Andrew Gray
AND AFTER THE GOLD RUSH...?
Human Rights and Self-Development among the Amarakaeri of Southeastern Peru
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Cover Photo: Amarakera gold panners on the Río Karene
            (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
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Human Rights and Self-Development among the Amarakaeri of Southeastern Peru

Andrew Gray

with a Preface by
Tomás Quique Simbu
President of San José del Karene Native Community

Copenhagen March 1986
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Andrew Gray studied social anthropology at Edinburgh and Oxford. He spent two years with the Amarakaeri of southeastern Peru between 1979 and 1981 and subsequently presented his doctoral thesis "The Amarakaeri: an ethnographic description of a Harakmbut people" in 1983. He has written various articles on Amarakaeri social structure, shamanism and history. He has also written articles on Southeast Asia and development issues. Since 1983 he has been working in the Documentation and Research Department of IWGIA.
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PREFACE

By Tomás Quique Simbu

President of the Native Community of San José del Karene

We, the Amarakaeri, live in the Madre de Dios Department of Peru. Our lands were our home when history began and for thousands of years we have hunted, fished and grown food in the lowland forests. Even though these are our lands, they have not yet been officially granted titles by the Ministry of Agriculture. Although we have been recognised as a community for many years, we still await the titling papers for our land.

For the last ten years, we have been carrying out gold mining on the beaches and streams near our community and little by little we have been able to buy the goods which we need to live – clothes, pots and pans, food, tools and other essential things. Whereas in the past we were able to live undisturbed, today things have changed. The gold has either been mined or else strangers have used permits (usually obtained illegally) to threaten us and throw us off our own lands. They sometimes use guns to keep us away.

We work gold in a different way to white people. It is not that we are different as humans, just in our lives. Peon gold workers are contracted to mine for their patrons and live in terrible conditions, sometimes working every day of the week. We are different, no one forces us to work and we mine gold according to our own wants. We may be hunting, fishing or working in our chacras (gardens) for a week or a month. If we did not our families would have nothing to eat or to live on. When we work gold it is not to exploit peons and to make ourselves rich like white patrons do, it is to keep ourselves alive and ensure that our families survive.

When I went to the Ministry of Energy and Mines in Puerto Maldonado a while ago, the engineer there told me that the
Ministry would no longer grant permits for non-indigenous gold prospectors on our lands. Nevertheless on September 24th, 1984 we were forced to go to Puerto Maldonado and protest because a local patron claimed he had a new gold permit. The Ministry has done nothing about this to date.

The three most powerful patrons on our lands have tried to harass us to prevent our working gold. One who lives on the boundary of our lands has contacts with the Republican Guard. He has twice brought armed Civil Guards to our community to force us off our lands so that he can work "his" gold. The second patron who has threatened us lives in the river Pukiri. In 1982, he and his thugs came over to our gold camp armed with sticks, machetes and rifles and said he had a permit to work there and we would have to go. He took all our tools and belongings and threatened my brother Pedro. He has done this to other native peoples of the river.

The third patron caused us much problem in 1985. There is an area inland from the River Karene, near our community, where we have been working gold on and off for four years. However we cannot work there all the time because we work in our fields and also patrol the community lands to check that new colonists are not entering. In our absence, the patron gathered 150 peons from five neighbouring patrons. In a short period they had practically exhausted the area of gold, which could have lasted us several years.

We went to the camp and asked the peons to leave, which they eventually did. After confiscating their tools, we returned them to the patron and came to a verbal agreement that he would keep off areas where we had been working. However, in a few weeks the patron had brought a Justice of the Peace, court officials and six civil guards up the river who wanted us to go to the patron's house and sign away our rights to the gold area. We refused to go and the guards fires shots near the community to frighten us. We would only meet them in our
community or in Puerto Maldonado.

Eventually we went down to Puerto Maldonado - all the community. We received support from the Development Corporation of the area and from the Priest who has been living in the neighbouring community of Puerto Luz. We visited the Ministry of Energy and Mines and they admitted that we had acted according to our rights as the patron had no permit to work gold at that place.

Eventually my brother Pedro and I had to answer questions from the Justice of the Peace and officials. They asked us why we had shot guns and we had to explain the Law of Native Communities to them - that we had permission to hunt animals with guns; that we could use fish poison because we, unlike white people respected the environment and did not overkill. We were accused of stealing the provisions of the encampment the patrons had set up on our land. We denied this and said we didn't eat Chunia (highland dried potato)!

Although we are now able to work on our land again, I see the future full of problems for us Amarakaeri. Few people care about us and we are becoming more and more persecuted by the police and local patrons. There is less gold work and less hunting with animals frightened by colonists. One day the gold will run out. The colonists can leave, but we can't. And after the gold rush...? What will be left then for our people?

The only hope for us is to learn to deal with the authorities, to raise our level of education. Already there are native students studying in Puerto Maldonado. We must therefore use their knowledge to fight for our lands and our right to live. We must organise ourselves while we still have the chance and the best way to do this is through the organisation FENAMAD (Native Federation of the Madre de Dios and its rivers).

The present time is a sad period for us but we must ensure that the future of our children is secure and that they
can live in peace and prosperity according to the traditions and the way of life of our people.

Tomáš Quique Simbu (Photo: Andrew Gray)
CHAPTER  I  INTRODUCTION
Between 18th and 21st December, 1985, the IIIrd Congress of the Federación Nativa del Río Madre de Dios y Afluentes (FENAMAD) met at the Community of Boca del Inambari, on the banks of the River Madre de Dios in Southeastern Peru. This was the culmination of three years during which the federation has been developing its identity and trying to raise funds. The Congress was supported by Oxfam and brought together 46 representatives from 13 communities.

The resolutions from the Congress cover many different areas affecting the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios. The first theme is the recognition, titling and defence of communal lands. Problems range from the lack of official recognition for 10 communities, the failure to map the official boundaries of 4 communities to 11 other communities who still need the final stage of official land titling. In many parts of the Madre de Dios non-indigenous people are encroaching on native lands, particularly in the gold mining areas.

There are also resolutions on health and education, calling for support to ensure an adequate form of basic medical care and education. In addition the Congress advocates the furtherance of attempts to integrate traditional cultural and social values into both health and education projects. The Congress also passed resolution to support registering indigenous peoples in the Madre de Dios as Peruvian citizens to ensure they have the same fundamental rights as other Peruvians.

During the Congress, the statutes of FENAMAD were ratified and officials were approved. The elected President was Roberto Masias Sehue from the community of Infierno. Tomás Quique Simbu, President of San José del Karene, was elected one of the official secretaries and co-ordinators with the national lowland indigenous organisation of Peru— the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Jungle (AIDESEP).
The Congress of FENAMAD shows the main preoccupations of indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios. These concerns are almost universal for indigenous peoples everywhere, particularly the emphasis on land. At international fora ranging from the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva, to the Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, the fundamental demand for recognition of land rights arises again and again.

Land is an aspect of the definition of indigenous peoples. Their prior rights to land are part of their identity and in almost every group, land takes on an essential material and spiritual basis for their sense of continuity in the world. The emphasis on land issues is therefore an important part of this document which looks at the connections between different indigenous rights. By analysing the position of a particular group who live in the Madre de Dios it is possible to see the inter-relations between human rights and development.

It is axiomatic for this document that rights to life, land and culture are all part of indigenous peoples' fundamental right to self-determination. Self-development is connected to this. Self-determination is the freedom of a people to choose the way they wish to organise their life. Self-development is the dynamic continuation of self-determination through time. This document charts the ways in which a people in Peru have exercised their self-determination and self-development in relation to the threats and problems which they face.

Throughout the world indigenous organisations are being seen as vehicles for the struggle for self-determination. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Peru, where in recent years the lowland Amazon has seen the development of several new indigenous organisations, including FENAMAD. What follows looks at how one indigenous group is reacting to threats to its survival and the circumstances in which indigenous organisation has arisen.
Boca Inambari - site of the III Congress of FENAMAD (December, 1985) (Photo: Andrew Gray)
This document arose from a visit to the southeastern lowlands of Peru during September and October, 1985. I travelled with Sheila Aikman and our son, to carry out a study project financed by the Danish government development agency, DANIDA through the Danish Development Research Council. The object of the study was to look at the impact of the international gold economy on indigenous communities whose lands lie in an area of gold deposits. The visit to the river Karena, which lies in the Department Madre de Dios was important for understanding the conditions in which the people are living and for discovering the ways in which they see solutions to the problems facing them.

The original hypothesis which I was testing concerned the price of gold on the international market and its effect on a community. I had assumed in my proposal that the Amarakaeri people, the group with whom we stayed, would suffer directly from the loss of income concurrent with the drop in gold prices. The result of this would be a need for more working hours to keep their basic standard of living and consequently they would find it difficult to dedicate their energy to project work in health or education.

This hypothesis was incorrect because the Amarakaeri do not perceive the gold market in these direct terms. The connection between the world economy and the village economy can only be understood by taking into account the intermediate levels of national, regional and local economies and then juxtaposing them with the indigenous perception of gold production. From the interaction between these two viewpoints there emerges an appreciation of how important indigenous rights to land, self-determination and culture really are, and how, in development terms, important distinctions must be made between solely economic development and a "development" which stems from the recipients and is therefore culturally sensitive and politically expedient.
The document brings together the analysis of the relationship between the Amarakaeri and the international, national and regional levels of political economics with the problems facing them on a local level. At the same time it looks at the different ways in which the Amarakaeri have reacted to these threats and how the organisation FENAMAD has gradually taken on the role of being the most positive step towards advancing their struggle for survival.

The political-economic relationship between macro and micro levels has its correlations with indigenous organisation. The issues discussed in the communities and at the Congress in December are not unique to the Madre de Dios. The factors which arise in building up indigenous organisations are similar in national and international examples, such as AIDESEP to which FENAMAD is affiliated, and a Coordinadora of the Amazon Basin (encompassing lowland organisations from Bolivia, Brazil, Peru and Ecuador) to which AIDESEP is affiliated. These factors are discussed in the conclusion.

The macro and micro aspects of the threats facing indigenous peoples have their response in the macro and micro levels of indigenous organisation. This document looks at how these appear on a local level. Nowadays, it is not enough to say, as Ribeiro did in 1970 that indigenous peoples' reaction to contact will be constrained by the economic relations the wider society seeks to impose on them. Even though non-indigenous interests set the framework for any indigenous response, it is the indigenous response itself which will set the framework for any solution. Until that time, the indigenous struggle itself means survival. This is the message which the Amarakaeri have for us and it is a message which is echoed by indigenous peoples from the hills of Southeast Asia to the Islands of the Pacific.
View of San José del Karene from the top of the cliff (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
In addition to the relationship between the micro and macro levels of the political economy and indigenous organisation, the document covers four other areas:

1. It seeks to raise awareness and understanding of what is going on in the Madre de Dios region of Peru and the problems facing the indigenous peoples there. An awareness of these problems is an essential step towards finding solutions. Furthermore, by seeing these problems in an international, national and regional context it may, eventually, be possible to discover connections with similar processes in other parts of the Amazon. Naturally it is important not to project findings indiscriminately from one area onto others.

2. The document addresses itself to the notion of "development" and how indigenous peoples' needs and desires fit into a wider regional framework of "development". One of the issues which frequently arises in discussion with development agencies is the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous development. The Madre de Dios is an important example here as there are problems facing non-indigenous peoples in the area which, although distinct, have to be taken into consideration.

3. Anthropologically the document considers a practical example on how global perspectives of anthropology are refracted nationally, regionally and locally. The survey of these levels covers not only the economics of the gold production but important areas of politics and ideology. By viewing the position of indigenous peoples within this framework and juxtaposing it with their own perspectives of the world, we can gain some insight into the differing relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous world-views.
4. The response of the Amarakaeri to the threats facing them has largely taken the form of the indigenous organisation FENAMAD. The report looks at this organisation in the general context of indigenous reactions to oppression and persecution and concludes with comments on the nature of indigenous movements and indigenous leadership.

This document is structured according to the different factors which make up a total picture of the Amarakaeri people and the forces which threaten them. The next chapter surveys the major features of Amarakaeri society and culture including the place of gold production. Chapter III is a brief account of the international gold economy and how gold production operates within Peru. In addition it looks at other mediating factors such as employment possibilities, the national debt and the different ways in which gold production is organised within the Madre de Dios. The fourth chapter looks more deeply into how the Amarakaeri now see their position. It includes a particularly important case study of a recent conflict between a local patron and the community of San José del Karemne, the village where we spent most of our time. The fifth chapter looks at different possibilities for combatting the dangers facing the Amarakaeri within the framework of self-organisation for the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios. The conclusions draw together some of the major themes which arise from the report. Specifically Amarakaeri perspectives of their future. It ends with general recommendations as to how indigenous notions of development may work to improve the lives of all inhabitants of the region through the co-ordination of various institutions.
The information presented in this document comes from a variety of sources. The background material on the Amarakaeri people is based on my fieldwork spent on the river Karene between 1979 and 1981, primarily in the community of San José del Karene. In addition, secondary source material has been obtained from archives and libraries inside and outside of Peru.

There are two monographs written about the Amarakaeri people - Mario Califano's 1982 book and my 1983 thesis. Thomas Moore has written several important articles on the relationship between the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios (1982, 1985 a and b). In addition, two articles (Moore 1985c and Wahl, 1985) contain basic information on the origins and working of the Madre de Dios indigenous organisation FENAMAD (Federacion Nativa del Madre de Dios y sus afluentes). Of the many articles about the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios, these cover most of the basic information necessary to understand the current problems in the region.

The background material for our trip to the Madre de Dios came from these sources while the fieldwork itself was based on standard anthropological participant observation methods. This included informal talks, formal interviews and discussions about specific issues. My knowledge of the Harakmbut language facilitated communication with the monolingual members of the communities. Sheila Aikman and our son, Robbie, were very much part of the process of understanding the present situation of the Amarakaeri communities and what is written here is the product of a joint experience.

The theoretical background on which the report relies stems from two main influences. First there is the relativistic structuralist style, employed in my doctoral thesis (Gray 1983), which emphasises the social and cultural manifestations of indigenous community politics. Secondly there is the enor-
Girls from San José del Karene (Photo Sheila Aikman)
mous theoretical impact of my work at IWGIA which looks at the global consequences of colonialism and uses contemporary history as a basis for supporting indigenous peoples' right to control their own destiny.

General overview of the Peruvian Highlands and Lowlands During the Visit.

