

rector Philip Toyne, who continues to push it from his new post as deputy secretary of the federal Department of Environment, Sports, and Territories, whose Environmental Strategies Directorate he heads (see interview with David Bennett). Australia's "first regional agreements conference" was pulled together in Cairns by former Australian Conservation Foundation employee Ros Sultan (see interview) in July 1994, with the included purpose of pushing this project ahead.

Aboriginal anthropologist and former secretary general of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Marcia Langton, who helped insert the "regional agreements" clause into the 1993 Native Title Act, is an adviser to the Aboriginal Cape York Land Council.

5. Torres Strait Islands: The subject of one of the first great anthropological expeditions dispatched by the Royal Geographical Society from London in 1898, the Torres Strait Islanders have been the target of manipulation ever since. The 1992 Mabo decision, which opened most of Australia to Aboriginal land claims was organized by Prof. Henry Reynolds and Nugget Coombs, who together convinced a leftist Islander named Eddie Mabo to file the claim. Nunavut architect Peter Jull has been a key adviser to the Torres Strait Islanders for years and participated in the July 1994 ceremony which set up the Torres Strait Authority, a transitional body to "full autonomy" (see interviews with Jull and Mick Dodson).

Note the strategic significance of the islands as a maritime choke point for shipping between Southeast Asia and Australia's major east coast population centers.

6. The Great Barrier Reef: Plans are afoot to turn this massive portion of Australia's coastal waters over to Aboriginal "co-management," as an interim step to Aboriginal ownership.

7. Pitjantjatjara Council lands: A substantial percentage of the entire state of South Australia has been turned over to the Pitjantjatjara Council, and is now the target for a regional agreement. The council was formed as a result of an "anthropological project" directed by Philip Toyne, and carried out by Susan Woenne-Green (see interview).

8. Uluru National Park: Formerly known as Ayers Rock, this central Australian site is one of the country's best-known tourist attractions. It has been turned over to Aboriginal control, and is leased back long-term to the Commonwealth.

The chief architect of this project was former Australian Conservation Foundation boss Philip Toyne; the key anthropologist involved was Susan Woenne-Green. Uluru is the model for ultimately turning all of Australia's "protected areas" over to Aboriginal control.

Anthropologists are creating a 'Chiapas' in Australia

Australia's chief theoretician of the idea of a separate Aboriginal nation, Prof. Henry Reynolds, told a September 1993 meeting of the elite Australian Institute of International Affairs, "We must conclude that both the Aboriginal and [Torres Strait] Islander communities have the potential to become nations or already are nations." Reynolds's strategy for carving up Australia follows the model of the "indigenist" movements of the Zapatista National Liberation Army in Chiapas, Mexico and Shining Path in Peru, both organized by the same combination of communists and anthropologists that created the Aboriginal movement in Australia.

The next phase of the plot to splinter Australia is to convert the 25% or more of the country now owned or claimed by Aborigines into "regional agreements," where Aborigines will assume control of major government functions, to be followed soon by "self-government."

Professor Reynolds, based at the University of North Queensland in Townsville, was the chief organizer for massively expanded Aboriginal land claims. His wife, Sen. Margaret Reynolds, is one of the Labor government's top activists in Aboriginal affairs. Professor Reynolds has been to Mexico to meet with government specialists on "indigenous matters," to discuss Chiapas. He has written widely about the desirability of eliminating nation-states and returning to the "more complex patterns of power" of feudalism. He has worked in London with British "ethnic specialist" Anthony Smith, one of the chief postwar Oxford-Cambridge theoreticians of how "ethnic revival" will replace nation-states.

Another key operative for "regional agreements" is Sydney lawyer Donna Craig, the vice-chairman of the Environmental Law Commission for the southern Pacific region of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the World Wildlife Fund's sister organization. Craig comments (see interview) on the role of anthropologists: "Australia has an extraordinary history with anthropologists. Many of my friends from Canada and the United States say they have never come across a nation where anthropologists have exerted so much power."

The British head of the Anthropology Department at the Australian National University, Nicolas Peterson, confirmed (see interview) his role and that of his anthropologist colleagues in all of the major land rights developments in the past three decades: "We have played a crucial role in all

this. . . . Anthropologists have participated in government inquiries, they have written most of the land claims, they have done all the basic research by which Aboriginal people have got their land back. They have considerable input into the legislation, various pieces of legislation.”

These controllers of the Aboriginal cause would know that the sort of “indigenous” project now under way in Australia follows precisely in the footsteps of the Zapatistas in Chiapas and Shining Path in Peru.

