, p. 120), where land title claims are practically impossible to win.

Both early Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Bolivian Indigenous resistance show an inherent Indigenous antagonism towards the occupying landed and political elites' interests. The seminal Pilbara and Gurindji battles in Australia, and Bolivia's early resistance to colonial Spain culminating in the heroic Rebellion of Peru and Upper Peru, indicate Indigenous land rights are in natural opposition to colonial ideas and political practice. Similarly, within the more recent neoliberal phase, a period of capitalism that incorporates a particularly voracious global system of private accumulation and ideological political propaganda, Indigenous land rights battles in Bolivia and Australia face major hurdles. The comparative investigation in the next section will explore neoliberalism and its effect on land rights battles.

Land rights in the neoliberal period

Recent battles for Indigenous land rights in Bolivia and Australia are waged against neoliberalism. To appreciate the barriers facing Indigenous communities in both nation-states in reclaiming their stolen lands, this segment explores the origins and nature of neoliberalism and its political expression

Neoliberalism is a recent phase of capitalism, characterised by attacks on welfare, social spending and privatisation of government infrastructure and assets. It represents an accelerated attack on Indigenous land, culture, workers and the subaltern. Under neoliberalism everything either is for sale. Or plundered for profit.

Public lands are looted by logging companies and corporate ranchers; politicians willingly hand the public's airwaves over to powerful broadcasters, and large corporate interests without a dime going into the public trust. ... Giroux 2005, p. 2).

Bolivia is geographically positioned close to the origins of neoliberalism. Scholars Connell and Dados argue neoliberalism originated in South America. They posit 'the most influential accounts of neoliberalism are grounded in the social experience of the global North, which is in fact only a fragment of the story' (Connell and Dados, 2014 p.121). The civil-military dictatorship in Chile turned to neoliberal policies in 1974, as General Pinochet consolidated power. By 'the time Reagan came to power in the United States, neoliberal moves were already proliferating around the global periphery' (Connell and Dados, 2014 p.121).

Neoliberalism antagonises the Indigenous cooperativist ethic. Research interviewee Odalis Zuazo confirms an Indigenous hostility to neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is based on consumption and this is the main difference. This is our life focus ... those who consume what is needed ... and those who consume for consumerism ... the Indigenous (cosmovision) is not consumerist (Zuazo, personal communication, May 22, 2016).

In Australia in the neoliberal period, the elite launched an assault against Indigenous land rights. Prime Minister John Howard and the *National Northern Territory Emergency Response Act (2007)* (Northern Territory Intervention) attacked the strongest land rights Act. Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Mal Brough justified the intervention through capital's rubric. '[I]t is individual property rights that drive economic development. The days of the failed collective are over' (Maddison 2015, p. 34). The government invaded Aboriginal communities with the army and introduced the

quarantining of a proportion of welfare income; suspension of the need for permits for entry to prescribed Indigenous areas; the abolition of the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP); the compulsory acquisition of townships through five-year leases (Lattas and Morris 2010, p. 15).

Howard's Intervention destroyed the fundamental collectivist tenets of the pioneering *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act (1976)* (ALRA), which was drafted following the Gurindji strike. The ALRA 'returned approximately 50 per cent of the land area of the Northern Territory to its traditional owners, instituting a form of freehold title that enables communal land ownership and expressly rejects the concept of private property ownership' (Stringer 2007, para 10). The ALRA was historic, albeit positioned in a Western capitalist legal frame (Watson 2009 30, 31). Howard's Intervention increased health problems of Aboriginal communities, suicide rates, incarceration rates and domestic violence. Widely opposed, many critics of the NT Intervention's argue its purpose is a takeback of Aboriginal lands (Watson 2009, p.46). The Intervention implemented the Shared Responsibility Agreements provision for 99-year leases over Aboriginal land. This made 'many Aboriginal people really scared that they may have to give up their land on a ninety-nine-year lease in order to receive essential services' (Maddison, 2008, p. 56). Solidifying a commodified property paradigm, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) endorsed the Intervention. ALP Prime Minister Julia Gillard (2010-2013), extended the policy for another decade, in the 'Stronger Futures' legislation (Murphy 2012, para 5). In 2017, the former Human Rights Commissioner, Gillian Triggs called the Intervention a 'crushing failure'. Triggs noted 'we've had a 500% rise in Indigenous youth suicide since the years 2007-11' (Zhou 2017, para 2).

In contrast, in the neoliberal period, from 2005 onwards, Bolivian Indigenous communities benefited from extensive agrarian reform implemented by the MAS government. President Evo Morales was the first Indigenous president elected in Bolivia's history with 53.7% of the vote. Morales led a 'government of the social movements' (Stefanoni 2005, para 16). The government nationalised gas, electricity, the telecommunication system, water, zinc and tin (The Economist 2013, para 2). Sections of the government proposed a 'communitarian socialist' Bolivia, (Burbach, Fox, Fuentes 2013, p. 80) and prioritised distributing land to Indigenous communities. Evo Morales was key to these reforms. He was steeped in the lessons of the Coca Wars, did not attend university, refused business suits and when young, was driven to eat lemon peel to abate hunger. With 65% of Bolivians over 15 years of age identifying as Indigenous in 2005 (Comision Economica para America Latina y el Caribe 2001 p.32) Morales's indigenous pride captured the imagination of the population. His government guaranteed the territorial and cultural rights of thirty-six Indigenous nations.

The MAS government passed the Agrarian Reform bill on November 29, 2006 with thousands of indigenous protesters and peasants marching on La Paz to demand its passage (Carroll 2006, para 5). The bill aimed to undo the injustice of ‘70% of the land belonging to 5% of the population’ (Paz 2007, para 4). The 2006 agrarian revolution handed over roughly 9600 square miles of state-owned land to Indigenous communities, an area around three-quarters the size of Britain (Carroll 2006, para 3) and with individuals being deprioritised over communities (Smith 2006, para 2).

Unlike the Australian government’s attack on Indigenous communities, Morales consolidated the recognition of 298 Indigenous territories in his first year in office, through the development of Tierra Comunitaria de Origen, the Community Lands of Origin (TCO — Spanish acronym) (Mendoza 2012, para 10). These territories had been formally designated by governments since the 1990s after large marches of poor, Indigenous people demanded civic acknowledgement. Enrique Castana Ballivian recalls:

Between the 1980s and 1990s you saw marches of people from the lowlands to La Paz ... to be heard. To reclaim their territories and achieve, for example, not getting their lands to be taken away and have their community/original lands ... so that no one can touch them and share them with others from the outside. So these have been the greatest struggles of lands (Ballivian personal communication May 25, 2016).

To redistribute the land, Morales attacked the extreme concentration of land ownership in the hands of a small oligarchy. Bolivia contains ‘over 180 million hectares of arable land’ (Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 2007, para 4). Between ‘1953 to 1992 agribusiness controlled 39.42 million hectares of land and peasant and Indigenous communities just 17.6 million hectares’ (Ministerio de Comunicacion 2015, p.60).

Comparatively, for Aboriginal communities in the neoliberal phase, land rights battles were set-back by the NT Intervention and a further land grab. In November 2014 the WA Liberal government, supported by the Federal government, announced the closure of 150 Aboriginal communities, which were home to an estimated 12,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (NITV News 2015, para 2). The South Australian (SA) government also declared it would close 70 remote Aboriginal communities.

A mass protest movement erupted. Led by a new #sosblakaustralia movement, on March 19, April 10 and May 1, 2015, thousands of people rallied across Australia (Bainbridge 2015, para 1), with seventy-eight locations taking action against the closures, including in more than ten sites across the world (#sosblakaustralia 2015, para 4). The federally-based Australian Council of Trade Union (ACTU) condemned the proposed closures, calling ‘on the federal government to restore funding’ (McQuire 2015, para 4).

Commentators suggest the proposed closures were to aid mining companies' explorations for coal and gas. Mineral extraction technology advances mean mining companies are exploring land deemed worthless twenty years ago. Companies are investigating 'over 120,000 km² for shale gas ... that would be extracted by "fracking", and more than 10,000 km² for bauxite. ... The region is also facing exploration for oil, iron ore, copper, diamonds, rare earths, lead, zinc and uranium' (Environs Kimberley, 2013, para 4). However, protests to stop the WA and SA community closures were powerful and successful. Governments were forced to retreat on WA and SA community closures. (Whiting, Gage, 2015, para 4) (Stein 2015, para 5).

In comparison to the Australian government's assault on Indigenous land, Bolivia's agrarian reform package prioritised distributing to Indigenous communities. The following segment of this investigation will explore Bolivia's land reform.

Bolivia's agrarian reforms

The reform resulted in '[O]ne-third of all regularized [government reclaimed – ed] land ... collectively by Indigenous and peasant organizations in the form of self-governing Native Community Lands (TCOs or TIOCs) — primarily, but by no means exclusively, in Bolivia's eastern lowlands' (Achtenberg 2013, para 10). The Bolivian Senate passed a measure 'authorizing the government to present land titles to 60 indigenous communities, accounting for a total of almost 3 million hectares' (Burbach 2009, para 5). The measures resulted in 'peasants and Indigenous communities hold[ing] 88 million acres of titled land (55%), more than double the amount they controlled in 1992' (ibid).

Enrique Castana Ballivian said 'what the Evo Morales government did was actually to give titles to these indigenous territories more than any other government and that was very clear. ... I can say that Evo Morales was the one that consolidated the rights for Indigenous people' (Ballivian personal communication May 25, 2016).

Over the past decade, says Rural Development Minister Cesar Cocarico, access to land for peasants grew from 10 to 80 per cent. Within the same time period, 'access to land for the private sector fell from 70 to 20 per cent' (TeleSur 2017 para 7).

Morales initiated a process of forcing the landed barons to give up their land. In the undertakings, 'the government expropriates and then redistributes targeted land. ... At times, forcibly removing landed owners opposed to such reforms provokes pitched battles, even resulting in violence on both sides' (Council on Hemispheric Affairs 2007, para 16). By some

estimates, it ‘seized around 25 million acres from owners who ... failed to demonstrate a productive or legal use of their land, including several high-profile cases involving debt servitude, fraudulent deeds, or obvious lack of investment by conservative political opponents’ (Achtenberg 2013, para 7).

Bolivia’s Indigenous and peasant communities now dominate Bolivia’s land titles. Agribusinesses and the landed barons are being forced to return untilled fields. Currently, ‘businessmen only control 7.5 million hectares. Peasants and “intercultural” holders control 19 million hectares and “Indigenous Territories and original peasants” (TOCs) control 23.9 million hectares’ (Ministerio de Comunicacion 2015 p.60). Enrique Castana Ballivian agrees Morales’s land reform program is ground breaking.

During the government of Evo Morales in 2006 until now — what the Evo Morales government did was actually to give titles to these indigenous territories more than any other government and that was very clear ... I can say that Evo Morales was the one that consolidated the rights for Indigenous people (Ballivian personal communication May, 25, 2016).

Comparatively, Morales’s reforms were a profound offensive against the landed oligarchy, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait communities were defending their land against an assault. MAS’s land distribution policy held a range of contradictions. The next section will explore these.

Bolivia’s agrarian reform tensions

Has Morales’s agrarian reform consistently assisted Bolivia’s Indigenous people above the interests of the landed elite? Undeniably, the Morales government faced significant challenges in its efforts to prioritise indigenous and rights when it proposed to build a highway through the Isiboro Secure National Park and Indigenous Territory (TIPNIS — Spanish spelling) in 2011.

Located in the departments of Beni and Cochabamba, TIPNIS covers more than 1 million hectares of forest and was granted Indigenous territory status by the Morales government in 2009. About ‘12,000 people from three different indigenous groups live there in 64 communities’ (Fuentes 2011, para 3). The government began plans for the highway in 2011 but by August 2012 opposition to the project resulted in a march with ‘representatives from the TIPNIS Subcentral that unites these communities, as well as other indigenous groups ... to the capital city, La Paz to protest against the highway plan’ (ibid para 6). Pro-highway proponents arguing for the highway through TIPNIS point out that road construction in Bolivia is pressing. Neoliberal policies kept Bolivia deindustrialised with ‘infrastructure ...

rudimentary in much of the countryside: over 70 per cent of roads were unpaved, and in rural areas only a quarter of households had electricity' (Hylton and Thomson 2005, para 10). Against the highway through TIPNIS, an international petition from Avaaz called for the government to rescind its decision and 'condemned the Morales government for undermining indigenous rights' (ibid para 10).

An intense ideological contestation erupted over TIPNIS. Ardent critic of the Morales government, Canadian-based academic Jeffery Webber charged Morales of intimidation, 'the steamrolling of the rights to self-governance of indigenous communities resisting highway construction through their territory illustrates the coercive wing of the compensatory state in action' (Webber 2012, para 3). Webber has criticised the Morales government for rolling out policies, asserting MAS is 'a government of reconstructed neoliberalism' (Webber 2011, para 20). Renowned Latin American commentator James Petras also posited the Morales government is on a neoliberal course and Morales is a 'sell-out' (Fuentes 2006, para2). An opposing view argued by Vice-President Alvaro Garcia Linera is that international and nationally based anti-government NGOs led a green imperialist intervention against the highway project in TIPNIS. Examining the role of first-world-based NGOs in global south nations, Garcia commented 'while in the first world countries NGOs exist as part of civil society ... in the third world ... various NGOs are not really NON Governmental Organizations but Organizations of Other Governments on Bolivian territory ... constituting itself as a foreign power within the national territory' (Linera 2012 para 17).

Linera speaks to the fundamental tension of development within a post-capitalist, communitarian state situated in neoliberal global structures, fending off attacks from the international elite.

The TIPNIS issue appeared less critical after increased government consultation with Indigenous groups and a withdrawal from a rapid construction timeline. One key anti-TIPNIS opposition leader, Justa Cabrera, re-joined MAS in 2014 to help campaign for Morales in the federal elections (Achtenberg 2014, para 13). Enrique Castana Ballivian agrees the MAS government circumnavigated the crisis, adding 'I think the fact that the TIPNIS issue was so big and it demanded the attention of the President shows that the issue of sovereignty is taken more seriously than in any other country of the region at least that I know' (Ballivian personal communication May, 25, 2016). The road is touted to be constructed through the national park between 2015 and 2020.

The highway proposal through TIPNIS certainly raised challenges to Morales's claim that Indigenous rights dominate the government's agenda. However, other land reform and self-determining

measures have made Morales a highly favoured president. Morales's popularity over the past ten years has increased. Lowering his wage assisted. He cut the presidential wage and is currently the lowest paid President in Latin America, 'making US\$2090 a month' (TeleSur 2016b, para 4). Morales has won three general elections including a victory in 2014 with more than 60% of the vote (TeleSur 2016b, para 4). Compare this to Australia, where the major political parties' vote is at an all-time low, with more than a quarter of the population voting for a 'minor party or independent in the 2016 elections' (Hinman 2016, para 1).

A summary of Indigenous Bolivian and Australian land rights battles reveals similarities and differences. These will be examined in the next section.

Conclusion

Indigenous Bolivian and Australian Aboriginal cosmology have an intrinsic connection — a geospatial belief system and a holistic, profound interconnectedness that extends to kin, country and the natural world. Evidence within this study demonstrates that settler colonialists, pastoralists and capitalist governments dominate Indigenous lands and break this connection to land and community. The confrontation between Indigenous land rights and the commodified market is exacerbated under neoliberalism, a period of corporate expansion. Against this drive to profit from Indigenous territory, is the successful election of Bolivia's Evo Morales and substantial land distribution to Indigenous communities.

In comparison, Indigenous battles in Australia have wrested territory from the colonial state. However, while 30 per cent of territory remains in the hands of Australia's Indigenous communities, battles for land rights in Australia have not been as far-reaching as Bolivia's. Much of the land tenure in Indigenous hands is in a weak form and covers lands that local and international pastoralists and miners have rejected. Moreover, in the neoliberal period, territory won by Indigenous communities in the 20th Century, is under attack. The NT Intervention was an assault on land rights, followed by attempts to close remote WA and SA communities. Strong black-red alliances in Australia assisted land rights battles in the 20th century but were not powerful enough to stop the NT Intervention. However, the rise of the powerful #sosblakaustralia movement forced a retreat on proposed closures of the remote communities.

In Bolivia, strong social movements against neoliberalism led to the election of the Indigenous-led MAS government. Compare this to Australia, where Indigenous communities are waging defensive battles against government land grabs, and the population is still

electing establishment parties albeit through agreement with minor right-wing and progressive parties. Morales's party, MAS, forged on the back of the Coca, Gas and Water Wars and constructed with black-red political currents has distributed 55% more land to indigenous and peasant communities than they controlled in 1992. Developmental projects, such as TIPNIS, have tested the government's Indigenous-first claims, but Morales maintains his support among the Bolivian people. Indigenous trivalent logic — Aymaran plurivalence — offers a framework for assessing Bolivia's challenges and a flexible philosophical frame for understanding the Indigenous-led Bolivian government.

The MAS government has to both oppose market forces and relate to them, while trying to do neither. It has to develop Bolivia but refuse advances from developers. It has to trade on the international capitalist market, while agitating for its downfall. Bolivia's positive distribution of land to Indigenous communities suggests the ingredients needed to win battles for self-determination are an empowered Indigenous population and a cogent black-red alliance.

Chapter Two

Songlines and *memorias*: battles over Indigenous culture in the fight for self-determination

In assessing Indigenous self-determination battles, it is critical to appraise struggles to decolonise culture. Cultural rights are one of the three pillars of a robust Indigenous self-determination model. This chapter will assess and compare the strength of these battles in Bolivia and Australia.

Indigenous cultural practices can assuage the effects of colonial settler governments' assimilation programs, which seek to incorporate Indigenous peoples into dominant institutions, social norms and practices. Evidence concludes they enhance resilience, wellbeing and health outcomes (Grievies 2009). Therefore, the retention and recovery of language, customary practices, ceremonies, songlines, laws and cosmologies are important battle grounds. However, the neoliberal phase has also appropriated and commodified Indigenous art to blunt its political power.

This chapter will explore these tensions and contradictions. It will compare Indigenous Australia and Bolivia's ontologies to western liberal metaphysics and Marxism's tenets. It will contrast struggles over curriculums, language, colonial dates and constitutions, and battles to increase Indigenous identification. Finally, this chapter explores the black-red alliances that arise in Bolivia's battles for cultural self-determination.

Battling ethnocide

Decolonising culture is a vital Indigenous empowerment strategy because communities are combating a history and practice of ethnocide. This section of research will define this practice. Ethnocide is a strategy employed by colonial powers against Indigenous populations. The United Nations defines genocide as acts committed with 'intent to destroy, in whole, or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group' (United Nations, para 1). The overwhelming evidence is that both Britain and Spain carried out this vicious project against Indigenous peoples in the lands they occupied. Moreover, they perpetrated ethnocide against Indigenous communities. They denied First Nations people 'the right to enjoy, develop and transmit their own culture and ... language, whether individually or collectively' (Shaw 2015, p. 65). The fight to reclaim Indigenous identity and cultural expression is a battle

against genocide.

To assess battles for Indigenous cultural rights the next segment will explore key philosophical tenets within the colonial and anti-colonial strategies and compare colonialism's ideological justifications and its effect on Indigenous cosmologies.

Contested Cosmologies

As a project in activist methodology, this thesis utilises an empowerment-based theoretical frame. It applies a Marxist foundational approach, influenced by Indigenous ontologies. Hence, this section will also explore Indigenous cosmologies and compare them to Marxism's tenets.

Colonialism's murderous strategy was justified by supremacist ontologies which aimed to eliminate Indigenous ethics and values. Spanish conquistadors in Latin America demanded absolute fealty and justified enslavement utilising religious ideas. "If you do not 'recognize the Church and his Majesty the king as your rulers', we will war on you, take your wives and children away, dispose of your property and harm you like vassals who will not obey and refuse to receive their lord" (Moses 2004, p. 259).

Colonialism utilised a racist social Darwinist cosmological lens. Such a framework developed 'an ideology based in pseudoscience that posited the existence of superior and inferior races and considered non-whites to be intrinsically incapable of achieving modernity or progress' (Waskar 2014 p.34). Indeed, Charles Darwin travelled to Australia in 1836 and called Aboriginal people 'a set of harmless savages wandering about without knowing where they should sleep at night and gaining their livelihood by hunting in the woods.' (Darwin, 1996, p. 434). Yet, Darwin is also recorded as passionately opposing 'slavery and was highly critical of the conduct of the Portuguese and Spanish colonists towards Negroes and the indigenous Indian populations in South America' (Hawkins 1997, p. 36). However, a range of 'enlightenment' philosophers, inspired by Darwin, joined the racist colonial chorus. They were, notes Eduardo Galeano:

Voltaire, ... Bacon, De Maistre, Montesquieu, Hume and Bodi [who] declined to recognise the 'degraded men' of the New World as fellow humans. Hegel spoke of Latin America's physical and spiritual impotence and said Indians died when Europe merely breathed on them (ibid, 41).

Marxism, an intellectual development of liberalism, rejected the racism of modern philosophers.

In parallel to Spain's ideological assault on indigenous intellectual heritage, the British in Australia slandered First Nations to validate their invasion. They introduced the 'centuries-long doctrine that Australia was *terra nullius*, a land empty but for fauna and flora' (Tatz 1999 p.7). The occupiers denigrated Aboriginal people as 'wild animals, vermin, 'scarcely human, hideous to humanity, loathsome, and a nuisance...they were fair game for white sportsmen'(ibid, p. 16). An ideological battle was waged against Indigenous cosmologies. Western philosophers, by-and-large, became reliable soldiers in the cultural combat zone.

In contrast, Indigenous cosmologies contain a deep interconnection with kin and land. This serves to ingrain a sense of responsibility over community and clan, positioning community members as stewards over their lands, as custodians of the sea, sky and earth. Laws, ceremonies, songlines and traditional practices display a respectful interaction with their ecological surroundings. The environment and its elements are seen as other living beings to live alongside and revere. This sense of responsibility extends to relatives and kin. (Randall 2013). Indeed, 'Aboriginal ontology and epistemologies are deeply relational and communal (Grieves 2009 p. 7, 13).

Bolivian Indigenous principles echo Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ethics. Bolivia's Indigenous cosmology, *pachamama* (mother earth), is opposed to exploiting nature's reserves.

Additionally, the Bolivian Indigenous philosophical approach challenges a Western binary logic. Bolivian historian and social theorist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui describes the basis of Aymara trivalent logic as one that is 'opposed to Aristotelian binary logic ... Aymara philosophy is based on the "included third." A is not B, and B is not A'(Cusicanqui 2014 para 9).

Enrique Castana Ballivian elucidated:

I would say that particularly in Aymara/ Tacana culture I think that vision of the world is quite different with the Western and I will say that they do have a very profound philosophy in terms of considering what we call the trialectic which perhaps seems to be much more complicated than the dialectic right because in the Aymara and Tacana culture everything is in four (Ballivian personal communication May, 25, 2016).

Cusicanqui continued:

But there are things that are A and B at the same time. In binary logic, one excludes the other. But when you have the logic of inclusion, you have enormous possibilities of intercultural action. This is inscribed in the Aymara language. In Aymara grammar, you can say 'it is', and you can say 'it is not' and you can say 'it is and it is

not' at the same time. *Jisa* is yes, *jani* is no, and *inasa* can be yes and can be no (Cusicanqui 2014 para 9).

Certainly, a tension between Western philosophical dualism and the Bolivian Indigenous trivalent logic exists. Author Arturo Escobar concurs. The relational ontologies of indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants, he argues, can be 'differentiated from the dualist ontologies of liberal modernity in that they are not built on the divides between nature and culture, us and them, individual and community' (Escobar 2010, p.4).

However, enlightenment philosophy — the theoretical backbone for the scientific revolutions and the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries — became the theoretical building blocks for Marxism. 'Marxism is alive and growing, and above all ... lays no claim to finality. It is primarily a method' (Haldane 1938, p. 16-17). Marxism's philosophical tenets are dialectics (derived from German philosopher Hegel) and materialist (taken from German philosopher Feuerbach). Dialectics 'comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin and ending' (Engels 1880, para 4). Materialism is developing 'empirical observation ... in each separate instance bring out empirically, and without any mystification and speculation, the connection of the social and political structure with production (Marx 1845 para 19). Moreover, materialists argue 'life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life' (Marx 1845 para 25). Marxism is a scientific method and a call to action. Struggle is the motor force of developments. The history 'of all existing societies is the history of class struggles' (Marx 1845 para 11, 12). Marxism clarifies that resistance makes change and for change to be made, resistance must advance. Marxism is the intellectual and practical guide for systemic revolution of the commodified mode of production.

Western liberalism, born of the feudal mode of production and propelling forward the capitalist mode of production, gave birth to Marxism's dialectical materialism, an ontology rich with an ecological frame, a struggle ethic and relational philosophical tenets. Using an *inasa* logic, Marxism is not liberalism, yet born of it. Marxism is liberalism's rebellious child.

Marxism is a methodological approach in tune with Indigenous ontologies. A struggle ethic, environmental stewardship approach and a dialectical interrelation framework, are not antagonistic to the tenets of Indigenous cosmologies. Marxism diverges in its scientific, materialist approach. However, I posit there is no tension in using both Marxism and Indigenous ontologies as this work's foundational guide. An empirical approach has been

used in assessing the strength of Indigenous land, cultural and self-governance battles, but with an application of a trivalent logic.

Indigenous cosmologies were made invisible by colonial rulers and by neoliberalism's assimilationist phase. An exploration of Indigenous cultural battles under neoliberalism necessitates an investigation of the genesis, nature and ideas of this austerity-driven phase. This segment of research will explore neoliberalism's origins and central tenets.

Neoliberalism's Origins, Pedagogy and Practice

The term 'neoliberalism' was coined in 1938 by French economist Louis Marlio at a Lippmann Colloquium Conference in Paris (Audier 2008; Brennetot 2013 cited in Brennetot 2015 p.30). A group of economists organised around 'Friedrich von Hayek, envisioned a new kind of liberalism, a "neoliberal-ism," which would preserve laissez-faire markets while adding a role for what they considered a minimal state' (Bockman 2013, p.13).

Neoliberalism gathered financial and political support through the establishment of the Mont Pelerin Society (Harvey 2005 p. 22). However, it wasn't until the 1970s that capitalist governments began to implement neoliberal measures. An economic and political crisis of the global capitalist system in the late 1960s propelled this austerity drive. Capital accumulation, low profit rates for elites, stagflation, oil crises and a surge of support for socialist parties gave neoliberalism a viable political veneer (Harvey 2005, Bockman 2013).

However, neoliberalism was not enacted uniformly. The capitalist world 'stumbled towards neoliberalism ... through a series of gyrations and chaotic experiments that really only converged as a new orthodoxy with the articulation of what became known as the "Washington Consensus" in the 1990s' (Harvey 2005 p. 13). Neoliberal political and economic shock-therapy was first introduced in Chile in 1973 with the backing of the US trained 'Chicago Boy' economists. Pinochet's bloody dictatorship overthrew the democratically elected socialist Allende government. Then, 'American president Ronald Reagan [in power from 1981 to 1989] and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher [1979-1990] soon realized such policies in their own countries' (Bockman 2013, p. 15).

Neoliberalism attests 'human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' (Harvey 2005 p. 2). It aimed to restore the power of the capitalist class, posits Jeffery Webber and David

Harvey. A collaboration ‘of the ruling classes in the advanced capitalist countries — especially in the US — to create or restore capitalist class-power in all corners of the globe’ (Webber, 2011a, p. 30).

Indeed, neoliberalism’s theoretical founder, Friedrich von Hayek agreed. He argued the ‘battle for ideas was key, and that it would probably take at least a generation for that battle to be won, not only against Marxism but against socialism, state planning, and Keynesian interventionism’ (Harvey 2005, p, 22). Neoliberalism was a class war battering ram, which aimed to restore ‘class power’ (Harvey 2005, p 16). International bodies leading this war are ‘the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) ... the World Trade Organisation, Davos, Plan Puebla and Plan Columbia’ (Escobar 2010, p.7).

Transnationally. the effect of neoliberalism has been to concentrate wealth into fewer hands. Since 2015, the richest 1 per cent has owned more wealth than the rest of the world together and eight men now own the same amount of wealth as the poorest half of the world (Oxfam 2017 para 1,2). Battles to restore Indigenous cosmologies are waged against the strength of these international organisations in the imperialist era.

Against Indigenous cultural values of collectivism and kin, the neoliberal phase promoted the ideas of individualism and competition. Neoliberalism celebrates ‘competitive self- interest and hyper individualism ... and ... has frayed our collective bonds. It has spread, like an insidious anti-social toxin, to echo what Margaret Thatcher preached: there is no such thing as society’ (Lukacs 2017, para 8). Neoliberalism’s more recent ideologues are Friedrich Hayek (1994) and Milton Friedman (2002) who are ‘far more ruthless than the classic liberal economic theory developed by Adam Smith and David Ricardo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ (Giroux 2005, p. 13). The next section of research will explore the effect of neoliberalism in Bolivia and Australia.

Neoliberalism in Bolivia and Australia

This comparative study of Indigenous rights campaigns against neoliberalism in the recent period in Bolivia and Australia, requires an exploration of this period’s effects in both nation states. Indeed, neoliberalism’s effect in Bolivia and Australia has similarities and differences. So Indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Australia face different challenges in their struggles for sovereignty. Neoliberal measures were enacted in Bolivia and Australia in the 1980s.

Bolivia is a global south nation and ‘one of the poorest nations in the world with \$7.87 thousand GDP per capita’ (International Monetary Fund 2018, para 1). Whereas

Australia falls into the ‘advanced country’ category with ‘\$51.54 thousand Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita’, making it the 23rd richest country in the world (International Monetary Fund 2018, para 1). Spain created a poorer nation of Bolivia, compared to Britain’s geostrategic cultivation of Australia.

Bolivia’s planning minister, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada led a neoliberal policy shift in 1985, developing Bolivia into the poorest country in South America (Weisbrot and Sandoval 2006, p. 5). Author Sian Lazar points to two principle effects of neoliberalism in Bolivia, commenting:

First, on the demand side, the popular classes saw a decrease in their wages in real terms and were fired from their jobs or moved into temporary contracts. ... Second, on the supply side, the number of vendors increased as workers and miners were fired and migrated to El Alto in the mid-1980s (Lazar 2018, 182).

Indeed, popular wages decreased. Before Evo Morales was elected, out of every 10 people in Bolivia, almost seven were extremely poor; of those seven people, four were Indigenous (Paz 2007, para 15). Overall, ‘60 per cent [of Bolivians] lived in poverty; in rural areas, the figure reached 90 per cent’ (Hylton and Thomson 2005, para 10). Under the neoliberal phase the proportion of people working in the ‘informal’ sector rose ‘from 58 to 68 per cent in fifteen years’ (ibid, 2005, para 10). Pre-Morales, technology was for the rich; 80% of Bolivians had no access to phones let alone internet (Dunkerley 2007, p.3). This austerity provided the spark for the Coca, Gas and Water Wars.

Similarly, research shows, neoliberalism in Australia has made life worse for Indigenous people. Under neoliberalism ‘austerity, privatization and deregulation was [and is] the order of the day’ (Dixon, 2001, para 29). The period began with the Australian Labor Party’s (ALP) Whitlam government ‘dismantling tariff protections ... then successive Labor governments from 1983-1996 ... [which] oversaw a radical neo-liberalisation of the state and economy’ (Cahill 2014, para 6).

The colonial state forced intergenerational poverty onto Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and the neoliberal phase exacerbated this disadvantage. Indigenous Australians suffer significantly lower socioeconomic status than non-Indigenous people. Nicholas Biddle notes ‘in 2011 Indigenous Australians aged 15 years and over, had an average disposable income of \$488 per week, compared with non-Indigenous counterparts, who had an average disposable income of \$837 for males and \$567 for females’ (Biddle 2011, p. 4). In the period from 2006 to 2011 the average wage for Aboriginal workers, compared to non-Indigenous Australians decreased, relative to non-Indigenous wages (ibid p. 4).

Neoliberalism exacerbated other social disadvantages for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In an ethnographic study of a remote Aboriginal community, Numbulwar, Victoria Burbank notes the stresses on Indigenous community, such as ‘loss of culture; aggression, vandalism, and delinquency; health, illness and accidents; and death and sorcery are interwoven’ (Burbank 2011, p 92). Neoliberal measures aggravated these social stresses, making surviving, and self-governing, more difficult. In this period, incarceration, child removal and suicide rates for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities became some of the highest in the world for Indigenous people. The *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* (2011) report shows incidences of ‘indigenous imprisonment, child abuse and chronic disease continue to rise’ (Australian Council for Educational Research 2012, p 14). The *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* report (2016) showed no improvement. A deepening of Indigenous disadvantage through increased psychological distress, suicide and imprisonment rates, were reflected (Productivity Commission 2016, p. 1). Conditions in remote communities are ‘disgusting. We got people, they are not living in Third World conditions. They’re living in Fourth World conditions’ (Canning personal communication, June 22, 2016). Yet, while neoliberalism’s austerity and assimilationist effects have disadvantaged Indigenous Australia, a range of combat organisations have emerged. The next segment of research explores Indigenous cultural battles in Australia in the lead up to the neoliberal period.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural battles in the pre-neoliberal period

Critical cultural battles were waged by First Nations people in the lead-up to the neoliberal phase. This section of the study will address these struggles as building blocks for recent cultural battles in the recent period.

The colonial settler state’s land-centred project aimed to eradicate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and their cultural expression. Indigenous people ‘stood in the way of the colonial enterprise: economically, practically and symbolically’ (Moran 2002, p. 1020). Prolonged resistance from First Nations communities meant the settler state failed in this aim. So, a cultural war using assimilation policies was begun in the 1930s. Stealing children, making them wards of the state, imprisoning whole communities within missions, forbidding language and subjecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to church indoctrination had a grave effect on Indigenous culture (Fisher 2016). An additional assault on Indigenous artistry in this early phase was the stealing and commodification of Aboriginal

art. 'At the mission stations, Indigenous wards were often encouraged to produce artefacts, paintings on bark (unique to Arnhem Land), curios and small craft and textile items decorated with Indigenous motifs to be sold in the larger towns' (Jones 1988; Moore 2006; Taçon and Davies 2004 cited in Davis 2006, p. 6). The assimilationist period (1930–1975) 'involved an ideological appropriation, through culture (for example art, poetry, literature and music) that at the same time cancelled out or trivialised Aboriginal cultural association with place' (Moran 2002, p. 1021). This process has been referred to as 'psychological *terra nullis*' (Davis 2006, p. 136).

This assimilationist period came to an end as First Nation communities in Australia rose to restore cultural expression and built vibrant community organisations. Student-led Freedom Rides in 1965 and the establishment of the Canberra Tent Embassy in 1972 joined with a heady Indigenous cultural revival.

Redfern, an inner-city suburb of Sydney, became home to thousands of young Aboriginal people, and a 'sphere of protest and cultural expansion' (Shaw 2000, p. 291). From organising land rights protests, the Black Moratorium Committee, led by people such as Jack Davis, Freddie Reynolds and Maureen Watson, developed political street theatre (Casey 2004, p. 45). Influenced by dancers within the United States based *Eleo Pomare Dance Company*, the community set up the National Black Theatre in 1972, the Aboriginal Dance Theatre in 1979 and the Black Theatre Arts and Cultural Centre. These groups were the forerunners of the Aboriginal Islander Dance Theatre, the National Aboriginal and Islander Skills Development Association (NAISDA) in 1988 and the offshoot Bangarra Dance Theatre (Robinson 2000, p. 11,26,40) (Casey 2004, p. 45). (Lester 2007, p. 1). Aboriginal cultural festivals also proliferated to sustain Indigenous worlds, celebrate and share (Slater 2010, p. 2). In the context of this high level of grassroots organising, the ALP Prime Minister Gough Whitlam — elected at the end of 1972 — established the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and enlisted a new policy of directly funding Aboriginal people's initiatives. These positive cultural-political developments provided a solid bedrock for battles in the neoliberal phase.

However, Australian neoliberalism seeks to insert a market value on everything, including artistic expression. Commodification, that is commodity culture, is mass culture, argues Peter Kulchyski (Kulchyski 1997, p.607). The neoliberal period encircles Indigenous artists within a commodified market place and offers token appreciation from racist governments and profiteers. The Cultural Policy Framework of the Aboriginal and Torres

Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) (1990–2005) elucidated on the tensions faced by Aboriginal artists.

It is unfortunate that we have had to allow the recognition of indigenous cultural forms and practices as valuable and saleable commodities — in Aboriginal art and cultural tourism — to be a key factor in their general recognition as integral and vital components in Australia’s cultural resources. ... (ATSIC Cultural Policy Framework 8 cited in Fisher 2016, p. 182).

Dishonourable traders mass-produce Aboriginal art. Currently ‘as much as 80 per cent of the arts and crafts promoted to tourists as Indigenous is fake ... much of it is mass produced either offshore or in Australia by non-Indigenous commercial outfits’ (Peating 2017, para 5,6). These strategies employed by neoliberal governments and the effects of a hyper-monetarised environment have negatively affected Aboriginal cultural production. Such distortions and barriers to Indigenous sharing culture, outside a neoliberal frame, speaks to another battleline. Campaigns to de-commodify art practices, offer proper wages to Indigenous artists and combat tokenism in representation have inserted themselves into decolonising cultural battles.

In comparison, Bolivia’s cultural battles were assisted by the election of Evo Morales. The next segment of research addresses the cultural developments enacted by MAS.

Decolonising cultural advances in Bolivia

The Morales government embarked on a range of decolonisation programs. These programs were critical, commented Vice Minister for Decolonization Félix Cárdenas, because colonisation ‘has turned Bolivia into a self-conscious society, where some people have a superiority complex, and those with brown or black skin have an inferiority complex’ (TeleSur 2015, para 7). Decolonisation refers to ‘moving away from policies of control of Indigenous peoples, developed in the so-called interests of the state, towards policies of self-determination’ (Hocking 2005, p. 32). One government program memorialises anti-colonial warriors. A formalisation of these anti-racist heroes was written into the 2009 Constitution:

We, the Bolivian people, of plural composition ... inspired by the struggles of the past, by the anti-colonial indigenous uprising ... by the indigenous, social and labor marches, by the Water and October wars, by the struggles for land and territory, construct a new State in memory of our martyrs (emphasis added) (Constitute 2009, para 5).

Moreover, the government is engaging an intergenerational Indigenous tradition of ‘*memoria larga y memoria corta*’ (long and short memory). *La memoria larga* refers to the anti-colonial struggles of the past, and *la memoria corta*, to the desires for equality and

‘citizenship generated by the 1952 revolution’ (Lopez and Turrion 2007, p. 195). In this tradition the government is resurrecting the memory of Aymara leader Tupac Katari’s and his wife Bartolina Sisa’s ‘Great Rebellion of Peru’. Katari’s assault was only thwarted by Spanish troops arriving from Buenos Aires and Lima. Before he was executed, Tupac declared ‘*Nayawa jiwtxa, nayjarusti waranga warangawaranga kutanipxa*’ (Aymara). ‘I die, but I will come back, and I will return as millions’ (Lucero 2008 p.82). Through the MAS government’s promotion, Tupac’s anti-colonial promise to return in his millions, is being realised. Bolivia’s revolutionary government now adorns government department walls and political events with large paintings of Tupac and Bartolina. Even today, Katari’s six-month siege of La Paz still ‘haunt the nightmares of its upper-class inhabitants’ (Webber 2011a, p. 204). The government’s reclamation of struggle *memorias* is a blow against colonially induced amnesia and is a strong element of their decolonisation cultural campaign.

The government is also resurrecting the memory of the Water and Gas Wars. From 1999 to 2002 President Hugo Banzer attempted to privatise Bolivia’s water, unleashing the Water Wars, which led to a movement that inspired ‘between 50,000 and 70,000 people planning the opposition, in town meetings’ (Dangl 2007, p. 65). Eventually the company Bechtel was forced to ‘abrogate its contract ... and withdraw its legal claim against the Bolivian government for \$50 million in compensation’ (Achtenberg 2013, para 12).

The other battle in *la memoria corta* in the Bolivian government’s cultural arsenal, is the 2003 Gas Wars. President Sanchez de Lozada tried to privatise the nation’s gas in 2003, leading to two weeks of sustained protest in which police and the military killed 67 people (Fuentes, 2006, para 3). The movement culminated with Lozada fleeing for his life, with up to ‘500,000 thousand people converging on the city center, as his helicopter took off’ (Burbach 2016, para 6). To memorialise the battle, activists have painted murals in El Alto dedicated to the martyrs of the Gas Wars. Moreover, local protests, supported by the Morales government, have demanded the former President’s extradition for the crime of murdering protesters. These important battles are etched into Bolivia’s 2009 constitution — ‘by the popular struggles of liberation ... by the Water and October wars’ (Bolivia (Plurinational State of)’s Constitution of 2009, para 5) — and suggest decolonising cultural progress.

In 2009, Bolivia’s government established a ‘Vice Ministry for Decolonization’ out of the Ministry of Culture, ‘that helped consolidate public policies to combat racism and helped form an anti-racist network of both state and non-state entities throughout the country’ (TeleSur 2015, para 4). The vice ministry also stipulated that every government office and event fly the Indigenous, chequered rainbow-coloured *whipala* flag alongside the green,

yellow and white Bolivian banner. Additionally, Morales has launched an ‘anti-racist application for mobile devices that people can use to report acts of racism and all forms of discrimination’ (TeleSur 2016a, para 5).

In contrast to Bolivia, both establishment political parties in Australia’s neoliberal phase — the conservative Liberal-National Coalition and the ALP — oppose cultural recuperation projects. This section of research will address an assimilationist phase within the neoliberal period.

Australia’s neoliberal reassimilation drive

Australian establishment parties are not celebrating the history of Aboriginal warriors. Rather, they are fomenting ‘culture wars’ against decolonising researchers and campaigners. The Liberal Party, led by Prime Minister John Howard, embraced an assimilationist, ideological war that ‘dominated public discourse from the 2000s’ (Gosford 2016, para 8). Originating in North America in the 1980s and 1990s, these campaigns are driven by media commentators rather than academics (Moses 2008 p. 249) in an attempt to push back against gains won by the movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Howard extolled traditionalist historians, such as Geoffrey Blainey and Keith Windshuttle, saying ‘I welcome the fact that people can now talk about certain things without living in fear of being branded a bigot or as a racist or any of the other expressions that have been too carelessly flung around’ (Hollinsworth 2000 p. 4).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities fight battles for cultural rights in the neoliberal phase in the context of these cultural wars. A crusader, Howard promoted celebrations on Australia Day and rejected the findings of the *Bringing Them Home* (1997) report. The first national inquiry into government policy of stealing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children, (the stolen generation) the 680 paged *Bringing them Home* report was a product of a two-year inquiry. John Howard rejected the key recommendation of apologising to the Stolen Generation and told Parliament the children were ‘lawfully taken from their families ... for protection’ (Maddison 2009, p. 12). Howard withdrew support for any semblance of self-determination, abolished the Indigenous self-governance body Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), and for Aboriginal communities was a ‘living nightmare’ (Hocking 2005, p. 17) (Maddison 2009, p. 12).

Howard’s ideological campaign reduced support for Aboriginal communities among the non-Aboriginal population. By the end of his term as prime minister it was ‘widely

believed that Aboriginal people get higher welfare payments than others ... the government will pay their car payments or home rental when they fall into arrears, that they receive fewer convictions and lighter sentences and that they consume alcohol at much higher levels' (Wilson 2007, para 3). Howard's cultural wars laid the basis for the devastating NT Intervention. In this regard, his program proved effective. Under the Howard government (1996–2007) mining exploitation increased at such a rate that 'profits in the industry surged from around four per cent of GDP in 2004 to around nine per cent' (Denniss and Richardson 2011 p. 11). Howard's conservative reign was extended by the election in September 2013 of Tony Abbott as Prime Minister. Abbott immediately appointed himself the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and cut \$534 million from Aboriginal services (Graham 2013 para 4; Coggan 2014, para 1). These severe cuts, to be rolled out over five years, included '\$160 million of the cuts out of Indigenous health programs', (Taylor 2013, para 3) closing down National Congress of Australia's First Peoples and 'cutting funding for Indigenous language support by \$9.5 million over five years' (Reconciliation Australia 2014, para 6). Howard's and Abbott's rule represented an accelerated assimilationist phase in the neoliberal period. Such a push was met with Indigenous resistance through a variety of activist-led campaigns.

In comparison, the Bolivian government is reinvigorating a warrior culture. The next section of research will address another cultural battleground: the struggle to decolonise the constitution.

Decolonising constitutions

A critical issue of Indigenous cultural struggle in both Bolivia and Australia has been against a colonised constitution.

In Bolivia, after Morales's victory, the new government 'transformed the very form of democracy by creating spaces that allowed for people's antagonism' (Harnecker 2015, p. 69). A Constituent Assembly, elected in July 2006, constructed a draft Constitution. A 'massive 90.2% of the voting population turned out to vote for the constitution, with 61.43% of the population voting to adopt it' (Burbano 2008, para 15). Indeed, Bolivia's 2009 Constitution contains many anti-colonial tenets. Firstly, it codifies a state dedicated to constructing 'a just and harmonious society, built on decolonization, without discrimination or exploitation, with full social justice, in order to strengthen the Plurinational identities' (Constitute 2009, para 10). Secondly, the document acknowledges thirty-six recognised indigenous peoples and their indigenous languages (Ministerio de Comunicacion 2015, p.7). Thirdly, the

constitution exalts an Indigenous, collectivist cultural practice. Bolivian author Hugo Moldiz noted '[O]ur new constitution ... recognised the rights of the collective. Our new constitution now does not deny these rights of the individual, but also recognises the rights of the collectives' (Wynter and McIlroy 2013, para 10). The codified collectivist ethic counters neoliberalism's individualistic values.

By contrast, Australia's nation-founding document is a British construct which came into effect in 1901 (Giannacopoulos 2015, para 2). It replaces, said National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Alliance's Ruth Gilbert, a 'highly evolved system of law and governance in a continent owned and carefully managed for millennia by Aboriginal people' (Giannacopoulos 2015, para 5). There is a denial of Indigenous sovereignty within the Australian constitution. A 'Treaty' campaign is being waged in response to this denial. A treaty would be an advance, argues Aboriginal educator and Professor Lester-Irabinna Rigney, as 'it would provide a form of inoculation from ongoing assimilation, without which Indigenous people will continue to be forced into government care and obligation with its associated paternalistic practices' (Maddison 2009, p. 43).

In Australia, a similar constitutional battle to Bolivia's took place against a government-initiated Constitutional Recognition push but did not yield a decisive victory. Evoking a Gramscian 'symbolic exercise in legitimation', the Australian government proposed to eliminate racist segments of the constitution, particularly section 25 and section 51(26). Section 25 stipulates that states can ban people from voting based on their race. The 'second section 51(26), gives Parliament power to pass laws that discriminate against people based on their race' (Castan 2014, para 5) The government spent \$15 million in promotion, named it the Constitutional Recognition campaign and scheduled a referendum for 2013 (UNSW Sydney Law, 2016, para 8; Green Left Weekly 2016, para 9). For the most part, Aboriginal activists rejected the proposal. Dja Dja Warrung elder Gary Murray said Recognition was just 'a distraction. You can park it in a treaty process. Of course, we want to get rid of racist Constitutional issues and racist laws' (Fitzsimmons 2016, para 8). Australia remains the only former British colony without a treaty. Many activists commented that the Recognition campaign was an exercise in window dressing with no real change. Conditions 'in many remote Aboriginal communities are the same as, or worse than they were 30 years ago' (Maddison 2009 xxxi). Aboriginal activist Ken Canning commented on a blackmailing tactic implemented by the government.

If you're an Aboriginal organisation, you got to sign a document to say you will promote ... Constitutional Recognition and Reconciliation. ... You got to apply for the funding; you got to compete for the funding. To compete, you got to show you're

going to be the best at putting up a proposal by the government. The grassroots people do not want it (Canning personal communication, 2016).

The Coalition government of Malcolm Turnbull (2016–2018) appeared to evoke a cultural war approach to the Indigenous-led Treaty campaign. The government hosted 13 regional Recognition dialogues around Australia, with the final Uluru Convention releasing a principled statement pointing away from a government-led tokenistic referendum (Zillman 2017, para 7). The *Uluru Statement from the Heart* called for an ‘enshrined First Nations voice to parliament, along with a Makarrata Commission “to supervise a process of agreement-making between governments and First Nations and truth-telling about our history”’ (Pearson 2017, para 3). Makarrata is a Yolngu word describing a process of conflict resolution, peacemaking and justice (Pearson 2017, para 4). The official Recognition campaign adopted the Uluru Statement’s proposals and presented them to government (Zillman 2017, para 7). Many in the Aboriginal community celebrated burying Recognition. Dismissing the work of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community leaders, Prime Minister Turnbull refused to implement any recommendations of the Uluru Statement. On balance, the grassroots campaign for Treaty over Recognition buried the government’s proposal but was not strong enough to pass a Treaty or a decolonising Constitution. Contrast this with Bolivia, where Indigenous representation and involvement in the state governance apparatus has been enshrined in Constitution and policy.

Another facet of Indigenous cultural battles against neo-colonialism is the fight to reclaim identity. The following segment of the thesis will address battles in Bolivia and Australia over recovering Indigenous identities. It will be shown that there are greater impediments to identity reclamation for Indigenous people in Australia, than in Bolivia.

The fight for Indigenous Identity

Colonial policies have attempted to render Indigenous Bolivians and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders invisible within public life. Campaigns to identify as Indigenous appear harder fought in Australia, as governments are leading an assimilationist drive, compared with the Bolivian government which is promoting Indigenous pride. This is because, ‘ethnicity, like class, is a relation and thus a cultural process of positioning and being positioned’ (Lucero 2008, p. 78). Indeed, for community members to claim an Aboriginal identity was seen as ‘an act of resistance to assimilation forces’ (Maddison 2005 p. 118). The Australian state formalised Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identity in 1981 (*National Indigenous Times* 2007, p. 27). People meeting the requirements of descent,

identification and acceptance were able to get some assistance in educational, housing, welfare and work opportunities.

In Bolivia, Indigenous identity reclamation is an easier task, with the MAS government promoting Indigeneity. Bolivia has the highest percentage of Indigenous people of any nation in the Western hemisphere (TeleSur 2015, para 2). At his 2005 inauguration ceremony Morales placed Indigenous dignity at the forefront of his political project, proclaiming ‘Indigenous people have been marginalised with the foundation of Bolivia in 1825, therefore the indigenous people will now claim the right to recreate Bolivia’ (Andersson and Haarstad 2009 p.21). In 2005, 65% of Bolivians over 15 years of age identified as Indigenous, encouraged, in part, by the anti-colonial slogan of the MAS, ‘we are all Indigenous’ (Ferrandez and Kradolfer 2015, p. 323). The election of an Indigenous president helped combat the psychological effects of the ‘[colonial] social order’, where ‘the Indians are the state’s nothing: they constitute the state’s most fundamental externality’ (Garcia 2014, p. 92).

In contrast, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identity reclamation battles face more obstacles than in Bolivia, as there is a much smaller population of Indigenous people and a re-assimilation drive. Also, discriminatory ‘blood-based definitions of Indigeneity were particularly prominent in Australian law’ (Murphy 2008, p. 187), with the racist categories of ‘halfcaste’ and ‘quartercaste’ prominent in bureaucratic management of Aboriginal people’s lives. Moreover, using a dualistic frame, there is no concept of ‘mixed heritage’ (*meztiso*), as there is in Latin America. People in Australia tend to identify according to who their families are, not according to racial admixture. Therefore, battle lines are drawn on increasing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identification. Currently, only 2.8% of the Australian population identify as Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander (Australian Bureau Statistics 2017, para 1). But, reflecting incremental advances against neoliberalism’s culture war, more Indigenous people are self-identifying, with a ‘clear propensity of Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander parents identifying themselves and their children as being of Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander origin in the 2011 census when compared to the 2006 census’ (Australian Bureau Statistics 2013b, para 5).

Similar to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, Bolivia’s Indigenous people have only recently begun to identify in greater numbers. Indeed, it has ‘been only very recently in the world that anyone has been self-identifying as Indigenous’ (Canessa 2014, 13:60-14:20). Yet while the Bolivian government’s pro-Indigenous policy appears more advanced than Australia’s, Bolivia’s campaign to enhance Indigenous recognition has suffered

setbacks. Over the course of the Morales government, the number of Bolivians identifying as Indigenous dropped from 65% of the population in 2005 to 42% in 2012 (Fontana 2013, para 3). One reason for the decline could be that the census:

[did] not include questions about racial self-identification, but rather ethno-cultural self-identification. While the former includes categories such as ‘white’, ‘indigenous’, ‘mestizo’, and ‘black’, the latter refers to identifying with specific indigenous peoples: Aymara, Quechua, Guaraní, and so on (Stefanoni 2014 p. 1).

Author Salvador Schavelzon argued another reason was due to the government’s attempt to build an unpopular road through the Isiboro Secure National Park and Indigenous Territory (TIPNIS). Some Indigenous organisations distanced themselves from the Morales government after the announcement of the project (Ferrandez and Kradolfer 2015, p. 324). Indeed, Ari Waskar in *Earth Politics* says Bolivian civil society saw TIPNIS as a break with stated government aims of adhering to *Pachamama* and its intrinsic environmental goals.

Radical groups like the Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia (CIDOB) or National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ) no longer support the current transformations occurring in Bolivia because they do not go far enough in support of an earth politics (Waskar 2014 p. 186).

Moreover, another reason why Bolivia reduced its Indigenous identification rates was the nature of *mestizo* identification, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui explained.

Mestizo is a construction. From one point of view, you can say mestizos are a majority because most Indians are mestizos anyway, because they speak Spanish ... they want their children to speak English. But from the other point of view, those weird things that we do are Indigenous, they are a part of the Indigenous heritage that we all share. And from that point of view, we are majority Indians (Weinberg 2014, para 13).

The reduction in people within Bolivia who are willing to be identified as Indigenous reflects specific Bolivian contradictions. Indigenous and *mestizo* don’t necessarily exclude one another. It reflects, too, that struggles to overcome colonial legacies are not linear.

In Australia, significantly more impediments have been erected around identity reclamation for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. A considerable hurdle lies in the assault on families through accelerated child removal policies. Despite the ALP Prime Minister Kevin Rudd’s apology in 2008 to the Stolen Generations, the ‘number of Aboriginal children being forcibly removed has increased more than five times, with more than 15,000 Aboriginal kids in foster care today (Grandmothers Against Removals 2014, para 3). Without kin to pass on language, law and traditions, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children grow up at greater risk of becoming assimilated into white Australia. The current high rate at which Aboriginal children are removed from their families signifies a continuation of genocide, enshrined in policy. Heroic battles are being waged by Grandmothers Against

Removals, (GMAR) against this drive. Thus, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people face more challenges than Indigenous Bolivians in their efforts to reclaim cultural identity. The next segment of research will analyse and assess Indigenous language recuperation and decolonising curriculum programs in Bolivia and Australia.

Language Recuperation and decolonising curriculum in Bolivia and Australia

From all indications, the Bolivian government is rolling out programs that address a subjugated psyche. They have eliminated Spanish illiteracy in the population — ‘from 13.3 per cent to 2.9 per cent, the lowest rate in the history of Bolivia’ (Nova Languages 2016, para 4). In 2015, the government introduced a new curriculum into schools that ‘adheres to the country’s new constitution. ... The law establishes the fundamental cultural pedagogy of the new education model ... “intracultural, intercultural, multilingual and mindful of the environment and biodiversity”’ (TeleSur 2014, para 3). Implementing an anti-racist curriculum is a cogent anti-colonial measure.

Moreover, the Bolivian government is reinvigorating Indigenous language with language rights contained within the Constitution, specifying that public servants communicate in one Indigenous language, Spanish and a foreign language (Burbano 2008, para 10). The Constitution states that ‘universities must implement programs for the recovery, preservation, development, and dissemination of learning these different languages’ (TeleSur 2016a, para 2). Additionally, they are practising affirmative action in ‘hiring personnel with indigenous languages in all levels of government’ (Fidler 2016, Appendix 12). In what appears to be a historic world first, in 2016 the government announced, ‘literacy programs in the 36 native languages recognized and spoken in the South American nation’ (Fidler 2016, Appendix 12). These measures indicate a significant commitment to Indigenous cultural restoration.

In comparison, as part of its war against Aboriginal culture, the Australian government is fighting Indigenous-led campaigns to decolonise curriculum. Aboriginal language is not yet to be formally included in schools (Creative Spirits 2017a, para 1) and Australia is not rolling out a consistent Aboriginal-focused curriculum. Instead, as part of the culture war, the Coalition government initiated a ‘Donnelly/Wiltshire Review’ in 2014, which attacked a decolonising curriculum. The review asked the government for ‘more emphasis on our Judeo-Christian heritage, the role of Western civilisation in contributing to our society, and the influence of our British system of government’ (Adoniou, Loudon,

Zyngier, Riddle 2014, para 1). Robyn Moore's analysis on Aboriginality within schools concludes that decolonising progress has stalled. She said 'history textbooks continue to portray Australians as white. Further work is needed to ensure textbooks adequately represent all Australians' (Moore 2017 para 13).

In Australia, campaigns to decolonise curriculum have been aided by strong alliances between Aboriginal organisations, socialists and unions. The New South Wales Teachers Federation adopted their 'Aboriginal Educational Policy' in 1999 which states: 'Aboriginal studies perspectives must be mandatory in all school curricula. Aboriginal history is a shared history with Australia. Aboriginal Studies courses Years 7–10 and preliminary and HSC courses should be offered where possible' (NSW Teachers Federation 1999, p. 8). Socialist Alliance, a socialist party that promotes grassroots Aboriginal candidates in elections, contends 'core education curriculum should be the study of the history, culture, languages and customs of Indigenous peoples.' Moreover, Indigenous studies should be 'mandatory in teacher training'; and 'curricula in Aboriginal languages developed' (Socialist Alliance 2013, para 15). Despite campaigning efforts, there have been no significant advances in decolonising curriculum in the neoliberal period.

Compared to Bolivia, in Australia, only incremental progress has been made in revitalising Indigenous languages. Pre-invasion, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people traditionally spoke '7–8 languages and were the great wordsmiths of the world' (Pascoe 2009, 2:19). Before invasion, about 290–363 Aboriginal languages were spoken (Bowerman 2011, para 1) and now more than half are no longer used (Creative Spirits 2017a, para 2). The battle to save languages remains urgent. At the start of the 21st century, fewer than 150 Aboriginal languages remain in daily use (Dalby 2015, p. 43), and now 'all except only 13, which are still being transmitted to children, are highly endangered' (Goldsworthy 2014, para 10).

The government attacked language revitalisation in the NT Intervention, by 'forcing children to learn English in the first four hours of their schooling' (Creative Spirits 2017b, para 4). The effect of genocide on communities has been to stymie literacy in the colonial tongue as well. Thirty per cent of Aboriginal adults lack basic literacy skills (Koorie Mail 2009, p. 3). However, there are fledgling language revitalisation programs within universities to assuage the loss in the 'not too distant future of all the Indigenous languages' (Uhr and Walter 2017, para 1), and represent a positive grassroots organising response. Scores of 'languages thought effectively lost are being restored as long as researchers can find 500 to 2500 words' (Georgatos 2014, para 11). These advances around Indigenous language

illustrate incremental progress, but lack formalised government support, unlike Bolivia's situation.

Cultural battles were aided by black-red alliances. The next section of investigation will assess these relationships.

Black-red alliances assist cultural battles in Australia and Bolivia

Indigenous cultural cosmologies of environmental stewardship, kinship and reciprocity are at odds with capitalist values of private profit and resource extraction. Hence, battles for Indigenous cultural rights host a natural affinity with anti-capitalist ideas and organising forces. Have black-red alliances aided Indigenous cultural battles in Bolivia and Australia? This section of research will contrast the role of black-red alliances in both nation-states.

In Australia, black-red alliances played important roles in cultural battles. The Communist Party of Australia (CPA), formed in 1920, assisted Aboriginal rights campaigns throughout their seventy-year history. They were the strongest left-party in the 20th century. The CPA elected Fred Paterson into state Parliament in 1944 and, attracted to the growing strength and militancy of the CPA, a number of Aboriginal warriors joined or worked closely with the party. Faith Bandler, an Aboriginal activist and Communist Party member, helped establish the Australian Aboriginal Formation in 1956. A cultural warrior, she travelled to Berlin for the World Festival of Youth Conference, as part of the Communist-affiliated Unity Dance Troop. (Foley 2010, para 6; Townsend 2009; p.44; Pinnini 2013, p. 193). Another recognised cultural leader, Oodgeroo Noonuccal (formerly known as Kath Walker) was a poet, author and member of the Communist Party (National Museum of Australia 2014, para 3). The Communist Party dissolved in 1991, but the legacy of anti-capitalist organisations supporting Aboriginal struggles continues in 21st century Australian socialist groups such as Solidarity and the Socialist Alliance.

