resulting from drugs or alcohol. In spite of the suicide, addiction, imprisonment, domestic violence, and shorter lifespan, it is not uncommon for population numbers to grow. A different set of diseases appear, especially those associated with junk food and inactivity, such as obesity and diabetes.

The fundamental problem underpinning all three stages is that others want to control indigenous peoples' land or its resources. Before going into this in more detail, it is important to touch on one 'resource' – labour – where the worst problem has now largely subsided. This was of course slavery, and it has left its long and traumatic shadow behind.

Slavery

Slavery, at least overt slavery, is largely a crime of the past. Indigenous peoples were not only its victims: their larger empires such as the Incas and Aztecs had slaves as I have pointed out, as did some Northwest American Indians and others. In parts of Amazonia until very recently, Indian children, particularly girls, who survived raids by colonists or other Indians, might be 'stolen' and brought up as unpaid servants, though often they were free to leave once grown up. Pygmies in Central Africa are forced to work for the militias that litter the region, often as trackers or porters, and the same happens in Southeast Asia. Bushmen in Africa, Australian Aboriginals and many others routinely work as farm labourers or domestic servants - or did so until very recently - and are paid a pittance; sometimes only in food or alcohol. Central American Indians still provide much of the domestic workforce for the wealthy, both in their own countries and in the United States. So it is still the case that many indigenous people are exploited to the extent that they are paid little – sometimes nothing at all – for menial labour, including prostitution; this is obviously a serious infringement of their rights, but it still falls short of slavery as it once was.

There is, however, a kind of quasi-slavery, called 'debt bondage', which still affects tribal people today. Particularly in Amazonia, Indians are forced to collect forest produce to pay a supposed 'debt' that they owe a non-Indian *patrón*, or 'boss', who provides them with a stream of manufactured goods, so perpetually increasing the amount they 'owe'. The Indians' produce, which a few years ago used to be raw rubber and animal skins, and nowadays is more likely to be gold, timber or cocaine, is undervalued and the price of the goods they receive – clothes, tools, shotguns and so forth – is grossly inflated to ensure the debt is never cleared. The Indians have to work for their 'boss' throughout their lives, and their children then inherit the obligation and must carry on working.

This is defined by the United Nations as a form of slavery, and it is of course deeply unfair and exploitative. Some Indians put up with it partly because it brings certain advantages: primarily, it provides a supply of outside goods coming through a known intermediary. Indians may be cheated, and even know it, but they can stay in their communities and work in their own time. For his part, the 'boss' might have an Indian wife and children living in the Indian settlement (in addition to his non-Indian family elsewhere), and so is easily able to create and foster kin relationships with 'his' people.

Debt bondage is gradually disappearing in some places, and neither it nor any other form of labour exploitation involves the destruction of very large numbers of tribal people. However, it is important to remember that even in recent generations slavery plunged many into immense suffering. Most important of all is that the principal victims of the transatlantic slave trade, which saw perhaps ten million African slaves transported to the Americas, were almost all originally tribal people themselves.

Violence

Violence has always been a more widespread problem than slavery. For most of the colonial era, tribes faced open warfare from those invading their lands. Killing parties were attacking Aboriginals in Australia as recently as the 1920s, Bushmen in southern Africa decades later, and Indians in South America occasionally still today. The Central American wars which killed tens of thousands of Indians only a generation ago are now largely over, but violence persists on a wide-scale there, as well as in places such as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, and parts of Africa, where tribespeople are all too regularly attacked, raped, and killed by government forces, guerrillas or colonists.

Disease

As already noted however, violence was rarely the cause of most deaths resulting from the invasion of tribal lands; this was illness – particularly measles, smallpox, and common viral respiratory infections such as influenza and colds. No one will ever know how many million American Indians died from disease after the European invasion, but it was