

Introduction

“Pashpashqwa” (Aymara concept)
“Despite everything, I continue being”

From the beginning of their interface with the United Nations in the 1970s, Indigenous peoples have recounted numerous stories about contemporary conflicts that ravage their lands and communities, resulting in massacres, rapes and other gross violations of human rights, including forced conscription into the army and militia, heavy militarization of their areas, destruction of their cultural heritage, outright settlement of their lands, displacement and deprivation of their means of livelihood. Many of those situations often go unreported, ignored by mainstream media and pushed into political invisibility or trivialized by states and non-state actors, such as corporations.

Indigenous peoples in different parts of the world experience conflict differently: it could be armed conflict or non-armed conflict; systemic discrimination and entrenched settler colonialism; systematic denial of cultural rights, including destruction of tangible or intangible cultural heritage. The uniqueness of the historical experience of Indigenous peoples creates many blind spots in the mainstream media and areas of urgent investigation for scholars and advocates. In other situations, efforts towards peace agreements or similar arrangements have been made, but the gaps in implementation remain.

Most conflicts today, at least in the classical sense of armed conflict, have been of an internal nature and it has taken some time for the peace processes of the United Nations and other multilateral organizations to absorb this fact. Only a quarter to a third of modern civil wars (including anti-colonial wars) have found their way to negotiation. About two-thirds of internal conflicts have ended in the surrender or elimination of one of the parties involved.¹ The UN peace mechanisms, especially the Security Council, took time to absorb this new type of conflict in international affairs and to actually recognize it as an international matter—not just as an internal matter. A gradual

1. *Reclaiming Balance*, V. Tauli-Corpuz and Joji Carino eds., (Baguio City, Philippines: Tebtebba and Third World Network, 2004), 558.

and slow shift in approaches and methodologies occurred over the years, especially through the interface between peace and human rights. Some expressions of a conceptual shift are the establishment of the International Criminal Court; the emergence of the doctrine of the responsibility to protect civilians in armed conflict, including internal conflict; the protection of internally displaced persons; the protection of women in armed conflict (Security Council Resolution 1325); the protection of children in armed conflict (UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/51/77); as well as the prevention of genocide and other mass atrocities.

This shift started happening after the end of the Cold War, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and that of Yugoslavia. How was ethnicity viewed by the UN in the area of conflict? It is well known that ethnicity was viewed with tremendous fear and skepticism by states after WWII, and this view of ethnicity intensified when it came to the peace/conflict mechanisms of the UN. However, the thawing of the ice in terms of how ethnicity was viewed in the peace arena started happening around the mid-1990s. In those days, the UN started recognizing that attention should be paid to the issue of minorities (ethnic, religious) and their treatment (i.e., the respect of their human rights) so that conflict can be prevented. At that time, the authors of various UN reports that I witnessed during my work in the Organization had in mind the ethnic rifts in the Balkans, but also the former Soviet Union. That was also the time that the Rwandan genocide took place and that stirred the world's awareness to the need not to close our eyes and ears to the signs of upcoming genocides. However, in the midst of the creation of this new doctrine and awareness at the UN, the plight of Indigenous Peoples was quite absent. By this I mean that Indigenous Peoples were not recognized as a category, but were subsumed under "ethnic groups" in general, without any special attention to the specificities of their situations. The first time that special attention was paid to Indigenous Peoples by the peace area of the UN was in connection with the peace process in Guatemala. Such attention had been absent in similar efforts in El Salvador.

Despite the overall invisibility of Indigenous Peoples' issues in UN peacekeeping and peace-building, there has been one small but

focused program that has annually addressed Indigenous Peoples: *UNITAR Training Programme to Enhance the Conflict Prevention and Peacemaking Capacities of Indigenous Peoples' Representatives*. It was developed in 2000 based on the requests of Indigenous representatives for strengthened capacities in the resolution of conflict, and on the recommendation of UN Special Rapporteurs to enhance Indigenous abilities to engage in negotiation and the realization of rights. The programme provides training for Indigenous representatives in conflict analysis, negotiation, conflict transformation and reconciliation, coupled with information on UN and regional human rights mechanisms to further the promotion and protection of rights, and to contribute to the realization of the implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. By 2017, 483 Indigenous Peoples' representatives from around the world, 40% of whom are women, have deepened their knowledge and strengthened their skills through participation in the training programme.