Peru has recently elected its first APRA government* under the youthful and dynamic leadership of Alan García. In the first few months of office he has changed several important areas of the bureaucracy and government policies. For example the police force has been cleared of excess generals and the Ministry of Agriculture has had many civil servants cut while those who remain are to spend more of their time in the field. The national debt, which has been one of the most serious issues, is to be paid, but only at a rate of 10% of the amount gained through exports.

In spite of the promising start to the presidency of Alan García, life in the emergency zone continues much as under previous president, Belaúnde. García has, on the positive side, set up a Peace Commission and has admitted that the government has acted with a heavy hand in the past. However, he has not made any approaches to the guerrillas, nor has he done anything to curb the presence of the army in the emergency zone.

At the end of our stay in Peru we met a highlander working in human rights who told us that in the two months we had been in the country disappearances had continued and that two communities near his town had been abandoned after a mass killing. The discovery of mass graves is still taking place. The migration and the mass movement of refugees from the highlands to Lima is continuing, adding to the overcrowding of the pueblos jovenes (urban areas where migrants are settling).

* Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (described as a "left of centre party").
On October 17th, while we were in Madre de Dios, AIDESEP (Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana) had a meeting with President Alan García where they put forward a series of problems facing the indigenous peoples of the lowlands. The major problem is land titling which has been delayed by previous governments and when granted, provides indigenous communities as little land as possible by means of a distinction between agricultural land (to which they have full title) and forestry areas (to which the state has ultimate right). The problems of invasion from colonists occur in all areas of the jungle and the rights of indigenous peoples to their natural resources, particularly minerals, are curtailed and eroded through corruption.

Specific problems in the lowlands of Peru cover several areas. Particularly serious is the problem in the Satipo area of the central lowlands where the Ashaninka people (Campa) are not only caught between the coca mafia and the guerilla organisation Sendero Luminoso but also being attacked by the armed forces. In the north there have been problems among the Aguaruna with a development project which has left one community with the bill for a tractor. Their inability to pay is threatening their future.

Another issue of importance is the newly found group - the Nahuas - who have been contacted on the Mishuaga river, just outside the Manu National Park and who are, at this moment, in Sepahua Mission begging for food and under threat from diseases which the missions, both Catholic and Protestant can hardly check. There are two future projects for supporting these people which will also carry out work with indigenous peoples inside the Park.

The Harakmbut nation of the Madre de Dios and specifically the Amarakaeri are the main subject of this report. The Amarakaeri living in gold mining areas are facing constant pressures from colonists. They have had recent problems with sett-
lers, and although San José del Kairene won a confrontation in April/May, they are worried by the effect of incoming gold-miners on their resources, both mineral and hunting. For this reason the community is resigned to more problems in the future.

Two other Amarakeri gold-working villages - Puerto Luz and Boca del Inamabari - have similar fears, because they had similar problems a few years ago. This common threats binds all three communities into support for FENAMAD - the indigenous organisation of the Madre de Dios.

Many of the non-indigenous small miners and peons of the large-scale gold workers suffer from gross human rights violations. The former are maltreated mainly by the multi-national gold mining firms and the latter by unscrupulous patrons who are part of the same system of exploitation which faces the indigenous peoples of the area.

The situation in the Madre de Dios is not necessarily the same as in other parts of Peru but certain basic themes concerning indigenous organisations are apparent - communication and representation, the need for infrastructural support and how the indigenous organisations fit in the context of economy and politics of the region as a whole.

The new government is putting more emphasis on the highlands than the lowlands and intends to develop the poorer areas of the highlands thereby lessening reasons for discontent. The lowland regions are hopefully to be left alone, and support for the highlands might possibly release pressure on those forced to seek a livelihood in the jungle.

Up until now the government has been positive towards indigenous rights except for the continuation of trouble in the emergency zone of Ayacucho. However the general feeling is to be cautious in making too general interpretations as events
change the situation very quickly.

Acknowledgements

I first of all wish to thank the Development Research Council of Denmark and DANIDA for financing the trip and IWGIA for giving me the time and background contacts which enabled it to flow so smoothly. Institutions in Peru which helped me particular were AIDESEP, CAAAP, CIPA, CISA, COPAL and the Universidad Católica. Personally I would like to thank Teofilo Altamirano and his family, Pancho Ballon, Flica Barclay, Thomas Moore, Salvador Palomino, Evaristo Nukuag and Lissie Wahl for their help in Peru, and in Europe to my colleagues in IWGIA and Dan Rosengren for their comments on the manuscript.

As in all my writings about the Amarakaeri, I consider that what is written down is, like any myth, one particular version of something which is more lasting. That aspect of my writing which is more lasting and has any value thus comes from them and is their's. However what I write is not an individual project, but the joint work of myself and Sheila Aikman who has contributed as much to the gathering and understanding of the information as I. To the extent that my authorship makes me responsible for what is written here I thank all who have helped me.
Chapter II  THE AMARAKAERI AND THEIR GOLD ECONOMY
The indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios river basin belong to 17 different ethno-linguistic groups comprising 4,175 persons living in 69 communities. The earliest inhabitants of the area adhere to four linguistic families as follows:

Harakmbut: Amaraqaeri, Arasaeri, Kisambaeri, Pukirieri, Sapiteri, Toyeri and Wachipaeri;
Arawak: Matsigenka and Piro;
Pano: Amahuaca and Yaminahua;
Tacana: Iñapari and Ese' eja.

In addition there are members of four groups who were brought down to the Madre de Dios by the rubber barons in the last century: Ashaninka (Campa), Shipibo-Conibo, Kichwa Runa del Napo (Santarosinos) and Cocama.

The Madre de Dios region provides resources such as castaña, timber and gold. This report concentrates on the gold economy of the Amaraqaeri people who live on the river Karene mainly in five communities: Shintuya mission on the Alto Madre de Dios, Boca del Inambari (at the mouth of the river Inambari), on the Karene, Puerto Luz and San José, and on the Pukiri, Barranco Chico. A small community, Boca del Karene, which was situated near the post of the Banco Minero Colorado split up in 1984 mainly as a result of pressures from the surrounding non-indigenous population.

The Incas called the Madre de Dios "Amaramayu" (serpent river) and in regular expeditions, contacted the ancestors of the Harakmbut. The Amaraqaeri have several references to the Incas in their mythology and we have seen axes which are probably Incaic (Aikman 1982) in the Karene region. The headwaters of the Madre de Dios were the scene of the first Spanish plantations growing coca and sugar in the 16th century. Over the next few centuries these increased in number. Expeditions
into the Madre de Dios were more frequent in the 19th century and were undertaken by travellers and scientists eager to ascertain the resources of the area. The Amarakaeri lived in the headwaters of the Karene and Shilive and were not seriously affected by outsiders until the time of the "rubber boom".

Although there was little rubber in the Madre de Dios, Fitzcarrald and his henchmen made the area a centre for capturing slaves. Those who were not enslaved were often killed or died from diseases brought in by the colonists. On one occasion in the Madre de Dios, not far from the mouth of the Karene, Fitzcarrald is reputed to have massacred hundreds of Toyeri (Reyna 1942). Those Harakmbut who were not destroyed in such encounters fled to the headwaters of the Karene and Shilive and made war on the Amarakaeri living there, who had never had such direct contact with rubber exploiters. The Amarakaeri of San José del Karene refer to this episode in their history as their "world war". This fighting continued into the 1920s when the rubber boom collapsed.

It was during the 1920s that the Dominican priests turned their attention to the Harakmbut. In the 1930s they contacted the Arasaeri, in the 1940s the Sapiteri, and finally in the 1950s, the Amarakaeri. They eventually founded a mission at Shintuya where all the newly contacted groups came together at some time. Those Amarakaeri from the headwaters of the Karene (Kipodneri) left Shintuya soon after their arrival in the late 1950s and returned first to Puerto Alegre then to Puerto Luz where they had contact with SIL* missionaries. The Amarakaeri from the headwaters of the Shilive (Wandakweri) stayed in Shintuya or in the newly established mission of El Pilar near Puerto Malдонado. However they were not used to such large settlements and there were conflicts between each other and with the priests.

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* Summer Institute of Linguistics - for more information see article by Thomas Moore in Is God an American? IWGIA Document 43
MAP 3

MAP OF THE MARA DE DíOS INDICATING PRESENT AMARAKAERI SETTLEMENTS
In 1969, 1970 and 1973 three groups escaped from Shintuya founding the present day communities of San José, Boca del Inambari and Barranco Chico on the Karene and Madre de Dios rivers (see map).

In the last ten years some Dominicans have changed their methods of missionary work and have sent, in one case, a priest to live in the communities. During this time the problems facing the Amarakaeri have been dominated by the gold rush in the Madre de Dios and the threat to their survival from national and international companies. The fate of the Harakmbut peoples who have suffered so much in the past, still hangs in the balance. In the last one hundred years, between 90-95% of the Harakmbut population has been wiped out (Gray 1983:11 and Wahl: 1985).

The Amarakaeri

The Amarakaeri say that they can best be understood through three great myths which deal respectively with social organisation, cultural and contact with non-indigenous peoples.

The myth, Wanamey, tells of the origin of the world as we know it which took place as a result of a cataclysmic fireflood which destroyed everything. The Harakmbut peoples managed to escape thanks to a giant tree, Wanamey, which rose from the ground and enabled mankind and animals to seek refuge in its branches. After the flood subsided the survivors came down from the tree and were provided with fire and water. Later the people were divided into seven patrilineal clans and moved downriver seeking sites to build their communal houses where they could practise their hunting and horticultural skills.

Out of this myth (which is analysed in Gray,1983 Chapter I) it is possible to gain some insight into Amarakaeri social life. It's message is essential in understanding their indigenous perception of the world. First of all there is the gender division between women, who are responsible for producing offspring
and cooking, and men, who provide the women with the raw materials — namely semen and hunted meat. The politics of gender consists of the complementarity between these activities which is frequently disrupted in daily life.

Every Amarkaeri person is the physical formation of his or her father. Semen cumulatively forms all offspring who belong to the same clan (onyu) as the father. The seven clans are all exogamous and each has a myth of origin. Politics within the villages centre around clan relations and leaders who develop skills and responsibilities as political or shamanic practicants. The other clan members give these leaders their support to the extent that clan loyalties affect perception not only of the social organisation but also interpretations of culture and the universe (see Gray 1982).

According to the patrilineal principle in Amarkaeri society a woman can never be of the same clan as her children. For this reason the continuity of social life through time lies with the men. Within the male life-cycle this is clearly apparent with the age-grades which constituted a traditional series of stages through which growing boys had to pass. Whereas in the past these took the form of ritual dances where boys had their lower lips perforated, now growth is marked by education or military service. When the rites or their equivalent are complete the men are ready for marriage.

Women, on the other hand, have never had rituals marking their growth. Their status is determined more by residential factors — namely whether they are considered insiders to the community or outsiders. This distinction varies according to relationships, allegiances and friendships within the village, but it is nevertheless marked. It is important to understand the delicate framework of relativity which exists in an Amarkaeri community between male, female; older, younger; insiders, outsiders; and different clans. According to one's position, the perspective of life will change.
Amarakaeri woman weaving mats in San José del Karene (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
One area which encompasses all the above distinctions is the relationship terminology which is a logically axiomatic form of classifying the community. This is because marriage - fundamental to Amarakaeri society - is organised according to a principle of exchange which is set out in the terminology. The principle is known as "two-line prescription" or "sister exchange". In practice, although the terminological implications of sister exchange are there, such marriages are not often carried out. However, exchange is important to marriage and apart from ritual exchanges of arrows (made by the husband) and bark-string bags (made by the wife) the husband usually will live for a period while he works with his father-in-law, if his family cannot provide a woman in return for his wife. The principles of exchange and continuity, crucial to Amarakaeri society, are all set out in the origin myth of Wanamey by the shamanic figure, the woodpecker, mbegnko, who, interestingly enough shares its name with the great Inca, Manco.

The second important myth of the Amarakaeri canon tells of the culture hero, Marinke. The first part describes Marinke's conception and his mother's visit to a neighbouring community where she meets Marinke's father. On her way home she is attacked and killed by jaguars. The foetus is taken from her womb and thrown into the river where it is tended by fish. When it has grown into a baby, Marinke's grandmother draws him out of the river and they live together. Marinke grows in spurts and becomes a young boy over night during a rain storm. Later Marinke returns to his community where he learns from his older relatives how his mother died and he makes a strong club to wreak vengeance on the jaguars. With his club he tracks the jaguars down to their communal house where he kills all except one old jaguar who escapes. Marinke learns that the old jaguar has reproduced himself into many other jaguars and he flees to the sky to avoid their wrath.

Within this myth are many significant features of Amara-
kaeri culture. The main message tells of how people grow and how their relationship to the forest changes through life. Marinke's experiences range from birth in the river to fighting the jaguars as a full-grown man in the forest. With his growth he makes several clubs out of a peach palm to kill the jaguars. This material is the same as that used to perforate boy's lips as they passed through their age-grades of growth.

The relationships with different species of animals are recounted in detail in the story of Marinke. Carnivorous animals such as jaguars are dangerous whereas non-carnivorous creatures help Marinke e.g. the species of fish which keep him alive while in the river. Amarakaxeri cannot eat carnivorous or impure animals because the meat affects the consumer. This is because of the development of soul-matter through life, which becomes tied more closely to the body as one gets older. A personal name keeps the soul-matter and body together. As people grow old they become weaker and their soul-matter is attracted to the after-world in several distinct ways. If a death has been normal the soul-matter disperses and goes to a world beneath the river but if the death is abnormal the soul-matter remains concentrated, as it was in the body, and goes to an after-life in the forest from where it returns to plague the living.

The species of animals and the distinction between forest and river are important for shamanic techniques of curing. By means of animal behavior and its analogies to symptoms, it is possible for traditional curing to work. Diagnosis is proven correct when the patient recovers. Most curing is done by chanting and blowing tobacco or other bitter substances. This keeps away harmful spirit-influences and calls the soul-matter of the sick person firmly back into the body.

It is important to understand that for the Amarakaxeri the individual has a particular relationship with the creatures of
the forest and river which they gain during their life and which forms their personality. To overproduce by hunting too much meat, for example, will place a man and his family's health in jeopardy as this incurs the wrath of the spirit world. The state of health of the individual Amarakaeri is a reflection of his relationships with the environment and the different species which live outside the community.

For the purposes of this report, we must realise that both the production of gold and personal health are connected with the Amarakaeri's perception and relationship with the non-human world around them—both visible and invisible. The myth of Marinke spells out these relationships and provides a model for cultural behaviour.

