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9 Dec. 83

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Dear Barney:

When last I spoke with you I told you I was writing an article for publication in a book to be produced by the University of Toronto Press next Spring. I have enclosed a copy of "Fourth World Wars" so you might see how I treated the Miskito, Sumo and Rama/Sandinista conflict. (begining on page 21)

As you might note, I agree with you that the revolution led by the Miskitos has profound significance both on an hemispheric and global scale largely due to their geographic location. The Miskito, Sumo and Rama initiatives toward autonomy and self determination represent the first serious challenge in the western hemisphere to the doctrine of "none dismemberment of existing states" by an indigenous enclave population. Miskito, Sumo and Rama nationalism clearly threatens the conventional wisdom advanced by state governments that self determination cannot be applied to enclave populations within the asserted boundaries of an existing state. If the Miskito Sumo and Rama nations are successful in achieving independence or an internationally recognized form of free association with Nicaragua and Honduras, they will have established an important precedent for enclave indigenous populations throughout the world. The barrier of "non-dismemberment" will have been removed.

Earlier this week I spoke with Armstrong. He advises that Managua has declared amnesty for Indians. I am concerned that while the amnesty will permit Indian families to be rejoined, the Sandinistas will continue to war on Indian villages and not seriously deal with the territorial, political and economic issues overwhich the Indian peoples are fighting. Furthermore, I am concerned that the legitimate political role the Miskito, Sumo and Rama nations should play in the regional settlement of tensions will be swept under the carpet.

I was saddened to hear that Bruno died. He was and is an important symbol of the Miskito, Sumo and Rama struggle for freedom. Though I new him for only a very short time, I was deeply touched by his commitment to his people. He, perhaps, more than others understood the Lakota and Cheyenne expression: "Today is a good day to Die."

I continue to do what I can, however small, to support the movement for a free and independent "Aisuban Tasbya".

Warm regards,

Enclosure.