

SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL X CULTURAL SURVIVAL AND THE BODY SHOP

Documentos que explicitam a rivalidade existente entre as organizações Survival International, Cultural Survival e The Body Shop International PLC, tendo como pano de fundo a discussão sobre a viabilidade da exploração do óleo da castanha do Pará em terras Kaiapó.

Documentos:

- Press Release da Survival International - 15/06/92;
- Dossier "Fruits of the Harvest" da Survival International - 06/92;
- Carta de Jason para Jordana (ambos da Cultural Survival) - 05/07/92;
- Carta da Cultural Survival para os editores da New Statesman & Society, 17/09/92;
- Artigo do New Statesman & Society intitulado "The Lynching os Paiakan: part 2", 18/09/92;

Survival

for tribal peoples



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Survival International
310 Edgware Road
London W2 1DY
United Kingdom
Telephone: 071-723 5535
Fax: 071-723 4059
Email: C/N:Survival

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.....Press release.....

Survival International is a worldwide movement to support tribal peoples. It stands for their right to decide their own future and helps them protect their lands, environment and way of life.

'Rainforest harvest' projects harm, not help, Indian communities Survival International voices misgivings about Body Shop and Cultural Survival

The so-called 'rainforest harvest' has received much attention recently and is advertised as being of great benefit to forest conservation and to forest dwellers. Although it does not oppose marketing for tribal peoples *per se*, Survival International has grave reservations about the current 'rainforest harvest' concept, both in theory and practice. Survival is particularly concerned that it is seriously diverting attention from the real and urgent problems facing tribal peoples today. In some circumstances the 'rainforest harvest' can itself be harmful.

The current 'rainforest harvest' theory is based on the idea that if it can be shown that rainforest produce (mostly fruits and nuts) is more valuable in the long term than timber, then governments will be encouraged to promote rainforest conservation. Although this sounds like a good idea, tribal peoples have rarely benefited from such projects in the past (see below).

Cultural Survival and the Body Shop

The US-based organisation, Cultural Survival, supported by the UK-based Body Shop company, are working together on various 'rainforest harvest' projects and both Cultural Survival and the Body Shop have their own independent schemes. One of Cultural Survival's projects is the promotion of 'Rainforest Crunch', a snack containing Brazil nuts (as well as several non-rainforest ingredients). This began not, as one might assume, as small-scale projects buying from local indigenous people and paying fair prices. The nuts were actually bought through normal commercial suppliers, not Indians.

Probably the most highly-profiled Body Shop project is that with the Kayapo Indians of Brazil who have contracts to supply ingredients for Body Shop cosmetics. This April, Paulinho Paiakan, one of several Kayapo leaders, appeared at a press conference in London to announce that the tribe had agreed to supply 6,000 litres a year of natural oils to use in hair conditioner. As the Body Shop itself has said, it is first and foremost a trading company 'looking for trade', a stance which takes priority over charitable ventures. Survival has for some time been concerned at the thoughtless fashion in which the Body Shop has dealt with the Kayapo tribe, especially as three years ago, when asked for advice by the Body Shop, Survival went to considerable lengths to stress that any intervention should be handled with great understanding, tact and sensitivity; also that mishandled projects, particularly those involving large sums of money, could easily lead to division and alienation within a community.

"There has been a terrible inevitability about the problems now afflicting the Body Shop project and the Kayapo. The project has caused deep divisions amongst the Kayapo exacerbated by the way Paiakan has accumulated great personal wealth and power. The rainforest harvest can be beneficial if it is proposed and controlled by the tribal peoples themselves, rather than imposed by outsiders for profit."

Problems with the 'rainforest harvest'

History shows that tribal peoples have not benefited in the long term when a raw material from the rainforest becomes valuable to the outside world. The people are exploited in its extraction and the forest is very often destroyed to make way to cultivate only those plants required. The most notorious examples are: rubber in Amazonia, which caused the slavery and deaths of tens of thousands of Indians at the start of the century; and rattan in southeast Asia, which over recent years became sufficiently valuable to entail the felling of huge areas for rattan cultivation, now tended by poorly paid labourers - including tribal peoples whose lands these once were.

The 'harvest' philosophy says that tribal peoples' problems can be solved by tying them to international, western markets, but it ignores the fact that demand for the product can fluctuate and even collapse. By attracting the publicity these projects need to profit commercially, they divert attention away from the real problem. For the real problem, as tribal peoples are unanimous in asserting, is that their lands and resources should be recognised as their own, as they declared at the Earth Summit only last week: "We maintain our inalienable rights to our lands and territories, to all our resources - above and below- and to our waters. We assert our ongoing responsibility to pass these on to future generations."

There are several causes of rainforest and tribal peoples' destruction but government-encouraged colonisation is the main one in the long term. 'Harvest' projects, if they are successful, are likely to encourage more colonists to seek a living in the forest.

"The real issue is for tribal peoples to have proper ownership rights over their lands, so that they can decide what does or does not happen on them. With the rainforest harvest they are purely at the mercy of western high street fashions. What will happen to the Indians when Rainforest Crunch goes out of fashion?" said Fiona Watson, Brazil Campaigns Officer.

What tribal people think

"We do not recognise any advantages in our association with Cultural Survival ... Their concrete help ... has been minimal and their negative repercussions enormous. It has shown itself ready to help us only if 'it establishes the priorities instead of us'. The publicity for the harvest projects confuses the people (in Brazil) about ... our ideas for a self-sustainable economies in our regions. Cultural Survival reveals that 40% of its profits from sales of products would go back to grassroots organisations. We have not ... seen any return."

From the paper 'Evaluation of the Cultural Survival Rainforest Marketing Project', Aliança dos Povos da Floresta (Alliance of Forest Peoples), Brazil, March 1991.

At the end of last year the Amazon Indian Confederation (COICA) also published an attack on the US organisation, relating to its unwelcome interference in Indian organisations. (Further information about the difference between Survival International and Cultural Survival's policies is available on request).

Survival International

For its part, Survival International takes no position on what is the best future for tribal peoples. Since its creation in 1969 it has always stood for the right of tribal peoples themselves to decide how they wish to live. Survival International is not opposed to marketing as such. Practically all tribal peoples already sell or exchange some produce locally - and always have done. However, they must be able to get a fair return, and ultimately this can only be secured by their owning and controlling their land and resources.

For further information contact: Charlotte Sankey or Polly Mathewson 071-723 5535



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Dossier

Fruits of the harvest the 'rainforest harvest', 'Cultural Survival' & the 'Body Shop'

Recent events in Brazil, including an alleged rape by a Kayapó Indian, have drawn the attention of the international press to the so-called 'rainforest harvest' projects and to two organisations which are promoting them; the English-based soap and cosmetic company, the 'Body Shop', and the US organisation called, 'Cultural Survival'.

Survival International has serious misgivings about the way these organisations are presenting these projects as the key to saving rainforests and rainforest dwellers as well as other aspects of their work with tribal peoples.

We hope that this dossier will go some way to answering some of the questions we are now being asked about the 'rainforest harvest', Cultural Survival and the Body Shop.