The case of Peru

From 1980 until it was finally brought under control by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori in late 1993, Shining Path slaughtered tens of thousands of Peruvians, many of them poor and Indian; destroyed billions of dollars in crucial national infrastructure such as power lines; organized a massive expansion of Peru’s role in the international drug trade; took over large sections of the country where no one dared venture; and finally verged on taking over the capital, Lima.

On one level, the origins of Shining Path are well known. Shining Path was founded at, and deployed out of, the University of San Cristóbal of Huamanga in Ayacucho, in the desolate south-central highlands of Peru. For two decades, its top leaders and theoreticians operated out of the university, under the supervision of numerous Peruvian and international anthropologists who ran the university’s experimental anthropology department. The rector of the university from the late 1960s through the late 1970s was the anthropologist Efrain Morote Best, who was jailed in 1973 as a suspected “intellectual author” of Shining Path; three of his four children became top Shining Path leaders. This leadership also included Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, the now-jailed head of Shining Path, who joined the Philosophy Department at the university soon after it opened in 1958.

But the origins of Shining Path begin decades earlier. In July 1920, the Communist International (“Comintern”) held its famous Congress of Peoples of the East in Baku, capital of Soviet Azerbaijan. In that and a followup conference of the League of Oppressed People in Berlin, the outlines of Comintern policy were established for the “underdeveloped” sector, or for backward sectors of “advanced” nations: Communists should ally with whatever oppressed “ethnic” group they could find, to deploy them for communist revolution.

The founder of the Communist Party of Peru, José Carlos Mariategui, Comintern recruit from a visit to Europe in the 1920s, established an alliance in 1924 with Luis E. Valcarcel, the acknowledged “father of Peruvian ethnology.” Valcarcel was a protégé of Paul Rivet, the Sorbonne-based leader of French anthropology, and Rivet’s trainee, Jacques Soustelle,¹ an admirer of Aztec human sacrifice who

spent several years during the late 1930s and early 1940s doing anthropological research in southern Mexico and Guatemala.

Mariategui and Valcarcel collaborated in Valcarcel’s 1927 book *Tempestad en los Andes (Tempest in the Andes)*, which predicted rebellions descending from the Indian highlands upon Peru’s coastal regions. Decades later, the fruits of this collaboration were to explode with bloody fury: The full name of the “indigenist” Shining Path is “In the Shining Path of José Carlos Mariategui.”

The case of Chiapas

On Jan. 1, 1994, “Shining Path North,” the Zapatista National Liberation Army, launched its insurrection in Chiapas, with supporting actions around the country conducted by pro-Shining Path networks.

Once again, the anthropologists had been at work. Between 1957 and 1977, Chiapas had been the site of the “Harvard Chiapas Project,” probably the world’s largest anthropological study. The British head of Harvard’s Anthropology Department, David Maybury-Lewis, was the founder of Cultural Survival, whose patron was Queen Margarethe of Denmark, and which was a sister organization to Prince Philip’s Survival International, founded by the World Wildlife Fund.

The Harvard Chiapas Project alone had produced 27 books, 21 doctoral dissertations, 33 undergraduate theses, two novels, and a film on the region, by the late 1970s.

Communists, anthropologists in Australia

The 1920 Baku conference of the Comintern had important ramifications in Australia, as it did in Peru. The Communist Party of Australia’s newspaper, the *Worker’s Weekly*, on Sept. 24, 1931, in an article titled “Communist Party’s Fight for Aborigines: Draft Program of Struggle Against Slavery,” called for implementing the Comintern’s proclamations in Australia. Its concluding objective called for:

“The handing over to the Aborigines of large tracts of watered and fertile country, with towns, seaports, railways, roads, etc. to become one or more independent Aboriginal states or republics. The handing back to the Aborigines of all Central, Northern and North West Australia to enable the Aborigines to develop their native pursuits. These Aboriginal republics to be independent of Australian or other foreign powers. To have the right to make treaties with foreign powers, including Australia, establish their own army, governments, industries, and in every way to be independent.”

The map on p. 12 demonstrates how extremely close to fulfillment that program is.

In 1944, the Communist Party stepped up its Aboriginal activities. In March of that year, its theoretical journal, the

1. Soustelle’s Secret Army Organization (OAS) was involved in numerous assassination attempts against French President Charles de Gaulle in the early 1960s. Soustelle was identified by U.S. intelligence as a key member of the

Soviet “Red Orchestra” espionage ring; he later headed the extreme right-wing OAS. Valcarcel joined the Rivet-Soustelle Society of Americanists, an anthropological association with roots in the late nineteenth century.