Indigenous Peoples themselves have been discussing issues of conflict and peace and have been developing actions and proposing solutions at the global level. In the year 2000, in Manila, an international Indigenous leaders' conference was held on Conflict Resolution, Peace Building, Sustainable Development and Indigenous Peoples. The outcome document, referred to as the Manila Declaration, calls for the establishment of an international mechanism and affirms the right of Indigenous Peoples: "...to create new systems and institutions of peace-making that are sourced in Indigenous values and that co-exist with existing bodies such as the International Court of Justice and similar regional bodies. Such institutions could include independent Indigenous Peoples' tribunals; [and] commissions of inquiry that are recognized as legitimate organs in any process of conflict resolution."² The Manila Declaration contains detailed recommendations for peace-building, technical assistance, training in mediation and other approaches to conflict resolution. It also recognizes the critical role that women play in peace-building in their communities.

2. Manila Declaration Preamble (2000), <http://www.twn.my/title/manila.htm>

Although the mandate of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) does not explicitly include issues of peace and conflict, in 2004, when the UNPFII focused its session on Indigenous women, it addressed the issue of the impact of conflict on Indigenous women,³ but did not examine the topic more broadly. Given the prevalence of conflicts affecting Indigenous Peoples, it is not hard to understand why, on several occasions, such issues have gained visibility at the UN despite the lack of formal procedures to deal with them. It was, for example, in 2003 that the Bureau of the Permanent Forum met the President of the Security Council regarding atrocities faced by the Batwa people in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Permanent Forum members repeatedly held meetings with the UN Department of Peace-keeping Operations to bring to their attention violence and crimes against Indigenous Peoples, including Indigenous women, committed by soldiers of troop-contributing countries on Indigenous lands in their own countries. In the case of Colombia, where criminal elements and corporations were threatening many Indigenous Peoples with extinction, the Permanent Forum was able to visit the country in 2010 and present a report,⁴ and there were also reports of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2009 and 2010⁵ that described the challenges in Colombia. In addition, a report of Lars-Anders Baer, Member of the UNPFII, on the state of implementation of the Peace Accord regarding the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh⁶ laid out some alarming developments and made concrete recommendations for solutions. It was especially significant that the UNPFII decided to have as a special theme of its 2016 session conflict and peace. The conclusions and recommendations of the Forum are reproduced in Appendix Two.

To accompany the work of the Permanent Forum and of the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of Cultural Rights in 2016, the Institute for the Study of Human Rights (Indigenous Peoples' Rights Program) at Columbia University organized an International Seminar on *Indigenous*

3. E/2004/43.

4. E/C.19/2011/13.

5. A/HRC/15/34 and follow up in A/HRC/15/37/Add. 3.

6. E/C.19/2011/6.

Peoples' Rights and Unreported Struggles: Conflict and Peace, from 14–15 May 2016. The questions addressed at the Seminar included the following: What are the forms of violence specific to Indigenous peoples? Are there forms that do not express themselves in physical violence? Are there specific causes for conflicts affecting Indigenous peoples? What can we learn from case studies? Can existing norms and policies for dealing with conflict apply to Indigenous peoples? What is the international normative framework applicable to conflict affecting Indigenous peoples and its resolution? Has the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples had an impact on conflict resolution and peace solutions? Should Indigenous peoples-related conflicts be handled differently from other so-called “ethnic conflicts”? What gaps must be addressed in terms of national and international mechanisms for the prevention of atrocities and the promotion of peace in cases where Indigenous Peoples are involved? What impact does the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage have on Indigenous Peoples’ human rights? What is the human rights approach and response to the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage of Indigenous peoples? How could existing mechanisms of conflict resolution, national and international, be improved in regards to Indigenous Peoples? What can be learned from efforts toward conflict resolution involving Indigenous Peoples, including peace agreements and a gender perspective, in different parts of the world? What are the opportunities we can seize to make progress in this area and what recommendations can we make to various parties?

The International Seminar was co-sponsored by Columbia’s Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race, the Human Rights Institute of Columbia Law School, the Heyman Center for the Humanities, The Columbia University Seminar on Indigenous Studies and the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. It was also co-sponsored by Gáldu Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Norway), the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (Denmark), the Tebtebba Foundation (The Philippines) and the Universidad Indígena Intercultural de America Latina y el Caribe. The Seminar held nine panels and heard twenty-eight speakers, including two keynotes (the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

and the UN Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights). Some 120 participants attended the Seminar from around the world representing Indigenous Peoples, governments, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and academia. A summary of observations, lessons learned and recommendations from the International Seminar appear in Appendix One.