We are attaching (in order of publication):

Conservation Foundation	October 1991	Quotable quotes Publication of the Environmental News and Information Service about the 'harvest' ideology
Survival International	December 1991	An outline of the differences between Survival International ('Survival') and Cultural Survival
The Daily Telegraph	30 May 1992	Brought to you by the Body Shop About the Millennium television series
The Times (Saturday Review)	30 May 1992	Mother earth's little helpers About 'rainforest harvest', Body Shop & Cultural Survival
Survival International	June 1992	Fruits of the harvest An outline of the problems with the 'harvest' philosophy
The Independent	8 June 1992	Greens' Amazon forest hero is wanted for rape About Paiakan's alleged crime
Folha de São Paulo	10 June 1992	Entidade culpa comércio verde About Body Shop's relations with Paiakan
Sunday Times	14 June 1992	Rape disgrace of tribal chief feted by ecology lobby Latest news about the alleged rape

QUOTABLE QUOTES - from Stephen Corry Director General of Survival International

This statement constitutes the personal opinion of the writer and does not necessarily represent the view of Survival International

We should be very wary of the idea that rainforests and forest tribes can only have a future if they are able to pay their way on our terms. The marketing of forest produce has been going on for centuries in Amazonia and the Indians have usually been ripped off or worse as a result. Don't believe for a moment that encouraging some tribal peoples on a stall at the market place will mean they will end up trading on any terms other than our own.

Binding the economic future of tribal peoples to the creation of ephemeral, foreign markets in non-essential luxuries such as ice-cream or shampoo with added rainforest ingredients will not solve their problems.

Worse; if this ideology goes unchallenged and becomes progressively accepted as the way forward, it undermines those tribal peoples who are trying to drum up worldwide support in their opposition to governments and companies who are stealing their land. For this is the real issue, the point on which the very survival of these peoples hangs in the balance; they will only survive if their proper and legal ownership rights over their own lands are fully recognised and enforced.

Let's forget about them selling us the forest nuts and start by ensuring that they own the land and resources they live on and use. And that won't be achieved in any permanent sense unless and until public opinion is behind them. The trouble with marketing the rainforest is that it has no relevance to the real shaping of that opinion. Brazil nuts and red herrings won't save the forest and the tribal peoples - a worldwide outcry will.

Are we really only going to conserve those wildernesses which can pay their way? Are we really only going to stand up for the dispossessed if they start producing something we want? And are we really going to let business and profits dictate conservation and human rights' strategies and goals.

The question has nothing to do with pragmatism or realism. The most significant advances in the recognition of tribal peoples' rights over the last 20 years (and there have been many) have been the result of well-focussed campaigns, with no punches pulled, by both tribal organisations and their supporters. They have come about precisely because people have not accepted the 'realities' of the current situation. People have been motivated to fight against seemingly overwhelming odds - that is what has brought the changes for the better.

Survival International is a worldwide movement to support tribal peoples. It stands for their right to decide their own future and helps them protect their lands, environment and way of life.



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An outline of the differences between **Survival International (Survival)** and **Cultural Survival**

Survival works to halt all damaging exploitation of tribal peoples' lands.

Survival is independent of any government, political or academic affiliation. Its governing bodies and staff comprise people from 10 nationalities and from many walks of life. The staff includes anthropologists.

To maintain its independence, **Survival** does not handle money from any national government (It recently turned down an offer of about £50,000 from the Spanish government. The only exception to this has been in past years when it has accepted small amounts, about £2,000, from the French Ministry of Culture for funding the printing of a magazine in French).

Survival relies on its members and some trusts and foundations for its income. For several years, members have provided about 60% of its total income. No single donor in any one year has ever provided more than 7% of its total income.

Cultural Survival asserts that development on tribal peoples' lands is inevitable and cannot be stopped. It acts as a consultant for organisations such as the World Bank which are responsible for destroying tribal peoples.

Cultural Survival's growth in the 1980s was linked to its receipt of major funding from the United States government (over US\$1.3 million in just one year, 1988, for example). Its offices were in Harvard University and its Board is largely drawn from Harvard academics (7 out of the 9 members are from Harvard University, Medical, Law or Business Schools). Its senior staff were anthropologists.

Although this is not made clear to its members or to the recipients of its funds, **Cultural Survival** has acted for many years as a broker for the US government, placing government funds with projects in the Third World.

As far as we know, in past years only two sources (the US government and the Ford Foundation) have provided most of **Cultural Survival's** income. In 1990 members provided only 22 % of its total income.

Together with the Denmark-based, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs and many other observers, **Survival** affirmed that the Aché Indians in Paraguay faced genocide in the 1970s.

Survival takes no position on what the future for tribal peoples should or should not be, it affirms simply that their human rights and their land rights should not be violated. It stands for their right to decide their own future.

Survival is primarily a campaigning organisation. It directs its message at a wide sector of the concerned public (including children) and its campaigns are promoted primarily by its supporters.

Survival has always focussed unequivocally on tribal peoples' rights with an emphasis on land rights and with its philosophy rooted in the concept of self-determination.

Survival puts a particular emphasis on distributing news about human rights violations to tribal communities themselves.

Survival has formal status as a recognised Non-Governmental Organisation at the United Nations. It is also recognised formally by the ILO, UNESCO, and the EC.

Survival has offices in 4 countries - all are components of a single organisation. It publishes regularly in English, French, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese and Spanish (and occasionally in other languages such as Dutch and German).

Survival was founded in 1969 by a number of people from various walks of life and without affiliation to any single institution.

In a report for the US government, **Cultural Survival** explicitly denied the allegations that the Aché Indians in Paraguay faced a genocidal situation in the 1970s. Many felt this to be a whitewash of a genocidal regime.

Cultural Survival's support for marketing rainforest products reflects an ideology which sees tribal peoples' future linked to the production of resources for western markets. (Though, confusingly, it seems as if tribal peoples are not really involved in these marketing projects.)

Cultural Survival is not primarily a campaigning organisation. Its major publication seems directed at academics.

Cultural Survival has supported a number of projects (for example, marketing ice cream in the US and supporting a pop concert in Brazil - which never actually took place) which have little or no relevance to tribal peoples' rights.

Cultural Survival materials are not directed at indigenous communities.

As far as we know, **Cultural Survival** is not formally recognised by major international organisations such as the United Nations etc.

Cultural Survival is a US organisation with an entirely separate affiliate in Canada. It publishes in English and sometimes in Spanish.

Cultural Survival was founded in 1972 by an anthropologist at Harvard University.

The Daily Telegraph
Saturday 30 May 1992

Brought to you by the Body Shop

THESE are roller-coaster times for the Body Shop, the chain store with the cleaner-than-thou image. This week Anita Roddick's company announced a 25 per cent rise in profits as well as initiating legal proceedings against Channel 4, which had questioned its record on animal testing.

Now Mrs Roddick, who prides herself on her affinity with the Third World, has run into trouble with a BBC documentary series about tribal customs. The Body Shop is putting £2.25 million (half the production cost) into the 10-part project, Millennium, which was scheduled to be shown next month but has been delayed amid allegations that

African tribesmen have been misrepresented.

Nigel Evans, a respected independent producer involved in one of the programmes, does not mince his words. "I've seen the final presentation and I'm dismayed," he says. "Words were put into the mouths of the tribespeople. The film-makers made specious and inaccurate comparisons between one culture and the next, in effect rewriting anthropological history. It is utterly half-baked and I do not want my name attached to it."

While Evans believes the Body Shop is mainly interested in the film's publicity value, the company wishes it could have its name attached to the series. In view of its hefty investment, the Body Shop asked the BBC to close each programme with the words: "Brought to you by the Body Shop". The corporation would not accept such commercialism, though television executives in America — where the series is now being shown — have few such scruples.

Richard Meech, co-producer, denies Evans's criticisms, but admits: "We did put words in the tribespeople's mouths, but our translations were based on what they said. We've just given them more of an inner voice." The Body Shop says the series is "not supposed to be some heavyweight documentary. It's intended to spark interest in indigenous tribes. And it's incredibly cynical to suggest we are just in it for publicity".