The third myth which the Amarakaeri consider to be of great importance is the story of the Papa. The Papa are cannibals. They dress in white and carry heavy machetes and shotguns. They traditionally attacked Amarakaeri communities killing all the adult inhabitants and capturing small children with the intention of fattening them up for eating later. The story tells of a raid on one community where a boy is captured and raised as meat for the Papa. The boy gradually becomes aware of why he is being kept and one Papa who is killed advises the boy how to escape by rattling his bones. Taking the warning seriously, the boy leaps from the river bank and reaches the remaining members of his community.

The identity of the Papa fits the description of the rubber exploiters "caucheros" and colonists of the turn of the century. I have also heard of a version of this myth where Papa are substituted by Incas and of a description of dangerous outsiders who ride on giant tapirs with metal sticks used for killing Amarakaeri (Padre Torralba pers. comm.). A comparision of these versions connects those who tried to colonise the Harakmbut nation in the past i.e. Incas, Spaniards and colonists during the Republican era.
After the hunt (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
The cannibalism which plays an important part in the myth reflects the power which one species gains by eating another. The ingestion of meat is a means of absorbing the soul-matter of another species thereby controlling and rendering it powerless. For normal people such as the Harakmbut, such cannibalism would be unthinkable and dangerous, but for the Papa it is a way of life, placing them on par with carnivorous species such as jaguars and harmful spirits. Thus, as in other parts of the Peruvian Amazon, non-indigenous colonists are seen as another dangerous aspect of the environment which is extremely difficult to overcome.

The Amarakaeri differentiate between indigenous peoples who come from the same group whom they call Harakmbut and others who are Taka. Although Taka are frequently hostile and feared, some do live within the communities and are sometimes referred to as Apoining (a word for river boa). In the same way, non-indigenous peoples are called Amiko and are often considered hostile. Friendly Amiko are also called Apoining. The Amarakaeri therefore do not consider all strangers dangerous but, as with the Papa in the myth, can sometimes seek advice, support and enter into friendly relations with them.

At the present time relations between Harakmbut and Amiko in the Madre de Dios are largely defined through the gold economy. The major threat to Amarakaeri survival comes not so much from the gold economy itself, but the possibility of its being destroyed and leaving them with no means of controlling their relationship with the regional money economy. Land is the essential element here, as will be shown later.

The Amarakaeri and the gold economy

The gold economy first hit the Madre de Dios in the 1930s in the Arasa river region where the Arasaeri live. Although the "boom" lasted only ten years or so, it was sufficient to disrupt their traditional life style (Humenboller, 1985). It was not
until 1972 that gold fever returned to the Madre de Dios. The cause was the rise in international gold prices which paralleled an increase in mining activity throughout the 1970s.

During the early 1970s the Amarakaeri looked for gold in a small way, but it was not until 1978 that the communities regularly began to mine it by the rivers. The supply of gold in the Madre de Dios comes down in the rivers from the Andes, usually in the form of gold dust mixed with sand and pebbles. Gold deposits or "placers" are found on river beaches and old inland riverbeds. The finds inland are richer but frequently need more labour to clear the topsoil. Open beaches need less digging but the areas are exposed to the sun and insects.

On the whole the Amarakaeri work more on the open beaches which are exposed in the dry season (April to September) and inland during the wet season (October to March) when the beaches are inundated. However, if they find a good area inland they may work there for a longer period, constructing a camp away from the community to avoid having to travel to and fro every day.

To find gold the Amarakaeri go into the forest or to the beaches. They test for gold by sieving the sand in the water or using a metal stick or rod to find underground pebble deposits where gold dust lies. When a placer is found they set up a large metal sieve mounted on a sloping wooden board. A piece of sacking is stretched over the board under the sieve. When the sand and pebbles are washed on the sieve, black sand which contains gold dust is caught in the sacking.

Workers first of all clear the top soil down to the level where the gold is. Then they carry the pebbles in wheelbarrows to the sieve where they wash the stones. The water supply comes from the river or a well. The most convenient way of raising it is by means of a water pump, otherwise buckets have to be used which is laborious and time-consuming.
After a day's work the pieces of sacking full of the black sand and gold dust are washed into buckets and taken for storage. The next stage in the process is to mix the black sand with mercury. This has the effect of drawing together the grains of gold dust separating them from the sand. The mixture is then taken down to the river and panned to wash off the black sand. What remains is lumps of gold and mercury which are then fired to get rid of the mercury and leave the gold. The metal is then taken to the staff of the local post of the Banco Minero or else it is sold to travelling merchants (who buy it after refining it even further with a blow lamp).

The Amarakaeri work gold on their own terms and are not directly involved in working as peon-labour for local patrons. Gold production is organised according to traditional criteria: clan affiliation (onyu), close kin (wambet) and those people between whom there is an exchange relationship. It is usual to see the same groups of men working together as you would find out hunting. Two clusters of kin work together, in particular brothers work together, especially if they have no obligations to their fathers-in-law; otherwise men will work with their fathers-in-law. This second arrangement is connected with the exchanges between families of which marriage is a part.

In San José women do not usually work gold with the exception of one or two young unmarried girls who might hold the water pumps once in a while. In Puerto Luz, on the other hand, women are more inclined to help their husbands, forming small nuclear family working groups. In San José there are several factors which influence the size of the working groups. Between 1979-1981 when there were only few motor pumps in the village, larger groups would work together to share the proceeds of the gold. In 1985, with most extended families owning pumps, people did not work together so much. Another factor which has recently become important is the amount of gold deposited in an area, and whether it should be mined quickly to avoid problems from local colonists.
On our return to San José in 1985, we saw that the gold economy had become more integrated into the subsistence economy of the Amarakaeri than previously. Between 1979 and 1981 certain commodities were luxuries, e.g. pasta, rice, oil, and, to a lesser extent, salt and sugar. Now these are essentials for an Amarakaeri diet.

Exchange and consumption patterns also demonstrate the incorporation of gold into the Amarakaeri economy. When the men go to the Banco Minero to change their gold for money, they buy various goods. The largest items are new outboard motors, wooden sides for canoes, motor pumps and other equipment for gold work. After this comes beer or rum which is bought in sufficient quantities to provide a feast for the community. Then they buy provisions such as salt, sugar, oil and other imported foodstuffs.

When the Amarakaeri men return to the community the expensive equipment is their property and is treated in the same way as bows and arrows, shotguns or canoes. The provisions are given to the wife or woman in whose kitchen a man eats. She does not distribute this food but keeps it for the sole use of her household - namely those who eat in her kitchen. This is exactly the way in which the produce from the gardens is treated. Beer, on the other hand, is part of a distribution network. If a man has a lot of beer ha can throw a feast for the whole community, otherwise friends and close relations are invited.

Feasting has political implications as it marks prestige through generosity of providing drink. The other important area of distribution in Amarakaeri society, which parallels feast-giving, is the distribution of meat throughout the community by a hunter. The more meat or drink available for distribution the wider the network of recipients becomes.
Gold placer by the river (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
Amarakaeri life should not be divided into a "traditional" part which consists of those aspects of society and culture which have not changed since contact, separate from the gold economy and features which have been "assimilated" over the last twenty years. The way in which the Amarakaeri organise and interpret their gold work coheres perfectly with other aspects of their life style. In addition to the clan and alliance basis of groups which mine gold, the exchange and consumption of bought commodities and the division of labour, there are other factors incorporating gold firmly into Amarakaeri life. In San José, gold follows a hunting model which relates to other cultural features such as the spirit world and over-production. The have consequences which we will see when we discuss indigenous reactions to the threats to Amarakaeri gold work.

It is important to understand Amarakaeri life to fully appreciate the framework for their future aims and desires. The gold economy is thus part of Amarakaeri existence and should not be seen as a superficial or epiphenomenal factor. Amarakaeri self-development does not consist in trying to preserve cultural traits which have long-since disappeared, but is the struggle for their right to face their future on their own terms.

Contrary to what might be expected, the gold economy itself is not destructive to Amarakaeri society. The people are organised according to models and principles with which they have run their economy from time immemorial and the added financial gains which gold provides the communities are a change but not a threat. Respect and interest in traditions are high and are important to the Amarakaeri and there is no evidence that the accessories which come with the gold such as radios, the occasional record-player and tape-recorder have affected their perception of the world more than before they began earning in 1978.
In order to understand this it is important to look at the effect of the gold economy in perspective. Between 1957 and 1969 the Amarakaeri of San José lived in the mission of Shintuya. There they stopped living in their communal houses, they stopped practising their rituals and traditional dances. In addition many children were taken away from their parents to be adopted or sent to schools where they were forbidden to talk their own language. Marriages were often arranged by the priests and many aspects of traditional culture and society were destroyed.

What with the effects of diseases and depopulation at that time, it would be more pertinent to see the moving of the Amarakaeri from Shintuya and the taking up the gold economy as the act of self-determination which saved them from more lasting harm. Between 1969 and 1985 the Amarakaeri in San José have formed themselves into a strong and coherent community, the gold has helped this process. However gold as worked by the Amarakaeri is one thing but the consequences of international, national and regional factors have brought threats to the Amarakaeri which are as dangerous as any they have faced in their history. By looking at these external factors we can understand the reaction of the Amarakaeri and gain some insights into their concerns and desires for their future self-development.
Chapter III MACRO LEVELS OF ECONOMY, POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY.
The International Gold Economy

The second wave of gold mining took place in the Madre de Dios in the early 1970s. This was connected with dramatic changes which were taking place in the world economy. To understand these events we should look at the recent history of gold.

In 1943 Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, fixed the price of gold at $34 an ounce. It was this substantial rise which led to the steady increase in gold production in the 1930s and 40s. The first "gold rush" in the Madre de Dios was a reflection of the higher sums gold was fetching. At the same period the US Congress passed the Gold Reserve Act, which prohibited the private ownership of gold and its use for domestic trade. Until the 1960s gold continued under a fixed price tied to the dollar and the purchasing power of central banks.

Over the next 20 years inflation lessened the attractive price of the $35 offered by the United States and in 1968 bank representatives and International Monetary Fund officials set up a two tier system whereby, in addition to central bank transactions continuing at $35 an ounce, gold would be allowed to float in a separate free market. Over the next few years the price of gold rose and in 1971 President Nixon broke the link between gold and the dollar. At the same time an amendment bill was passed by US Congress allowing for private ownership of gold. These measures had the effect of making gold fluctuate in relation to other economic themes of the period such as inflation, interests rates, the dollar and the price of oil.

When the oil price rose in 1974, Arabs bought gold with their increased revenue. The connection between gold and oil prices became so close that it has been possible to see a long-term equivalence of one ounce to 13 barrels (Observer EFL, 1985). The rise in the inflation rate during the 1970s made people look for means of hedging its effects. Gold was seen as ideal for this and the result was an enormous rise in private ownership and consequently the price, which reached a peak in 1980.
The highest point in the gold price was the 1980 $850 an ounce - but it did not last long. Between 1980 and 1985 the dollar's value increased with interest rates, and gold could not compete as it was unable to offer any immediate return. The lowering rate of inflation lessened the demand even further. With the dollar riding at a high in May, 1985, gold had fallen to $283 an ounce. The fall in the gold price was not smooth however, in 1983, for example, it had rallied, but the rise was short lived. For an overview of the shifts in the price of gold over the last 15 years see graph on the next page.

How gold will fare in the future is anyone's guess. Two factors have been put forward for consideration by economists. Although political crises have, until now, not affected the price of gold, the political situation in South Africa is important as that country produces more gold than anywhere else in the world. An explosion in South Africa could lead to a strong gold market. Another important factor is foreign debt. The US is now a debtor nation which makes the dollar less attractive to investors. In addition, with debtor countries reeling under the excessive interest rates demanded by creditors, particularly the US, resulting defaults on payments could affect the dollar itself. A fall in the value of the dollar has, in the past, usually meant an increase in the price of gold.

In contrast to these predictions, there is another point of view which does not see gold rising much in the future. In the face of crises such as those mentioned above, there is no guarantee that gold would be chosen as the best form of investment or seen as an attractive purchasing commodity. Indeed there is a perspective (Prest: 1984 ) which puts the recent rise and fall in the gold price down to a question of fashion. The political and ideological ramifications of world events as well as the meaning of gold in industrial cultures are factors which contribute to make the gold market unpredictable.
These observations have shown that, specifically over the last ten years, gold has related to certain aspects of the world economy such as the dollar, interest rates, inflation, the price of oil as well as production potential and availability. However, the way in which these factors actually effect the price of gold is not necessarily predictable. We can posit connections and relationships but they change with history.

One predictable aspect of the gold economy concerns not so much the price but the sets of relations by which gold is produced and exchanged. On an international level this consists of offering the producer less than the current price of gold. In Peru this takes three forms.

1. The Banco Minero del Perú is a state owned bank which buys minerals produced in the country. For gold the bank buys at approximately 85% of the international London gold price and sells at the official price. In this way the bank can make a profit by giving the producer considerably less than it gains through the international sales of gold as exports.

2. There are several multinational mining companies operating in the Madre de Dios such as Río Oro, Texas Gulf, Sapi, Perumil, Aupesa and Ausorsa. These are either owned or financed internationally and have considerable power in the region. Multinational companies do not have to sell their gold to the Banco Minero and are also exempt from paying taxes to the Departamento of Madre de Dios. Apart from using power to gain advantages in obtaining gold mining permits, they can make a greater profit than the Banco Minero by directly controlling every aspect of gold production and marketing. National boundaries are by-passed to the increased benefit of the company. In this way not only does the multinational gain from the producer, but from the state where the gold is mined.

3. It has been estimated (El Comercio, November 1st, 1985) that up to 90% of the gold found in the Madre de Dios is
neither sold to the Banco Minero nor produced by multinationals. This is the gold which is sold by means of contraband. It includes both merchants who buy gold instead of the Banco Minero and persons within in the Banco Minero who are corrupt and do not reveal all the gold they purchase. Much of this contraband gold finds its way abroad. With the opening up of the road to Iberia in 1983, Brazil has been one of the main recipients of Peru's contraband gold. Indeed the vast amount of gold which Brazil produces may well have some of its origin in Peru (See table of producers of gold on following page.) The profits from the gold which is sold in this way, like the strategy of multinationals, by-passes the Peruvian state and does not provide with any great advantage in the long-run.

Internationally, taking into account both contraband and multinationals, Peru (on the evidence of the El Comercio speculations) could be gaining only 5% of its potential profit from the gold economy. Even if it should turn out that the figure were greater than this, there could be a tighter control on the buying of gold by the Banco Minero offering better prices to the producers.

The National Economy

Peru does not produce a significant proportion of the world gold production, nor is gold a particularly important mineral nationally. When we compare exporting earnings in 1982-83 we find that whereas copper made $124 millions and petroleum $127 million, zinc made $62 million, silver $58 million, lead $47 million and iron $33 million, gold only made $22 million (figures from Carta Minería 1982-83).