Socialist Alliance assisted a recent anti-colonial 'Change the Date' fight, led by two Socialist Alliance Councillors in Fremantle and Moreland Councils (Socialist Alliance, 2007, para 2) (Bolton 2017, para 9). The campaign began in August 2016, when 'Fremantle Councillors voted to end the fireworks display they'd organised for eight years, to show they acknowledge there was no reason to celebrate' (Wainright 2017 para 1). This is an important alignment with Aboriginal people's struggle to have their history recognised in the battlefields of the culture wars instigated by the Howard government.

Bolivia's example of a black-red government shows an Indigenous 'communitarian socialist' government is able to roll out a range of anti-racist cultural projects. Bolivia's black-red alliance has its origins in an indigenous cultural-political group, the Alcades Mayores Particulares (AMP). The AMP, also known as the *kollasuyus* group and *phawajrunas* (the flying men), came from a long genealogy of indigenous activists and a Bolivian civil rights movement 'that goes back at least to the passing of the agrarian reform in 1874' (Waskar 2014, p. 55). The next advance in Bolivia's black-red alliance was the formation by anti-colonial intellectual Fausto Reinaga of the 'Indianista' Indian Party of Bolivia (PIB) in 1968. Reinaga was inspired by the AMP in the early 1960s (Hylton, Thomson 2007, p. 87). Until this phase, argued Bolivia's Vice-President Alvero Garcia Linera, early "primitive" Marxists ... largely ignored the indigenous question (for example, the Pulacayo Theses, drafted by Trotskyist Guillermo Lora and adopted by the COB in 1946, mention the indigenous only in passing, and then only as peasants)' (Linera cited in Fidler Appendix 12). Marxists and *indigenista* forces began to work together, formulating interest in taking power.

In the 1970s, an array of organisational black-red formations developed. In 1977 the Confederation Tupac Katari formed, then in 1979 the United Union Confederation of the Campesino Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB). The CSUTCB had significant geographic reach, with nine departmental federations and other regional federations. During its first years, the CSUTCB also included the Amazonian indigenous communities organised in the east. However, in the early 1980s, these groups left the CSUTCB to form the Confederation of Indigenous people of the Bolivian East. (Fuentes 2014 para 49). A more robust political instrument, the Left Unity Party (IU) was formed in 1989, running in the elections with *cocaleros* militants. It gained '42% of the votes' (Dangl 2007, p. 48). Evo Morales 'won a parliamentary bench along with Roman Loayza, the executive secretary of the CSUTCB' (ibid). Their political resistance reached out from the Chapare region in 1995 and founded the Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples (IPSP), which was the precursor to the Movement Towards Socialism, the party that led Morales to victory in 2005.

Clearly, this strong black-red alliance played a critical role in advancing Bolivia's indigenous battles against neoliberalism. Intellectual generosity in the early neoliberal period between Marxist currents and Indian leaders developed organizational unity. This proved crucial for election victories in 2005. Some conclusions will be drawn around Indigenous cultural battles in Bolivia and Australia in the next section.

Conclusion

Cultural rights are an important component of a powerful, decolonising Indigenous self-determination model. Recovering Indigenous epistemologies, language, customary practices and laws, ceremony and song are prerequisites for empowerment. Indigenous cosmology based on the stewardship of land, collectivist kinship structures and a sharing ethos, appears at odds with neoliberalism's profiteering, exploitation of mother earth, and hyper-individualism. The Aymara trivalent logic, a three-dimensional contingency rationale, offers a flexible philosophical basis for the cultural decolonisation program of the Indigenous-led Bolivian government. Ostensibly, Bolivia's socialist government appears to be waging a war against colonialism's cultural legacy and the system's voracious competitiveness, while neoliberal Australian governments are waging cultural attacks against First Nation communities.

The passage of Bolivia's Constitution with its decolonisation framework and declaration of a plurinational state based on *pachamama* ideals, points to an advance in the fight for Indigenous cultural ascendancy. Public exultations of anti-colonial heroes, a literacy campaign in Spanish and Indigenous languages, the establishment of a Decolonisation Unit within the government and anti-racist material in the high school curriculum are measures that assuage prejudice and develop a fighting spirit among Indigenous people. From *katarismo*, the *cocaleros*, the IPSP to MAS, political alliances between Indigenous militants and socialists have played a critical role in the 2005 presidential victory of Morales. Bolivia's communitarian project and elements of its Indigenous government point towards a framework for a potent Indigenous self-determination model.

In comparison, in Australia, the neoliberal cultural war waged against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities decreased public support for Indigenous people. This laid the groundwork for the NT Intervention, funding cuts to language and cultural programs, medical and community centres and a rise in child removals. Yet a cultural fig leaf proffered to Aboriginal communities, the Recognition campaign, was defeated. There have been some policy articulation advances, around decolonising curriculum. The other cultural cornerstone, language reclamation, is in a desperate phase, but has had some limited success. The black-red alliance is apparent in the cultural battles. Socialist organisations are assisting with Change the Date campaigns, various land rights and justice battles and are promoting activist Aboriginal candidates. This is an effort to break down racist stereotypes. In sum, while the assimilationist drive against Indigenous cultural rights, has, by-and-large, been to the political

elites' advantage, community fightback has netted some victories at the expense of the neo-colonial agenda.

Chapter Three

Empowerment projects for self-determination — self-governance battles in Bolivia and Australia under neoliberalism

This chapter explores the third pillar of a cogent Indigenous self-determination model — the capacity for self-governance by Indigenous peoples. This chapter's intent is to explore whether Bolivian and Australian governments are introducing Indigenous sovereignty into the governance apparatus of the state.

This exploration takes place within four overarching themes. The first section of this chapter will define Indigenous self-governance structures. It will analyse pre-invasion Indigenous structures and explore what level of Indigenous organisation survived the colonial assault in Bolivia and Australia. A secondary theme in this chapter will examine Bolivia's attempted economic extraction from the international capitalist market, as an Indigenous governance push. A third theme will explore the theoretical frame of socialists regarding Indigenous and national self-determination. This will clarify the nature and impact of socialist involvement in black-red alliances. The fourth theme will explore Bolivian and Australian self-governance models and their battles to survive in the neoliberal phase. Finally, a comparison of the success of their Indigenous self-governance models in combating international and national barriers for sovereignty models, will be drawn.

What is Indigenous self-governance?

What objectives and forms do Indigenous self-governance structures take? Thoroughgoing Indigenous self-determination structures contain representative self-governance bodies, rights and authority over at least some jurisdictions. For ruling governments, acknowledging self-determination rights can imply a right for Indigenous communities to secede from the state. Yet, 'for the majority of Indigenous peoples in the Commonwealth, and indeed for many outside of the Commonwealth, self-determination is not about separatism, but autonomy or self-government' (Hocking 2005, p. 17). However, 'the political claim of a right to self-determination implies the right and ability to exercise some level of sovereign power — even if within the boundaries of existing nation states' (ibid p. 17).

Interviewee Roxley Foley defines self-determination as including an autonomy model, in which the non-Aboriginal population has a seat at the governance table. He said:

It's not just a case of a colonial history versus indigenous history, that one day we'll have a free and reborn nation free of those colonial chains. We don't want to be recognised into an Australian constitution, we want to offer the hand to recognise and welcome a very large 22 million illegal settler population home and give them a rightful place (Foley personal communication, June 18, 2016).

Aboriginal activist Ken Canning argues Indigenous self-determination entails economic independence, describing self-governance structures as

An elected body ... that makes up the bureaucracy of Aboriginal affairs ... a separate parliament and ... each major corporation, pays 1% tax in compensation to the Aboriginal people and that goes to us to managing ourselves. We manage our own future (Canning personal communication, June 22, 2016).

W.S Arthur (2001) agrees with Canning that an elected body is an important element of Indigenous self-determination. Additionally, on a political level, he argues self-governance includes 'a representative body elected by *all* residents; a level of authority to make some laws ... possibly a local judiciary and police ... provision of social services such as health, education and welfare' (Arthur 2001, para 25). Indigenous governance also entails 'the ability to adopt or include some cultural practices' as well as 'decision making about federal expenditures; some control over a share of the region's natural resources; the ability to collect taxes and to generate income' (Arthur 2001, para 25).

Discussions about Indigenous self-determination necessitate an exploration of the relative conceptual merits of 'sovereignty' versus 'self-determination'. As the United Nations prioritise the term self-determination over sovereignty (perhaps because it is likely to be more achievable in settler colonial contexts) this research privileges this term. In interviewing research participants, this study used both terms and allowed interviewees to describe their conceptions of one or both. Pelizzon's comparison of the two is instructive; he argues that sovereignty is more precise, because it is 'used to identify the ultimate power of a state, regardless of whether there is a monarch or not' (Pelizzon 2016, para 5) and 'sovereignty is the ultimate power, authority and/or jurisdiction over a people and a territory'. Additionally, Pelizzon argued: '[I]t is taken, this can be through conquest by a sovereign entity (after a war and subsequent treaty of surrender or complete destruction), cession (a sovereign entity cedes, through a treaty, part or all of its power to another sovereign entity) or settlement ...' (ibid para 8).

Ken Canning agrees with this definition, saying 'no government in this country will advance sovereignty. No government, I have no faith in that system. There is only one way

they will, if we force them. We have to force the issue. What I'm saying, is that they won't do it willingly' (Canning personal communication, June 22, 2016). This distinction between sovereignty and self-determination is useful to this comparative study.

Internationally, the Australian government was the first settler colonial state to support the unqualified inclusion of the principle of self-determination in the UN draft declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples (Hocking 2005, p. 17). This has not abated the implementation of harsh measures in Indigenous communities. As Irene Watson, a Tanganekald and Meintangk-Bunganditj woman explains, the term 'self-determination was used by the federal government from the 1970s to describe various initiatives, but a closer examination of those policies reveals their continuing colonial nature' (Watson 2009 p. 34). Hence, Indigenous people frequently express a profound sense of alienation toward self-determination policies that carry the stigma of colonial domination (Murphy 2008, p. 186).

In comparison, all evidence points toward Bolivia as implementing a robust sovereignty model. Bolivian El Alto activist Benecio Quispe elucidates: 'It is about 'building a non-liberal, non-capitalist society in which racism can disappear. ... What we are talking about replacing is the liberal capitalist model with another model that refuses that social structure' (Webber 2011a, p. 292). On the face of it, it appears Bolivia's governance structures have been forged with the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples at the forefront, compared with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations which are constrained by the barriers of the settler colonial state. The situation for Indigenous Australia is that federal or state governments are not enacting true self-determination or a sovereignty model.

Bolivian Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander self-governance structures survived colonial rule and, to varying degrees, form part of current-day Indigenous governance, whether recognised by the state or not. This section of research will explore pre-invasion Indigenous structures in Australia and Bolivia.

Pre-Invasion Indigenous governance structures

Pre-invasion Bolivian Indigenous structures were based on local *allyus*. The *allyus* are 'Andean indigenous communities of extended families, cargo-based leadership patterns and occupation of specific territorial spaces' (Andolina, Radcliffe, Laurie 2005, p. 679). This is comparable to Aboriginal governance structures of family, kin and clan networks. Presently, the bodies have developed their own form. They have evolved 'independently of the state ...

and at times they have fulfilled the role of authentic social creations of political combination, which do not require either state-mediation or legality to be effective’ (Garcia 2014, p. 89).

While they dominate regional areas, the *ayllus* played a role in city-struggle structures such as the *juntas vecinales*, (neighbourhood councils). During the 2003 October Gas Wars, the El Alto populace was mobilised through the work of the Federación de Juntas Vecinales de El Alto, Federation of Neighbourhood Councils-El Alto (FEJUVE — Spanish spelling). *Ayllus* make decisions via consensus, ‘after relatively lengthy discussions ... reduces the role of the leader of the community ... to one of responsive leadership, “command by obeying”’ (Rudel 2007, para 13).

Bolivia’s Indigenous communities won federal recognition and support for the *ayllu* formation in the federal Tierras Comunitarias de Origen (TCO — Spanish spelling) in 1994, later becoming the Territorios Indígena Originario Campesinos, Community Lands of Origin (TIOC — Spanish spelling) and then the Territorio Autónomo Indígena the (Autonomous Indigenous Territory (AIOC — Spanish spelling).

In pre-invasion Australia, Indigenous governance structures were based on kinship and linguistically-linked families. The ‘polygynous-gerontocratic family ... was one of the fundamental traditional institutions incorporating or manifesting production relations among Australian Aborigines’ (Rose 1987, p.6). Clans were led by the elders in what anthropologist Frederick Rose describes as ‘gerontocracy: government by the old people’ (Rose 1987, p.6). More than 500 different Aboriginal nations existed at the time of British invasion (Behrendt 2012 p.8). More than ‘500 dialects were spoken by the Indigenous population’, making up ‘about 250 distinct languages’ (ABS Australian Social Trends 1999, online).

Indeed, the complexity of post-colonial distinct language, territorial and cultural Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities presents a challenge in creating an inclusive or ‘pan’ Aboriginal federal self-governance body. According to Aboriginal barrister Pat O’Shane of the Kunjandji clan of the Yalangi people, it is ‘nonsense to suggest different clans and tribal groups who were thrown together as a result of colonial and assimilationist policies have any sense of common purpose, or interests, sufficient to constitute a national identity’ (Maddison 2008, p. 46). A solution suggested activist Raymond Weatherall, a Gamilaraay Birriwaa man, is ‘a representative body ... [that] needs clan-specific treaties between nations that revive the songlines since time immemorial’. Only ‘through this we can have elected representatives from each nation to create a document that is honoured by the international community’ (Weatherall 2017, para 3). Ken Canning agreed. ‘I think we need to have treaties amongst ourselves because there’s still some factionalism’ (Canning personal

communication, June 22, 2016). It appears the Bolivian government, formally incorporates this multi-kinship group diversity through its plurinational constitution (Plurinational Constitution of 2009, 2009, p. 7). The Australian government has not funded any national pan-Aboriginal representative body since the abolition of ATSIC.

In sum, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander self-governance networks have survived colonial attacks but face greater hurdles than Bolivia's.

While self-governance structures in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities exist, the neoliberal phase has made conditions worse for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. It has reduced capacity for community self-governance. This section of this study explores the history and current state of First Nation self-determination organisations in Australia.

Land Councils and the Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander Commission

The legacy of battles fought in the 20th Century placed pressure on 21st Century governments to fund Aboriginal self-governance. Early campaigns led to the establishment of Land Rights Acts and local Land Councils in the Northern Territory (NT) and New South Wales (NSW). Resistance against mining projects cohered campaigning groups and Aboriginal-run and led, national bodies. All these structures implemented various self-determining governing measures: elected Aboriginal representatives, conferences and some independent financing.

Indeed, since the 1970s Aboriginal communities have had some form of elected national representation within the prism of 'self-determination as the principle which underlay the government's approach to policy-making in Indigenous affairs' (Pratt, Bennett 2004, para 11). That is, until the abolition of ATSIC in 2005. Communities won government funding for National Aboriginal Consultative Committee (NACC) in 1973–77, then the National Aboriginal Conference (NAC), 1977–85, then ATSIC in 1990. The *Northern Territory (NT) Land Rights Act* (1976) established two Land Councils to represent the 'claims and rights of the various communities and created an Aboriginal Lands Commissioner to adjudicate claims' (Broome 2010, p. 235). Land Councils are a chain in the assemblage of Aboriginal self-governance bodies, with the NT's Local Aboriginal Land Councils (LALCs), in particular, exercising 'real negotiating power with governments and multinational companies, rather than playing a passive, consultative role' (Neill 2002, p. 33).

NSW is the state with the most extensive network of local land councils. The state is 'divided into 9 regions with 119 local Aboriginal land councils' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation News 2011, para 8). Aboriginal land councils are not funded by taxpayers. Indeed, in NSW government withdrew funding. Ken Canning recalled: 'Under the Greiner government, Lands Councils' funds were frozen illegally. Illegally and we proved it. He froze ... every Lands Council in NSW. Our particular Lands Council [was] building a cultural education centre' (Canning personal communication, June 22, 2016).

While a sign of progress, I contend that Land Councils fall short of real autonomy and determining structures. Established by government, Land Councils in the NT did not evolve into campaigning organisations to fight governments for sovereignty rights. They spent 'too much on administration ... the same powerful figures who ran some land councils and decided how millions of dollars in royalties would be distributed, were often among the beneficiaries of those royalties' (Neill 2002, p. 275). Moreover, many of their constituents found them to be 'bureaucratic, remote, tardy and uninterested in local Aboriginal problems' (ibid, p. 275). Referring to Land Councils in NSW, Ken Canning concurred:

The Land Councils that were set up in the ... '80s started to manage lands, but they were also offered deals from companies. Companies that were chaffing at the bit to get their hands on our land. Have it all formalised. Land rights, well we had some good battles and won some space and then companies had to start working other ways to move us off land ... And some of the Councils let them (Canning personal communication, June 22, 2016).

The next self-governance victory in the neoliberal period, ATSIC, was won on the back of community organising efforts. Among a range of campaign highlights, the 1988 anti-bicentenary march in Sydney helped apply pressure. With forty thousand people rallying, it was one of the largest Aboriginal rights protests in Australia's history (Pose 2009, para 1). On the importance of these marches, Zachary Wone commented:

The big marches in 1988 as well ... you know the Bicentennial ... that really changed the way people saw Australia Day being on the 26th January, that really did have an impact on the mainstream I believe. Even if it did not change the date then, it was really the beginning of the end of the 26th January and we have been building on that ever since (Wone personal communication, June 25, 2016).

ATSIC, established by the Bob Hawke Labor government in 1990, was the first Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander-only national political structure in Australia's colonial history. Elected every three years, its 'governance structure was made up of thirty-five regional councils (with over 400 councillors), the ATSIC Board (comprising 18 zone commissioners), and the Chair who was elected after 1999' (Anthony 2010, para 7). Its reach was unparalleled, 'backed by an administrative machine of several hundred public servants who

were involved in research and service delivery' (ibid, para 7). Its framework and structure adhered to some principles of self-determination (Ivan, 2015, para 13). However, the government did not allow decision making about federal expenditures and the ATSIC Board was under the jurisdiction of the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. Wiradjuri warrior Ray Jackson argued ATSIC was not self-determining. It was, he said:

Not an example of self-determination because it was tied to the governments of the day and to the public service delivery. All spending or administration decisions taken by the ATSIC councillors at all three levels were vetted by the white bureaucrats attached to ATSIC who had the power of veto (Creative Spirits 2017d, para 9).

Gumbainggir activist Gary Foley also contends ATSIC was not representative. 'The voter turn-out for ATSIC was around 30 per cent' (Anthony 2010, para 6). ATSIC's demise was sealed with the election of the conservative government of Prime Minister John Howard in 1996 and the ALP withdrawing its support. ATSIC lasted 14 years and, while it was supported by various community members, there was no substantial campaign to save it. Indeed, robust self-governance structures, argues Pelizzon, 'can only be asserted' (Pelizzon 2016, para 12). Upon examination, ATSIC and the Land Councils did not confidently assert community interests to the government.

Both the Land Council and ATSIC's framework indicates neither an anti-government positioning, nor the capacity to battle the government for Indigenous self-governing power. Roxley Foley comments on the tension government funding places Land Councils and organisations like ATSIC within. 'I wouldn't call them neoliberal organisations, I would call them a community-controlled organisation that had to exist within a neoliberal structure' (Foley, personal communication, June 18, 2016). One could argue the establishment framework straitjacket the government placed on ATSIC muted its effectiveness as a self-governance project. In ATSIC's case, the lack of a campaign to save it, points towards a disconnect from the communities it was purported to be representing.

Two other national grassroots, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander member-only organisations evolved in the neoliberal period and remain today. They practice self-governance in-so-far as they elect board members and conduct meetings to discuss aims, campaigns and objectives. The Aboriginal Provisional Government (APG) was formed in July 1990, on a sovereignty principle. The organisation 'campaigns for Aboriginal self-determination and self-government' (Aboriginal Provisional Government 1990, para 1). To formalise separate nationhood, APG issues Aboriginal passports, 'on the basis that the Aboriginal nation is separate to the Australian nation and that Aboriginal people have distinct rights, including having a separate passport' (Australian Provisional Government, 2014, para

4). APG is governed by a body of nationally-based elders, who are entirely autonomous. ‘The Elders will control entry to their membership, as is entirely appropriate. The Executive Council positions can be filled by popular elections or by co-opting appropriate people’ (Aboriginal Provisional Government 1990, para 3). In this way they are continuing cultural forms of ‘gerontocracy’ governance (Rose 1987, p.6).

The other national organisation is the National Congress of Australia’s First Peoples, established by the federal government in April 2010. The Congress aims to ‘defend our protections against racial discriminations, the Constitutional reform, and pursuing self-determination for our Peoples’ (National Congress 2017, para 3). The organisation conducted National Congress Conferences from 2011 to 2013, when it suffered funding cuts following the election of the Coalition government of Tony Abbott (RN Breakfast 2016, para 1). They still hold Annual General Meetings, which deliver Finance reports. They have developed policies on health, education, culture and launched the ‘Redfern Statement’ in 2016. The leadership is elected by Indigenous members who apply to join. They have no stated sovereignty aims (National Congress 2017, para 3).

These current First Nations organisations are struggling against austerity and assimilation policies. A closer examination of their work will provide an analysis of their battle strength.

The following section chronicles struggles of Indigenous communities in the neoliberal phase. Word constraints means a thorough examination of these campaigns has been included in Appendix 4.

Appraising Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander struggles in the neoliberal phase

Battles against mining projects strengthened existing Aboriginal self-governance groups and paved the way for more militant organisations such as Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance and the Freedom Summit. Appendix 3 *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Organisations* summarises Aboriginal-only organisations and service organisations functioning in Australia. Two battles to halt a radioactive waste dump on Aboriginal lands were won in the neoliberal period (Bonacci 2014, para 2) (Pepper 2014, para 3). A large campaign stopped a project for a uranium mine at Jabiluka, and the Nyulnyn and Jarirrjabirr people fought off a gas project at Walmadan/James Price Point (Hinman 2015 para 2).

However, campaigns have not been able to repeal the NT Intervention, nor the coal mining in the land of the Gomeroi people in northern NSW (Murphy 2012, para 3). A battle to stop coal mining on the land of the Wangan and Jagalingou people in the Galilee Basin has still not been resolved. Campaigns to arrest the rise in the number of children stolen by governments have not elicited a definitive change, although individual families have been able to win the return of their children. Equally, campaigns to end the disproportionately high rate of imprisonment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people has not abated the arrests and imprisonments (Wahlquist 2015 para 2). Additionally, no justice has been served for deaths in custody victims or their families.

But a heroic struggle against an urban land grab has elicited a partial victory. As conservative Prime Minister Tony Abbott supported state governments' attacks on WA and SA Aboriginal communities, the Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy (RATE) fought to save Redfern for Aboriginal communities. The 'Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy started by Jenny Munro, well, she stayed there the whole 15 months. We marched, marched and marched' (Canning personal communication, June 22, 2016). The strong campaign against forced community closures in Western Australia, featuring successful #sosblakaustralia rallies, tipped the balance in favour of RATE. The Abbott government offered a \$70 million deal to the Aboriginal Housing Corporation, consisting of a \$5 million grant and promises to organise a \$65 million bank loan (Evans 2015, para 3). Socialist activists in Socialist Alliance, Solidarity and the militant Maritime Union of Australia assisted the campaign (Telford 2015, para 1), (Fields 2015, para 1), (Gibson 2015, para 1). While the battle for the Block was not a conclusive win it was an advance for Aboriginal self-governance. Renowned Wiradjuri elder Jenny Munro led RATE and joined the Freedom Summit, a grass roots national network of militant Aboriginal activists.

Appendix 4 *Stand Out Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander battles in the neoliberal phase* lists other critical battles in the neoliberal phase. Compared to Australia, Bolivia's Indigenous struggles in the neoliberal phase significantly advanced their self-governance projects. The next section of research appraises this sovereignty shift.

Bolivia's Indigenous self-governance gains

Bolivia's battles for Indigenous self-governance were accelerated by Morales's election victory in December 2005. The social movements of the *Coca, Water and Gas Wars* cohered the socialist-Indianist political alternative with the MAS vote rising dramatically in the 2002

parliamentary elections. MAS won '27 seats out of 130 in the Chamber of Deputies, and the MIP (Indigenous Pachakuti Party), led by Felipe Quispe, secured 6; MAS also won 8 of a total 27 Senate seats' (Hylton and Thomson, 2005, para 7). Morales was only narrowly defeated by the US preferred candidate Sánchez de Lozada, who won 22.5 per cent. It is important to remember that 'no left party in Bolivia had ever secured more than 5 per cent of the national vote on its own' (ibid 2007, para 8).

In 2002 coca war leader, Morales was seen as such a threat to the political class that he 'was expelled from the Congress ... for alleged complicity in the death of police officers in Chapare clashes' (Duckerley 2007 p. 7). In 2005, Morales's work with salt-of-the-earth *cocaleros*, Indigenous workers, *meztizo* peasants, and the disenfranchised middle-classes propelled him into presidency with 53.7% of the vote (Burbach, Fox, Fuentes, 2014, p. 79).

Bolivia's new Vice-President, Alvaro Garcia Linera contends that MAS are leading the consolidation of Indigenous people into a governing force.

This is a revolution that is political, cultural and economic ... an act of social sovereignty that has made possible the conversion of the indigenous demographic majority into a state political majority; a modification of the social and class nature of control and hegemony in the state (Linera 2012, para 2).

Indeed, Indigenous diversity and governance is now enshrined in Bolivia's *Political Constitution of the State*, which came into effect in February 2009. It declared Bolivia a Plurinational State, defining it as:

The pre-colonial existence of nations and rural native indigenous peoples and their ancestral control of their territories, their free determination, consisting of the right to autonomy, self-government, their culture, recognition of their institutions, and the consolidation of their territorial entities, is guaranteed within the framework of the unity of the State, in accordance with this Constitution and the law Bolivia (Plurinational State of)'s Constitution of 2009, 2009, p. 7).

It appears that Bolivia's 'plurinationalism' is the government's embodiment of Indigenous sovereignty. Plurinationalism consists of 'nations within nations, meaning states. Beyond recognition of minorities it entails self-determination as a right and a practice' (Fidler 2016 Appendix 12). Additionally, autonomous Indigenous native peasant autonomy structures or (AIOCs), are formally recognised within the plurinational state. However, while AIOCs embody plurinationalism, it is a laborious process for communities to gain formal recognition and not actively supported by local, state or federal governments. In December 2009:

eleven municipalities opted through referendum to convert to AIOCs, but six years later, only Charagua has passed through all the hoops to become full autonomy, while in another (Oruro) autonomy was defeated in referendum, and the other nine are in various stages of approval, awaiting declaration of constitutionality' (Fidler 2016, Appendix 12).

Latin American commentator Jason Tockman reflected on the importance of the 2009 Constitutional changes to Indigenous self-determination models, noting:

The Constitution substantially altered Bolivia's territorial organisational and government institutions, structuring them anew around a series of 'territorial entities', a central government based in La Paz, nine departments, 112 sub-departmental provinces, and 327 municipalities, which typically include an urban centre and the surrounding rural areas (Tockman 2017, p. 127).

However, Indigenous autonomies are not featured in the government strategy outlined in the 2025 aims and goals document 'Agenda Patriótica 2025' (Fidler 2016, Appendix 12). Author Jason Tockman concurs. He notes that since 2009 there has been a 'programmatic orientation that has conflicted with Indigenous peoples' demands for greater territorial control; this has meant ... a growing official ambivalence toward a program on Indigenous autonomy — and communitarian democracy more broadly' (Tockman 2017, p. 130).

Asked why an Indigenous autonomy agenda no longer seemed a priority of the MAS, Bolivian Vice-President Alvaro Garcia Linera said 'autonomy arose as a slogan to weaken the state. ... Now the state has Indianized and autonomy loses the force it had previously' (ibid, 2016). While the AIOCs are flagging, this comment shows the vice-president conceptualising the MAS-led government, departments, projects, courts and other elements of Bolivia's state, as an 'Indian'/Indigenous government.

But critics argue Morales is cheapening Indigeneity for crass political gain. Author Nicole Fabricant argued the Morales leadership is using Indigeneity as identity for nefarious means. 'Indigeneity has, at times, simply been used as an empty signifier to promote a model of development that continues to place its core faith in the capitalist market as the principle engine of growth and industrialization' (Fabricant 2012, p. 180). Similarly, interviewee Pablo Regalsky argued 'Evo Morales was never an Indigenous and never defended the interests of the Indigenous. He was always a Nationalist who masqueraded as an indigenous' (Appendix g 2016, para 14).

Conversely the United Nations special rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples applauds Bolivia for their Indigenous governance development. In 2017 the UN special rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples made special mention of Ecuador and Bolivia implementing pro-Indigenous Constitutions. Victoria Tauli-Corpuz said: 'Ecuador and Bolivia are unique in their efforts to enshrine the principles of the declaration in their respective constitutions' (TeleSur 2017a, para 4). This debate about Indigenous inclusion within Bolivia's state is intertwined with a discussion of whether Indigenous communities

should participate in the state at all. The next segment of research explores these arguments.

Indigenous people's involvement in the state

There is significant tension in Indigenous activist circles and scholarship about participating in state structures, and in an Indigenous separate state. This section of the research addresses arguments concerning these apparent contradictions.

In Bolivia's case, it appears forging MAS was key to Morales's victory. MAS's origins lie within *katarismo*, the anti-colonial and anti-capitalist *Indigenista* current (Fuentes 2005, para 6). In the 1980s and 1990s, Morales led the '60,000 strong coca-growers movement' to enter the electoral sphere with the Left Unity (IU) political party in the 1989 municipal elections, successfully 'gaining 42% of the votes' (Dangl 2007, p. 48). Then the *cocaleros* founded the Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples (IPSP) in 1995 consolidating the socialist-Indigenous political synergy. The formation of the Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the People's (IPSP) consolidated the indigenous movement. (Fuentes 2007 p. 98) IPSP developed a deeper anti-imperialist political platform and character and took the name 'Movement Towards Socialism' to run in elections (Fuentes 2007 p. 101). MAS promulgated a self-empowerment message, winning elections in 2005. This black-red alliance was critical to the MAS electoral victory.

However, there is debate about the merits of wielding elements of the state to empower Indigenous communities. Bolivian interviewee Odalis Zuazo noted:

I am anti-state. Because I think state is the legal way to rob and cheat the people. Whichever type of state ... neoliberal, communist, socialist, all of them. For me a state has been created so that society can live well together. As we see all states worldwide, I do not see that they play that role. So for me, states in general are a legal way to rob and cheat the people (Zuazo personal communication, May 22, 2016).

Equally, Pablo Regalsky commentd:

You cannot think that the state is going to liberate us when the function of the state is to control us, subordinate us and exploit us. ... [I am] absolutely opposed to the state. It is a colonial state and has absolutely nothing to do in relation to a plurinational state (Regalsky personal communication, May 27, 2016).

Of the three Bolivian interviewees in this research, only Enrique Ballivian approved of Indigenous people entering into government or utilising the state.

MAS is these people and intellectuals and others coming from other backgrounds. So, I think that was also a key strategy from the indigenous people to actually think that it is possible to take the power not only resist. And there were a lot of debates you know about the state and if we really need to be in the state or not destroy the state but at the end of the day the notion that prevailed was the one saying it is needed to take power

and I think history has shown that it was important to have Indigenous people in government (Ballivian personal communication May, 25, 2016).

From the Aboriginal interviewee cohort, Ken Canning opposed the state, saying:

From a First Nation point of view you know, we are born outside the state to start with, we are born outside the system ... so why on earth should we even bother to participate in the system? That's where I stand on the state. I suppose if we were two equal entities standing toe to toe, we'd be mortal enemies (Canning personal communication, June 22, 2016).

Roxley Foley supported involvement with government projects, albeit with qualifications.

When asked if he thought Indigenous campaigns could advance with communities working closely with government's he said

it always seems like a dance with devil. In some levels you have to acknowledge who has the power in the situation and sometimes that then fills the need to work or deal with the government but at the end of the day the government's power comes from the peoples support and there is the ability to circumvent that by dealing directly with the people (Foley personal communication, June 18, 2016).

Zachary Wone supported accessing elements of the state, commenting

Yes, definitely. I think it does not mean to sacrifice self-determination. I think Aboriginal affairs need to be run by Aboriginal people. I think there is a need to have proper relationships... even with the bureaucracy of Canberra and the state government. There needs to be more of an understanding of how communities work (Wone, personal communication, June 25, 2016).

Indeed, Bolivia's director of Depatriarchalization Unit in the Vice Ministry of Decolonization, Elisa Vega Sillo, argues the state has to be employed to implement a range of anti-colonial programs. These projects are 'done via the state but also via the social organizations, because this is an issue of how to organize, how to speak of our ancestral technologies' (Dangl and Sillo 2015, para 3).

In sum, while a range of key Bolivian Indigenous community and government leaders hold a position that they want to see a state working in their interests, Australia's Indigenous people remain critical and suspicious. A variety of reasons could explain why Australia's Indigenous people express reticence to access state structures. The settler colonial state in Australia has used every aspect of the state — health, welfare, education, housing, policing and courts — against Indigenous people. A lack of trust in these institutions is understandable (Murphy 2008, p. 186).

On evidence presented, as part of its Indigenous governance project the Morales government is forging an economic sovereignty model. This section of research explores the Morales's government's economic projects and compares it with those of the Australian

government.

Bolivia's economic sovereignty project versus Australia's 'stolen wealth'

Bolivia re-nationalised privately-owned resources and redirected the wealth to the Indigenous majority through the 'New Economic, Social, Communitarian and Productive Model'. This model reasserted state sovereignty over the economy, industrialised reclaimed resources, promoted agriculture and manufacturing and redistributed the wealth (Fuentes, 2015, para 4). Morales nationalised the gas and oil industry, Bolivian airlines, telecommunications, railways and electrical companies. The government reactivated, mechanised tin mining and established the Ausmelt oven to smelt and refine concentrates of zinc, silver, lead, gallium, germanium and vanadium (Ministerio de Comunicacion 2015 p33-39). Before the nationalisations, gas transnational capital claimed 82% of the wealth generated by gas royalties. Under the new laws the state kept about 80% of gas rent (Fuentes 2015, para 8). Reclaiming these resources appears an act of 'conquest' and an act of effective self-governance for the Indigenous-led, anti-capitalist government. An Achievements table - Appendix 5 holds more information about economic gains in Bolivia.

In comparison, in Australia, federal and state governments prioritise support for the mining and fossil fuel industry over addressing Indigenous disadvantage. The mining sector receives significant state funding compared to Aboriginal communities. Australian state and federal governments grant \$7.4 billion to the mining industry annually (Peel, Campbell, Denniss 2014, p.2). Yet 'only \$5.6 billion is provided through Indigenous-specific or targeted services every year' (The Conversation 2016, para 7). The election of conservative Liberal Party Prime Minister Tony Abbott in 2013 boosted the mining sector's power and entrenched Indigenous disadvantage.

Abbott attacked Indigenous organisation through defunding the National Congress. In July 2014, the Abbott government centralised 'Indigenous programs into the department of prime minister and cabinet' with funding 'issued through an Indigenous Advancement Strategy (IAS)' (Behrendt 2015, para 5). The IAS 'replaced more than 150 individual programs and activities with five broad-based programs: jobs, land and economy; children and schooling; safety and wellbeing; culture and capability; and remote Australia strategies' (Peterson 2015, para 4). Abbott supported the Western Australian state government's closure of 150 remote Aboriginal communities.

By contrast, while Bolivia's Indigenous self-governance project faces significant challenges it is undeniably providing enormous benefits to Indigenous Bolivians.

[In] nine years public spending has increased by 750% with the government spending US\$1 billion on 5000 community projects including clinics, schools, and gyms. The minimum wage increases have resulted in purchasing power more than doubling in 10 years and extreme poverty has decreased from 38.2% to 17.8% in 9 years (TeleSur 2016, para 6).

Bolivia has achieved the lowest rate of unemployment of any country in the region. The first solar photovoltaic plant has been built in Pando with the aim of providing clean energy to 54,000 households. Appendix 5, *Achievements* holds more information about Bolivia's gains.

Socialists, the right to self-determine and black-red alliances

Socialists and communists have formed coalitions with Indigenous forces in both Australia and Bolivia, in what Terry Townsend describes as 'black-red' alliances (Townsend 2009 p.5). This relationship appears critical to the success of certain Indigenous-led movements. This segment of research explores the rationale behind the relationship between Indigenous and socialist forces.

Socialists have supported autonomy and succession rights in various forms for ethnic minorities and oppressed nations. This tradition started with the Bolsheviks, the party of the Russian revolution. After the victory of revolutionary forces in Russia in 1917, 'the Bolsheviks themselves came to favour forms of national autonomy within a federal structure for those oppressed and conquered nations that did not opt for separation ... an early instance of "plurinationality"' (Fidler 2016 Appendix 12). Bolivia's socialist-Indigenous government seems to be reinvigorating the Bolshevik tradition of supporting autonomy for ethnic minorities through its plurinational structures.

Socialists fight on an internationalist, anti-imperialist platform. Imperialism is also an enemy of Indigenous self-governance, argued decolonisation scholar Tuhiwai Smith. Indigenous cultural resistance has a transnational target in imperialism which 'still hurts, still destroys and is reforming itself constantly' (Smith 2013, p 57). So Indigenous communities and socialist groups both have an adversary in imperialism. This is another basis to the black-red alliances.

In Australia this alliance developed with the Communist Party, then various and socialist groups. Critical battles (Gurindji, Pilbara and Change the Date, for example) were advanced by the black-red alliances. Socialist groups run socialist Aboriginal candidates in

state and federal elections. However, unlike Bolivia, there has been no synthesising of Indigenous and socialist forces into a political party.

Bolivia's black-red alliances were emboldened by the Indigenous led-Zapatista sovereignty push in Chiapas, Mexico. This 'inspired Bolivia's movements' (McIlroy and Wynter, 2013, para 17). Furthermore, a swathe of left-wing 'pink tide' centre-left and anti-capitalist governments in Latin America were elected in the early 21st century.

By 2009, nearly two-thirds of Latin America lived under some form of left-leaning national government. The breadth of this 'left turn' was unprecedented; never before had so many countries in the region entrusted the affairs of state to leaders associated with the political Left (Levitsky and Roberts 2011 p. 1).

This left turn, the 'governments of Hugo Chavez (Venezuela), Evo Morales (Bolivia), and Rafael Correa (Ecuador)' are 'staunch critics of the capitalist system, if not advocates of socialism' (Ellner 2014, p. 2). Bolivia is pushing back against imperialism. As part of his first speech in December 2005, Morales ended with a slogan from 'the coca-farmers' union, "Causachun coca, wañuchun yanquis" ("Long live coca, death to the Yankees"). In following months Bolivia broke with the previous practice of allowing US ambassadors to influence appointments to senior government posts' (Riddell 2011 para 14). Bolivia then 'refused to grant legal immunity to US soldiers operating in the country; in response, the US cancelled 96% of its support to the Bolivian army' (ibid). To cement Bolivia's economic independence, they 'cancelled the practice by which the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have a say in the country's financial policies and ended its dependency on loans from these agencies' (Riddell 2011 para 14).

While these pink tide governments proliferated in Latin America in the 2000s, the neoliberal model still dominated transnationally. Does this mean the pink tide governments can be characterised as neoliberal? Critic of the Morales government Jeffery Webber posits the narrative that, beginning in 2002, Morales 'began to shift away from radical critiques of neoliberalism and imperialism ... anti-imperialism and anti-neoliberalism were pushed to the background as reformist electoralism was given pride of place' (Broder 2011, p 68-69). The next segment of the research will explore various arguments made against the communitarian Bolivian government.

Is the Bolivian government neoliberal?

While the Bolivian government's narrative is anti-imperialist, they still engage on the transnational neoliberal market. Commentator Jason Tockman notes that:

Since taking office, MAS have contended with different pressures: governing in Bolivia's complex landscape of social and political forces and grappling with a position in the global economy that makes it difficult to chart an economic program not based on the extraction of natural resources (Tockman 2017, p. 130).

Indeed, a range of international progressives posit the Morales leadership is neoliberal. Jeffery Webber is author of two recent books on Bolivia, *From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia: Class Struggle, Indigenous Liberation, and the Politics of Evo Morales* (2011) and *Red October: Left-Indigenous Struggles in Modern Bolivia* (2011), and he has now become one of the most strident critic of the Morales government. In *From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia* Weber argues 'the MAS administration and the class interests it serves tend to represent an important continuity with the pre-existing neoliberal model — alive in Bolivia since the shock therapy of the mid-1980s' (Webber 2011, p. 70). He specifies that the three years 2007–2010 revealed 'the deepening and consolidation of the initial trend toward a reconstituted neoliberalism' (idid, p. 10). It was 'once in office, Morales instituted what I suggest is best understood as a reconstituted neoliberalism' (Broder 2011, para 6). Webber asserts the MAS government's reconstruction of neoliberalism has resulted 'in no change in poverty levels' (Webber 2011, p. 10).

Another Latin American commentator, former advisor to Salvador Allende and Hugo Chavez James Petras argues Morales has been the Latin American government proving the 'most striking example of the "center-left" regimes, which have embraced the neoliberal agenda' (Petras 2006, para 22). He contends that four years after Morales' election the government only 'allowed for incremental increases in the minimum wage, salaries and wages thus marginally improving living conditions' (Petras 2010, para 28). He said 'the two most striking aspects of Morales's economic and political strategies is the emphasis on the traditional extractive mineral exports and the construction of a typical corporatist patronage based electoral machine (Petras 2010, para 31).

Benjamin Dangl, author of the *Price of Fire — Resource Wars and Social Movements in Bolivia* also positions Morales as neoliberal, saying

Morales touts the rights of nature and Mother Earth, but leads an extractive-based economy that has wreaked havoc in the countryside, extended extractive industries into national parks, and displaced some of the same rural communities his policies aim to support (Dangl 2016, para 8).

Argentine sociologist Maristella Svampa challenged the Morales government, writing of 'the most paradoxical scenarios of the commodity consensus are those presented by Bolivia and Ecuador' (Svampa 2015, p.67). She defined this consensus as deepening 'the dynamic of dispossession ... the dispossession and accumulation of land, resources and territories,

principally by large corporations, in multiscale alliances with different governments' (ibid, p.66).

In assessing the claim that MAS is reconstituting neoliberalism it is well to reiterate key elements of the phenomena. Neoliberalism is a particular stage of shock and awe capitalism that was first implemented by Chilean dictator Pinochet in the 1970s (Bockman 2013, p. 15). Its economic measures include privatisations, deregulation of protectionist policies, wage cuts and attacks on conditions for the majority of workers (Dixon 2001, para 28, 29). Neoliberalism aims to concentrate wealth into elite hands. Its political measures attack collective organisations of workers and community to weaken them against a corporate agenda. It aimed 'to restore capitalist class-power in all corners of the globe' (Webber 2011a, p. 30).

A measured appraisal of MAS's economic and political policies shows an anti-neoliberal program. To redress the colonial legacy of de-development, Alvaro Garcia Linera said Bolivia's choice was 'industrialisation or death' (Fuentes 2010, para 9). So, the MAS government invested more than US\$300 million in exploring and exploiting hydrocarbons. They have built a pilot plant assembling lithium ion batteries for computers and mobile phones and invested millions in gas and chemical plants (Ministerio de Comunicacion 2015, p.43-46). State funding in these industrialisation projects and social programs reduced the extreme and moderate poverty of two million Bolivians between 2001 and 2014. This was higher than the average rate of poverty reduction in Latin America (ibid, p. 4). By 2012, 'the number of people living on less than \$1 per day had fallen from 38% to 24%' (Achtenberg 2012, para 20). The government also raised the minimum wage. In 2006, the minimum national salary was 500 Bolivias and by 2015, this had risen to 1,656 Bs (Ministerio de Comunicacion 2015, p. 5). Poverty has reduced, admits a 2015 IMF report, *Bolivia Faces Challenge of Adapting to Lower Commodity Prices*. 'Bolivia,' the report admits, 'has achieved tremendous reductions in poverty and inequality over the past decade' (Ogawa 2015, para 3). Additionally, the World Bank has declared Bolivia a 'middle income country' after 'GDP per capita has nearly doubled since 2005' (Achtenberg 2012, para 19). Re-nationalisations, investment in social and environmental programs, resourcing Indigenous communities and increasing the minimum wage are measures that have reduced poverty. This program does not indicate MAS is implementing any form of neoliberalism, reconstructed, or otherwise.

Compared with the Bolivian government's anti-imperialist stance, Australia has a close relationship with the US. The nation has been locked in a strategic alliance with the US

‘formalised in 1951 in the Australia-US alliance’ (Fazio 2014 para 2). This alliance between the US and Australia has not been severed by a strong anti-imperialist movement in Australia. This determined alliance with US imperialism suggests an explanation for Australia’s reluctance to support Indigenous self-governance, compared with Bolivia. The next section will address the nature of these alliances in Australia.

Black-red alliances in Australia

While MAS grew in strength through consolidating the social power of the Indigenous people in Bolivia, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) weakened under neoliberalism’s assault on working organisations.

The CPA was the largest anti-capitalist organisation during the 20th century. A range of Aboriginal activists, attracted to them, joined or worked closely with them. Torres Strait Islander Eddie ‘Koiki’ Mabo worked closely with the Communist Party (Courtice 1997, para 2). This alliance-building tradition is carried on today with the work of socialist organisations in Australia, in a variety of Aboriginal-led justice campaigns.

Socialist organisations, in the 21st century assisted in campaigns led by Aboriginal families for Justice for TJ Hickey, a young Aboriginal victim of police murder; Justice for Mulrunji, a Palm Island Aboriginal victim of police brutality; and assisted the Redfern Tent Embassy battle (Brear 2005, para 1) (McIlroy 2010, para 1) (Cohrs, 2015, para 3). In 2016 and 2017, Socialist Alliance ran three Aboriginal candidates in state and federal elections. (Socialist Alliance, 2016, para 1) (Socialist Alliance 2016, para 3) (Green Left Weekly 2017, para 2). Australian socialists currently hold three seats in local councils, in Fremantle, Moreland and Yarra Councils. Steve Jolly was re-elected to Yarra Council in 2016 with 31% of the vote, or 3384 votes and Sue Bolton, to the Moreland Council with 13.03% of the vote and 3249 votes (VEC 2016, para 1)(Hinman 2016, para 2). Socialist Alliance member Sam Wainwright was re-elected to Fremantle Council with 55% of the vote (Green Left Weekly 2017, para 2). But, reflecting the strength of the neoliberal period, socialist candidates are currently only receiving between 0.44 and 1.5% of the vote in state and federal elections, and are yet to win a seat in state or federal parliaments. (Smith 2013 para 5) (McIlroy 2012, para 5).

Socialist group Solidarity is active in Aboriginal rights battles. Solidarity is fighting the NT Intervention (Gibson 2017a, para 1), campaigning against abuse of Aboriginal children in the youth detention system (Gibson 2017b, para 1), and against the death in

custody of Eric Whittaker (Cotton 2017, para 1). Solidarity is an ‘organisation of activists, anti-capitalists and revolutionary socialists committed to socialism from below’ (Solidarity, 2017, para 5). Anecdotal evidence indicates most Aboriginal people identify with the left and progressives on a range of issues, ranging from social justice and land rights to environmental sustainability. Notable exceptions are Noel Pearson, Marcia Langton and Warren Mundine, who identify with pro-corporate forces of the right. Black-red alliances indicate a strategic sectoral and class coalition.

On balance, while socialist groups in Australia have developed and are advancing black-red alliances in Australia, these relationships have not elicited the same level of electoral victories for socialists as MAS in Bolivia. One posits this is a result of the relative success of the neoliberal project in Australia and strength of the elite compared with Bolivia. Bolivia’s pro-indigenous, anti-austerity and anti-privatisation campaigns are stronger in comparison to Australia’s, as are its socialist organisations and movements. Australia’s socialist movement gathers 30–55% of the vote in local council elections, but only between .5 and 2% of the vote in state and national elections. Openly socialist Bolivian presidential candidate Evo Morales won 65% of the national vote.

Anti-capitalist governance in Bolivia

Bolivia’s Indigenous sovereignty model contains aspects of Pelizzon’s self-determination model — structures forged in resistance against pro-colonial governments and in a struggle for conquest — and Arthur’s measures — representation, cultural achievements, land autonomy and economic sovereignty.

However, proclamations from leaders of the revolutionary process about the sovereignty model they are forging, can be seen as contradictory. Utilising a binary logic, one could frame the Bolivian government as capitalist, or socialist? Or is Bolivia building a communitarian Indigenous governance model dominated by market-based forces? Using a trivalent logic, is Bolivia’s project all three? That is, does its political project hold characteristics of capitalist, Indigenous communitarianism and socialist states? A study on the political and economic characteristics of Bolivia’s revolutionary project would need a more rigorous appraisal than this thesis has room for. However, even a cursory examination hints towards a dynamic, hyper-dialectical framework of this cultural revolution. The next segment of research deals with Bolivia’s governance model and Indigenous self-determining models within Australia.

At Evo Morales's inauguration speech in 2006 he said they were planning to:

Build a cultural, democratic revolution that would be the continuation of the struggle of Tupac Katari to restore the Tahuantinsuyo (the Incan empire), of Simon Bolivar to found a patria grande, and of Che Guevara to establish 'a new world in equality'. At the end of his speech, he quoted Sub Comandante Marcos of Mexico's Zapatista Army, promising to rule by obeying the Bolivian people (Postero 2010, p. 18-19).

This impressive lineage of anti-colonial, national, socialist and Indigenous influences pointed to Bolivia's mix of post-capitalist objectives. But is it a battle for socialism? Or for a third-way, reformation of capitalism? Bolivia's finance minister, Luis Arce Catacora, argued the project is anti-capitalist. Catacora argued this is because 'we are facing a structural crisis of capitalism. Capitalism is the old man around, an old man that is no longer responding to the advances of mankind demands. It is time for a change' (Schipani 2012, para 2) Catacora argued their plan is a for a 'communitarian model economically, socially and productively' (ibid).

Argentine scholar Pablo Stefanoni characterises Bolivia's revolution as driving forward an indigenous nationalism. This formulation is derived from Morales' pronouncements in his 2005 Presidential campaign. Morales explained three main objectives of the government in this period. He promised:

To make the Bolivian state truly participatory ... most of which represented indigenous Bolivians, to be the base of his new government. ... He argued neoliberalism was the cause of shared suffering of Bolivians and promised to reverse it. Finally, he promoted a national sovereignty free from the strictures of US imperialism and neoliberal capitalism (Postero 2010 p. 24).

Yet, Bolivia's Marxist Vice-President Alvaro Garcia Linera argued Bolivia's cultural, democratic project is not socialist, and they are building an 'Andean capitalism'. In answering why Bolivia cannot build socialism, Linera commented:

On the one hand, there is a proletariat that is numerically in a minority and politically non-existent, and you cannot build socialism without a proletariat. Secondly, the potential for agrarian and urban communities is very much weakened. ... In Bolivia, 70 per cent of workers in the cities work in family-based economic structures, and you do not build socialism on the basis of a family economy (Stefanoni 2005, para 8).

Alvero Garcia Linera posits that what Bolivia needs now is 'Andean Amazonian capitalism', a mixed economy that 'coordinates in a balanced way the three economic-productive' platforms that coexist in Bolivia: the community-based, the family-based, and the 'modern industrial' (Postero 2010 p. 24).

In sum, it appears the Bolivian Indigenous-led project must be characterised using a trivalent logic. It is Andean capitalist, it is anti-neoliberal, it is Indigenous nationalist and it has elements of communitarian socialism. What is the Australian government leading? The

next segment of research will look at Indigenous governance in Australia.

Indigenous self-governance in Australia under attack

In contrast, the Australian government is decimating Indigenous self-governance structures. This section of research will examine current Indigenous structures and the Australian government's response to them.

Indigenous organisations in Australia consist of four nationally underfunded organisations, land councils with limited decision-making capacity and Aboriginal-led services tied to government funding. However, two self-governance models have been proposed by Aboriginal activists and one has been enacted.

Michael Mansell from the APG argues for an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander seventh state. Mansell's seventh state would be a defined territory in Australia 'made up of Aboriginal-owned or native title lands; an elected Assembly with powers of State governments; having its own constitution; all Aboriginal people having a right to participate (by voting or standing for elections to the Assembly) regardless of where they live' (Mansell 2015, para 5).

Murrumu Walubara Yidindji, from the Sovereign Yidindji Government, whose lands stretch south of Port Douglas through Cairns, has declared sovereignty. Murrumu Walubara Yidindji sovereignty plan was implemented in early 2014 when Yidindji renounced his Australian citizenship and declared the Sovereign Yidindji Government. The area is an 'area in North Queensland about one and a half times the size of Hong Kong' (Daley 2015, para 5). In just over one year, about '40 people have taken the citizenship pledge to join the idindji tribal people, who also have their own driver licensing system' (Howden 2015, para 1). While the Sovereign Yidindji Government and seventh state conceptualisation represent a consolidation of theory and practice around a self-determination sovereignty model, they are still embryonic expressions of self-governance.

Another Indigenous self-governance project was introduced by Aboriginal lawyer Noel Pearson from the Bagaarmugu and Guggu Yalanji nation. It was a neoliberal self-governance model. In *Our Right to Take Responsibility* Pearson argued 'traditional economies involved responsibility, just as the white fella market economy' (Pearson 2000 p. 1) Pearson claims that a 'combination of passive welfare dependence and the grog and drug epidemic will, if not checked, cause the final breakdown of our traditional social relationships and values' (Pearson 2000, p 24). Pearson articulates an end to welfare for communities as a

solution: ‘we do not have a right to passive welfare — indeed, we can no longer accept it’ (Pearson 2000, p.1).

But efforts to implement Pearson’s model have not resulted in economic gains for Indigenous communities or in greater levels of self-governance. Pearson’s message was formalised through the publication *From Hand Out to Hand Up* in June 2007 and rolled out in policy with the Family Responsibilities Commission Bill 2008 (FRC) (Altman and Johns 2008, p 1, 11). As Director of the Cape York Institute of Policy and Leadership (CYI), Pearson oversaw the Cape York welfare reform trial which mimicked elements of the NT Intervention. The regime was rolled out in in ‘four predominantly Aboriginal communities in Cape York and Doomadgee in the Gulf of Carpentaria ... and can direct Centrelink to manage up to 90 per cent of a person’s social security payment if they fail to meet one of four “social responsibilities”’ (Campbell 2015, p 115). The FRC was made permanent (Campbell 2015, p 115).

While attacks on individual welfare recipients form the centrepiece of the project, the operation received an estimated ‘\$200 million in just four communities, without any real assessment of community benefit’ (Bateman 2015, para 1). In 2015, a group of Aboriginal elders within the ‘Cape York Alliance’ demanded an independent review into the operation claiming that the program held no benefit for communities (Bateman 2015, para 1). The trial’s punitive approach did not enlist high end results. The only independent review into the trials, cited in *The Australian*, pointed to incremental benefits. The trial ‘communities’ attendance rate was 4 percentage points lower than the attendance rate in comparable indigenous communities in 2008, but by 2011, it was six percentage points higher’ (Karvelas 2013, para 7). Pearson’s neoliberal experiment mimics the infantilising approach of the NT Intervention. The ability to self-govern under the rubric of such paternalistic measures could represent a challenge to communities.

It is clear that the Australian government, unlike the Bolivian is not interested in building a robust Indigenous self-governance model. They cut funding to ATSIC and the National Congress, they fund mining projects over Indigenous projects and they promote failing neoliberal models like Noel Pearson’s Cape York welfare trial.

Battles of Survival in Bolivia and Australia

That Bolivia's Indigenous self-governance project is forged in conquest, is demonstrated by its efforts to survive internal attacks and external imperialist interference. The US fomented a secessionist movement in the richer eastern region of the country (Riddell 2011, para 18).

The right-wing manoeuvre manifested in 2008 with oligarchs attempting to gain control of the 'Media Luna' states: Santa Cruz, Beni, Pando, and Tarija. These local oligarchs consist of:

Agro-industrialists Marinkovic, Monasterios, Matkovic, Costas, Nayar, etc., who still possess huge expanses of land, their wealth derived primarily from this appropriation of the rent of the land, and not so much from the possession of the land — which in reality is unproductive — which is why it was subject to reversion (Garcia 2012, para 7).

Civic groups supported by big business tried to 'divide the country and occupy half of the territory, including with armed groups. This would have been only temporary and later, a second move was to be the intervention of the United Nations, the Blue Helmets of the UN' (Wynter and McIlroy 2010, para 7). They used 'organised murderous fascist gangs to terrorise the population' and killed about forty peasants (Burbano 2008, para 4). Fascist gangs operate to advance a divisive, bloody and pro-corporate program. Theorist Michael Lowy defines fascism as 'the most recent brutal expression of the "permanent state of emergency" that is the history of class oppression' (Lowy cited in Greene 2016, para 31). These attacks culminated in the bloody Pando 'El Porvenir' Massacre, 'the worst in Bolivia since October 2003' (Hylton 2008, para 2).

Morales' Indigenous self-government project survived the 2008 coup attempt. Shortly after, the leadership thwarted the opposition's efforts to topple the government through a recall referendum in the same year, winning the 2008 'recall' vote by a landslide of 67% (Achtenberg 2016, para 9).

The other political backlash the MAS government survived was a battle over a highway development through the Amazon — the Isiboro-Secure National Park and Indigenous Territory (TIPNIS) in 2012. This led to a momentary fall in support for the Morales government, but appeared to have no significant lasting impact. Bolivia's government remains popular. A poll in February 2016 showed '77 per cent of Bolivians believe that President Evo Morales' leadership has been decisive for the country's national development in the past decade' (TeleSur 2016e, para 1). After three election victories, Morales had the honour of being the Latin American president with the 'longest tenure'

(Achtenberg 2016, para 4). This is exceptional, considering that Bolivia holds the world record for military coups with ‘around 180 coups since 1825’ (Fuentes 2011a, para 10).

While the elites’ opposition to grassroots Aboriginal forces in the neoliberal period has been fierce in Australia, it has not involved as much violent assault as Bolivia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and service organisations are fighting funding cuts. Bodies such as the National Aboriginal Congress find it hard to function (RN Breakfast, 2016, para 1). Yet a range of grassroots Aboriginal rights organisations cohered in 2014 and 2015. Arising out of the Redfern Tent Embassy and #sosblakaustralia struggle, these activist organisations provide the nucleus for a more robust Indigenous self-governance model. The ‘Freedom Summits’ consolidated a grassroots network of warriors. The first Summit was held in Mparntwe (Alice Springs, NT) on November 27 and 28, 2014 with 250 people attending and a 12-person leadership committee elected.

Another militant Aboriginal group formed in this period, Warriors of the Aboriginal Resisters (WAR). WAR was initiated in November 12, 2014 at the Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance Young Peoples Forum, in Brisbane. It is ‘a national grassroots alliance of young Aboriginal people committed to the cause of decolonisation and Aboriginal Nationalism’ (Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance 2014, p. 1) Another significant grassroots group is The Grandmothers Against Removals, established in NSW in 2014. They are fighting ‘the Stolen Generation Mark 2’. The Canberra Tent Embassy also become a focal point of organising for large mobilisations of Aboriginal communities (McIlroy and Wynter 2015, para 6). Finally, #sosblakaustralia is a Facebook network of activists and community leaders who organised the 2015 rallies against proposed community closures in Western Australia and South Australia.

Bolivia’s Extractivism

Although they survived a US-backed coup, challenges lie ahead for Bolivia’s government. On February 21, 2016 the government lost their first referendum by a narrow 2%. The referendum, if won, would have prompted constitutional changes that would have allowed Morales to run for President in elections. The loss was attributed to issues of corruption within the ‘Indigenous Development Fund (FONDIOC — Spanish spelling) which ... led to the jailing of former minister Julia Ramos, a smear campaign against Morales over a child he didn’t know he fathered, and a protest turned deadly just a few days before the vote’ (Gustafson 2016, para 5).

Bolivia's Indigenous government is also under attack from local and international voices who accuse Bolivia's Indigenous government of being anti-environment.