Roddick: putting up £2.25 million

The people of the rainforests are caught between
two opposing views of aid, Alan Franks reports

Mother earth's little helpers

In the week of the general election it was easy to miss the Brazilian Indians who were somehow conjured from the dark heart of the Brazilian rainforest to the white light of the London press conference circuit. Still, having missed them, you could console yourself with the enlarged image of one of them smiling from the ideologically sound fragrances of your high street Body Shop. The cosmetic chain has started to enhance its products with Brazil nut oil from the trees of Indian communities, just beyond the boundaries of the Xingu national park in Brazil.

At any other time, the Body Shop could have expected the Indians, Pukatire and Panakan, to upstage the election candidates. They are, in the organisation's vision of trade, more than the acceptable faces of green capitalism; they are meant to be the embodiment of the approach known as the rainforest harvest. The theory of this runs as follows: rather than plunder the forests for the quick financial returns of timber, why not use the threatened hectares to produce something that can be marketed to the world?

In the world of conservation, however, nothing is as uncontentious as it sounds. Put at its crudest, the conflict is between assisting forest communities by plugging them in, however marginally, to our own economic mechanisms, or enabling them to secure their own destinies by having the

land formally titled as theirs, and then leaving them alone.

As with all huge dilemmas that touch on moral prerogatives, there is infinite space for rage and recrimination. "Are we really only going to conserve those wildernesses which can pay their way?" asks Stephen Corry, director of the British organisation, Survival International. "Are we really only going to stand up for threatened people if they start producing something we want? And are we really going to let business and profits dictate conservation and human rights strategies and goals?" The butt of much of Corry's criticism is the Massachusetts-based organisation, Cultural Survival, which was founded in 1972 by Harvard anthropologists. One of the crucial differences between the two is that the American body accepts the inevitability of development and focuses on how its impact on indigenous peoples can be controlled.

Before going into these key differences, it is worth staying with the Body Shop Indians a while longer, since the issues raised by the Brazil nut trading project are, to some extent, a compact model of the wider debate. In 1989 Anna Roddick, the company's founder,

went to a gathering of tribes of the Amazonian rainforest, held at Altamira, in the northern state of Para. She went to attend a conference to marshal opposition to a dam that would flood tens of thousands of forest acres. One of the conveners, and most impressive speakers, at Altamira was Patakan, a leader of the Kayapo community in the remote village of A-Ukre. Between them, Roddick and he evolved a plan to extract Brazil nut oil, which has properties as a hair conditioner, from the forest around the village, with the aims of providing labour for the inhabitants and a guaranteed outlet for their produce.

Three years on, with a little help from ICI, a manually operated cold press is in place in A-Ukre, and the Brazil nut conditioner has hit the Body Shop shelves. Last year, according to the chain, the A-Ukre harvest produced 22 tonnes of nuts, yielding 1,500 kilos of cold-pressed oil. At such a pitch of operation, that would make the Kayapo about £110,000 a year.

The attractions are obvious. The Body Shop not only enhances its greenness by "saving the rainforest", but is also seen to put into practice a policy of "trade not aid". Yet there is also the cue for scepticism. Who, it is tempting to ask, is the more helped? A-Ukre or the Body Shop?

In fairness to Roddick's critics, they do not attack her for trying, they merely question the approach. One of them, Terry Turner, a distinguished American anthropologist who has studied the Kayapo Indians, fears that the A-Ukre project has aggravated divisions within the community. He has heard complaints from the village



Helping or harming? Anita Ruddick discusses business with the Brazilian Indians in Xingu

that the work is not being offered equally to all who are eligible for it, and that those who have been gathering the Brazil nuts for the press feel they are being poorly rewarded. As with other villages with a few hundred inhabitants, there is not one single chief, but several.

According to Turner, who is professor of anthropological studies at Chicago University, there are almost certain to be tensions when a project like this one is set up. Through recent contact with one of the other chiefs, Mokuka, he estimates that there are at least as many villagers who are unhappy about this new trading initiative as those who feel they are benefiting. As to its practical impact on deforestation,

this is, for the present, minimal. Yet that is hardly the point, as Turner agrees. "It is always worth trying to put solutions into practice. As long as that is done, there is the hope of finding a blueprint for use elsewhere. The trouble is that there is the danger that if some new idea doesn't work out, a community will be more reluctant to try something else in the future. It might even be tempted to fall back on logging."

Unless it is managed with the utmost care, the trade not aid formula can do worse than disrupt the balance of a long-evolved community: it can also raise expectations only to dash them once more if an apparently guaranteed demand dries up. What, for example, would happen if the Body Shop's requirement for Brazil nut oil proved to be transient? In Ruddick's opinion that is unlikely, in view of the oil's versatility. She is thinking, she says, not in terms of fashion, but of expansion.

In the view of Pitakari, scepticism about A-Ukre is misplaced. He counters that Mokuka is the only one in the village not happy with what is going on there; that he (Mokuka) favours the short-term income of logging, and has, as a result, isolated himself from the rest of the community.

Just as a village can embrace two views on its own salvation, so can the wider community. Survival International is convinced that the spread of A-Ukre-style operations can only divert attention from the claims of what it considers more radical solutions to the plight of the rainforests and their peoples. Meanwhile, Cultural Survival is proceeding apace down the road of the rainforest harvest. It is steadily increasing the number and quantity of raw materials which it helps to extract from the forests of the world. Apart from the nut, it also deals in foods, spices, fruit, flour, oils, and many of the essences used in cosmetics, perfumes and medicines.

Every year it supplies hundreds of rainforest products to several dozen companies, and the revenue from these operations is added to the grants it receives from the state, corporate and charity sectors. Listed in the 1992 *Foundation Guide Index* are seven grants since 1989 related to forest management, totalling just less than \$1 million. These include a \$300,000 grant for forest management with two regional associations of indigenous people in Ecuador, and for planning similar work with groups in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru.

London-based Survival International is financially small by comparison. When it

started in the Sixties, it had only 200 members, and a virtually unpaid administration. Today it has 1,500 supporters, from whom it derives 60 per cent of its income. It has an annual turnover of £100,000, and a stall in London. In essence a pressure group that bases its work on case research, it functions in roughly the same way as Amnesty International, only highlighting the plights of tribes threatened by encroachment. In other words, its approach is substantially different from that of Cultural Survival.

Meanwhile, Cultural Survival is opening its new London offices under the same roof as the Body Shop. Survival International's Cory is unhappy, and he concedes that it may be due in part to the sense of threat at a "rival" outfit hitting town. But only in part. One of his main reservations about the ascent of the Americans is that Cultural Survival has, in his opinion, been compromised by its use of the US government money which it received via the USAID state agency. Over the years, he asserts, it has channelled such funds into

projects with indigenous peoples in several countries. "Some of these were good projects, but the organisation did not tell the recipients that they were dealing with US government money." Moreover, he believes that David Maybury Lewis, the founder and director of Cultural Survival, as author of a report during the Carter presidency on the Ache Indians of Paraguay, "whitewashed" the Subesser regime of genocide charges, thereby enabling

the US to continue supplying aid to Paraguay. Maybury-Lewis dismisses this last accusation as "moonshine... that report set out to show what the Indians of Paraguay were suffering from, and this was shown in elaborate detail. I do not understand how what we said about them, about what had happened to them, could be taken as good news by anyone." And he refutes any suggestion that his organisation is "somehow doing the US government's

dirty work... I do agree that there is a difference of vision (between ourselves and Survival International). It is romantic to imagine that there is a pure indigenous culture that cannot be changed. That is anthropologically untenable. The Indians on the ground are not interested in maintaining a romantic past, but in establishing a legitimate claim in their future. Of course there are problems as people come into a market system. There always are. Anthropologists have known about this for ages, but I believe it is the stance of an ostrich to say: 'I wish it had never happened.'"