Communist Review, called for a transfer of certain powers held by the states to the Commonwealth, particularly as concerns Aboriginal affairs. Communist Party policy, the *Review* argued, "must be framed to prevent and offset the effects of civilization on the tribalized natives, as well as rehabilitating the detribalized full-bloods. Such a policy requires a centralized authority, which can be brought about by giving the required powers to the present federal government."

Through the efforts of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, comprised of communists and fellow-travelers and directed by British oligarchs in the Anti-Slavery Society, those "required powers" were handed over to the federal government as a result of a 1967 referendum.

Once again, the communists were not the only ones beating the drums for the Aborigines. Anthropologist Judith Wright McKinney, whom Council for Aboriginal Affairs founder H.C. "Nugget" Coombs calls "my collaborator of 30 years," has written a history of the Coombs-led Aboriginal Treaty Committee, *We Call for a Treaty*. There McKinney emphasizes the role of her fellow anthropologists: "Not until after World War II when a new scholarly interest was reinforced by the work of anthropologists such as A.P. Elkin and W.E.H. Stanner (the latter himself later a member of the Council for Aboriginal Affairs) . . . did a movement begin to support a new Aboriginal push for land rights and human rights."

Key in all this, McKinney notes, was "the new science of anthropology, which provided the initial impulse towards modification of the former administrative rigidity," and which "gained a footing in Australian universities in 1926, with a Department of Anthropology established in the University of Sydney." Elkin held that chair beginning 1933, and in 1938 published his famous book *The Australian Aborigines*. Reprinted numerous times, "The influence of this book . . . had much to do with the gradual change in the attitudes of some European Australians to the indigenous minority."

The anthropologist Elkin, to judge by the dossier prepared on him by the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO, Australia's FBI), was the Luis Valcarcel of Australia. ASIO cited his role in various communist activities, including Aboriginal protests, his chairing a meeting of the Friendship with Russia League in February 1945, and his membership in a communist front, the Australian Association of Scientific Workers.

While Elkin's early work raised certain issues, it was W.E.H. Stanner who was "the voice of the Aboriginal people." The London School of Economics-trained Stanner, a veteran of British intelligence activities in Kenya and elsewhere, initiated, with Coombs's backing, the shift from "assimilation" to segregation and enforced backwardness. Stanner's 1965 work, *Aboriginal Territorial Organization*, was the crucial theoretical piece which outlined the alleged mysti-

cal/spiritual place of the land in the Aboriginal psyche. The following year saw the famous walk-off by the Gurindji people from Lord Vestey's Wave Hill estate, an internationally publicized protest against abominable living conditions, which was largely organized by key communist cadre, together with anthropologists, and which is universally recognized to be "the birth of the modern land rights movement."

One of the anthropologists who worked at Wave Hill was Hannah Middleton. Middleton, who was British, was a member of the Australian Communist Party, and a student of the British anthropologist Frederick Rose. Rose, also a member of the Australian Communist Party during the 1950s, had fled Australia in the wake of the "Petrov Affair" involving Soviet espionage, and took up a chair of anthropology in East Berlin. From there, he deployed his student Middleton to Wave Hill.

Australia's university establishment

As Australia has its own "Valcarcel," so it has its own "University of Huamanga": the Canberra-based Australian National University (ANU), which now boasts over 20 professors of anthropology on its staff and an additional 53 doctors of anthropology or archeology on scholarship or doing "research."

The ANU was founded shortly after the war by Coombs, who was its chancellor for many years. In order to run the growing Aboriginal land rights movement, Coombs in 1973 set up an extension of ANU, its North Australian Research Unit, in Darwin in the remote Northern Territory, almost half of which is now owned by Aboriginal Land Councils. NARU not only hosts the Nugget Coombs Forum for Indigenous Studies, but is the key staging post for specialists in "land rights." These include the Canadian Peter Jull and the Aborigines Ros Sultan and Marcia Langton (see interviews).

In just under 30 years, from the time of the 1967 referendum, Aborigines have gone from having no land, to owning at least 15% of Australia, with the near-term prospect of owning or controlling at least double that. There are now vast tracts of remote Australia, where no one may enter without permission from the local Aboriginal Land Council. Many of the still-existent 235 Aboriginal dialects, until recently believed to be within a few years of extinction, are being revived and taught in school.

Summing up the prospects for the region, Prof. Henry Reynolds told an interviewer that there were parallels between the "indigenous" armed uprising in Chiapas, and likely developments in Australia. "I think that sort of combination of regional and ethnic rebellion is potentially possible," he said. "We have had a long period without that sort of overt conflict, but it would be optimistic indeed to assume that it could not happen again! . . . Certainly if you frustrate the ambitions of significant groups, I think that sort of response could be possible down the track. And would be extremely difficult to deal with."