Bolivian writer Pablo Solon contended there is too much pollutive development in the country. He noted: 'The production of genetically modified foods soy for export has increased exponentially ... the protection of national parks and protected areas has been called into question [with] ... norms and projects for oil and gas exploration ... and the attempt to build a highway through the middle of the TIPNIS national park' (Solon 2016, para 88). Solon argued that 'deforestation annually effects between 150,000 and 250,000 hectares of native forests, to the benefit above all of agro-industry, cattle raising and real estate speculators ... the government has made no commitment to stop native deforestation in the current year' (ibid, para 89). A potential environmental disaster, Bolivia is moving to build a nuclear reactor in El Alto, the working-class city above La Paz (TeleSur 2018, para3).

However, critics do not point to facts published by the 'Forests and Land Authority (ABT) that show the Morales government has overseen an astonishing 64% cut in the deforestation rate between 2010 and 2013' (Fuentes 2015, para 4). Moreover, to better manage greenspaces,

in 2010, the government established a new state body dedicated to protecting forest areas, a large rise in fines for illegal logging, greater planning and collaboration with local farmers over the expansion of agriculture and handing over of large portions of forest lands to be managed by local indigenous peoples (ibid , para 5).

Bolivia also organised, in 2010, an historic 'World Peoples Summit on Climate Change and Mother Earth Rights held in Cochabamba, which attracted 30,000 people (Riddell 2011, para 12). It adopted a People's Agreement on tackling climate change which it condemned the 'capitalist system of production and consumption seeks profit without limits, separating human beings from nature and imposing a logic of domination upon nature, transforming everything into commodities' (The Cochabamba People's Agreement on stopping climate change 2010, para 1-3).

From the Conference, Bolivia led an alliance of Global South countries in taking the 'Cochabamba resolutions to the world climate change conference in Cancun, Mexico in December 2010. Bolivia ended up standing alone in flatly rejecting an imperialist-imposed deal that again failed to act on climate change'(Riddell 2011, para 13). Bolivia also successfully pushed the 'United Nations to back an international day of Mother Earth' (Solon 2016, para 90).

The MAS government's contradiction is summarised by former Bolivian hydrocarbon minister Andres Soliz Rada. He described the 'trap' Morales finds himself in, between 'his industrialist offers with which he achieved his re-election and the *indigenist* demands to comply with his proclaimed defence of the environment' (Fuentes 2010, para 10).

Morales 'responded to environmentalist and indigenous groups who oppose oil exploration in the Amazon by saying: "What will Bolivia live off?" Without oil revenue, there would be no money for government benefits payments' (Fuentes 2010, para 13).

There are increasing voices raised against Bolivia's mining and forestry projects. Maria Lohman of We Are the South, a Bolivian environmental group argued: 'We see ... the plundering of our resources. Each year, 740,000 acres go up in flames to clear land for agriculture' (Cabitza 2011, para 3). Articles such as 'Is Bolivia going to frack "Mother Earth"?', 'Bolivia's Eco-President: How Green Is Evo Morales', 'Corrupted Idealism: Bolivia's Compromise Between Development and the Environment' and 'The Two Faces of Evo' (Hill 2015, para 1) (Friedman-Rudovsky, 2010, para 1) (Farthing 2015, para 1) (Munoz 2015, para 1), posit similar arguments.

Vice Minister of Decolonization Felix Cardenas Aguila responded, arguing that 'extractivism' isn't something that this government invented. Bolivia has always lived off of mining ... extractivism. ... And that it doesn't just leave [the country] as raw material, but that there's a need to industrialize, and as we industrialize we can reach the point where we can lower the level of extractivism (Dangl 2015, para 9).

Conversely, international acclaim for the Bolivian government's efforts comes from the United Nations special rapporteur. In early 2017 the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples made special mention of the efforts Ecuador and Bolivia have made to implement their historic pro-Indigenous Constitutions. Victoria Mander and Tauli-Corpuz pointed 'out that Ecuador and Bolivia are unique in their efforts to enshrine the principles of the declaration in their respective constitutions' (TeleSur 2017a, para 4).

Conclusion

This research points to effective Indigenous sovereignty, predicated on battles for dominance against a colonial power. It appears Bolivia's governance project is attempting to instil this type of combative Indigenous foundation. Campaigns that Bolivia's Indigenous and poor waged in the neoliberal period were fought in the democratic tradition's Indigenous self-governance structures, the *ayllus*. A *katarist*-socialist current consolidated in the movements and the black-red political party MAS won the 2005 elections. From all accounts, MAS is

constructing a decolonising plurinational state with funding for Indigenous autonomous regions and a prioritising of Indigenous representation in political structures. However, the formal recognition of Indigenous autonomous regions is a slow process, as the government is prioritising Indigenising the entire state apparatus. Using a trivalent logic, the Bolivian government's Indigenous government is both building Andean capitalism and an anti-neoliberal, communitarian socialist project. It is a decolonising, multinational project.

Against imperialism's interests, Bolivia is advancing towards economic sovereignty and has survived internal and international attacks against its project. Bolivia's example suggests elements of an effective Indigenous self-determining project needs a plurinational approach, forged by strong Indigenous-socialist alliances. While challenges remain, Bolivia's indigenous-led, government appears to be conducting an effective self-governing program precisely because it has an Indigenous-led, decolonising, anti-capitalist leadership.

By comparison, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander self-governance organisations in the neoliberal period are weak. ATSIC was destroyed and its replacement, the National Congress is a much less powerful body and has had its funding reduced. Other self-governance structures, land councils, are loosely based on pre-colonial, geographic-centred, self-governance structures. Established by government legislation and tied up in legal negotiations over land claims and mining projects, they do not appear to be operating in a combative frame. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander service organisations that gather funding from governments are silenced by fear of losing funding if they speak out.

However, battles in the neoliberal period against mining projects, radioactive waste dumps, and against land grabs in Western Australia have elicited successes. Out of these campaigns, militant national grassroots Aboriginal organisations have developed the Freedom Summit, WAR and #sosblakaustralia. Perhaps these groups form an embryonic nucleus of militant pan-Aboriginal, self-governance structures. However, on balance, while some campaigns have won, living conditions for Aboriginal people have deteriorated during the neoliberal period. Aboriginal-led organisations have not been strong enough to defeat the NT Intervention, for example. Compared to the support of MAS and Morales, the socialist movement in Australia seem to be only able to offer limited support. They receive less than 5% of the vote. All these factors present a weaker the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander self-governance project, in comparison with Bolivia.

Conclusion: Sovereignty Pathways

This investigation compares Indigenous battles for self-determination in Bolivia and Australia utilising an empowerment theoretical framework. It employs a Marxist, Indigenous cosmological foundational approach and uses a participatory activist research methodology to gather data and analysis from Indigenous, *mestizo*, activists and scholars. It explores battles for Indigenous self-determination in the neoliberal period, through contrasting developments in Bolivia and Australia.

This research is developing a new site of study. Indigenous liberation investigations in Australia are not privileging the research of Bolivia's revolution. This research aims to shift the focus on global north battles to global south Indigenous resistance. It seeks to facilitate a south-to-south dialogue with Bolivian and Australian Indigenous communities. Moreover, there is a gap between the activist Indigenous sovereignty campaigners and the scholarship world. This thesis seeks to bridge this. Research participants add depth to this study through their reflections on Indigenous cosmology, neoliberalism, Indigenous self-determination, particular struggles and Indigenous perceptions of the state. They situate this research into a site of resistance knowledge production, adding to this work's unique positioning on Indigenous sovereignty battles.

This study explores three overarching themes to appraise the strengths and weaknesses of Indigenous battles in Australia and Bolivia - land rights, cultural rights and self-governance campaigns.

Theoretical foundations

This research uses Indigenous cosmology and Marxism as a theoretical frame and guide. These are the two most influential philosophical streams in Bolivian indigenous liberation movements today. The study appraises the tenets of Western liberal ideas and Marxist ideas. Liberal ideologues, born out of the death of feudalism and championing the dawn of capitalism, were, by-and-large pro-colonial. Voltaire, Bacon, De Maistre, Montesquieu, Hume, Bodi, Hegel and Darwin propagated racist ideas that rationalised the West's invasion of Indigenous lands.

In contrast, Marxists condemned the brutality of colonialists. Marxism, born out of Western liberal thought, posited a scientific, dialectical and materialist approach. It

developed a critique of capitalism's attack on the ecological equilibrium and proposed a communitarian mode of production. Its tenets contain a deep struggle ethic. Such resistance ethos speaks to Indigenous anti-colonial battles. Indeed, this research reveals, in a range of areas, Marxist thought and Indigenous cosmologies host similar ideas and concepts.

Living within a pre-capitalist mode of production, Indigenous community members were stewards over lands, seas, skies and animals. Surviving colonial assault against land, culture and political bodies, communalist land and living practices, still dominate Indigenous metaphysics. Likewise, Marxism's post capitalist vision exalts the community interrelationship with environmental surroundings. However, while Marxist tenets propound these concepts, it advocates a scientific approach. This research concludes that Australian and Bolivian Indigenous philosophical principles host similar aspects. Nonetheless, Bolivian Aymara trivalent philosophy has more explicit hyper-dialectical components than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander metaphysics. The research concludes that Marxist dialectics and Aymaran trivalent philosophy host a more dynamic analysis framework than Western binary logics. This study applies the Aymaran plurivalence frame to assess the nature of the Bolivian Indigenous state.

This study concludes Indigenous cosmologies and metaphysics are in opposition to neoliberal pedagogies. As Indigenous ontology and practices are antithetical to the ideas and practice of capitalism's austerity phase, First Nations communities and battles have a natural affinity with anti-capitalist forces.

Indigenous battles under neoliberalism

This comparison of Indigenous battles in Bolivia and Australia is situated in the neoliberal phase. The research assesses this period's origins, pedagogy and actions that organise against Indigenous self-determination struggles. After WWII capitalism sought to transfer structural problems of capital accumulation onto working people. However, neoliberalism's economic, political and ideological systems were not fully introduced until the Pinochet dictatorship in the 1970s. From Latin America, neoliberalism spread its tentacles to Britain under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the US under President Ronald Reagan through the 'Washington Consensus'.

Neoliberalism's shock-therapy consisted of an exultation of private property rights, free markets and free trade. Privatisation, deregulation and attacks on welfare and government-run services, are this period's economic mainstays. Neoliberalism's objective is

to concentrate wealth into fewer hands. To head off worker and Indigenous resistance, neoliberalism fragments worker, peasant and First Nation collectives. Working against cultural values of cooperation and kinship, this phase promotes ideas of individualism and competition.

It is clear that neoliberal governments in Bolivia and Australia had negative, yet distinct effects on battles for Indigenous self-determination. Bolivia's neoliberal phase began in 1985 and propelled the land-locked nation into the poorest country in South America. With 65% of Bolivia's population Indigenous, the neoliberal phase disproportionately disadvantaged First Nation communities. This poverty added fuel to the country's powerful social movements — the *Coca, Water and Gas Wars*.

Australia's neoliberal phase was implemented by the ALP in the early 1980s and Indigenous people's wages and conditions declined. An assimilation, cultural-war drive was enacted in parallel to economic attacks on workers. In this period, indigenous imprisonment, child abuse, stealing of children, deaths in custody, chronic disease and social problems within First Nations communities increased.

The actions of the Australian and Bolivian neoliberal governments worked against the realisation of the three principles of Indigenous sovereignty: land and cultural rights and self-governance structures.

Land rights' battles in Bolivia and Australia

Current land rights battles in the neoliberal phase utilise *memoria larga* (long memory) to popularise seminal fights against the colonial project. In Bolivia, resistance leaders Tupac Katari and Bartolina Sisa led a well-organised assault against Spanish forces in 1781, almost ending the marauding army's march. While being tortured, Katari prophesised 'I die, but I will come back, and I will return as millions.' Pemulwuy, Indigenous resistance leader in Botany Bay and a 'clever-man', led a twelve-year fight against Britain's invading troops and united three tribes in resistance.

This comparison of Bolivia and Australia's land rights battles in the neoliberal phase indicates more differences than similarities. Bolivia's struggles proved more powerful, ending with the election of an Indigenous government. Yet, one constant between the two nations struggles was the critical role of the black-red alliances.

In Australia, the modern land rights movement was sparked by an Aboriginal labourer strike in 1946–1949, in the Pilbara, Western Australia. The strike lasted three years and was assisted by non-Aboriginal, communist unionist Don McLeod. The next battle that transformed land rights claims was the Gurindji/Wave Hill strike. The longest strike in Australia’s history was won in 1975 when ALP Prime Minister Gough Whitlam handed over the land to the Gurindji people. Frank Hardy, Communist Party member and author of *The Unlucky Australians* (1968), was a critical ally to the campaign.

Following these seminal fights, Aboriginal people won native title to 33% of Australia’s land mass. However, ownership has mostly been granted in remote Australia, in less arable land and away from densely settled parts of the country. A critical battle was led by Eddie Mabo, a Torres Strait Islander warrior, who also worked closely with communists. Mabo fought a ten year ‘native title’ battle, which he won in 1993. This victory led to a High Court of Australia ruling that eliminated the colonial lie of *terra nullis* — and the government responded by passing the *Native Title Act*. This legislation is condemned for imposing colonial requirements to claim title, such as proving continual access to the land. Obtaining such proof is an impossibility when mass killings, protectionism and assimilation policies forced First Nations, and continues to force, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities from their homelands.

Additionally, in the 1990s and 2000s, under conservative Prime Minister John Howard, land rights were attacked through the NT Intervention. In 2015 attempts were made to close remote Aboriginal communities in WA and SA. The ‘Stop the NT Intervention’ movement was not successful, but mass protests led by the #sosblakaustralia movement stopped the closures of remote communities. On balance, land rights in the neoliberal phase in Australia have been under concerted attack and both the Indigenous rights movement and the black-red alliances have not been strong enough to assuage the assault.

In comparison, this research concludes that Bolivia’s land movements and black-red alliances in the neoliberal phase have displayed an incredible robustness. The seminal 1781 Tupac Katari and Bartolina Sisa assault on Spain’s outpost in El Alto, resonates today as paintings of Tupac and Bartolina currently adorn all MAS government offices and government parades. Bolivian independence from Spain was won in 1825 but the republic did not codify Indigenous determination. However Bolivia’s 1952 workers’ and peasants’ revolution challenged colonial land relations with thoroughgoing agrarian reform. Yet a new landed elite challenged Indigenous land reclamation. It wasn’t until the Coca Wars in the 1980s that Indigenous worker organisations and red alliances began the consolidation of

powerful forces that aimed to take power. *Katarismo* is the political genesis of Bolivia's black-red alliances. A synergising of revolutionary socialist currents and Indianist anti-colonial politics, it was a more vigorous form of Australia's black-red alliances. Evo Morales' political party MAS can be traced to this militant current.

Morales was elected in 2005 and became the first Indigenous person elected president in Bolivia's history, with 53.7% of the vote. Sections of the government proposed a 'communitarian socialist' Bolivia and the government's land reform challenged the rural elite's control. Seventy per cent of Bolivia's land belonged to 5% of the population. So, the 2006 agrarian revolution handed 9600 square miles of state-owned land to Indigenous communities, an area about three-quarters the size of Britain. Morales also consolidated the recognition of 298 Indigenous territories in his first year in office.

However, the government's pro-Indigenous land reform and *Pachamama* prioritisation was questioned by a proposal build a highway through the Isiboro Secure National Park and Indigenous Territory (TIPNIS) in 2011. By August 2012 opposition had consolidated within the 12,000 strong Indigenous communities. An intense ideological contestation erupted over the project, with Canadian-based academic Jeffery Webber and various NGO's charging Morales with coercion and ignoring Indigenous wishes. On the other side of the debate, Vice-President Alvaro Garcia Linera argued that international and nationally based anti-government NGOs led a green imperialist intervention against the TIPNIS project. After withdrawing from the highway's timeframe and consulting with communities, a number of TIPNIS opponents withdrew their opposition.

Neoliberalism's barriers against Indigenous battles

The battles in the neoliberal phase in Australia were not as powerful as those that convulsed Bolivia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities make up 2.8% of the population and are not in the majority like Bolivia's Indigenous were in the neoliberal phase. Therefore, in the Australian context, alliances and relationships with anti-austerity forces are critical to empowerment battles.

However, significant differences between Bolivia and Australia reveal themselves and add a complexity to this comparison of Indigenous land, cultural and self-governance struggles. Bolivia's global south positioning, its Indigenous majority and its location in Latin America — the home of anti-imperialist 'pink-tide' governments — provided fertile ground for strong social movements and for popular support for anti-capitalist political alternatives.

Indigenous Australian sovereignty battles are waged in a rich colonial settler state that is politically allied to the imperialist US. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population is a small minority within a majority settler population. Australia is a stable neoliberal nation, where the Indigenous population and anti-capitalist forces are not as powerful as in Bolivia.

Cultural rights battles in Bolivia and Australia

This research concludes that, in respect to the strength of cultural battles, while Bolivia and Australia's campaigns present differences, they also have a range of similarities. The Spanish and British colonial projects had the same objective. They both attempted ethnocide against the thirty-six Bolivian communities and the five hundred distinct First Nations in Australia. The fight for cultural rights, therefore, in both nations, is a critical decolonising battle.

Britain sought to physically eliminate Indigenous people from their lands. When resistance to this proved too successful, they began a cultural war through assimilation. Referring to a psychological *terra nullis*, stealing children to inculcate them in western culture, imprisoning whole communities within missions and forbidding language became standard government practice. A further effect of the imposition of the British state upon Indigenous nations, was the stealing and commodification of Aboriginal art. Spain's strategy in comparison, was to attempt genocide against Indigenous Incas, co-opt a layer of compliant nobility and enslave remainder Incas.

In Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander campaigning forced the end of the state's assimilationist policies with Freedom Rides, the Tent Embassy and an urban expansion in Redfern leading a powerful Indigenous cultural revival. The Prime Minister Whitlam established the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and funded Aboriginal cultural initiatives. Yet Australian nationalism also appropriated and commodified Aboriginal art production as part of a strategy to assuage the power of Indigenous campaigning.

Following this period of Indigenous cultural revival, neoliberal governments in Australia are leading a second assimilation phase. A 'culture war' decrying the 'black armband' view of history was followed by the abolition of the Indigenous self-governance body Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC). This cultural war was extended by conservative Prime Minister Abbott who cut \$534 million from the Aboriginal budget.

Despite these obstacles, Indigenous cultural battles in the period achieved some successes. Communities successfully fought off a government-funded campaign that sought changes to the Australian constitution. They countered with a Treaty campaign. Another

success has been the consistent rise in Indigenous identity rates, even under the weight of a vast increase in state governments stealing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children. However, battles to decolonise curriculum have not elicited advances, despite socialists and teacher unions campaigning for politically accurate texts. School history textbooks continue to portray Australia in a colonial white frame. Language reclamation battles have only elicited incremental progress.

Comparatively, in Bolivia, the election of the Morales government advanced Indigenous cultural rights. The Constitution, language and curriculum are undergoing a decolonising process. The only difficulty has been in the area of identification.

MAS's cultural campaigns memorialise anti-colonial warriors and the Bolivian government established a 'Vice Ministry for Decolonization'. The new constitution acknowledges thirty-six recognised indigenous peoples and their languages, compels universities to teach Indigenous languages and exalts collectivist cultural practices. The government is embarking on literacy programs in Bolivia's Indigenous languages. On one measure of decolonising the cultural space — increasing Indigenous identification — the government has received a set-back. However, on balance, the MAS government is advancing a decolonising program.

A key similarity between Bolivia and Australia's cultural battles has been the importance of the black-red alliances. The Communist Party of Australia attracted a number of Aboriginal cultural warriors, who joined or worked closely with the party. Aboriginal activist Faith Bandler became a Communist Party member, as did Oodgeroo Noonuccal (formerly known as Kath Walker). Currently, socialists are assisting Indigenous activists in a history wars battle — the Change the Date campaign.

Bolivia's black-red alliances came from more divergent origins than Australia's. MAS originates from an indigenous cultural-political group, the *Alcades Mayores Particulares* (AMP). The AMP inspired the 'Indianista' Indian Party of Bolivia (PIB) in 1968, formed by *indigenista* intellectual Fausto Reinaga. Until this period, socialist forces, by-and-large, ignored the Indigenous question, characterising Indigenous people as peasants. This cultural-political cohesion was critical to the formation of MAS and their victory in 2005.

This research concludes Indigenous cultural rights are advancing more rapidly in Bolivia than in Australia, with Bolivia's social movements and black-red alliances

consolidating a more powerful resistance to neoliberalism.

Battles for self-governance in the neoliberal phase

This investigation into battles for Indigenous self-governance in Bolivia and Australia draws similar conclusions to the findings around campaigns for land and cultural rights. Bolivia's MAS government is enacting an Indigenous-empowered plurinational self-determination model, while the neoliberal Australian government is attacking Indigenous self-governance. Black-red alliances have proved critical in both nations' battles, but Australia's alliances are weaker than Bolivia's.

This research clarifies that Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty are about winning forms of autonomy or self-government. It confirms that socialists have been critical in the development of an autonomous model of minority governance with the Bolsheviks in Russia first implementing forms of national autonomy within a federal structure. This democratic socialist tradition is continued through Bolivia's plurinationalism, comprised of Indigenous nations within nations, the Indigenous native peasant autonomy (AIOCs), which are formally recognised within the Bolivian state. However, it appears there is a retreat from recognising AIOCs. Indeed, Indigenous autonomies are not featured in the 2025 government strategy document. Alvaro Garcia Linera describes an Indigenising state and argues an emphasis on separate Indigenous structures weakens the self-governing process. Critics of the MAS government argue Morales is not Indigenous and/or simply using his Indigeneity to consolidate his power. However, the United Nations special rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples applauds Bolivia for its Indigenous governance achievements.

In Australia, pre-colonial Indigenous governance was based on linguistically-linked kinship families. Genocide policies decimated localised First Nation governance structures, but Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander activists developed nation-wide resistance organisations from the 1920s and 1930s onwards. By the 1970s Aboriginal communities had won elected national representation within a self-determination frame. Localised land councils were also established from the 1970s but did not develop into campaigning institutions. ATSIC was established in 1990 on the back of the largest Aboriginal rights rally in Australia's history — the 1988 anti-bicentenary marches. Its structures were unparalleled; but the government tightly controlled the budget and its political impact was hampered by establishment interference. Prime Minister Howard disbanded ATSIC in 2004. The more activist Aboriginal Provisional Government (APG) was also formed in July 1990, on a

sovereignty principle. The Labor government established the National Congress of Australia's First Peoples, in April 2010, but their funding was cut in 2013.

More militant, national alliances and organisations such as Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance (WAR), the Freedom Summit and Grandmothers Against Removals formed around battles against land grabs and a re-assimilation push. WAR and the Freedom Summit assisted the new group #sosblakaustralia in their fight against community closures in WA and SA.

Additionally, one Indigenous self-governance experiment was enacted in 2014 when Murrumu Walubara Yidindji, from the Sovereign Yidindji government, declared sovereignty. Michael Mansell from the APG argues for an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander seventh state, but this has never been enacted. In 2007 Aboriginal lawyer Noel Pearson proposed a neoliberal Indigenous self-governance model, arguing against welfare dependence within community and received \$200 million for his Cape York constituents. But this model garnered no tangible positive outcomes. Meanwhile, conservative PM John Howard demolished ATSIC and introduced the expensive and punitive NT Intervention.

Compared to Bolivia, First Nations self-governance struggles in Australia have not been as robust and the socialist movement is weaker. The CPA was an appealing organisation for a range of Aboriginal militants in the 20th century. In the 21st century, two main organisations, Socialist Alliance and Solidarity, assist Aboriginal campaigns. Aboriginal activists stand as Socialist Alliance candidates in state and federal elections. Socialists in Australia only gather 1.5–5% in state and federal elections. Yet, at the time of writing, three socialists at the local council level have been elected with 30–55% of the vote. In comparison, openly socialist Bolivian presidential candidate Evo Morales wins 65% of the national vote.

How to characterise the Bolivian revolution

This research uncovers that Bolivian government leaders characterise the Bolivian state in various ways, using a dialectical or trivalent frame. I contend this causes confusion among commentators who use a binary logic and argue the Bolivian government can only be either neoliberal capitalist, or socialist.

Bolivia's finance minister Luis Arce Catacora, President Evo Morales and Vice-President Garcia argue Bolivia is anti-neoliberal, anti-corporate and Indigenous-led. But Garcia also posits that the government is building Andean Amazonian capitalism. Morales

also argues that development is paramount, asking how will Bolivia develop past its colonial legacy if we cannot trade? An additional formulation comes from Argentine scholar Pablo Stefanoni, who characterises Bolivia's revolution as advancing an indigenous nationalism.

Commentators who critique the Morales government — Jeffery Weber, Benjamin Dangl, James Petras, Pablo Solon and others — argue the MAS leadership has shifted from condemning neoliberalism and imperialism. They argue Bolivia is building a neoliberal state, not abating poverty levels, is anti-environment and tokenistic towards Indigenous governance.

Yet, evidence presented in this research indicates these claims don't hold weight. After seven years of the Morales government the number of people living on less than \$1 per day fell from 38% to 24%. Bolivia is fighting imperialism's incursions on its economic and political spheres through joining a plethora of left-wing 'pink tide', centre-left governments in Latin America. Morales denounces the US on the national and international stage, has expelled the US ambassador from the country and broken ties with the World Bank and the IMF. More indicative that the government is enacting an anti-imperialist program is the attacks they've survived from internal and external opponents, supported by the US.

Commentators such as Weber and Dangl who are reticent to support Bolivia's anti-capitalist are reflecting a genuine hesitancy around Indigenous involvement in any state structures. This research uncovers a deep distrust around participating in state institutions or campaigning to reform aspects of the state.

Comparing Bolivian and Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander battles for self-determination in the neoliberal period

This comparative study of Indigenous self-determination battles in Bolivia and Australia concludes that campaigns for Indigenous sovereignty in Australia are weaker than Bolivia's. However, in Australia, successful battles against land grabs, experiments in sovereignty models, and the formation of resistance organisations that are fighting a reassimilation drive and mining push, place Indigenous battles at a critical place within protest movements. However, due to neoliberalism's strength, the fragmentation of resistance organisations, the small Indigenous population and the weakness of progressive and left forces, the battle for a pan-Aboriginal republic is at an embryonic stage.

In comparison, I contend that Bolivia's Plurinational project is empowering Indigenous people within the three pillars of a robust sovereignty experiment — land and

cultural rights and governance structures. But the small Andean nation has to develop within a global neoliberal paradigm, and this places pressure on its stated pro-Indigenous aims. Using a trivalent frame work, Bolivia's Indigenous-led revolution appears to be building Andean capitalism and an Indigenous nationalist model, but with a communitarian socialist trajectory.

While the concerns and arguments from critics of the Morales government have been reviewed and aired in this scholarship, these tensions, I posit, do not detract from Bolivia's overall positive example of Indigenous sovereignty.

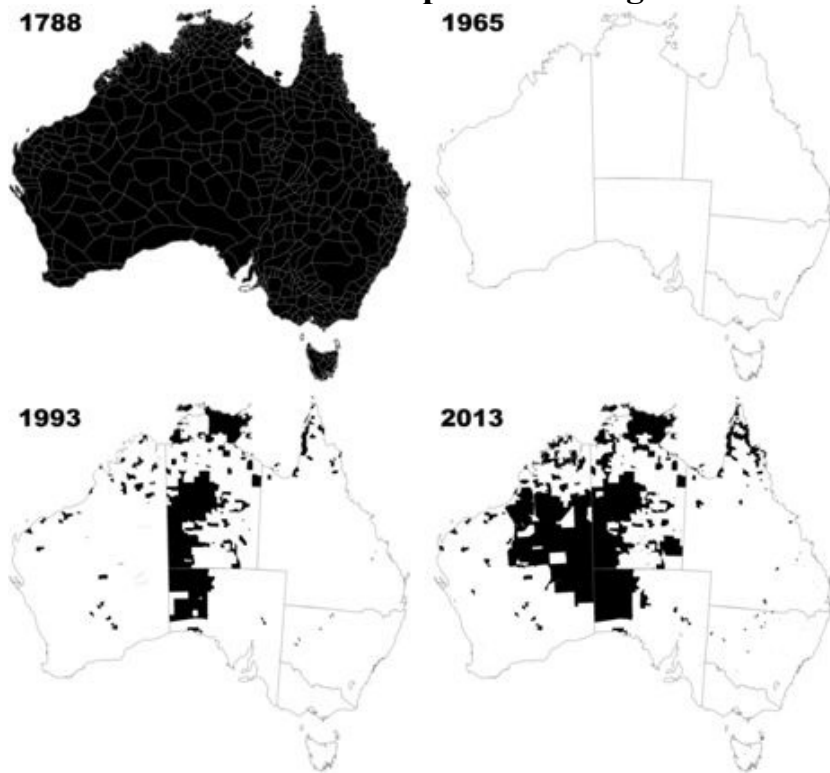
Using the Bolivian model as a guide, I conclude that vying for power from the state is mostly a positive for Indigenous battles for self-determination. However, it is also *inasa* in relation to Indigenous liberation movements. Utilising state institutions and fighting to dominate and change them, holds elements of positivity, antagonism and uncertainty for Indigenous rights campaigners. Indeed, this research concludes that utilising state structures and building Indigenous power from within and separate from the state, has benefited the majority of Bolivia's people.

This study notes an important similarity within Bolivia's and Australia's Indigenous struggles. Black-red alliances are critical in key battles for land, culture and governance rights. Socialists have supported autonomy and succession for oppressed minorities within dominant states since the Russian revolution in 1917. Bolivia's plurinational, multi-ethnic structures can be viewed as a continuation of this revolutionary democratic principle. In Australia, a multi-Treaty, anti-corporate, pan-Indigenous republic, could be the political, structural equivalent of Bolivia's Plurinational state.

This research shows Australian Indigenous resistance offering a rich experience of decolonising lessons to Bolivia's Indigenous struggles. Equally, Bolivia's empowerment structures hold encouraging insights. Through looking to Latin America's Indigenous revolution, this study points to a pathway for Indigenous self-determination in Australia. A multi-national, pan-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander anti-corporate republic could provide a decolonising frame. Through songlines and *memorias*, heroic wars, embassies and sovereignty plans, these autonomistic models that challenge neoliberalism are providing robust self-determination prototypes.

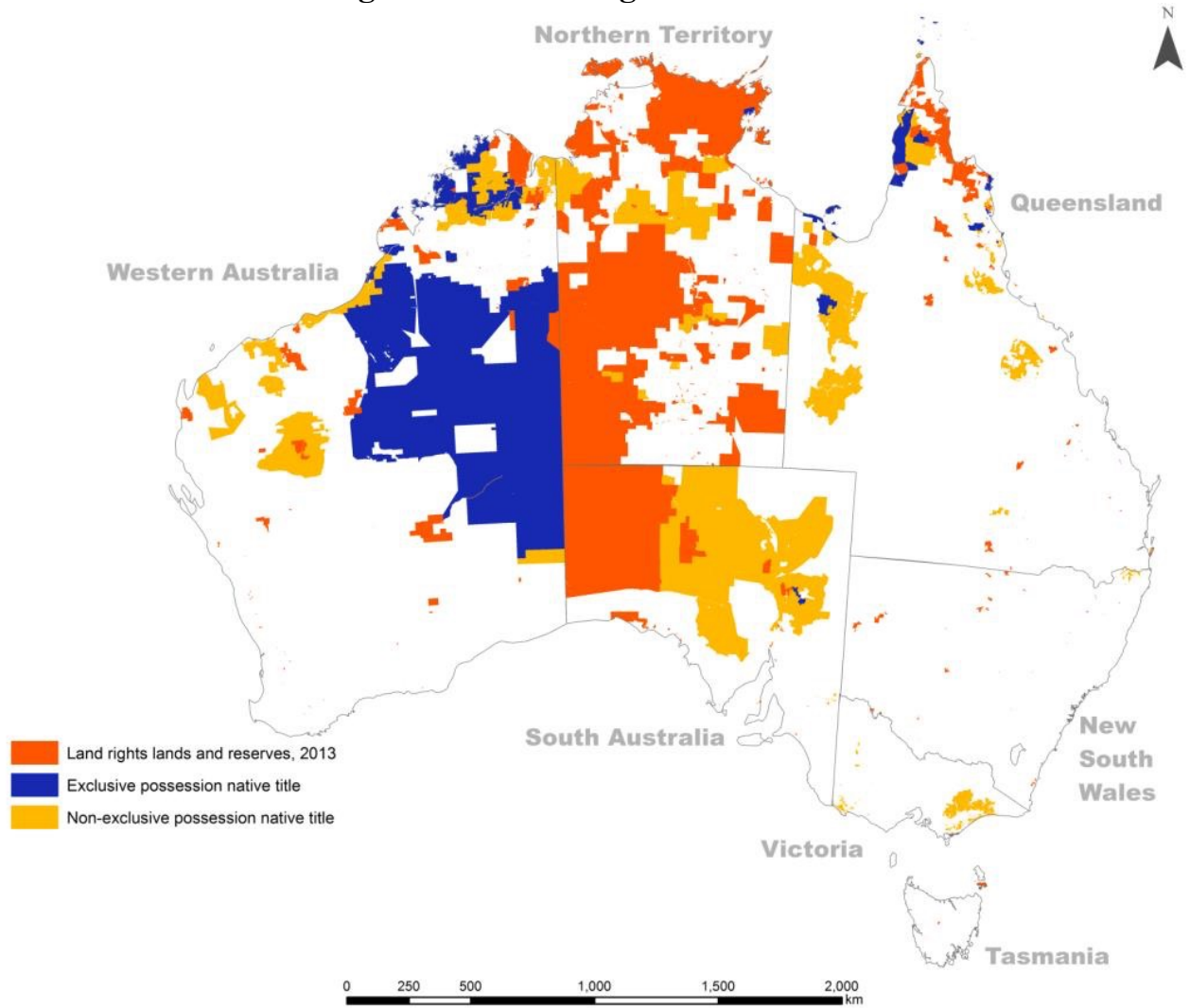
Appendices

A. 1: A snapshot of Indigenous held land 1788–2013



(Altman, 2014 para 9)

A. 2. Indigenous land titling under three tenures



(Altman, 2014 para 11)

A.3. National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Organisations

National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Organisations

Formation	Organisation	Guiding Principles	Sites of Struggle	Members of Committee/Board
1990	Aboriginal Provisional Government	Campaigns for Aboriginal self-determination and self-government	Struggles around a Treaty, advocates a 7th state, an Aboriginal assembly	Bob Weatherall, Josie Crawshaw, Geoff Clark, Clarrie Isaacs, Michael Mansell, Robbie Thorpe, Kathy Craigie and Lyall Munro Jnr
1999	Sovereign Union/National Unity Government (NUG)	Campaigns for sovereignty, against colonisation		Michael Anderson
2010	National Congress of Australia's First Peoples	Together we will be leaders and advocates for recognising our status and rights as First Nations Peoples in Australia	Build strong relationships with government, industry and among our communities, based on mutual respect and equality. Organised National Congress's 2011, 2012, 2013. National Congress of 2014 postponed due to funding cuts in 2013 from Liberal Abbott government. Produced the Redfern Statement, prepared by 55 non-government Indigenous organisations, presented in July 2016	Co-Chair Kirstie Parker Yuwallarai Aboriginal woman from northwest NSW, Co-Chair Les Malezer from the Butchulla/Gubbi Gubbi peoples in southeast Queensland, Venessa Curnow is an Ait Koedal and Sumu woman, Rod Little is from the Amangu and Wajuk peoples, Mark McMillan is a Wiradjuri man, Gerry Moore from the Yuin nation, Tammy Solonec is a Nykina woman, Daphne Yarram is a Noongar woman
2014	Freedom Summitt	We declare that we have and continue to be independent Sovereign Nations under the designation of the United Tribes of our Lands	Respond to the extreme assaults from all levels of government hitting our communities including but not limited to: historic and growing rates of incarceration; continuing stolen generations; a suicide epidemic and; the growing death rate from preventable diseases.	Tauto Sansbury, Rosalie Kunoth-Monks, John Christophersen, Jenny Munro, Les Coe, Paul Spearim Jnr, Lex Wotton, Christine Abdulla, Roxley Foley, Maurie Japarta Ryan, Helen Lee, Billy Risk, Vanessa Culbong, Richard Evans, John Singer, Ghillar: Michael Anderson, Lesley Tickner, Janice Harris, Elaine Peckham, Rex Granites Japanangka, Chris Tomlins
2014	Warriors Aboriginal Resisters	a national grassroots alliance of young Aboriginal people committed to the cause of decolonization and Aboriginal Nationalism	The philosophy of colonialism finds its foundations in greed and racism. Resist. Revive. Decolonize' are their three main slogans.	Bogaine Skuthorpe-Spearim, Callum Clayton-Dixon, Jade Slockee, Merki Onus and Pakeri Ruska
	National, Aboriginal-led Service Providers			First Peoples Disability Network (FPDN), National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services (NATSILS), National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisations (NACCHO), National Voice for our Children (SNAICC), Australian Indigenous Doctor's Association (AIDA), Congress of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Nurses and Midwives (CATSINaM), Indigenous Allied Health Australia, National Association of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Physiotherapists, NGAOARA – Child and Adolescent Wellbeing,
	Data from: National Congress, Aboriginal Provisional Government, Warrior Aboriginal Resistance, Sovereign Union 2012			

National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Organisations

National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Organisations				
2014	Freedom Summitt	We declare that we have and continue to be independent Sovereign Nations under the designation of the United Tribes of our Lands	Respond to the extreme assaults from all levels of government hitting our communities including but not limited to: historic and growing rates of incarceration; continuing stolen generations; a suicide epidemic and; the growing death rate from preventable diseases.	Tauto Sansbury, Rosalie Kunoth-Monks, John Christophersen, Jenny Munro, Les Coe, Paul Spearim Jnr, Lex Wotton, Christine Abdulla, Roxley Foley, Maurie Japarta Ryan, Helen Lee, Billy Risk, Vanessa Culbong, Richard Evans, John Singer, Ghillar: Michael Anderson, Lesley Tickner, Janice Harris, Elaine Peckham, Rex Granites Japanangka, Chris Tomlins
2014	Warriors Aboriginal Resisters	a national grassroots alliance of young Aboriginal people committed to the cause of decolonization and Aboriginal Nationalism	The philosophy of colonialism finds its foundations in greed and racism. Resist. Revive. Decolonize' are their three main slogans.	Bogaine Skuthorpe-Spearim, Callum Clayton-Dixon, Jade Slockee, Meriki Onus and Pakeri Ruska
Various	National, Aboriginal-led Service Providers			First Peoples Disability Network (FPDN), National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services (NATSILS), National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisations (NACCHO), National Voice for our Children (SNAICC), Australian Indigenous Doctor's Association (AIDA), Congress of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Nurses and Midwives (CATSINaM), Indigenous Allied Health Australia, National Association of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Physiotherapists, NGAOARA – Child and Adolescent Wellbeing,
Data from: National Congress, Aboriginal Provisional Government, Warrior Aboriginal Resistance, Sovereign Union 2012				

A.4. Stand out Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander battles in the neoliberal phase

Victories won	Losses Sustained	Unresolved
1989-1998 Stopped radioactive waste dump on Kupa Piti Kungja Tjuta land	2007-current The NT Intervention: invasion of Aboriginal land, introduction of Basics Card, cutting of Community Development Employment Projects, compulsorily acquired land	2013-current Redfern Tent Embassy won promises from the Federal government and Aboriginal Housing Corporation for Aboriginal housing
1996-2003 Won against uranium mining in Jabiluka in the Mirrar people's land	2014-current The Gomerioi people of northern NSW fought coal mining. They are battling coal seam gas mining projects	2014-current The Wangan and Jagalingou communities leading a fight against coal mining in Galilee Basin, Queensland
2009-2013 Walmadan/ James Price Point Nyulnyn & Jabirrjabirr people won a reprieve against a gas project	2011-2012 A fight led by the Mumirmina people against a Brighton bypass highway, north of Hobart	2008-current Stolen Children Mark 2: Rise in state governments stealing children - 16,000 in state care. Protests by individual families to reclaim their children have succeeded, but the policy remains
2007-2014 Muckaty in the NT on Warlmanpa land, saved from a radioactive waste dump site		Justice for Deaths in Custody - for Ms Dhu, Cameron Doomadgee, TJ Hickey, John Pat, Daniel Yock , David Dungay , Eddie Russel, Adam Douglas Shipley, Malcolm Smith, Demond Walmsley (this list is far from exhaustive)
2015-2016 WA government attempts to shut down 150 remote Aboriginal communities, SA government announces similar intent. Massive rallies, governments back down		

A.5. Achievements of the Evo Morales-led government

Achievements of the Morales-led government

Industrialisation	Social Programs	Reduced Poverty, Illiteracy	Decolonisation
Constructed lithium battery plants, solar voltaic plants, wind and geothermal plants	Two million students from poor families receive money for studying in the 'Juancito Pinto voucher' program	Reduced extreme poverty from 2011 till 2014 by two million people - above average rate of poverty reduction in Latin America	Established Decolonisation and Autonomy Vice-Ministries
Spent \$US 3000 million in exploring and exploiting hydrocarbons	Old age pension - over one million adults older than 60 years old receive a 'Dignity Income' each month	Increased the minimum wage in 2005 the minimum national salary was 500 Bolivias and the rise in 2016 has been to 1656 Bs	Agrarian revolution: 19 million hectares of land to peasants and intercultural holders. 23.9 million hectares to territories and original peasants. Businessmen only 7.5 million hectares
Built the longest urban cable-car system in the world - five lines in La Paz, four to construct and Oruro will have another cableway	All pregnant women have a Universal Prenatal Subsidy	Reduced unemployment. In 2005 the unemployment rate was 8.1% In 2014 the unemployment rate was reduced to 3.5%. Its the lowest in the region.	Anti-patriarchal land reform - Bolivian women with access to their own land increased to 46% between 1996 and 2016
	Energy saving light bulbs have been distributed free of charge to around 8 million homes	Education programs resulted in illiteracy being 'reduced from 13.3% to 2.9% - the lowest rate in the history of Bolivia	Rolling out literacy programs in the 36 indigenous languages recognised and spoken
	Social and Solidarity Housing has been built which are living places for people with disabilities		
	Combating sexism programs: stop domestic violence, women only police units		

A.6. Interview questions with Indigenous community members and movement activists from Bolivia/Australia.

Section about campaigns for Indigenous/Aboriginal rights in the historic period preceding neoliberalism

First, do you represent an organization? If yes, describe your organization. What are some typical responsibilities do you have in your organization?

Are you indigenous/Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander? If yes, what is your country, your homeland and your families' background? If no, how did you become involved in assisting Indigenous/Aboriginal campaigns?

When were you born?

How would you define your relationship to the Australian/ Bolivian state?

What were conditions and life like for you and your family when you were young?

What type of decisions was your community able to make over land, culture and schooling? What community structures existed outside government and state institutions? Was your community able to hold onto collective land management and communal living traditions?

Would you say that Aboriginal/Indigenous culture and community organizational structures differ greatly from Western philosophy and political approach?

What is your first memory of life being negatively affected by a police officer, medical, government official or church representative? Were any family members working for government or police? If yes, in what capacity?

Can you describe the circumstances that led to you becoming an activist?

What were the aims of various campaigns you were involved with, and were the campaigns victorious? If they didn't win outright, were there any incidental successes?

What organizations and individuals were involved alongside you in the struggles?

Were you active in the 70s, and if yes, would you describe this as a powerful time for the Indigenous/Aboriginal rights movement? What did sovereignty and self-determination mean for campaigners then?

What kind of land rights for Indigenous/Aboriginal people existed in the 70s? Were more land rights won in this period?

Section about Indigenous/Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander rights campaigning in a neoliberal period

Can you comment on the changes introduced in the eighties – the period that is described as the neoliberal period? Who benefited? How did these changes affect Indigenous/Aboriginal communities?

Was there more or less recognition of the oppressive colonialist past for Indigenous/Aboriginal from governments in the neoliberal period? If yes, how and what was expressed?

Did neoliberal governments expand democratic institutions or bring in any self-governing opportunities for Indigenous/Aboriginal communities? If yes, describe them? Did they have a positive effect on communities?

Did mining and agribusiness company projects expand into Indigenous communities in the neoliberal period? If yes, was there resistance to this expansion and how did it manifest?

What were the big battles for Indigenous/Aboriginal rights movements in the neoliberal period? What allies arose?

Section about Indigenous/Aboriginal battles for self-determination in the current period

What are the big issues facing Indigenous/Aboriginal communities today?

Has there been a point in the decade of 2000 where governments have expanded or detracted rights for Indigenous/Aboriginal people?

Many indigenous communities live remotely. Do they receive adequate funding?

There are instances of Indigenous/Aboriginal community leaders signing onto mining company agreements against the wishes of other community members. Why does this occur?

What Indigenous/Aboriginal rights organizations have cohered grass roots struggle in the recent period?

What type of tactics has the protest movements employed? Is there an overriding principle within employing these types of tactics?

Indigenous philosophy is described as having a deep connection with land and country. Can you describe why this relationship is so? Is there any room for Indigenous philosophy in the activity of a democratic state? Is Indigenous philosophy and capitalist neoliberalism compatible?

How do you believe indigenous philosophy manifests itself in a particular and more generally?

Do you believe that the indigenous worldview is compatible with neoliberalism? If so, in what sense? If not, why not?

New technological developments in resource extraction have resulted in coal seam

gas developments threatening the ecology of, and land management practices of Indigenous/Aboriginal communities. What is your opinion about these developments? Is extracting resources and Indigenous/Aboriginal self-determination, fundamentally counter posed?

What do you think the Bolivian/Australian state has done for indigenous rights? Are there any government run programs that are assisting Indigenous/Aboriginal communities?

Do you think Indigenous/Aboriginal rights movements can advance with communities working more closely with government?

In your opinion what will Indigenous/Aboriginal sovereignty look like? What structures and bodies need to be created? What politics would they present and what would they stand for? What work would those bodies carry out?

What would be the most beneficial relationship between Indigenous/Aboriginal communities and the state, for sovereignty?

Do you think current government and current political parties will deliver Aboriginal self-determination? If no, what type of government and state could advance sovereignty?

What alliances and forces will assist and win the fight for self-determination? How do you see self-determination and sovereignty developing in Bolivia/Australia?

**A.7. Interview with Enrique Castana Ballivian
May 25, 2016**

Q: What's your name and do you represent an organization? If yes describe your group and what are some typical responsibilities you have in your organization?

Enrique: my name is Enrique Castana Ballivian and I'm a Bolivian citizen and I work with Fundación Tierra which is a research centre specializing in agrarian issues. My main responsibilities here in the office are conducting research, particularly in the eastern part of the country and we're going to be look at the soya complex there and trying to see issues differentiation amongst the peasantry and some implications for food security and food sovereignty concerns.

Q: Are you indigenous? If yes what is your family background if no how did you become involved in assisting indigenous campaign? When were you born?

A: That's a tough a question, I think most Bolivians are asking themselves that very same question, I will say that I do feel that I have roots, indigenous roots - Aymara of course because most of my family came to La Paz from the Yungas which is a rural area near the city, but now I say I am mestizo its complicated. I became involved in these issues since I was very young it was actually a little bit weird and given this family ties with this region, the Yungas region, when I was a child I always went to this area very frequently so I developed this desire to do something with the people to improve their livelihoods so I ended up studying agronomy. So, agronomy is my profession but the very first job that I had was at the United Nations project in charge of monitoring the coca cultivation in the country. So over there I started to realise that things are much more political than I thought.

So, it's not an issue of technical conditions of production but it was an issue of social relationship of production. So back then I started to make a shift to social sciences and I started to read it by myself first then I successfully applied for a scholarship from the British Council so I went to the UK to study masters in geography and environment plus it was developmental environment issues.

So After the masters I came to my country and with Evo Morales and the whole thing I politicized myself even more I would say and started to work on these issues with other NGOs -national and International, with Oxfam doing some research, and I am here now, so I would say that apart from a researcher I am also an activist. An activist for Indigenous rights this is what we do here in Foundacion Tierra, we do research but we're also activists.

Q: And when were you born?

A: I was born in November in 1983 here in La Paz.

Q: How would you define your relationship to the Bolivian state?

E: You mean personally? Can you define it?

R: So you're not representing an organisation in this talk but you are worker within the organisation and this is totally anonymous, so just to clarify, what do you think, how do you perceive your relation to the Bolivian state?

A: I would say first that that is complicated, one, I am trying to train myself as a Marxist if you like so I have this issue of trying to trying to grasp what's the real important of the state. I would say that this state is a very complex entity but I think it's important in terms of neoliberalism. I honestly can't see how we can manage all this. The forces of the market,

international market without something like a state but I do understand that here in Bolivia that strengthening the state but at the same time it means that we're strengthening the colonial state and this is the kind of contradiction with Evo Morales and the whole process. We do need a stronger state but not this kind of state. It's not like a new question of course, but its how we transform it.

And I feel that in the last years at least in the last year the state has been turned into its historical inclination in order to you know work for capital and to help it - to expand it here in Bolivia as well and it's a little bit dangerous because the government is very legitimate with the people which allows it to conduct policies that perhaps some other governments would not be allowed.

Q: And what were conditions like for you and your family when you were young?

A: well my family has a working class background and I am the first one that got in to college into university but we didn't experience poverty as I know it from other areas so perhaps you could say my whole family are successful migrants if you like, they ended up getting to public employment so I did have a very good childhood and also very good opportunity in terms of education. I wanted to perhaps the best school here in the city which is not the most expensive but this is the difference it is a very traditional one from Jesuits but its very prestigious but it's not full of people who have many money, its not like that. it's not like that but it's a very good school, considered one of the best.

Q: 5. What type of decisions was your community able to make over land, culture and schooling? What community structures existed outside government and state institutions? Was your community able to hold onto collective land management and communal living traditions?

A: Well I don't believe in my community but what I can comment on that is that in Bolivia judging from my work in rural areas there is there's still good communal institutions that are very strong particularly the highlands however I think that something is yet to be done is to try to understand and study this institution in more detail because you can find some accounts from activists that are too romantic To be honest with you it's not like that in reality you know. They exist but it's complicated because they can be contaminated if you like by capital, by relations of exploitation. But I do personally think that there is a space for trying to find a way of relations between people if we look at those communities but we have to be careful not to romanticize them.

Q: Would you say that indigenous culture and community organizational structure greatly differ greatly from western philosophical and political approach?

A: Yes I would say that particularly in Aymara/ *Tacana* culture but we know that time they thought is that they really have a different approach to the world in terms of considering you know the whole cosmos as just one unity and still today we can see that really sometimes it is really funny because you can see for example grandparents here talking to plants but they wouldn't vote for Evo, it is something like just natural inside the Bolivians and we have this connections with the nature and its sometimes even funny? But I think that vision of the world is quite different with the Western and I will say that they do have a very profound philosophy in terms of considering what we call the trialectic which is perhaps seems to be much more complicated than the dialectic right because in the Aymara and *Tacana* culture everything is in four, everything is represented between two pairs of contradictions ?is what I can say about that sometime I read something about that I am not a specialist its is worth studying but I think what we know of is very little.

Q: Fascinating...so it's a double dialectic..

A: Yes something like that. I am not an expert.

Q: What is your first memory of life being negatively affected by a police officer, a medical government official or church representative? Were any family members working for the government or for the police, if yes in what capacity?

A: I haven't thought about that, perhaps what I can say is that in my school that a lot of teachers were Jesuits, I can reflect now on those times now and see that they defended some ideas that I now would consider as conservative ideas so perhaps I'm a much more against the church now than when I was in school. In terms of my family working for any those institutions no it is not the case.

Q: Can you describe the circumstances that led to you becoming an activist

A: I think it's more about experience being there in rural areas my activities as a researcher regularly takes me to the rural areas every time I go there I can that these is an can understand that there is an imperative to change the social reality and I also think this a circle, the more you read, the more you experience, the more committed you get. I supposed something similar happens to you.

Q: What were the aims of the various campaigns you involved with and were any of the campaigns victorious if they didn't in that right? Were there any accidental successors and what organisation and individuals were involved along side you in the struggles?

A: Well I do consider myself as an activist but I have to say that I do not attend regularly to an activist group itself so my activities are much more constrained to what we do here in the office. Our goal of what we are contributing in the goal of the social movements, particularly with the indigenous and peasants, where we aim for them to have an independent agenda. We try to give them technical supports but not so much they are the ones who define what they want to do sometime we are in disagreement with many of the issues of what they are perusing but we think that our place is to support them in whatever they think is better - so that's what we've been doing there and I think with success because peasants and indigenous movements in Bolivia are stronger perhaps a little bit less strong now but in general terms if you think that in a ten year timeframe we consider there are a lot of accomplishments from them and that's of course they're achievement but we as NGO and others have contributed to that, those, ideas. For example there were some proposals in terms of land in the new constitution that were also prepared from this here from office in consultation with the people.

Q: Can you spell out a little bit more of that achievement

A: yes basically we are discussing the new Bolivian Constitution there was a big issue about big land holdings in the eastern part of the country held by the called here the *lantifundia* - don't know if there is a word for this in English? Big landowner, yeh. So we pushed the option to put a strike limit to that kind of holdings and that ended up being a referendum – a national referendum and that option of 500 hectares per person was the limit was one that succeeded in the referendum, so that might be just one example but if you think of the implications of that it is a real success. Of course then after that they were some political negotiations and the rich people that live in the Eastern part was successful in terms of negotiating when this limit is going to put into practice so the big landholdings that were established before the constitution they were just safe it because it was for now on for the future but at the beginning that was not the case the peasants were saying everyone has

more than 5000 hectares - there will have to be an intervention by the state to give the land to the people. Yes I think we are up to the next question.

Q: If you know the answer to the question what kind of land rights for the indigenous people existed in the 70s so the period before the neoliberal offensive and were more land rights won in this period in Bolivia?

A: OK when it comes to indigenous population to concern their land rights you have to understand the issue of the Indigenous land holdings in Bolivia here during 1970s we had a lot of dictatorships here in the country and I will say that there were no rights, land rights for indigenous people at least no recognising particular to them and the situation was very tough because when the neoliberalism came, what those government were trying to do was agrarian reform assisted by the market so in practice that meant a lot of dispossession land from peasants and indigenous. But the struggle coming from indigenous movement during 1990s changed that. So the indigenous were very strong and they demanded lands and territory so that's how these are these ideas of the Indigenous territories and the political landscapes here in Bolivia for the first time it was part of their struggle. There was a very famous march for land and territory in the 1990s you might want to have a look at that, that really proved into that political agenda in the country. The governments there were neoliberal government, but they saw that it was a crucial issues that if they wanted to maintain government and governance in the country so that's why they started to innovate this. In 1996 then there was land law for the first time recognition explicit recognition for indigenous territories in Bolivia. During the government of Evo Morales in 2006 until now - what the Evo Morales government did was actually to give titles to these indigenous territories more than any other government and that was very clear, I have the figures perhaps I can give you a couples of books about that but I can say that Evo Morales was the one that consolidated the rights for Indigenous people. Is a paradox perhaps for the things like TIPNIS occurred afterwards.

R: This section is about neoliberal period, can you comment on the changes introduced in the 80s the period describe as the neoliberal period who benefited how these changes affected Indigenous communities

A: The neoliberal project started with this decree 21060 decree which is the one that brought the Structural Adjustment Program. I will say that the main causes was that the liberalisation of trade affected badly peasants and indigenous agriculture and I think that the main cause for the immigration in the subsequent years so that was one thing one big thing for me and the other thing was ideological because the neoliberal project was really damaging for Bolivia. Because they were trying to make people apolitical everywhere you can still see the impact of that project in the university for example. I just teach economics at one of the universities and if you see the curriculum you see you have to teach how to privatise natural resources and that kind of stuff. For me that were the two main impacts trade liberalisations, ideologically and then privitisations of the public enterprises. What was the second part of the question?

Q: who benefited out of changes introduced in this time.

A: that's interesting because if you read literature about neoliberalism and it has a tendency – neoliberalism - to trying to roll back the state be against because of the inefficiency or whatever but in practice you see the neoliberalism state is a very selective one in terms of

support so here in Bolivia while the neoliberal state was privatise in public goods and and the size they trade, they also got building roads and infrastructures for the elites in the eastern part of the country and they also negotiating markets for them for soya for example in the CAN – (CAN Nacionales) so it was hard because the neoliberal governments were very much into the economy when it comes to supporting the elites so it was clear that Bolivian elites benefited from that period.

Q: was there more or less recognition of the oppressive colonialist past for indigenous people from government in the neoliberal period? If yes, how was this recognition expressed?

A: I would say that the government knew that it was time to do something about the ethnic question in the country but there was no explicit recognition that the colonial period was something bad. But there was this course of trying to say that we are now in historical syncretism so at the end we're all Bolivians and we have to be one nation. It was clear that beyond this discourse they needed to do something so for my perspective they law of popular participation in 1994 was an attempt to actually give something to the indigenous majorities – the Indigenous majorities so that at the end of the conflict is controlled because it was clear for the government at that time it was something that this conflict was going to eventually take them out of office as actually it did happen.

Q: and can explain a little bit more of the law popular participation?

A: It is considered a law for power decentralisation although for power so it gave the municipal level main attention and it argued that Bolivia needs this process of decentralisation we think that it was needed in certain extant but it was used politically to secure the government. however, the law now that we see (Cuts out then back again) retrospective if you like, it was important because that allows people in rural area to access public's finances / public goods more directly and that led to some kind of empowerment.

Q: interesting, did the neoliberal government expand democratic institution or bringing any self-governing opportunities for the indigenous communities in this period if yes please describe them, did they have a positive effect, we've gone through the that a little it, is the there any else that you want to add to that question of the 94 lar seems to quite significant in Bolivia history.

A: Perhaps I want to add that they were trying to put a bit of make up. There was this famous resignation for the Vice President, an Aymara person, his name is Victor Cardenas that is the name. So It was the First time that an Aymara got to a very high level of public position but I think that was part of strategy to put some make up as I said they were also some efforts to try and promote multicultural societies here in Bolivia, there's a great book I think you should read from Nancy Prosterro, the name of the book is "NOW WE ARE CITIZENS" she is an anthropologist from the University of Berkeley and it's very good research, she tries to explain this how is the neoliberal government try to actually recognise diversity it sounded like contradiction at the beginning, it's like Fukijama and the whole thing end of history and just one culture. Then the Bolivian state is try to promote diverse culture but at the end it was more of an attempt to appease, to calm down is that OK? Yes to appease.

Q: did mining and agriculture business companies project expand into indigenous communities in the neoliberal period? If yes was there resistance? If yes how did it

manifest?

A: well Bolivia is a very big territory for such a small quantity of people we're just 10 million people and more than 1 million hectares here so that means we do not have big conflicts in terms of instructive industries such as Peru for example which is more densely populated and the expansion of mining and agribusiness during this period were not directly linked to Indigenous territories because of this spatial issues but nowadays we see that particularly this agribusiness dynamic is pushing to Indigenous territories one is Guayaras and the other one is Montevede and both are in the department of Santa Cruz. But I think both mining and agribusiness did influence the lives of the indigenous because they needed the labour power come from them so at the end of the day I think that the indigenous and peasants populations were the ones that were being exploited in both activities with no regulation coming from the state to labour regime so yes. When Evo Morales came to power they famously took indigenous people from a hacienda they were cultivating sugar cane and treating indigenous people just like slaves - not receiving money in exchange for their labour just food – it was bondage.

Q: (the bondage) similar to slavery, and this was the sugar cane company was In Santa Cruz as well.

A: Santa Cruz is there it's where the agrarian issues are, it is where the expansion is where the agribusiness is, if you want to know more about the conflicts you have to go there.

Q: thanks, what were the big battles for the indigenous right in the neoliberal period and what allies arose

A: the three main demands coming from the indigenous people were territory not just land that is an important difference they also wanted control over their natural resources and actually now the indigenous territory recognise that they have exclusive rights over renewable natural resources and prioritising rights over non- renewable natural resources so that's a gift the Indigenous people are able to control that also allowed other measures to be taken such the consultation that we have, they have to be consulted in case of projects there. So that's territory the other ones was dignity and basically meant that don't to be second class citizens anymore. And I think that neoliberal period there were no real advancement in that direction at that time and that was something that improved during the Evo Morales government recently. Perhaps those are the two mains.