How, we might wonder, are we ever going to save a single tree, ensure the tenure of a single Indian, when we cannot see eye to eye on the approach to such a task? Maybury-Lewis insists that his way does not exclude the other. Cory retorts that for the tribes, the Cultural Survival philosophy is tantamount to rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic. And the Body Shop presses on to the next village.

It is impossible to smoke out a genuinely impartial deus ex machina. There is too much emotion in the forest for that. But there is always the Royal Geographical Society. And there is always its director, John Hemming, a world-renowned authority on the Brazilian Indians. "Land is fundamental," he says. "Without land, the tribes disintegrate. Land-ownership is the cushion that gives them time to change, and to do so at their own pace. The Duke of Devonshire doesn't get peered at like an animal in a zoo. He has his land and he has the right to say who comes on to it. The Indians should be allowed to be like that."

"If a tribe wants to be assimilated, that's fine. They are Rousseau-like in their democracy. The whole village is a council. All we must ask is that they are given the choice." ●



Fruits of the harvest

the 'rainforest harvest', 'Cultural Survival' & the 'Body Shop'

The so-called 'rainforest harvest' is advertised as being of great benefit to forest conservation and as helping forest dwellers but it is in fact a contentious issue which can be of doubtful benefit as well as diverting attention away from the real problems. It can even be harmful in some circumstances.

The US organisation, Cultural Survival, supported by the soap and cosmetic company, the 'Body Shop', are working together on various 'rainforest harvest' projects and both Cultural Survival and the Body Shop have their own independent schemes.

So what is the 'rainforest harvest'?

These schemes began to attract publicity a couple of years ago. Their theory is based on the notion that if it can be shown that rainforest produce (mostly fruits and nuts) is more valuable in the long term than timber or agriculture, then governments will be encouraged to promote rainforest conservation.

This may sound like a good idea but it raises many questions and it is being applied with projects which are not helpful.

There are many problems with the 'rainforest harvest' theory vis-à-vis tribal peoples. Three of them are...

- 1) History shows that when a rainforest substance becomes valuable to the outside world, then tribal peoples are exploited in its extraction and often the forest is destroyed anyway to make way for growing only those plants giving the product desired.

The most notorious examples are probably: rubber in Amazonia, which caused the slavery and deaths of tens of thousands of Indians at the start of the century and which has now become a major tree crop, replacing forests, in southeast Asia; and rattan (also in southeast Asia), which over recent years became sufficiently valuable to entail the felling of huge areas for rattan cultivations now tended by poorly paid labourers - including tribal peoples whose lands these once were.

- 2) The 'harvest' philosophy says that tribal peoples' problems can be solved by western markets (but it ignores the fact that demand for the product can fluctuate and even collapse). By attracting the publicity these projects need to profit commercially, they divert attention away from the real problem. So what is the real problem?

Tribal peoples themselves are unanimous about that - their lands and resources should be recognised as *their own*. This is the key to their survival; 'who owns the land and resources', not, 'how they are marketed'.

- 3) There are several causes of rainforest and tribal peoples destruction but government-encouraged colonisation is the main one in the long term. 'Harvest' projects, if they are successful, are likely to encourage *more* colonists to seek a living in the forest.

But quite apart from these wider objections, there are many criticisms of Cultural Survival's *specific* schemes. These began not as one might assume as small-scale projects buying from local indigenous people and paying fair prices. Cultural Survival has promoted its work largely through a snack containing Brazil nuts (as well as several non-rainforest ingredients) called, 'rainforest crunch'. But the nuts were actually bought through normal commercial suppliers - not Indians. An added problem is that the Brazil nut industry is a big business in Brazil and is serviced by underpaid and exploited labour. Cultural Survival has, in fact, bought its nuts off one of the most notorious and corrupt suppliers.

But Survival International also supports marketing projects!

Survival has no policy on what the future of tribal peoples should or should not be, it affirms simply that they should be allowed to decide that *for themselves*, and that they have no future unless their ownership rights over their lands and resources are secured. Its work is rooted in opposing violations of tribal peoples' human rights.

Survival does *not* oppose in any way tribal peoples having access to outside markets for their goods. On the contrary, for nearly 20 years, as well as its campaigning work and a variety of self-help and emergency field projects, Survival has funded tribal peoples' own marketing schemes in several countries. Practically all tribal peoples are in contact with markets anyway and many have been for generations.

Marketing their goods provides tribal peoples with cash to buy what they want and need.

But even the most appropriate schemes provide only a cash income. They *do not* lead to a *solution* to the desperately urgent problems tribal peoples face as their lands are invaded and their resources ransacked.

Survival is in favour of marketing projects as long as: they arise from the people themselves and are controlled by them; are appropriate within their economic and social situation (leading to genuine economic independence from exploitative middlemen and at the same time promoting cohesiveness rather than division within the communities concerned); and are not carried out by outside organisations for their own profit.

The projects being pursued by the Body Shop and Cultural Survival do not meet these criteria.

It is also vital that outside groups work *with* tribal peoples' own organisations and not subvert them by dealing with individuals who are allowed to amass personal wealth and power at the expense of the community. Otherwise this will inevitably lead to division and resentment (not to mention social dislocation and alienation) as has happened with such tragic consequences for the Kayapó.

There are many Indian peoples in Brazil and elsewhere who face urgent threats to their lives (Survival is continually releasing Urgent Action Bulletins and reports on these cases); it is tragic that public attention is now being diverted away from these and focussing on the ephemeral and unhelpful 'rainforest harvest' and the millions which are being spent to promote it.

The view of the Indian organisations

In 1991 the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples' Organisations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) published an attack on Cultural Survival accusing it of manipulating Indian meetings.

Earlier that year the Brazilian Rainforest Peoples' Alliance (Aliança dos Povos da Floresta) which incorporates the Union of Indian Nations (União das Nações Indígenas) published a detailed 'Evaluation of the Cultural Survival rainforest marketing project'.

This is a blistering attack on Cultural Survival which it accuses of *conceit*, and describes as *self-important, careless, irresponsible, colonial, paternalistic, and negative*.

The report says (in a translation also prepared by the Brazilian organisation):

[Our problems]... have been aggravated even more by the new wave of initiatives and proposals coming from outside, which are completely detached from the reality that we are constructing for ourselves...

Cultural Survival is turning into yet another intermediary in the complex social relationships of Amazonia...

Cultural Survival in a gesture of self-importance, launched a process of consuming tropical forest products infinitely greater than the capacity of... production that the traditional populations of Amazonia... have. With the motivation that the international market... needed to be captured before it lost interest, Cultural Survival decided all by itself, without consulting the grassroots organisations, that it would play the... intermediary... using the production of the traditional suppliers of nuts, 'historically exploiters' of the peoples of the forest...

We... disagree with the workings of... [Cultural Survival]... which... has interfered in some of our own initiatives...

We have also been adversely affected by the publicity that Cultural Survival has put out to the Brazilian press... This confuses... people ... about what we are doing... to introduce new ideas and propose alternatives for a self-sustainable economy... This should be the fruit of the evolution of organised sectors of our society, and not of the interference of a foreign organisation that has shown itself ready to help us only if 'it establishes the priorities instead of us'...