However, when we look at the figures for 1983 from the Boletín Estadistíca Anual from the Banco Minero del Perú we see that the Madre de Dios is the largest producer of gold in the country providing up to two-thirds the total (see next page).
Gold Production Tables - International and Peruvian

**International**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Tonnes</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Western world, 1984 estimates from *Observer* op.cit.:13)

**Gold Production in Peru during 1983**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Kilos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madre de Dios</td>
<td>1407.346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puno</td>
<td>781.760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selva Norte</td>
<td>61.577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selva Central</td>
<td>67.726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cusco</td>
<td>278.833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trujillo</td>
<td>99.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arequipa</td>
<td>6.937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazca</td>
<td>12.206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>119.552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huanuco</td>
<td>44.786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2816.816</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If we compare the production figures of Peru with those of the Madre de Dios from the years 1980-1984 we can see that this pattern is repeated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold Production in Peru</th>
<th>Gold production in Madre de Dios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980 2483.660 Kilos</td>
<td>1960.672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 3444.620</td>
<td>2009.377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982 2438.515</td>
<td>1434.931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983 2816.816</td>
<td>1407.346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Madre de Dios is important for the gold economy of Peru because some of the largest deposits are there. In one large estimate by Roger Evangelista, reported in El Perú en Marcha, 1984, it is considered that the Madre de Dios could have resources of up to 35,000 tonnes which would make it one of the largest deposits in the world. Although the estimate is probably excessive, when we take into account the enormous contraband of gold which is going on there, the Madre de Dios undoubtedly does contain great mineral wealth. The Banco Minero del Perú try to avoid publishing this fact, possibly to draw attention away from the corruption which accompanies the gold economy.

The production of gold in the Madre de Dios as in Peru generally reflects (allowing for the time lapse) the fluctuations in the price of gold internationally. However the fluctuations in production do not parallel price as much as might be expected. One of the explanations for the discrepancy is that 90% of all the gold in the Madre de Dios is produced by small concerns (see Moore: 1985a) which operate as much under the influence of the national economy as the international price of gold. In a country where work is scarce and hunger a constant threat, gold mining presents itself as an alternative form of employment, regardless of the fluctuations in the price of gold offered by the Banco Minero.
In order to understand these factors a little better we should look at certain important elements in the Peruvian economy.

1985 has been an important year for Peru. On July 28th, Alan García became the first Peruvian president from the left of centre APRA party. He conveys the image of dynamism, youth, speed and energy. In November he held a record 95% support from the electorate.

Alan García inherited a political-economic crisis from his predecessor President Fernando Belaúnde. In March, 1985, the foreign debt stood at $13.4 billion with an estimated increase to $14.2 billion by the end of the year. The debt constitutes 78.5% of the gross domestic product. Out of a population of 19.7 million, 70% of the workforce was unemployed or underemployed. Inflation was running at between 250% and 300%. In addition the Peruvian armed forces had been fighting for four years against a Maoist guerilla movement in the central highlands of Ayacucho. During this period some 6,000 people had been killed or disappeared and hundreds of thousands fled to the coast for refuge.

Each of these problems has had its effects on the jungle regions of Peru in general and the Madre de Dios in particular. Along with the foreign debt, Peru has had to accept stringent monetarist conditions from its creditors which the previous government used as an excuse to prevent infrastructural support for those in need in the highlands and the coastal cities. Lack of work, low salaries and high inflation have, along with government encouragement, made potential migrants look to the jungle for future prospects. Belaúnde’s policies for the lowlands were colonial policies. He wanted to "colonise" the jungle and open up its "waste land". He planned to move 2 million unemployed from the cities of the coast to the lowlands. However, many of these schemes have failed because he provided neither support for the potential migrants nor safeguards for the
rights of the indigenous inhabitants of the areas facing invasion. The effects have been for the migrants and the indigenous inhabitants to suffer, while unscrupulous patrons, absentee landowners and gold proprietors make fortunes cut of the land and labour.

In the first months of his presidency, Alan García has overturned many of the policies of his predecessor. One of his first measures was to unilaterally limit Peru's debt repayment to 10% of its export earnings for a 12 month period. On the inflation front García has carried out a price freeze, import and exchange controls as well as cutting the top-heavy Peruvian bureaucracy. At the moment inflation has dropped to between 30% and 40%. A programme of investment in the highlands is hoped to improve the situation there, particularly in the militarised zones and may well take some of the pressure off the lowland area.

Although the political climate in Peru is now optimistic, many people are waiting to see the long-term effect of these new policies and whether Peru gains the confidence of new support countries in Europe. In addition there are many areas of government where Alan García has yet to show demonstratively that he is changing the policies of his predecessors. For example, we have yet to be certain that changes in the emergency zone are not merely cosmetic and that the ever-pressing question of land rights throughout the highlands and lowlands is at last going to be taken seriously.

It will take a while for the effects of García's reforms to filter through to the jungle. We noticed the price freeze on certain foods and medicines in main towns of the Madre de Dios such as Puerto Maldonado and the smaller traders were worried for the future. However, elsewhere there was no noticeable fall in the prices of basic commodities up until the beginning of November. The changes in emphasis on reform in the highlands may also not be felt for a while in the more isolated parts of the jungle such as the Karene.
This over-view of how national economics affects the jungle demonstrates that international trends can be ameliorated, encouraged or preserved by national factors. The national debt, and its accompanying policies of national financial stringency, the lack of employment and astronomical inflation have, all up until now, created a climate on the coast and the highlands where the poor are tempted or, in some cases, forced to go into the jungle regions to find solutions to their plight.

The relationship between central government and the gold work of the Madre de Dios is that government sets up the conditions for sending ever more migrants into the region while at the same time taking and profiting from the resources of the area. One example of this is the Banco Minero del Perú on the Madre de Dios. The bank is the only place where goldminers can legally sell the produce of their labour. Although in principle, this prevents exploitation of the price by unscrupulous dealers the bank itself buys gold at 85.5% of the international price and sometimes even lower. In addition the bank calculates its daily buying price on a very low dollar rate and on the basis of the lowest price of the average price over the previous week. Another aspect of the Banco Minero's activities which have caused criticism (see Moore 1985a:20) is its refusal to offer small-scale miners credit, even though the bank is accepting international loans to do this.

The Ministry of Energy and Mines, in Lima and Puerto Maldonado poses another problem for the miners in the Madre de Dios. This ministry is responsible for receiving applications and handing out gold permits. There are several different types of permit ranging from a large area exploration permit or a provisional exploitation permit to a rarely given definite permit. Officially, no permit should be given without first consulting the indigenous peoples population of the area, and permits should be reviewed every five years. However, within the Ministry, official procedures are not usually followed. There is clear evidence of permits being given one on top of another. Bribery
Comerciante travelling up river with cargo (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
and corruption are endemic and it is impossible to get a clear
definitive account of who has permits and where in the Madre de Dios.

The law of mining in Peru deals with the subsoil and grants permission (not rights) to look for gold under the land. This same land is recognised in the Law of Native Communities as belonging to the indigenous population by right. To overcome this potential contradiction there was a convenio set up as an agreement between the Ministry of Energy and Mines, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Centre of Investigation and Promotion of the Amazon (CIPA) which was made in 1979. It gives native people the right to be consulted before permission is given for any non-indigenous prospectors to mine on native lands. In spite of the clauses and agreements, the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios have been ignored time after time and the permits are given to international companies and people who have power with the authorities in Lima.

The centralisation of Peru means that a large part of the political economy of the Madre de Dios is controlled from Lima. Not only do conditions which result in the increase of migrants to the Madre de Dios stem from decisions taken in Lima, but loans and permits are given mainly to companies with connections to the national power structure. The way in which the price of gold is fixed provides the Banco Minero with a handsome profit in spite of the taxes it has to give to the Madre de Dios department. The imbalance in the relationship between Peru as a nation state and the powerful countries and international economic concerns of the world economy, is mirrored in the imbalance between the advantages which accrue to the élite in Lima and the producers of gold in the Madre de Dios.
The Madre de Dios

The Madre de Dios is the third largest department in Peru comprising 6% of the country's area. Over the last 20 years the population has escalated from 14,890 to 36,555. Although most of the region lies in lowlands jungle the population increase stems from the influx of migrants from the highlands and coast. Only 4,000 of the inhabitants are indigenous. Although much of the economy of the Madre de Dios centres around the production of Brazil-nuts, wood and cattle, more people are employed in gold mining than in all these activities put together and constitute 52.9% of the total work force.

In spite of the control over the regional economy from Lima and abroad, the Madre de Dios is an area of economic expansion in Peru. With oil exploration in the early 1970s and the current gold boom, there have been some investments into the area. However this has not benefitted the social infrastructure. According to CODEH-PA (1983:32-23) of every 1000 children who enter hospital in the region, 557 die and in 1977 22.5% of the population was illiterate.

Thomas Moore has made an analysis of the group with the most power in the Madre de Dios (1985c:180-183). He singles out as the dominant sector, traders (comerciantes) who are mainly people from Cusco. They have built up their wealth over the last 30 years, benefitting from the isolation of the Madre de Dios. By importing goods which they sell at double or triple the prices elsewhere in the country, and combining these profits with lumber and gold work, this group makes considerable fortunes. They often find themselves in opposition to multinationals who, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, are oriented to diverting their profits from gold production away from the Madre de Dios, and consequently out of the hands of the Cusquenian comerciantes.
A considerable amount of the local economy of the Madre de Dios is in the hands of these comerciantes. It is noticeable that prices of merchandise in the department fluctuate with the price of gold. The reason for this is that those comerciantes who also work in the gold economy have to avoid pricing themselves out of the market and also can use the lowering of prices to edge smaller comerciantes out of the market. During our visit to the Madre de Dios this year we spoke with several small comerciantes who complained bitterly that the larger comerciantes who were also gold patrons, were forcing them out of business.

The same criticism came from the small-scale miners known as "pequeños mineros". Pequeños mineros work individually or in small groups, occasionally employing peons to help them. The pequeños mineros complained less about the fall in the price of gold than the attempt by the large patrons (who employ anything from 10 to 200 peons) to monopolise the prices of goods and the land for mining. Economically speaking, the indigenous goldworkers of the Madre de Dios come under the heading of pequeños mineros, however, their problems are of a different order to the non-indigenous gold miners.

A third group which is affected by the comerciente patrons are their own peons. In June, 1983, a report was published in Cusco on the gross violations of human rights facing temporary migrants from the highlands who go to the Madre de Dios to work for gold patrons. The document (La Selva y su Ley; CODEH-PA-Sicuani, 1983) details the fate of one group from the area of Sicuani, near Cusco. Many migrants are forced or cheated into going into the jungle. Others, it should also be said, volunteer to be hired because they have no means to survive the period between sowing and harvest in the highlands. In this way labour in the lowlands complements the sierra agricultural cycle (see also among the Matsigenka, Dan Rosengren pers. comm.).
These people constitute a temporary floating population of, at least, 20,000 who are brought down to the jungle for a minimum of 90 days. Conditions such as food, working hours, health care and payment are atrocious in many cases. During our visit this year we knew of people dying because the patron would not provide medical supplies and of the continuing abuse of child labour. There is no doubt that the abhorrent working conditions of these gold workers amount to semi-slavery and are reminiscent of the atrocities which took place during the time of the rubber boom. In spite of assurances on the part of the Peruvian government, that these current abuses have diminished, there is little concrete evidence to support this view.

The Harakmbut people who work gold in the Madre de Dios are self-employed gold workers in the same way as pequeños mineros, but the difference is that the former have a subsistence economy and a legal right to their lands. Both share the problems of high prices in the area and the constant harassment from patrons who actively throw them off the beaches where they are working gold. Indigenous people have occupied their lands since time immemorial and have a right to the basic provisions the land offers for their survival, whereas pequeños mineros openly admit they are only there for the gold.

When we look at the Madre de Dios, the chain of dependency goes further. Whereas the Banco Minero del Perú makes money out of all the gold producers in the region, large scale comerciante patrons have control over prices and land. Meanwhile the gold workers suffer from their employers' control of the labour market and from human rights abuses.
Dependency and predictability

In this chapter we have travelled along a line of dependency which stretches from an international economic order where multinationals, central banks and large industrialised countries hold smaller countries in the third world such as Peru in exploitative dependency. Within Peru we have seen how the interest groups and banks in the metropolis, Lima, hold economic controls over the rest of the country. In the Madre de Dios, the influence of Lima and Cusco manifests itself in regional financial interests and local comerciantes patrons who in their turn control the operations of the gold economy in areas such as the Río Karene where the Amarakaeri of San José live.

This dependency model would be too general if it did not account for significant variants at each level which makes predictable the nature of the exploitation within any period. The exploitation and inequality are clear, but the form they take depends on other mediating factors. For example we have seen how the condition of the national economy has meant that migration to the Madre de Dios has lessened only slightly, in spite of the drop in international gold prices. In addition, the high inflation rate in Peru, has, for some people, even disguised the extent to which the gold price has fallen.

Another important mediating factor is the perceptions of different interest groups. The support for Alan García since his assumption of the presidency has united the country in the face of Peru's international creditors. However, there is no unity with regard to the gold market, where the monopoly which the Banco Minero holds over the gold price is an anathema to those who receive neither credit nor a fair price for their gold. Critics of the bank vary from the free-marketers who
would like to return to a habilitación system where the comerciante patrons would hold the gold price monopoly, to those who would prefer to see the bank operate with more concern for their clients.

When we look at the different perspectives of the interest groups within a small area such as the Karene there is a complicated cross-cutting of positions. Whereas comerciante patrons are united with their workers, pequeños mineros and the indigenous population against the multinational mining companies, between these groups there are differences. The gold-workers, small comerciantes, pequeños mineros and Harakmbut are all in opposition to the control of the comerciante patrons. However, the indigenous people of the area are also treated with suspicion and resentment by the rest. This is because others in the mining community consider that the Harakmbut are living in a gold-mine and that their rights to land should not interfere with mineral exploitation.

Perspectives on the indigenous peoples of the Karene from non-indigenous inhabitants of the area have become clouded recently, owing to events to be recounted in the next chapter. Opinions among pequeños mineros and comerciante patrons varied. Some told us that the native peoples were "civilized now" and should not get any more rights to land than any one else. Others said that they were still "uncivilized" and that their land should be developed for them. The most common opinion was that the non-indigenous miners did not want to exploit the native peoples or take away their land, just the gold under their land. When they had the gold they would move away and leave the Harakmbut alone.
The final factor which complicates the dependency chain without destroying it, is the form of production which the Amarakaeri use. As will become apparent in the next chapter, the Amarakaeri do not exist solely on the proceeds of gold but on an integrated economy of hunting, gathering and horticulture. Exploitation and dependency means something different for them than for the others in the region. However the problems and issues which face them cross and re-cross the lives of others who are also suffering from the effects of the gold rush in the Madre de Dios.