Q: can you explain the 3 main demands in the neoliberal period you were saying the demand over the territory included control over natural resources so wasn't just land it was the right to decide what happens in the land and and exclusive rights over natural resources so that again is control isn't it? Just explain an it more around that and then consult and dignity..

A: Dignity in terms of being accepted within the Bolivian society it is a struggle against racism basically.

Q: And what allies arose within that movement?

A: At the beginning of course the indigenous people were fighting their own struggle but then there was this crucial moment when the indigenous people joined peasant organisations in the western part of the country and they all built what we called the Pact of Unidad, A Unity Pact is what they called it, that was something very important because for

the first time in history the old social sector were united and I think that perhaps the most important support the indigenous people had at that time. Of course they were activist groups and NGOs but with some conflicting and interest because in the 1990s was also the time for the NGOs were promoting and there was these national parks and protected area in general and that of course brought conflicts with indigenous people you know the controversy of politics of conservation.

Q: can you explain that a little bit more.

A: Well I think that there were some NGOs not all of course and some of them were following a conservation agenda coming from Washington to establish protected areas in parts of Bolivia and there were conflicts with indigenous people because you know just the next day you were exploiting fishing or whatever and suddenly you can't do it any longer because somebody in La Paz said so that was some of the tensions that were emerging at that time. I don't if you're aware but that's one of arguments Vice President Alvaro Linera Garcia in the TIPNIS issue. And I will say that he used it for his own purpose and in general terms there's some truth in there, the conservation agenda in Bolivia was very much involved during the neoliberal period it's interesting because all protected areas were initiated by government in the neoliberal period so the argument of ALG is that we will not be the ones just safeguarding the forests for those of the north has some truth.

Q: the big battle for the indigenous people rights movement in that period how did that manifest its self, you said that there was an organisational unity with Pacto Unidad? But in what other ways that the resistance movement manifest?

A: most radically in the blockades of the roads that the main strategy but I want to say something more like I think it's very important it's like one of main message of the Bolivian experience during the 1990s once the Unity Pact was consolidated there was this clear moment when the peasant and the indigenous population decided that they are not only going to resist but they are going to now play politics so that was like a switch for us as well. In Bolivia we're the majority of people there's no reason why we can not have a party and that's how the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) and the IPSP party emerged, actually before MAS I don't know if you know this but there was this other party this IPSP, Instrumental Political Sovereign de los Pueblos (IPSP) which was the kind of first face of MAS, and then MAS is these people and intellectuals and others coming from other backgrounds. So I think that was also a key strategy from the indigenous people to actually think that it is possible to take the power not only resist. And there were a lot of debates you know about the state and if we really need to be in the state or not destroy the state but at the end of the day the notion that prevailed was the one saying it is needed to take power and I think history has shown that it has important to have Indigenous people in government. With all the contradictions and tensions now that we have now and is difficult to speak about.

Q: we're moving into the current period, number 17, what are the big issue facing indigenous communities today?

A: Politically they are fragmented and I have to be honest and say that the government has something to do with that they are trying to divide them and that's one of the main issues we're facing now is how to build unity again. Within the indigenous people there are tensions as well apart from the government because we think there are two visions one of

them is to actually go back to the past and that doesn't mean something negative – the vision is to be able to rebuild all the indigenous institutions and to question modernity very radically so that's one part. At the other notion is actually to try to be within the Bolivian society and within the state - to be recognised by the state. As to, it's like we just want to be part of this project that is called Bolivia and what we are seeing now is second notion is much stronger than the other one because even activists very strong activists from TIPNIS for example – people that were really defending the TIPNIS issue have now acknowledged that this notion is not the main one even within the Indigenous communities and organisations. In TIPNIS in the Indigenous communities even after what happened there the MAS government won there. So people voted for Evo Morales even in those communities.

Q: can you explain a little bit of TIPNIS go into a bit of the background, describe the conflict and then your opinion.

A: So, the TIPNIS conflict is very complicated the area is national park but at the same time it is an indigenous territory. The dispute was about road that was going to go through the TIPNIS area and road was going to connect the Departments of Cochabamba and Beni. The conflict was between two visions of development if you like but I actually think if we are much more precise the interest was land at the end of the day. I have to explain myself.

There is one camp is arguing that the road is needed them because Bolivian history has shown that we have very few connection with the eastern part of the country they are ... in the country so that's why it is needed for the development of the country so however painful it is to lose some biodiversity of the country it is something that has to be done. That's kind of the argument. The ones that are supporting this are the peasants in Cochabamba – the *cocaleros* - which is where Evo Morales emerged as a politician.

And the other camp argues the role of this huge project is a regional project, I don't know if you have heard about it, kind of an infrastructure project of Brazil, basically. That is hiding this corporate interest of just getting natural recourse more quickly. In saying that those who are against the government of the country, basically.

But when we think about that the main issue is that the indigenous in TIPNIS they knew that if the road was built the peasants were going to arrive very quickly to grow cocoa and other crops as well.

And what we have seen in peasants migration to the lowlands in Bolivia is that wherever the peasant arrives and tends to succeeded against the indigenous people because they are capable of engaging market relation more easily than the indigenous. So the indigenous end up being labourers for them and that's a very classical history here of colonisation. So I think the bottom line is that the indigenous in TIPNIS they feared that they didn't want the *cocaleros* to be there. I'm not so sure that the indigenous really believed in that environmental arguing in terms of Mother Earth or bio diversity I think that was part of the issue but the main issue was land.

On the other side I think it's true that the peasants of Cochabamba were pushing very hard to have that land to expand coca cultivation but we also we know there might be hydrocarbons there gas mainly so there could be an interest from the state there as well. Politically I will say that for this whole thing about TIPNIS and this is just my opinion again,

because here in the office you can hear from people with very different views, is that one of the major problems for Evo Morales because they really managed the situation very badly they sent the police unnecessarily that only achieve solidarity in the city grew a lot so Evo Morales faced a very difficult political situation. And I think that the government was also very authoritative at that time they were saying the road was going whether you like it or not that's a fact this kind of discourse. And I still have my doubts that the government from the beginning say we want to build this road we know that by constitution we need your acceptance because we have to consultate you and I think if they would have done it in another fashion you know polite and respectful of the indigenous rights perhaps the road would have been there already. So for me it's much more of problem with how they handled it politically.

Q: OK that's very good thank you. Has there been a point in a decade of 2000 where the governments has expanded or detracted rights for the indigenous people?

A: As I said before during the 90s there was a huge demand for indigenous territories the first year of 2000 decade the the first indigenous territory appeared but most of them the big majority were consolidated during the government of Evo Morales. Although it is fair to say that a lot of indigenous territories were in the bureaucratic phase so Evo Morales just put the sign to it, something that was going to happen. But in any case it is clear that the Morales government was the one who pushed hard for that. Perhaps there are very important factor was this guy Alejandro Almaraz, Bolivia's vice minister of land was the Vice ministry for land and now he is very opposed to Evo Morales. He has a very strong ideology in favour of Indigenous people he is a communitarianist if you like. One of the main reasons why he left office was because they tend not to hear the peasant people which wanted individual land rights. He always prioritised community, collective right everywhere and were giving titles everywhere but focusing too much on collective titles because of his old ideological preferences. The peasant is much bigger sector than the indigenous sector here in Bolivia.

Q: So how is the peasants sector bigger than the indigenous sector?

A: That is also complicated, like a lot is in Bolivia. If you see peasants and indigenous people basically the same ethnically they share the same root and in essence I think they are the same perhaps economically their attitudes are a bit different but there are some groups in the lowlands and they are indigenous and their livelihoods also reflect this they also still going fishing, and their lives are built around this historical dynamics in their communities. In contrast the peasant people are much more orientated to market they have learned to be much more open the western culture so that's the main dispute that the peasant asking for modernisation, more industrialisation of the country and indigenous not. That's an interesting thing because during 1953 agrarian reform what the Bolivian state did other time was actually trying to modernise agriculture so I think at that time the government started to build a new trade unions so some of the the indigenous people went to the trade union and the other ones remained within their ancestral organisations the ayullas. So that was the moment when these two started to be different organisation but in essence they share the same program

Q: can you explore the individual land plots versus the collective so the ayllua is the traditional indigenous structure and the peasants lands ownership. Can you explain the ?

that exists and the land title has been given to territory title from Evo the titles that he been granted consolidates collective over the individual? Is that right?

A: Yes that's what happened but because of the particular influence of Almaraz once he left office then the land policy started to prioritize individual plots. The tension reflects I think much more broad tension between visions of development. Basically peasants if they want to access credits that kind of stuff they need to have individual rights and I will say that peasants tend to see traditional indigenous organisation as something from the past something that has to be changed in order to improve their livelihood in practice.

Collective lands are also very polemical because we just conducted some research in one of those and we found out that for example that the indigenous people were giving permits to private enterprises to come along and take all the wood with them just for some money. You cannot blame the indigenous for not being indigenous, if you like, but it's very complicated because their situation makes them do that kind of stuff in order to survive. I think that the indigenous sector is still believing the collective ownership of the land they're trying to vindicate that but in practice most of them tend to live in these indigenous territories, so there actually is a huge political dispute between this lands because the peasants are arguing for going there as they need more land for their families and they were also very polemical discourses from peasant leaders that were saying the new big land owners are the indigenous people so we have to do something about that.

In average indigenous families one those territories has 500 hectares per family so that's a lot so when peasants hear that its like, what the fuck, I have like 1 hectare or even less, less in the Western part of the country, so that's kind of the dispute.

I think it's very difficult for the government to actually retreat and go against these territories but it's hard to predict what's going happen because now that the government has alliance with the agribusiness so it's clear that they're not going to touch their lands either so the question is where the lands are coming from for the peasant sector which is the majority in this state the strong social movement that has been helping the government of Evo Morales.

Q: Numerically the peasant sector has the majority and how many peasants and how many indigenous across the country? Is it easy to qualify or very difficult to qualify?

A: it's very difficult to qualify yes, we have been arguing that in the past census that some specific questions could be included but unsuccessfully.

It's very difficult but I can give you some approximate I will say that taking from organisations the peasants in the country are about two million people in the whole country – a bit less than two million. And those who affiliated and are identified themselves as pure indigenous are actually a minority that is 30-50,000 people in the lowlands. In the highlands it's complicated a person could be affiliated to both organisations. So now the debate is more like in the western part of the country are the peasants and the lower lands are the indigenous which are much more Amazonian indigenous people if you like. Most Quecha and Aymara, they do have the arguments, but those are the clear majority. The peasants sometimes joke when have you seen a march just from the indigenous from the highlands, never. If we the peasants do not go, it is impossible to do a blockade, for example. And its

true there hasn't been a single peasant of the indigenous people from the West. It's very controversial issues and there's much to be studied there. Please do not take my figures as exact it is just an approximate.

Q: do many indigenous live remotely, do they receive adequate funding if not why?

A: In terms of public policy the confusion and the complexity has been reduced. So for the government what they did was they're all indigenous, and peasants at the same time. Actually its funny because the Indigenous Territories are called *Territorios Indígena Originario Campesinos* which is kind of putting them all in the same bag so that was the pragmatic solution from the government and the policies are given to the whole group. There are no discrimination between one or the other. But there is a big fund. It is called the Indigenous Fund, not too sure if you heard about that, currently now it is an issue because corruption has emerged, nevermind, the crucial thing is if you look at the projects, the majority of the projects approved goes to the peasants organisation kind of reflecting the balance of forces between those. And this fund is very big we are talking about USD 1.200million that's a lot of money but unfortunately there's are no clear mechanism to control the fund and most of these development projects using this money have not been executed properly so the impact is reduced. But you have to say that for the first time in history of the republic of the state there is a clear fund for supporting this kind of people. But now with this conflict with corruption the government is talking about the need to eliminate this and create a development fund more in the mainstream sense.

Q: and which department has control over that fund?

A: The ministry of agriculture, that's very a sensible topic perhaps one of the worst topic now for Evo Morales he is Trying to be defensive in relation to this...just be careful if we go to the Ministry and start asking this, it will be possible you will be kicked out. Because it is something that the right wing are using every single day. All peasants are corrupt nothing new here, always be here.

Q: OK if I look for this incident of corruption in the media I would find it? When did it come out?

A: About four months ago.

Q: Are there instances of indigenous community leaders signing into mining company agreements against their wishes of other communities members and why do you think it occurs?

A: I'm not an expert on that but what I can tell you on my opinions based on what I've been hearing from my colleagues there are people who are working more closely with the indigenous people. But I will say that the first thing we need to recognise that whatever you like to call it is with indigenous people as well and one of the main problems there is that we tend to romanticize them. They are humans just like you and me. And I actually think that sometimes even for activists is quite paternalist to think that way. Part of the problem for me the reason for their corruption are the same reasons for our corruption. Although there are Some anthropologists who are trying to defend these leaders it is what they think of this world they are collectors and when they see an opportunity they just take it. I do not follow that it is just corruption.

Q: Thanks and what indigenous rights organisation have coheres grassroots struggle in the recent period?

A: Indigenous rights or organisation as an activist?

Q: Both

A: Indigenous organisation you'll have to look for CIDOP. The GPE which is the Guayani organisation. Here in the highlands the CONAMAQ. Those are the main and in terms of activists there are people that climate change platform I don't know if you know them I actually disagree with a lot of things they say, but they are there in the struggle trying to do something so perhaps its worth.

Q: And what organisation are they?

A: Climate change organisation that works on indigenous rights but I don't which ones one that is completely focused on indigenous rights.

Q: During the 90s you were saying it was the Pact Unidad and is that still in place in the 2000 to current day? Or is that the organisations you mentioned before were the product of the developing struggle?

A: Pact Unidad fought in the 90s and gotten stronger in 2002-2008/9 and got very strong since the conflict issue during the period 2002 to 2008-9, however since the the dispute between the visions of development and the government has resulted with conflicts within the Pact, yes. And also there was some sectors agreed with the government and others did not, so in practice the Pact exists today and some would argue that it is not that strong. It's true that they have expelled leader of the organisations that opposed Evo Morales so now we tend to see the Pact as less legitimate as it used to be. They expelled the leaders that opposed Evo after TIPNIS. TIPNIS was the inflection point.

Q: What tactics did the indigenous rights movement employ is there an overwriting principle within employing these type of tactics?

A: I don't know much about it

Q: from your point of view how do you see the indigenous philosophy manifesting itself in particular and in a general way do you believe the indigenous view of the world if the indigenous people compatible with neoliberalism if yes in what sense if not why not?

A: As I said before I think that the indigenous people philosophy remains here in Bolivia within the society I gave you the example of my grandparents but it's not only that I usually mention this as well, e were in El Alto with my girlfriend we were trying to reach other parts of the city and we were in this place where you have to catch on this mini bus but it was holiday so there were no and were about 20 people and suddenly the mini bus that was not working, with no ads, with nothing, just regular, passed there and one of the ladies talked to the driver and said you have to take us there we are a lot of people we have been waiting so long so you have to take us there and the moment she said that some of knew there was some strange collectivism in our veins what she was about to do. So, we started just to get into the car and I use this an example of the collectivism remains here in Bolivia. Still think in terms of community in Bolivia in many respects. In London that would not happen ever and it was very interesting because it was something very automatic we did not even need to talk to each other. We know we are looking for something in common and the driver responded reciprocally. Weird right? All of a sudden you are driving you car and then you

are taking people to a particular place. In relation to neoliberalism I have to say the biggest contradiction in terms of neoliberalism is the collective rights, right? The tendency of neoliberalism is to privatise private properties, this is the contradiction. There is no sharing.

Q: is there any room for the Indigenous philosophy in the activity of democratic state? Is the indigenous philosophy and capitalist neoliberalism compatible

A: I think there is room but I think we are failing how approach it and I don't think here in Bolivia where you might have accomplishment in this direction, we do not have them yet and that is perhaps because as I told you we are not being serious enough about this. We romanticise this just too much. I think that is part of the problem. I think that there is a need to have this philosophy I'm not sure if you're aware of the 'Alice Project', from Verintura? You are going to love it. This is a Portuguese sociologist... who is looking at southern epistemologies and he what I know that is the most serious discussion of this, how Indigenous philosophies can be put into practice. What space do they have in the current world. Thats really cool. It is at the University of Lisbon, Portugal. We have lots of researchers here that work with him and in Ecuador and other parts. So, the project is worldwide. They are also looking at cultures in Africa and other places.

Q: what do you think of the concept of the indigenous wellbeing as a basis for the government policy and program development?

A: I think that the concept is still in a phase of theoretical discussion we need to discuss more from philosophical stand for I think and our rush to put them into practice into policy only accomplished to portray it as an ideal that was not going to happen. I think that was a mistake because most people say of course, ah yes, living well. And the problem is that we would be well Living Well but then you see the project and it is just the standard project without serious engagement and we feel like that we haven't been serious enough and in that attempt perhaps we have empty concept from its political strength. The fault also lies in activists like us I'm afraid.

Q: New technological developments in resources extraction have resulted in coal seam gas developments threatening the ecology and land management practices of indigenous community, what is your opinion about this development is extract in resources and indigenous self-determination. Are they counter posed?

A: Well the example of fracking, we don't have here.

Q: But coal yes

A: Ah yes, I think the Bolivian experience shows these are not completely contradictory things. I think it is possible to achieve arrangements in the department of Tarija where we have most of the gas exploitation in the country, and there are a lot of the Guarani communities there and we have seen the communities able to get very important percentage of gains of this extractive industry. But of course, the debate it where it's at now is it fair or not. But apart from academic's argument we can say here in the city I think the Guarani people there are people quite happy with the gas exploitation there. They see it as a good source of revenue for them as well. They just say we need a proper percent we have lots of things to take care of in the community. And I think the challenge remains is how to ensure that they get a fair deal.

Q: What do you think of the Bolivian state has done for the indigenous rights, are they any government programs that are assisting the indigenous communities?

A: In terms of rights if you look at our constitutions are quite progressive ones and I am sure you have read it and the challenge is to implement those rights. There are controversies about that because there are those who argue that the government is violating systematically the rights of Indigenous people with extractivist industry and the like. I am not so sure I think the Indigenous people should not only be cultural rights, but economic rights and I think sometimes these people fail to see that. And it is a matter of going there and seeing the countryside and seeing that you need a hospital nearby, and so I think in terms of economic rights of the Indigenous people the government has accomplished some advancement. I have to say that is much less than we as Bolivians expected and in recent years we have seen that this state is running away from the Indigenous people and something that we are worried about a lot. And I would attribute this to some electoral calculations from the government. And yes I think that is what I was saying.

Q: Do you think indigenous rights movement can advance with community working more closely with government?

A: I think the first rule for negotiation in this state and the communities is key to realise that the indigenous movement should be carefully not to be overtaken by the state and the challenge is how to keep this movement strong enough to negotiate with the state because what we see now is what happened in Bolivia is that it weakened a lot in the past years. And then the state started to take its main fundamental action in favour for the capital.

Q: In your opinion what will indigenous sovereignty look like? What structure and bodies are needed to be created and what politics were there present and what were they stand for? What works were these bodies carry out?

A: that's a big questions... It's a very complex question what can I say is that policies helping if you like the indigenous people are possible are feasible there are a couple of examples implemented here in Bolivia. Fund Indigena, Mi Agua, there are some programs that prioritise Indigenous communities with technology relation but I think the main tension is with these policies there is an implicit acknowledgement that we want them not to be Indigenous anymore because it is modernity in practice. So, the huge challenge is how to build, not modern policies. We haven't seen that in Bolivia yet. We we supposed to, we are all confused of what's happening now because it started as a very indigenous political process its ended up as being development process, just very mainstream development process. Of course, I would not say it's neoliberal process because there's big state controlling, trying to redistribute wealth, which is good. But in terms of going a bit further we have not been able.

Q: What would be the most beneficial relationship between the indigenous communities and the state for sovereignty that you have mentioned a bit before.

A: For us a very important thing is how can we make the power between the state and the indigenous communities kind of equal. There was a time in Bolivia where that was the case. So the state became an instrument if the indigenous movement and it was between 2001-2005 perhaps you know the Gas War and the Water War in Cochabamba you actually saw the state was pursuing what the people were asking for but then I think it is very easy for the state to forget about that when the civil society or the social movement are not there to

push kind of for me at least the challenge. That could be a good relation but there are lot of contradictions between the state and the indigenous that we should be aware of this. But I think the easy solution is go and destroy the state are not quite feasible at this historical point in time. I do understand the need for that. I do sympathise with some anarchist ideas but I don't think it is the historical time for that.

Q: do you think the current government and current political parties will deliver indigenous self-determination if not what type of government and state could advance sovereignty?

A: I think the Morales government has done a lot for indigenous sovereignty and I don't think any government in the history of the country has done something even similar. I'm not sure how powerful that is to change the conditions of operations that the indigenous are currently facing up to date. But being optimistic I will say that there have been some major steps and you can see those in terms of the reality in society for example before Evo Morales, most of the indigenous and peasants consider themselves as inferior as to people in the capital (cities) that is not the case now. I don't know if this has happened to you but nowadays you can see Indigenous people taking aeroplanes, drinking coffees and that is a revolution in many senses even if there are people who think it is too little I think it is much, I remember when I was young in the bank I couldn't see indigenous working there and it was just impossible even though most people tend to try to write this would be and now that the indigenous are there and I think that this could ending the subaltern condition of them at least in the ideological imaginary sense but economically there are still lots of things to do.

Q: What alliances and forces finally will assist and win the fight for self determination and how do you see self-determination and sovereignty developing in Bolivia?

A: I think that by fact that the TIPNIS issue was so big and it demanded the attention of the President shows that the issue of sovereignty is take more seriously than in any other country of the region at least that I know. There is still the space to look at Indigenous sovereignty but the main limitation is in terms of the economy you know. Indigenous are still not been able to access means of productions to be independent from capitalists and that is something that Evo Morales is not prepared to consider because it is considered to be a long-term struggle.

Q: So, they still have not been able to access? Production and develop in a competitive sense?

A: In economics sense yes but we do have development but there have been progress in terms of identity and in terms of achieving recognition of citizenship in Bolivia there, there is clear progress.

Q: thank you that's very interesting

Ends

A.8. Interview with Odalis Zuazo
May 22, 2016

Q. What's your name and do you represent an organization? If yes describe your group and what are some typical responsibilities, you have in your organization?

A: Ok. Well, I am the accountant-administrator of Fundacion Renace. I work in the area of administrative management of capital/money but I have several travels to the communities. I work with female workmates and you could say that I belong to the intercultural women of Alto Beni (Upper Beni). I have a small productive plot/piece of land of cacao there (Alto Beni), so I consider myself as part of these women as well. I have the experience of being a farmer.

Q: What are some typical responsibilities you have in your organization?

O: Well, in the office I am an accountant. Let's say I manage the money of all the projects, I am in charge of the shopping, recruitment of services, payments, organising the workshops in the economic area when we need to bring the activities in the countryside... all of these would be my responsibilities.

Q:OK. Thank you. Second question. Are you indigenous? If yes what is your family background if no how did you become involved in assisting indigenous campaign? When were you born?

O: Hmm, no. You could say I'm mestiza (mixed blood). This would be my denomination/designation. I am a mestiza as I consider myself as intercultural like I said. Intercultural people like me are those who...belong from one place to another. And we have completed the settlement areas. This is where we have the greatest work we have achieved with the institution (Fundacion Renace). It is an intercultural area with a higher Mosestén influence *Mosestén are Indigenous people found in La Paz and Beni departments *

Q: Ok. Do you have family that further back were Indigenous/Aymaran or lived in the countryside in a more 'Indigenous way' or...?

O: No. In fact, I could say that I was the first in my family that is going to the countryside. My grandparents were always from the urban side/city. They were from Cochabamba and my father is from Potosi. (My siblings) and I were born in La Paz and I would be the first one in my family travelling to the Alto Beni side.

Q: Alto Beni. Ok, great. And how did you get involved with helping the Indigenous/Amayran people?

O: It's through my job. Ten years ago, I began work in an institution that worked in the Yanacachi side *of La Paz Department * and in the north of Potosi afterwards. So I learned to know the countryside/rural side of Bolivia. The 'Other Bolivia' as I like to call it these days because unfortunately those who are from the main cities like me think that Bolivia are just the main cities and that is lie as there is another Bolivia. So I have started to know the countryside and I liked it. It has delighted me. I have seen the difference and I have also seen that a lot of work is needed, a lot of support and a lot of change in approach to get the people (of the countryside) to self-worth and be able to improve their quality of living.

Q: OK, and in which year were you born?

O: I was born in 1971.

Q: Ok thank you. Question number three, how do you describe your relationship with the Bolivian state?

O: Hmm... [Laughs]. Well, we do what all Bolivians have to do as citizens, right? We follow the laws despite the fact that I do not like many of the laws as I don't find them unfair. We could say that we try to live in peace and order...whichever the (political) that is... because whoever who (rules) the country, it is up to us to live. This is the reality.

Q: Could you explain a little more about your relationship with the (Bolivian) state? Like... Is there anything that you would like to change?

O: To be honest, it would be me. I am anti-state. Because I think state is the legal way to rob and cheat the people. Whichever type of state... Neoliberal, Communist, Socialist, all of them. For me a state has been created so that society can live well together. As we see all states worldwide, I do not see that they play that role. So for me, states in general are a legal way to rob and cheat the people.

Q: Ok, thank you. What were the living conditions of your family and you during your youth?

O: Ok, I come from a family... with my dad, mom, uncles, aunts, grandparents, all of them. We are seven siblings. My dad was the one who worked while my mom was a homemaker. I believe my mom had the hardest time as she has had to fight against all. My dad made an effort to provide for us despite the limitations. My dad was quite a philosopher because he used to say that you got to have more resources and opportunities to women so that they defend themselves in life because at the end of the day women often end up alone with their children. So he always put the effort to help the four women of my family as much as he could. If there was some (extra money) needed, he always put to effort to get it. So you could say that I do not come from a wealthy family but doesn't mean that I am from an extremely poor family either... A working, determined and thoughtful family, (I would say).

Q: OK...What type of decisions was your community able to make over land, culture and schooling? What community structures existed outside government and state institutions? Was your community able to hold onto collective land management and communal living traditions?

O: I could answer this question on the Alto Beni context and the piece of land that I told you about in Brecha 'B' Agua Rica community. It is a community of farmers. We all have small pieces of land where we produce oranges, bananas, cacao, maize.... We generally get together communally for decision making in regard to community. And when interacting with the government, we do so at a community scale. We are all intercultural in the community and everything is decided by a majority vote. This is the way we work in the community. When you mentioned 'the collective management of the land', what did you mean by that? I didn't understand.

Q: It's like... an Indigenous life in my country. Traditionally, there is a tendency of making collective decisions about the land and what is happening to it. So this question is a little bit like...

O: We all have a small piece of land in the community.

Q: Right...

O: So obviously if you are going to make something bad to the piece of land like something that is not related to the production and the work in the countryside, you won't be allowed.

Q: Right...

O: ...But in regard to interference... of how you want to produce your vegetables or fruits or how you want to build your home... That is not the case. As long as you keep the traditions and make everything fairly, there won't be an interference on a governmentally level, nor on a communally level.

Q: Would you say that indigenous culture and community organizational structure greatly differ greatly from western philosophical and political approach?

O: I would say so. Because in the community level and on an Indigenous culture level, living well is very simple and communal. Very beautiful. In the level of western philosophy, it's more about the topic of consumerism and fashion... Things that you don't see really in the community. It does not mean that they don't exist though. The community is much more simple on these aspects so you are not really focused on satisfying needs like eating a lot, having a lot of sex or having a lot of clothes just like in Western philosophy because the more you have, the happier you are. That does not happen in our community. It's more about having the necessary amount of clothes and having new clothes every now and then... in regard to sex, as long as you have your romantic partner it's great... for us it's not about being better than anyone else because you have more. Life for us is more simple and beautiful in this sense.

Q: What is your first memory of life being negatively affected by a police officer, a medical government official or church representative? Were any family members working for the government or for the police, if yes in what capacity?

O: Well, when there were large social problems in regards to mining around the 80s in Bolivia... I did not live it firsthand but I had the impression that it was often that the public order forces acted rudely towards university students and miners when they arrived... it is memory that still remains in my mind... something that the state was able to do when there was crisis here (in Bolivia). I was very young... I was 10 or 11 years old watching and listening to the news on the TV. It was something that impacted me. Thankfully, I didn't get to see worse situations.

Q: Ok great, thank you. It was an impression of the 80s that is... fine for me. I understand.... Question eight. Could you describe the circumstances that drove you to become an activist to support the Indigenous people among other related issues?

O: First and foremost, I consider myself as a fighter for women. I am interested in the subject of the economic rights for women at every level, especially for the women of the countryside because they....have suffered the most oppression from the community, men...also by their ignorance and even by other women because women don't help each other to get ahead. In fact, we always want to limit each other because of our ignorance. We think women want to compete with each other and in my opinion, I do not think so. Like I have seen in the countryside, the issue about women there..... is why I have become active in the work of promoting the... for me... in the wake of economic rights. When a woman

becomes independent in regard to having her own money, it is when she can take her own decisions about her family, her surroundings and her community.

Q: Which have been the objectives of the diverse movements in which you have been involved? Have many of them been successful? If they have not completely succeeded, were there alternative successes? Which organisations and individuals participated with you in your 'fights'?

O: I am not the kind of activist that fights. I am the kind of activists that works with women to, for instance, grinding the cacao so that we can sell it at the fairs. I am with them to help and we work until midnight or 2am packing (products)... I am the kind of person that works with them so that we get to sell what women produce and I organize everything to make sure we get to sell our products in the fairs. I have a work partner named Ruth Quispe and we both go and find fairs so that we can be in them and be able to commercialise our products there. Because the hardest part after these women achieved to produce and process (their products) is the sale (of them) ... The hardest part... So, this is what I do... I think we have made achievements. For example, this year, we have been able to participate in three or four fairs. We have succeeded in selling our cacao of our area and making it known as another alternative (of commercial cacao??) We have been trying to include marmalade and banana flour... So we have made achievements last year. It was a productive year and we are happy about that.

Q: Were you an activist during the 1970s?

O: I was born in the 70s [laughs].

Q: What kind of rights of the land for Indigenous peoples existed in the 1970s?

O: Well, I know what happened when the land reform was made... With what occurred in the Altiplano because this reform has not reached the Eastern part of Bolivia because the population was low and the agrarian sector was not that well developed there. Bolivia has attempted to redistribute the land to the farmers... supposedly under the slogan 'the owner of a land is the one who works it.' The problem is how you can give people land to produce it and not supporting them with supplies, seeds and especially training (to cultivate in their lands) and a market (for their products). If you do not support people during the process of production, how can they safely be able to produce food in their lands and sell them? ... If you don't know how to teach them, don't teach them... I mean, it is a false discourse/speech. This what happened to Bolivia. This is why the people in the Bolivian rural areas have not been able to move forward and improve their community.

Q: Yes... Ok... Were there more gained/earned rights of the land were during the period of the 1970s than before? ... Or not?

O: I would say that through settlement, more rights to the land have been earned/gained. For example, I am a city mestiza (mixed blood) who has a productive plot/small piece of land in a settlement area. If I wanted to go to the altiplano now and say I want to have two plows of potatoes, I would not be allowed to do that, I would not have a choice. It is because of the processes that they were called 'internal settlement' of providing land to people who want to work in the Eastern part (of Bolivia), north of La Paz...affecting the Indigenous Mosen people. Great parts of land that belonged to these people have been taken away... small pieces of land for people who want to work (...). And what are going to

do with people who want to work (small pieces of land) when there is no other common place of land?

Q: Ok... Question twelve... Can you comment on the changes introduced during the period of the 1980s? ... The period which is described as the 'Neoliberal period'? How did these changes affect the Indigenous communities?

O: Ok... The changes that were introduced in the 1980s... how I should explain it... To be honest, I don't know how I could explain them to you...

Q: It's ok. If there were no particular changes during this period in Bolivia, it's

O: I have not perceived particular changes during the 1980s... the 1980 were, first and foremost, consolidated by democracy... this has especially been seen in the large of cities (of Bolivia) because the dictatorship ended... (In regard to Indigenous communities) ... Perhaps, there were changes in regards to mining because mines were firing several workers and people started to come to the large cities... First through marches, reclaiming... so that the (miners) get re-hired and then get translated to the countryside... this is when the Cocaleros (movement) started with the miners... a part (of them) was for people to get land in Cochabamba and started to produce coca. And they were the first ones who started to unionise for the fact that they were originally miners and their unionized customs/habits/traditions were translated to the Cocalero (movements). This is how this process worked... It's not that the cocaleros were syndicalists... no... it started with the fact that miners entered the area of production of coca in which the Cocalero syndicalists started to evolve... they became empowered, they started to show strength/power. This is what happened in the 1980s.

Q: Was there more or less recognition of the oppressive colonialist past for indigenous people from government in the neoliberal period? If yes, how was this recognition expressed?

O: I think that the neoliberal governments more than oppressive and colonialist despised (Indigenous) peoples because there has been a break... in a society level... there was a great break between countryside and city-side. The city-side wanted to forget that the countryside even existed and wanted to have the countryside as a country villa... that would look pretty and beautiful while forgetting about people who lived in the countryside. This is what happened more or less in the 1980s and 1990s. The government was clearly part of this. The government wanted countryside people to remained where they were supposed to remain while not being visible (to the city-side people). This is what I would say in regard to your question.

Q: Did neoliberal governments expand democratic institutions or bring in any self-governing opportunities for Indigenous/Aboriginal communities? If yes, describe them? Did they have a positive effect on communities?

O: What the neoliberalists would say about this topic is that they have done so with a popular participation and with this, this has been achieved that the communities have more participation through obtaining economic resources. But I believe that this was not the case because the economic resources have gone to enrich a small dome of people of the rural areas but has not reached the development of communities. For example, it has achieved ... [unintelligible] ... it has been helpful because they were good offices, let's say, in the

countryside. However, what is the necessity for a farmer to have a nice office when a farmer does not have someone to properly manage a community in regard to health or in regard to having school teachers... what for? So popular participation has taken money to the communities but without an actual development nor compromise of professionals that will for the communities to work that want to respect the people of those communities.

Q: Ok, that's good. Thank you... and... number fifteen... Did mining and agribusiness company projects expand into Indigenous communities in the neoliberal period? If yes, was there resistance to this expansion and how did it manifest?

O: In the area where I work, to be honest with you, I have not seen anything you mentioned but I've heard that in the case of Oruro... when mines were delivered in the Potosi side also without consultation, without consultation to the communities that there have been effected and the large businesses/enterprises come into the communities and start to exploit. Then at any time such raids benefits communities because the minute one enters a large company to exploit... the first thing you do is destroy the habitat. Because you need to sit there and see it getting destroyed... it's not that they want to do that, no, but they need to do that and indeed do so and there is no government who cares about this, not this current one or the other ones... they don't care about what you do to the community. As long as they get money from it and there were more options to get money to maintain a townsman state apparatus if they want more money... basically because the money never reaches the communities... money always goes to the large cities.

Q: What were the big battles for Indigenous/Aboriginal rights movements in the neoliberal period? What allies arose?

O: Whoa... tough one. There were several marches that were previously performed and when were in regard to Indigenous communities... there were only in regards to the area of Samaipata and maybe the valley areas. Only in regard to the Indigenous peoples of the lowlands... from the north of Bolivia, no... I remember that when I was young... I can't even remember that in school we heard of the Mosen and the Chimane people... But about the Aymaran peoples, the Quechuas, the mestizo people... It was like these were the only people that existed in Bolivia. So between the 1980s o 1990s you saw marches of people from the lowlands to La Paz in different governments to be heard. To reclaim their territories and achieve, for example, not getting their lands to be taken away and have their community/original lands... so that no one can touch them and share them with others from the outside. So these have been the greatest struggles of lands...that have... and once people from the cities were informed and have enough knowledge about this... they support these issues like I said... their existence became visible, their realities and their necessities. And then there was a moment when the large cities have helped.

Q: Ok great, thank you. What were the great issues that Indigenous peoples face today?

O: In my point of view, it is that your lifestyle. It is not consistent with the development policy that states want to enforce and they want to 'sell' this to the current youth of the communities. Their way of life, their developments and the idea of consumerism. I think these are the main problems that communities are currently facing... the youth now want to have cars, motorbikes, pretty girls, expensive clothes, plenty of food and no longer want and do not longer appreciate the simple life that the community has which is much more beautiful.

Q: Has there been a point in the decade of 2000 where governments have expanded or detracted rights for Indigenous/Aboriginal people?

O: Hmmm yes. As I said to you before, Indigenous peoples have given their rights and their native/original communal lands. Reserves have been made (for them)... you do not hear about it. These have been created for the advancement of the settlers who are known as 'intercultural people'... they are not as affected as before... not even the government itself could... vote lands within these territories to other groups of people... that are so Indigenous... what has been the colonisation/settlement has been the people of the Altiplano of Aymara and Quechua origin go and get moved to the East and North of La Paz and are put in the communities of the people... it takes the land away and they divide the land.

Q: Ok, thank you. And... are there a lot Indigenous communities that live in remote areas? Do they receive any funding? If not, why is that?

O: There are a lot communities that... I don't know that well. All that is in Pando, you still find very faraway lands there... also in the north of La Paz... it's the access... For example, to go to Beni, you can't go there directly from La Paz... you'll notice. In many sides of Pando, you have to cross Brazil first and then enter Bolivia from the other side and then finally getting in (to Pando).

Very large extremes... they do not receive funding because they are faraway communities, the access (to get there) is difficult and I think that many people do not know how (the people in the faraway Pando communities) are and how they live. It's the long distance...

Q: Yeah... Are there many communities like the ones you just mentioned?

O: There are several... in Pando, Beni, in the north side of La Paz.

Q: There are instances of Indigenous community leaders signing onto mining company agreements against the wishes of other community members. Why does this occur?

O: This is why always the case because mining companies already have been able to reach them with the economic issue or because political influence through the government so that they talk to the leaders and convince them. To enter (to the communities)... so that they always sign... For example, in the very north of La Paz in order to make oil exploration possible... but we do not want them to enter... what for? They are going to ruin everything in Upper Beni, but they have already signed... the (oil company people) have been received with great fanfare... but what a lot of people don't want to know of the oil companies in the area/zone because we are afraid that they will take it all (the oil) ... to make the land dry like it has happened in other areas thanks to the oil companies... and they have these aforementioned lands to become a desert.

Q: What Indigenous rights organizations have cohered grass roots struggle in the recent period?

O: During the last few years, the organisations that have empowered have been The Bartolinas [Link: <http://www.apcbolivia.org/org/cnmciob-bs.aspx>], the cooperation of the Intercultural communities of Bolivia... These will be the ones that have empowered the ones... along with the CONAMAQ

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Council_of_Ayllus_and_Markas_of_Qullasuyu]

Q: Between this group... are the Bartolinas women only?

O: Yes. On a national and departmental levels.

Q: And also the other ones? On a national or regional level?

O: There have been some that were Intercultural... they act on a national level but also at the level where there are settlements of settlers...

Q: Ok ...Indigenous philosophy is described as having a deep connection with land and country. Can you describe why this relationship is so? Is there any room for Indigenous philosophy in the activity of a democratic state? Is Indigenous philosophy and capitalist neoliberalism compatible?

O: In one word... No... Because the Indigenous (cosmovision) is not consumerist. Neoliberalism is based on consumption and this is the main difference. This is our life focus... those who consume what is needed... and those who consume for consumerism.

Q: OK Question number twenty-two. What kind of tactics used in protests do the Indigenous movements employ? Is there a fundamental principle to employ these tactics?

O: The fundamental principle... I don't think they work.... And that always makes the marches and blockades... through social movements they always try to achieve improving their quality of life or make advance their demands...

Q: Thank you. And...number twenty-four... is there space in the Indigenous philosophy for the activities of a democratic state? Is the Indigenous philosophy compatible and Neoliberal Capitalism? If so, in what sense?

O: The Indigenous philosophy is democratic because people choose their own people... to become leaders... they do not stay for a long time as leaders and their roles rotate. We all must fulfill a responsible position in the community so that it works properly... so yes...the Indigenous community is democratic. But this does not go with a capitalist leadership because, as I said before, in politics... in the simple philosophy of consumerism... is small... and this is the main difference between both Indigenous philosophy and Neoliberal Capitalism.

Q: Yeah... What do you think the Bolivian/Australian state has done for indigenous rights? Are there any government run programs that are assisting Indigenous/Aboriginal communities?

O: ... I do not see that governments in general have made many efforts for the welfare of Indigenous communities. It's something complementary to them it's easier for them remembering the large cities than the communities because they are remote areas and this creates difficulty to access and reach these communities. For example, regarding the issue of hospitals even though the communities have a population of 10,000 they do not have access of doctors... generally, (medical) practitioners come to the communities as they did not get jobs in the large cities and their capabilities are not the best... So the government make no political incentive so that, for example, highly qualified professionals go to these communities for at least couple of years to support to go to a remote community means

years worthy, there are not politics. We need good politicians and teachers or people working there have capabilities.

Q: Thank you. Some critics believe that the new technological developments in the extraction of natural resources have resulted in increased pollution even though this is the opposite of the management practices of the Indigenous peoples' lands? What is your opinion about this?

O: There are opposite because the extraction of resources is not careful to the environment. This extraction does not care the strength of which our land will be useful for future generations. This extraction does not care if the community is going to survive with less water and that the lake is contaminated... They just don't care. The communities think about their children, their grandchildren and their future generations and to be able to have a healthy soil, they have to maintain a balance... People can't just take resources (from the land) and keep doing this... It does not work like this... There is no way that a technological advance or genetically modified food or fertilizers that will achieve the balance of the land...

Q: Thank you. And what do you think that the Bolivian state has done for the rights of Indigenous peoples? Is there any problem that Bolivians are helping the Indigenous communities?

O: Well... The Bolivian state has not forgotten of the Indigenous people because the focus and funding has been given to Indigenous communities. But there is not really any expectation that they would be able to finance projects in the rural area under the approach of form of life of people and be sustainable for them because the idea of Indian background who could get funding ... supposedly gives communities to what communities need and care determined what Unfortunately it was not the case. I cannot say everything. I have seen in the area where I work ... there has been work done... there were projects in regard to producing milk, cheese to buy from family of communities... But in other areas.. false projects, etc They have made the closure of Fondo Indigena because... I don't know another type of tool will be closed completely to use to go to work on it.

Q: Thanks ... and ... do you think that Indigenous rights movements can advance with communities to work more closely with the government?

O: ... I do not think so. Because the interests of Indigenous movements and indigenous communities are generally opposed to that of the (Bolivian) state. For the indigenous community, in our view ... not to take and produce large quantities of meat (for example), exporting ... this is not the focus of one's life for the community ... and all what the state wants is money. money and money ... so you need money to generate more money ... That's the truth.

A: OK thank you. In your opinion what will Indigenous/Aboriginal sovereignty look like? What structures and bodies need to be created? What politics would they present and what would they stand for? What work would those bodies carry out?

O: Well... Like I have seen it in my area... I am explaining this to you from my experience... in regard to the Mosen people and the Interculturals. I see that their organisations are still going strong despite the fact they have been undermined by the subject of the current government... the MASismo... those who are Masistas believed that they could aspire to have more strong within communities but with the weakening and failure that has been the

Indigenous Funding Issues of corruption at the level of the same organisations as requested by saying that I am from MAS and... it's getting to before... that whoever goes to work more... the one is more committed... that manages to do things is being newly elected in community assemblies... and peace... then this again has the power to communities to choose their leaders because there was a time when if MAS did not approve, they could be chosen... because it was not going to do anything because it had to be approved by the government... but not anymore. If someone can direct everything, this person can choose.

Q: Ok thank you. What would be the most beneficial relationship between Indigenous communities and the state, for sovereignty?

O: I do not understand. In what way?

Q: It's like.... What structures and bodies need to be created? What politics would they present and stand for? What work would those bodies carry out, locally and provincially?

O: What is needed in a community level is training. Training is necessary in regard to understanding current laws that have in the government... upgrade of the current laws... the interpretation is important under the context that is applied and what it will mean for one... this is why training is important.

Q: Yes... well... thank you. What would be the most beneficial relationship between Indigenous/Aboriginal communities and the state, for sovereignty?

O: What the state needs to do is to respect the Indigenous communities... respect the things they like and their customs... and this make strength... because the existence of these Indigenous communities under the approach of themselves and not with the state approach is needed and that we sometimes made interferences on those because they are forms of life that are true and necessary and good... that we cannot emphasise and want to return everything of the same way... which is if you realise... this is what the states want... they want to absorb the communities to what a society of a country is supposed to be and that they accommodate in a society and be like the others... with them many times have a kind of vision and approaches... that the state should respect them and in its time they are good also but a little spread to the rest of other people. People know that we have diversity of life in Bolivia itself.

Q: Do you think current government and current political parties will deliver Aboriginal self-determination? If no, what type of government and state could advance sovereignty?

O: All political governments ... what they want on Indigenous communities is to absorb the existing state. They do not want to respect their myths and customs ... what it needs to be done is to respect the population difference between life in the city-side and the community ... a community life.

Q: Last question: what alliances and forces will assist and win the fight for self-determination? How do you see self-determination and sovereignty developing in Bolivia?

O: The people in general must learn to get together and respect one and another ways of life because we've been talking about the indigenous communities against people who live in the urban area...they are very different ... there is no respect ... the urban area does not respect the rural area ... Bolivia has divided more or less ... because of the mestizos in the urban area and rural indigenous communities. We need to create respect between the two and we need to

try to salvage the best from each of them ... and if this alliance is achieved, the two can jointly exist.

Q: Yes ... Thank you. Good ... That's the end ... but if you want to tell us anything else ... another topic ... your job ... you can tell me a little more ...

O: [Laughs]

Q: If you want to talk more about your group, you can also do that...

O: What I would like to comment on is in regard to the issue of ... not sure if this in other parts of the world ... the division of Bolivia... the urban area versus rural... lately you see in Bolivia the opening.. urban people want to leave and see the rural area ... want to see the difference in life there ... I believe that the way we live in communities is much prettier, healthier compared as live in cities. So we are making that the communities ... where women are getting empowered economically ... the difficulty is to train and go to market and convince the consumers of the city ... that people in the rural area can produce certain processed products that are goodly made, healthy level, made hygienically and that they should buy them. This is very difficult here in Bolivia. In Bolivia, there is a growing number supermarkets appearing and as you know, they are like dictators who think they can go against nature and should produce a banana of a certain size, an orange of a certain color, a tomato of a certain level and not, this is not the case because nature produces all sizes, colors and all ... the issue is whether is healthy or not ... and that is an issue we must work globally... the issue of consumption of products processed by small populations and small products ... which is what it should be achieved. That is the way that Indigenous communities are to be empowered, they can process, sell and self-supply of certain income if you rely on large companies or companies.

Q: Yes... thank you. I have another question in general... are there 'trans-genders' here in Bolivia or not? Because this has been prohibited in Venezuela but in Bolivia, why is there not much in here?

O: This is a complicated issue ... I went to a workshop ... well, no. I have not known (one transgender) except for a radio host here ... I have not met any lesbians ... I do not know ... maybe some 'fagots'... no I don't know if it's OK to say if they 'fags' or not ... gay people because of what they say and put makeup in their eyes and dress differently ... no ... they are not very visible... the ones who I've been able to identify ... they are a closed group among them... they stay away from society in general... I have not seeing them in rural areas, can you believe it?

Q: Yeah ... Ok ... but maybe my accent is bad this 'transgenic'is a food that

O: You want to talk about 'transgenicos'('genetically modified food' is English) ... transgenders are

Q: The other ... YES...

O: Genetically modified food...

Q: Do they exist in Bolivia?

O: In Santa Cruz ... they wanted to introduce genetically modified soy among other products ... but not in La Paz.

Q: Well. okay thanks ... I'll stop this recording. Thanks for your time.

A.9. Interview with Roxley Foley

June 18, 2018

Q. Okay this is a section about campaigns for indigenous Aboriginal rights in the historic period preceding neoliberalism. So first do you represent an organisation? If yes, describe your organisation and what are some typical responsibilities you have in your organisation?

A: I dare say that I wouldn't really represent an organisation as such. Even in my roles and responsibilities at the embassy I've always tried to push my role as an ambassador for my community and a supporter of others at the embassy to function in their ability to work. I've always found it very important for myself in my ability to work in spaces, to maintain I guess an independence of organisation and the structures and the limitations that they bring. Coming from my city in Adelaide there's always been a lot of historical animosity between various organisations and I tend to be the person that has to run between the organisations and try and convince them to work together for the greater good. So I'm definitely probably more one of the independent anarchists that runs around to stir trouble and encourage fluid organisation based around the issues at hand. I think coming from those sort of anarchist backgrounds, the understanding of that things haven't evolved from the grass roots and that anytime you get too much of a static organisational structure it can sometimes be counter-productive towards what you are trying to achieve.

Q: Alright. And are you Aboriginal/Torres Straight Islander? If yes, what is your country, homeland and your family's background? If no, how did you become involved in assisting Aboriginal campaign? And when were you born.

A: Well I was born in 1985 in Ghana Lands but I'm descendent of Gumbanya mob from up around Nambucka Heads which is my father's lineage. So I have always identified as Gumbanya descendent but born and raised at the Ghana Lands. I don't see myself as having the right to speak of Gumbanya land issues because I don't know the land and I've been removed from my family community. I still have the connections but I'm not very deep in those realms. And I guess in many ways I sort of kept a little bit of a distance from issues back home in Ghana Land because I wasn't of the community of there so therefore had a limited space to speak but I've always been given an amount of leeway to speak on these issues due to my family's history in the Aboriginal rights movement. I have a valued set of

knowledge of the movement and understanding of the issues and how the movement function came to be where it is today. It's a bit of a weird mix.

Q: And how would you define your relationship to the Australian state?

A. One of – I'm looking for the right words here – I work within it as much as I have to when I'm forced to, it being a state it unfortunately governs many aspects of my life although I don't see the state as having the authority over me or my life, I do recognise that it has power over my life. So playing the happy little citizen where it's convenient to then leave me alone to seek my objectives but knowing in my heart that I don't actually consider myself a member of the Australian State. I vote on the odd occasion when I've lived in swing seats just for the fun of the monkey wrench of being able to throw my vote somewhere where it counts a little bit more than normal. The last few elections I haven't voted on the basis of being more heavily involved in sovereignty movements, it seems a little hypocritical, plus unfortunately I live in a very safe held labour seat these days which isn't entirely a bad thing but it does take the fun out of the monkey wrench vote. I sometimes I feel ashamed, sometimes I feel completely unashamed to say that I sometimes use Centrelink to help support my trouble making activities but as far as I'm concerned, all the money that comes from that eventually at the end of the day is coming from some sort of usurped wealth from the land and I'd rather the state foot that bill than the people, the communities I represent who are often very poor and not able to fund excessively, or if they were to, they might be risking whatever funding they may have in their areas.

Q: Great. And what were work conditions and life for you and your family like when you were young?

A: I was very lucky in respects to other members of my community or even other members of my family because I spent most of my young life with my mother who was white, I was brought up outside of a lot of the problems that say my brothers were raised with and I'm very quick to say I was born with a lot of privilege by comparison. Both my parents stressed the love of knowledge and of good education. Not necessarily the education that the system gives you but the value of self-education and the social mobility that comes from such knowledge. So I was very lucky in those realms. But having said that I also grew up around other elements of under world crime and all sorts of shoddy things. My mother did a great job on giving me a lot of early strong foundations that saw me through on later life through much more hurdles. But yes, my family did have it's internal troubles and tribulations which I probably won't expand on in these ones so I don't want to give the impression that it was

particularly easy life, in fact there was a stage in my teenage years where stuff went very dramatically downhill with my family and that actually caused me to back out from a lot of – my family had been involved in stuff that I'd always played a behind the scenes support role in just to make ends meet and to keep a roof over my family's head. Bit of up and down on that one but I think by all accounts I had a level of privilege that I now feel the responsibility to make use of and give back as much as I can.

Q: Fantastic. What type of decisions was your community able to make over land, culture and schooling? What community structures existed outside government and state institutions and was your community able to hold on to collective land management and communal living traditions when you were young?

A: Well when I think most of the community that I grew up with, it was predominantly – I grew up in the city in the Adelaide CBD so most of the community that I knew were all involved in some form of the health or legal services, various aboriginal organisations so it wasn't the type of place that had land agreement or one native title or any of these sort of things. They were never going to re-give the land titles back over to one of the major capital cities of the country. I was never too familiar until in many later years, in my later adult life of things back going home in Nambucca Heads in those areas, and I haven't played an active of those but I've kept an interest and tabs on what's happened out there. So I guess for me the knowledge – because my father was heavily involved in the founding of the first health and legal services, was watching that road of independence and self determination in organisations to slow co-optation through government funding and bureaucracies to the event point of where we are now of almost complete annihilation due to being fully reliant on such funding and then having the rug ripped from underneath people. And now I guess what might be a unique situation where people are looking at reforming those organisation in those same original spheres to not make those same mistakes again, things seem to be coming a little bit full circle in that realm.

Q: And would you say that Aboriginal culture and community organisational structures differ greatly from Western philosophy and political approach?

A: Yeah I definitely say so. I guess from my experience there's always been a lot more focus on community outcomes and occasionally fudging those rules and bureaucracies to make sure there are appropriate outcomes for members of the community and for people and to make sure that problems are solved and that can take a lot of forms. I mean given the first health

services operated on the fact of volunteers and volunteer nurses stealing medical supplies from the larger hospitals, there was a very big difference in the way that these organisations ran and quite often that was in part necessity and in part also elements of cultural protocol that filtered through and the way that people were treated or dealt with during services.

Q: What was your first memory of life being negatively affected by a police officer, medical, government official or church representative? Were any family members working for government or police? If yes, in what capacity?

A: I remember from a very early age, my father used to lecture me when I was going out into the town or adventuring out anywhere by myself to be very careful of the police. It took me till I was a little bit older to really understand the ramifications why he was always so serious about this because I used to take it as a little bit of a joke and I myself - because I'm well spoken and I know how to talk my way out of things, or either that or I could run incredibly fast. To this day I have never actually been arrested or charged by the police or anything. That's not to say I have never done anything that I probably should have been arrested or charged for but it's through the understanding I guess of having learnt through those times of just what my parents and even my older brothers had went through during their times. I have early memories of small micro aggressions by teachers and being [unclear 13.46] or treated slightly differently. I guess my first real brush up was institutionalised racism that really sort of affected the trajectory of my life would have been in my last few years of high school. I got kicked out of - well I got internally suspended and eventually given the proposition of leaving or forever being internally suspended non-stop by my Year 11 coordinator on the basis that my people are not academically inclined and never will be and that his was a school for the academically inclined and he didn't want *no bloody Abo's in his school*. And this was in 2001 which I found still pretty shocking at the time because throughout my entire early life I had never seen my aboriginality as something as a negative factor, I had always been brought up to consider it a very proud and defining factor. So much so to the point that most of the racism that I witnessed and experienced then were sort of inter-student racist aggressions. Something I had always I would always be the first to stand up against and try and turn the tables on. So much so to the point that for my first few years of high school I thought I was the only black fella in the school and it wasn't until I continued to be very loud about these things, more people I knew started stepping forward and acknowledging their aboriginality and their stories and history. For me in early times it wasn't something that I saw as a negative but going on and on I saw more and I'd see what would happen to others and I'd see the old fellas on the street, I'd see what was happening at the health services and

yeah, and I guess being very aware of the media and how things were portrayed there, being a very keen reader and being a very critical thinker even at a young age, you could see media portrayal has been a very defining point in feeling the greater state felt about my people.

Q: Okay and can you describe the circumstances that lead to you becoming an activist?

A: I don't know if it was any particular set of circumstances because I think I was a lost cause no matter what because both sides of my family were involved in activism. On my father's side I had the indigenous rights struggle and a very strong history of that on my father's side. On my mother's side there was anti-nuclear and mining and environmental activism through my grandfather and my mother bridged the world of both of those worlds. In fact, my mother – many people lay claim and ask me how much of an amazing influence and teacher my father must have been but it was my mother that was constantly feeding me literature from a very young age and exposing me to all these different realms and I think being very lucky that I was a bright kid, I also had a lot of mentors in my life who recognised that spark and would go out of their way to teach me things or to take me to stuff and expose me to all sorts of different realms. But I would always maintained a background support role for these things because there were the other members of my family who were on the forefront and very sort of renowned in their fields. They knew what they were talking about, they were the go-to people. So if people had serious questions, I would put them in their direction and I'd do whatever I could in the small ways to support and help them with the minor administration sort of type things or doing the stuff on the computer that they weren't quite as good at.

Q: Good, okay. What were the aims of various campaigns that you were involved with and were the campaigns victorious? If they didn't win outright, were there any incidental successes? What organisations and individuals were involved alongside you in these struggles?

A: I guess the big chance for me was when I sort of started stepping more to the forefront. Because after that time in teenage years where I had to enter the workforce to provide for my family and then eventually when I left home, providing to keep a roof over my own head, working the kind of low paid jobs you get after being kicked out of high school, I got to a point where I was dating a wonderful woman who was doing her nursing degree at the time and through being with her and just help to support her through her degree and reading a lot of her course work over her shoulder and helping with assignments and stuff that it encouraged me to want to go back into – well not go back but enter into my own university degree. And prior to this, through a lot of my young childhood, my father had been doing his

PhD in his degree and my grandfather was university lecturer and I was very familiar with academia, I had practically grown up in university halls so the university seemed second nature to me but because I'd been kicked out of high school young, I had to wait to a point that I was old enough to go into the uni's as a mature age entry student. Even then I had to wait for the time to be in a position stable enough to be able to afford to do it. But I went to Adelaide University to do a Bachelor of Development Studies and it was through the foundation courses of the Wilto Yerlo education department – the Aboriginal Education Unit – that I started working with a lot of other young mob and young kids and it was working with them and being able to teach them a lot of the history of the movement that I had just grown up and taken for granted, that I really sort of understood – well I'd always known the benefit but I didn't realise how thoroughly erased these stories are from our community and from our young people and how desperately needed they were. Because as soon as they knew these stories, you could see a sort of fire develop in them because many of them had been brought up with that lie that the government had made the changes, that it was this paternal hand, that you couldn't make that policy to change forward unless there was a government program to provide it for you and they didn't know that most of our organisations had been founded without any help from the government. That it was a lot of young mob our own ages that had actually founded these places and once they sort of understood that, they started getting really excited. That in turn got me excited. Funnily enough what got me more back into taking the lead on these things was the Adelaide University cut the Indigenous Student Housing Program and I was currently in a student house at that point and was made homeless a couple of weeks before my exams. So I ended up deferring my studies because I thought 'well stuff having to do studies while I don't even have a roof over my head, that's not going to end well'. So I deferred for a while and having a bit of free time decided to stir some trouble. And this was about the times of the recent death of Julia Ga Dhu down at Port Hedland, and so organising some death and custody rallies – well I had been asked by some locals to help organise this rally because my father's experience and history with the deaths and custody commissions, and that kind of snowballed into a series of other events which then led to me helping setting up the Freedom Summit Meetings out in Alice Springs which the intention was to get old mob and people from the movement together from all corners to reenergise that ball rolling. Because this was in the first round of when a lot of our organisations were getting serious funding cuts, there was a whole new wave of the prospects of the community closures, the intervention had been in force for quite a few years by that point and was creeping into South Australia along with income management and all those sort of things. And the intention was to get these people

together, to get the bolder rolling and then sit back and laugh hysterically as that bolder rolled down the hill and started crashing into things. But I found myself firmly attached to that bolder as it was rolling and found myself rolling with that bolder into Canberra. Yeah and what was the original question?

Q:OK. Well this was the ‘if you didn’t win outright, were there any incidental successes and which organisations and individuals were involved alongside you, question?’

A: A lot of the campaigns, I have always tried to support campaigns as much as possible rather than spearhead and create them myself because I guess as a young fella I don’t see it as my right to launch the campaign. The campaigns have to come from the ground and come from community and it’s their voices I want to support and amplify. Having helped with a lot of different sort of campaigns, I guess one of the important things I found in my work out in Canberra was linking in organisations. For example; the environmental movement and the refugee movement and the anti-racism movement and making it very clear to them why our struggles are connected and why they are very relevant to each other and why they have to come out to support when we make the call for our issues because they’re rooted in the same root causes. And I guess the success of having patience to work with these groups, to call them out when they make a mistake, but a mistake not being the end of a relationship. Because a lot of activist organisations have a high turnover of people. Just because they might have understood something a decade ago or half a decade ago doesn’t mean they are going to understand it now because you may have a completely new generation of people you are now working with - but to build those relationships, to repair the relationships. When I first got out to Canberra and after I was first asked to take over the Embassy, trying to rebuild the relationships with local organisations around there, it took me a while to understand why the bridges had been burned so badly and why the reputation had been dragged into the ground so badly. I think it was working with those, and being surprised how much information or just little actions can reverberate in a space, and I guess Canberra is a very small city so it shouldn’t be too surprising and especially when these organisations are pretty linked in with each other. I guess at the end of the day it’s more of not so much about the physical outcome of what actions can sometimes do but the symbolic action of what it can inspire in others, especially operating from a space that it’s main power is it’s symbolism and it’s memory of what it holds for people that are harnessing that in the correct way, it can really affect people.