Despite needing tens of tons of Brazil nuts per year, only two years after beginning the Rainforest Crunch project... did Cultural Survival buy its first stock of... nuts that really came from a cooperative of Brazil nut collectors... All the rest of the... tons of this product were prepared with nuts purchased from the same traditional monopolies which exploit Brazil nut collectors...

Consequently... the largest exporter of... nuts in the country... declared that as a result of international interest in forest products, their... sales increased considerably...

Cultural Survival created an island with potential for prosperity, but increased the difficulties in all the other regions of Amazonia which are still exploited by the same bosses who become richer and richer. Their investment in a viable alternative is insignificant compared to the disadvantages caused in other regions...

We don't recognise any advantages in our association with Cultural Survival, since their concrete help with our initiatives has been minimal, and their negative repercussions have been enormous.

Survival International (Survival) is very anxious that its supporters and others have a clear understanding of the differences in Survival's and Cultural Survival's approach to these issues. And we wish to make it clear that, in spite of the similarity in the names and the apparently similar objectives, Survival has no connection whatsoever with Cultural Survival.

Greens' Amazon forest hero is wanted for rape

THE GLOBAL Forum running in parallel with the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro was rocked yesterday by the information that Paulinho Paiakan, the Caiapo Indian chief from the Amazon state of Para, and a figure of world renown since he received the UN's Global 500 award for services to the environment in 1989, was wanted by the police for rape, torture and attempted murder.

The story broke in the weekly news magazine *Veja*, which gave details of the rape of Silvia Leticia da Luz Ferreira, an 18-year-old who was teaching Paulinho Paiakan's three daughters to read and write Portuguese.

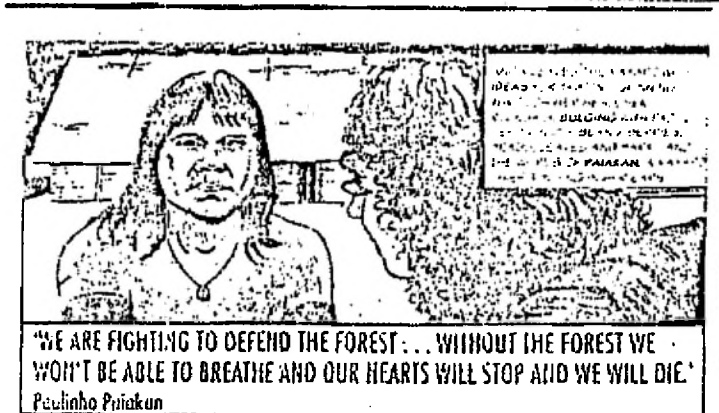
From Rik Turner
in Rio de Janeiro

According to the report, the Caiapo chief was aided in the attack by his wife and the rape was witnessed by his five-year-old daughter, while a white man who worked for the chief heard the girl's screams and arrived to save her from strangulation.

Paulinho Paiakan was to have been in Rio yesterday to address the Global Forum alongside an assortment of the green and famous, including the Dalai Lama. But he has vanished into the forest where his tribe lives.

A British anthropologist who has worked with the Caiapo and preferred to remain anonymous said that the story in *Veja* alleged the chief and his wife were drunk when the rape took place, and "until recently the Caiapos had only ever drunk water". If the story is true, she went on, Paulinho Paiakan may have been "drunk on power also, because he's an ordinary person who was suddenly catapulted to fame".

In addition to fame, he and his tribe accumulated a fortune recently thanks to their authorisation to exploit tropical woods. They have sold mahogany worth \$60m (£33m) over the past three



"WE ARE FIGHTING TO DEFEND THE FOREST... WITHOUT THE FOREST WE WON'T BE ABLE TO BREATHE AND OUR HEARTS WILL STOP AND WE WILL DIE."
Paulinho Paiakan

A children's comic published by the Body Shop shows Paiakan in talks with Anita Roddick about the supply of forest products

years and in April Paulinho Paiakan appeared at a press conference in London to announce that the tribe had closed a deal with Anita Roddick's Body Shop to supply 6,000 litres a year of natural oils from the rainforest for the manufacture of hair condi-

tioner. His wealth has given him a private aeroplane, two cars, wide tracts of land and several employees, including the one who, according to *Veja*, saved Ms da Luz Ferreira's life.

Earth Summit, page 13
Letters, page 18

Entidade culpa comércio verde

ANTONIO CARLOS SEIDL

De Londres

A Survival International, entidade internacional de proteção aos direitos dos povos tribais, culpou a empresa britânica de cosméticos naturais "Body Shop" pelo escândalo que envolve Paiakan.

"Na nossa opinião, os projetos da Body Shop com Paiakan são, pelo menos parcialmente, responsáveis a medida que a empresa colocou esse homem em uma posição de riqueza e poder consideráveis", disse à Folha o diretor-geral da Survival International, Stephen Cory.

Em seu livro "Body & Soul" (Corpo e Alma), publicado recentemente em Londres, a dona da

"Body Shop", a empresária Anita Roddick, 49, refere-se a Paiakan como "um novo Gandhi".

"O projeto da 'Body Shop' com os índios caiapós é prejudicial em vez de benéfico, porque coloca muito poder nas mãos de um só indivíduo", disse Stephen Cory.

O diretor-geral da Survival International diz que o suposto crime de Paiakan é um "sério revés" para o movimento de proteção aos direitos dos índios.

Phil Talbot, porta-voz da "Body Shop", disse que a empresa ficou "absolutamente atordoada" com a notícia do suposto comportamento criminoso de Paiakan. "Nós já tranquilizamos a comunidade caiapo. Nossos negócios vão continuar", disse Talbot.

Survival International, international organisation working for the rights of tribal peoples, blames the British cosmetics company, the 'Body Shop' for the scandal surrounding Paiakan.

Speaking to 'Folha' the Director General of Survival International said: "In our opinion, the projects which 'Body Shop' has run with Paiakan are at least in part responsible, in that the company has put him in a position of considerable wealth and power."

In her book 'Body and Soul', recently published in London, the head of 'Body Shop', Anita Roddick (49), refers to Paiakan as "a new Gandhi".

"Body Shop's project with the Kayapo Indians is harmful rather than beneficial because it places power in the hands of one individual", says Stephen Cory.

The Director General of Survival International says that the alleged crime by Paiakan is a serious blow for the movement to protect the rights of tribal peoples.

Phil Talbot, spokesman for the 'Body Shop', said that the company was "extremely shocked" by the news of the alleged criminal behaviour of Paiakan. "We have already reassured the Kayapo community. Our business will go on."



Friend of the famous: Chief Paiakan with Sting... now the accusation of rape has brought shame

Rape disgrace of tribal chief feted by ecology lobby

IT SHOULD have been their finest hour. With their spectacular seabird head-dresses of yellow parrot feathers waving in the breeze, the Kayapo Indians were featured on television news bulletins all over the globe as they campaigned to save the rainforest at the Earth Summit. But the parade, once graced by the tribe's natural dignity, was this time tainted with disgrace and shame.

On the day the Kayapo had a chance to seize maximum publicity, Chief Paulinho Paiakan, one of their key leaders and links with the First World, had taken refuge from police in the very rainforest his tribe was trying to protect. He was a fugitive from a horrific scandal.

Paiakan, world media star and friend of Sting, Jimmy Carter and a roster of celebrities attracted by the fashionable Amazon campaign, was accused last week of the rape, torture and attempted murder of the 18-year-old virgin who taught his daughters Portuguese. He denies all the charges. The victim, said the doctor who examined her, had been subjected to a "cannibalistic" assault and is said to have had part of a breast bitten off.