Colonists camp on the Pukiri (Photo: Andrew Gray)
Chapter IV THE AMARAKAERI AND THE GOLD RUSH
SAN JOSE - A COMMUNITY IN CRISIS
The following series of events happened to the community of San José del Karene between April and June last year (1985). They are of great significance in understanding the atmosphere and strength of feeling in the community during our stay. This is the first time in recent years that the whole village has considered itself under threat and the scars of the encounter still remain. I would go so far as to say that the experience has acted as a catalyst, speeding up reactions to the threats which they face as a community.

Between 1979 and 1981, the people of San José del Karene worked on a dried out riverbed inland from the main river. The area was called Santa Rosa. Early in 1985, Amarakaeri men from the village found a part of the riverbed which contained a good amount of gold. They estimated that the placer could provide 20 grams of gold a day. (Quite how much this means over a period of time depends on the number of days worked, the extent of the deposit, the numbers working and the techniques they use.) In an Amarakaeri context this was a large find and could have lasted them at least a year, providing for about 15 families.

The Amarakaeri do not maximize their gold work and so when they had discovered the new placer at Santa Rosa they continued to work in an area at the extreme limits of their territory in the Río Pukiri. Santa Rosa lies much closer to the village of San José, and so the Amarakaeri had the idea that when they needed to stay near their homes, for the sake of their gardens, they could wash gold from the newly discovered deposits.

However while they were working away in Puriki, a local land owner, Jaime Sumalave (a comerciante patron from Cusco) moved into Santa Rosa and started to work the new placer he had heard about it by rumour and by February had invited local patrons (in return for a share in the takings) to help him clear the area as quickly as possible. They worked there
Santa Rosa after the "invasion". (Photo: Andrew Gray)
for over a month without being discovered because the San José men were not hunting in the vicinity at the time.

In the last days of April an Amarakaeri hunter heard the sounds of motor pumps coming from Santa Rosa and went to investigate. He saw an estimated 150 workers clearing a vast area. He reported this to the other villagers who were in the Pukiri. Some returned to San José and decided to evict the invaders from Santa Rosa. On April 27th they walked in and commandeered the motor pumps from the workers and told them to leave as they were on community land. On May 4th they returned to see whether the workers had left Santa Rosa. They were still there so the Amarakaeri commandeered more equipment and told them that if they didn't leave they would return and physically claim the site as their own. The workers left, setting fire to their huts.

Meanwhile Jaime Sumalave was at the Banco Minero post. When he heard the news he went up the Karene to San José on May 6th and again on the 7th. After brief negotiations the community returned to Sumalave all they had commandeered. Everything appeared quiet until the following week, when Tomás, Pedro and Isias Quique were summoned to appear before the Justice of the Peace at the Banco Minero and answer certain charges made by Jaime Sumalave. The community made a written reply: The charges and answers were as follows: (Repuesta OF: 027-JDPMDD-85)

1. Charge: The Amarakaeri had stolen his gold equipment.
   Answer: The property had been commandeered until he left the site whereupon it was returned intact.

2. Charge: Pedro, Tomás and Isias Quique as community leaders must take responsibility for the affair.
   Answer: The whole community took part and all are responsible.

3. Charge: the Amarakaeri had destroyed Sumalave's gold camp.
   Answer: the Sumalaves had no right to be there.

In addition the Amarakaeri pointed out that the Ministry of Energy and Mines had stated on April 16th 1985, that Sumalave
had no permit to work the area. He had made an application in 1984 which had been opposed by the community and no engineer had mapped the area for him. Sumalave's occupation of the land was thus in violation of both the Mining Law and the Law of Native Communities.

On Saturday, 12th June, one of the Amarakaeri who was encamped at Santa Rosa to protect it from further invasions went to the main river Karene to fish. As he stood on the bank he saw a canoe pass with several armed Civil Guards. He warned those at the camp who made their way immediately to the community. Jaime Sumalave, accompanied by the guards entered Santa Rosa and commandeered all Amarakaeri equipment and tools. Meanwhile two Civil Guards and a Lieutenant went up to San José to order Tomás, Pedro and Isias Quique down to the house of Jaime Sumalave (two bends down river) to make a statement and come to an agreement. At Sumalave's house a Judge and Public Prosecutor were waiting. The community said they would decide the next day.

During the night several of the Civil Guards went out onto the beaches near San José and fired shots which terrified the community and particularly two older men who had gone out hunting. The next day Padre Adolfo Torralba came down to San José from the native community of Puerto Luz at the request of the Amarakaeri in order to bare witness to what happened. He arrived to a tense situation where the Amarakaeri in San José were dressed in traditional paint and feathers and were prepared to defy the demands of the Lieutenant to solve community matters at the house of Sumalave. Eventually an agreement was made that everything would be resolved in Puerto Maldonado.

On Monday 10th, the community went en masse to Puerto Maldonado. There the development corporation, which in recent years has defended native interests, agreed to defend their case. On Wednesday, the 12th, the community complained to the Ministry
of Energy and Mines and on the 13th, Tomás Quique faced strong questioning from the Judge and Public Prosecutor. His brother Pedro was not questioned until Tuesday June 18th. The two interviews cleared the community and the representatives made full use of the television, radio and newspapers to put their case. The force of their argument put public opinion on their side.

During the last week in June, Jaime Sumalave, who it appeared had been holding San José's gold equipment at the port of Labarinto, close to Puerto Maldonado, was forced to hand it back to the community. The Amarakaeri took everything back to the village and resumed work at Santa Rosa. However, when they began to work gold again, it was clear that the most profitable part had been taken by Sumalave and his fellow patrons.

These series of events form a case study in relations between a native community and local comerciante patrons. Usually the members of a community do not find the capacity to unite and force out an invader. There have been several cases, over the last few years, where another comerciante patron from the Pukiri called Mateus Pinto, has forced Amarakaeri off their and at gunpoint. Another, Wilfredo Neira, has used Civil Guards to deny Amarakaeri access to their lands. The Sumalave conflict was important therefore as it was the first major victory the community of San José has had against its encroaching neighbours.

However, when we arrived at the community, they were anything but jubilant after their success. They were certainly aware of their strength and what they had done, but they were decidedly concerned about the future. Not only has Sumalave promised revenge, but they are more aware of how vulnerable they are from the 12 or more comerciante patrons living on their lands. In order to understand how the community united and why they feel more threatened than ever, we should now
look further into their perspective of the gold economy in the Madre de Dios.

Changes since 1981

We have seen in the last chapter that the price of gold fell between 1981 and 1985 by 40%. The effect on the prices in Madre de Dios has been confused by the astronomical inflation rate in Peru. For example, in 1981 at its highest gold fetched $10 a gram (5,000 soles). In 1985 gold was fetching 120,000 soles which is about $7. Some Amarakaeri were not even aware that the price of gold had fallen over the last four years because of the overwhelming influence of inflation.

Another way of comparing prices between 1981 and 1985 is to see how many kilos of, say, rice, a gram of gold can buy. In 1981, a gram bought approximately 10 kilos, but now a gram will buy nearer 20 kilos. Beer has changed in the same way but to a lesser extent - 1 gram in 1981 could buy 7 beers, now it buys 10. The discrepancy between gold price and commodity price does vary, but it would appear, that, in spite of the fall in the price of gold, the cost of living has fallen too. This is probably largely due to the opening up of the area to more comerciantes. The Banco Minero post is now twice the size it was in 1981, housing over 100 people. Canoes with 55 horse power outboard motors arrive most days of the week, whereas four years ago four 16 horse power canoes a week was more usual.

These calculations are based on prices at the Banco Minero and although relevant some of the time, do not give an accurate view of prices as they affect the Amarakaeri. According to pequeños mineros and the Amarakaeri, prices have been continually rising since 1981, and life is more of a struggle than ever. This is because these groups, and particularly the Amarakaeri, do not make the majority of their purchases from
the Bank but from travelling comerciantes who come, usually from further up the Madre de Dios. These comerciantes buy their goods from the Banco Minero or the mission of Shintuya and travel directly to the indigenous communities or gold encampments. The prices they charge are as much as double those of the bank. Villagers who have no petrol for their canoes or who feel uncomfortable at the Banco Minero post are often driven to buying from these comerciantes at prices which are high, even by Madre de Dios standards.

Assessing production rates and the amount people in San José gain from their gold is extremely difficult, The Amarakera do not maximize their mining and work when they want to. Sometimes when they are lucky they can make a large sum, otherwise if they don't feel like it, they make little. The amount of gold they are finding still varies from 10-20 grams for a day's washing at a placer (this is a high estimate). On average five men work on one placer, and for every day's washing, 2 or 3 day's are needed to clear the top soil. Each parcel of land cleared can take up to 3 months working at 3 or 4 days a week. The Amarakera can work up to 9 months a year on their gold. With these rough figures we come up with the following estimate: 3 months (4 day week) = 48 days. There are approximately 12 days washing in each 3 months period which totals 36 washing days a year. 15 grams per washing day = 540 grams a year. At 120,000 soles a gram, 5 people get 64,800,000 soles per year' Each man, therefore, gets 12,960,000 soles a year - which is approximately $800.

A similar calculation I made in 1981 produced the sum of $850 per annum. The discrepancy may be in the computations but is more likely to reflect the facts that, taking the change in the price of gold into consideration, the Amarakera of San José are producing more than they did in 1981 but are gaining slightly less. One of the reasons for the increase in production is that practically every family has its own motor pump now which
Returning to San José after a day's working gold (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
raises the gold output considerably. In 1981 there were only three pumps in the whole community as opposed to 12 or more in 1985.

The Amarakaeri perception of the rise in the cost of living has its basis in the high prices offered by the travelling comerciantes and the less spending power they have, even though gold production has a higher potential with more motor pumps. There are two other factors which are important for understanding the Amarakaeri perspective of the high cost of living. One is the availability of gold and the other is the shift in Amarakaeri values.

There is an increasing difficulty in finding new gold deposits in San José. Many of the inland deposits have been mined and there have not been the heavy rains recently which are needed to bring more gold dust down from the Andes mountains. Coupled with the decrease in available gold sites there is an increased demand for higher production. It is clear that the villagers consume far more bought commodities than they did between 1979 and 1981. Last year, when they were living on the Río Pukiri, they lived for periods almost entirely on bought rice, fish, pasta and tinned food supplied by the travelling comerciantes. Four years ago this food was considered a luxury but now it is a necessity.

Apart from basic foodstuffs, there have been many large outlays for Amarakaeri families in recent years. Motor pumps and built-up sides for their dug out canoes (now legally required by the local marines), outboard motors and generators cost many millions. One such item can cost as much as a man gains in a year from gold work. Gold mining has affected Amarakaeri consumption patterns and their rise in expectations has led to a rise in their cost of living.

The Amarakaeri perception of the difficulties of making
ends meet thus arises from inflation, high prices in certain cases, an increase in gold production coupled with fewer sites and a shift in values which make them more reliant on money than previously. However there is another issue here which is even more pertinent than changes in prices - changes in land.

Since 1981, the number of colonists residing on the lands of San José has doubled. Whereas before, the patrons and their peons totalled less than the community members, they are now more. Colonists are now living inland in areas which the Amarakaeri used to hunt. There is scarcely a part of the lands of the River Pukiri and the Karene which is not under threat of exploitation by some invading prospector.

The granting of gold permits by the Ministry of Energy and Mines is an area fraught with ambiguities. The Ministry is meant to make its information known to the general public but it is extremely unwilling to reveal anything. The map on the next page explains why. The data was built up on a version of the permits which was given to San José by the Ministry. Almost all of the permits double with others. The multinational AUSORSA controls most of the area with some of the local patrons with smaller parcels. The owners of permits, do not reflect the actual population of colonists living in the Karene and Pukiri.

None of these permits have received community approval in line with the Ministry's own agreement. According to Thomas Moore, a recent investigation showed that 200 people had expressed interest in getting permits in the area and so the true picture of the map should probably be more complicated.

Even though the boundaries of San José have been demarcated and the lands recognised as belonging to the community, land titles have not been officially recognised. It is hoped that these titles will appear in 1986, but until then the people of San José are dispondant and feel helpless - even to the extent of wondering whether these titles will ever be handed over.
Colonists working gold on San José’s land (Photo: Andrew Gray)
Key to map of gold permits on SanJosé's lands

1. Carmen 1  Ausorsa
2. Huguito  Baldomo Rene Diaz (Maldonado)
3. Santa Sarita 6  Juan Lopez Garrida (Banco Minero)
4. Ana Maria 6  Ausorsa
5. " 5  Ausorsa
6. " 4  Ausorsa
7. " 2  Ausorsa
8. OSAMI (Diana 1)  Wilfredo Zavala Otzuka
9. Braulio 1  Victor (Jaime) Sumalave (not granted)
10. Iberia I  Juan Newschander Landa
11. " II  Juan Newschander Landa
12. " III  Juan Newschander Landa
13. Fina No. 2  Ergasto Silia Cagigao
14. Rarel 1  Ausorsa
15. " 2  Ausorsa
16. " 5  Ausorsa
17. " 6  Ausorsa
18. Puquire No. 1  Vicente Mateus Borda (Pinto)

Note: Ausorsa is the only multinational with permits on San José's land at the moment. Almost all its permits have been made on top of others. Overlapping permits constitute almost all those on the map (2,3,4,5,6,7,9,10,13,15,16,17,18). Such a large number of overlapping permits makes a mockery of the system as no one knows who has permits or not.
The movement of people onto Amarakaeri lands is more acute in San José than in either of the other two villages we visited. Of all the invaders, the greatest threats have come from comerciante patrons such as Jaime Sumalave and his brothers, Mateus Pinto and Wilfredo Neira. These men employ the bulk of the workers who are mining on Amarakaeri land (possibly up to 200) and pose the strongest daily threat. The fall in the price of gold has affected these men directly because they have, at the same time, had to cope with the opening up of the region which has meant a lowering in prices of merchandise. It is because of this tightening of their financial world that they are trying to move into whatever profitable gold deposits they hear of, and trying to force the Amarakaeri out at every turn. In the last 2 years Pinto has forced three indigenous groups off a beach were they were working gold. Neira has used the Civil Guards to frighten off the Amarakaeri, and Sumalave, as we have seen, has spent up to 10 million soles in his attempt to take over Amarakaeri land. In Puerto Luz, which is further up the Karene, there are one or two prospectors entering from the headwaters, but these people have not caused any serious problems to date. In Boca del Inambari, on the other hand, the community has four local prospectors taking their land away. However the villagers themselves have gold mining permits for two areas called Rosita and Playa Jesus which were gained after a long struggle with colonists which they fought and won. Even so colonists persist in ignoring the community’s permits and work gold on their placers.