Q:Now this is a question, of course the historical period preceding neoliberalism, so this question is being active in the 70s because I'm asking a bunch of the elder community, but you weren't active in the 70's but have experienced and read a lot about the 70's through other activists fathers and grandfathers and so on, so I'm going to ask this question. How would you describe the 70's? Would you describe it as a powerful time for Aboriginal rights movement? What did sovereignty and self-determination mean for campaigners then?

A:I'd definitely describe it as a powerful time and it was pretty fitting with a lot of the other sort of movements that were going on at that time. Well self-determination in the most basic terms meant having a say and having a seat at the table. That is something that we have never ever had before. We'd always been at the mercy of some form of government institution or government organisation. When my father first sat on the Aboriginal Arts Board he was one of the first two men – well at the same time, I forget the fellow who he worked with that got him on there, but previous to that there had never been an Aboriginal person that sat on it and no funds had ever gone to an Aboriginal person from the Aboriginal Arts Board. They'd all gone to various schools to do dot paintings that weren't culturally appropriate or had never been taught what the meaning was, it was just a bunch of white school teachers getting kids to draw dots on things and stuff. I think that element of self-determination and well what they were going for in those days was land rights, and land rights was something that never actually came about. We ended up getting native title which was a very big sell-out of those which I'm sure many of others have elaborated on a bit further.

Q:It's good. The next question is what kind of land rights for Aboriginal people existed in the 70's and were more land rights won in this period?

A: I'd say no, because again, the native title was a watering down of those land rights. When Whitlam came to power and I think one of the important things that's forgotten is the role that the embassy played in those days in destabilising the McMann government enough to provide that fertile ground for Whitlam to have that progressive platform and be seen as that viable alternative and probably still would have got there anyway but he wouldn't have got there with the amount of power and the symbolic nature that he did without those Aboriginal activists that were working in those days. What happened after that was unfortunately a great betrayal and it was very much due to Labour's connections with the mining industries and the mining unions that then asked him to water it down a little bit which throughout the future Labour governments, and the Hawk and Keaton eras, we got native title which to this day still claims that you can only get native title to be able to practice a cultural practice as it was

witnessed upon first contact of the settler. WE are still in that point today where our culture isn't our culture unless it conforms to the view of our culture of the outsider. We don't get to define what our culture is and there's no other culture – there's no way that we'd say that Australia isn't Australian culture anymore because someone's not wearing a bloody swag hat or whatever the fuck you used to call it back in the days. Culture is constantly growing and changing and unfortunately we are put in a very anthropological study and static view of that. Yeah and native title didn't give us any rights to minerals. It didn't give us any rights to land development or to be able to sell or subdivide the land for purposes that we choose. Land rights was always about economic sustainability of the communities and native title didn't give that, and not only that, it usually in many ways prevented true economic sustainability and kept us in a very once again controlled box.

Q: Okay this section is about Aboriginal/Torres Straight Islanders campaigning in a neoliberal period in the 80's. So can you comment on changes introduced in the 80's, the period described and neoliberal period? Who benefited? How did these changes affect Aboriginal communities?

A: Well I think one of the biggest changes that would have started slightly before that, but definitely had it's larger growth during that time, as I mentioned before was the government funding of our organisations which then meant you were co-opted, you couldn't – the organisations couldn't take as much of an advocacy role or speak out against the government which is one of the main functions that they'd held beforehand. I mean they were still strong in this at that point, the true nail in the coffin wouldn't come until the Howard years with the same sort of stipulations he put on all NGO's and organisations to prevent them from speaking out against government policy. But the mere fact that starting to become reliant on government funds destroyed their abilities to be truly advocates or activist's organisations. The original models had seen them funded either by community or by international sources and so in the brief wins we had and the goodwill we were shown by the government, I think hamstrung us by reducing our sort of contacts and liaising with the international community where previously our strongest support had been coming from. They are connections that we are still trying to bring back and reconnect with today.

Q: Was there more or less recognition of the oppressive colonialist past for Aboriginal communities from the government within the neoliberal period? If yes, how and how was it expressed?

A: Sorry?

Q: So basically Aboriginal organisations in that 80's period, was there recognition from Aboriginal groups of the governments oppressive past?

A: I definitely say so. One of the predominant reasons for their creation in the first place was the systemic and institutionalised racism from the government organisations in the first place. Well there's still the national mythology that the '67 Referendum gave us citizenship and voting rights which are still a load of bollocks. It allowed us to be put on the census and for the government to legislate over us because prior to that they couldn't actually make legislation controlling us as human beings because we weren't considered human beings. But the universal citizenship and voting rights across the country weren't uniform until 1984. Some states gave the vote of citizenship earlier but they used the marking point of when the first indigenous soldiers were returning, that some of them got citizenship and voting rights as a point to say that we all got citizenship and voting rights, or that was when they first came about but it wasn't the case for the 99.999% of people. The amount of discrimination that people were facing in just basic hospitals and services and the fact that they were supposedly citizens but they couldn't get basic services or be treated fairly was the main impetus for creating our own self controlled organisations that could give us these services. And as well as the fact that people didn't seem to take into account that why would our people be going to the very institution that has been the oppressor and coloniser for our entire history. All of a sudden we're expected to think 'oh no now these are the good guys and they are here to help us'. It's a very difficult leap of faith so having an organisation with a friendly black face on it was very imperative and that's also the reasons why things like Abstudy and things like that were created, it was no different from any of the basic services, it just gave a friendly face to something so people would actually approach it. But even when I was a kid they were only just starting to bring in to the curriculum various forms of indigenous knowledge's or stories, and it was on a very very tame level. It was still only to the days of telling maybe a couple of dreamtime stories or something or acknowledging the fact that we even existed at all in history, or maybe just rewriting the curriculum a little bit so we weren't cannibals that ate our own babies. It was very much in it's tame. It didn't have any of the political ramifications or any of the more less digestible histories that were taught. If you wanted to know any of that you had to do your research and most of that would involve talking to people but they still didn't have any books that existed on the subjects.

Q: Thanks. Did neoliberal governments expand democratic institutions or bring in any self-governing opportunities for Aboriginal communities? If yes, describe them. Did they have a positive effect on community?

A: To be honest I can't think of any.

Q: So, this is the 80's neoliberal.

A: I think there's a big difference between any of the organisations that made a positive effect. I wouldn't call them neoliberal organisations, I would call them a community-controlled organisation that had to exist within a neoliberal structure. The neoliberal organisations that engaged with communities predominantly in that time would have been mining companies and although they may have brought some elements of positive development, it was always a less benefit to the community than it was to the mining company. The communities themselves got very little out of the bills compared to what the neoliberal company would be getting out of it. So all of the organisations came in with the viewpoint of making money, and it was a bit of a quandary that a lot of these communities that they were going into were usually ones that had won some various form of limited amount of native title were immediately cut off from any form of civil infrastructure or the type of services that should have been extended due to right and virtue of being citizens of the country and what any community is entitled to. We had to do a deal with a mining company or something to sell the ground beneath our feet or what little rights we had won, just to get a small school house or a bit of sanitation services. So they were always [unclear 42.09] in deals.

Q: Okay. Did mining and agri-business company projects expand into indigenous communities in this neoliberal period? If yes, was there resistance to this expansion and how did it manifest?

A: I do remember some stories of out in Port Perry, there were areas around the Port Perry Mission that had been previously deemed untenable and nothing could be growing on it yet the mob down in Port Perry managed to establish wheat farms. After these wheat farms had been established and people realised a profit could be turned on them, the government then took the land back again. This was a pattern that seemed to be very replicant all across the board. Any time that some kind of serious economic gain was made by community it would be clawed back again or a program or service would be cut. On the other hand of resistance to mining or agri-business that had made pushes into those areas, I think the best examples I can think of were the anti-mining and anti-uranium movements of the 80's and 90's which

were very strong and had a very good leading from the local communities and something I don't think would have been anywhere near as successful if it was just an only white-lead movement or an only black-lead movement. It was having the strength on both sides and working together that made those resistance actions so successful. So I'm not nearly as familiar with the agricultural/pastoral versions but things like the Cummeragunja walk-off [?] – I'm getting all mixed there in my timelines but that being I guess people finally standing up to stolen wages and those sort of elements of resistance. I definitely highlight, well for myself, the anti-mining because that's something that I was familiar with in my early childhood.

Q: And what were the big battles for Aboriginal rights movements in the 80's and neoliberal period, what allies arose?

A: I was still very young in the 80's but I think I'd probably be again looking at the anti-mining and anti-uranium movement. The royal commissions into deaths and custody was also in that era which brought a lot of attention. Unfortunately it didn't bring as nearly as much of the solutions as we wanted to see but that created a lot of good systems in the Aboriginal Legal Service that were later unfortunately pulled back but for a time things like very simple things, like the call services when someone was taken into custody, that family members or someone would be alerted to that case and interview friends and people that could sit in on police interviews to make sure people's rights were being respected and people weren't being railroaded into pleas or confessions when they hadn't really done anything. I think in those times the allies that were built through universities – because earlier in those days for example when the Health and Legal Services were founded, the allies made through the Aboriginal Legal Service which was first founded because of young Aboriginal men and women creating cop watches and then taking their vast databases of notebooks to the Sydney University and dumping it on the law professors table and just shocking them into what was going on and making them aware and getting them activated into these struggles – it created a lot of future allies that continue to this day to work with the movement. I think the anti-mining movement brought in a lot allies too. My grandfather would have probably been one of them that entered into the field those days who had been predominantly anti-nuclear but through I think having his daughter running off with an Aboriginal man and having a son and also getting involved with the Jabaluka movement and things brought him into the fold more than he probably ever had expected would happen prior. But I think a lot of people in those days just starting to gain awareness, even just people at home were starting to learn issues for the first time. Things like the stolen world games and the bicentennial protest opened the

world's eyes to what was going on because those actions were specifically targeted at developing international attention to the situation. Because as much as we had been working on the ground we were still yet to build a mainstream movement in Australia for Aboriginal rights. Most of the successful forces of policy change of the government were brought about because of the international pressure that was applied and that was brought about by essentially hijacking national events or TV cameras for something else and opening the world's eyes to what was going on, as well as activists travelling across Europe and London and America and to take those voices outside of Australia.

Q: Okay so this is the section about Aboriginal battles for self-determination in the current period. So, what are the big issues facing the Aboriginal communities today?

A: In some states it's a battle of even existing. In Western Australia communities are battling to even stay in their community when they are being forcibly removed. In the Northern Territory it's almost a siege battle where people are being starved out or economically deprived in their communities to the point where they might not be being forced but their lives are being made so difficult and so uncomfortable that their only option for a better life is to leave to a larger city which plays right into the hands of those who want them to leave. In other areas it's a battle against drugs, it's a battle against a lack of hope and a lack of future, a lack of basic services. We have homes out there, mass overcrowding, lack of electricity, lack of education, lack of sanitation. These communities have been left to fend for themselves, left to rot and then they have the finger turned and pointed on them that it's all their own fault so it's a double battle of trying to get those basic needs taken care of and maintain a personal sort of pride in self and remembering the history of how it got to that point of not taking it on to yourself too much. It's a battle of not letting it crush you with 8 year olds committing suicide. We have record child incarceration rates. I just came from a community that I won't name but their only record they had to be proud of prior to that was that it had the highest rate of auto thefts in the entire country, I think their record was 200 in a week. That's more so for the communities than the missions. When we are looking at communities in the city which are a bit more decentralised and sort of focus around organisations as their central sort of points, those organisations are battling for funding. A lot of them these days are just practical shell organisations, there's a receptionist at the front desk, there's an overpaid board of managers but there's only one or two specialists who actually provide say the legal services or the health services behind it to actually service the community. And so while the wider country still sees these buildings standing and still sees them staffed, they are not the ones that actually had to go to them that can actually see and realise that there's nothing to be

serviced with there. There's infinitely long waiting times or there's no service at all. And so organisations that would once be the backbones of promoting other community events and help fund those sort of things, no longer have the ability to support the other elements that keep the community together in these areas.

Q: OK. Has there been a point in the decade of 2000 where governments have expanded or detracted rights for Aboriginal people?

A: Oh yeah. Well I guess the most glaringly obvious one is the intervention which has taken rights of movement of choice of all sorts of things from people; the basics cards which again both economically strangling communities and people to remove them from the communities and it's not exactly new to us. Some forms of our lives have always been under control of the government, I don't think we've ever really been at a point of total liberation. The only point we can get to that is if we completely deny and remove ourselves from acknowledgement of our Aboriginality and I mean I can remember when I first started going into the job market as a teenager, and this was in the very early days of the first job networks making their appearances and they'd give you these little forms to fill out and sort of all the basic sort of things, and they'd have the little boxes Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and you'd tick that and you are sort of 'well why do you need to know that?' 'Oh because we can provide you with special programs or incentive schemes for employers to hire you where the employer gets subsidized some of your wage so it's more attractive for them to hire you'. But the consequence of this meant that basically every job I would be sent for would be some kind of shit kicker position because the employer was only paying half a wage you are only valued as half an employee and not someone that you'd put on for a long time because once that subsidy ran out after it's 6 month or year period, they'd essentially find someone new or find a reason to fire you and hire someone new fresh on the beginning of 6 month or year subsidy. And I found it remarkably amazing that after years of getting sent for these shit jobs and having worked in a lot of different fields before that, as soon as I got that struck off my record, I was being sent for the jobs that I was actually qualified for. It's on all sorts of levels. And even if it's not via form of government control there was always some form of social sort of ramification whether looking for housing, looking for employment and that all depended on I guess how much you could pass in wider society.

Q: Many indigenous communities live remotely; do they receive adequate funding?

A: Oh, definitely not. In fact, as I was saying before, any sort of remote community that's had any gain in personal rights has generally enforced - foot more of its own bill for basic

services. I have never heard of a white town or community in this country where it's been declared to expensive to keep that community going, that everybody has to be removed or leave that town. In fact, I mean if they were using the same excuses for financial sustainability that they are using in Western Australia, they should bloody well close down Tasmania because that's the biggest tax burden on the country out of all fucking.

Q: There are instances of Aboriginal community leaders signing onto mining company agreements against the wishes of other community members, why does this occur?

A: Ever since the first days of the ships rocking up on the shore, there's been a business in king making and I guess what they now call 'elder shopping'. If the government doesn't get the answer it wants, it just searches for someone who will give them the answer. Because the systems of who are the right people to speak to is not widely known or acknowledged throughout the mainstream community, it's very hard to disprove the wider community when these things are going on and there's been plenty of cases – the Hindmarsh Islands are a good one. Anytime they don't get the answer they will try and find someone who will give them the one they want and because their people are so marginalised it's generally not hard to find someone who will put their hand to try and make a bit for themselves or their own families. Unfortunately, money has been a very successful tool in dividing communities and families and it's something that consistently recurring. Today we have a lot of cases around the country where communities are starting to rise up against their land councils for the constant decisions that they've made that haven't been in the interest of community so it will be interesting to see if the roads that starts to take, whether land councils decide to step in line with their community or they get taken down altogether.

Q: And what Aboriginal rights organisations have cohered grass roots struggle in the recent period?

A: What's cohered mean again?

Q: Like gathered together. Inspired. Congealed. Organised.

A: I think in recent times the most successful inspiring ones that I've witnessed around the place would probably be the SOS Black Australia that grew out very grass root sort of basis. The Grandmothers Against Removal being another one. I'm just trying to think. I guess various sovereign sort of movements, but a lot of them are decentralised or work on very local levels so it's not so much of national organisation but I think what's interesting, and it's a lot harder to put one finger on is that because things are happening in such decentralised

fashions that these groups might not have a national name but working within their own communities, the small amounts of people with those communities, the most inspiring and effective ones have been ones that do what they do for their community and they might be ones that we might not hear of and I certainly don't know, but I hear murmuring of what they are doing, I just don't know their names. I guess in that same vein...yeah I'll just leave it there.

Q: Okay. What type of tactics has the protest movements employed and is there an overriding principal in employing these types of tactics?

A: I think it's a difficult one. I still think some of the most successful protests actions were still the actions from the 70's through to the early 90's and again most of that was based around symbolic action and theatrical sort of display and again harnessing or hijacking national events to gain more attention over things. We've very much fallen into the acceptable theatre of protest where we've had incredibly large marches for things and then they've been either just ignored by the media or ignored by politicians and unless we can start finding ways that it starts resonating with people on a wider level, and one of the keys to doing that is generally always been humour. We are lucky we are a funny bunch of barstards so I think that's been more of a survival mechanism for most of us than anything else, because hell if we couldn't laugh at some of the stuff we probably would have gone insane by now. It's also just something that breaks those barriers. You can be trying to get to same point that you might be yelling on top of a vehicle through a megaphone and you can say it in a joke and all of a sudden they understand what you are trying to say.

Q: Indigenous philosophy is described as having a deep connection with land and country. Can you describe why this relationship is so? Is there any room for indigenous philosophy in the activity of a democratic state? And is indigenous philosophy and capitalist neoliberalism compatible?

A: The question of land and people being connected and inseparable kind of seems like a given. I think that division is very much a modern neo-capitalist creation usually to divorce people from that perception so land can be extorted and used for gain. I mean if we look at even every European, even British history, land was considered the commons of the people and the peoples duty to protect and administer so that's a very modern change even when you look at white society. And I think there is space for our way of thinking, indigenous knowledge and culture and way of being in a democratic society because our society was in many ways democratic in itself. One of the things I joke about with the kids that come into

the embassy is about the idea of our circles and sitting around and discussing these things that it is a system of democracy but it's not one based on if you have 51% of the power that you have 100% of the say of what to do. Circles are about understanding each other because no two sets of the eyes can see the entire truth. That if 'if I disagree with you maybe I have a valid point, maybe you haven't explained yourself well enough'. But we have to have room to have those disagreements to continue the diversity of what is life. Spaces and one opinion is kind of death and so I think there's a lot of room to learn and grow and to create a more healthy and functioning democracy through indigenous knowledge's but I don't think that can exist in a truly capitalist state because capitalism works against the interest of democratic societies and that's why a lot of the power is getting sucked out of I guess the institutions of government and why our government representatives are often co-opted and why we need to put the pressure back on reminding them that they're representatives of people and of land and not of a corporate interest.

Q: Okay so how do you believe indigenous philosophy manifests itself in particular and more generally, do you believe that the indigenous worldview is compatible with neoliberalism? If so, in what sense? If not, why not?

[Interview Tea Break]

A: I generally don't think it's compatible with neoliberalism just based around how much neoliberalism has at its core sort of extractive and wasteful philosophies. Indigenous philosophy – to me anyway – is based a lot around sustainability and of a responsible use of resources and not exploiting people's labour. But having said that, it's false to think that indigenous philosophy doesn't take into account the economic needs of people because all systems of survival are based on a form of an economy but it's just a much more – again I hate to use the term....well I don't hate to, but a much more sustainable economy and so there might be a brief temptation to leap to these forms of green capitalism and so forth but again that's still going to be in my opinion, going down a wrong direction. I think the philosophies that would encourage decision making to be made more on the ground levels by community rather than top tiers of government and then imposed artificially is something that can benefit the entire country, if not the entire world. It is something I try and bring home to visitors when they ask what we were fighting for; 'it's the same thing we should all be fighting for really, a right at the seat at the table for issues that affect us and the ability to determine where we want our communities to grow and where to go'. I have a firm belief

that Australia itself is heading for a very steep cliff face that can only be averted by re-harnessing a lot of indigenous philosophy and knowledge's, otherwise we are looking at a steep timetable and exceptionally large amount of money in research to discover things that already exist and are already known today if only people would actually go out and ask the right questions in a respectful way, that that knowledge might be given.

Q: OK. New technological developments in resource extraction have resulted in coal seam gas development threatening the ecology of and land management practices of Aboriginal communities. What's your opinion about these developments? Is extracting resources an indigenous self-determination fundamentally counter-opposed?

A: I'd say yes. All the extractive industries work against nature, and especially because they are implemented in a capitalist mine state that there's never any thought given to the damage to the environment as an economic cost. In indigenous philosophy and land management you can't separate the land and the burden that it's holding as something that is part of the larger equation and so when we consider the very limited foresight that's been given to the future for a very limited amount of money being made, what's a depletive and very destructive technology, one has to wonder why these things can go ahead at all. And again I think that comes back to the fact that too much power has been invested in sending in representatives into companies and into government where that power should be returned to local level and to local people, and if that existed, and those safeguards existed, we wouldn't be having these issues. But I think we are starting to see a return to that where we are starting to see an activation on the ground because people are aware that their livelihoods and their future depend on these water resources, depend on the ability of the land to maintain productiveness and so there is a little bit of a change going on there but I do fundamentally think that extractive industries and indigenous land management and cultural practices are definitely counter-opposed.

Q: And what do you think the Australian State has done for indigenous rights? Are there any government run programs that are assisting Aboriginal communities?

A: There's way too many communities and programs to make a blanket statement about that. I think there are some programs that are making a difference but again it's all being implemented within a structure that's a structure that itself is sick. Most of the policies that have been pushed by the government that have had for the betterment of Aboriginal peoples weren't pushed on behalf of government with a goodwill to make these changes. It was forced upon them or pressured to make that change and that's not something particularly

unusual. It's generally been the same for most of white history and most human and workers rights in this country came about because of the pressure from people to make those changes. So I don't think you can ever wait for the government to make those changes for you, it's always going to be something that's being lead by the people.

Q: Do you think Aboriginal rights movements can advance with communities working more closely with government?

A: It's a difficult one because it always seems like a dance with devil. In some levels you have to acknowledge who has the power in the situation and sometimes that then fills the need to work or deal with the government but at the end of the day the governments power comes from the peoples support and there is the ability to circumvent that by dealing directly with the people. It's something that sort of I guess in some elements proven with some of the sovereignty movements and the new ways of taking back land which is we just go back to the land and put our own fences around it and then it's up to the government to prove that we don't own it. We are sick of having to prove to the government our case, they now have to prove their case to us. At the end of the day we will generally win that because they can't prove their case. And the same goes with situations of power. The power is always with the people and if you can encourage that more on all sort of levels, the need to deal with the government becomes less and less, and especially in a modern time where finances and capital can be a bit more fluid and it's not just bound to particular sources, we have higher levels of communication and being able to work within our communities that can help each other, or with different towns, cities, organisations, with international bodies organisations or even entire other countries, we have more options on the table and the problem I guess, the trick is making sure that you never forget that you have those other options. You can work with the government and in some forms it's important to because at the end of the day, we are going to have to heal the government one way or another and so you can't just completely give up on it. At least the government isn't the corporation, we still have access and a right to be a part of our governments system and to have our say and for it to be responsive to the people. I believe it's difficult for someone in my situation because I don't see myself as a citizen so I don't see it as my government, but I encourage those who are a part of it to take back as much control of it as they possibly can. But to know that they don't have to dance that game alone with it, that there are other dance partners to play the game with.

Q: Very good, thank you. In your opinion what will Aboriginal sovereignty look like? What structures and bodies need to be created, what politics would they represent and what would they stand for? What work would those bodies carry out?

A: That is a very, very long question and I believe it's a question of phases. I mean my ultimate hope for the future is a truly healed nation where we respect and understand our shared long, long history. That's it's not just a case of a colonial history versus indigenous history, that one day we'll have a free and reborn nation free of those colonial chains. We don't want to be recognised into an Australian constitution, we want to offer the hand to recognise and welcome a very large 22 million illegal settler population home and give them a rightful place. But in order for that to truly come about, I believe the reformation and strengthening of our own sovereign tribes of treaties amongst ourselves before we can ever talk to the government. That part of that rebirth of an independent nation will be when our nations are ready to sit at the table. It's up to then the Australian people to retake their government, rebirth into something new that's ready to sit at that table and sign those treaties. Not in the name of the British colony but in the name of a new country that acknowledges its responsibility to treaty, to live it up to it's deals, to heal the damages of the past and to walk together into the future, together.

Q: OK. What would be the most beneficial relationship between Aboriginal communities and the State for sovereignty?

A: I think it could be a win situation for the State because by acknowledging Aboriginal sovereignty and be willing to sit a table they'll finally gain a sense of legitimacy they've never had before and I'd like to think that the State won't be a colonial settler nation but it might be something new in the future but until that day comes they are going to have to deal with sovereignty whether they like it or not because it's a preexisting fact, whether they like to deny it – and they do like to deny it – and again it's a really difficult one because even that word sovereignty, any lawyers will tell you it's not about what's right, it's not about the legalities or finding those magic words, it's about power. It's a hard fact to avoid that the State has the power but then if you look and examine that more carefully, again you realise that the only power that the State has, it has because people give it that power. They give it that power through their support, through their acquiescence, through their carrying on with their lives. You don't necessarily need a fighter revolution to bring down the State, you just need it for an ever so short amount of time stop what you are doing and then then State, it's power, that sovereignty, that crumbles and you know that the sovereignty is with people and

so that's why we need people to understand, why we need people to take back the sovereignty of their nation to help recognise our own.

Q: OK. Do you think current government/current political parties will deliver Aboriginal self-determination? If no, what type of government and State could advance sovereignty?

A: I have very poor hopes to think that any current government or political parties would deliver on self-determination and sovereignty. They talk a lot about these things, there's been a lot more talk towards treaty these days and even old heavies of the Labour Party such as Keating and Hawke are talking about treaty again. I think that could be their own guilty consciences of how much they sold out the movement in their own times in office, kind of perking up a little bit. But until we see action behind those words, it's very difficult to believe that they'll deliver and I don't think it's something that will be delivered by a political party or a government. Again, I think it's something that will be delivered by people.

Q: Great. Finally, what alliances and forces will assist and win the fight for self-determination? How do you see self-determination sovereignty developing in Australia?

A: I see that it's important to work with organisations that have come to form, preferably through more organised and grass root situations. I believe there could be strong ally-ships with environmental movements, with refugee movements, with the union movements, all of these movements are natural allies and have either worked together in the past or have a mutual interest in us helping push for self-determination. When a lot of the modern day movements for social justice, when they address the modern day symptoms and not the root causes, they're bound to keep fighting the same sort of battles. A lot of them are starting to come to terms with the fact that by addressing these original wounds that their liberation is bound with ours, you can't have liberation with the hidden subjugation of another within your own nation.

That's the end of the formal proceedings.

**A.9. Interview with Ken Canning
June 22, 2018**

Q: Do you represent an organisation? If yes, describe your organisation – what are some typical responsibilities you have in your organisation?

K: I represent ISJA (Indigenous Social Justice Association) and my main responsibilities are to help plan any marches we have – deaths in custody, we deal with the families and deal with protest marches, everything to do with custodial matters. Protesting about the custody notification service (CNS). And ISJA runs the marches for the TJ Hickey annual marches to bring attention to the killing of young TJ all those years ago – which has yet to be resolved. My main responsibility there is to help in planning tent meetings and be a spokesperson and anything else that's required along the way – also I am a member of Socialist Alliance and am the lead ticket for the senate this year. My responsibility for Socialist Alliance is to get elected.

Q: Have you Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander heritage? If yes, what is your country – your homeland and your family background?

K: I am a Murri man and my people come from the Gudjal clan of the Bidjara peoples in south west Queensland. I was raised mainly in south east Queensland and a whole lot of different places. I moved to Sydney in the late 70's, so we've got family all over the place – there's still a lot of people out west but a lot of the older people have gone. I've lived in Sydney for many years but I'll always be a Bidjara person and very proud of that fact.

Q: How would you define your relationship to the Australian state?

K: Augh! Yeah, well that's an easy one, that's very, very easy from a First Nation point of view you know – we are born outside the state to start with, we are born outside the system, and for the life of me, I can't see why this system expects us to conform in any way whatsoever, to conform to it's laws, to it's values, to the way it operates, because being born totally outside the system so why on earth should we even bother to participate in the system? That's where I stand on the state. I suppose if we were two equal entities standing toe to toes, we'd be mortal enemies. The state has treated our people as badly as any people on the planet. We've been refugees in our own country since I've been born. They expect us to turn around and be good little citizens. I'll never be a 'good little citizen' and I don't think it's

illegal anyway – we’ve never ceded our land – it’s been occupied. The only reason I obey laws is for survival – because they put you in their whiteman’s prison for disobeying whiteman’s law and impose law that was placed upon our people. I’ve got no respect for their law because the law doesn’t even apply to them in equity let alone to us. If you’ve got money you won’t go to gaol, if you’re poor you’ll go for a very long time. If you’re black, you’ll go for even longer.

Q: Thanks Ken. What were the conditions and life like for you and your family when you were young?

K: Well, we had to move around a lot you know – there was a lot of poverty, kids were being taken, we were just continually on the move. I came from (?), I was mainly brought up in south east Queensland. I can’t remember being in one place for more than two years, it was continual movement. We were very poor; there was a lot of racism. I got put in a home when I was young – you know – boy’s home, so it was a very disturbing lifestyle – but no different to any other Aboriginal people in this country in that area or any other area. Conditions are/were abysmal, and you had no rights – I lived in pre – 1967 citizenship – [they] said that would be the beginning of us getting rights – I can’t see these rights all these years later. I can’t see where they have been improved, kids are still facing the same problems as we did when we were young. If anything, I think it’s getting worse now and with these fascist governments now – you look at the NSW Baird government, you look at the Turnbull government or look at Shorten – how often do they mention Aboriginal people? Next to nothing, even the federal Greens, how often do they mention Aboriginal people? Next to nothing, we don’t rate on the political agenda, so if you don’t rate on the political agenda, anything can happen to you – you don’t count. So, they decided in 1967 they would count us as citizens, we still got counted as citizens but our issues aren’t counted, our issues aren’t even spoken about. If you look at the last sitting of parliament, Turnbull got up and made this profound speech about closing the gap – he forgot to mention that under the present system, to close the gap for expectancy rate at the rate they’re going, will take another 490 years – he failed to mention that. He did a lot of grandstanding and a lot of posturing and that absolutely smug, sneering expression coming to his face – just to get elected to the senate, just to get near him, sat something to him that’ll take the sneer of his ugly face for a while would be worth it – and if I got kicked out of the senate afterwards would be with it just to tell him what I think of him. The next day Shorten got up to talk about deaths in custody, the first time he’s ever done it since he’s been in office. The first time! That’s only being polite because old ‘sneery’ face was havin’ a go the day before. So, it was just a political stunt, a

political football for two days. That happened months ago, they haven't mentioned it since. The other day Shorten was into it again – but he's been in charge a couple of years now and you can count on one hand the times he has mentioned Aboriginal people. You can count on two fingers how many times Turnbull has mentioned us – once was when he was raving on about closing the gap, giving false information, the other one is his absolute obsession with 'constitutional recognition' which is just wasting another \$15 million to pour into, something that Aboriginal people don't want – Turnbull seems to be deaf to that fact. So, I would say, not only is he a dull, economically belligerent politician, he's also a deaf politician.

Q: What type of decisions was your community able to make over land, culture and schooling? What community structures existed when you were young, outside government and state institutions?

K: When I was growing up there was no decision making – nothing, nothing at all, you couldn't make any decisions. Aboriginal weren't allowed to have houses; there were still people whose money was held by the state, those that got paid – the state still held their money. There were people still working for tea and sugar rations, there were still people who had to have permission to be/get married, there was no decision making, and even if you didn't live in a mission or reserve, you didn't question, you couldn't. When we started marching in the 60's it was shock, horror, everybody was stunned that Aboriginal people dare speak out. Many, many years later when I was at university – someone said to me “why should I have sympathy for Aboriginal people”? I was in the streets in the 60's watching a rally go by, and someone hit me over the head with a placard.” – I said “What, was it made of steel?” He said “No it was cardboard.” I said “well it didn't do you any damage.” He said “well that's not the point, I got hit over the head because I was standing there looking.” I said “was it an Aboriginal person who hit you? If I was to use the same analogy – I got flogged stupid by prison officers in the 70's – flogged absolutely stupid and they were all white, so if I was to use your same analogy, I wouldn't talk to a white person ever again.” “You're out of line, out of order and exactly what's wrong with this country.” “As soon as we speak up or whatever, you were insulted, as soon as we took to the streets you felt insulted.” So it started this big argument and of course I was cast as the “baddie”. That was in the 80's and again I was a “baddie” for speaking out. I spent half my time in the 80s at uni walking out of classes or just leavin' the joint because of foolish people asking foolish questions.

Q: What about community structures? Were any existing outside government/state when you were young? Did you know of any community being able to hang on to communal land management?

K: People were always fighting for land rights; there was no land rights act. There were organisations in NSW during the 60's for Aboriginal affairs. There were places opening up, and in Brisbane itself there were unofficial places where we would gather, people would talk. There weren't organisations that are around today. That was the start of organisations, they were coming into effect in the 70's. I was locked up – all/any Aboriginal legal service, housing services etc. they happened after I was put away. There were things certainly happening – but coming out of the 60's we were still fighting a quagmire of inequality and racism.

Q: Would you say that Aboriginal/Indigenous organisational, cultural and community structures differed greatly from western philosophy in political approaches?

K: Oh yeah, we do, I was one of the co-founders of Junbanna, I'd be the first to say it's not the same centre as when we first started. Culturally we were very different than today, it seems a lot more assimilated, sometimes going on within organisations. Not just Junbanna, it's a whole lot of places. And you know, government funding always comes with strings. When Frances and myself started Junbanna we stated that it would be run from a totally Aboriginal perspective. It's all in the archives, all that we agreed to. We got some assimilationists that were in charge for a while and turned the place on its ear – some bad managers that were in there with same result. I don't think it's quite recovered from that. There are some good staff still working there so I think so I think it's turning the corner from what it was. I'm hoping that other organisations will follow suit. We've gone through this thing where organisations were culturally different and in the modern era, some of the people, not working within it, but outside seem to be more content collecting a wage and doing the right things by the white man than doing the right thing towards their own communities. I won't shy away from that. Having said that, there are still a lot of good decent people working from Aboriginal affairs, but they've suffered too. I've talked to a lot of people working in Aboriginal affairs, health and education, media and it's the same story over and over again. You've either got assimilated people in charge of good strong cultural community-based people, you've got non-Aboriginal people working in Aboriginal designated positions, it's quite acceptable there. Happens everywhere. When we were fighting for these organisations, they are run intrinsically differently from white

organisations.

Q: What is your first memory of being negatively affected by a police officer, medical, government or church representative?

Were any family members working for government or police and if yes, in what capacity?

K: I had aunties that were taken away, cousins that were taken away. I was harassed in Brisbane by the police when I was very young, getting into trouble for something I didn't do. When we were living in Brisbane we liked to go skating, went with a lot of other Murris, we were 13 and not allowed into the skating rink, when we complained, we were taken to Fortitude Valley police station. A couple of other kids were taken to Mount Cooper and beaten up. There was so many in that era, so much happened. It's all one major blur. Living black in this country is/was a nightmare. The last time was a month ago outside parliament house where I got "heel palmed" in my heart. You can't do that to a 63 year old man. These are people in uniform who are supposed to obey the law. I walked up to them and stopped but still got shoved by a female police officer, then a bloke came sneaking from the side and hit me straight in my heart. What sort of mongrels have we got to do the bidding for Baird? This is what happens when you get someone like Baird in power – it attracts the lunatic element of society to throw a uniform on and go out and give it to people. It always happens, I have been around long enough to see that whenever you get these fascists in you get people coming into positions of power doing the same thing. This bloke had no hesitation, I was saying nothing and was hit square in my heart. That is something that should never happen, even if you are protesting it should never happen. If I was acting in a threatening matter maybe they could do something. To hit a 63 year-old man in the heart is a low act.

If this officer ever reads this, well my opinion is that if he ever came into a room with me one out, it'd be a different matter 'cause I'd sit him on his arse.

Q Were any family members when you were young working for government or police?

K: No, Nah – Mum worked in a factory, uncles were working as drovers. Nah, it was hard to get work. I think my father worked as a taxi driver but he was non-aboriginal. We moved around so much, we were all split up, it's hard to remember.

I know through what Gran told me that my uncles worked as drovers, never got paid. One was a champion footballer but could not make the Australian team because of racism. They didn't say that but I could guarantee that's what it was. Another uncle worked as a plumber's mate. They were pretty smart people you know yeah, Mum didn't have an education but she was pretty smart. There were no opportunities.

Q: Can you describe the circumstances that led you to becoming an activist?

K: Ah easy – just having a look and listening to what was happening. Talking to my old Granny, my Great Grandmother when she was very old, she used to tell me about what went on. When I was young I used to spend a lot of time sitting and talking with her – so that played on my mind. When we moved to Brisbane, I started knocking around with fellas like Sam Watson, he's my cousin, my brother – Sam, he's pretty smart you know – it wasn't hard to learn. I think all along there was something inside, I had an obsession about people being equals. I'm not trying to sound tough but when I was at school, if I saw anyone being bullied I befriended them, defended them, I used to have a go at the bullies. Some of my cousins were the same, we would befriend the weak kid who was being picked on. Looking back, there is always a sense of well that just isn't right. They were perceived as being different – it was always wrong. Whenever I have thought about the injustices and what happened to our people, it was just a deep, deep hurt – you know. It was a deep, deep hurt and I don't think that has ever gone away.

Q: What were the aims of various campaigns that you were involved in and were the campaigns victorious? If they didn't win outright, were there any incidental successes and what organisations and individuals were you involved with?

K: In the 60's in Brisbane it was sort of ad-hoc, just turn up to a bar and just do something. We got involved with young Sam Watson and a few of the others – Dennis Walker, some of the other crew. You would just get a feel for it and the police were all over you. It wasn't a successful run – I was involved in criminal activity at the same time, so I was pretty heavily marked. So those campaigns in the 60's were in Brisbane and just about equal rights, about housing, about education, about health. The same things you know – sometimes I stand there and listen to our speakers and I can flash back and it's almost word for word that I heard people say in the 60's.

Then I was involved in gaol with campaigns for equality. In Boggo Road gaol you had to be white to go and see the education officer – you couldn't be black. Blackfellas weren't allowed to go to the education officer. We fought that, it took a long time but we fought it – eventually blackfellas were allowed to go to the education officer. People don't realise that. A lot of politicisation came when I was in prison. We used to get stuff smuggled in, in those days the things you could read, well when I learned to read, some 'western' novels, which I hated and the magazines were two year old women's weekly. We used to get people to smuggle things in like 'Malcolm X', stuff that was written by local people, poetry by the late

Aunty Kath Walker. We would just sit down and have a little reading circle and then discuss what it meant. This wasn't mindless blackfellas sitting there – we had a nice healthy number of people politicising themselves. We always maintained who we were within the system. There was a lot of cultural pride going on behind those bars. They couldn't take away who we were. The in the 80's it took a while to adjust, took me a long while to re-adjust. Later on, after I went to university I got involved with the campaign to the royal commission into deaths in custody. That was seen as a success, but that ended up, as we see now all these years later, it meant bugger all to the royal commission. Not one police officer, not one prison officer was ever charged out of over 100 deaths and if you look at the evidence, the evidence is quite convincing – people were actually murdered within prison cells. There are things we've been successful in – the Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy started by Jenny Munro, she stayed there the whole 15 months. We marched, marched and marched – that ended up being taken out of corporate hands. You know, if we had let that go, if Jenny didn't start that, if we didn't back her up, that would've ended up in corporations hands. If you analyse how the oppressor works, if you analyse it closely you can see what was gonna happen. Jenny came in and started, we all joined in as part of Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy and won the block back for housing, that's a big victory. Then Baird tried to cut the service – Custody Notification Service which saved lives of people in police cells. The legal service fought the bureaucrats, we fought on the streets and eventually – well Baird wouldn't cave in, he's too much of a dick – so Scully came in and funded it for a further three years. In our first national march as part of Black Australia and against closure of Aboriginal communities – after the first national march, South Australia announced that they were gonna close communities – I mean they had closed some.

I think what has happened too as part of these victories, there's a lot of people all over the country that have been inspired – are getting inspired. So there's more and more. So I think more victories are coming up.

Q: Back in the 70's, you were active in the 70's, would you describe this as a powerful time for Indigenous Aboriginal rights movement? What did sovereignty and self-determination mean for campaigns then?

K: Well, I wasn't active, I was locked up. I was active from a prisoner point of view – but from what I know from other people, the 70's were a dynamic time. Pity I missed it! I think that the 70's were a turning point. All the activists, I don't wanna name just one, there were hundreds, you know, Chicka Dixon, Gary Foley, Sam Watson and more that were active in the 70's – also that would point the finger back to the 30's you know and the 1938 day of

mourning as the real turning point in civil rights actions that have been in this country. I turn back too – before that and say the 1920's when Buraga got up in Hyde Park on a soap box and demanded representation in parliament, equal representation, demanded land rights, demanded everything. I've researched a bit, I have a photo of a fella standing in an old worn out overcoat. He was given the degrading name of 'King Billy' by the white man. He went to the first opening of parliament house, when you look at the photo he's standing there with a union jack, but there were historians who research that time – he went there with a union jack because it was the only way that he could make a stand, make a protest. A black man standing there, protesting parliament house being on his traditional lands. There were times of interaction because when you start researching this, the late Gerry Bostock researched this right down to the nth degree. There were police ready to throw out this poor little fellow, he wasn't a big man – a minister of the church stepped forward and said "if anyone has a right to be here, he's the only one amongst us, the only one with a full right to be here... So get your hands off him." His ticket in was to carry the bloody union jack – people would look at that today and say "Oh, what was he doin'?" You gotta have a look at everything, he did it for a reason. He did it to get and make his voice heard. You know, when you hear stuff like this, it makes your stuff seem insignificant. It would have been quite easy for the cops to take him away and he would never have been seen again, in that era. You know on the 1938 days of mourning, those people paid a heavy price for the action they took – a very heavy price. I mean, we'll pay a price, but we'll never pay the same price they did.

Q: What about land rights in the 70's? That was obviously a big issue, but was there many land rights granted in that time?

K: I don't know of any granted, maybe in some more remote areas – but I wasn't aware, as I said, because I was locked up all that time, so it was a little bit difficult getting information in Queensland being locked up under Joh Bjelke Petersen (JBP) – it was hard just to find out your mother's name! Let alone anything else. In Queensland there was certainly no land claims under JBP, I know that. Blackfella's up there Murri's up there were fighting very hard for survival under the JBP regime. In Queensland at the time it was JBP who ordered that three or more Aboriginal people gathering on the street constituted an illegal gathering and would be arrested. It was under the JBP regime that if a person died in custody, you didn't need to have a coronial inquiry into a death – the doctor had to sign the death certificate. Doctors in the prisons at the time were alcoholics who couldn't practice medicine outside the prison. They signed what they were told – that was the problem when the royal commission came in and they were investigating black deaths in Queensland, the big problem they had

was never any investigation into people killed in custody – that was right through the 80’s too. Death didn’t necessitate an inquiry. People were fighting for their survival up there, it was pretty hard. It was a pretty hard place to live in.

Q: This section now is about the 80’s and the neo-liberal period. Can you comment on the changes introduced in the 80’s, the period that is described as the neo-liberal period. Who benefited? How did these changes affect Indigenous Aboriginal communities?

K: Well, any changes that have been brought about, that I can see, has not benefited our people. Any change – you look at the land rights act – there was, in the 80’s some land given back to Aboriginal people, it led back to where major massacres had happened, no Aboriginal person would go up there. There’s lands in the Northern Territory that were given back but had been so degraded, land management experts said it would take 3 or 4 generations to regenerate the land. They were given one swathe of land, then land that had any value, mineral value is being robbed off Aboriginal people every day – right up to today.

So the 80’s, the famous NSW land rights Act came out, at first everybody was very excited about it. I tried to have a look at it and I couldn’t read the document – it was written in a way, a very legal way – so I sat down with a lawyer to try ‘n’ go through it word by word, it was an intense frustrating thing to do. One of the things that came out of that – I predicted straight away this document is set up to trap Aboriginal people – because there were certain things you couldn’t do under the NSW land rights Act. When this document came out, there were people told to set up land councils within their communities. They did but then they had these ‘guidelines’ that were written in ‘legal speak’ – a lot of the people had no idea, people who had not had intense education – I was lucky. I had lawyers that could read it to me. Some more remote communities did not have that benefit. So, they were utilising this law quite innocently in a manner they thought would benefit their community only to find out it was against the land rights Act and they were putting them in gaol. Now, who benefits from that? They’ve always had corruption, look at N.S.W recently. We’ve had more Liberal and Labor party members front ICAC than people employed by ICAC. That many have gone through its revolving door. Now if you applies the same law, N.S.W government should not exist today. If you look at Bronwyn Bishop misusing tax payers money with her helicopter joyride and other Liberals under Abbott misusing money, the Federal government should not exist at this very moment. There’s two laws running in this country and you cannot tell me, no one can ever tell me that anything that’s set up like ATSIIC – the person ATSIIC abolished by Howard because it was being successful and it was empowering people. People were getting up and saying we can do things, he dismantled it because it was being successful and

it was empowering people. They have always had corruption, look at NSW. Recently we've had more Liberal and Labor Party members front ICAC than people employed by ICAC. That many have gone through, it's a revolving door. Now if you applied that same law, NSW government should not exist today. If you look at Bronwyn Bishop misusing taxpayers' money with her helicopter joyride and other Liberals under Abbott misusing money, the Federal Government should not exist, at this very moment. There's two laws running this country and you cannot tell me, no one can ever tell me, that anything that's set up like ATSIIC- the reason ATSIIC was abolished by Howard- because it was being successful, and it was empowering people. People were getting up and saying we can do things. He dismantled it because he didn't want us to see the full potential of our rights. He had his eye on, all along, the Northern Territory; he had his eye on. This is a long-term plan for him, for working towards the intervention. Everything is connected. The reason everything has been set up to fail so they can eventually take total control.

Q: Do you think there was more or less recognition of the oppressive colonialist past for Aboriginal people from governments in the '80s? If yes how and what was expressed?

K: When I went to university, I thought people would have some idea because it was a university. I went in the mid-80s. I will give you a good example. Three of us, Franny Peters and myself boycotted a class for 6 weeks. The class was called "Australian History". We boycotted it. Now normally, when you're gone for 6 weeks you're chucked out of the class. After 6 weeks we dared to come back to see what the reaction would be. Nothing was said about our boycott. It didn't matter whether we stayed out of the class. The lecturer probably got a bit of peace but at the end of the semester, we had done our work pretty good, so we actually passed. We should've failed because we took off the 6 weeks. That lecturer sat there; this is a person with a PhD in history and said, "It's taken this semester for me to realise exactly how racist Australian History is." My answer to that is (am I allowed to swear?) I clapped my hands and said Hell-e-Fuckin' Lulah and walked out. I mean I was absolutely disgusted. He's a PhD in history, making that comment. This person has no idea of the racism in history. What chance have the students got? They're learning off this person. What was this person teaching before? We made a dramatic shift in that class by a 6 week boycott. It was obvious when we came back. We made it obvious why we boycotted. We made it very obvious but there were classes there.... I remember enrolling in classes and having the Dean pulling me up and saying you need to watch yourself, study hard! Going to university I was doing a Masters in Oral History and once I got in involved with the historians at an academic level it was verbal warfare. They treated me like a dumb-ass. My supervisor was ostracized

by her colleagues because of what I was doing with history. This is how ridiculous this is. Not only were they ignorant, they wanted to keep the status quo. They wanted to keep the status quo of ignorance! I had post-graduate studies. It wasn't to bring the truth of history forth; it was about them losing their jobs. You know my experiences of the '80s were very negative and at the academic level, I was highly disappointed. I ended up getting expelled or dis-enrolled or something like that. I got 8 years suspension from studying. That says a lot. I mean you get 8 years for beating somebody up don't you? It was just ridiculous; the whole scenario during that era was ridiculous. I mean the statements made in class when [Michael] Mansell took all those people to Libya. There were white people that worked there [Libya], a bloke named Jones, a Labor politician went at the same time. While he [Mansell] was over there, the class attacked me. I am the only Aboriginal there and they attacked me. They said "Can you justify what Michael Mansell and his crew are doing?" I said wait a minute, I'm not going to tell you whether or not or what I believe in, whether it's right or wrong but what I'm going to say is you elected P.M. Hawke and he's a fuckhead and every time he does something controversial I'm going to come in and ask you to your face to justify why he did what he did. They'd say, "Well I didn't vote for him." I would say well that's not the point you idiots, how do you even know if I know Michael Mansell? How do you even know if I disapprove or not? You don't. You're just attacking me because I'm the only Aboriginal person. I'm not going to attack you because you're white. Bob Hawke is white, every time something comes on the news that he's done wrong, I'll come looking for you- and I'm going to ask you to explain. That shut them up. At the end, I said, by the way, I do know Michael and I approve of what he's doing, so shove it the lot of you. It's just ridiculous, you know.

Q. In the '80s, you mentioned this a bit before, but maybe go into it a little bit more detail. In the '80s did the neo-liberal governments expand democratic institutions or bring in any self-governing opportunities for aboriginal communities? If yes, describe them and did they have a positive effect?

K. No, not that I saw. If anything, they tried to destroy them. If you look at, under the Greiner government, Lands Councils Funds were frozen illegally. Illegally and we proved it. He froze every state, every Lands Council in NSW were frozen. Our particular Lands Council [was] building a cultural education centre. We had an apprenticeship program running. There was no age barrier. We had a woman in her 30s with 5 children, who was an apprenticed carpenter and we had one half [who were] male and [the other half] female and all age groups. So we had about 12-14 apprentices; we couldn't pay them. He froze the accounts of every Lands Council. So we had to put people off., good hard-working people. The highest

unemployed/unemployment rate in the state and we had good jobs going. An offshoot of that, was people getting a wage doing all sorts of wonderful things and learning a trade. So that creature comes in and freezes it. Now, through the Lands Council we found out that he had acted illegally. Greiner then was under threat. We were trying to force the DPP to prosecute him because it was an illegal act. They wouldn't prosecute him. So what did he do? He released the funds but the damage across the state had been done. Programs had shut down because nobody could be paid. People moved out of the area looking for work because they couldn't get paid. That mongrel disrupted the whole state with an illegal act. Then he went in and tried to make peace with Aboriginal people and I was at the meeting and I refused to shake his hand. I refused to shake hand with the enemy and walked off. But what did [Bob] Carr ever do? Carr had a phobia against Aboriginal people. Something wrong with that man. I remember he set up Aboriginal History Committee. His favourite thing was history. He set up this history committee, all different people, from the Country Women's Association [to] all different interest groups were part of this committee. So me and Uncle Norm were selected as part of the Aboriginal contingent. They had a launch and at the night of the launch, you know it was his "baby." It was all over the press. He's been brought around to meet everybody. Now he's standing there giving everybody a warm handshake, hand on shoulders. He shook my hand for a split second. He virtually threw his hand back and then did the same with Uncle Norm.

Q: OK, thanks. Did mining and agribusiness companies expand into Indigenous communities in the neoliberal period? If yes, was there resistance and how did it manifest?

K: Yes, we always had resistance. It's a rewriting white washing of history to say we didn't. Yeh, the Land Councils that were set up in the 70s and 80s started to manage lands, but they were also offered deals from companies. Companies that were chaffing at the bit to get their hands on our land. Have it all formalised. Land rights well we had some good battles and won some space and then companies had to start working other ways to move us off land. So yes, they did. And some of the Councils let them.

Q: What were the big battles for Aboriginal Indigenous people in that period? Who arose as Allies?

K: There was a lot of activity, but the Government was adamant, both Liberal and Labor, in destroying the Aboriginal movement. It was hard in the '80s, we had some potential allies. I don't want to mention the ones that were "baddies." We had actually asked people to stop

coming to our rallies. They were so disrespectful, a certain group had all their banners and stuff up and you couldn't see ours. So if we do break the news, their organisation was up there. After one march, this was about Deaths in Custody, we were still trying to get a Royal Commission. People had been killed in massive raids every week. So we got our people ready to talk at Redfern Oval. Twenty metres beside us, they got up to speak about their political issues. At one march, we were observing a bit of silence and two factions are having a fight about which of their factions was politically right and which was politically wrong, while we were observing a minute's silence for the death of a young man that happened two days before. That was a funny incident because an old Koori lady ran over and hit them over the head with an umbrella. We had to phone that group to tell them to keep away from us. Then there were people like Peter Boyle from Socialist Alliance who were there. We didn't mind certain groups like Socialist Alliance. They were there because they weren't trying to take control, they were there to get justice. There was a lot of people in the '80s I see now in Socialist Alliance that were always marching with us but weren't trying to follow their own agenda. They didn't try and take over. There were other groups that were trying to take over. We're finding the same problem today with a certain group. I've banned them from anything to do with Aboriginal issues. I think a lot of people can guess who they'd be. We've always had problems to balance it out. to be fair. We've had good people marching with us, side by side.

Q: Now we're going to go into the current period about battles for self-determination today. So what are the big issues facing Aboriginal communities today?

K: Today, in my opinion, the government tried to kill us off via genocidal policies. It started in the '90s with the intervention. That was just the tip of the iceberg. That was the illegal occupation of the Northern Territory. That was not intervention; it was an act of war. If it was an intervention, they would send in health professionals; they sent in the army, armed to the teeth. People ran away and were never seen again. That's what people in the city don't realise. Some people just disappeared because they were frightened. You ask some old people out there in Central Desert area; they thought Australia had gone to war. That's what they thought. So, Howard should be had up for war crimes for what he did. It was totally illegal. Then you get Labor coming in after him, and then extending it by 10 years. What a lot of rubbish. [That's] all we've had for all that's happened for the last 20 years; Keating, famous for his mad speech at Redfern Oval. Well there was a group in Canberra trying to track down a meeting that we were tipped off about. While Paul Keating was making that famous speech about injustices white man had done towards Aboriginal Australians, he had the top four

Q.Cs in the country meeting to ensure a “Mabo-like” decision never happened on mainland Australia. We’re been the recipients of political deceit by supposedly the most social conscious people. Political deceit! If you fast forward to Rudd, Labor is supposed to represent the community while he does his magic policy. You can go to a website, I wrote an article three and a half months, after the apology about what it meant and I talked about the emotions of it. I talked about that this will be just another political stunt. And it was. It’s been proven because he apologised to the Stolen Generation. Since the apology we’ve had children taken at a higher rate than at any other time in our entire history. It has increased about 400% so you know, here we have again, I mean he’s going to go down in white man’s history books as the humanitarian that apologised when Howard refused to apologise. I would’ve rather the Howard model. At least he was honest. I’m not going to apologise to you because I hate you. Slimy Rudd comes in and apologized and then they increase the stealing of the children. Now that is disgusting. The Labor Party has a lot to answer for. They’ve been very insidious in what they’ve done. Today now we’ve got still, deaths in custody increased, everything, we’re fighting for our lives. I remember I looked at it with a bit of scepticism when I first read this but Gary Foley was right. He wrote 5 or 6 years ago he said the way things are going now, there won’t be a true blackfella left in the coming years. Now I’m telling you the more I see it, he’s spot on. He’s spot on. Because who’s breaking through? Who’s on the advisory committee to the government? All the assimilated people! They don’t pass in as true blackfellas. They’re all assimilated. Who’s getting offered seats in Parliament?” Two people, one from WA and one from NSW, both pro-recognition, the biggest con to hit since the intervention. The biggest con [is] recognition. It’s got all the ‘con’ into the constitution and no rights. Yet you see the assimilationists got offered the world because they’ve assimilationists. The way it’s going, while we’re being killed off in prison, while we’re being removed off communities, and dying as a result, the assimilationists are thriving alive and well. So, Foley was right. In a few years, there won’t be a true blackfella left, if we don’t call a halt to it. I’m serious; this is critical do or die now. That’s the point in history that we’re at do or die. We got some of own people to thank for that--traitors.

Q: Has there been a point in the decades of 2000s that governments have expanded or detracted rights for Aboriginal people? You went through a bit on the Northern Territory?

K: Yes, you look everywhere. You know there’s the increase now, the increase of incarceration for women has gone up eight-fold in the 2000s. The increase of men in custody

has gone up. The recommendations of the Royal Commission. During the Royal Commission, I think there was an average of 6-7 deaths a month. Now it's 11; since 2000, it's 11. Since the intervention the suicide rate has increased by 500%, massive 500%. It's increased even more since Abbott took \$534 million out of Aboriginal hands. What was interesting about that, was a whole parliament, [when] they were protesting this and rightly so about taking kids off the dole, single parents, pensioners having that taken away from them, not one of them blinked an eyelid. That [loss of \$534 million] went straight through the Upper and Lower House without anybody questioning it. It was just stripped away from us. Liberals stripped the money, the Greens and Labor sat silent and this is all I'm saying, we were in a very dangerous period of our time. Because even people in opposition are not saying a word. A massive half billion dollars! It's gone, over 600 million, they've taken, a massive amount of money taken. When that money was taken, \$54 million was put into ramping up the Northern Territory Police Force. Can't people see that link? Can't people make that link? Do you know we've got the highest youth suicide rate in the world? Since our money was taken, our suicide prevention programs had to shut down. We got kids as young as 10 [years] killing themselves. This is under this fascist government. This happened under Labor as well; this is not just the Libs. [Labor] was cutting away out funds, eating away at our programs left, tight and centre. Now you got this idiot thing called "Constitutional Recognition." If you're an Aboriginal organisation, you got to sign a document to say you will promote it and you got to show how you'll promote Constitutional Recognition and Reconciliation. You got to show... It's a barter system. You got to apply for the funding; you got to compete for the funding. To compete, you got to show you're going to be the best at putting up a proposal by the government. The grassroots people do not want it. This is intentional. You either assimilate or die. This is the government policy. Assimilate or die. That's what they're saying to us. In my book, both sides of the parliament, their actions, are tantamount to murder and I won't shy away from that. If I get elected to the Senate, I'm going to tell them to their faces.

Q: Many Indigenous communities live remotely do they receive adequate funding?

K: Have you been to a remote community lately? The animal shelters in any city in the in the county receive more funding than Aboriginal communities. It's disgusting. We got people, they are not living in Third World conditions. They're living in Fourth World conditions. People don't realise. I was talking to someone before I went away on holidays. [There are] 19 funerals per week in Western Australia. You're 2.5% of the population, 19 funerals a week. This does not make the headlines! In one week in a town in Northern Queensland earlier this

year, 11 children under the age of 15 suicided. It didn't make the headlines. It was kept secret. We are now living with a government that is not only killing us off day after day, they are keeping the murders secret. I reckon every one of these deaths is a murder. Kids are that frightened of the government. Do you know in some communities the Police Force are purchasing gear from the Australian Army? They run in at three in the morning. It's like a scene from "Desert Storm." They run in, put kids on the floor, point guns to their heads and they've got helmets on with night vision goggles and they've got???? that flash in these kids' faces and they start screaming at them; "What do your parents do? Where are they?" This is happening all over the country in remote areas. Kids go off and kill themselves. Nobody is questioning this because the media, the mainstream media is our enemy. They are allowing the government to do this. As far as I'm concerned the mainstream media have prostituted themselves to corporations and a fascist government in power. I absolutely despise drugs, but I'd rather sit down and talk to a drug baron, [than] a media baron or even a journalist for that matter. I hate drugs and I have got no time for drug dealers either. I see them as dealers in death, but I'd still rather talk to them because they're more honest. They're saying yes, I am working outside the law. I don't care if somebody dies from my drugs but journalists live by hiding the truth. [It] has allowed the government to go on their murderous ways, by hiding the truth. They know the truth; they know what's happening. They just don't want to do anything about it and they, then by their inaction, give license for governments to act as they will.

Q: Are there incidences of Aboriginal community leaders signing on to mining company agreements against the wishes of other community members? Why does this occur?