The girl claimashe was attacked after being driven home by Paiakan and his wife, Kekra, after a family barbecue where he had been drinking beer all afternoon. According to her statement to police, Paiakan stopped on a

by Sean Ryan
Brazil

deserted road, climbed in the back, hit her in the face and tore off her Bermuda shorts and shirt. As he raped her, she alleges, Kekra gripped her by the neck to keep her still. Paiakan then allegedly tried to strangle her with a piece of wire and was only stopped by a passer-by who heard the girl's screams and fired her at gunpoint. During the girl's ordeal Paiakan and his wife are said to have smeared blood over each others' bodies.

Environmentalists who revere Paiakan for his selfless statesmanship are aghast at the allegations. Their adopted chief, listed on three continents, holder of three international honours, had in just four years focused world attention on the devastation of the rainforests. He had persuaded the World Bank to withdraw funding from dam projects that would have flooded vast areas of forest. With Anita Roddick, founder of Body Shop, he had helped his village pioneer a deal that could provide a model for forest conservation and development. How could this man be capable of such an attack? It is a question that has brought sober reflection from anthropologists and eco-campaigners alike: did Paiakan snap under the pressures of being touted around the world as an international celebrity

with a politically correct cause?

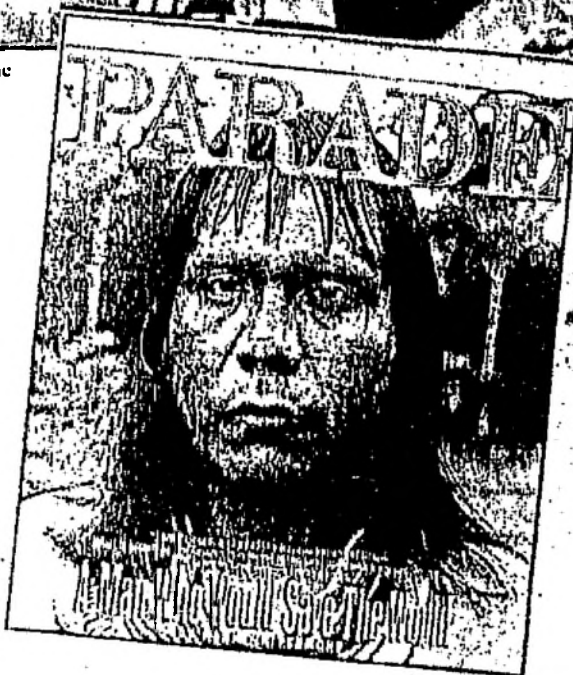
Last week Paiakan appeared on Brazilian television to deny all charges but admit he had had sex with the teacher in the car while his wife was sleeping. "Everything happened because of the drink," he told viewers, threatening retribution if there were revenge attacks. "If an Indian dies in the city, remember we Kayapo are warriors and do not fear death."

His lawyer claims that any injuries to the girl were caused by his wife, who attacked her in a fit of jealousy when she woke up. This defence is significant. Under Brazilian law Indians are not defined as "emancipated" by the country's constitution, which according to some experts means they cannot be tried legally. Paiakan is likely to be regarded as sufficiently assimilated into Western culture to stand trial; his wife is not.

This weekend there was an ugly stand-off in the frontier town of Redeneo after 2,000 Brazilians demanded police capture the chief. "To carry out the order, we might have to face a real battle," said Lieutenant-Colonel Jaime Jesus de Oliveira, who has called in a crack squad of jungle fighters.

On home ground the Kayapo will put up a tough fight; seven years ago they confronted an invasion of 4,000 gold prospectors and took several hostages until the Brazilian government agreed the miners pay a commission.

At first Paiakan's supporters suggested his enemies had set him up. They were suspicious about the timing of the scandal, just as the Indians were pressing for protection of tribal territories. Their scepticism increased when they learnt the doctor who examined Paiakan's alleged victim was already involved in a dispute with his wife, who accused him last year of sterilising her without her consent.



A saviour lost? Paiakan's old press image

Brazilian scientists, too, are battered by the allegations, because there is no precedent for a Kayapo attacking a white girl. "It is imaginable that they might kill another person. Even cannibalism is imaginable, but a sexual crime is not," said Darcy Ribeiro, an anthropologist and former deputy governor of Rio state, who lived with Kayapos for 10 years.

Olímpio Serro, chairman of

national, which campaigns for indigenous groups. Paiakan's jettisoning as sole representative of his tribes is unnatural, argue its campaigners, because at home decisions are democratically shared among elders.

Yesterday Gordon Roddick, co-founder of Body Shop, rejected any suggestion that business dealings had put strain on Paiakan, whose village is paid £100,000 a year for nut oil used in a hair conditioner. "He only travelled when he thought it was his duty and when he wanted to," said Roddick, whose shops sell a brochure featuring Paiakan as a cartoon character.

Lucrative business deals, however well-intentioned, have brought inter-tribal jealousies. The "trade not aid" formula can disrupt the balance of a community that has evolved over centuries. Among the Kayapo, for example, there have been grievances over pay between those who harvest the nut and those who process it, and disputes with others who prefer logging. One Kayapo chief is said to have made a deal with a timber company that allowed him and his sons to move into a city hotel with white prostitutes.

As the Paiakan scandal unravels, the Indians risk losing one of their most influential world voices. Arnold Newman, an American naturalist and author who has travelled with Indians abroad, said: "They never want to leave the forest. They feel impelled as statesmen to make that sacrifice. Paiakan's may be the ultimate sacrifice."

▲ The victim, said the doctor, was subject to a cannibalistic assault and is said to have had part of a breast bitten off ▼

the Rain Forest Foundation (traid, the charity founded by Sting, said that if a crime was committed, it must be connected with Paiakan's exposure to Western influences, not least in the cities of Europe and America.

Thirty years ago few Kayapo leaders had ever met a white man. Today Paiakan uses a private plane and two cars, and travels the world lecturing and securing marketing deals for rainforest products such as Brazil nut oil. Staying in touch with his tribal roots has been difficult.

The pressures are tremendous, says Survival Inter-

The Sunday Times
Sunday 14 June 1992

TO: Jordana
FROM: Jason
DATE: 5 July 1992

SUBJECT: SI's Documents About Cultural Survival

These are some notes on the various documents that SI put together in their dossier.

First a few notes on Pam's memo to Gordon and Jilly:

--at the launch of RF Crunch, there were no local cooperatives that were shelling B-nuts for export, period. It was not a question of quality, quantity or prices. Crunch in fact helped us to generate the publicity and much later the money needed to finance the first collector-owned shelling factory at Xapuri.

--CS only works with groups that have expressed interest in working with us. We do not go to the forest to convert the inhabitants to capitalism. Most of them are already involved in marketing of some sort. They just don't get a fair deal in the marketplace. Our role is to help change that. Most groups, however, realize that at least part of their future will be determined in the marketplace, even if they have guaranteed land rights. Few groups want to live as their ancestors did. There are things that they want that they cannot harvest from the forest even if their land rights are protected.

--Crunch is merely one of more than 100 products that we have helped to introduce in the marketplace in the past three years with more 30 companies. CSE is, in fact, responsible for more than 95% of all the rainforest products on the shelves.

--When we started, there were no local groups producing for export. That is why we sourced commercially and then charged a fee with which to support local groups to get started. Today at least part of the 15 or so commodities that we sell are sourced from local groups--half entirely so--with the exception of babassu oil, cashew nuts and annatto. The first two of these three will begin to be sourced from local groups later this year.

--In addition to all the funds mentioned in the memo, CSE has provided some \$45,000 to Xapuri for technical and financial assistance/consultants.