Most of the authors in this volume participated at the International Seminar at Columbia. Others were also invited to contribute. The book has been conceptualized to address broad issues of conflict and peace pertaining to Indigenous Peoples and their human rights. While some of the chapters are geographically specific, they each address major questions that are relevant to many situations and are examples of broader interest. Inspired by Indigenous Peoples' unwavering efforts and initiatives towards the resolution of conflicts, the book asks questions that underlie the global peace agenda, yet provide the Indigenous angle, in addition to highlighting topics that are particular to the situation of Indigenous Peoples: the human rights standards applicable in situations of conflict, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (the Declaration); the issue of the responsibility to protect; violence against women; women's contributions to peace; environmental violence; grassroots peace movements and their strategies; the negotiation and implementation of peace accords; structural violence; seeking conflict resolution through the courts; the potential and limits of shaming and sanctions; and a peace-mapping model for sustainable peace that includes Indigenous theories of peace.

The book contains a number of case studies with a geographical focus at the national level—Chile, Nicaragua, Colombia, Russia, India, Bangladesh, the Philippines—or at the regional level, namely Africa, in the Great Lakes region and East Africa.

The title of the book contains the phrase “unreported struggles” to underline the invisibility that often coats Indigenous Peoples' struggles in the context of conflicts, as part of deeply engrained structural violence and its long-term historic roots of dispossession, trivialization and marginalization imposed on Indigenous Peoples by the colonial paradigm.

The book starts with a global overview of the topic of conflict, peace and the human rights of Indigenous Peoples by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples. While underlining the international legal standards applicable in situations of armed conflict, she highlights examples of two countries, Colombia and the Philippines, where Indigenous Peoples are caught in between on-going hostilities and continue to face serious violations of their rights, while also facing challenges in the context of peace negotiations and transitional justice. Tauli-Corpuz points out that, while the specific triggers and context of each armed conflict are different, the grave consequences of these conflicts share common characteristics of serious violations such as forced displacement, extrajudicial executions, sexual violence and forced recruitment of children. The violations against Indigenous Peoples in the context of armed conflict cause trauma and irreparable harm, destroy cultures and rip apart the social fabric of the affected Indigenous communities. Conflict generally affects Indigenous Peoples who are already marginalized and entrenches them in poverty, perpetuating high illiteracy rates and poor health indicators. Many Indigenous Peoples reside in ancestral territories that are rich in natural resources. Land disputes are frequently the root cause of conflict as Indigenous Peoples are faced with dominant and powerful political and economic interests who use the state institutions and state laws to seek control over their lands and exploit their resources. In many instances, there are private interests behind these actions, utilizing the presence of armed actors to facilitate land grabbing and exploitation of natural resources such as minerals and metals, oil, gas and coal, timber and water. In other situations, armed groups claim ideological grounds for occupying Indigenous lands and seek to involve Indigenous Peoples in their armed struggle. The often-scarce presence of state institutions and services in Indigenous territories leaves Indigenous Peoples particularly vulnerable to the force of non-state armed actors. The author states that collective reparations for Indigenous Peoples is an issue that should be considered within the potential remedy measures in the peace accords and these should be subject to prior consultation with Indigenous Peoples.

In Chapter 2, on intercultural conflict and peace-building, Jose Aylwin analyzes the struggles of Indigenous Peoples in Chile, which is one of the few, if not the only state in the region, which does not recognize Indigenous Peoples, nor does it recognize their collective rights, such as the right to political participation or autonomy or the right to lands and resources, in its political constitution that dates back to 1980. With the proliferation of land grabbing and land disputes and the securitization of public life that has negatively impacted the human rights of the Mapuche people, social movements have called for a constituent process aimed at replacing the 1980 Constitution by a new democratic, plural and inclusive constitution. Aylwin explores the potential of such a process for the resolution of conflicts that would entail the recognition of Indigenous Peoples' collective rights, including political and territorial rights denied today.