The effects on San José of the invading gold-prospectors is first of all to take away the land for the gold. The people of San José consider that the gold, if untouched, serve them and their children in the future because they are not seeking to make vast fortunes. When they hunt, the Amarakaeri diversify both species and hunting areas to avoid overkill and wiping a locality clear of game. According to their traditions, if they overkill it is not just depletion of game they face, but serious illness. In the same way they would not clear all the gold
on their territories at once, but spread its gains over a period of time. This was the strategy they used in Santa Rosa but which led to great problems when the colonists wanted to take over.

The colonists who prospect gold, work to maximize their gains all over Amarakaeri land on the Karene and the Pukiri. Whereas in 1981 it was possible to walk from San José to Pukiri without seeing anyone, it is now necessary, unless you take steps to avoid them, to pass through two non-Amarakaeri gold camps in the interior. The influx of gold prospectors onto the lands of San José means that the deposits in the interior (which are not renewable as those on the beaches are) will eventually run out. The community considers that gold is an essential part of their livelihood and that this is being taken away from them. In the future they will have to find alternative measures to preserve their standards of living.

Furthermore whole areas of river banks are being cleared of natural vegetation and life, even though river banks are conserved areas. At the entrance to the Pukiri Mariano Ayer's cleared hectares of river banks resemble a lunar landscape, matched only by the international companies which have been working in Huaypethue at the headwaters of the Pukiri. Once this large scale clearing takes place there is no means for the soil to regenerate. The result is a scarred and disfigured landscape, one which was once rich in flora and fauna and a part of Peru's unique natural heritage.

This leads to the second effect of the arrival of gold prospectors which is the serious depletion of game stocks. Every family in San José complained that the animals and fish which frequented the area four years ago are fast disappearing. The reason is because there are too many people living in the area and the new inhabitants do not treat the environment with the respect needed to preserve the stocks. The sound of several
motor pumps, camp life and armies of prospectors looking for new deposits are frightening away animal life. The effect on hunting is critical for the Amarakaeri.

Working gold in San José takes on a model of hunting. Men look for new deposits when they go hunting and it is common to see a hunter taking his gun and his gold prospecting stick with him into the forest. The gold is found on the beaches or in the interior of the forest which also corresponds to a fundamental distinction in Amarakaeri cosmology between the river and the forest, both parts of which have their own spirits which help or harm hunters according to their respect for the species they are hunting. Although there are no gold spirits as such, the same prestige and heightening of reputation attaches itself to a man who finds a good deposit. Gold is now a major aspect of Amarakaeri production.

The depletion of game is harming Amarakaeri hunting considerably. Prestige, social communication and individual growth all depend on the production, distribution and consumption of meat. While we were in San José the Amarakaeri devoted much effort in ensuring we received the traditional hospitality of eating meat and fish regularly. We were appreciative of how they achieved this, in spite of the difficulties.

The third effect of the importance of the gold economy and the threats it faces from outsiders concerns children. It is normally a fundamental feature of Amarakaeri families to ensure the continuation of the male line. However, during this visit to San José, for the first time, we heard mothers saying that they wanted to have fewer children than in the past because they had neither the meat to feed them nor the gold money to ensure their survival.

There is no evidence yet of Amarakaeri population decrease and this may not eventually come to pass. However it is signi-
significant to hear mothers talking in these terms and in some cases their husbands agreeing. It is a sign of the despondency which reigns in the village and the fear for their survival in the future.

Attacks on work, hunting and family size are all aspects of the indigenous perspective of the threats which face them from the invading colonists. The three most important activities of their society and culture are being destroyed and Amarakaeri awareness of this is nothing other than an awareness of ethnocide—indeed possible genocide.

When the Amarakaeri talk about their problems their perspective shifts from resignation to defiance. Some days they feel extremely despondent because they are convinced that they will all be wiped out. The incident with the Sumalave's had the effect of showing that the local miners were not impassive, but were capable of working against them. This had a very negative effect as many felt that it was only a matter of time before a concerted effort could destroy Amarakaeri livelihood altogether.

In contrast with this resignation, the Amarakaeri show great courage and defiance in the face of colonial adversity. They have put on their war paint and feathers for the first time in many years and their pride in their strength has been increased. They will fight for their rights and they will ensure that what is their's morally and legally is acknowledged by people in the Madre de Dios and Peru as a whole.

This chapter has looked at the threats, the fears and the resignation. The next chapter looks at the positive side of Amarakaeri visions of the future. We see from the interplay between the positive and negative aspects of their point of view the role which development plays in their society and culture. For development to work, it is necessary to under-
stand what it should be doing and what the Amarakaeri want from it. Only in this way we can discover what self-develop-
ment means.

Amarakaeri gold camp. (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
Chapter V  THE AMARAKAERI AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT
In the last chapter we saw how the invasion of Amarakaeri land was a consequence of political, economic and ideological factors, one of which was the world price of gold. At the same time we saw that the Amarakaeri saw this invasion as affecting not simply their economy and production but all aspects of their society and culture. The most important facet of indigenous life is its holistic nature and how it is impossible to separate one aspect of their livelihood - say politics or economics from another. Everything connects in some way, either directly, analogically or in contrast.

This chapter looks at the positive response of the Amarakaeri to their problems. By this I mean their self-development. Human rights violations are the manifestations of the threats to indigenous peoples and self-development is their way of combatting them. There are four areas we should look at here which are all inter-connected and demonstrate clearly the way we can shed light on development for indigenous peoples. These areas are: self-organisation; land; education; health. There are other areas too but these are the main ones for the Amarakaeri at this point in their history.

Organisation

One of the most important ways of combatting threats to the livelihood of indigenous peoples is the formation of indigenous organisations. The Amarakaeri have participated over the last four years in the formation of an organisation of a Native Federation of the Madre de Dios (FENAMAD). FENAMAD was first formed after two trips by Amarakaeri to Lima in 1980 and 1981 to the national indigenous organisation Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (AIDESEP). The result of these meetings and various inter-community meetings was the first congress which was held at Boca del Karene (a community which has since disbanded) in January 1982. (See Sur 1982, 1983a, Moore 1985c and Wahl 1985.)
Houses in San José del Karene (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
The three areas of major concern for FENAMAD have been the titling of lands, health and education. These were discussed at the second Congress of FENAMAD held at Boca del Inbari in August, 1982. This congress was attended not only by indigenous representatives from all over the Madre de Dios but also non-indigenous observers from the Corporación de Desarrollo del Madre de Dios and from the Ministry of Agriculture. Since then both organisations have shown support for the needs of the indigenous groups of the department. The Corporación, particularly, has shown willingness in furthering the indigenous cause and helped San José very much during the Sumalave crisis.

FENAMAD has had several obstacles to its development over its short history. There were no Congresses between 1982 and 1985 (although there was one in December, 1985). In addition stimulation from the communities has been limited. It was this stagnation in the organisation that I wanted to understand which seemed capable of threatening the survival of the federation in the future.

There is no doubt that interest and support for FENAMAD is widespread in the communities which we visited. The work of the advisor to the organisation, Thomas Moore, was recognised and appreciated everywhere. He lives in Puerto Maldonado and has provided a base where indigenous representatives can meet and discuss during their visits to the town. FENAMAD is known and recognised by the members of the communities as a necessary means to make a stand for their right and organise self-development projects.

The question of participation is more difficult for several reasons which we should look at in detail:

1. Some of the older members of the community are somewhat uncertain about entering into an organisation which brings together
persons from different indigenous groups who have not always been friends during their history. One of the examples given was the time when many Harakmbut groups were forced to live together for several years at the Mission of Shintuya where there was much unhappiness, discontent and, eventually, splits. This criticism against the organisation illustrates one of the problems it faces, namely, that many people do not understand its structure and objectives. As a federation is is a series of alliances between ethno-linguistic groups of the Madre de Dios at a community level. Their co-operation is for specific goals and is not a ploy to unite the indigenous groups of the Madre de Dios into an undifferentiated mass. In Harakmbut history there are several examples of the different indigenous groups of the Madre de Dios making alliances to fight non-indigenous invaders, such as Baltazar la Torre in the 1870s.

2. Another problem which members of the different communities expressed to me was which model the federation should use. They proposed two main organisation plans both of which had advantages. One wanted FENAMAD organised on a centralised basis with a permanent office in Puerto Maldonado which would be manned by indigenous representatives - probably students who had finished their courses at secondary school there. The office would operate to pressure ministries to ensure the rights of the communities; would act as a commercial centre, helping communities sell their produce in the town such as wood, crops or artesanias; and would be a cultural centre and hostal for those staying in town or needing medical treatment.

The alternative view of FENAMAD was decentralised. It saw each community as a satellite of the federation. The officers (President, Secretary and Treasurer) would make regular visits to the communities to discuss and take into account the desires and needs of each community from frequently held general assemblies. The decision making would be more devolved and there
The rainy season at the gold camp (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
would be no central base. Both of these models were considered
difficult to implement because of the third issue:

3. There have been no funds for support for FENAMAD which
could enable the organisation to take the form which people
eventually wish. They have no petrol to travel in their canoes
to each other's communities. There has been no funding to sup-
port a centralised base in Puerto Maldonado which could be
completely independent and run by the members of FENAMAD alone.

Although there have been several grants for the federation
in recent years, notably from OXFAM US and UK, supporting the
present Congress and work for land titling, it is very diffi-
cult to get support for organisational infrastructure on a ba-
sis which would enable FENAMAD to function and prove its capa-

cilities. Of all the reasons given for the lack of participa-
tion by communities to FENAMAD, the lack of a visible structure
was given as the main one. This visible structure is crucial
in an area where communication is so difficult. It takes seve-
ral days to travel from Boca del Inambari to the Karene and
these are some of the closest communities in the region. When
I talked to national leaders of AIDESEP in Lima they told me
that the communication made the area one of the most difficult
to organise. Without basic financial support which takes this
fundamental aspect of FENAMAD into account, the organisation
will continue to face difficulties.

Considering the problems FENAMAD has been facing these years
it is a credit to the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios
and their supporters that they have accomplished so much. The
will to eradicate the threats facing the peoples of the Madre
de Dios is there but it needs support and goodwill from out-
side too. This was the underlying message from all the commu-
nities we visited and from an interview with the then President
of FENAMAD, Alejo Corisepa.
Land

Land is the most important resource for the Amarakaeri and one which is constantly under threat. FENAMAD's main goal is to ensure the titling of lands for the indigenous communities of the Madre de Dios. Between 1979 and 1980 the Ministry of Agriculture with the support of Centro Investigación y Promoción Amazonico (CIPA), started work on titling the communities. The process was frozen for some years under Belaúnde but now it has resumed under a new agreement between the Ministry of Agriculture and the development corporation on the Madre de Dios (CORDEMAD). Even so, out of 69 indigenous communities in the Madre de Dios only 15 have been recognised as such by the Ministry of Agriculture and only four have received recognition of their land titles.

FENAMAD has been following the titling procedure closely from some of its officers and its advisor. With support from OXFAM it is hoped that this work will be increased and the organisation can continue to pressure the Ministry and the Corporation (CORDEMAD) to ensure that the communities are titled.

Many Amarakaeri spoke of their need for land titles. They consider that it is the only way to avoid violence and the sorts of incidents that have been happening in the Karene. With law unequivocally on their side, the indigenous peoples of the region can fight for their rights in the courts. However, there is much corruption in the Madre de Dios and it is essential that FENAMAD or any support organisation working there get the advice of good lawyers who will be able to pursue the cases to the end.

All over the world indigenous peoples face the problem of a law which is in their favour but a system which is not. The Amarakaeri are gradually realising that attaining their land titles, which has been a goal for so many years, is in itself a means for putting into practice a law which already
gives them the rights to their land.

The Amarakaeri we spoke to had several opinions on how they should work with regard to land. All effort should be put into gaining the titles. However, they need legal support. Although CIPA have offered the services of their lawyer, they would like someone permanently in Puerto Maldonado, either as a part of FENAMAD or some assistance organisation. The Amarakaeri also take their gold work into consideration. The way to enable them to continue with their gold mining is to evict illegal colonists who are working in the area and to ensure compensation from those they cannot move. Both the law of Native Communities and agreements give priority to the rights of indigenous populations. FENAMAD and the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios are fighting to put these rights into practice.

Education

In all the communities we visited the value of education in itself was recognised by the Amarakaeri. People realised that if they were to achieve their aims and aspirations they must be educated to secondary level. Primary education is available in all Amarakaeri villages. One of the schools is run by the Ministry of Education on a secular basis in Boca del Inambari (as is the indigenous non-Amarakaeri community of Vuelta Grande on the Madre de Dios where a primary school was recently constructed on the request of FENAMAD). San José and Puerto Luz schools are run with Catholic Church support. In San José there are two secular missionaries and in Puerto Luz Padre Torralba and another teacher.

The work of these teachers at the secondary level is preparing more and more children for a secondary education which they can only have in Puerto Maldonado. Thanks to the support from AIDESEP there have been some grants for secondary students at Billinghamurst school in Puerto Maldonado. Because of various
difficulties with language and work patterns some have not lasted the run of their courses. However others have, and several are nearing completion of their studies. With grants from various sources there are 17 students in Puerto Maldonado from different parts of the Madre de Dios. However there are still over a hundred indigenous children who lack a secondary education in the department.

Apart from financial problems which beset the students, there is a strong tendency for the schools to devalue indigenous cultural roots. For example, in both primary and secondary, students complain that history and geography do not relate to their own experience. A man such as Fitzcarrald, for example, is treated in school as a national hero, whereas in Amarakaeri culture he is a diabolic character. Bi-lingual education is practically nil except in Puerto Luz where the consideration of cultural and linguistic factors has helped the pupils. In San José, the teachers have said that they are open to the introduction of culturally relative material. There is a plan from the federation that those familiar with Amarakaeri culture and society should put together books and pamphlets which can be used complementarily in the classes. It is hoped that the students in Puerto Maldonado will work on this.

In the past, both San José and Puerto Luz had indigenous teachers who taught bi-lingually. This lasted several years in San José, but the teacher found the salary was insufficient in relation to the particularly high cost of living of the area. Moreover, where gold work and hunting are indicators of position, other jobs, such as teaching, can be rather solitary when the rest of the community are working elsewhere.