K: This occurs because well two things. I don't agree with them, I don't agree with them at all but in some instances, there's that much pressure put on people. In more remote communities you got to imagine there's more people who've got nothing. They're starving, and these people come in with the magic dollar and start promising them the world. "We'll do this, we'll do that" but there are some other people who just completely sell out to the mining companies, some of our more assimilated brothers and sisters who [sold out]. We got one of our famous activists who gave lectures not so long ago, a couple of years ago, a series of lectures about Aboriginal communities funded by the mining companies to give these lectures and surprise, surprise. Professor what's her name was very pro-mining. "The mining companies provided employment for Aboriginal people." So yes, we got people like that, who totally gone against the system and gone against our system. But you got some people just pressured into it. You look at the Northern Lands Council in the Northern Territory,

that's infiltrated by non-Aboriginal solicitors, who are really turning the show. Don't worry about that. They're the top advisors; we know whose side there on. You know, there's a lot of people who've got a lot to answer for. You look at the whole thing of Aboriginal organisations. There's a lot of Aboriginal people employed, if you look at the Aboriginal Foundation in Canberra, they've got Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in charge but the two next senior people are non-Aboriginal women. I knew people working there that were very qualified who had to leave because the treatment they received at the hands of the non-Aboriginal women, who in my opinion were not qualified to do anything but maybe go and work for the bureaucracy. This is what's happening; we're being infiltrated. Also if you look at universities, I was kicked out of UTS in 2010. I was glad at that time because of the students they're allowing in there. It's different now; they're turning the corner now. But the students they were allowing in there. Some of these kids, you'd ask some of them "Are you Aboriginal?" They'd say "I dunno" and they were getting in. It was about bums on seats. These kids don't know whether they are or not. They go through Aboriginal programs, an Aboriginal program and on the government books, there's an Aboriginal person with a degree. They become the advisors that the government turns to. What are they going to tell them? Nothing. The assimilationists are taking charge. We have got to stop the rot. The corner is going to be turned; these people are going to be exposed publicly by grassroots activists and when we gain traction, we're going to start demonstrating at the organisations to show them for who they are.

Q: What Aboriginal rights organisations have cohered grassroots struggle in the recent period?

K: The only ones I know of, who aren't getting government dollars, some are trying. I got to be fair you know some Lands Councils are really trying to. I haven't got a lot of faith in state-run ones but from these down I'd say there are some. If you look at organisations that are successful, Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy is still an organisation that's very successful, if you look at whether you can control an organisation or not without government funding. My thing now is I won't belong to anything that has government funding. I don't want to know about it, because they control you that way. It's very difficult for people to go forward when you got to rely on government funding to put some programs up. But the government is always opposing the programs. This is why we need self-governance.

Q: What type of tactics have the protest movements employed? Is there an overriding principal with employing these tactics?

K: Yes. Just get louder you know. I put up a post on Facebook to say that I'm still very sad that Muhammad Ali passed on. He said, "Hit them hard and hit them often," and he wasn't necessarily talking about the boxing. He was talking about the oppressor. And that's what we've been doing, running rallies all over the country the last couple of years. The beauty about that is a lot of non-Aboriginal people are now becoming aware. I think the biggest threat now to the government and the mainstream prostitute media is social media. Social media is getting information out more all the time. When the mainstream media working for the government and corporations won't report things, social media is reporting it. There will come a day in our history when people stop reading newspapers and they'll rely on social media. There will come a day. We're heading for a revolution. These fools that think they're in a comfortable job. One day they're going to be on the dole. I think social media is starting to take over and I think it's having a powerful impact. Look at the activists. The activists are getting a lot more vocal; look at Sydney and Melbourne. We've shut the cities down. We've taken charge. They're saying now that marching is illegal. So, what are people doing in NSW at the moment? They're ramping up the protests. The day before I left for holidays, I went with Richard Bell down to his tribute to the [Aboriginal] Tent Embassy at Circular Quay, we decided to do a march and our banners were all about the anti-protest law. But we called it a "Black History Tour." So, what we did, we stopped at different places of historical significance, someone sat down and gave a little lecture, a Black History tour. We ended up outside parliament house chanting. So, again I called the government a house of murderers. There's no police there because it was all totally unannounced. The security people, inside, were giving me the glare. I said, "Lucky this is a History and not a protest or I'd be arrested." I think Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people think once the anti-protest laws started, I told these people that some of our speakers said quite often at rallies "Welcome to the world of Aboriginal people, where you have no rights." Some of our people have been critical of people not jacking -up, people who've never jacked-up. Well, yes you're all jacking up now this is happening to you with these protest laws. If you would've backed us years ago when we were getting done over, this wouldn't be happening to you. One of our speakers said "You know all these white people [will be] put on Basic Card? Come and stop the intervention, nobody would be put on basic Card. Now you're all up there whinging and carrying on but if you would've done it at the right time. You are only doing it when it's happening to you. Welcome to the world." This the anti-protest movement, there's a lot of people now up in arms but had they backed our rights in the first place no government would be game to put this up. I know what these anti-protests are about. It's because of the success of the marches against the closures of communities. It's got people up-in-arms. You know,

I'm not saying that's their whole response, but that's partially it. It's pretty funny isn't it? All of a sudden you get Black fellas on the street marching left, right and centre and then next thing you get anti-protest bans coming in. You don't have to be a mental giant to work that one out. Either way, it will backfire on "smiling Mike" because I think on Facebook on the 23rd of this month is advertising the biggest lockout in front of Parliament House. They're trying to get a big crowd there to lock the place down. Now if the protest laws are illegal, this'll be a good test. But as far as I's concerned, as a spokesperson for ISJA, if I want to have a protest, we'll have one. I don't care what the law says; it's my right to protest these injustices; it's my right. If Mike Baird wants to act illegally, legislating illegally, that's his problem, not mine. If I have to go to jail, for that I'll go to jail. I'll go to gaol as a political prisoner but not as a criminal.

Q: Indigenous philosophy is described as having a deep connection with land and country. Can you describe why this relationship is so? Is there any room for indigenous philosophy in the activity of a democratic state? Is indigenous philosophy and capitalist neo-liberalism compatible?

K: No it's not compatible at all. Neo-liberalism is so far removed from indigenous values they could never ever have anything to do with each other. Anybody who thinks that is kidding themselves. Yes, we and the land are one; we are the same entity. We are part of the land and the land is part of us. We've had to get on this whole bandwagon of ownership to explain to non-Aboriginal people, it's our land. But in actual fact, we belong to the land. We're part of the land and that also goes with kinship. Kinship, in traditional values, is everybody is equal. If you, say, you were good at something, it doesn't mean that someone who couldn't do that thing was less equal. People found out what they were good at. If you got older and couldn't do some things, you were looked after. There's nothing in neo-liberalism about being looked after anybody, even dirty rich white men. That's what neo-liberalism's about. Traditional values were about caring for the land, Mother Earth, because if you didn't look after Mother Earth, you died. That's common sense. Eventually if you keep destroying the planet this way, we'll all die off. That's pure Aboriginal philosophy right there. We'll all die off. Just these fools can't see it. They just see it as a money thing. Neo-liberalism they preach that they're Christian. They're not Christians, they don't believe in God. They say they do. Their philosophy is "Oh, we believe in God." They worship the dollar. The dollar is their God. I was never very sorry for taking money off society for being a criminal, because I wasn't actually taking anything of value. I was taking their false god, which was the dollar. They destroyed my sacred sites, so I took what they hold most dearly in

society. That's the dollar. You want to get political, you go to jail. Black or white people say you can do anything you like with society. I won't list the things that they used to say. Jails are places where people say some terrible things, can commit all sorts of horrendous acts you can commit. But if you touch their money, you're the one that's fucked. That was the end of it. White crims used to say that. Black fellas were real serious on it. White crims used to say it. Gaol is a good place to learn politics. Because I'm a young man and I'm very impressed by some of the things I learnt in there. If you touch their dollar you are fucked. I saw sex offenders against children, getting a three-month sentence but someone for armed robbery was getting 20 years. How does that work out? This society doesn't value even its own people. We valued our people, we valued our environment, we valued our Mother Earth, we valued everything around us. Everything was sacred, everything. This lot that are in charge now, the only thing that is sacred is now many people they can get into the white man's club, how many white fellas they can get into their boys' club. They put a token woman into parliament now and then. I'm thinking of Julie 'death stare' Bishop. She was acceptable by the boys because she's got the 'death stare.' If you got anybody with any political sense about them they're not going to let them in. It's still a boys club. I'm in the Philippines at the moment and this is supposed to be a Third World country where women are oppressed but if you look at congress and the Senate, it's 50/50. Seriously there's a lot of women in politics. A female leader was in the 1980s and this is a country where women are oppressed. Good on ya, Australia. You were just a racist, sexist, bigoted country. You always will be until you get rid of this mentality, until you get rid of that neo-liberal mentality, the colonial mentality that was imported here. Our philosophy and our way of life have got a lot to offer everyone for survival, not only for the country and the environment but for the people, how we treat people. You've been around aboriginal people ,right? Now white people have been giving it to us all our lives, now except sometimes the odd comment or someone a bit angry, but by and large most people just say "How you going sis?" "How are you?" We're not taking it out on you what everybody did to us, are they? I mean you walk in and out of black communities all the time [Rachel] this is how we are. If we had more control over what goes on in this country, this is how we will treat people. Of course, if somebody is evil to us, we'll give it back to them. Good people will be left alone. We become as one. We have a history of that. Escaped convicts lived with tribes for goodness sakes. They chose to stay by the way.

Q: Just on indigenous philosophy, how do you believe indigenous philosophy, manifested itself in particular and more generally?

K: For one thing, we've got to look at how some of our philosophy has been corrupted by the colonial mentality, that's taken over this land. But if we look at how we are as a people, a lot of those values are still within us. I mean, I can't speak traditional language any more but that doesn't mean the values that are inherent from my ancestors aren't with me. It's that exact same thing. Non-Aboriginal people all through my young life made my life a complete misery, but you know I don't see that as indicative of all of society. Otherwise we'd isolate ourselves. We don't and when people are in trouble, whether they're black or white, we'll come to their aid. We'll help; we don't care [what it costs]. So these philosophies of caring and sharing are still there and it's very powerful not even [just] amongst ourselves, You know it's not coincidental that [at] my cousin's whatever school we were allowed into, if there was a kid being bullied, he became our automatic friend. What was that all about? Nobody taught us that, that's just how we were. Nobody sat down and said if you see a kid being bullied, make sure you make a friend of them. We just did it. That was in us. You know I look back on it now, it would've been abnormal not to. So, we look at people who are doing it hard, people who are vulnerable. If we had more say, people who are vulnerable would be safe. You look at the issue now of marriage equality, you look at the hammering that's getting. What a by-product of that is, violence against gay and lesbian people. That's the by-product of negativity the government is putting up. I've seen this happen before. Government officials start mouthing off and being anti-gay, well you see a rise in violence. It's happening now. You don't see, except when colonial people are affected by colonialism, you don't see a people, chucking their own people out for being gay or lesbian. It's just part of life. That's how it is. What I'm saying is people are getting hammered. If we all had more say, we'd treat those people with the dignity they deserve. We've always said that. You look at today's society, how many Aboriginal speakers go to marriage equality rallies and talk on behalf of it? I'm not talking about scoring political points. We can't score political points because we're too much of a minority. We're doing it because we believe that equality should be for all people. We of all people know what it's like to be outcasts.

Q: The new technological developments in resource extraction have resulted in coal seam gas developments threatening ecology and land management practices of Aboriginal communities. What is your opinion about these developments? Is extracting resources and Aboriginal self-determination fundamentally counter opposed?

K: Well they have to be opposed. You can't keep pulling stuff out of the earth and expect the earth to survive. We believe the mother is part of us. You state ripping things out of the mother, you're ripping her heart out. I've written poems about how they raped my mother,

I'm talking about the earth. I feel that it's a rape of a living entity and it's wrong. It's wrong. It's totally wrong; it's morally wrong; it's disgusting. You know the whole thing is, we've come to a point now in our history where we know there are other methods to get power rather than digging up uranium and coal and the rest of it. We have the resources and we have the technology to develop clean energy. The capitalists don't want to; they want the dollar now. They don't want to invest in the future. The multi-national companies, I'd shut down the coal industry and put all resources into clean energy. I'd clean it up in 15 years' time. I'd have a monopoly on it. They're stupid economically. Look you got some leaders, look what Abbott said about his opinion on the windfarms, they have "???? for energy. Well they're no good because they look ugly. That was his answer. I mean, have a look at a coal mine, is that something of beauty? That's something of horror. It's horror. So you know he looks and talks about climate change is not an issue. You got too many of them hiding behind false science. They're in denial. This is the same denial that says they didn't massacre our people. What they're going to do now is wreck the whole fucking planet. And they are still going to live in denial about it. When Phillip and his gang hopped off the boat in 1788, it was the same mentality. They just go to different tailors, [that] is all. When Turnbull came in, Turnbull took over from Abbott, everybody was saying, "Oh, Turnbull will be different than Abbott." But Abbott was seen as such a Neanderthal, people thought Turnbull would be better. All he is, is Tony Abbott with a better dental plan. That's all he is; nothing has changed. Look what he did while he was vying for the position of PM. He was pro-marriage equality. As soon as he got PM, he's anti-it, he's pro this and that. As soon as he got in, he's anti-everything. What does that tell you about the man? Intrinsicly, our values, our traditional values were based on trust amongst each other. People are insidious and dishonest. You look at the mining companies with their technology. They'll say it doesn't do any damage. Bullshit. 50 years down the track, [they'll] cave the whole underneath of the planet. The people then won't know why but it's a cave in it. They will tell you lies. They will not work hand in hand with traditional Aboriginal values. We tell each other the truth.

Q: What do you think the Australian state has done for Indigenous rights? Are there any government-run programs that are assisting Aboriginal communities?

K: Not that I can see. I think there's pseudo ones. You look at one I mentioned before. There is one Aboriginal Foundation, two of the senior people there are non-Aboriginal. They're getting a good wage and at it, while we're unemployed. How the hell does that assist Aboriginal communities? We're got highly qualified people sitting on the dole. This is happening in organisations all over the place. People working in education, [including] non-

Aboriginal people, the good people working in organisations, aren't promoted to the top. They're assimilated the ones, who rise to the top. There's a few that get through, that have still got good hard-core values, good grass root values. The majority at the top, [just] sit down and have a listen to them. They're that far removed from the community, it's not funny. A couple have started to come into the community because there's a rise in activism. We laugh amongst ourselves. We see them turn up at a rally and go, oh yeah, where were they 5 years ago? Sitting at the white man's table breaking bread with them. I think the only justice being given to Aboriginal people has been through the fight by Aboriginal people forcing governments as the South Australian government was forced to stop the removals of people. As the Baird government was forced by the federal government, forced to continue the CNS service. That was by force, our force, not government initiative. The Block is now residential forced by activism, not by government, not given to us by the government. There's no government authority doing it. The only other concessions, we got were from long hard fights. I'll give you an example of University Technology Sydney (UTS). A quick example of hypocrisy at UTS. I graduated in 1988 and I had the flag hidden underneath my little cape. I took the flag out and wrapped myself up in the flag, went to the front of the stage, gave a Black power salute. Shock, horror. Everybody was freaked out about it. I turned to the Chancellor and said this is in honour of my people before me, who you wouldn't be let into places like this. This degree belongs to them. I turned, gave the Black power salute, held the flag up and walked off the stage. Now I didn't know that was recorded. I have photos of it. Everybody was disgusted. Seriously the reception later when you have tea and biscuits and all that, you would've thought I was covered in spots. Nobody wanted to talk to me, except Blackfellas. All the white people looked at me. Shock horror, shock horror, like I'd done something absolutely disgusting. Twenty years later-- because it became UTS and that was the first lot of graduation-- 20 years later, I found out that they had captured this footage. I've got a copy of it now. They canned me in 2008 in 2008 before, two years before they chucked me out of the joint, they came to me in 2008 and asked me for my permission to use this footage. I said I didn't even know it existed. I said yes, if you want to use it. Then I hear the narrative, celebrating the diversity that UTS has always shown to poor people. So, they used my footage of me putting the flag up to show how they celebrate diversity, when in actual fact, [not]. I saw the head of security at the time, he has since retired, he told me many years later "You know that little stunt you pulled in '88, the university were guessing that you were going to do a stunt and we were told to keep a close eye on you, and if you did anything out of the ordinary, we were quietly to escort you out of the building." I said, "But you were all around the room and you didn't make a move." He said, "Privately, I instructed my men to

do nothing because you're not a violent man." He said, "You just wanted to make a statement. I thought it was a poignant statement, you made. It wasn't violent, it was in 1988. It was very apt. Privately, I disobeyed orders. I got into a bit of trouble for it." But the reason why, [is] beforehand, because I had done a lot of protests at UTS. He continued, "You're always in trouble here but you'd never committed an act of violence, so why would I jump in when someone is being non-violent? He just wants to make a point." He instructed security to chill. They had security watching me but 20 years later they use it to celebrate the diversity of UTS and the then chancellor walked up to me and congratulated me "We're so honoured to have you still here. You were the first graduate working here and look what you did." I thought he was going to wet his pants. Anyway, two years later they threw me out of the joint. You know so this is the example of hypocrisy. That's like a government department, it operates the same way.

Q: Do you think Aboriginal rights movements can advance with communities working more closely with governments?

K: I don't think we can work more closely with government. I think we need an intervention in this country. We don't need the Northern Territory intervention; we need an intervention to keep politicians away from Aboriginal people. That's the intervention we need. We need self-determination, we need an elected body, a totally elected body that makes up the bureaucracy of Aboriginal affairs and we need to do what they do in Finland, have a separate parliament and what we need to do we need to force the agenda that corporations, each major corporation, pays 1% tax in compensation to the Aboriginal people and that goes to us to managing ourselves. We manage our own future. People might say that's outlandish. Bear in mind, we're had 228 years of total oppression. If we had self-governance tomorrow and companies agreed to pay 1%, that's not much tax for our compensation, a just compensation. That's minimal, if they agreed to that. Yes, for a long while we will make mistakes because we've been told what to do for 228 years. We'll make mistakes, but we should be allowed to make mistakes, but we are going to work through it and we will work it out for ourselves. Once we get self-determination, we need to be out from underneath the government's thumb. We need to get away from politicians they are totally unreliable.

Q: In your opinion, what will indigenous sovereignty look like? What structures would they present? What would they stand for? What work would those bodies carry out?

K: That's a tough one. Sovereignty whatever [form] it takes will have to be decided by us, amongst us. What we have to do to come to the idea of sovereignty is you know.... I don't

like the idea of having a treaty with the national government because I think they're dishonest. I think we need to have treaties amongst ourselves because there's still some factionalisation. We can build a powerful body that ... where we can sit down and sovereignty can mean... it depends on what area. If you're looking at land, there's plenty of land available in remote communities that nobody is touching. So sovereignty could be those areas, that is your sovereign land and as they do in places in America, in Canada where there's sovereign lands, where indigenous peoples live under their own law. It hasn't destroyed Canada by the way. They had an international crisis because they've given some indigenous peoples, sovereignty. Sovereign land, so it could be people living in lands under their own law, but that would not be applicable in the city. Sovereign rights, in my opinion, would be nothing to do with the constitution but we are outside the constitution. We are always a sovereign people and I think those rights have to be adhered to and therefore when you adhere to our sovereignty you also adhere to our intellect and what we have to offer. Now if you look at -- now I've been a long time proponent of saying this-- to teach in university, you have to have the white man's degree. That's bullshit; that is bullshit and I've proved it. [Here is] another little anecdote for you. This bloke, I won't say his name, he's a long time ago passed on, but I was teaching in Aboriginal studies, humanities and social sciences at UTS. I went through a major battle to get an elder in to teach one semester. He spoke broken Aboriginal English and he'd never been to school. Everybody fought me but I fought hard enough so he could just teach one semester. Now when he taught it, it took the kids a few weeks to get used to his English and things like that, he was a well of information. Now the proof was in the pudding, everybody who argued with me. At the end of semester, I get up to have a look at the quality of the work that was handed in-- it fucking pissed all over everybody else's class. I well you people really learnt-- they really learnt. For too long, to teach at university, or to do this or to be head of an Aboriginal organisation, you got to go through the white man's education system. That's rubbish- absolute rubbish. Anybody who believes in that, is assimilated. There are hundreds of thousands of people all over our country, who can take charge of major organisations and run them. We are amongst the most intelligent people of the planet. Yet we're sucked into this system that we've got to achieve the white man's achievements before we get anywhere. That's rubbish. Sovereignty has to be the recognition of who you are as a person and what you can offer, what your education is according to your cultural values, when you stand as an educated person amongst your peers not the colonial peers. I went to university and it didn't teach me anything. I laughed all the way through university. I thought it was play school, serious. I'm not being arrogant. I just thought what they were teaching was simplistic, not very bright and it didn't offer me much.

It didn't offer me that much at all. It was a political thing. That was it, so a lot of us were enrolling for political education. Now people are enrolling for careers. People before used to enrol for a political agenda. It backfired a little bit, so I've got no faith in the system. Black universities are the way to go. Let's just call them places of indigenous learning, run by indigenous people.

Q: What would be the most beneficial relationship between Aboriginal communities and the state for sovereignty?

K: Seriously, it may sound funny, [but] the state just needs to shut up and listen. Every time the state opens its mouth it makes a fool of itself and they make no sense. As an Aboriginal person, when they talk, all I hear is an idiot. I'm not joking. When a politician opens their mouth, I'm listening to an idiot. I'm not listening to anybody that makes any sense, any rational common sense. They have to shut up, they have to shut up for a long, long time and they have to sit down and listen to community people and they have to listen whole heartedly and not interrupt. We've never ceded this land; we should have a right to a voice. Every time we go to a meeting with them, they do all the talking. You get black and white having a meeting and you get a politician telling you what would be a good program for you people. This'll be a good program for you people. This'll work better. When you have an objection, they go, "Oh you're being negative. They've got to shut up. They've got to shut up and learn to listen. Not only will be able to solve our problem, we'll be able to teach them something along the way and if people think this is outlandish, look what's happening to Aboriginal affairs. If you handed it over to our people tomorrow, we couldn't do any worse than what's happened now. It'd be impossible for us to do worse than what state and federal governments are doing right at this point in time. It'd be impossible; it would only happen in a Monty Python film.

Q: Do you think current governments and current political parties will deliver Aboriginal self-determination? If not, what type of government state could advance sovereignty?

K: No government in this country will advance sovereignty. No government, I have no faith in that system. There is only one way they will, if we force them. We have to force the issue. What I'm saying, is that they won't do it willingly. There will come a time where we do have self-governance, but you know some politician would get up and say, "Oh look I was there when we signed the thing to give Aboriginal people total control over their own lives, What a hero, I was." They'll still rant on in the history books. It's like people getting up and saying

to me, I was there when you started legal service. Well I don't give a fuck where you were, I'm interested in what you're doing now. I don't abide by that theory. We will force the agenda if it's going to happen. We will force it. It won't be through any willingness through any government. We're only lip service to them and that's all. It'll happen if we have an intervention keeping politicians away from Aboriginal people. I'm not joking. People think I'm outlandish when I say this but a politician at an Aboriginal community is like putting a virus into the community. It's not putting in a virus that you have an immunity. That's the analogy I use. They have to be kept away from us.

Q: What alliances and forces will assist and win the fight for self-determination? How do you see sovereignty and self-determination developing in Australia?

K: Well, we have alliances now. You look at Go back historically and look at the 1938 Day of Mourning. We had the Communist Party right behind us. They tried to control the movement, but they were right behind us. They walked hand in hand with us. The Communist Party, it's always been the far left and people who are seen as weirdo or wacko or whatever, who have been there. If you look at them, you know, we had strong union affiliation until governments attacked unions and unions were fighting for their existence. Once they disbanded the BLF, every union was threatened, and they are still fighting for their existence. The Labor Party stabbed them in the back. They're still fighting for their existence. What I'm saying is that everybody has to consolidate because the fight is everybody's fight. We have to consolidate. You can't say any longer, well you're fighting here and you're fighting there. We have to take on the battle all together. I've been to front unions and I got disappointed by some of the senior members, I can tell you that now, disappointed by their lack of commitment. You go into their office, it's fine but have them come to our camp, it's a different thing. They've got to get over that but we do have people from the left groups from the left who are very, very proactive, Look at the tent embassy; look at the Redfern Aboriginal tent embassy, a Socialist Alliance student from Sydney University almost living there. You can't say that's not coming together, companionship, good fighting resources. We can't isolate ourselves; we're 2.7% of the population. What I want to see in the future, what I'm going to aim for when I get back to the city is I want to get different groups together and sign a pact and within that pact, it must recognise we have always the fight against the colonial mentality that's killing us all now. We've always led the fight; that must always be respected. Each group must sign a pact to respect each other and support each other, and fight for each other. I want to get a lot of groups together, the so-called leaders of the groups and sign a pact between them and to sign it publicly; sign it publicly so the government sees us

unified. The government has been dividing and ruling us. They put the media hysteria about Muslims out there, so we won't trust Muslims. I lived all my life and never had a lot of problems with Christians, but never any problems with Muslims, funny that. They want me not to associate with Muslim people who've actually been very good to me. So, they're dividing us so they can keep us separated, so they can keep us down. You know we need to sign pacts and come together. We've started doing it already. A group with me and some Muslim people are we haven't signed the pact we're talking about but we're talking about a pact. Once we get everybody together, we actually do a press release of it. What do you think the government is going to do? Their whole plan is to divide everybody so we can control them. When they see all groups coming together and saying no, we're not going to buy that anymore- we're no longer divided we're coming to get you. The central part of that pact is that we'll back each other up in the fight against what the government is doing. How do you think the government is going to react to that?

They're going to have to try a different tactic that tactic might be delay. Or it might just be, they might just realise they're gone too far. I think that's one way we can get together. The platform is there. I mean you look at when we were fighting for the Block. Socialist Alliance were there at every march. They didn't take over; they were there. Always there! Look at Jim McIlroy he's all over the shop. He's been there for years. He just doesn't go away. You got to love somebody like that. What we need to do is, we need to harness that. As an official statement amongst each other rather than have Jim turn up for a rally all the time, make it we.... this is us, we are fighting you, the government. We'll put it in writing and that's it – that's a good idea. I come up with some good ideas once in a while every 10 years you know.

Q: This is the end of the formal interview proceedings. Would there be anything else you would like to pass on? On the question of sovereignty or 'street fighting' or another amazing story about a highlight in your political life, which is long and very interesting?

K: I'll tell you something about solidarity. I remember many years ago at Boggo Road Jail. Many years ago in the '70s, we had a strike about conditions. Now we're in a jail, that was under the Joe Belke-Peterson regime, so you can imagine what conditions were like. It was illegal to exercise; if you were caught exercising you could be put into solitary confinement, if you were caught. We used to do push-ups in our cells. If they looked through the peep-hole and found you doing push-ups, they'd give you seven days solitary on half rations. Things were pretty bad. Aboriginal people weren't allowed to go to the education officer. Now, we had a six-week strike, only two or three people were broken in that strike. We refused to leave our cells for six weeks. Six long weeks! Now they had to bring in people to operate the

kitchen because we still had to be fed. They had contracts with the hospital which supplied bread and cream buns, things like that. They had contracts outside for other things. They had to bring in workers to do the fucking jobs. They should've treated us like human beings, who had rights. They actually had to bring in police to control the jail. The ones who were seen to be ring leaders weren't allowed out and wouldn't get out for the whole six weeks. You could tell who they nominated were with the ring leaders. Finally [they] came out and went to the yard. We gave concessions—we gave them a chance to change their mentality. What we did, we fought to be able to exercise in the yard and then we were allowed to. Later on, in the '80s, [after] I was out, they'd opened a gym so people were able to exercise. We'd already fought the battle, so people were able to read literature, people were able to be educated, and people were able to make phone calls. I used to get a 20 minute non-contact visit per month, now that's how some people got contact visits. Look, it was a turning point. It taught me something politically. Just stick to it and keep going. What were they going to do? They had to give in. They had civilians cooking meals for prisoners. The civilians were getting paid a massive amount because they had to pay them danger money for being inside a jail. What if we all got out of our cells? So, it was a bad time and it taught me one thing, don't give in, and don't compromise. If you're not compromising, you'll win. If we all of us, who were being subjected to harassment and oppression, if we all stick together and refuse to compromise, refuse to break, we can beat this government. We can beat it. And I firmly believe that, otherwise I wouldn't bother. I wouldn't bother going to a march if I didn't believe that. I wouldn't march at all. I firmly believe that.

A.10 Interview with Pablo Regalsky May 27, 2016

**Interview with Pablo Regalsky, working at the University Major of San Simon,
Cochabamba, Bolivia.**

Q: Do you represent an organisation? If yes, describe your organisation. What are some typical responsibilities do you have in your organisation?

A: My name is Pablo Regalsky from Cochabamba. First, I am a member of the University [Major of San Simon] and I am a member of CENDA, [El Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino; Centre for Andean Communication and Development] as the adviser to the Unity Pact [Pacto de Unidad in the Constituent Assembly of 2006/7]. I am a member of a peasant organisation. I am a member of the University [University Major San Simon of Cochabamba]. I voted yesterday on a thesis in Anthropology and Sociology. No, I am not indigenous. I am Argentinian, radicalised for 40 years. But my subject is the organisations of the indigenous peoples.

Q. How did you get involved in the support of the indigenous populations and movements?

A: Since my childhood, I have been part of the working class in Argentina. And since then, I have maintained my activism {militancia}.

Q. How do you describe your relationship to the Bolivian State?

A:[I am] absolutely opposed to the State. It is a colonial State and has absolutely nothing to do in relation to a pluri-national State. Nothing, it is only a story written in documents but in practice, it has no validity. I am against what is written in the Constitution because it was a fraud and I don't want to talk about this deception.

Q. What were the circumstances of your life, your youth and family?

A:I am from the working class, from a family of workers, the middle classes, not the lower [working class] but the middle class in Argentina, during the '50s and '60s. I participated in working class organisations. In particular, I was a metal worker.

Q. In your experience, would you say that Indigenous culture and community structures differ greatly with Western philosophy and your political approach?

A: [The indigenous culture and structure] do not any have anything to do with the problem of philosophy. The indigenous culture, as in the West, has to do with the form that reproduces your own life, not your mind. It has nothing to do with the mind. Your mind is the result of how you construct your life, concretely. If you live with them, you will be transformed into an indigenous person, because you live as they do. Your mind is transformed. The indigenous, who come to the city, in two months it is over, whatever you are, you are not indigenous any more. Concretely, philosophy has very little to do with it all but only to validate, justify, consolidate and explain. But it is not what guides you, nor defines you. What defines you is life. And that is the life of the community which defines you in your relationship to the land, with Nature but with the land, in particular. Because Nature is the land and for the indigenous, it is the land.

Q: Thanks, OK. What is your first memory of being negatively affected by police, medical, government or church official? What happened to you in the hands of the police or a functionary of the government or representative?

A: The first thing I remember was when there was the revolution against [President Juan] Peron and there were police vans. I was at school when the police vans {bomberos} came. This was my [first] memory in 1955. I was 5 years old. I don't know the circumstances. I was always an activist since I was 6 years old. I was 6 years old when I took part in my first demonstration. Why? I don't know. I was always a rebel. You can see, I was already worn out then.

Q: What were the aims of the various campaigns you were involved in, and did they win? If they didn't win outright, were there any incidental successes? What were the organisations and individuals that were involved with you?

A: The simple objectives of all these types of [struggles] from trade unions, the communities, up to politics is the transformation of the State, the way it is constituted, even now, how do you reform a State? Also, we participated in small struggles for salary or small gains. There were some small triumphs but huge defeats. That is the balance up to now, small triumphs but huge defeats. What exists now is a huge defeat at the hands of the government of Evo Morales. We had confidence in something we should not have trusted, in someone, who re-established the colonial State and transformed it into an administrative agency and a colonial State. How can the indigenous and peasants, who were clear about [the function of] a colonial State, how could they get to this? It is a great defeat, which destroyed their [indigenous] organisations. Actually, the organisations are lower than being on the bottom, they are so

broken {tan caídos} and even more broken, socially. The indigenous organisations have been destroyed because of the actions of this government.

Q. Are you referring to the government organisation such as MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo; Movement towards Socialism)?

A: MAS is the party of the government, which was born as a faction of the political instrument. It was never the political instrument because the political instrument was founded by the CSUTCB (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores y Campesinos de Bolivia; the Confederation of the Only Trade Union of Workers and Peasants of Bolivia.). And Evo Morales transformed himself into a leader of MAS, which was a faction of the political instrument. It was divided in 1997. It was divided. Therefore, his faction became totally independent of CSUTCB, and moreover he subordinated it to his own political interests. [They were] Nationalists, who were never interested in the policies of the indigenous, the peasants, and the original inhabitants. He was only ever interested in the policies of the Nationalists. Evo Morales was never an indigenous and never defended the interests of the indigenous. He was always a Nationalist who masqueraded as an indigenous. This is what Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui says, although Silvia Rivera doesn't see it as perverse. I know because I was the principal assessor for Morales in 1989. I was very close to his betrayals. In 1989 and 1990, he betrayed the movement of the coca growers with his negotiations with the DEA (US Drug Enforcement Agency) and USAID (US Aid for International Development). It is nothing new, this government. [You could think] this government has been transformed or Evo Morales transformed it. He didn't transform it. [Morales] was always a very capable person, very cunning {zorro}, very much alive {vivo}, very discerning and [he has] a lot of abilities. But those abilities, he did not put to the service of the indigenous movement. He put it to the service of cynicism. From a youth, he said I want to be president. That was his objective. This objective is not an indigenous objective. He said I want my portrait here. This is what he said, I want my portrait here. This was his objective from a very young age. This, he teaches to children. He doesn't teach children that you have to fight for your objectives and win your own political autonomy. He says you have to become the President. He says this to the children and you have to become capable. What does he mean by this? What is becoming capable? Becoming capable is utilising the system. He is utilising the system. I have been an activist since the '70s. I was formed in the struggles of 1968 by the impact of the battles in France and in Cordova, in Argentina. I don't know [exactly] but at that time, I was 18-19 years old. These had the most impact on me politically. What sort of land rights [were we fighting for] in the '70s? They did not speak of land rights; they talked of the rights

of the land, and the agrarian reform. The land rights of the territory came about when the great crisis of capitalism began in the middle and end of the 1970s, around the crisis of oil and the [Vietnam] war, above all, when the US lost the war in Vietnam. This is the origin of the big crisis of capitalism. Thus, the indigenous people began to think in different ways, about how they could restructure so that [their struggle] covered [only] the indigenous people and the peasants and nothing else. They were looking for ways to recover their lands, which were occupied by the colonial powers. Therefore, they began the anti-colonial struggle, with the defeat of the US in Vietnam. They saw the viability of the anti-colonial fight. It was possible to win. This happened all over Latin America.

Q: OK, thanks. During this time, what type of victories over land rights did the indigenous and the peasants win during the 1970s, in this period?

A: The '70s was not a time for huge struggles over land rights. The struggles for the land were in the '50s. Clearly, they began with the Mexican revolution, a long time ago. But in the 1950s, the revolution began in Bolivia in 1952 and the revolution in Cuba in 1959. These were both epic fights for the land. After that, began a counter-offensive of imperialism through the Alliance for Progress, which began against the agrarian reforms, capitalist opposition, who tried to take the land from the big landholders, so that they could sell it to the peasants, so that the peasants could be transformed into the middle class. This was the counter-offensive, against the agrarian reform. Here in Bolivia in the years during the 1970s, there was the counter-movement against the agrarian reform. There was no agrarian reform, it was against the agrarian reform, established by the big land owners and some industrialists, in the East. Therefore, at the same time, in the '70s, they divided the movement against the agrarian reform, and a new type of consciousness began to form amongst the peasants. They began to question the agrarian reform. They began to [really] question it. They wanted to own the land individually and to have the land given to individuals. They recomposed the communities which had been transformed by the Government of MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, National Revolutionary Movement.] which had used the trade unions as a political tool in the style of Francoism or [General Francisco] Franco in the way he had used the Trade Unions in Spain. So, the reverse happened here. Totally the reverse occurred. From 1975, the trade unions began to behave like an authentic communal government [for the communities.] They transformed themselves, and broke with the government, above all in 1979. They transformed themselves to become a parallel government, which didn't respect the laws of the State. They made their own laws, [based on] the community. This was against the COB (Centro Obrero Boliviana; Bolivian Workers

Trade Union Federation), COB wanted a dominated CSUTCB. When they founded CSUTCB in 1979, they began to form trade unions in the style of Ayla, but with the name of the Trade Union, inside the CSUTCB. At that time, they reclaimed it for the peasants as workers. At this moment, it was very complex. The peasants are members of the working class. At the same time, we are Quechuas, who want to govern ourselves. We don't want to be governed by a colonial state. This began with the Manifesto of Tiwanaku [Manifesto de Tiahuanacu] in 1974.

Q: Can you comment on the changes produced in this period of the '80s, which you describe as neoliberal? Who benefited from these changes, which affected the indigenous communities?

A: The consensus is that the neoliberal period was represented by the period of the colonists. But we have never left the era of the colonists. When were we ever outside the system of the colonists? We have always been a colonial State. When they founded the Republic, the foundation of the Republic represented a great defeat for the indigenous movement. They lost the recognition of their own indigenous governments. The Spanish Crown recognised the indigenous people [giving] them many rights, many more than the bourgeois Republic, who didn't recognise them and crushed them. They wanted to transform the indigenous into citizens. What do you mean by citizens? People, who don't have property, these are the citizens. What is the meaning of private property? They mean the exclusion of the property [from individuals]. This is the significance of private property. The community what does that mean? You cannot exclude property [from the community] because property should not be in the hands of the individual but in the hands of the community. If I give you property, it's like an entitlement. You have exclusive title to use it, but you cannot sell this land, not unless the community approves it. On the other hand private property is excluded [from this principal]; it is always in the hands of the colonial State. What happened after the capitalist crisis of 1973? In 1973, with the defeat of the US, the politics of Carter began. What was the policy of Carter? Each time after the end of military governments, they want to substitute a social democratic government to deceive people. Isn't that right? In order to convince people that they had to accept the crisis and bear the burden of the crisis, that the workers were to blame for inflation. So to solve this, the wages of workers had to be slashed. This is a phase of colonialism. It's not a new colonialism, but an adaptation of each democratic [government] to better develop the performance of the capitalists. We have just finished with a President, [Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada] who was very intelligent, more intelligent in his first government than the second time, when he was rather silly. The first government was

brilliant. He carried out a series of reforms conceived by the World Bank and UNICEF. They spent a lot of money from UNICEF. In what sense? They carried out a very specific form of cultural recognition, the recognition of the different cultures, in order to resolve what had happened in the 1979 in Bolivia. What happened in 1979? The peasants had defeated the State, which is what they had done before. This was a key moment. The peasants had declared that the State was more white, more Spanish than ever. It is not [their] State and they broke the Military Pact with the peasants, which was the basis of the agrarian reform, which had delivered the land to the peasants. What were the conditions? The peasants had to support the military governments against what? Against Communism? Don't forget the main fight in the '70s was against Communism, against the phantasm of Communism. Therefore the peasants were given land apart, from 1952, and it was distributed. Up till now, they are still distributing [the land], given [to the peasants] one by one with huge conditions attached. If your leaders really care for the community, then I will give you title to the land as part of the agrarian reform, but first you have to be a member of the Party of the Government. They compromised their support which was tied totally to the government. But when the Army came, they were compromised, and they obeyed the Army. They broke this [compromise] in 1979, when they created the CSUTCB, the only Federation or Central of Workers and Peasants in Bolivia in 1970. [CSUTCB] was affiliated to the COB. They broke with the other Federation, the National Confederation of Peasants of Bolivia, (NCCB) which was the official Federation, which had all the leaders there. Suddenly a great movement came about, very unexpected, nobody foresaw it and they formed the CSUTCB. The NCCB was formed in 1956 with the agrarian reform.

Q: The 1980s period of neoliberalism, can you comment on this?

A: The 1980s was a period of reaction, economically when they imposed the economic reforms and at the same time they had to solve the problem of the breakaway of the peasant movement from the State; it was a key problem. Therefore, they gave cultural concessions, education in their own language, certain rights to territory, the signature of the Convention of 1979. This was done by the neoliberal government. It included a legal recognition of the indigenous community, which had been eliminated by Simon Bolivar in 1825. In 1825, the famous liberator Bolivar, who was anti-indigenous and above all mainly anti-negro, was not a friend of the Black movements [in Latin America], which were allied to the Blacks in the USA in the struggle for land. The great worry of the White liberators, descendants of the Spanish, was that they didn't want to happen [here] what happened in Haiti, the revolution of the slaves and Indians. They wanted to stop this. The independence movement was thus also

a reactionary movement, in this sense. This is nothing like what they teach you at school. Anti-colonialism! None of this, they consolidated [Bolivia] historically, as part of the integration and subordination to the world market. The only thing they wanted was to improve the terms of relationship with the world market. This is the same as what Evo says. Evo says we want to be partners. What do you want? I want to be a partner in the world market. I want to be a partner of the colonisers. This is what he says. It's not that he doesn't say this. I want to be partners with the colonisers. He goes to New York and calls on the stock market to invest in Bolivia. Why? because I want to be a partner of the colonisers. This doesn't fool anyone, only those, who are so stupid that they don't realise this. Above all, the intellectuals.

Q: The neoliberal governments have contributed to expansion of the democratic institutions or dismantling the self-government of the communities?

A: No, on the contrary. [The indigenous communities had gained] strength by the recognition of their cultural differences and also by the recognition of their legal judgements by the indigenous community, the [governments] were looking for ways even more so, to subordinate them. They do not liberate them, nor do they permit a real autonomy. On the contrary, they neutralise the increasing autonomy they had, de facto. All the discussions, you must interpret by its opposite. For this reason, interviews are dangerous. If somebody says something to you, it's like psychoanalysis. When someone sees a psychoanalyst, what does the psychoanalyst say? He interprets the opposite of what you say. He is trying to reveal the [real] motivation of your conscious. It's an inter-cultural discussion. Exactly, because he is looking for the opposite, to neutralise, subordinate, incorporate [all this into] the market. Therefore, it's logical that bourgeois capitalists in the universities, because we are participating in all this, there is no other, there is no university that is not part of the world market. There is not a university because the name of a university means universal. The other, contra-university has to be against-universal. It cannot be universal if it is going to defend the local knowledge. It has to be autonomous, politically. It cannot be subordinated to the great education centres for an academic career, [publish in academic] journals and all of this. You're a journalist; your articles are in line with [support for the university]. You don't defend autonomy. you have a viewpoint in favour of the State. The State does everything. The State is doing things well. The State has had 6,000 years in existence to develop its rules. What is the State? You have to think about the State. We are not going to have a discussion now on the [role] The State. That is another theme. You cannot think that the State is going to liberate us when the function of the State is to control us, subordinate us and exploit us. How

is the State going to act against its own specific function; its function is to extract the surplus wealth. It does not have another function but to organise the surplus value. The Communist Party, you think does not do this. But on the contrary, it also does this. The States of the countries with Communist Parties do this. [That is their role] to extract the surplus wealth of the workers, in suppression of any political autonomy, in suppression of their social and economic autonomy.

Q: OK thanks. Did mining and agribusinesses expand into Indigenous communities in the 80s/neoliberal period?

A: Look for this question you can look at the literature so I don't have to explain it. This is the path that all the movements took, for the demand of their territories in order to put into effect the huge expansion which (David) Harvey called primitive accumulation [in his book]. There because there is a weakening of capitalism, beginning with the capitalist crisis of 1973, capitalism is reverting to its original forms. It began with the exploitation of the "lesiana" of the worker in the raw materials. It is not technology, nor the increase in productivity. There isn't one. There is no increase in productivity for the capitalist. There is none, not even in the USA. It's minimal. What there is, is exploitation "lesiana." in the Chinese way, the Chinese pathway of capitalism. For this, [you need] mining, extractive industries and all that.

Q: Were there big movements for the rights of the Indigenous during this period and were they successful?

A: This is the movement that came to be called "Cocalero", the coca leaf. The Cocalero movement was a great error, which is not to deny the situation was serious. They transformed it into a bourgeois movement. It did not succeed at this moment to be a great movement against the State.

Q: What are the big problems that confront the indigenous communities today?

A: The big problem that faces the indigenous community] is the subordination to MAS and the abandonment of their great project, of the recuperation of their territory, through the fault of MAS. The great advances in the project which is critical to the Constitution, the great advance was the Unity Pact, against MAS. MAS always accuses the [Unity Pact]. MAS expelled them from the Unity Pact. Evo did not let them enter the meetings of the Unity Pact. He did not let them join in. This great project, [the Unity Pact] of political autonomy, of recuperation of the territory, was defeated. So this is the great problem, how to recover the terrane of the political project that was lost. It is very difficult. It will take 20 years, more than 20 years. We are worse off than the years of 1922. We are back at the beginning of the

1980s. Perhaps it is worse, because at the beginnings of the 1980s we had CSUTCV. Now, we don't have any organisation that can allow the joint activity of the communities. Each community acts on its own accounts. We don't have any nuclear organisation. They are beginning to recover, one by one. The peasants of Unaquenca are beginning to organise themselves. It is beginning to be critical in Brasilero because of MAS. They are beginning timidly because MAS and Evo have mounted a repressive apparatus, organised thanks to the Secret Police of Cuba, which have a system of espionage in Bolivia where they have access to all our communications. Everything is intercepted. The Cuban system of espionage here functions, which is our bad luck. They intercept for sure, the top structures of the organisations of the peasants. There is not just a delay [in the messages]. This is the same style of operation of the Communist Party.

Q: Has there been a time in the decade of the 2000s when the government detracted or expanded rights for Indigenous people?

A: All the time the government has promised to restore [the rights of the indigenous]. What happens is that respect for the rights [of the indigenous] does not come from the government, it only comes from the movements. It is only the movements that can self-govern. If you have the means to self-govern, and if you have sufficient strength to confront the forces of the State which obliges you to obey, you can self-govern. If you have the strength, you are going to self-govern. You are going to impose your rights. If you are weak, and are subordinated to MAS and the State, like now, you are not going to be able to do it. Therefore, the rights [can be won] and here we have to take into account one key point. From 2001, with the war for water, the movements did not speak of the rights of a person, they spoke of the rights of the collectives. On this topic, the feminists are very firm. The rights of the collective are above the rights of individuals. We must differentiate. Clearly here, we are speaking of the collective rights because land rights assume the rights of collective to self-govern, not of individuals, but of a collective, which has its own rules, its own laws and including its own police. The community should have its own police. The collective should have its own prison. Those who misbehave go to prison on the decision of the communal assembly. Now what's happening? Evo wants this to disappear; he wants the judges and the police to intervene. Therefore, the communities through their assemblies must resist this, against the police who come and want to intervene, for example, in disputes over the land, if there is a problem with the land between two groups. There are not many problems but there are always some. I have a problem with my neighbour. My neighbour has a problem with the next neighbour and this neighbour decides to call the police. The police come and they take

us both to the police cells. The police cannot come. We have our structure of government and they must respect our rules. This is political autonomy. This is land rights, that they must respect our rules, that the police don't come. And the judges don't come either. We have our rules of justice as well. In the community we discuss in the assembly, and decide what has to be done. We do not accept that the corrupt judges, who are going to give the decision in favour of those who have the most money. Because this is how it functions. End of story. There is no other way. The judges give [the judgement] to those who have the money. End of story. Or those who can pay for a good lawyer. What class of rights or justice does the State hand out? The State does not hand out justice. The rights of our own autonomy. The only body that can give justice are the communities, with their own autonomy, not through the State. I was a Trotskyist and now I think completely differently because my experience in the community.

Q. OK thanks. Are there many indigenous who live in remote communities, away from any services? Do they receive less services/less funding? Is it adequate?

A: What is a remote area? You mean those who live in a non-urban area? What is this remote? The centre is the urban area, for you. You can manage logically to live in the urban centre of industrialisation. The best are those who are here. It is like that, like this, the roofs are so and so. The community is like that. Things are very bad in the community. Each time there are fewer communities like this. The government puts money there in order to change the customs. They give them tin roofs, brick walls instead of mud walls. This destroys the form of their living [arrangements.] They have an enormous house; it does not work on any basis. It doesn't work for the weather, not even for the cattle. It doesn't work for anybody. The indicators of development for human beings are totally urban centred or not centred. It is not an indication of any human development at all. It only means industrialised, capitalist development. Nothing more. It is not human development. Leave out the form of being remote. They live in their own way, not in remote areas and they live with their own rules. That's how it is. They receive financial assistance. The less finance they receive the better, because the money destroys their community organisations. I am against the dream of receiving finance. It is not an NGO and we just have to fight against this.

Q: Are there many instances of Indigenous people signing onto mining company agreements against the wishes of their community?

A: Very many. This is the treaty. It began with the biggest company. The mine, which is now open, which is the biggest is that of San Cristobal. This was run by a leader, who is now the

mayor of Uyuni. He is a good friend of mine. They sold it to a big Japanese company, Sumitomo, for a lot of money. It bought off a lot of leaders. The Southern Altiplano now does not have water. This mine extracts from the ground more water than all the water Cochabamba uses in one day. More water than the whole city uses in one day. This is from the ground, it is not renewable water. This water has to be pumped. They have totally converted it into a desert. They cannot produce quinoa, nothing.

Q: Which organisations have been active in the last year?

A: The destruction of CONAMAQ, (National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu) was the aim but the government didn't achieve its destruction, the same with SIDOR. Also, the government didn't manage to destroy it.

Q: What has been the form of protests? What tactics do the movements employ?

A: They always use what they can, marches, a blockade, whatever they can. It depends on the relationship of forces at each moment.

Q: In your point of view, how does Indigenous philosophy manifest itself in a particular sense or more general way? Do you believe it is compatible with neoliberalism?

A: This has nothing to do with it. I will explain. This has nothing to do with indigenous philosophy. I have a book called Andean Philosophy. Andean Philosophy is not a thing that is in the mind. It is in the daily life. It is not what one thinks. It is not the philosophy as we understand it in the university, which are logical propositions. You make a series of propositions according to a particular logic, which can be formal or a dialectical logic. It has to be structured, propositions in a logical form. This constitutes a philosophy. You cannot construct a philosophy, which does not have an internal logic. It is not important that it has nothing to do with life. What is important is the internal cohesion of the propositions, the syntax. Philosophy has a central logic. The life in the community has nothing to do with logic. It is a life on the land. When you go to work on the land, you dirty your hands. Philosophy is something else. When you go to school, including in the country side, the teacher looks at the finger nails of the children, because they must be clean, because they don't want them to work the land. From the beginning, in primary school, working the land is called slavery. The children do not have to work. Against this idea, are the children themselves in Bolivia, who fought against UNESCO and UNICEF, when they wanted to put the law, prohibiting young children from working. Work is educational. Work is a way of developing children, not the school between four walls. The teacher is a dictator, who

dictates. Each teacher is almost a dictator. This is the form the State takes to destroy us, brain washing. It prohibits us from working. How many years without work? From 7 years old to 30 years old, we are not used to working. Maybe a little bit, at some time, to earn a little money. This is not working. To work is a discipline to construct something. What is the State doing with this? It becomes an instrument of education. Because of this, it appears that the university, the school, the college [is education]. This is what they said in the song [the Wall, Pink Floyd] I am always listening to the Wall. I will play the Wall to you.

Q: Is there room for Indigenous philosophy in the activity of a democratic state? Is Indigenous philosophy and capitalism incompatible? Can you explain “buen vivir” (to live well)?

A: You cannot say “buen vivir” is fundamentally a State policy. “Buen vivir” was constructed by using political autonomy for control of the peasants and the indigenous above all, their lives, not through the State. It’s the opposite; the State uses it as part of their discussion to order people around and it turns into an instrument [of control].

Q. The Bolivian State was constituted to defend indigenous rights? What do you think the Bolivian state has done for Indigenous communities? Are there any programs from the government that have assisted communities? How do you see self-determination developing in Bolivia?

A: Everything has been done to destroy the collective rights. They do not recognise collective rights. They have said it explicitly. The Minister of Mines does not recognise collective rights. They don’t recognise the articles of the constitution, which established collective rights. They have said this. Everything is written down by the Ministry of Mines. The mining law established this. However [in practice] collective rights do not exist.

Q: Do you think that the movement for indigenous rights can advance with more collaboration with the government?

A: The communities do not recognise any communities who work closely with the government. Those, who work in a manner close to the government, are the leaders who are corrupt or more or less corrupt. There are some, out of fear, pure fear. The leaders have a lot of fear because if you don’t work and build houses, [the government] denounces you and makes you a prisoner. There is a repressive system that is applied with great pressure to the communities. There are a lot of people who cave in because of fear. They are just now beginning to talk out. There are people in the community, who are going to vote “no.” They

know in this system, who votes “no”. They take the land off you if you vote “no”. In Chiapolian, they took the land off the peasants who voted “no,” dissenting against MAS. And even worse than this, MAS beats them, physically beats them. It is the structure of a Stalinist police State. Put that down, Stalinist. About those structures of the Indigenous [in your question]? They have created none. They have to respect their structures, those of the indigenous and peasant democracy. They already exist; you do not have to create anything. Since 1979, a peasant and indigenous democracy has functioned. They established their rules {normas}. They have to respect their rules, which is stated in the Bolivian Constitution. The Constitution recognises the jurisdiction of the indigenous and the original peasants. This was the first Constitution in the world that recognised the jurisdiction. What does it say, this jurisdiction? It says that you can have your own rules. What has happened in accordance with the law? Therefore, the law says you cannot have jurisdictions. The Constitution says yes, the law says no. Because the jurisdiction says you have to comply with the State, first of all. So how can you have this jurisdiction if you have to comply with the State? So you must break with the State.

Q: In your opinion what would Indigenous sovereignty look like? What structures and bodies need to be created? What are the most benefits for the Indigenous communities from the State in relation to sovereignty?

A: The State should not interfere any more. The State should not interfere, not with money, nor with any infrastructure. Leave us alone; let us do what we want to do. If they don't give us money, then we can do what we decide and not what they decide. The projects, we can do them ourselves and not theirs, for example, a project such as a river or a road? If the decision is how to build a road over the river, how do you want to construct it? It should be the community who decides it, not the bureaucracy. Who is going to construct it? Not the bureaucracy, who will bring the Chinese. We have to see who exactly are the Chinese? They have the greatest number of people in the world. The relationship of the Chinese [government] with their people [is bad.] [The Chinese government] do not recognise nor want to recognise the rights of the individual. For the Chinese, the system they bring is that of slavery. Absolutely. They beat them with sticks. Have you seen the videos if the trade unionists [in China] go to a protest, the Chinese beat them with sticks. Yes, the [Bolivian] government says nothing. The government is happy with the Chinese. That is how they treat people, they beat them with a stick. If they leave us alone, we are going to finish with the Chinese. The people [here] are not like the Chinese.

Q: In the reality, do you think the government and the political parties are going to construct rights for self-determination for the indigenous communities? Do you think self-determination can advance with more collaboration with the government?

A: It is absolutely the opposite. They destroy every type of indigenous rights for autonomy.

Q: What would be the most beneficial relationship and alliances between Indigenous communities and the state, for sovereignty?

A: Alliances are always complicated. Alliances come out of mutual development of confidence. This is the most difficult [thing] to construct now, because they have promoted individualism and in-fighting, one against the other. The government is the first to instigate the fight of one community against the other, the miners against the peasants, the peasants against each other, the colonisers against the indigenous. The government is promoting struggles between towns, communities and between classes. It is the first one who is responsible for all the divisions that exist. For sure, inside each organisation, they divide them and destroy them. The alliances disappear thanks to the fight within a leadership, who provoke the fights and people lose trust. How does a leadership form? I will explain. When a factory for example, has many sections, many lines of production, the leaders are not born from a discussion, they form out of events. The leaders are formed because one line, where one character, will organise the comrades in a line and achieve in this line, the best working conditions. The line alongside them, copy what they have done on the other line. So, three or four or more lines get organised and then they name a delegate. Then, the bureaucratic leaders, this is what happens in the trade unions, all the leaders are bought off by the bosses, all of them, with a salary, even up to giving them a car, by the boss. So despite the fact, the [real] leaders have won, they are destroyed immediately. This is how they begin, look [those men] are Communists, they are so and so, they are anti-Peronists. They want to destroy the Trade Union. They begin to divide them, this is how it goes. It is a great lynching. When there finally is sufficient light, when they are beginning to organise little by little, the [bureaucrats] call a halt to the movement of workers, they divide the workers, they neutralise, they paralyse it, they manipulate and then the factory achieves nothing. The factory has to out in the street and they fight us with Molotov cocktails, to beat us. In the only way that's left, they attack us out in the street, they are waiting for us, they sacrifice us with fire, the only way. When nothing works, the repression is the key. This is what Evo did with the Guarani, the Takova Mora. He lost. Look at the previous case, he was working doing exploring in the oil industry. He was previously a consultant. In this mine, they massacred the women and children, everybody. Takova Mora is the last case. But for sure, there are many cases like

that. For example, in this mining zone, where the government gave a concession to the multinationals, I have forgotten the name, but it is in the north, Puerto Almacen. There was a clash with the police. They began shooting. But they didn't hit anyone, as the peasants also had shotguns. They killed two police. The government had to withdraw. It was a triumph. But the triumph didn't come because the government and Evo did a deal. The government always want to monopolise, to subordinate [the population]. What does the State live, how does it survive, everywhere, in the whole world, not just here?

Q: Do you think current government will deliver for Indigenous communities? What forces do you see benefiting Indigenous communities?

A: Taxes are needed by all State governments. How do they get taxes? From the citizens. Before, the taxes had to be paid by businesses, because the trade unions were strong and the trade unions didn't allow high taxes to be paid by consumers. Who pays the taxes now? The consumers. We are not workers, we are consumers, the citizens. The government depends on taxes. They cannot get taxes from the peasants, as the peasants do not accept paying taxes; they always fought against taxes. They do not pay taxes. These were the first fights against the neoliberal government of Goni, [Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada]. The neoliberal government of Goni, passed this law {censuro?} in 1996 to put a tax on the land. The people were still thinking this law was the same as what had happened with the law on agrarian reform. They wanted to take advantage of this. The people marched out unanimously and said "No." He had to withdraw the taxes, so he had to abolish the taxes. What does the government do? They invented the great municipalities. Before, the municipalities were an invention of Goni; this law became unpopular. Once he invented that the municipalities were an urban area, then how do you take more money out of the municipalities? You amplify a new section [of the law]. The peasants accepted that their land did not classify as being in an urban area. Why? Because individually, for each peasant, it suited them. The land in urban areas is worth 10 times more than land in another place. Therefore, each peasant individualised their land and therefore became a citizen, and part of the urbanisation. Citizen. Part of the city. With this, they were able to eliminate the community. They expanded the city. However, this just didn't happen to the cities. Mixto is a community, four hours from here. The same thing, it is a municipality as it expanded, expanded and expanded. This is urbanisation. This is the principal they call development. What is development? Urbanisation. To create indices of human development. Isn't it obvious? Some drinkable water, the children go to school, everything looks very shiny, the floors are of cement. This is urban development. There are footpaths. There are mansions. There are streets etc, etc? There

is electricity, and there is a tax. The State lives from this. For this reason, we have to destroy this organisation not because they are bad and not because they are anti-peasants. They have to live just as peasants live on the land, they live by imposing taxes. You see this is the function of the State, to take out taxes because they live off this.

Q: Thank you.

**A.11. Interview with Zachary Joseph Wone
June 25, 2018.**

Q: First, what is your name and do you represent an organization? If yes, describe your organization. What are some typical responsibilities do you have in your organization?

A: My name is Zachary Joseph Wone... I was just elected the Secretary of the MUA Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI), Sydney Branch Committee... And also, the National Convener of Labor for Treaty and the Depute Vice-President of Australia's South Sea Islanders Port Jackson.....With the MUA ATSI Sydney Branch Committee... I guess the representative of the group for members of MUA are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders members who are based in Sydney. We just started our second meeting today... our second monthly meeting... We are still trying to define what our role is and want to do that as a collective but it's really about making our people feel welcome at the workplace and having a place where we can all connect and share our [issues?] and a link between the union in the Aboriginal community as the MUA is very active and supporting ATSI struggles. We are very present in the rallies and making connection with different activist groups. We are a really strong part of that. Labor for Treaty... it is a new Labor action committee that started with a few friends late last year. We are looking to try to get Treaty to get back on Labor party platform. And we are going to be try to most [intelligible...] different state conferences. Eventually, the National Platform...hopefully next year. Also, a part of that is we are really trying to get all unions to get on board to support treaty. And Australia's South Sea Islanders Port Jackson... I've been on that role for two years now and we are an advocacy group for the Australia's South Sea Islander community, we're based in Sydney which is you know Port Jackson was the colonial name, it was the name of the port. So we took that name to acknowledge our history... We are doing a few things at the moment mainly around proper recognizing of Australia's South Sea Islanders descendants of the Pacific slave trade also known as Blackbirding. Yes, so, we've been, for example, last year we organized a couple of youth workshops in Mount Druitt... One up at The Tweed called the Black Workshops Bold Leadership Awareness Culture knowledge. So that one was all about really empowering young Australian South Sea Islanders as well as young people in general to give them knowledge of history and to be leaders because we have a lot of big floods coming up so we are going to need plenty of leaders to take that up. With the MUA ATSI Sydney Committee, as the secretary... it's really about coordinating, organizing meetings, make sure that word is out so that people know when they are on, collecting feedback, putting everything on in one place and also, helping with the meetings, etc.... The other roles of the two are very similar

to that of the MUA... But the Depute Vice-President of Australia's South Sea Islanders Port Jackson is a little different because it is about...my main role is supporting the President and the act committees in the work we're doing. Like, when one of the youth members trying to make sure they reach the youth.