In Chapter 3, Mirna Cunningham also brings out the transformative potential of constitutional reform, by analyzing the example of the peace processes in Nicaragua. Since 1990, after the establishment of Autonomous Regional Governments, a process of transformation began in the Nicaraguan State, in which the definition of public policies regarding Indigenous Peoples' rights and the strengthening of autonomy has continued since. Describing, among others, the negotiation between the Government of Nicaragua with different armed Indigenous groups between 1984 and 1989 that led to the signing of approximately 400 peace accords, the author points out that conflict resolution requires diverse and complementary strategies. She also highlights the role of women in peace autonomy commissions.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on Africa. In Chapter 4, Albert Barume examines the impact and causes of conflicts on the most vulnerable or marginal social groups of African societies, notably Indigenous communities such as the San or "Bushmen," Touareg, Maasai and Batwa or "pygmies," which remain undocumented and are often denied or hidden. The author argues that conflicts affecting Africa have particularly impacted Indigenous Peoples in three major ways: firstly, there are African Indigenous communities caught up in conflicts between major groups; secondly, there are African Indigenous Peoples whose lands and territories are militarized for various reasons and that

are, to a certain extent, forced to join armed conflicts; thirdly, there are African Indigenous Peoples involved in land-related disputes resulting in open or latent conflicts, including with states and with private businesses. Paths identified by the author to uncover the imposed invisibility of such conflicts and to seek solutions include: firstly, African governments and policymakers coming to terms with their misunderstandings regarding Indigenous Peoples and aligning themselves with the work of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, which has conceptualized and clarified what the term "Indigenous Peoples" means and does not mean in Africa; in its human rights-based understanding, the term refers to a limited number of traditional African communities whose land-based livelihoods suffer from prejudiced views and are forced to abandon their cultures or traditional economies and integrate into mainstream lifestyles. Secondly, in the context of globalized security problems and concerns, Africa's bilateral and multilateral partners on peace and security should take a wider approach to addressing the root causes of conflicts and insecurity, including redress of historical injustices that have pushed many communities, including Indigenous Peoples, into a life in the margins of society, thereby making these communities fertile ground for extremism. Thirdly, conservation agencies, safari companies, businesses, International Financial Institutions and similar actors should develop clear and updated guidelines or codes of conduct guided by international human rights standards on Indigenous Peoples, including their ownership rights over lands and natural resources. And fourthly, UN agencies, governments, mainstream media and other actors working on data and information should generate disaggregated data on Indigenous Peoples as victims of conflicts, including through specific indicators and introducing variables in research and censuses.

In Chapter 5, Naomi Kipuri focuses on East Africa, where Indigenous Peoples are mainly but not exhaustively hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, including in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Systematic human rights violations faced by Indigenous communities include discrimination; encroachment and expropriation of their lands, territories and resources leading to tenure insecurity; political and social exclusion; violence, including forced relocations, killings,

intimidation and maltreatment; deprivation of all means of livelihood; rape of women and young girls; destruction of communities and their cultural heritage; psychological torture; and other gross violations of human rights. Such experiences, in almost every case, result in conflict. Starting from the invisibility of these conflicts, the essay examines the mechanisms used to address and resolve these conflicts at the local and regional levels. It further assesses the efficacy of these methods of conflict resolution in the face of other peace-building possibilities involving Indigenous Peoples. Litigation that has resulted in a number of positive decisions for Indigenous Peoples (such as the *Endorois* and *Ogiek* cases) has proven lengthy, expensive, cumbersome and may not necessarily achieve the desired result due to non-implementation. Alternative possibilities may now need to be explored for the realization of human rights of Indigenous Peoples in the region, including peace-building and negotiated settlements that Indigenous Peoples have pursued, often with positive results. The author makes a number of recommendations to states in Africa, to regional bodies and to bilateral agencies and development partners.

In Chapter 6, Rodion Sulyandziga and Dmirty Berezhkov review Indigenous Peoples' rights in Russian legislation and how the legal environment has been weakened as a result of changes in the political regime over the past two decades. Analyzing laws and administrative practices around ecological issues and extractive industries, the authors present certain examples, with special focus on experiences in the Khanty-Mansiysk region. The region, one of the most developed in the Russian Federation, had, for many years, one of the lowest levels of conflict between Indigenous Peoples and extractive companies in the country and was presented as one of the best experiences of negotiations between Indigenous Peoples and extractive industry. However, experts believe that the region has no fewer challenges than other regions in the country; rather, these were better covered because of significant financial resources concentrated in the region and massive public relations campaigns in the media. The oil companies have enough financial resources to pay compensation immediately, so Indigenous families agreeing to sign contracts with companies giving up their ancestral lands usually do not typically raise the issue of free,