Health

At the end of 1984, an urgent message was sent to indigenous support groups that 40 Piro Indians had been killed by
a logging company. It was later corrected because the group were, in fact, "Nahua", who had died from an epidemic caused by contact with outsiders. For a period it was thought that the group were Amarakeri and that the epidemic was of malaria.

Even though the Amarakeri were not affected by that particular epidemic, they have been victims of the devastations and ravages of disease throughout their history. Even recent years the death rate has till been high in the community. Between 1981 and 1984 there was a 25% infant mortality rate and several children and adults died. The two main killers have been malaria and, particularly, tuberculosis.

Every Amarakeri family has lost at least half of its members since contact as a result of disease. The possibility of dying is never far away from a sick person. One of the purposes of our visit to the Madre de Dios was to see what the current health problems of the Amarakeri were and the different methods they consider necessary to ensure an improvement in their life chances.

There are three aspects to health which we should look at here: modern medicine; traditional medicine and herbal curing.

Modern Medicine

The Amarakeri consider that modern medicine is designed to deal with diseases caused by factors other than the spirits which cause traditional illness. Some say that modern medicines are given by the White God to cure white diseases. The Amarakeri have had access to medicines for certain periods - when visitors come, or during the initial period of the stay of school teachers. However there is no systematic attempt to provide communities with medicine kits to cater for routine ailments, (except for the long stays of Padre Torralba in Puerto Luz -see also Torralba, 1979). The prohibitive cost of medicines means that it is practically impossible for people to buy their
own medicines. Indeed some do but they have to cut down in other areas of their economy.

During 1983 FENAMAD applied and received funds for a medical project which was carried out by a German Doctor in several Amarakaeri communities. In the project the doctor vaccinated some persons and did a check on their dental hygiene. However there were several problems. For a start the Ministry of Health failed to provide any administrative support for the doctor and provided no follow-up medicines to continue her good work.

The project folded up through lack of funds and failed to get one of its main programmes off the ground. This was the idea of creating Health Committees in each community which would be responsible for keeping records and vaccinations up to date and providing primary health care. Once again the problem was lack of administrative support and limited funds. Just as in the running of FENAMAD itself, there was also the problem of lack of Amarakaeri participation.

The lack of participation is linked to the small amount of outside support. The Amarakaeri are more easily convinced of the value of their ideas if they are treated with respect and support. Coupled with this is the same problem which was noticed in the education field earlier. The gold work takes pride of place in Amarakaeri society, along with hunting. To participate in these activities is more than simply to gain money and meat; it is to participate as a member of the community. A position such as teacher or health worker has to be one which will not only compensate for the lack of gold money, but also for the social position a hunter or miner has within the community.

**Traditional Medicine**

The Amarakaeri still practise their traditional medicine...
with beneficial effects. Traditional illnesses are caused mainly by animal or human spirits. Curing is done by diagnosing the species of the animal involved and chanting over the patient while using bitter substances to send the harmful spirit away. Human spirits (from dead enemies usually) are mostly the causes of incurable illnesses. The curing is, in reality, the diagnosis because the efficacy of the cure proves its cause.

I have seen on both visits to San José the beneficial effects of traditional curing. Although there are expert curers in the community (less now than previously) they are not people who hold a specific post or office. They are hunters and gold workers the same as everyone else - in fact slightly better than others - who are in touch with the spirit world. The holistic aspect of Amarakaeri society and culture can be seen here because it is the same power in dealing with the spirit world helping the curer which helps hunters and miners. The only differentiation within the community comes between those who are respected as "spiritual" leaders and who work for the community as a whole and the more political leaders who defend the interests of their clan (onyu). (For more on this see Gray 1982 and 1983.)

A health project which works in Amarakaeri communities should involve some knowledge or understanding of traditional medicine and its efficacy. The Amarakaeri employ the two systems together in harmony and there should be no need for traditional and modern to fight against each other provided both are treated with circumspection and sensitivity.

**Herbal Curing**

Unlike many of the groups in the Peruvian Amazon, the Amarakaeri have a very limited use of herbs, roots and plants in their pharmacopia. Padre Torralba told me that once he had the plan of bringing a Cashinahua shaman to an Amarakaeri community to explain some basic uses of plants. This idea failed
Gold Working in the forest (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
through lack of support. Now, however, FENAMAD is bringing a representative of the organisation AMETRA in Pucallpa which specialises in traditional herbal medicine to its 1985 Congress. When we consider that 80% of modern medicines are based on Amazonian plants, the incorporation of herbal remedies into a health project will not only be useful medically but also could save considerable amounts of money. Why spend money on Padrax worming tablets when it is made from ojé which grows all over the Madre de Dios.

The original proposal for my recent visit to the Amarakaeri was to see whether the time devoted to gold production has prevented any development projects working smoothly. Health was the area which I emphasised because it is an area for which the Amarakaeri communities - and others in the region - are calling out for support.

When I spoke to members of the different communities they were all in agreement that health projects were essential and that they should be educational so as to train members of the community to treat basic ailments and illnesses. They also said that it was important that traditional medicine continued unaffected and were interested in increasing herbal curing. It is hoped that there will be a course in herbal medicine given to members of some communities in 1986 and that this might provide a basis on which to develop indigenous medical knowledge. However eventually it will be necessary to integrate these different aspects of health care and it is to this matter that I will turn in my recommendations.

This chapter has looked at the positive side to Amarakaeri visions for the future. They have a hope that the federation will work, that their land titles will come through and that health and education will develop further. There are some issues I have not touched here which are also important. In the first place there are alternatives to the gold economy. Several
of the villagers in San José were discussing that they would do when the gold ran out. They would need to work on some production and mercantile activity which could bring in some returns for them so that they could continue buying their basic provisions. The community had various points of view on this.

Cattle raising was considered a strong possibility by a few. This option is very popular among missionaries and has been tried out in Shintuya. The success of cattle projects in the Amazon are rare, if any exist. Cattle is very controversial among ecologists, although some say that on a very small scale it might not destroy the environment. The degradation of the soil and the lack of return on the meat can make pastoralism in the jungle a disaster area. Other possibilities mentioned were felling of lumber, which can also be highly problematic unless carried out in a controlled manner.

Discussions with ecologists in Cusco pointed out environmental advantages in the cash cropping of traditional crops. such as yuca and beans which can grow well in the jungle. Rather than concentrating on one crop at a time, several Amarakaeri spoke of diversifying their crops and production methods in a traditional manner. Traditionally the Amarakaeri would hunt, gather, grow crops and make artifacts. Perhaps one of the ways for the future is to diversify cash-generating ventures too in order to prevent over-reliance on any one activity, the demise of which would mean a crisis for the community.

The other area which this chapter has not dealt with is the inscription of the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios as Peruvian citizens with the right to vote. By using their voting power as the majority members of the Province of Manu (in which the Karene lies) the Amarakaeri could vote for an indigenous Mayor and other officers. In addition to getting electoral cards it is important that births and deaths can be
registered in the communities to ensure that the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios can be eligible to the same rights as other citizens of Peru.

The different areas in this chapter all have their links with indigenous organisation. The land, health and education work which has been going on among the Amarakãeri have all been the subject of project proposals from FENAMAD and these are the areas with which the people are most involved and concerned at the moment. New production methods and inscription are being discussed, but there are no projects within FENAMAD at present. The cattle project in Shintuya is outside the sphere of FENAMAD and I did not have the financial means to visit it (For information on lumber work at Shintuya see Fuentes, 1982.)

The previous chapter and this are the two faces of Amarakãeri life today. Their reality consists of constant stress and fear from the invasions of colonists and a resulting total destruction of their ways of life. The resignation and acceptance of their plight is one reaction to this. This set in among the people of San José after the conflict with Jaime Su-malave. On the other hand, coupled with this resignation was the defiance which was manifest in the resistance to Jaime Su-malave and the subsequent interest in the federation. Prior to the conflict, San José was not one of the strongest supporters of the federation because they hadn't conceived of its major uses. Now they fully support it and see its advantages in providing means to survive the ravages of ethnocide.

The alternatives of resignation and resistance are the two options for the Amarakãeri and indeed all the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios. I would suggest that these two aspects of reaction to external threats are embedded in the formation of social movements such as the organisation FENAMAD. We have seen them reappear in the education and health projects where
the communities wanted something done and were prepared to work for it, but at the same time found their confidence in the outcome affected by resignation. I would say that the times when a community does not participate should not be seen as a lack of interest, on the contrary. The Amarakaeri are interested but their sense of the practical demands constant revaluation of work which allows the resignation to reappear when the results are slow.

Whether resignation or resistance take predominance is a question of community politics and reaction to outside influences. They are present at all levels of indigenous organisation and if we are to understand the indigenous struggle, and forge with indigenous peoples projects which will be effective, we have to take these two fields fully into consideration.
VI CONCLUSIONS
"If I am killed in this struggle, my community will avenge me. My death is not important because our struggle will continue."

One of the village leaders in San José del Karene said these words shortly before our departure. They echo feelings which indigenous leaders have expressed in all parts of the world throughout their long history of oppression and epitomise a contrast between two notions of indigenous identity which have appeared in this report. Amarakaeri identity stems from the shared values of their culture and society but in addition rises from a common experience in relation to the outside world. Identity is a relative phenomenon, because at a more general level the Amarakaeri are locked in a struggle for survival which they share with other indigenous groups of the world.

What distinguishes the Amarakaeri from non-indigenous groups in the Madre de Dios is their relationship to land. Land is a key to their physical survival because it contains not only the flora and fauna for their hunting and horticulture but also gold deposits. For the Amarakaeri land is not a commodity for ownership, it is an inalienable basis for their existence which belongs as much to those living today as to the ancestors and generations to come.

The environment embraced within the framework of land contains more than physical subsistence for the Amarakaeri. The species of animals, birds, fish, spirits and human communities which live on the land provide the material for classification and the contours of Amarakaeri geo-political history are marked by changes of settlement (see Gray forthcoming). The importance of land for the Amarakaeri was unequivocally demonstrated during our stay in San José by their vigorous insistence on the need for land titles.
Boats set off fishing (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
When we try to understand the world from an indigenous perspective we realise that many things inter-relate. In this report it has been noted how hunting, the spirit world and curing are connected as are kin relations, the organisation of production and the distribution of goods and services. In the same way we see that land titling is not an isolated phenomenon but along with health, education and indigenous self-organisation, is the reaction by the Amarakaeri to an ethnicial threat to their future existence.

The Amarakaeri perspective of their present plight is naturally relative to the position which different community members have in the village. It is perhaps more accurate to say language, social position, behaviour and mood. There is no question, however, that the people of San José as a whole, see a clash in perspective between those non-indigenous people in the Madre de Dios who work gold for an income and maximize production, and themselves, for whom gold is one aspect of a whole complex of subsistence activities connected with the land. When the Amarakaeri see the situation in these terms there is an indigenous/non-indigenous gulf which cannot be bridged.

If we take another context, though, we see that the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous takes another form. The comerciante patrons and the multi-national gold companies are making life difficult and sometimes unbearable for gold peons, pequeños mineros and Amarakaeri alike. These three groups share many common problems because they are immersed in similar exploitative economic and political relations. When the Amarakaeri visit the bank or other miners, they make friends, enter into ritual godparent relations and help each other out. In this context, the Amarakaeri are another "sector" of the exploited groups in the Madre de Dios - some being exploited for labour (peons) some for land (indigenous people) and all by the cost of living.
These two contexts account for the different viewpoints of the pequeños mineros questioned. Some, according to the former context, said that the Amarakaeri were completely different and needed to be civilised, others, following the latter said that they shared the same problems. This contrast shifts according to the political and economic conditions at any time. During our stay in San José between 1979 and 1981 the second case was apparent but currently there is no doubt that the Amarakaeri are seen and see themselves as separate from other non-indigenous groups in the region.

A consequence of this has been that the Amarakaeri were particularly interested in indigenous self-organisation during our stay. If is were impossible to ally themselves with other exploited groups in the Madre de Dios, then other indigenous peoples, facing the same problems would be a better support for their cause.

This shift of perspective and alliance can be seen at every level of the indigenous struggle. Throughout the major indigenous conferences and discussions, there is a fundamental debate going on about whether the indigenous struggle should rely essentially on indigenous allies and organisations, or whether other oppressed groups with similar problems can work together. The choices going on in San José are the same as those which are being made in national and international levels. The nature of indigenous support can be seen, not just as a point of academic interest, but of real significance to indigenous peoples, whether in communities or in large organisations.

The decision whether indigenous people should ally with either other indigenous groups or non-indigenous peoples with similar problems need not be a mutually exclusive alternative. There is no reason why the Amarakaeri, for example, cannot fight for their own land titles through their organisation,
while at the same time supporting and fighting for better treatment of the peons who are being exploited on Amaraikeri lands by the comerciantes patrons. The village president said to me in San José:

"I not only object to these patrons using our land to work gold, but I object to the fact that they are treating their workers like slaves in a manner which is abhorrent to our notions of how human beings should be treated."

The improvements in health, education and production which will accrue to the Amaraikeri if they are successful in their fight will be of immense benefit to the Department of the Madre de Dios as a whole because they can then set a standard of life which other sectors of the region would be able to demand - the one exception being the inalienable title to land which is what makes indigenous peoples' demands distinct.

Indigenous organisations arise when the means of encountering a threat needs to encompass more than one community. Indigenous organisations are therefore the transcendence of the community. In some cases, as among indigenous groups of Brazil, communities can come together on an ad hoc basis under a leader and fight for their rights. In other cases a more formal structure can be found, either as among the Yanesha of Peru, according to a pre-contact indigenous national framework or, as with the group of the Madre de Dios, a flexible federation of nations and communities.

Indigenous leaders can take several forms. Among the Amaraikeri, and in many other parts of the Amazon, a person whose qualities as decision maker, orator, hunter or curer stands out and represents or manifests the needs and desires of a group within the community or the community itself. This direct representation can be contrasted to another type of leader who is on the boundary of the community. He may have contact with the outside world, has travelled but he need not necessarily
be a traditional leader within the community. This person is a "boundary" person between two worlds who can negotiate with non-indigenous groups and act as a sort of go-between. The boundary leaders could be termed "indirect representatives" as they need not necessarily be living in any community.

The distinction between these forms of leader and representative were made by the Amarakaeri in San José. Some preferred to have a mixture of the two sorts in the federation, whereas others considered that the boundary role need not be played by indigenous peoples but by non-indigenous support groups and advisors to traditional leaders. I consider that this option is not common among indigenous peoples and was made in San José because of the lack of marginal persons who could fulfill the role of go-between.