Q: Thanks. OK. Are you indigenous/Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander? If yes, what is your country, your homeland and your families' background? If no, how did you become involved in assisting Indigenous/Aboriginal campaigns? When were you born?

A: I am Aboriginal... Kabi Kabi Nation... Dundaburra clan. I was born in 1989.

Q: How would you define your relationship to the Australian state?

A: It is a big question. I guess... It is kind of like...the big...question like how First Nations we had or not deal with this system that has poised to us and how we navigate with that. How much we accept it or reject it..... For me... with the work I do... I would probably say that I believe in a peaceful action and reform within organisations as well as activism and marching in the street... They both complement each other. People sometimes get the challenge of why some members of Labor party... I reflect every day... For me the people that are looked up are like Faith Bandler and Eddie Mabo. They were able to challenge the system while also they were able to know how the system worked and had the knowledge of it. So that's what I am trying to do... It's also knowing the white system but also the Aboriginal system. I am still trying to figuring it out, to be honest.

Q: What were conditions and life like for you and your family when you were young?

A: I grew up in a little country town called Nimbin. It is a hippie town, it is not an average town. It is a very alternative town. But that was the norm for me.. that environment and I am proud of growing up in Nimbin. It shaped me... mostly for good. It is a place where everyone is pretty much accepted and I think everyone is like a black sheep and a lot of people move to Nimbin from many places because they share certain ways of thinking, they want to think outside the status quo... and they are from very strong environment movement... very strong legalisation of marijuana movement and all different kinds of protest movements that are really strong there. So Nimbin was never a boring place to grow up. And I was also kind grew up there... I didn't have to deal with racism until I went to high school in Lismore... I never really had that way on me [racism]... That kind of freed my mind there [in Nimbin]. There was still some racism but insignificant compared to what I have later faced.

Q: What type of decisions was your community able to make over land, culture and schooling, if any? What community structures existed outside government and state institutions? Was your community able to hold onto collective land management and communal living traditions?

For me, because I grew up off country, I was a bit like... because I didn't grow up in Kubi Kubi country... my family moved around a lot until they settled in Nimbin... I moved there when I was 6 years old and I left when I was about 19 years old...so... that shaped most of my experience... reconnecting with the [intelligible] in Queensland during the last few years. In a way, it was like... I grew up away from its [religious studying??] to connect.... There are people that moved off the country and kind of pushed all over Queensland... People did not have a lot of control of educational language unlike now... and a lot of families they ended up in places Mackay in Cairns... so it was not even on the level of almost trying to survive I think.

Q: Would you say that Aboriginal/Indigenous culture and community organizational structures differ greatly from Western philosophy and political approach?

A: Yes, definitely. Aboriginal cultures are more about collective, sharing and relationships. That could be a good thing... [Aboriginal] People are more interconnected unlike the West that is more individualistic. Because... my mother is white and my father is Aboriginal and... the way they regard... even with food and things I noticed that when you go home when I go to... the Blacks are the family, they are always about food and giving food when one is hungry. In the west, food is like something you just get down to it... People are more encouraging to be kind of more... in the West self-reliance but also is too individualistic...

Q: What is your first memory of life being negatively affected by a police officer, medical, government official or church representative? Were any family members working for government or police? If yes, in what capacity?

A: Growing up in Nimbin because of the reputation of the time... we always had a pretty tense relationship with the police and I even remember that every now and then, they just cracked down... when I was 9 years old, I saw a police cracking down in the street even when there was nothing going on... I guess you are meant to see the police to help and serve others... you know... 'the good guys' but I thought there is another side of the story... When it comes to government... My father used to work for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC)... I was old enough to know what was going but my dad was

an ex-public servant and I work for the public service in Canberra for a little while and so... I guess we had that as well... we had kind of experience of the public service and government... it was not completely negative either... it was complicated... I still hold that government could have a positive role... You know, you mentioned Bolivia... the ministry of decolonization when the government is used for good, it can mobilise a lot of people and resources to make change across society and not many institutions can do that. Maybe the union can be closest to that.

Q: Can you describe the circumstances that led to you becoming an activist?

A: We've always been talking on politics and just issues in general... I think every Aboriginal person in this country is political to an extent but can't really avoid it... you can't really choose to be political or not because it's in your face... But then to be aware and to be active is one thing... The first step I remember going was when I was in high school... in Year 11... I went to the work choices rally in Lismore and that was the first time I went marching... It was a bit like... I never skipped school to go smoking... it was really different... When I came to Sydney, that was when I really became active... because in country towns, there are not many opportunities for marching unlike in Sydney where you can do that every weekend... There is a lot more chances in Sydney. I always... I never really... when I see injustice... I am never really afraid to speak out, challenge and stir people up as well.

Q: What were the aims of various campaigns you were involved with, and were the campaigns victorious? If they didn't win outright, were there any incidental successes? What organizations and individuals were involved alongside you in the struggles?

A: A lot of them are ongoing... It would not be any fun if it was not easy... And because I am young, I feel like a lot of the activism I'm doing is down the track and that's ok... I am prepared for that. It is a big pitch of stuff[?]. You have little wings along the way as well... When you can influence a lot of people to start thinking in a different way... like your friends... getting them to see different perspectives of what they have been used to... I see that as a victory. For example: One moment that I remember, I feel like I made a difference. When I was working in Canberra, I was in the public service. It was a training day... because it was with AusAid and AustraliaAid... it was a session on conflict resolution and there was this guy and he was peacekeeping... and talking about Africa and war zones... He was giving a history to find out the circumstances for a peaceful society... and he basically talked about countries that are in conflict and he compared it to Australia which he said it had a peaceful

history... so I challenged him by saying that we had lots of massacres that happened all over this country... in every way... the frontier wars. I expected him to take the point and move along and me being acknowledged for mentioning this point. But he decided to argue with me and said that what happened to Australia was nothing to what happened in Rwanda and kept referring to numbers (to compare massacres between Rwanda and Australia) as they were not even close to each other... He felt it was too insensitive and one of the Aboriginal mates... she started crying and everyone had to comfort her... He realised the session could not keep the session going and he called it off... He had to apologise. This was in the middle of Canberra and so there was a lot of training of public service going... I think it was about three weeks ago that he had written a letter saying he wrote it to the woman who went crying and he reflected to what I said and how to deliver the presentation in the future. He appreciated the learning opportunity that I gave him. So, it was a small victory... with activism you have to take those encouragements.

Q: Were you active in the 70s, and if yes, would you describe this as a powerful time for the Indigenous/Aboriginal rights movement? What did sovereignty and self-determination mean for campaigners then?

A: I was born in the late 80s, so don't have much experience with this decade!

Q: Well, from, what you have heard and read. What kind of land rights for Indigenous/Aboriginal people existed in the 70s? Were more land rights won in this period?

A: When I think of the 70s and Pre-Mabo... I think about the Wave Hill walk off... how he was supported by the unions. I was not alive when that happened... It is only through stories that I know of this but it has inspired me..... Unions and student groups have been the main allies of Aboriginal struggle and we need to really promote that again. It is happening here and there... but we need to strength it. I am inspired by the 70s and even like... I am inspired by Gough Whitlam as a leader... I see him as the greatest Prime Minister... and when the Labor party was under him, he was really leading the way... that's why the Aborigines still support the Labor party and not the Liberals. Since then, there has been a lot of disappointment and even after Mabo decision in Australia, about they are trying to undermine what Eddie Mabo achieved... even they [titled?] now... I am sure you would have heard others telling you that people are starting to say that they lost a lot of faith of Native Title as a tool for gaining land rights. So, I think we need to actually re-think the whole system because right now it is causing a lot of conflict in communities all over native title...

it seems like it has been set up that way to actually divide and conquer. And it is really unreasonable to even just... it does not acknowledge the dispossession... so it does not acknowledge Aboriginal people actually... were pushed off their countries. If you have to prove an ongoing connection of the country that you were pushed off... straight away that brings a lot of hurt as well. I still don't know what the answer is necessarily, but I just know that there is a problem... and I believe no person has the necessary answer anyway of how to come together and try to find the answer together...

Q: OK thanks. Can you comment on the changes introduced in the eighties – the period that is described as the neoliberal period? Who benefited? How did these changes affect Indigenous/Aboriginal communities?

A: Well, I was born in 1989 so it is kind of second hand but... When I think of the 80s... The key moment that I could think would be... the Bob Hawke's promise in Barunga... the Barunga statement (1988) and Bob Hawke promised a treaty within the term of his government... and... I guess the failure of how Hawke to actually achieve that but at the same time we did put it on the table as well... we actually made it more of a possibility. That's what I think of the 80s... And also, the big marches in 1988 as well... you know the Bicentennial... that really changed the way people saw Australia Day being on the 26th January, that really did have an impact on the mainstream I believe. Even if it did not change the date then, it was really the beginning of the end of the 26th January and we have been building on that ever since. Like I said, I think things take time for things to bear fruit. I think that seem it was a turning point.

Q: Was there more or less recognition of the oppressive colonialist past for Indigenous/Aboriginal from governments in the neoliberal period? If yes, how and what was expressed?

A: Yes. Paul Keating is a classic example. He was seen as a classic neoliberal leader that also gave the Redfern speech that still stands as one of the great minders to true telling from a leader in Australia. And he also did stand up for Mabo and native title as well. I feel conflicted when it comes to Keating because he did great things when it came to Indigenous affairs... He was one of the leading voices for neoliberalism. Even he admits that it has serious flaws and admits it was a serious mistake... I don't have the answer but I wonder how neoliberal thinking interacted with this attitude towards Indigenous affairs that Keating had....

Q: Did neoliberal governments expand democratic institutions or bring in any self-governing opportunities for Indigenous/Aboriginal communities? If yes, describe them? Did they have a positive effect on communities?

... Well this was before my time. I don't feel qualified enough to answer this.

Q: No worries. Did mining and agribusiness company projects expand into Indigenous communities in the neoliberal period? If yes, was there resistance to this expansion and how did it manifest?

A: Yes, definitely....

Q: What were the big battles for Indigenous/Aboriginal rights movements in the neoliberal period? What allies arose?

A: I guess... In the 80s, there was a big push for reconciliation. That was a big part of that as well. Again, this was before my time, so I don't have any experience with it. It seems there was a lot of energy at the time for reconciliation and that has been lost in a way. I think... It is because we are trying to have reconciliation without the truth and justice part of it. We are looking at the countries... like... where they had that form of process of killing after conflict... like... look at Solomon Islands or Timor Lester or South Africa. It is always truth, justice and reconciliation... they had commissions... they had processes... Here we left out the other parts out, we only have reconciliation... It is almost you're trying to skip the heart part... the part that actually brings you to reconciliation.... We still have people who deny the frontier wars, there was a genocide and the invasion... we have not really like even got to do reparations... this is still very controversial. Like, after the apology, there was one condition that there would not be reparations... And you started to see the state level.... reparations to the Stolen Generation... But it is taking years to get there. It seems like there is no symbolic action... governments don't seem prepared to give up any kind of power or real resources to back real reconciliation... They are making big speeches but they don't want to do the hard stuff... So, when I think the 80s, that was a time of great hope compared to now when it comes to reconciliation.

Q: What are the big issues facing Indigenous/Aboriginal communities today?

A: I think we are now in a phase where we are starting to have the space to actually start to revive culture in a much more active way. Whereas I don't think that previous generations really had that. Previous generations just tried to survive because it was such an oppressive time and you know, there was legalised discrimination. Whereas now....because we have now anti-discrimination laws even though the Liberals are trying to change it. Dealing with

casual racism is more of an issue and that's harder to actually deal with because it is more hidden... Land rights is always going to be the big issue... the issues with mining companies as well... like Adani... what's happening all around the country... First Nations trying to basically protect the country... but everyone has to live on... it seems like First Nations are on the frontline of that.... Climate change is big one that People did not talk about in the 80s for example... like the Indigenous Climate Change Youth Group... I had the opportunity to meet young First Nations around the country who basically deal with this issue. Language is kind of linked to culture... You see a lot of languages being revived all around the place... It is happening but it just needs to be better resourced as well... I'm trying to learn my language but it is hard living off-country... but now you can learn the kubi-kubi language and so things are happening... raising technology to preserve culture... I think that is something very exciting that we have the technology now and internet that connecting us up. But a lot of the struggles are the same things but they are just evolving from what people have been dealing with back in the 60s... there is a lot of the same kind of issues we're dealing now... I think we are just building on the foundations of what those past activists actually did... It is not anything particularly new we're dealing with....

Q: OK what is your experience of those big campaigns through the organisations you're working with.

A: For me, there are so many issues and so much to deal with... It is really trying to find where I can make the most difference... that's how I have chosen the work that I do... it is all important but it is just where I can have the biggest impact in a particular time and energy like any activist... I guess with the union work, I am working down the wharfs now... I have always been pro-union and had admiration of the MUA and now being a MUA member and to be active... it is something I've thought I could do and I am really proud to be part of it. Like falling in the legacy of people like Kevin Cook and the great Aboriginal union organisers of the past... Yes... I always think about what we are trying to do to build on what they did.... The opportunity just came up so I am working on the waterfront now and it is kind of the convergence of the work I have been doing for years so, and then... with the treaty stuff... like I see that there are not many Aboriginal people who are very active in the party... like... and young Aboriginal people in Sydney and in the Left (in Sydney) are kind of the samples that is getting smaller.... I feel like it is a responsibility for me to push... to lead this... because of the position that I am in... the experiences I had... the mentors that I had... and everything has been invested in me... It is a gut feeling as much as anything else, this is the right thing to do and I am the one to do it.

Q: Has there been a point in the decade of 2000 where governments have expanded or detracted rights for Indigenous/Aboriginal people?

A: Well, John Howard really set us back... Even petty things like saying sorry... He was ideologically opposed to any kind of advancement for Aboriginal people so it was a fight every step of the way... When we had Kevin Rudd, I remember that was the first election I could actually vote in... I was so excited, I was in high school, it would have been my last year of high school and I just felt like I was going to graduate in this whole new year and everyone around me was so excited too... And then he made the Apology... I remember that day, I was in Nimbin and everyone was crying and it was so beautiful and powerful and unifying... and then I guess after that when he had the intervention which was a huge setback and was very disappointing and all that hope got dashed I guess...from the government perspective we realized that we could not count on the government, it was going to have to come from us and from activism as well. I guess that's the big picture stuff. On a personal level stuff as well, that was when I was coming of age in that decade, like growing up and forming my political beliefs... So in 2000, I would have been in Year 5. From Year 5 until the end of university, that's a very big period.... I grew up with the hard news... My generation was still recovering the hard news because that was when we formed our beliefs and views of the world was under Howard... you know, full on conservatism and neoliberalism... so even forms of what we see as the center, left and right. I feel like whether we like it or not [Howard] has defined the whole spectrum in a way of what we think it's possible...

Q: Many indigenous communities live remotely. Do they receive adequate funding?

A: No, they don't. I think there is like you saw... the obvious example was the closure of the communities in Western Australia... but I think that has been pressured there for a long time before that... as that was when it came too ahead... For example, when I was in [Kalungkurijji?] and you can see it was its 50th anniversary... it was a bit bittersweet and sad... it was powerful to be out there but you can also see that so much of what the people there were fighting for was been eroded as well... that self-determination and the power of the local level and obviously under the intervention made it even worse... It is like a power struggle... it is a whole colonial project... the struggle where communities need power to actually to start to heal, fix things and to do what needs to be done... but is one thing that power which is actually the government's least want to give up... so there is a struggle... the

government wants to centralise power and communities won't actually bring it back to the grassroots [organisations]

Q: There are instances of Indigenous/Aboriginal community leaders signing onto mining company agreements against the wishes of other community members. Why does this occur?

A: I think part of it is the very oppressive system that forces people into desperate circumstances and you always have people who are not strong and community minded that would be willing to sell out their communities. And obviously, the individual needs to take responsibility for that but it is also a bigger picture involved as well where that is being promoted.

Q: What Indigenous/Aboriginal rights organizations have cohered grass roots struggle in the recent period?

A: I think the campaign against closures of Aboriginal communities... that was very successful. There were huge numbers out in the streets. There are individuals doing work all over the work. I'm trying to think of organisations that have done good things... It's hard because we're taking such big challenges... it's hard to know when you won...that's the main thing....

Q: What type of tactics has the protest movements employed? Is there an overriding principle within employing these types of tactics?

A: A good rally/protest is something that people want to be involved in from the outside, I think if you've got people joining in and bystanders then becoming active in the protests... that's a really good sign. I went to a couple of rallies out in Perth last week and it was there with the MUA to see the MUA conference there... and their stand out was a good example... the whole solidarity thing when you have people from different groups coming together in different worlds that one does not necessarily [collide??]... that really gets good attention... So, when we had the rally against WorkSafe in Perth...when we had speakers from America and people from interstate all across from different MUA branches speaking..... When you have different groups coming together from a common cause... I think sometimes that when you go through the same emotions with protests as well... like it's the same old chance and... you see the same faces in every protest that starts to de-motivate you a bit... I don't have the answers on how to fix that necessarily... I am starting to work on thinking about that... it is something that I noticed.

Q: Indigenous philosophy is described as having a deep connection with land and country. Can you describe why this relationship is so? Is there any room for Indigenous philosophy in the activity of a democratic state? Is Indigenous philosophy and capitalist neoliberalism compatible?

A: Basically, Indigenous philosophy is not compatible with capitalism and neoliberalism... Capitalism is all about profit and money... it can be very short sighted... it is about exploiting the land and it does not think about sustainability... it's purely driven by profit. That's the way I think of it. Whereas, Indigenous philosophy is much more about taking the long-term view... how every decision is going to affect future generations... I don't say this like a romanticised view..... I think Indigenous culture is very practical, everything has worked for thousands of years and still going to work... Mainstream Australian society and capitalism included... there is not much hope for the country so it is a necessity... whether it is incompatible... the ways that things are right now... Pure capitalism and neoliberalism is not really compatible with anything except for profit and those rich people on the top... it is not really working for most people I would say.

Q: How do you believe indigenous philosophy manifests itself in a particular and more generally? Do you believe that the indigenous worldview is compatible with neoliberalism? If so, in what sense? If not, why not? New technological developments in resource extraction have resulted in coal seam gas developments threatening the ecology of, and land management practices of Indigenous/Aboriginal communities. What is your opinion about these developments? Is extracting resources and Indigenous/Aboriginal self-determination, fundamentally counter posed?

A: [Describing Indigenous philosophy] It is about relationships, people and community, making sure that people are looked after, and they have a sense of belonging... whereas Neoliberalism promotes alienation and it's dehumanizing. Whereas Indigenous culture is humanizing and acknowledging people...the importance of every human being. Like, when I think of the way that was traditionally... people would have had a place in society... there would have not been homelessness... they wouldn't have been this kind of equality... if people would had enough money to eat, enough to live.

Q: New technological developments in resource extraction have resulted in coal seam gas developments threatening the ecology of, and land management practices of Indigenous/Aboriginal communities. What is your opinion about these developments? Is

extracting resources and Indigenous/Aboriginal self-determination, fundamentally counter posed?

A: I think when it's destroying sacred sites is unsustainable... when it is not benefiting the community then is wrong... Indigenous people have also been extracting resources from the land... there is always economies happening in this country as well... like there is trade as well... people would be trading different goods across different countries. I don't take the position that any kind of resource extraction is necessarily negative... it has to be up to the community... it has to be democratic within the community to actually have a say and know what happens within the community. I think that's the key.

Q: What do you think the Bolivian/Australian state has done for indigenous rights? Are there any government run programs that are assisting Indigenous/Aboriginal communities?

A: I've heard good things about the Just Reinvest... a program running in Western New South Wales. Basically, it tries to put more funding into diversionary program for the youth and alternatives that are locking Aboriginal people up... I've heard good things about that. I guess when you're comparing it to the past... Things are better than they were... like the anti-discrimination legislation... that has been very important even though the Liberals are trying to undermine it so that's at least creating space of fighting discrimination in the courts.... I would say the education system... there still a lot of work to be done... there is work to actually include more Indigenous history into the curriculum so now kids are learning more than they were than previous generation... you see [Indigenous] languages are starting to come back to schools even though there still needs more support but it is starting to happen... I think the treaty process that is happening in Victoria and South Australia, that's promising there but I was pleasantly surprised when that was announced... Those would be the main ones for now. Oh, and also the Indigenous Rangers Program that is happening as well. There are good programs but need more support and there is good work that has been done.

Q: Do you think Indigenous/Aboriginal rights movements can advance with communities working more closely with government?

A: Yes, definitely. I think it does not mean to sacrifice self-determination. I think Aboriginal affairs need to be run by Aboriginal people. I think there is a need to have proper relationships... even with the bureaucracy of Canberra and the state government. There needs

to be more of an understanding of how communities work and not just locking themselves into their little offices. They need to go out into the communities a bit more.

Q: In your opinion what will Indigenous/Aboriginal sovereignty look like? What structures and bodies need to be created? What politics would they present and what would they stand for? What work would those bodies carry out?

A: We hear a lot of talk about having a National Voice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. We do need one... you saw the demise of the Congress and we had ATSIC back in the day. That was abolished under the Howard [Government]. So, if you had a new national body that was actually supporting sovereignty, it would have to be set up on a nation kind of basis... You have this Aboriginal lawyer, he has proposed having an assembly of First Nations which would be like representatives of First Nations would come together in one place and they would have a parliament kind of system. At least that way you would kind of gotten along with traditional authorities' system. Whereas when it's on individual level... even like regional membership like ATSIC was... it does not fit in necessarily with the way how communities usually operate. So, there is some potential there and also, there would probably go along with the treaty process to have a genuine voice... when you have like an advisory group... I would not like to be part of an advisory group just trying to speak for the whole country like, all the different nations... that would be too much pressure for anyone and no one can reasonably do that. It needs to be more democratic and you need to include more voices in that process. I guess how it ties with sovereignty... when I think of sovereignty it's about respecting and honouring a group's claim to a territory... the right to govern within borders within a territory... that's my understanding of sovereignty... so it's about giving communities more control within their area....

Q: What would be the most beneficial relationship between Indigenous/Aboriginal communities and the state, for sovereignty [to advance]?

A: I think there is needs to be a relationship as a minimum... We all have to live in this country together and so, it is about acknowledging that... and when we do that, we need to make sure how to do that in the best, beneficial and respectful way for the future. This is why I support treaty as well... that's the formal process of that but it's also... I don't want people to get caught up on the clauses or the agreements... I don't want it to be a legalistic process because the paper and words would ideally be there to facilitate the relationship for the people. People are all what matter in the whole thing... it is not about the paper... Treaties would be negotiated and would form the relationship between government and communities.

Q: Do you think current government and current political parties will deliver Aboriginal self-determination? If not, what type of government and state could advance sovereignty?

A: I push for the Labor Party and I am not giving up on that yet. I am working on the basis that we can still make positive change through the Labor Party and when it forms the government, then through the government.

Q: What alliances and forces will assist and win the fight for self-determination? How do you see self-determination and sovereignty developing in Bolivia/Australia?

A: Communities, unions, students and anyone else who wants to help us. The former three would be the main parts of the alliance because that has always been the case. It's got to be challenges along the way because it is a power struggle and it is.... the government has... we have power as well, we have a different kind of power... we have the power of people... the authority of the state... it is about power for control... so yes, let me think that's how power unfolds. I can't say for sure but I know there is always going to be struggles.

[BOLD: Bold Leadership Awareness Culture and Knowledge]

[Kabi Kabi Nation... located in Southeast Queensland... Sunshine Coast...]

[Dundaburra a clan of Kabi Kabi Nation]

[Kabi Kabi is also a language group]

Q: Thanks for that.

A.12 Richard Fidler Notes for Presentation ‘ Plurinational state, indigenous autonomy in Bolivia’ Calgary June 1, 2016, Socialist Studies Conference, 2016, Calgary, Alberta

Much critical analysis and commentary on Bolivia’s “process of change” under Evo Morales focuses on contradictions between revolutionary discourse of leaders of MAS government and the reality of its economic and social development orientation, especially its continued dependency on natural resource exploitation and export, with its harmful impact on population and environment. I want to focus here on another, critically important aspect of the process that is largely ignored or under-studied by scholars, especially in the global North: the national and class forces that gave rise to what Bolivia terms its “plurinational state” and the contradictory dynamics that shaped that state form and are now contending within it, with special emphasis on the issue of indigenous autonomy. (Autonomies issue is of course a factor in conflicts over access to natural resources, although that is not my focus here.)

International and historical context

Plurinationality, in simplest terms, refers to nations within “nations,” meaning states. Beyond recognition of minorities, entails self-determination as a right and a practice.

The nation state, characterized most often by homogenous culture, common language, was characteristic of a particular ascendant phase of capitalism. The state was a means of social control (repression) to protect capital accumulation in domestic market and in competition for markets with other states. Capitalist globalization has meant reformulation of state’s economic role and increase in its repressive function. In multinational states, popular resistance tends to grow along ethnic fault lines where homogenization process incomplete or unsuccessful, with consequent development in many cases of internal national questions.

Examples in recent years: the rise of movements for autonomy and political independence in Catalonia, Scotland. Because they challenge existing state structures, such movements fuel a re-imagining of the state, especially if newly independent, and how it could be made to serve popular interests. A similar process in Quebec, where Quiet Revolution, as it radicalized, produced the Parti québécois, and more recently the left-wing and pro-independence Québec solidaire. These developments impact on the century-old division within socialist movement between reform and revolution. Marxism was slow to recognize a potential revolutionary content in national movements, which were initially seen as a diversion from the proletarian

struggle for power. For more than a century now, the reformist Social Democracy, its goal limited to reforming capitalism, not destroying it, is committed to working within existing state structures. Thus the BLP, PSOE and NDP all oppose independence movements within their respective states. No accident then that the Bolsheviks, the revolutionary wing within Social Democracy in the Czarist empire, were the first to approach that empire's internal national questions in a positive and innovative way, although their initial thrust, as we see in the debates between Lenin and Luxemburg, was to focus (at least in the Russian Social Democracy) on the oppressed nation's democratic right to self-determination, not necessarily support for its national independence. However, in the oppressed nations of the Empire's periphery, as Eric Blanc has recently documented, many revolutionary Marxists fought to create independent states. And after the Soviet victory, the Bolsheviks themselves came to favour forms of national autonomy within a federal structure for those oppressed and conquered nations that did not opt for separation (as had Finland and Poland). That was an early instance of "plurinationality." The rise of the centralized Stalinist dictatorship soon made these experiences a lost legacy of our movement, however.

Latin America's indigenous nations and peoples

The bourgeoisie, its prime concern being to protect its property rights, sought to limit the franchise and with it full citizenship to the propertied, excluding for a long period even women. Nowhere was this more evident than in Latin America, where in the newly sovereign settler states established in the 19th century the indigenous and Afro-descendants were unable to meet the property qualifications and literacy requirements imposed by the dominant creole and mestizo elites. Indigenous peasants were in the forefront of some massive popular uprisings, including the Mexican revolution of 1910. However, the early Marxists, located mainly in Argentina and Chile, and influenced largely by European Social Democracy or anarchism, looked to the urban proletariat as the agent for socialist change. Peruvian José Carlos Mariátegui was one of the first Marxists, in the 1920s, to analyze the ubiquitous *ayllu*¹ form of rural communitarian life among the Andean indigenous as a possible foundation for a future communist society – much in the way that the late Karl Marx had begun to analyze the peasant *mir* in Czarist Russia as a form of agrarian social organization that could

¹ *Ayllus* represent a form of indigenous self-government within a communally owned territory. They usually comprise a small number of families that work the land in a collective fashion and make decisions by consensus over issues affecting their community. (Fuentes, [Bolivia Rising](#).)

foreclose the need for rural society to pass through a capitalist stage of development after a successful proletarian revolution. Mariátegui, however, analyzed the indigenous question primarily as a question of the land, the need to overthrow the rule of the *gamonales* (landlords), and not as a distinct internal *national* question within the state. Similarly, in Nicaragua the revolutionary Sandinista government in the 1980s, while belatedly conceding autonomous status to their minority indigenous peoples concentrated on the Atlantic coast, did not recognize in these “peoples and communities” a distinct national character although it did acknowledge the need to protect their territories, languages and cultures.

As in the other Andean countries, Bolivia had a long tradition of indigenous resistance, punctuated by huge uprisings. “Like their Mexican counterparts,” writes Laura Gotkowitz, “Bolivian peasants [mostly indigenous] intervened decisively in national political upheavals, usually in pursuit of autonomous agendas.” And “rural indigenous movements also engaged with and shaped the populist pacts that marked the decades leading up to the 1952 Revolution.” It was following a large indigenous congress in May 1945 that President Villaroel issued his historic decrees to end *hacienda* servitude. But he was overthrown in 1946, triggering a cycle of rebellion and unrest that paved the way for the 1952 Revolution. The new revolutionary nationalist regime, governing for a period in a sort of co-gestion with the proletarian Bolivian Workers’ Central (COB), especially the miners’ union, implemented a number of important reforms: nationalization of the oil industry, universal suffrage, wide-scale literacy (in Spanish only) and an agrarian reform. But the MNR government failed to address the longstanding demand of the indigenous communities for recognition of their territories, corporate rights and autonomy.

The MNR vision of an idealized *mestizaje* nation, writes Silvia Rivera, shaped the “short-term memory” of the unions and peasant syndicates it promoted. But it conceptualized the indigenous majority as peasants, not as “nations or peoples.” It was left to Aymara intellectuals, she says, to unearth a “long-term memory” of indigenous mobilization reaching back not only to the 19th century but to the pre-colonial civilizations and anti-colonial protest. Mestizaje “Indianism” or Katarista self-determination? In a remarkable essay written shortly before he became Evo Morales’s Vice-President,² sociologist Álvaro García Linera describes various phases in Bolivian leftist and nationalist imaginaries during much of the 20th century. The early “primitive” Marxists, he notes, largely ignored the indigenous question (for example, the *Pulacayo Theses*, drafted by Trotskyist Guillermo Lora and

² “Indianism and Marxism: The Disparity between Two Revolutionary Rationales,” in García Linera, *Plebeian Power: Collective Action and Indigenous, Working-Class, and Popular Identities in Bolivia* (Chicago, 2014).

adopted by the COB in 1946, mention the indigenous only in passing, and then only as peasants). And “like the upper classes today, [they] considered any reference to an emancipatory project based on the communal-potential of agrarian society to be a step away from ‘modernity’.” But beginning in the 1960s, a new indigenous intellectual current began to develop in reaction to the military nationalism of the MNR and its *mestizaje* peasant “Indianism” as well as to Marxism. Labelling itself “Katarist” (after Tupac Katari, leader of the 1781 indigenous uprising against Spanish rule), this Katarist-Indianist current or discourse subdivided into further currents. One was in the unions, and led to the formation of the United Confederation of Peasant-Workers’ Unions of Bolivia (the CSUTCB), “which symbolically sealed the rupture between the *campesino*-union movement and both the nationalist state in general and, in particular, the military-*campesino* pact, which had introduced a military tutelage over the *campesino* organizations.” In a further development, the Katarist-Indianist ideologues and activists, largely Aymara, fragmented into three main currents: a *pachamámicos* culturalist tendency, largely confined to the sphere of music and religion; a second tendency upholding “integrationist” political discourses and seeking some degree of recognition within the existing state-order; and a third variant, “strictly national-indigenous... at first intuitively advocated by Indianist militants, activists and theorists influenced by Fausto Reinaga, who sought to constitute an Indian Republic.” In a second phase, a current within this Indianist school led by Felipe Quispe and the *Ayllus Rojos* promoted a popular Bolivian identity based on the worker “and, to some extent, the *campesino* in certain regions,” as collective subjects with which to develop political alliances and pacts of mutual recognition. A further gloss on this popular identity was the intellectual conception of a distinct Aymara indigenous identity with a goal of self-government and self-determination.

“These two contributions of Indianism as a strategy for power,” writes García Linera, “displaced the hostility that this ideological current had displayed toward certain Marxist tendencies, leading to a dialogue, admittedly tense, between the Indianist current and emerging critical-Marxist intellectual currents, which has helped to define more precisely the Indianist strategy for the struggle for and construction of political power.”

(García Linera himself was a member in the late 1980s of the Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK), which sought Aymara indigenous self-government with support from militarized structures in the Altiplano communities.) [Political scientist Ximena Soruco (*Apuntes para un Estado plurinacional*) identifies two stages to this rebirth of indigenista ideology: first, the

adoption of a mirror image of the society that had excluded them, and second, a reconceptualization of the state as a complex of nations.]

Indigenous lead resistance to neo-liberalism

With the privatization of the mining industry in the late 1980s, the Bolivian proletariat declined precipitously, and since then has never recovered its earlier weight in the country's economic and social structure. New social movements entered the class struggle. In the 1990s, the lowland indigenous (Quechua, Guaraní principally, but together with many smaller Amazonian peoples) staged militant marches for land, territory. The ruling MNR sought to counter and coopt these movements using various strategies.

A major one in 1994 took the form of the Law of Popular Participation (LPP), intended to devolve government administrative responsibilities onto newly-established municipal and provincial or departmental governments. Peasant organizations took advantage of this basically neoliberal opening, and were soon electing municipal officials and then federal deputies principally under the banner of the Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples (IPSP), with the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) as its electoral expression. In the 2002 national election Evo Morales, an Aymara and head of the largely Quechua coca-growers' union, came a surprising second to President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada (commonly known as "Goni"). Meanwhile, indigenous organizations, both new and pre-existing, gathered strength. Prominent in the eastern lowlands and Amazon was the Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia (CIDOB), formed in 1979, linked with NGOs and churches but collaborating with the CSUTCB, which as early as 1983, with a Katarista leadership, began calling for a plurinational state as a form of popular self-government. In the Altiplano, with some strength as well in other regions to the east and south, was the National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ), founded in 1997 as a confederation of traditional governing bodies of Quechua-, Aymara- and Uru-speaking highland indigenous communities. It called for "collective rights to land and natural resources, re-definition of administrative units and self-determination exercised through indigenous autonomies and direct representation in state institutions." In the water and gas wars between 2000 and 2005, new urban forces entered the struggle against neoliberalism. Notable were the *juntas vecinales*, the neighborhood councils, in cities like El Alto, where a massive insurrection in October 2003 forced Goni's resignation and flight. These "ciudades rebeldes" (rebel cities) had grown exponentially under neoliberalism, attracting hundreds of thousands of unemployed miners, displaced peasants, most of them indigenous. Especially in

El Alto, where more than 80% of the population is Aymara, the FEJUVE, or federation of neighborhood councils, reflected their characteristic *ayllu* forms of organization and community duties. Out of these massive struggles emerged the “October Agenda” featuring demands for hydrocarbons nationalization, industrialization and the convening of a Constituent Assembly to rewrite the country’s constitution. In 2004 the Pacto de Unidad, or Unity Pact, was adopted by the CSUTCB, CIDOB, CONAMAQ, the Bartolinas³ (an indigenous women’s organization) and the CSCIB,⁴ the “intercultural” farmers union, mainly coca-growers. The Unity Pact, which did not include the MAS, went on to play an important role in helping to elect the MAS in December 2005 national elections, and later in drafting the new constitution.

The new constitution

MAS convened CA. Elected 2006, on a party basis. MAS majority but not 2/3 (necessary for adoption), thus forcing much negotiation and bargaining.

Participating with MAS delegation was Pacto de Unidad, largely indigenous. COB not in it.

Very polarized debates, the main divisions between MAS and peasant and indigenous supporters, on one hand, and conservative forces largely based in Media Luna (four eastern prefectures (now departments), where politics dominated by landlord agribusiness elites).

2007 initial text adopted by CA, with opposition boycotting. Media Luna revolt. Recall referendum, Evo and AGL win, but Media Luna lost some prefects (governors). Followed by a revolt, including use of armed gangs, assaults on indigenous, one of which (in Pando) was particularly murderous with loss of about 2 dozen lives. Revolt suppressed by popular mobilization and armed forces. Although MAS triumphant, relation of class forces revealed in revolt motivated it to engage in further negotiations with opposition, and to make some important concessions. Among them, acceptance of large landholdings, with no retroactivity for existing latifundia, thus severely limiting scope for further agrarian reform. addition of Senate with equal representation of the nine departments. Establishment of departmental and municipal autonomies, each with detailed exclusive powers (arts. 300, 302 in new CPE).

However, much less defined are the exclusive powers assigned to the indigenous autonomies.

Although art. 30 granted the indigenous right to “autonomous... territorial management, and to the exclusive use and exploitation of renewable natural resources existing in their

³ Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesina Indígena Originarias de Bolivia “Bartolina Sisa.”

⁴ Confederación Sindical de Comunidades Interculturales de Bolivia.

territory,” the 2008 text added the qualifier: “without prejudice to the legitimate rights acquired by third parties.” And the MAS leaders now say those “exclusive” rights to use and exploitation refer only to local activities and not to “commercial” exploitation, i.e. for sale of products beyond the community. Much is left open for elaboration through subsequent legislation and experience. The new text adopted by Congress in 2008, and ratified by population in referendum January 2009. Four features of the new CPE are relevant to the question of plurinationality and its material representation in respect to indigenous peoples’ autonomy.

1. Indigenous nations and the Bolivian people as a whole

Definition of Plurinationality Art. 2

“Given the pre-colonial existence of native indigenous campesino nations and peoples and their ancestral control of their territories, their free determination, consisting of the right to autonomy, self-government, their culture, recognition of their institutions, and the consolidation of their territorial entities, is guaranteed within the framework of the unity of the State, in accordance with this Constitution and the law.”

Each of those clauses, even each word, very deliberately chosen after lengthy debates in the CA. I draw attention particularly to specification of “pre-colonial existence” of the indigenous nations and peoples, their control of their territories, their right to autonomy and self-government, recognition of their institutions, etc. all guaranteed “within the framework of the unity of the state,” and subject to this constitution and the law. That’s plurinationality, in a nutshell. Definition of “The Bolivian nation” Art. 3 “The Bolivian nation is formed by all Bolivians, the native indigenous campesino nations and peoples, and the inter-cultural and Afro-Bolivian communities that, together, constitute the Bolivian people.” Note that mestizos and non-indigenous not mentioned, their membership in Bolivian nation simply implicit, and not as “nations” per se. Article 4 provides state guarantee of freedom of “spiritual beliefs,” and defines state itself as secular. Article 5 lists official languages as Spanish and 36 indigenous languages, and says national and departmental governments must use in addition to Spanish at least one indigenous language to be determined in accordance with the linguistic composition of the territory in question.

2. The expression “native indigenous campesino people and nation,”

Recurring repeatedly throughout the text, with no hyphen, comma or conjunctive “and” between “indigenous” and “campesino.” May seem strange. Many, perhaps most indigenous are now urban, not peasants. Expression defined as “every human collective that shares a

cultural identity, language, historic tradition, institutions, territory and world view, whose existence predates the Spanish colonial invasion.” Again, product of much debate, but one that came to acknowledge a commonality in the historical identities of participants in the Pacto de Unidad, which had brought together the various ethnically and linguistically identified peoples of both lowlands and Altiplano, with their different communal forms of property and production – both the “*sindicato*,” membership in which was a requirement for the individually titled land grants under the MNR’s agrarian reform, and the “ayllu” characteristic of the indigenous communities in the Altiplano. In fact, notwithstanding the zealous defense of the ayllu by CONAMAQ (often exaggerated by NGOs and their non-indigenous advisors), at the grassroots level both forms of organization share much in common, including a membership comprised of indigenous campesinos and structures that incorporate traditional practices such as consensus decision-making and communal labour. In some cases, local communities in which both forms existed simply rebadged the local *sindicato* or union as an ayllu, all the while maintaining the same internal structures. In addition, these alliances are completed in the formulation by the additional reference to the “colonizers,” the peasants who have migrated from the agriculturally sparse highlands to the lower lands of central and eastern Bolivia. They are now renamed “interculturales,” presumably to avoid the unpleasant connotations of colonization. Sociologist Raúl Prada argues that the compendious expression is sufficiently inclusive to cover indigenous and former campesinos now living in the urban environment. The expression as a whole, then, refers to the main driving forces behind the MAS government’s “process of change.” Peasants, other indigenous, but only recently has the COB, now under pro-MAS leadership, joined the new version of the Pacto, the CONALCAM.

3. Indigenous territoriality and forms of property

(See art. 269 (departments, provinces, municipalities and TIOCs – territorial organization of the state). MAS majority sought to update the Agrarian Reform to incorporate indigenous territoriality, which from the standpoint of the indigenous organizations of the East, in the Constitutional Reform of 1994, had been introduced in a limited form. With the CPE, the TCO (Tierras Comunitarias de Origen) would become TIOC (Territorios Indígena Originario Campesinos) in the sense of the communitarian renewal of ag. reform promulgated by Morales in 2006. So concept of “territoriality” that MNR shunned, limiting themselves to concept of “land,” was now reintroduced, along with an annotated conception of the rights involved in this recognition. MAS leaders saw this as a better material basis for empowering social associations. Carlos Romero: all the political and social processes of recent years have

revolved around territoriality: the disputes with oil companies, water war, gas war, demands for land and territory, the new organizational structures of the indigenous peoples and social movements based on control of territory. So this a transversal that is going to bring about the real changes in the structure of the state. (Schavelzon, 176) note 116, p. 176. Raul Prada: while “land” emphasizes socio-economic dimension, “territory” refers to an ecological and anthropological dimension. Miguel Urioste: territory means social construction between culture and environment, which beyond distribution in space is related to a feeling of membership in the community as a collective experience. Alison Spedding: territoriality does not exist materially, is more a construction of the imaginary, a projection of collective social ideas toward a territory that could materialize and be transformed into a vital space, with ideas that invoke cultural values, norms, religious ideas and systems of economic, political and legal organization, inter alia, in social networks or systems that are characterized by the mutual influence between territory and society. These conceptions, says José Blanes, inform the different positions on autonomy. Was leading axis in CA, and awakened the demand for departmental autonomies. MAS attempt to fit territory into framework of the pre-existing Agrarian Reform was the moment in the process when the Government of social movements took its distance from social movements, a pragmatic orientation faced with the utopian element in the popular discourse. (my words) 177. The constitutional innovation, however, meant also incorporating campesinos in the TIOCs, associating the territories with new communities. The change responded to the context in the form of ethnic identification that had meant that some campesino communities were beginning to consider themselves indigenous. An example: the peasant unions in Ayopaya, Cochabamba, renounced individual land titles and opted for collective titling with preservation of communitarian structures and institutions. However, this was not most common situation, and the treatment of the subject in the CA generated a fierce dispute between the campesino and indigenous organizations that threatened to break up the Pacto de Unidad. Recalled previous conflicts between lowlands indigenous and colonizers. Ayllu against Sindicato. The conflict broke out when discussing the type of property within the new TIOCs. Indigenous wanted only collective ownership recognized, but peasant centrales pressed for a system that would allow individual private property, the form taken since 1953 in the agrarian communities. They were not prepared to collectivize their properties even while in various communities they maintained them in combination with collective properties. At one moment there was thinking about collective in east, individual in west, but AGL intervened when he noted that individual title was respected in TCOs. So CPE would enshrine collective property but without limiting possibility of individual grants. The debate reflected eastern fear that allowing individual

ownership would open door to private appropriation by land speculators. Romero noted advantages of collective ownership in terms of organization, planning, territorial management and organizing tradition of peoples, but he defended coexistence of the two forms on the basis that individual ownership also a reality of these peoples since Inca times.

note 117, p. 178. The Pacto de Unidad went further, proposing community ownership not only for indigenous territories. Reflected the Andean ayllu, understood as an holistic system, linked to gift and reciprocity. Defensor del Pueblo, p. 152-53. Some 23 million hectares of titled land under the Agrarian Reform are comprised of TIOCs, in both highlands and lowlands. Total 258 TIOCs, about three quarters in highlands, but of that total 58 are in more than one department, and 196 in more than one municipality. The requests to form TIOCs are still being processed; for 25% of them, still awaiting titling as such.

4. Indigenous autonomies – interpretation and disputes

Salvador Schavelzon: this is “the most open and undefined subject” in the new Constitution. (His book, *El Nacimiento del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia* – best source on the entire constitution-making process, and its background) As mentioned, many aspects left to subsequent legislation, much of it adopted, its application uneven. First, note that “decolonization” of state and society in Bolivia under the MAS government comprises many different but related programs and objectives, such as instituting bilingual curriculum in schools (in native language plus Spanish), affirmative action in hiring personnel with indigenous languages in all levels of government, training in indigenous languages for unilingual Spanish-speaking officials and civil servants, etc. But “plurinational” refers to nations, nationalities, peoples, hence collective rights, duties and institutions, and not so much to individual rights as in the case of language capacities. A few aspects still subject to controversy. Most notable example, perhaps, is indigenous autonomies’ right to consultation, particularly important in the case of hydrocarbons and mining activities (as non-renewable resources, their exploitation entailing consultation with communities concerned). What the CPE provides is less than what is contained in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which is law in Bolivia. The latter provides (Art. 32) that “States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.” On its face, a right of veto by indigenous over proposed

projects. The CPE contains no requirement of consent by the indigenous to such undertakings.

Art. 30(15): “To be consulted by appropriate procedures, in particular through their institutions, each time legislative or administrative measures may be foreseen to affect them. In this framework, the right to prior obligatory consultation by the State with respect to the exploitation of non-renewable natural resources in the territory they inhabit shall be respected and guaranteed, in good faith and upon agreement.”

Art. 304(21): “To participate in, develop and execute the mechanisms of prior, free and informed consultations related to the application of legislative, executive and administrative measures that affect them.”

Art. 403:

“The integrity of rural native indigenous territory is recognized, which includes the right to land, to the use and exclusive exploitation of the renewable natural resources under conditions determined by law, to prior and informed consultation, to participation in the benefits of the exploitation of the non-renewable natural resources that are found in their territory, to the authority to apply their own norms, administered by their structures of representation, and to define their development pursuant to their own cultural criteria and principles of harmonious coexistence with nature. The rural native indigenous territories may be composed of communities.” Ironically, the major public debate over this right so far arose over a proposed project that did not, on its face, entail a right of consultation under the CPE. TIPNIS dispute, a highway, already partly constructed, with a 125-km section remaining, which would run through a protected area in the Amazon region, a national park. The highway was not for non-renewable resources exploitation. But some indigenous residents of the park (total population 12,500) objected and with support of NGOs marched to protest highway, claiming (inter alia) a right to be consulted that (they said) gave them a right to veto the project. When the march got to La Paz, Morales met with leaders and then declared park “inviolable,” hence no highway. A second march of other park residents (predominantly settlers), in favour of highway. Government then organized a “consultation,” which revealed highway supported by large majority of park population. But the government nevertheless proclaimed a moratorium on the highway, saying would focus on the schools, health clinics and other infrastructures residents had listed as their priorities in the consulta.

I am not pretending the highway won't eventually be built. AGL (Geopolitics of the Amazon) argues strongly that it is a vital piece in attempts to unify diverse sections of the country. But NB thing is to recognize that the TIPNIS incidents triggered the definitive rupture of support

for the government from the CIDOB and CONAMAQ. (Since then, government supporters within each have reorganized, so there are open splits.)

Where the autonomies issue stands today

There are two methods of obtaining status as an autonomous indigenous territory: by conversion from an existing municipality with a majority indigenous population, or via conversion as an established indigenous territory under the Constitution.

December 2009, 11 municipalities opted through referendum to convert to AIOCs

Six years later, only Charagua has passed through all the hoops to become full autonomy, while in another (in Oruro) autonomy defeated in referendum, and the other 9 are in various stages of approval, awaiting declaration of constitutionality by TCP or TCP's opinion on draft statutes. (Defensor del pueblo, 146) Biggest difficulties faced by those that attempt to form AIOCs via TIOCs, owing to innumerable legal and administrative requisites for proving ancestralidad once the TIOC has completed verification of land title (saneamiento), capacity for management, number of inhabitants, number and proportion of non-indigenous involved, and also because of lack of support from state institutions. (Defensor, 147). A report by the outgoing Defensor del Pueblo (Ombudsman, just released) charges that the state bodies have applied much stricter criteria on indigenous autonomies for accreditation than they do to departments and ordinary municipalities. José Luis Exeni, a recent study, argues that the indigenous autonomies can make a contribution to the idea of "other development," that is, fleshing out the concepts of plural economy and *vivir bien* that are recognized in the CPE. (And he references existing autonomy statutes: reciprocity, solidarity, complementarity, gender equality, etc.) But note: all systems of planning, administration, budget and control are those of national state. Absence of considerations concerning planning and management in the statutes. Very little thought has been given to what will happen once the statutes are in force. ³³ But how does this communitarian economy insert into market circuits and relations with departmental and state levels? Need to debate this. ³⁴

Tensions in the process

1. Without AIOC no plurinational state. Tension between self-determination and a state model that is still nation-state. State, which has to allow *autonomia*, keeps imposing obstacles to ultimate recognition. AIOC seems to have been abandoned in the actually existing process.

For example, indigenous autonomies do not appear in the strategic horizon traced by government in Agenda Patriótica 2025. Still much confusion over norms and procedures

2. There seems little political will to establish autonomies. Municipal governments now established with elected authorities. CSUTCB and Bartolinas reject statute process in indigenous autonomias, either through lack of knowledge or because they have a different vision of territorial management. Political parties, especially MAS, see AIOC as loss of spaces of power in the departments and mayoralties. Urban residents (migrants who maintain links with their community) may see AIOC as risk of limiting their power and influence in municipalities.

3. Tension between AIOC as essence of plurinational state and the neo-extractivista base of the state, the latter determined to control non-renewable natural resources.

4. Autonomias see themselves (as their draft statutes explain) as forerunners of future distinct nations (36) A tension around self-determination.

5. Many different internal forces involved: ayllus, zones, population centres, communities, residents (migrantes), sectors such as transportistas, non-indigenous minorities, etc.

6. goal of interculturalness within the AIOC – need to include the non-indigenous, especially in some like Charagua and Huacaya where 40% of population is non-indigenous. Complex challenges.

7. In long term, unclear whether AIOCs can or cannot be emancipatory. In any case, can assume the process is an important counterweight (and this is fundamental) to premature signals of deconstitutionalization.

8. Involvement of specialists, experts, other authorities in the process e.g. lawyers (guardians of legality and responsible for juridifying the statutes). Verges on constitutional oversight going beyond accompaniment.

MAS development strategy - what role for indigenous autonomy?

The MAS government has sought to implement what it now terms “The New Economic, Social, Communitarian and Productive Model,” designed to use revenues from strategic industries (chiefly hydrocarbons, mining and electricity generation) to promote industrialization, agricultural development, housing and other social programs

However, peasant agriculture gets short shrift in this strategy. The economy remains heavily dependent on exports of unprocessed non-renewable and renewable resources (they comprise over 80% of the value of Bolivia’s exports). [Morales government was already the one that granted the most land in recent times, with 700,000 hectares in 3 years of governance, as

opposed to 26,000 between 1996 and 2006, and the first to prioritize indigenous and peasants. But lack of initiative by the organizations explains why it was possible in Congress in October 2008 to agree not to make new arrangements retroactive for the 5,000 hectares. – Defensor del Pueblo report.] Recent Fundación Tierra study, *Marginalización de la agricultura campesina e indígena* “All indications are that constitutionalization of the new paradigms and the return of the state to agriculture has not so far had sufficient scope to regulate the agricultural model, existing since the 1980s, increasingly oriented toward an agro-export model of unprocessed agricultural products. “It is an agrarian model that forms part of the new paradigm of globalization in which agribusiness has changed the nature of this activity in the Southern Cone (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay) and to a lesser extent in Bolivia. In this greater context, large scale agriculture neither coexists with nor complements the ways of living and work of the campesino and indigenous families. On the contrary — and in Bolivia a strong process of subordination is emerging that removes social and economic protagonism from the small producers. “While the trend to reduction in rural population as a proportion of the total is a planetary phenomenon, in the case of Bolivia the migrants and rural populations themselves are trapped in highly precarious systems of informal self-employment. This translates into a permanent decline in the supply of food of peasant origin or, which is the same thing, the peasants are no longer the main providers of foodstuffs.” Yet at same time, the MAS not only emphasizes the importance of the worker-peasant social bloc to what it calls its “hegemonic” project, but sets as an objective achieving food self-sufficiency and sovereignty. The contrast between this objective and the reality of the structure of agriculture today is one of the major contradictions in Bolivia. Alvero Garcia Linera(AGL) refers to this and other contradictions as “creative tensions... within the broad popular bloc that leads and sustains the Process of Change.” His 2012 text...“The state progressively appropriates and universalizes some of the social protection functions previously exercised by the union or ayllu while the latter fight to decolonize and democratize the state. The state helps to expand the autonomous capacity and role of the communitarian forms of organization while the social movements learn to subordinate their corporate interests and advocacy role to the needs and interests of the wider society.”

What does this mean for the future of the indigenous autonomies?

Salvador Schavelzon cites a conversation he had with AGL in 2013. Asked why the autonomy agenda no longer seemed a priority of the MAS, the Vice-President said “autonomy arose as a slogan to weaken the state.... Now the state has Indianized and

autonomy loses the force it had previously.” And in reference to the alienation of CONAMAQ from the MAS, he said: “CONAMAQ doesn’t understand. It is not the state that makes the communitarian economy, that is statism. Communitarian production is either production by the community or it is not going to be anything....”

However, another of these “creative tensions” according to AGL is the conflict between “communitarian socialism” (how the MAS now defines its overall project) and the principle of Vivir Bien (enshrined in the new Constitution as one of its guiding principles).

AGL: “This is the tension between ecology and industrialization, which involves huge investments in resource processing projects that will provide added value and establish a durable base for universal social programs and needed infrastructures. ... the proceeds will be allocated to meeting human needs (basic social services, food sovereignty, poverty reduction), not private profit, and thus prioritizing use value over exchange value.

“But industrial projects damage nature including the environment, lands, forests, and of course the human condition. Capitalism subordinates nature in order to produce exchange value; its dynamic is suicidal. The alternative is to harness the strength of the agrarian community as the principal organizer of relations between human needs and nature as a totality of life. The challenge is to industrialize to serve human needs but at the same time to preserve the environment.” To me, this suggests that part of the solution to this tension lies in promoting peasant agriculture, which (as Via Campesina argues) is in the long term far more productive, self-sustaining, ecological and socially beneficial than agribusiness.

And in that sense, I wonder whether the plurinational indigenous autonomies, based on small peasant agriculture, collectively managed, and (especially) with adequate state support, could prove to be a means of envisaging and constructing a generalized system of agricultural production that could provide genuine food self-sufficiency in harmony with Mother Nature while using advanced forms and techniques of ecologically sustainable food production – which incidentally, would be consistent with Bolivia’s leading political role in the global fight against climate change.

References

Publications and Journals

- Altman, J. (2008). Neo-Paternalism: Reflections on the Northern Territory Intervention. *Journal of Indigenous Policy, Issue 14*. Retrieved from http://apo.org.au/files/Resource/jip14_low_rez.pdf
- Altman, J. (2009a). The Paradoxes of Mainstreaming Indigenous Australians. *Journal of Indigenous Policy, Issue 14*. Retrieved from http://apo.org.au/files/Resource/jip14_low_rez.pdf
- Altman, J. (2009b). No Movement on the Outstations, *Journal of Indigenous Policy, Issue 14*. Retrieved from http://apo.org.au/files/Resource/jip14_low_rez.pdf
- Altman, J. (2009c). The hybrid economy as political project. Australian National University Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies conference. National Museum Australia, 9 November 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.nma.gov.au/audio/detail/the-hybrid-economy-as-political-project/>
- Altman, J. (2014). The political ecology and political economy of the Indigenous land titling 'revolution' in Australia. *Maori Law Review – The Monthly Review of Law Affecting Maori*. Retrieved from <http://maorilawreview.co.nz/2014/03/the-political-ecology-and-political-economy-of-the-Indigenous-land-revolution-in-australia/>
- Altman, J., (1954) & Hinkson, Melinda & Ebooks Corporation (2010). (Eds). *Culture crisis: Anthropology and politics in Aboriginal Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Álvaro, L. G. (2006). Elevismo: lo nacional popular en accion, *OSAL Observatorio Social de America Latina 6 (19)*, Retrieved from <http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/clacso/osal/20110327050516/3linera.pdf>
- Amin, S. (2014). *Capitalism in the Age of Globalization: The Management of Contemporary Society*. Chicago, United States: Zed Books Ltd.
- Andersson, V. & Haarstad, H. (2009). Backlash Reconsidered: Neoliberalism and Popular Mobilization in Bolivia. *Latin American Politics and Society*. Retrieved from [http://vbn.aau.dk/en/publications/bolivian-backlash-investment-climate-citizenship-and-constructive-neoliberalism-in-contemporary-bolivia\(0c4b1130-9111-11dc-8188-000ea68e967b\).html](http://vbn.aau.dk/en/publications/bolivian-backlash-investment-climate-citizenship-and-constructive-neoliberalism-in-contemporary-bolivia(0c4b1130-9111-11dc-8188-000ea68e967b).html)
- Andersson, V. & Haarstad, H. (2007). Bolivian Backlash? Investment climate, citizenship and "constructive" neoliberalism in contemporary Bolivia. Paper presented at Making Institutions Work for the Poor?. Bergen, Norway: Aalborg Universitet Research

Portal, Retrieved from [http://vbn.aau.dk/en/publications/bolivian-backlash-investment-climate-citizenship-and-constructive-neoliberalism-in-contemporary-bolivia\(0c4b1130-9111-11dc-8188-000ea68e967b\).html](http://vbn.aau.dk/en/publications/bolivian-backlash-investment-climate-citizenship-and-constructive-neoliberalism-in-contemporary-bolivia(0c4b1130-9111-11dc-8188-000ea68e967b).html)

Anderson, I., Crengle, S., Kamaka, M.L., Tai-Ho, C., & al, e. (2006). Indigenous health 1: Indigenous health in Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific. *The Lancet*, 367(9524), 1775-85. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/docview/199053329?accountid=14757>

Arthur, W. S. (2001). Indigenous autonomy in Australia: Some concepts, issues and examples, *Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research*, ISSN 1036-1774. Retrieved from http://caepr.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/Publications/DP/2001_DP220.pdf

Attwood, B. (2000). The articulation of 'land rights' in Australia: The Case of Wave Hill. *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/stable/23166785>

Attwood, B. (2005). *Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History*. Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin.

Attwood, B. & Markus, A. (2007). *The 1967 Referendum Race, Power and the Australian Constitution*, Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Australian Council for Educational Research (2012, June 30) Review: Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage. Australian Council for Educational Research. Retrieved from <https://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/overcoming-indigenous-disadvantage/oid-review-2012/oid-review-2012.pdf>

Baehr, E, Schmidt-Haberkamp, B (eds). (2017). *And there'll be NO dancing. Perspectives on Policies Impacting Indigenous Australians since 2007*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Baker, P, (2015). 'Can the State Learn to Live Well? Álvaro García Linera as an Intellectual of the State and Interpreter of History', *Culture, Theory And Critique* Vol. 56, Issue 3. Retrieved from, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14735784.2015.1012684>

Biddle, N (2011). CAEPR Indigenous Population Project 2011 Census Papers, Australian National University. Retrieved from http://caepr.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2011CensusPaper11_Income_1.pdf

Behrendt, L. (2006). The Eddie Koiki Mabo Lecture 2006 - The Long Path to Land Justice, James Cook University Australia, Retrieved from http://www.jcu.edu.au/austIndigenousinfo/support/jcu_145038.html

Behrendt, L. (2012). *Indigenous Australia for Dummies*. Australia: Wiley Publishing.