Comments on the SI document

Quotable Quotes

A. CS does not encourage opening a stall at the marketplace. Most have already done it. Also, CS does not undertake business

as usual. We do unusual business. In fact, we are using the market to generate the funds that will help change it.

B. No single solution will solve the problems of indigenous peoples. Foreign and local markets, land rights, local organizations, sustainable resource management, and advocacy will all contribute to a successful but uphill battle to help indigenous people define and shape their own futures. The combination of these variables will be different for each group.

C. The strategy does not undermine the actions of indigenous peoples. Quite the contrary, it supports them. It generates funds and publicity for them. Because of marketing efforts, nearly 100,000,000 consumers have been exposed to the problems indigenous peoples face as well as the direct connection between their fate and that of the resources that they (and the rest of the world) depend upon.

D. We, too, understand the primary importance of land rights to the survival of indigenous peoples. That is why for more than a decade, unlike Survival International, we have actually helped groups directly to defend their land rights. We do not just seek headlines and media attention, we quietly help groups take cases to court, hire lawyers and protect their land and resource rights. In Brazil, working with the Body Shop, CS has supported the Nucleus for Indigenous Rights, which took the test case that forced the Federal government to kick 40,000 gold miners out of the Yanomami territory. This did not happen due to headlines and urgent action bulletins. It happened because we were able to help NDI hire competent lawyers to force the eviction. SI does not provide this kind of assistance.

E. The marketing of rainforest products has done more to shape public opinion in 3 years than SI has in its entire existence.

F. We are not trying to save only those areas or those groups that can pay their own way. However, some areas or groups can use the market to protect themselves if it is done right and carefully. The marketing of products can generate funds that can be used even for those areas and groups that do not have products to be marketed or that have no desire to market products. For example, with funds the program has generated we have supported the work of CEDI. CEDI has mapped all the Indian areas in Brazil and is now scanning landsat images to determine when and where Indian areas are being invaded. In all its work on land rights, has SI ever financially supported anything so concrete for 180 different Indian nations?

G. The question has much to do with pragmatism and realism. It also has much to do with global campaigns as well as specific interventions at the level of the village and group. There have been significant gains in the past 20 years that have resulted from well orchestrated campaigns and CS has been involved in most of them. These campaigns have worked because people have not accepted the realities of others, just as CS does not accept the

current reality of the market place for our own marketing of rainforest products.

H. CS, too, supports tribal people throughout the world. We believe in self-determination and, unlike SI, spend most of our budget on projects that are designed and run by local groups. These projects, since the 1970s, have focussed on land rights, local organizing and sustainable resource management. Recently we added marketing to the overall support.

Differences between the two organizations

1. CS believes that virtually all indigenous peoples will want to undertake development programs on their own lands.

2. CS received \$114,295 from US AID in 1987/88 and \$174,633 in 1988/89. This represented 17.6 and 14.9 percent of our annual operating budget each year. In 1990/91, our last full financial year, we received \$59,500 or 1.7% of our total budget. We have always had a base at and strong links to Harvard. However, Harvard has had no say or influence over our programs; we pay rent to Harvard for our offices. Many of our senior staff are anthropologists in keeping with our belief that good intentions, like SI's, are not enough to guide our programs.

3. Each group that has ever been offered funds from CS that originated from the US government has been advised about the source of the funds and asked if they wanted the money or not. If they object to the funds then we attempt to obtain them from other sources.

4. In 1989/90, CS members provided 56.8% of our funds; in 1990/91, members provided 61.1%. During the same years, some 30 foundations (e.g. not Ford or AID) provided CS with 31.1 and 30.2 percent of our funding.

5. In its report, CS stated that there was not sufficient evidence to suggest that the government of Paraguay was orchestrating a genocidal campaign against the Ache. The report also stated that the situation of the Ache was similar to that of Indians on the frontier throughout the Amazon basin.

6. This is only one of CS's programs. It seeks to help those groups that want help with marketing and generate funds in different ways for support of other traditional human rights types of programs.

7. CS has sponsored several campaigns. One, regarding the Ethiopian famine, SI thought so much of that it copied it using CS's findings. Our publications have been addressed to both policy makers and the educated public. Consequently, they have had considerable influence and have been the main source of our 20,000 members.

8. The concert took place in the US one year later and generated

more than \$400,000 for projects in the rainforest and with rain-forest peoples. You can see from the list of projects funded what CS has supported. They all support tribal peoples rights.

9. CS's materials are published in Spanish. Each issue of our Quarterly identifies common threads and issues relating to indigenous peoples from around the world. Each informs numerous groups about both problems that similar groups are facing and potential solutions. In general, however, our work with indigeneous peoples is not through general publications, but rather through specific tailor-made assistance programs that involve indigenous and nonindigenous consultants as well as training programs.

10. CS has UN observer status.

11. CS has offices in the US, UK, Costa Rica and Brazil, and an affiliated organization in Canada. We also have a part-time staff in the Philippines, Ecuador and Bolivia. We are not convinced, however, that the number of offices is really a good indicator of effectiveness. We work directly with nearly 100 organizations throughout the world each year, and we have a network of more than 1,000 organizations that provide information on a regular basis. We also have a scholars network of more than 3,000 to undertake research on both urgent and chronic issues affecting indigenous peoples.

Fruits of the Harvest

1. We don't do business as usual. We act as the trader and set up commercial relationships that benefit local groups.

2. Our approach is far more complicated than presented by SI. All the concerns expressed by SI have been thought through, and we come down on different sides of the issue. We do not disagree that land and resources are key to the survival of indigenous peoples. We think that there are a number of strategies to protect or guarantee these rights and that many of them are complementary. That is why our own programs complement and reinforce each other.

3. When we began our program there were no local suppliers of nuts. We used the existing suppliers to provide the nuts needed to make products such as Crunch. Forest groups approved of the suppliers that we purchased from. We did not purchase from the Mutran family, one of the "most notorious and corrupt suppliers".

bottom of page two:

The paper purportedly from the Alianca was written by an individual and never signed by the Alianca's leadership. Clearly the report reflected considerable frustration on the part of individuals, mostly regarding the publicity and apparent income that marketing has raised.

It was never an official document. The document was not translated to English by the organization, but rather by the Rainforest Action Network. It was sent to CS as a discussion paper for debate on very important issues. Our initial meeting in October of 1990 ended with the decision to do an evaluation of marketing in Brazil. The members of the Alianca, however, could not agree on the content of the document, but rather than delay longer it was sent anyway.

CS and members of the Alianca met in April of 1991. It is our understanding that most of the concerns expressed in the paper (some of them were based on accurate information, others were not) have been addressed since that time. Some of them are more process-oriented and will continue to be addressed for the life of the project.

Jordana, one of the main problems was that specific Indian and rubbertapper leaders wanted us to put all the money (environmental premiums and revenue sharing) back through them so that they could control them and in fact use them to coerce others into joining them. They want it as a form of patronage. We argued that the organizations they were part of did not represent all of the other forest groups in Brazil. They and others could establish priorities and guidelines, but we would have to control the final decisions in order to guarantee to the consumer and manufacturer that their trust in the program has not been violated.

Since that time, the leaders of both UNI and CNS (Indian and rubbertappers) have been changed. This does not mean that the new ones are more representative, it just reinforces our need to maintain control over the use of the funds while developing a solid board of advisors in Brazil. SI doesn't get into this kind of issue because they don't work at the local level. They take it at face value that individuals are legitimate representatives of local groups.

Clearly this cannot go into any reply to SI's material, but you should know about these things. I will give you the complete document and my reply.