prior and informed consent or environmental pollution. But as soon as Indigenous Peoples' representatives refuse to agree with oil extraction, they are met with the joint efforts of both powers—administrative and the oil industry—through public relations campaigns, cheating through legislative measures, police and intelligence agencies pressure, judicial pressure and other tools to gain access to land and overcome the resistance of the local community. Because of the general political situation of the country, the typical human rights tools of public opinion or international law are not working properly to protect Indigenous Peoples' land and cultural rights and advocates are increasingly termed “foreign agents,” “spies,” or “Western servants.” The current shift away from the international legal framework compounds the already existing insecurity of Indigenous Peoples in the country. The author concludes that there is a need for the international Indigenous movement to act jointly on emerging challenges and to find appropriate solutions in cooperation with partners and allies.

Chapters 7 and 8 address perspectives on Indigenous women and conflict. In Chapter 7, Andrea Carmen lays out the concept of environmental violence developed by Indigenous women, and now accepted by UN bodies, that highlights the fact that environmental contaminants causing disease, birth defects and death are deliberately released into the environment because they are toxic to living things (i.e., pesticides), or as a result of industrial or military processes that are judged by States and corporations to pose an “acceptable risk” and “allowable harm.” States and corporations deny “provable” impacts despite the clear evidence that they cause a range of serious health and reproductive impacts which disproportionately affect Indigenous women and children. The author discusses the impacts of environmental violence based on case studies in Latin America and other evidence. She analyzes human rights-related standards and action in the international arena, showing signs of progress towards holding states and corporations accountable for the causes of environmental violence. She also highlights continued activities and advocacy by impacted Indigenous Peoples that provide increased access to remedies for victims and create a basis for greater understanding and recognition of these under-recognized and under-reported human rights violations.

In Chapter 8, Binalakshmi Nepram draws from the experiences of Indigenous women in long-term conflicts in Northeast India to highlight their major role and strong and sustained grassroots movement for peace. The author places the discussion within the overall challenges of recognition of Indigenous identity in India, and recounts the struggles and strategies of the non-violent peace movement of the women in Northeast India over the past 200 years, from the anticolonial movement to the Meira Paibis, the Women Torchbearers, the Movement Against Counter-Insurgency, the Naga Mother's Association, the Indigenous Women's movement in Assam to the Manipur Women Gun Survivors Network. After analyzing specific examples of the women's peace movement, the author concludes that, to galvanize social change in a big way for peace in the region, there is a need for similar non-violent movements by women to continue in full vigor.

Chapter 9 is an original examination of the emerging international doctrine of the responsibility to protect (R2P) as it applies to Indigenous Peoples. Shayna Halliwell analyzes this topic through the study of the potential application of this doctrine to the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh, where the Indigenous Peoples of the area have been socially, economically and politically marginalized for decades, while violence has steadily been perpetrated against them with impunity. Why has R2P not yet been mentioned within official United Nations documents on this conflict and is it an appropriate mechanism for intervention in this instance? To test whether R2P could be applicable in situations of violence against Indigenous Peoples, this chapter first outlines the history of the development of R2P and discusses the literature around its normative elements. The author uses the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a normative framework through which she assesses the Indigenous right to self-determination as it pertains to mass atrocity prevention and intervention in Indigenous communities. Using the case study of the Indigenous Peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, she then analyses whether R2P could be an appropriate international humanitarian intervention mechanism in conflicts victimizing Indigenous Peoples. She concludes with an assessment of how R2P could be better shaped to address situations of mass atrocities

involving Indigenous Peoples, and how this paradigm shift may affect future iterations of the Responsibility to Protect as an evolving norm.

Two chapters, 10 and 11, approach conflicts, their causes and possible solutions applying the long lens of historical and sociological analysis as a methodology. Tone Bleie uses this methodology to provide insights into the conflict of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh and Ulia Gosart unveils the complex conflicts affecting Indigenous Peoples in Russia.