- Bostock, L. (1973). *Black Theatre in New South Wales*, New Dawn, Wayback Machine, Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20070905042331/http://www1.aiatsis.gov.au/dawn/docs/v22/s04/15.pdf>
- Bourgois, P. (2003). *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge Core.
- Bockman, J. (2013). Neoliberalism, *Contexts*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 14-15. ISSN 1536-5042, electronic ISSN 1537-6052. © 2013 American Sociological Association. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1536504213499873>
- Brennetot, A. (2015). The geographical and ethical origins of neoliberalism: The Walter Lippmann Colloquium and the foundations of a new geopolitical order, *Political Geography*, Elsevier, November 2015. Retrieved from https://ac-els-cdn-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/S0962629815000554/1-s2.0-S0962629815000554-main.pdf?_tid=f705ade8-efbc-476e-a38e-7564fae1a411&acdnat=1539373399_4355a33f2831f2b47156ebb065b447fd
- Burbach, R., Fox, M., Fuentes, F. (2013). *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: the future of twenty-first-century socialism*, Zed Books Ltd. New York, United States.
- Burbank, V. (2011). *An Ethnography of Stress: The Social Determinants of Health in Aboriginal Australia*. United States: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burbano, R. (2008). Refounding Bolivia: Morales calls for vote on a new democratic constitution. *LINKS journal of socialist renewal*. Retrieved from <http://links.org.au/node/684>
- Burgmann, M & Burgmann, V. (1998). *Green Bans, Red Union – Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation*, New South Wales, Australia: UNSW Press.
- Cahill, D. (2014). Social democracy and neoliberalism: Victim or vanguard? *LINKS journal of socialist renewal*. Retrieved from <http://links.org.au/node/4183>
- Campbell, F. (2015). The Cape York welfare reform trial - continuing acts of paternalism. *QUT Law Review*. Vol. 15, No. 1, 2015. Retrieved from <https://search-informit-com-au.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=585880645687314;res=IELHSS> ISSN: 2201-7275
- Canessa, A. (2007). Who is Indigenous? Self-Identification, Indignity, and Claims to Justice in Contemporary Bolivia, *Urban Anthropology*. Vol 36, Retrieved from http://opendepot.org/459/1/Who_is_indigenous.pdf
- Casey, M. (2004). *Creating frames: contemporary indigenous theatre 1967–1990*, Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press.

- Cavanagh, E. & Veracini, L. (2012). *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Connell, R. & Dados, N. (2014). Where in the world does neoliberalism come from? The market agenda in southern perspective. *Theory and Society*, Volume 43, Issue 2, Retrieved from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11186-014-9212-9>
- Cusicanqui, S. R. (2015). Strategic Ethnicity, Nation, and (Neo)colonialism in Latin America. *Alternet*. Retrieved from <http://www.alternatas.net/blog/2015/11/5/strategic-ethnicity-nation-and-neocolonialism-in-latin-america>
- Dalby, Andrew (2015). *Dictionary of Languages: The definitive reference to more than 400 languages*. Bloomsbury Publishing
- Dangl, B. (2007). *The Price of Fire Resource Wars and Social Movements in Bolivia*. Oakland, United States, AK Press.
- Darwin, C. (1996). *The Voyage of the Beagle*, Wordsworth Press, London
- Davis, M. (2006). A Culture of Disrespect: Indigenous Peoples and Australian Public Institutions, *University of Technology Sydney Law Review* 135. Retrieved from <http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/UTSLawRw/2006/9.html>
- Dixon, N. (1994). Marx, Engels and Lenin on the national question. *Links Online Journal of Socialist Renewal*. Retrieved from <http://links.org.au/node/164>
- Davis, S. (1978). The Mechanism of Simple Redistribution in the Primitive Communist Mode of Production as Presented by Hindess and Hirst. *Canberra Anthropology*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/03149097809508643>
- Dunkerley, J. (2007). *Bolivia: revolution and the power of history in the present: Essays*. London. UK: Institute for the Study of the Americas.
- Eakin, M. (2007). *The History of Latin America – collision of cultures*. New York, United States: Plgrave Macmillan.
- Encyclopaedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line. (1975). The Right to Self-determination is Our Revolutionary Policy. *The Call*. Vol. 3, No. 4. <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-3/ol-self-det.htm>
- Elder, B. (2003). *Blood on the Wattle – Massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788*. Sydney, Australia: New Holland Publishers
- Ellner, S. (Ed). (2014). *Latin America's Radical Left – Challenges and complexities of political power in the Twenty-first century*. United Kingdom: Rowan & Littlefield
- Engels, F (1873-1886). *Dialectics of Nature*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1883/don/index.htm>

- Engels, F. (1872). *Marx and Engels Selected Works*. Moscow, Russia: Progress Publishers
- Fazio, D. (2014). Should the US alliance remain a cornerstone of Australia's foreign policy?1. *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*. 30, 43-50. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/docview/1674531188?accountid=14757>
- Ferrandez, L. Kradolfer, S. (2015). The Politics of Identity in Latin American Censuses: Introduction to a Special Issue, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research Vol. 20, Issue 3*, 2014, Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13260219.2014.995871?journalCode=rjil20>
- Fabricant, N. (2012). *Mobilizing Bolivia's Displaced: Indigenous Politics and the struggle over land*. California, USA: University of California.
- Fanon, F. (1961). *The Wretched of the Earth*. England. Penguin Books.
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black Skin White Masks*. England: Grove Press.
- Fazio, D. (2014). Should the US alliance remain a cornerstone of Australia's foreign policy?1. *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, 30, 43-50. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/docview/1674531188?accountid=14757>
- Frederick, R. (1987). *The traditional mode of production of the Australian Aborigines*. North Ryde, N.S.W: Angus & Robertson
- Foley, G. & Anderson, T. (2006). Land rights and Aboriginal voices. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*. Retrieved from: <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/AUJIHRights/2006/5.pdf>
- Foley, G. (n.d.). Timeline of Significant Moments in the Indigenous Struggle in south-east Australia, *The Koorie History Website*, Retrieved from <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/timeline/histimeline.html>
- Fuentes, F. (2007). The Struggle for Bolivia's Future, *Monthly Review Vol 59, Issue 3*. Retrieved online <https://search.proquest.com/openview/b123d5b39efd13e5bce26dc17cb3b124/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=48155>
- Fuentes, F. (2011a). Bolivia: Against 'Green Imperialism'. *Monthly Review*. Retrieved from <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2011/fuentes250911.html>
- Fuentes, F. (2011). Bolivia: How Jeffrey Webber's 'From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia' turns reality on its head. *LINKS journal of socialist renewal*. Retrieved from <http://links.org.au/node/2460>

- Fuentes, F. (2012, May 14). Bolivia: Between Mother Earth and an ‘extraction economy. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/bolivia-between-mother-earth-and-â% C% 2% 80% C% 2% 98extraction-economyâ% C% 2% 80% C% 2% 9>
- Fuentes, F. (2014). Does CONAMAQ represent Bolivia’s highland indigenous peoples? boliviarising.blogspot.com.au. Retrieved from <http://boliviarising.blogspot.com.au/search?q=ayllus>
- Galeano, E. (1973). *Open Veins of Latin America*, New York and London: Monthly Review Press.
- Garrido, F. & Salazar, D. (2017). Imperial Expansion and Local Agency: A Case Study of Labor Organization Under Inca Rule. *American Anthropologist*. 119: 631–644. Retrieved from doi:10.1111/aman.12924
- George, S. (1999). A Short History of Neoliberalism. *Transnational Institute – a network of researches and activists*. Retrieved from <http://www.tni.org/es/node/66533>
- Gibson, P. (2013). Stolen Futures, *Overland Journal*, 212 Spring, Retrieved from <https://overland.org.au/previous-issues/issue-212/feature-paddy-gibson/>
- Greene, D. (2016) Walter Benjamin, Louis-Auguste Blanqui and the apocalypse, *LINKS journal of socialist renewal*. Retrieved online <http://links.org.au/walter-benjamin-louis-auguste-blanqui-apocalypse+>
- Grievies, V. (2009). Aboriginal Spirituality: Aboriginal Philosophy The Basis of Aboriginal Social and Emotional Wellbeing, *Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal Health Discussion Paper Series: No. 9*. Retrieved from <https://www.lowitja.org.au/sites/default/files/docs/DP9-Aboriginal-Spirituality.pdf>
- Haldane, J. (1938). *The Marxist Philosophy and the Sciences*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, UK
- Harnecker, M. (2015). *A World to Build New Paths toward Twenty-First Century Socialism*. New York, United States of America: Monthly Review Press.
- Harvey, D. (2010). *A Companion to Marx’s Capital - Volume 1*. London, UK: Verso.
- Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. England: Oxford University Press.
- Haskins, V. & Scrimgeour, A. (2015). “Strike strike, we strike”: Making aboriginal domestic labor visible in the pilbara pastoral workers' strike, Western Australia, 1946-1952. *International Labor and Working Class History, Volume 88*, Retrieved from doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/10.1017/S0147547915000228>
- Hawkins, M 1997, *Social Darwinism in Europe and American thought, 1860-1956 Nature as model and nature as threat*. Cambridge University Press, UK

- Hehir, A. (2008). *Humanitarian Intervention after Kosovo, Iraq, Darfur and the Record of Global Civil Society*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hess, M. (1994). Black and Red: The Pilbara Pastoral Workers' Strike, 1946. *Aboriginal History*. Vol. 18, No. 1/2, pp. 65-83. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24046089>
- Hill, R. (1995). Blackfellas and Whitefellas: Aboriginal Land Rights, The Mabo Decision, and the Meaning of Land. *Human Rights Quarterly*. Volume 17, Number 2. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/762519> December 6 2017.
- Hocking, Barbara Ann. Unfinished Constitutional Business?: Rethinking Indigenous Self-determination. *Aboriginal Studies Press*. Retrieved from <https://search-informit-com-au.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=405639191504179;res=IELIND>
- Holmes, D. (n.d.). Communism in Australia *LINKS journal socialist renewal*. Retrieved from <http://links.org.au/node/1116>
- Hollinsworth, D. (2014). Unsettling Australian settler supremacy: combating resistance in university Aboriginal studies. *Race Ethnicity and Education*. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2014.911166>
- hooks, b. (1986). Sisterhood: Political solidarity between women. *Feminist Review*, 0(23), 125. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1300471871?accountid=14757>
- hooks, b. (1991). Theory as Liberatory Practice. *Yale Journal of Law & Feminism Vol. 4: Iss. 1, Article 2*. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjlf/vol4/iss1/2>
- Howlett, C., Seini, M., McCallum, D., & Osborne, N. (2001). Neoliberalism, Mineral Development and Indigenous People: a framework for analysis. *Australian Geographer*. Vol. 42, No. 3, pp. 309-323. Griffith School of Environment, Brisbane, Australia; Department of Environment and Resource Management, Brisbane, Australia; Curtin University, Perth, Australia.
- Hylton, F. (2003). Left Turns In South America. Znet. Retrieved from <https://zcomm.org/znetarticle/left-turns-in-south-america-by-forrest-hylton/>
- Hylton, F. & Thomson, S. (2005). 'The Chequered Rainbow, *New Left Review*, Issue 35. Retrieved from <http://newleftreview.org/II/35/forrest-hylton-sinclair-thomson-the-chequered-rainbow>
- Hylton, F. & Thomson, S. (2007). *Revolutionary Horizons: past present and future in Bolivian politics*. London, New York: Verso.

- International Monetary Fund. (2018). GDP per capita, current prices, Purchasing power parity; international dollars per capita. *IMF Data Map*. Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/ppppc@weo/oemdc/weoworld/aus/advec/we>
- Jupp, J. (2001). *The Australian people: An encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their Origins*. Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies. Cambridge, England: University Press
- Kay, C. Urioste, M. (2005), *Bolivia Unfinished Agrarian Reform: Rural Poverty and Development Policies, Land, Poverty and Public Action*, Policy Paper No. 3, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands and United Nations Development Program, New York, NY. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237275665_Bolivia's_Unfinished_Agrarian_Reform_Rural_Poverty_and_Development_Policies
- Klein, H. S. (2003). *A Concise History of Bolivia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kleinert, S. & Neale, M. (2000). *Aboriginal Art and Culture*. South Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Kohl, B. & Farthing, L. (2006). *Impasse in Bolivia: neoliberal hegemony and popular resistance*. London, England: Zed Books Ltd.
- Kulchyski, P. (1997). From Appropriation to Subversion: Aboriginal Cultural Production in the Age of Postmodernism. *American Indian Quarterly*, 21(4), 605-620. doi:10.2307/1185715
- Ladman, J. (1982). Modern-Day Bolivia – legacy of the revolution and prospects for the future. *Centre for Latin American studies*. Arizona, United States: Arizona State University.
- Lattas, A. & Morris, B. (2010). Embedded anthropology and the intervention. *ARENA MAGAZINE*. (107) August / September 2010: 15-20. Retrieved from <https://search-informit-com-au.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/fullText;dn=20103964;res=AGISPT>
- Law Council Australia. (2017). Incarceration Rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, *Law Council Australia*, (Discussion Paper 84), Retrieved from <https://www.lawcouncil.asn.au/resources/submissions/incarceration-rates-of-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-peoples>
- Levitsky, S. & Roberts, K. (2011). *The resurgence of the Latin American left*. Baltimore, United States: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Linera, Á. G. (2014). Plebeian Power: Collective Action and Indigenous, Working-Class and Popular Identities in Bolivia, *BRILL*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/lib/usyd/detail.action?docID=1688655>

- Linera, Á. G. (2012). *Geopolitics of the Amazon - Patrimonial-Hacendado power and capitalist accumulation*. *LINKS journal of socialist renewal*. Retrieved from 2013,<http://links.org.au/node/3152>
- Loos, N. (1997) Edward Koiki Mabo: The journey to native Title. *Journal of Australian Studies*. 21:54-55, 108-119. Retrieved from DOI: 10.1080/14443059709387343
- Lopez, J. Turrion, J. (Eds). (2007). *Bolivia en Movimiento: Acción colectiva y poder politico*. Spain: El Viejo Topo
- Lucero, J. (2008). *Struggles of Voice: the politics of indigenous representation in the Andes*. USA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Lundestad, G. (2012). *International Relations since the End of the Cold War: New and Old Dimensions*. Retrieved from DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199666430.001.0001
- Maddison, S. (2009). *Black Politics: Inside the Complexity of Aboriginal Political Culture*, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- McDonald, G. (1982). *Red Over Black: Behind the Aboriginal Land Rights*. Bullsbrook, Western Australia: Veritas Publishing Company Pty. Ltd.
- Marx, K. & Engels, F. (1845). *Theses on Feuerbach. Selected Works, Volume One*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/theses.htm>
- Marx, K. (1973). *Grundrisse: Foundations of the critique of political economy (rough draft)*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.
- Marx, K. (1846). *The German Ideology, Part I: Feuerbach. Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlook*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm>, 2017.
- Marx, K. (1867). *A Critique of Political Economy Book One: The Process of Production of Capital*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf>
- Marx, K. (1867). *Capital Volume One - Part VIII: Primitive Accumulation, Chapter Twenty-Six: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch26.htm>
- Marx, K. (1867). *Capital: Volume One: Chapter Thirty-One: Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, viewed <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch31.htm#n15>, 21st June 2015
- Marx, K. & Engels, F. (1888). *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1886/ludwig-feuerbach/ch01.htm>

- Mander, J. & Tauli-Corpuz, V. (Eds). (2006). *Paradigm Wars, Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization*. San Francisco: United States of America: Sierra Club Books.
- McQueen, H. (2004). *Social sketches of Australia 1888-2001*. Queensland, Australia: Penguin Books.
- Middleton, H. (1977). *But now we want the land back - a history of Australian Aboriginal people*. Sydney, Australia: New Age Publishers.
- Ministro de Comunicación. (2016). *Bolivia's 10 Years of Achievements*. Ministro de Comunicación: Gobierno boliviano. La Paz, Bolivia: Instituto Press
- Moran, A. (2002). As Australia decolonizes: indigenizing settler nationalism and the challenges of settler/indigenous relations, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 6. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987022000009412>
- Moses, D. (2004). *Genocide and Settler Society – Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*. New York: United States of America: Bergham Books.
- Murphy, M. (2008). Representing Indigenous Self-Determination. *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Spring, 2008). Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20109843>
- Neill, R. (2002). *White Out How Politics is Killing Black Australia*. New South Wales, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Note, N. & Munter, K. (2009). *Worldviews and Cultures Philosophical Reflections from an Intercultural Perspective*, Springer, Dordrecht, Springer Netherlands 2009. Retrieved from <https://doi-org.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/10.1007/978-1-4020-5754-0>
- NSW Teachers Federation. (1999). *Aboriginal Education Policy*, Published by the NSW Teachers Federation, Surry Hills, March 2000, . Retrieved from https://www.nswtf.org.au/files/02_aboriginal_education_policy_1999.pdf
<http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/breakfast/national-congress-faces-uncertain-future/7991460>
- Pratt, A. & Bennett, S. (2004). The end of ATSIC and the future administration of Indigenous affairs. *Parliament of Australia Current Issues Brief Index Current Issues Brief no. 4 2004–05*. Retrieved from https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/CIB/Current_Issues_Briefs_2004_-_2005/05cib04
- Peel, R., Campbell, R., & Denniss, R. (2014). Mining the age of entitlement: State government assistance to the minerals and fossil fuel sector. The Australian Institute. *Technical Brief No. 31*. Retrieved from

<http://www.tai.org.au/sites/default/files/P198%20Never%20gonna%20dig%20you%20up%20FINAL.1.pdf>

Peel, M., Campbell, R., & Denniss, R. (2014). Mining the age of entitlement - State government assistance to the minerals and fossil fuel sector. *The Australia Institute. Technical Brief No. 3*. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/toshiba/Downloads/Mining%20the%20age%20of%20entitlement.pdf

Pelizzon, A. (2016). Sovereignty – General Principles, National Unity Government, Retrieved from nationalunitygovernment.org/pdf/Sovereignty-Guidelines-Alessandro-Pelizzon.pdf

Petras, J. & Veltmeyer, H. (2009). *What's Left in Latin America?: Regime Change in New Times*. Farnham, England: Routledge.

Pinnini, J. (2013). *A whole new world: Global revolution and Australian social movements in the long Sixties*. University of Queensland, Australia.

Read, J. & Coppin, P. (2014). *Kangkushot: The Life of Nyamal Lawman Peter Coppin* [online]. Aboriginal Studies Press, second edition, Canberra, Retrieved from January 24 2017, <[Richardson, D. & Denniss, R. \(2011\). Mining the truth – the rhetoric and reality of the commodities boom. *The Australia Institute*. Retrieved from <http://tai.org.au/node/1777>](https://search.informit-com-au.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=396228578031220;res=IELIND> ISBN: 9781922059635.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

Riddell, J. (2011). Progress in Bolivia, a Reply to Jeff Webber. *John Riddell, Socialist Project- E-Bulletin* No. 499. Retrieved from <https://johnriddell.wordpress.com/2011/05/05/progress-in-bolivia-a-reply-to-jeff-webber/>

Robinson, R. S. (2000). Dreaming tracks: history of the Aboriginal Islander Skills Development Scheme, 1972-1979: its place in the continuum. Retrieved from <http://researchdirect.westernsydney.edu.au/islandora/object/uws:7>

Said, E. (2003). *Orientalism*. England: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Schavelzon, S. (2015). Plurinationality and Living Well / Good Living Two concepts read from Bolivia and post- constituent Ecuador. Quito, Ecuador: Universitas, Revista de Ciencias Sociales Y Humanas.

Shaw, W.S. (2000). Ways of Whiteness: Harleminising Sydney's Aboriginal Redfern. Volume 38, Issue 3.

Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London, UK: Zed Books.

- Sovereign Union, (2017). Sovereignty Proclamation- First Nations Asserting Sovereignty, (with Introduction & Video Readings) [video file]. Retrieved from <http://nationalunitygovernment.org/content/proclamation-introduction-video-readings>
- Solon.P (2016), *Pablo Solon on 'Vivir Bien': Going beyond capitalism?*, LINKS journal of socialist renewal. Retrieved from <http://links.org.au/pablo-solon-vivir-bien-beyond-capitalism-development>
- Spirkin, A. (1983). *Dialectical Materialism. The System of Categories in Philosophical Thought*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/spirkin/works/dialectical-materialism/ch02-s10.htm>
- Svampa, M. (2015). Commodity Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure of the Commons in Latin America, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, England: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, M. (1997). *Bludgers in Grass Castles - native title and the unpaid debts of the pastoral industry*. New South Wales, Australia: Resistance Books.
- Tatz, C. (1999). Genocide in Australia Research Discussion Paper. *Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.aiAboriginal Torres Strait Islanders.gov.au/research/docs/dp/DP08.pdf>
- Tockman, J. (2017). The Hegemony of Representation: Democracy and Indigenous Self-government in Bolivia. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 9(2), 121–138. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=poh&AN=125031601&site=ehost-live>
- Townsend, T. (2009). *The Aboriginal struggle and the left*. Sydney, Australia: Resistance Books
- Tuhiwai, S. (2013). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Uhr, J. & Walter, R. (Eds) (2014). *Studies in Australian Political Rhetoric*. Canberra, Australia: Australian University Press.
- Ward, C. (2012). Red truths and white lies: Frank Hardy and Bill Jeffrey at Wave Hill. *Griffith Review*. No. 36, Winter 2012: 217-225. Retrieved from <https://search-informit-com-au.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=201205218;res=IELAPA>
- Ward, R. (2012). Tracking Wave Hill: following the Gurindji walk-off to Wattie Creek, 1966-1972.

- Waskar, A. (2014). *Earth Politics*, Duke University Press. Retrieved from ebookcentral.proquest.com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/lib/usyd/detail.action?docID=1632038.
- Watson, I. (2009). Sovereign Spaces, Caring for Country, and the Homeless Position of Aboriginal Peoples, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Retrieved from http://search.ror.unisa.edu.au/record/UNISA_ALMA51108918700001831/media/digital/open/9915910895001831/12143315170001831/13143311620001831/pdf
- Webber, J. (2011). *From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia: Class Struggle, Indigenous Liberation, and the Politics of Evo Morales*. Chicago, United States of America: Haymarket Books.
- Webber, J. (2011a). Red October: Left-Indigenous Struggles in Modern Bolivia. Volume: 29., Series: *Historical Materialism Book Series*, Retrieved from <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/content/books/9789004205581>
- Webber, J. (2012). Emancipation by dispossession? A rejoinder to Federico Fuentes, *International Socialist: a quarterly review of socialist theory*. Retrieved from <http://isj.org.uk/emancipation-by-dispossession-a-rejoinder-to-federico-fuentes/>
- Webber, J. (2007). Bolivian Horizons: an Interview with Historian Sinclair Thomson. *ZNet* Retrieved from <http://upsidedownworld.org/main/bolivia-archives-31/997-bolivian-horizons-an-interview-with-historian-sinclair-thomson>
- Westad, O. (Ed). (2012). *Two Finales: How the End of the Third World and the End of the Cold War Are Linked*. Retrieved from DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199666430.001.0001
- Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8:4, 387-409. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14623520601056240>

Government sources

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2017). Media Release: 27 June 2017 Census: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population Australian Bureau of Statistics. Retrieved from <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/MediaRealesesByCatalogue/02D50FAA9987D6B7CA25814800087E03?OpenDocument>

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2013b). Census of Population and Housing: Understanding the Increase in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Counts, 2006-2011. Retrieved from <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/2077.0>

Bolivia (Plurinational State of)'s Constitution of 2009. (2009). Constitution. [constituteproject.org](http://www.constituteproject.org). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Bolivia_2009.pdf

Calma, T. (2009). Australian Human Rights Commission launch of the Aboriginal Knowledge and Intellectual Property Protocol Community Guide. Parliament House, Canberra 24 September 2009. Retrieved from <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/news/speeches/our-right-protect-our-knowledge>

García, L. Á. (2015). Socialismo comunitario. Un horizonte de época. La Paz: Vicepresidencia del Estado Plurinacional. Vicepresidencia Government Bolivia Website - Vicepresidencia del Estado Presidencia de la Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional. Retrieved from http://www.vicepresidencia.gob.bo/IMG/pdf/socialismo_comunitario-2.pdf

National Museum of Australia (2014) Collaborating for Indigenous rights 'Kath Walker.' Retrieved online http://indigenousrights.net.au/people/pageination/kath_walker

Victorian Electoral Commission (2016) Yarra City Council election results 2016 21st October 2016, Electoral Commissioner. Retrieved online <https://www.vec.vic.gov.au/Results/Council2016/yarraresult.html>

Newspapers and journals

- Adoniou.M, Louden.B, Zyngier.D, Riddle.S. (2014, October 12). National curriculum review: experts respond. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/national-curriculum-review-experts-respond-26913>
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation News. (2011, January 18). Local Aboriginal Land Councils defended, *Australian Broadcasting Corporation News*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-01-18/local-aboriginal-land-councils-defended/1908968>
- ABC Radio (2016, November 3). National Congress faces uncertain future. *RN Breakfast*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/breakfast/national-congress-faces-uncertain-future/7991460>
- Achtenberg, E. (2016, February 9) Bolivia Votes: Can Evo Morales Run Again? *NACLA*. Retrieved from <http://nacla.org/blog/2016/02/07/bolivia-votes-can-evo-morales-run-again>
- Achtenberg, E. (2012, November 1) Bolivia Returns to the Global Bond Market. *NACLA*. Retrieved from <https://nacla.org/blog/2012/11/2/bolivia-returns-global-bond-market>
- Achtenberg, E. (2013, March 4). Bolivia: The Unfinished Business of Land Reform. *NACLA Rebel Currents*. Retrieved from <http://nacla.org/blog/2013/3/31/bolivia-unfinished-business-land-reform>
- Achtenberg.E.(2014 April 9). Elections Revive Bolivia’s Controversial TIPNIS Highway Plan. *NACLA. Rebel Currents*. Retrieved from <https://nacla.org/blog/2015/03/28/how-evo-morales%27s-third-term-will-challenge-bolivia%27s-social-movements>
- Achtenberg.E (2015, March 28). How Evo Morales's Third Term Will Challenge Bolivia's Social Movements. *NACLA*. Retrieved from <https://nacla.org/blog/2015/03/28/how-evo-morales%27s-third-term-will-challenge-bolivia%27s-social-movements>
- Anthony, T. (2010, August 2). Learning from Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander Commission. *The Drum*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2010-01-06/27934>
- Bainbridge, A. (2015, March 21). Resistance builds against plan to close Aboriginal communities, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/58566>
- Bateman, D. (2015, Nov 10). Cape york funds furore. *The Cairns Post* Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/docview/1731804201?accountid=14757>
- Bennett, J. (2014, January 21). Plans to recognise the first two Aboriginal people executed in Melbourne, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-01-20/plans-to-recognised-the-first-two-aborigines-executed-in-melbou/5208972>

- Bolton, S. (2017, September 16). Moreland council to drop references to January 26 as Australia Day. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/moreland-council-drop-references-january-26-australia-day>
- Bonacci, M. (2014, June 21). Activists win seven-year fight to protect Muckaty, minister still seeks dump site. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/56681>
- Boyle, P. (1993, May 15). The meaning of Mabo. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/6258>
- Bowen, C. (2011, December 23). How many languages were spoken in Australia?" Anggarrgoon Word Press. Retrieved from <https://anggarrgoon.wordpress.com/2011/12/23/how-many-languages-were-spoken-in-australia/>
- Brear, M. (2005, February 16). Redfern: 'Stop the police murders.' *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/redfern-stop-police-murders>
- Butler, S. (2009, March 2) Karl Marx, Ecologist. Climate and Capitalism. Retrieved from <http://climateandcapitalism.com/2009/03/02/karl-marx-ecologist/>
- Burbach, R. (2016). Update: Communitarian Socialism in Bolivia, North American Congress on Latin America. Robert Albro Blog. Retrieved from <http://robertalbro.com/projects/bolivian-indigenous-politics/>
- Carroll, R. (2006, November 30). Bolivia passes major land reform. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/nov/29/bolivia>
- Castan, M. (2014, September 2014). Explainer: what Indigenous constitutional recognition means. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/explainer-what-indigenous-constitutional-recognition-means-31770>
- Coggan, M. (2014, May 16). Budget 2014: \$534 million cut to Indigenous programs. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation News*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-05-13/budget-2014-534-cut-to-indigenous-programs-and-health/5451144>
- Cohrs, L. (2015, May 2015). MUA rallies to defend the Redfern block. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/mua-rallies-defend-redfern-block>
- Cotton, D. (2017, August 15). Shackled to a hospital bed, Indigenous man dies in custody. *Solidarity Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.solidarity.net.au/aboriginal/shackled-hospital-bed-indigenous-man-dies-custody/>
- Courtice, B. (1997, August 19). The inspiring life of Eddie Mabo. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/inspiring-life-eddie-mabo>

- Council on Hemispheric Affairs. (2007, November 16). Bolivia's "Agrarian Revolution" Hanging In. *Council on Hemispheric Affairs*. Retrieved from <http://www.coha.org/agrarian-revolution/>
- Daley, P (2015, January 9). He renounced Australia and lives solely by tribal law. Now Murrumu is hitting the road. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jan/09/he-renounced-australia-and-lives-solely-by-tribal-law-now-murrumu-is-hitting-the-road>
- Daley, P. (2015, June 7). Renouncing Australia: a dozen people to follow Murrumu by taking Yidindji citizenship, *The Guardian*,. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jun/07/yidindji-nation-to-pursue-people-powered-independence-says-murrumu>
- Dangl, B. (2014, April 25). The Politics of Pachamama, *Counterpunch*. Retrieved from <http://www.counterpunch.org/2014/04/25/the-politics-of-pachamama/>
- Dangl, B. (2016, February 25). The Horizon of Evo Morales' Long Decade in Power: Implications of Bolivia's Referendum Results. *CounterPunch*. Retrieved from <http://www.counterpunch.org/2016/02/25/the-horizon-of-evo-morales-long-decade-in-power-implications-of-bolivias-referendum-results/>
- Dangl, B. (2015, March 15). An interview with Felix Cardenas Aguilar, Bolivia's Vice Minister of Decolonization. *TeleSur*. Retrieved from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/opinion/Bolivia-A-Country-That-Dared-to-Exist-20150316-0022.html>
- Dixon, N. (2007, May 17). How the 1967 referendum was won. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/37614>
- Dryburgh, J. (2011, July 11), 'The mountain that eats men alive,' *New Internationalist*. Retrieved from <https://newint.org/features/web-exclusive/2011/07/11/bolivia-mining-women-workers>
- Evans, R. (2015, August 28). Redfern Tent Embassy succeeds in fight for Aboriginal housing, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/59889>
- Farthing, L. (2017, September 4). Pollution levels in Bolivia plummet on nationwide car-free day. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/sep/03/bolivia-car-free-day-pollution>
- Farthing, L. (2015, April 27). The Two Faces of Evo The Bolivian president gives to the poor but takes from the environment. *In These Times*. Retrieved from <http://inthesetimes.com/article/17850/bolivias-president-the-two-faces-of-evo>
- Fields, D. (2015, August 27). Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy – a win in sight? *RedFlag* Retrieved from <https://redflag.org.au/article/redfern-aboriginal-tent-embassy-win-sight>
- Finnegan, W (2002, April 8). Leasing the Rain. *New Yorker*. Retrieved from

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/04/08/leasing-the-rain>

Fitzsimmons, H. (2016, February 26). Victorian Government to begin talks with First Nations on Australia's first Indigenous treaty. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation News*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-02-26/victoria-to-begin-talks-for-first-indigenous-treaty/7202492>

Fontana.L (2013, October 8). Why are Bolivian indigenous people statistically disappearing? The University of Sheffield. Retrieved from <http://siid.group.shef.ac.uk/blog/bolivian-indigenous-people-statistically-disappearing/>

Friedman-Rudovsky.J. (2010, August 6) Bolivia's Eco-President: How Green Is Evo Morales? *Time*. Retrieved from <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2009004,00.html>

Fuentes.F. (2006, March 29). Bolivia: Has Evo Morales Sold Out? *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/bolivia-has-morales-sold-out>

Fuentes.F (2010, May 14). Bolivia: Between Mother Earth and an 'extraction economy' *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/bolivia-between-mother-earth-and-%C2%80%C2%98extraction-economy%C2%80%C2%99>

Fuentes.F (2015, July 26) Fighting deforestation: Bolivia's green gains the media isn't talking about, *Green Left Weekly* Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/fighting-deforestation-bolivias-green-gains-media-isnt-talking-about>

Fuentes, F.(2014, May 19). How 'anti-extractivism' misses the forest for the trees, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/56496>

Fuentes, F. (2006, March 29). Bolivia: Has Evo Morales Sold Out? *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/bolivia-has-morales-sold-out>

Garcia.L.A (2007, January 15). Neoliberalism and the new socialism speech by Álvaro Garcia Linera. *New Political Affairs*. Retrieved from <http://www.politicalaffairs.net/neo-liberalism-and-the-new-socialism-speech-by-Álvaro-García-linera>

García. L.A (2012). Bolivian leader replies to critics of the Morales government's development strategy. *Bolivia Rising*. Retrieved from <http://boliviarising.blogspot.com.au/2012/12/Álvaro-garcia-linera-geopolitics-of.html>

Gibson.P (2013, Spring 212) Stolen Futures. *Overland*. Retrieved from <https://overland.org.au/previous-issues/issue-212/feature-paddy-gibson/>

Georgatos, G. (2014, November 7). Aboriginal leaders meet for freedom summit. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/aboriginal-leaders-meet-freedom-summit>

Giannacopoulos, M. (2015, May 27). Forget 'modest change': racism is entrenched in our Constitution. *The Conversation* Retrieved from

<https://theconversation.com/forget-modest-change-racism-is-entrenched-in-our-constitution-42186>

Gibson, P. (2017a, June 15). 'NT Intervention: a decade of racist brutality' *Solidarity Magazine*. 15 June 2017, Retrieved from <https://www.solidarity.net.au/aboriginal/nt-intervention-decade-racist-brutality/>

Gibson, P. (2017b, April 24). Fresh abuses show: it's time to shut down youth prisons, *Solidarity Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.solidarity.net.au/aboriginal/fresh-abuses-show-time-shut-youth-prisons/>

Graham, C. (2013, September 13). Prime Minister for Indigenous Affairs? Hardly *Australian Broadcasting Corporation News*, Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-12/graham-prime-minister-for-Indigenous-affairs/4951900>

Graham, C. (2016, February 8). Recognise Rejected: Historic Meeting Of 500 Black Leaders Unanimously Opposes Constitutional Recognition. *New Matilda*. Retrieved from <https://newmatilda.com/2016/02/08/recognise-rejected-historic-meeting-500-black-leaders-unanimously-opposes-constitutional-recognition/>

Grandmothers Against Removals. (n.d). <http://stopstolengenerations.com.au>

Green Left Weekly. (2016, January 15). Recognising the CON in Constitutional Recognition, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/recognising-con-constitutional-recognition>

Green Left Weekly (2017, November 3). Socialist re-elected to Fremantle council, *Green Left Weekly*, November 3, 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/socialist-re-elected-fremantle-council>

Grieves, V. (2015, March 17). Aboriginal lifestyles could fix the hole in the heart of Australia, *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/aboriginal-lifestyles-could-fix-the-hole-in-the-heart-of-australia-38701>

Gosford, B. (2016, November 20). Keith Windschuttle and the Aboriginal sovereignty conspiracy that never was. *Crikey* Retrieved from <https://blogs.crikey.com.au/northern/2016/11/20/keith-windschuttle-aboriginal-sovereignty-conspiracy-never/>

Gott.R. (2005 December 21). The challenge in the south. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/dec/20/usa.comment>

Goldsworthy. A. (2014, August 3). In Port Augusta, an Israeli linguist is helping the Barnjarla people reclaim their language. *The Monthly*. Retrieved from <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2014/september/1409493600/anna-goldsworthy/voices-land>

Gustafson, B. (2016, July 7). Beyond the defeat of Evo Morales' referendum, political struggles wage on. *NACLA*. Retrieved from <https://nacla.org/news/2016/03/07/bolivia-after-no-vote>

Harrison, D. (2014, October 21). Gough Whitlam helped big things grow for Indigenous

people. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/gough-whitlam-helped-big-things-grow-for-Indigenous-people-20141021-119brj.html#ixzz3rDxlL25k>

Hill, D. (2015, February 24). Is Bolivia going to frack 'Mother Earth'? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/andes-to-the-amazon/2015/feb/23/bolivia-frack-mother-earth>

Hinman, P. (2012, April 20). Kimberley gas campaign must go national, say activists, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/50744>

Hinman, Pip. (2016, July 12). Socialists gain in anti-major party election. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from [https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=196166365631926;res=IELHSS>ISSN:1036-126X.\[cited25Feb18\]](https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=196166365631926;res=IELHSS>ISSN:1036-126X.[cited25Feb18]).

Hinman, P. (2016 October 27), Socialists re-elected in Victorian council elections, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/socialists-re-elected-victorian-council-elections>

Hocking, R. (2015, March 20). Constitutional recognition and a treaty: Can we have both? *SBS*. Retrieved from <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2015/03/20/constitutional-recognition-and-treaty-can-we-have-both>

Hylton, F. (2003, January 27). Left Turns In South America,. *Znet*. Retrieved from <https://zcomm.org/znetarticle/left-turns-in-south-america-by-forrest-hylton/>

Karvelas, P. (2013, March 28). Pearson trial 'changing lives' SCHOOL ATTENDANCE UP, CRIME DOWN BUT QUEENSLAND ABANDONS CAPE YORK REFORM – EXCLUSIVE. *The Australian*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/docview/1319721591?accountid=14757>

Koori Mail. (2009, April 22). Literacy is linked to our health, *Koorie Mail* Issue 449, 22 April 2009, Retrieved from <http://aiatsis.gov.au/collections/collections-online/digitised-collections/koori-mail/koori-mail-issues>

Koori Mail. (2009, April 22). Programs 'must take in lessons from Yarrabah. *Koorie Mail* #449. Retrieved from <http://aiatsis.gov.au/collections/collections-online/digitised-collections/koori-mail/koori-mail-issues>

Kramer, P. (2016, March). Shades of sovereignty: racialized power, the United States and the World. Retrieved from <http://www.paulkrameronline.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/shades-of-sovereignty.pdf>

Laird, P. (2014, January 24). This Australia day, us underdogs will fight Big Coal to save Maules Creek. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/24/this-australia-day-us-underdogs-will-fight-big-coal-to-save-maules-creek>

- Loewenstein, A. (2013, March 4) Indigenous incarceration rates are a national shame. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/01/indigenous-incarceration-rates-are-a-national-shame>
- Lukacs, M. (2017, July 18). Neoliberalism has conned us into fighting climate change as individuals. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/environment/true-north/2017/jul/17/neoliberalism-has-conned-us-into-fighting-climate-change-as-individuals?CMP=share_btn_fb
- Martin, C. (1995, August 9). The Gurindji strike and land claim, *Green Left Weekly*, 9th August 1995. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/11021>
- Martin, C. (1995, August 9). The Gurindji strike and land claim. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/11021>
- Mansell, M. (2015, June 13). A 7th State: Michael Mansell On Another Way Forward For First Nations Self-Rule. *New Matilda*. Retrieved from <https://newmatilda.com/2015/06/13/7th-state-michael-mansell-another-way-forward-first-nations-self-rule/>
- McIlroy, J. & Wynter, C. (2015, January 31). Canberra march to Aboriginal tent embassy. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/58135>
- McIlroy, J. (2010, November 27). Sam Watson: Continue the struggle for justice on Palm Island. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/sam-watson-continue-struggle-justice-palm-island>
- McIlroy, J. (2012, March 29). Socialist Alliance vote rises in Qld election. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/socialist-alliance-vote-rises-qld-election>
- McQuire, A. (2015a, March 2015). National Day Of Action Tomorrow Against Barnett Closure Of Remote communities. *New Matilda*. Retrieved from <https://newmatilda.com/2015/03/18/national-day-action-tomorrow-against-barnett-closure-remote-communities#sthash.sxbANqu1.dpuf>
- McQuire, A. (2015 April 17). Unions Slam Closure Of Remote Aboriginal Communities In WA. *New Matilda*. Retrieved from <https://newmatilda.com/2015/04/17/unions-slam-closure-remote-aboriginal-communities-wa#sthash.M0eBy5Ch.dpuf>
- Mendoza, L. (2012, April 9). Hay 298 territorios indígenas titulados en Bolivia; originarios de tierras bajas deciden por consenso. *Eju*. Retrieved from <http://eju.tv/2012/04/hay-298-territorios-indigenas-titulados-en-bolivia-originarios-de-tierras-bajas-deciden-por-consenso/>
- Moore, T. (2015, May 3). Queensland history's hidden warrior. *Brisbane Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/queensland/queensland-historys-hidden-warrior-20150502-1my8ac.html>
- Moore, R. (2017 June 12). History textbooks still imply that Australians are white. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/history-textbooks-still->

imply-that-australians-are-white-72796

Murphy, E. (2012a, July 14). How 'Closing the Gap' is full of holes.' *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/51620>,

Murphy, E. (2012, August 29). Aboriginal voters punish NT Labor, *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/aboriginal-voters-punish-nt-labor>

The Economist. (2013, October 3). Nationalising utilities in Bolivia: From tap to socket Can the government do a better job than the private sector? *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21569707-can-government-do-better-job-private-sector-tap-socket>

National Indigenous Times. (2016, February 11). The fight for identity, National Indigenous Times. Retrieved from <https://nit.com.au/the-fight-for-identity/>

NITV News. (2015, January 5). WA remote Indigenous community closures – timeline. *SBS News*. Retrieved from <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2015/05/01/wa-remote-Indigenous-community-closures-timeline>

Ogawa.S (December 18, 2015). IMF COUNTRY FOCUS: IMF Survey: Bolivia Faces Challenge of Adapting to Lower Commodity Prices, *IMF Western Hemisphere Department*. Retrieved from <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/53/socar120815a>

Parker, K. (2010, September 8). Preamble a new chapter? *Koorie Mail*. Retrieved from https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/docs/digitised_collections/the_koorie_mail/484.pdf

Pearson.L. (2017, August 10). What is a Makarrata? The Yolngu word is more than a synonym for treaty. *ABC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-10/makarrata-explainer-yolngu-word-more-than-synonym-for-treaty/8790452>

Peating.S (2017) Indigenous art groups call for crackdown on 'fake art', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/indigenous-art-groups-call-for-crackdown-on-fake-art-20171121-gzpst3.html>

Peterson, C. (2015, March 14). Tony Abbott shuts down Aboriginal legal services. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/58510>

Reconciliation Australia. (2014). Reconciliation Action Plan 2014-2017. *Reconciliation Australia*. Retrieved from <https://www.reconciliation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/RA-RAP-2014-17.pdf>

Robson, R. (2008, February 16). Apology only the beginning. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://www.greenleft.org.au/node/39058>

Robson, P. (2010, July 3). What's behind the NT intervention? *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/44661>

- Reardon-Smith, M. (2012, May 18). Eyewitness: Brisbane tent embassy eviction was an outrage. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/51057>
- Schipani, A. (2012, August 23), Reporting Back: Andres Schipani on Bolivia. *Financial Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.ft.com/content/eca1d9ed-0b7a-3e72-8a86-05cc20b6e747>
- Seaborn, L. (2011, January 23). Tas Aboriginals: Save our sacred site. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/46488>
- Slater, L. (2010). 'Calling our spirits home': Indigenous cultural festivals and the making of a good life. *Cultural Studies Review*, 16(1), 143-154. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.usyd.edu.au/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/docview/874477112?accountid=14757>
- Smith, K. (2017, March 15). Aboriginal Housing Company criticised for abandoning Aboriginal housing plan. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/aboriginal-housing-company-criticised-abandoning-aboriginal-housing-plan>
- Socialist Alliance. (2007) About the Socialist Alliance. *Socialist Alliance. Org*. Retrieved from <https://socialist-alliance.org/about>
- Socialist Alliance. (2016). Candidates. *Socialist Alliance*. Retrieved from <https://socialist-alliance.org/elections/federal/2016/candidate/sharlene-leroy-dyer>
- Solidarity. (2017) About-Us. *Solidarity*. Retrieved from <https://www.solidarity.net.au/about-us/>
- Sovereign Union (n.d). Retrieved from <http://nationalunitygovernment.org>
- Smith, F. (2006, June 3). Bolivia Launches 'Agrarian Revolution.' *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/03/AR2006060300360_pf.html
- Smith, F. (2006, June 3). Bolivia Launches 'Agrarian Revolution.' *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/03/AR2006060300360_pf.html
- Smith, K. (2017, March 15). Aboriginal Housing Company criticised for abandoning Aboriginal housing plan. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/aboriginal-housing-company-criticised-abandoning-aboriginal-housing-plan>
- Stefanoni, P. (2016, October 29). 'Evo, the State and the Revolution: A profile of Álvaro García Linera.' *The Dawn News*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedawn-news.org/2015/10/29/evo-the-state-and-the-revolution/>
- Stein, G. (2015, May 1). Indigenous communities closure: West Australian Premier Colin Barnett says 'no person will be forced from their land.' *Australian Broadcasting Corporation News*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-05-01/wa-government-softens-language-on-closing-aboriginal-communities/6439138>

- Taylor, L. (2013, September 18). Portfolio details spell out Tony Abbott's role as women's minister. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/18/tony-abbott-womens-minister-portfolio>
- TeleSur. (2014, July 11). Bolivia to Train Teachers in Multilingual Education. *TeleSur*. Retrieved from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Bolivia-to-Train-Teachers-in-Multilingual-Education-20141106-0077.html>
- TeleSur. (2015, January 8). Bolivian Race Relations and the Struggle for Ethnic Equality, *TeleSur*. Retrieved from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/analysis/Bolivian-Race-Relations-and-the-Struggle-for-Ethnic-Equality-20150320-0015.html>
- TeleSur. (2016, January 21). Bolivia Celebrates 10 Years of Evo Morales. TeleSur. Retrieved from <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Bolivia-Celebrates-10-Years-of-Evo-Morales-20160121-0014.html>
- TeleSur. (2016a, October 20). Bolivia Launches Application to Fight Racism and Discrimination. *TeleSurTV English*. Retrieved from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Evos-Bolivia-Launches-App-to-Fight-Racism-Discrimination-20161020-0022.html>
- TeleSur. (2016b, May 24). Latin American Leftists Are the Region's Lowest Paid Presidents, *TeleSurTV English*. Retrieved from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Latin-American-Leftists-Are-the-Regions-Lowest-Paid-Presidents-20160524-0056.html>
- TeleSur. (2016e, August 12). Vast Majority of Bolivians Back Evo Morales' Administration *TeleSurTV English*. Retrieved from <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Vast-Majority-of-Bolivians-Back-Evo-Morales-Administration-20160812-0003.html>
- TeleSur. (2017, August 2). Evo Morales Leads Celebrations for Day of Agrarian Revolution. *TeleSurTV English*. Retrieved from <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Evo-Morales-Leads-Celebrations-for-Day-of-Agrarian-Revolution-20170802-0013.html>
- TeleSur. (2017a, January 27). UN Recognizes Ecuador, Bolivia for Support of Indigenous Rights *TeleSurTV English*. Retrieved from <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/UN-Recognizes-Ecuador-Bolivia-for-Support-of-Indigenous-Rights-20170127-0001.html>
- TeleSur (2018, June 23), Bolivia, Russia to Build Nuclear Research Center in El Alto, *TeleSurTV English*. Retrieved from <https://www.telesurenglish.net/news/Bolivia-Russia-to-Build-Nuclear-Research-Center-in-El-Alto-20180623-0001.html>
- The Cochabamba People's Agreement on stopping climate change (2010, April 30), *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/cochabamba-people%C2%80%C2%99s-agreement-stopping-climate-change>
- Tiller, A. (2012, November 14). Vivir Bien (Living Well): A New Model for Development from Bolivia's Indigenous Process of Change. *Permaculture Research Institute*. Retrieved from <https://permaculturenews.org/2012/11/14/vivir-bien-living-well-a-new-model-for-development-from-bolivias-indigenous-process-of-change/>

- The Conversation. (2016, September 5). FactCheck Q&A: is \$30 billion spent every year on 500,000 Indigenous people in Australia?. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/factcheck-qanda-is-30-billion-spent-every-year-on-500-000-indigenous-people-in-australia-64658>
- Wainwright, S. (2017). Australia day - change the date. *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://search.informit-com-au.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/>
- Wahlquist, C. (2015). Of three remote communities here, why are only the two Aboriginal ones under threat? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/mar/11/of-three-remote-communities-here-why-are-only-the-two-aboriginal-ones-under-threat>
- Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance. (n.d) <https://www.facebook.com/WARcollective/>
- Weatherall, R. (2017, June 30). First Nations leader: ‘Treaties are an essential first step.’ *Green Left Weekly*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/first-nations-leader-‘treaties-are-essential-first-step’>
- Weinberg.B. (2014, September 3). Indigenous Anarchist Critique of Bolivia’s ‘Indigenous State.’ Interview with Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui. *Upsidedownworld*. Retrieved from upsidedownworld.org/archives/Bolivia/indigenous-anarchist-critique-of-bolivias-indigenous-state-with-silvia-rivera-cusicanqui
- Weisbrot.M. Sandoval.L (2006, March). Bolivia’s Challenges. Center for Economic and Policy Research. Washington. Retrieved from www.cepr.net
- Weule.G, James.F (2017, July 20) Indigenous rock shelter in Top End pushes Australia's human history back to 65,000 years, *ABC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/science/2017-07-20/aboriginal-shelter-pushes-human-history-back-to-65,000-years/8719314>
- Williams, A. (2013, April 13). A new population curve for prehistoric Australia. *The Royal Society Publishing*. Retrieved from <http://rspb.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/280/1761/20130486>
- Wilson, W. (2007, August 29). PM leads Aborigines to mainstream. *The Australian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/pmleadsaborigines-to-mainstream/story-e6frg6nf-1111114290409>
- Whiting, N. & Gage, N. (2015, April 13). Future of remote Aboriginal communities secured by deal between SA and federal governments. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation News*. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-13/future-of-remote-aboriginal-communities-in-sa-secured/6388550>
- Zhou, N. (2017, September 2). Northern Territory intervention violates international law, Gillian Triggs says. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/sep/02/northern-territory-intervention-violates-international-law-gillian-triggs-says>
- Zillman, S. (2017). ‘Symbolic constitutional recognition off the table after Uluru talks,

Indigenous leaders say', Australian Broadcasting Corporation News, May 27 2017,
Retrieved from July 7 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-05-27/uluru-calls-for-treaty-puts-constitutional-recognition-off-table/8565114>

Other published sources

- Australian Broadcasting Corporation TV. (2016). The Weekly: Constitutional Recognition. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation TV*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YdnGXb7620M>
- Australian National University. (2005). ANU Dialogue: Indigenous People of the World: 2005: in dialogue with the Saami people of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. *ANU Dialogue*. Retrieved from http://ncis.anu.edu.au/events/past/anu_dialogue.php
- Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement Inc. (2007). Reflections: 40 years on from the 1967 referendum. Retrieved from <https://www.alisonfort.com/ALRMbook.pdf>
- Aboriginal Provisional Government. (1990). About the Aboriginal Provisional Government. *Aboriginal Provisional Government*. Retrieved from <http://apg.org.au/about.php>
- Australian Provisional Government. (2014, May). Self-determination through an Aboriginal 7th State of Australia: an APG model. *Aboriginal Provisional Government*. Retrieved from 2017, <http://www.apg.org.au/resources/7th%20State.pdf>
- Altman, J. (2015). Speech: Surviving the Cuts Forum. University Technology Sydney Jumbunna Indigenous House of Learning and the Jimmy Little Foundation Tuesday, 29th September 2015. University Technology Sydney, Sydney, Australia.
- Andolina, R., Radcliffe, S., & Laurie, N. (2005) Development and culture: Transnational identity making in Bolivia. *Department of Political Science*. Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629805000508>
- Beaulieu, D. & Postero, N. (2013) The Politics of Extractivism. *Solidarity: a socialist, feminist, anti-racist organization*. Retrieved from <https://solidarity-us.org/node/4032>
- Behrendt, L. (2015, September). *Surviving the cuts: A forum for discussion of IAS funding*. Paper presented at University of Technology Sydney's Jumbunna Indigenous House of Learning and the Jimmy Little Foundation Forum, Sydney, Australia.
- Behrendt, L. (2012). *Indigenous Australia for Dummies*, Wiley Publishing, Australia.
- Broome, R. (n.d.). The Statistics of Frontier Conflict. *Kooriweb.org*. Retrieved from <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/news/story28.html>
- Campbell, J. (2011). 25. Introduction to Methods of Qualitative Research Participatory Action Research. Youtube: *drjasonjcampbell* Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t7weFv4JokY>
- Canessa, A. (2014). Lecture: Being Indigenous in the Twenty-first Century: a Bolivian Case Study. University of Essex. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5QQJFaxlxU&t=1359s>
- Campbell, J. (2011b). 26. Introduction to Methods of Qualitative Research Participatory Action Research. Youtube: *drjasonjcampbell*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SChyMAvsO0>

- Comision Economica para America Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL). (2005). *Los pueblos indigenas de Bolivia: diasnostico sociodemografico a partir del censo del 2001*. Retrieved from <http://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/3566-pueblos-indigenas-bolivia-diaagnostico-sociodemografico-partir-censo-2001>
- Environs Kimberley. (2013). *The Kimberley. Environs Kimberley Saving the Nature of the Kimberley*. Retrieved from <http://www.environskimberley.org.au/>
- Fidler, R. (2016, June). Plurinational state, indigenous autonomy in Bolivia. Paper presented at Socialist Studies Conference, Calgary, Alberta.
- Friends of the Earth. (2004). The successful campaign against nuclear dumping in SA 1998-2004 - Howard's nuclear dump backdown. Retrieved from <http://www.foe.org.au/anti-nuclear/issues/oz/nontdump/winnerz>
- Friends of the Earth. (2003, October 31). Jabiluka stopped! When we act together, people listen! Friends of the Earth press release. Retrieved from <http://www.foe.org.au/media-releases/2003-media-release/jabiluka-stopped!-when-we-act-together,-people-listen!>
- Foley, G. (1997). Native Title is not Land Rights. *The Koori History Website*. Retrieved from http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_2.html
- Foley, G. (2010). A Short History of the Australian Indigenous Resistance 1950 – 1990. *The Koori History Website*. Retrieved from <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/resources/pdfs/229.pdf>
- Harnecker, M. & Fuentes, F. (2008). MAS-IPSP: Instrumento político que surge de los movimientos sociales. *Centro Internacional Miranda*. Residencias Anauco Suites, Pent House, Parque Central, Final Av. Bolívar, Caracas-Venezuela. Retrieved from <http://www.rebellion.org/docs/67155.pdf>
- Hill, E. (1975). Imperialism in Australia - The Menace of Soviet Social-Imperialism. *First Transcription*. Retrieved from <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/australia/hill-ssi/chapter4.htm>
- Kinsman, G. (2008). Mapping Social Relations of Struggle: Activism, Ethography, Social Organisation. Retrieved from <http://penseetculture.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/MappingSocialRelationsofStruggle1.pdf>
- Creative Spirits. (2017a) Aboriginal history timeline (1400 - 1769). *Creative Spirits website*. Retrieved from <http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/history/aboriginal-history-timeline-1400-1769#axzz3g6J5Lh00>
- First Nations & Indigenous Studies, (2009), 'Terminology', The University of British Columbia. Retrieved from <https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/terminology/#firstnations>
- Kupa Piti Kungka Tjuta. (2005). Open Letter from the Kupa Piti Kungka Tjuta... after the Federal Government abandoned its plan to build a national radioactive waste dump in

- South Australia. *Friends of the Earth* website. Retrieved from <http://www.foe.org.au/anti-nuclear/issues/oz/nontdump/winnerz>
- Linera, G. (2008). Indianismo and Marxism: The Missed Encounter of Two Revolutionary Principles. *Monthly Review*. Retrieved from <https://mronline.org/2008/01/31/indianismo-and-marxism-the-missed-encounter-of-two-revolutionary-principles/>
- Linera, G. (2014). Neoliberalism and the new socialism. *Political Affairs - Marxism Fresh Daily*. Retrieved from <http://www.politicalaffairs.net/neo-liberalism-and-the-new-socialism-speech-by-Álvaro-garcia-linera/>
- Linera, G. A. (2013). Geopolitics of the Amazon Landed-Hereditary Power and Capitalist Accumulation, *climateandcapitalism.com*. Retrieved from <http://climateandcapitalism.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/01/Geopolitics-of-the-Amazon-8x11.pdf>
- McMullen, J. (2014, August 27). Speech *Justice for Australia's First Peoples*. Address to Macquarie University Law students. Jeff McMullen blog. Retrieved from <http://www.jeffmcmullen.com.au/articles-2014-present/>
- National Congress. (2017). The National Congress of Australia's First Peoples is a national voice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. *National Congress*. Retrieved from <http://nationalcongress.com.au>
- Nova Languages (2016) Bolivia Prepares Literacy Programs in 36 Indigenous Languages, Nova Languages. Retrieved from <http://www.novalanguages.com/2016/09/11/bolivia-prepares-literacy-programs-36-indigenous-languages/>
- Oxfam. (2017). Oxfam Briefing Paper: An Economy for the 99% *Oxfam*. Retrieved from https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp-economy-for-99-percent-160117-en.pdf
- Pascoe, B. (2009). Art Gallery of NSW (2009). As part as NAIDOC Week 2009 https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=134&v=dWCDWKop_PU
- Paz, A. (2007). Bolivia: A Democratic Revolution Transforming Society. *Global Research*. Retrieved from <http://www.globalresearch.ca/bolivia-a-democratic-revolution-transforming-society/7258>
- Pearson, N. (2000). Our Right to Take Responsibility. *Noel Pearson and Associates Pty Ltd*. Queensland, Australia.
- Petras, J. (2006) Evo Morales/Bolivia: Populist gestures and neo-liberal substance, *Rebellion*. Retrieved from <http://www.rebellion.org/noticia.php?id=25142>
- Pepper, M. (2015). Radioactive Waste Dump nominations for WA. *Conservation Council of Western Australia*. Retrieved from http://ccwa.org.au/blogs/radioactive-waste-dump-nominations-wa#.Vfy_Fd-qqko

- Pepper, M (2014). Five proposal to mine uranium in WA. *Mia.Pepper blog*. Retrieved from <http://ccwa.org.au/blogs/update-uranium-mining-wa>,
- Petras, J. (2010) Latin America's Twenty-First Century Socialism in Historical Perspective, *The James Petras Website*. Retrieved from <http://petras.lahaine.org/?p=1823>
- Pose, M. (2009). Indigenous Protest, Australian Bicentenary 1988. *Museum Victoria Collections*. Retrieved from <http://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/articles/2835>
- Save the Kimberley, Wilderness, Culture, Heritage. (2013). Woodside Decision a Great Outcome. Retrieved from <http://www.savethekimberley.com/2013/05/04/woodside-decision-a-great-outcome/>
- Sosblakaustralia. (2015). International day of protest on May 1 against forced closure of Aboriginal communities. *Green Left Weekly* Retrieved from <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/58824>
- #sosblakaustralia. (n.d). Sosblakaustralia. Retrieved from <http://www.sosblakaustralia.com>
- Stefanoni, P. (2005). BOLIVIA: “The MAS is of the Centre-Left, Interview with Álvaro Garcia Linera, newly elected Bolivian Vice-President, *International Viewpoint*. Retrieved from <http://www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article938>
- Stefanoni.P (2014), Elecciones 2014 - Post-Indianismo, *Rebellion*. Retrieved from <http://www.rebellion.org/noticia.php?id=190413>
- Stringer, R. (2007). A Nightmare of the Neocolonial Kind: Politics of Suffering in Howard's Northern Territory Intervention. *Borderlands e-journal*. Retrieved from <http://www.ntne.ws/#/article/500f70fac5b261906c000480>
- Sovereign Union. (2014). First Nations Asserting Sovereignty - Asserting Australia's First Nations Sovereignty into Governance 'Dundalli (1820–1855)'. *Sovereign Union*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalunitygovernment.org/content/dundalli-aboriginal-resistance-fighter-queensland>
- Telford, A (2015). Solidarity with the Nation's First People. *Maritime Union Australia Sydney branch*. Retrieved from http://www.mua.org.au/solidarity_with_the_nation_s_first_people
- UNSW Sydney Law. (2016). Will treaties with Indigenous Australians overtake constitutional recognition? *Law UNSW*. Retrieved from <http://www.law.unsw.edu.au/news/2016/12/will-treaties-indigenous-australians-overtake-constitutional-recognition>
- Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance. (2014). Manifesto. Retrieved from http://issuu.com/brisbaneblacks/docs/war_manifesto_d91595ceee8754
- United Nations. (n.d). ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK OFFICE OF THE UN SPECIAL ADVISER ON THE PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE (OSAPG). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/ar/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/osapg_analysis_framework.p