Cultural Survival U.K., 4 Albion Place, Galena Road, Hammersmith, London W6 OLT.
Tel. 081 741 8090, Fax. 081 741 2951

17 September 1992

New Statesman Society
Foundation House
Perseverance Works
38 Kingsland Road
London E2 8DQ

To the Editors:

Setting the Record Straight

Cultural Survival, an organisation which supports the rights of indigenous people and ethnic minorities, has been the target (along with The Body Shop PLC) of a disinformation campaign launched over the last several months by Survival International (SI). This campaign by SI has been mentioned in two articles by Alexander Cockburn (4 and 11 September). SI's attack on Cultural Survival coincides with the establishment this year of our new London office. Cultural Survival has remained silent in the face of SI's irresponsible and unsubstantiated allegations, finding them uninformed and undeserving of serious consideration.

Via fax, Survival International has internationally disseminated a misinformed "dossier" and several slanderous press releases attacking Cultural Survival. Through this malicious campaign, SI has sought to gain public relations advantage and to define itself by describing the ways in which it differs from Cultural Survival.

Like Cultural Survival, SI is an organisation that advocates for indigenous rights and, as such, it could work with us on behalf of an important cause rather than wasting its energy and resources attacking one of the few organisations making serious headway on serious problems.

Unfortunately, over the past several months, Cultural Survival's efforts at goodwill, tolerance, and cooperation with SI have not borne fruit. Meanwhile, its attacks have continued. At this juncture, we have no alternative but to set the record straight.

Cultural Survival: Facts vs. Fiction

1. Cultural Survival's non-profit marketing program helps indigenous groups living in fragile ecosystems to modify traditional resource management schemes and generate income through processing and marketing their products directly to companies if they so choose. SI asserts that CS's approach to marketing is harmful because it forces indigenous people's futures to be linked to their ability to produce for foreign markets. This is untrue.

CS believes that indigenous peoples will decide their own futures if given the economic opportunities and political freedom to operate as equals alongside powerful development forces such as governmental agencies and multi-national companies. There are many indigenous communities around the world that are interested in undertaking development initiatives on their own lands and a large number are already doing so. CS assists those groups that want help marketing their traditional products in more resourceful and sustainable ways while protecting their basic human rights. Through our marketing program, we act as the trader and set up commercial relationships with local communities that benefit these groups politically, legally, and economically.

Cultural Survival's overall approach to indigenous rights and resource management is thus far more complex than SI paints it. Like SI, we believe that control of land and resources is the key to the survival of indigenous peoples. However, we believe that there are numerous ways to protect or guarantee these rights and that many of them - such as resource management and marketing assistance - are complementary. Ensuring that their land and resources are economically viable is widely recognised by indigenous groups as an important way for them to both control their resources and protect their rights as a community. Marketing is important, but it is only one component of Cultural Survival's multifaceted program. Other areas of endeavor include research, financial and technical support of resource management initiatives, public education, and direct work with policy makers.

2. SI has "accused" Cultural Survival of receiving "significant" contributions from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). As part of its overall efforts on behalf of indigenous peoples, CS seeks to influence governmental development policies as well as those of bi-lateral and multi-lateral development agencies. At CS, we are proud of the way we have been able to leverage our own government's policies and affect the way valuable resources are spent, provided the money is offered without strings attached.

USAID funding represented 17.6% of CS's budget in 1987/88 and 14.9% in 1988/89. In 1990/1991, we received 1.7% of our total budget or \$59,500 from USAID. Every local group which receives grants or aid from CS is informed of the source of that funding, be it USAID or otherwise. If a group objects to the source of its funding then we seek to obtain the funds from alternative sources.

3. SI has also attacked Cultural Survival's links with Harvard University, implying that our policies and projects are somehow inappropriately influenced by this institutional association. This is untrue. Cultural Survival is a completely independent organisation.

CS has always had a commitment to scholarly excellence, a value that Harvard upholds, and this has formed the basis of our informed activism. Our work has always been rooted in solid research and we have successfully forged many fruitful links between the international research community, indigenous peoples, and pro-indigenous activists. CS has a respected research centre and publishes an award-

winning journal, the Cultural Survival Quarterly, as well as many books on anthropology, development, and human rights. In addition, we are currently preparing a global report on "The State of the Nations" to coincide with the UN Year of the World's Indigenous People in 1993.

4. SI has attacked Cultural Survival for not directing its materials towards indigenous communities themselves. This is also untrue. CS materials are aimed primarily at audiences who are working directly on a wide range of issues facing indigenous societies. Indigenous peoples, pro-indigenous activists, policy makers, anthropologists, economists, human rights activists, students, and members of the general public all read our publications and support our projects. Our research on the Ethiopian famine, for example, was even used - though not often cited - by SI in its own work.

CS materials are published in Spanish, thus making them accessible to most of the indigenous groups we work with in Latin America, where the majority of our field work has taken place. As the scope of our field projects expands, we will adapt our materials to reach the widest audience possible. Unlike SI, most of our contact with indigenous groups is not through publications or campaigns. It is through face-to-face contact and direct, tailor-made assistance programs with individual indigenous communities. It is through these resource management and financial and legal assistance projects that we feel we can make the greatest impact on the lives of indigenous peoples.

5. SI has accused Cultural Survival of not being a genuinely international organisation. This is misleading. While our international headquarters and several branch offices are located in the United States, we also have offices in the UK, Costa Rica, and Brazil, as well as an affiliated organisation in Canada. In addition, Cultural Survival employs part-time staff in the Philippines, Ecuador, and Bolivia. We work directly with nearly 100 organisations throughout the world every year, and we have a network of over 1000 international organisations that provide us with information on a regular basis. We have also established a scholars network of over 3000 individuals who undertake research on urgent and long term issues affecting indigenous peoples. Thus, all of our work is informed by the close alliances we have cultivated with indigenous peoples and leading indigenous rights activists and scholars throughout the world.

CS has also been recognised as a non-governmental organisation (NGO) by the United Nations. We are currently applying for consultative status with the UN.

6. SI has attacked Cultural Survival for its relationship with The Body Shop, a corporation dedicated to social change and to the support of indigenous peoples. We are honored to be collaborating with a company that takes its commitment to indigenous rights as seriously as The Body Shop. Their trading initiatives, like our own marketing program, provides indigenous communities with the extraordinary opportunity to control their resources while generating much-needed income. Cultural Survival is proud to count The Body Shop and nearly 100 other companies as collaborators in a "conspiracy" to support indigenous peoples in their struggle for

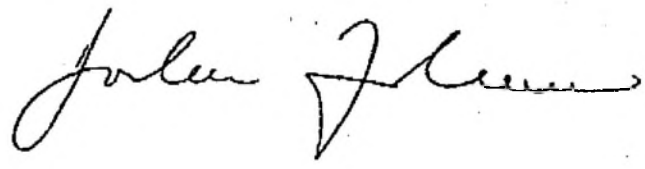
survival and economic independence. We only wish that a thousand more companies would do the same.

In conclusion, we hope that Survival International will continue its work on behalf of indigenous peoples. The forces acting against indigenous peoples are so powerful in this world that organisations such as SI and ourselves should be concentrating all our energies on changing present realities in the realm of indigenous rights. Cultural Survival is pleased to have had the opportunity to set the record straight regarding our own work and we intend to move forward and to ensure that indigenous peoples receive, both locally and internationally, the rights and recognition that they so clearly deserve.

Yours Sincerely,



Pam Solo
Executive Director, Cultural Survival



Jordana Friedman
European Representative, Cultural Survival