In Chapter 10 on the “Politics of Shaming and Sanctions: Rewriting the Anatomy of the Bangladeshi State,” Bleie draws on various disciplines in order to substantiate her main hypothesis: that the assumption of alleged regime shifts should be substituted by an analytical emphasis of structural continuity in order to better explain why the CHT Accord’s principal provisions remain largely unimplemented 20 years after the deal was signed, regardless of parties in executive power. In order to examine the validity of this assertion, the author tests five main arguments. First, civil-military relations are intertwined—a conglomerate—and cemented by patrimonial vertical and horizontal bonds of patronage, non-transparent control over state resources and a power-sharing arrangement that makes the categories “civilian” and “military” fuzzy and overlapping. Second, this tacit power-sharing arrangement has three distinct phases: an early antagonistic one; a second experimental, increasingly institutionalized phase during military rule (with partly civilian elements) and reign; and third, the current phase of uneasy opportunistic co-existence, with (until recently) caretaker governments as a safety valve. Fourth, during times of military rule, the armed conflict in CHT became integral to this tacit national power-sharing structure, a civil-military complex not only in its own right, but one of the Bangladeshi state’s bearing pillars. A final argument is that the sources of reproduction of a political culture of oral rhetoric (agitational in nature), patronage and factionalism need to be fully appreciated in order to explain striking structural continuity across institutions (political parties, military and bureaucracy).

A deeper understanding of such societal and system-wide deeply culturally coded behavioral patterns renders it possible to predict and develop approaches that may engender structural change and a new

scope for national and international actors to facilitate, steer or help augment positive societal change.

In Chapter 10, Gosart discusses structural violence as it applies to Indigenous Peoples in the Russian Federation. The essay emphasizes that structural violence toward Indigenous Peoples, as enacted through the workings of contemporary institutions of governance of the Russian state, recreates the oppression characteristic of the Soviet era. It reveals a continuity between Soviet treatment and political opportunities of the “small Peoples of the North” and the legal and political institutions defining indigeneity in contemporary Russia. Further, it argues that the question of Indigenous rights stemmed from and remains a part of nationality policies, a state-wide set of measures focused on the political rights of the non-Russian groups within the multicultural federal system of Soviet and post-Soviet Russia. These policies institutionalized the notion of inferiority of (now Indigenous) communities as dependent on the guidance and financial assistance of the state. The notion of inferiority shaped the consciousness of Soviet and post-Soviet authorities that continue to administer these Indigenous communities as populations dependent upon the state. And yet, the opportunities to participate in the state system of administration since Soviet times has shaped Indigenous politics in post-Soviet Russia; and the fact that Indigenous activists are able to envision their communities as “Indigenous Peoples,” or communities with a right to self-determined existence, signifies a step forward, despite increased oppression against non-Russian minorities today in response to the current use of nationality policies as a means toward centralization of the state. The author develops these claims in three interrelated essays, based on findings from Russian and other scholarship. The first essay is on the legal and institutional framework concerning Indigenous rights; the second essay is on means of Indigenous resistance to structural violence; and the final essay is on consequences of structural violence, drawing from the studies of Indigenous demographics and socio-economic conditions of Indigenous populations, as well as the 2010 Russian census data. The essay advocates widening of the political opportunities for Indigenous Peoples at the regional and local levels of the contemporary Russian state.

In Chapter 12, Neal Keating's essay is informed by the emerging science of sustainable peace. He presents the A4 peace map model, developed by the Advanced Consortium on Conflict, Complexity and Cooperation at the Earth Institute, Columbia University. Discussing Indigenous experiences from North America and Asia, the author points out that the nodal variable core of the AC4 peace-mapping model approximates the regulator relationship between peace and war in terms of a dynamical ratio between positive and negative intergroup reciprocity, and so finds support from the spectral theory of peace. Furthermore, the design corresponds with Indigenous theories of peace, such as the *Gayanashago:wa*, that view peace as an active process of ongoing renewal and 'requickening' of intergroup relations. The model proposes sustainable peace as a dynamic effect generated not only by the presence or absence of given elements and aspects that may enable peace or trigger conflict, but also produced by the shifting nonlinear relations between these different elements and aspects over time.

Many Indigenous Peoples' representatives continued to address issues of conflict and peace at the Sixteenth Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2017 that also marked the Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous leaders urged states and the international community to work constructively with Indigenous Peoples towards peace. Resounding these messages, a Touareg representative ended her speech to the Forum in 2017 with this appeal to the world:

I urge you to preserve Indigenous Peoples, a part of you".

The Indigenous Peoples' Program of the Institute for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University hopes that this book will enrich the literature on Indigenous Peoples' rights, conflict and peace and will inspire further research in this area.

Elsa Stamatopoulou