The distinction between "community" leader and "boundary" leader refers to the position of leadership in the indigenous movement rather than any particular person. For example, in Brazil national leaders have returned to their communities after several years in the international limelight to represent their communities from within. A similar phenomenon has been reported among the Matsigenka (Dan Rosengren pers. comm.).

Indeed the distinction between "community" and "boundary" leader is a matter of degree. This is because all boundary leaders have some community basis while community leaders who participate in organisations such as FENAMAD are often not the traditional leaders of the community (many of whom do not speak Spanish and only make decisions on issues such as hunting, fishing and curing).

The difference of leadership also reflects different aims of organisations. Some organisations are built up on a direct representation basis, as largely takes place in the Peruvian Amazon. Boundary leaders are less apparent and there is therefore more scope for advisors and assessors in
the form of anthropologists and other concerned people, who with the approval of the communities help the organisations. Other organisations, usually those working on a more international level, often contain indigenous peoples who have themselves this boundary position, in which case the role of non-indigenous advisors is less necessary. These organisations operate on a more indirect representational basis, where the "idea" or "spirit" of the indigenous movement is manifest.

The contrast between direct and indirect leaders is one which can be found in all indigenous organisations. Much of the discussion of representativity within indigenous organisations taking place today concerns the difference between types of leader. It would therefore appear that the Amarakaeri distinction has a very wide application in indigenous politics.

There are two major problems in the formation of indigenous organisation and the carrying out of projects. The first, which was noticed in this report, was the difficulty for individuals, who are chosen or requested to hold a work position, within or outside the community, - e.g. teacher, medical worker or officer of the federation. These posts can have the effect of separating its holder from the day-to-day affairs of the rest of the village - such as hunting, gold work etc. On discussing this issue with the Amarakaeri they saw the solution in terms either of job sharing or adequate compensation for their time away from other work. Taking these factors into consideration when forming projects might go some way to reducing the unwillingness of individuals to participate in projects which the
community completely support.

The other major problem for Madre de Dios federation is one which affects all indigenous organisations. Normally the community provides continuity, social order and infrastructure for indigenous daily life. However organisations which transcend the community are made up of representative individuals who cannot function without the support of a basic infrastructure. Any inter-community co-ordination and national communication needs fundamental support because indigenous organisations are becoming increasingly necessary to co-ordinate indigenous self-development projects. Many agencies will not accept projects without support from an indigenous organisation. Yet these same agencies refuse to aid the consolidation of indigenous organisations as this appears to be "political" rather than "developmental".

Another reason for providing infrastructural support for indigenous organisations is to ensure their continuation through time. Keeping continuity and coherence within organisations can be difficult where officials cannot carry out any functions or even visit their constituencies. The provision of a basic infrastructure would provide a framework for an organisation which would enable its continuation within certain parameters regardless of who constitutes its leadership.

This report has shown that the main problems for FENAMAD have stemmed from its lack of financial support providing its officials with the means to perform their duties.

The different forms which indigenous organisations can take were debated in San José during our stay. The choice between centralised and decentralised organisations face indigenous peoples all over the world and the Amarakaeri reflected the contrast. They compared the difference between a central office in Maldonado, where paid officers would be
permanently stationed, and a system of visiting officers who co-ordinate by making frequent journeys to the communities within their 'constituency'.

The choice is not absolute because it is likely that the Amarakaeri, along with the other indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios will choose a system which combines elements of both options.

We have looked here at three different choices facing the Amarakaeri and the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios which parallel those of indigenous peoples all over the world:

1. Whether indigenous peoples should ally themselves with other non-indigenous sectors of society.
2. Whether "boundary" leaders of an indigenous organisation are representative or not.
3. Whether indigenous organisations should be centralised or decentralised.

In all three cases the distinction is a valid contrast but not an alternative. Each indigenous group will decide for themselves but in reality the argument is not in terms of either/or but the measure in which the two possibilities can be combined. I consider that these are parameters of discussion which are fundamental to the origin and formation of indigenous organisations and the Amarakaeri present a clear example of these factors at work.

This document has looked at the notion of dependency in Chapter III. By taking some of Norman Long's warnings about the use of this model (1975) it was possible to see how, on the international, national and regional levels, factors entered into the analysis which prevents and predictability as to the forms of dependency. The international price of gold does not determine what goes on in the Madre de Dios but is mediated
by employment demands and conditions in Peru itself as well as Peru's position in the international political economy of the globe.

Shoemaker (1981) has written a book on the frontier settlement of Satipo in the Central jungle from the perspective, mainly, of highland colonists. Many of his findings relate to the Madre de Dios both as similarities and differences. The dependency of the lowlands on the central metropolis of Lima is very similar and the structure of frontier society into a small elite, colonists from outside and indigenous people parallels the Madre de Dios (see Chapter 5).

Other similarities are the importance of communication and the cycles of "boom and bust" economics. Whereas for Satipo the road to Lima is important, for the Madre de Dios, the rivers are the life lines. The commerciantes in Satipo are mainly truck drivers who, Shoemaker explains, are not the greatest exploiters in the dependency chain. For the Madre de Dios, however, particularly in the Karene area, commerciantes do not buy goods, only gold, which they sell in whatever way they can. Imported goods are, however, extremely expensive and traders can make much money from exchanging commodities for gold. The role of the Banco Minero as a bureaucratic exploiter parallels that of the Agricultural Banks in Satipo. Whether the exports are coffee, fish poison, Brazil nuts or gold, the same cycles of prices can be seen in both areas. Nevertheless, as we saw in Chapter III, it is impossible to predict the precise nature such price changes will have.

The main difference between Shoemaker's analysis and the one in this document stems from the point of departure. Colonial society in Satipo is threatened by fragmentation arising from ethnic origins from different parts of the highlands. My analysis has started from the indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios, where, in comparison, in spite of internal
differences, ethnic identity is clear and strong. The importance which indigenous peoples give to land titles and its inalienability as opposed to the colonists demonstrates once again that land is a basic aspect of indigenous identity.

It is possible to say that in Shoemaker's analysis class is fragmented by ethnicity to the detriment of resolving relations of exploitation. In my analysis ethnic identity and class are independent variables which can, but need not, work in conflict. Where the two are complementary or parallel, a means for combating social injustice appears, but where there is tyranny of one over the other, nothing will be resolved and the exploiters will continue to hold sway.

In addition to dependency, this document has compared the different production patterns among indigenous and non-indigenous peoples of the Madre de Dios. However, this does not mean that all the indigenous communities of the Madre de Dios are exactly the same.

Apart from the fact that there are 17 different indigenous ethno-linguistic groups in the Madre de Dios who all rely on land as the basis of their existence, there are variants between the groups and communities. During our period on the Karere and Madre de Dios rivers, we visited Puerto Luz, San José and Boca del Inambari. I have emphasised the position in San José in this report because we spent most of our time there. However it should be remembered that the three communities shared broadly the same perspective of the problems facing them, although, San José, smarting from its encounter with Jaime Sumalave was most intense in its concern for the future.

Between 1979 and 1981 it was possible to see differences between the three communities which related to the length of settlement and geographical location. Puerto Luz, the longest
established of the three communities and the most remote, received the influx of gold production most recently. The community was earlier called Puerto Alegre and situated upriver from its present site. Boca del Inambari, the youngest of the three, and lying closest to the large town of Puerto Maldonado, was working gold first. San José was founded between the two others in time and space and started its gold work after Boca del Inambari and before Puerto Luz.

Boca del Inambari and Puerto Alegre (as it was then) were the first communities to suffer from influxes of invaders. The former had a great conflict with a national company in 1979 the repercussions of which are still going on. Puerto Alegre suffered from an invasion of oil prospectors (Moore 1981) in the 1970s. These two communities have been the most supportive of indigenous self-organisation. Although San José participated at all times, the full value of self-organisation appeared during the Sumalave incident this year.

It is not possible to predict how any community will respond to the notion of indigenous organisation on the basis of its location and its age. Mediating factors such as actual experiences of conflict with colonists or other invaders will colour the overall pattern.

The qualifications which we applied to the dependency model should therefore by taken into consideration when we discuss which communities support indigenous organisations the most and why. Experience of direct conflict with outsiders is probably the strongest reason and overrides the extent to which communities are in or out of contact.

Indigenous organisation is a form of resistance which involves taking the potential for controlling one's future into one's own hands. Health, education and land titling projects
Amarakaeri family with a catch after fishing (Photo: Sheila Aikman)
which have been mentioned in this report are all means of trying to overcome threats from outside, whether in the form of disease, colonists or insensitive educationalists. The alternative option for the Amarakaeri is, according to them, destruction. There are, as we have seen, several who are resigned to this fate.

The distinction between what I have designated here as "resignation" and "resistance" is based on Amarakaeri statements and behaviour. We can recognise them in traditional terms in Amarakaeri society and culture. Shamans have two qualities - as dreamer (wayorokeri) and as curer (wamenoka'eri). They receive their power (tainda) from contact with the spirit world. They have the ability to use their contacts in the invisible world for advice as to how to solve problems which threaten the whole community such as sickness, political crises etc. Leaders within the community also have power, but to a lesser extent, and work for the benefit of their clan or faction. It is "power" which the Amarakaeri would recognise in the term "resistance". Resignation for them is not, as in some religions, a virtue, but a weakness as a lack of power initiative which comes when there is no person able to "cure", help or make decisions.

During our visit in 1985, the term Wairi was used for a resistance leader who combined shamanic and political qualities. The Wairi has the attributes of leadership mentioned above. He can either be a manifestation of the community or a "boundary" character. We could see this when it was mentioned on several occasions that the non-indigenous advisors who have supported the Amarakaeri over the years could also be Wairi (this was when no indigenous Wairi seemed powerful enough to take on the power which threatened them).
The need for indigenous organisations comes when indigenous peoples have to resist and co-operate on a wide basis. This is resistance working in the form of what Alberoni (1984) would call the "nascent state". Resignation can appear before or after resistance. In a prior position, it is a clear lack of participation and conviction that nothing can save the situation. After resistance, resignation can appear in the form of routinisation, stagnation and the collapse of support because a people do not seem powerful to combat the forces which threaten from outside.

Rather than see resistance and resignation as appearing in the form of the routinisation of charisma as discussed in Alberoni, I consider that the Amarakaeri see the power of resistance and the hopelessness of resignation as a perennial battle between hope and despair. Sometimes one is in the ascendant sometimes the other. The Amarakaeri struggle is to ensure that the will to resist is always there.

The ethnocide which faces indigenous peoples like the Amarakaeri consists of threats to basic human rights. These can be broadly defined in terms to rights to land, life and culture. Life can be threatened by disease, conflict with settlers and deterioration in the quality of community society. Land rights are, as we have seen, fundamental to the existence of indigenous peoples as nations and constitute the framework for the free expression of their culture whether in language, education or the preservation of traditions. The Amarakaeri face threats to all these basic rights. In their eyes resignation is the surest way for these abuses to continue unchecked while resistance may do something. Resistance need not be violent. It is the seeking of power to prevent the ravages of ethnocide and appears most clearly when indigenous peoples have control of their own destiny. Self-development is a peaceful road to resistance and survival.
Self-determination and self-development were discussed in the introduction as being two aspects of the same phenomenon, the latter being the change of the former through time. Self-development begins with self-identity. We have seen how crucial land is in this identification for production, social and cultural continuity. In Chapter II we looked at the axioms on which Amarakaeri society and culture are based and how gold production should not be seen as destructive or threatening to Amarakaeri values.

It may be tempting for some to see the Amarakaeri as a lost people because they no longer practice their traditional rites or construct their communal houses with their symbolically meaningful designs and because they are now immersed in a money-oriented gold economy. However such as distinction between traditional and non-traditional life-styles misleads as it implies that there is an essential "Amarakaeriness" which can only be discovered through anthropological research.

Rather than discuss the destruction of culture and society from an anthropological list of social facts which are disappearing, this document has relied on the testimony of Amarakaeri people themselves as to the definition of their problems and judgement of what is in keeping with their traditions. No matter how much people may mourn the loss of Amarakaeri ritual and communal house architecture, we cannot say that the people living in the Karene today are any less Amarakaeri than their ancestors.

The future prospects for the Amarakaeri have to take place within the context of the regional, national and international economy and so to a large extent remains unpredictable. However certain fundamental improvements in the conditions facing the Amarakaeri are essential prerequisites of any future self-development. The most important is the titling of land but with this come other important features of indigenous identity. Health and education are both facilities which the Amarakaeri
Children of San José playing in the rain  (Photo: Andrew Gray)
want. They are connected in many ways, but in an indigenous context the cultural features are the most significant. Indigenous peoples have their own methods and interpretations of health and education which are rooted in their history. Unthinking development projects in these areas can often come to no avail because they are meaningless in a particular cultural context. Bi-cultural approaches to both health and education are possible and should go beyond pure bi-lingual schemes because in this way indigenous peoples will gain a greater control of their own destiny and identity.

Self-development involves co-operation in many different contexts. Between indigenous peoples on community national and international levels, co-operation, financial support and advisory help is available from the many indigenous organisations in the world. In FENAMAD's case much of this support comes from AIDESEP in Lima.

Co-operation with non-indigenous people is also a strategy which the Amarakhaeri recognise as important. Financial and practical support from whatever source is essential for the smooth running of an indigenous organisation, no matter how committed the members are. Practical support in this case consists of people who are prepared to offer their advisory services to indigenous peoples to support their cause. These may be lawyers, anthropologists or experts in technical fields. In some cases they may attach themselves directly to an organisation as advisors, or else, as has happened in other places, they may form a separate institution in order to preserve the identity of the indigenous organisation.

At the moment an example of the second case is taking place in the Madre de Dios in the formation of the Eori centre. "Eori" is the Harakmbut word for Madre de Dios and the centre will eventually consist of an anthropologist, a legal expert and educational advisor. These persons will work independently from FENAMAD in the Madre de Dios but have their services available to the organisation whenever it wishes.
In addition the Eori centre will act as a store house for the history, ecology and ethnology of the Madre de Dios. It will operate in co-ordination with other non-indigenous popular movements in the area on political campaigns which will aim to improve the standard of living and human rights of all peoples. In this way the Eori centre is the means for synchronising the factors of ethnicity with class so that, in the case of the Madre de Dios, the two struggles do not destroy each other. Whereas centres such as the Eori may not necessarily have a role to play everywhere in the indigenous world, in a place such as the Amazon, where indigenous peoples are in a minority and lack many basic facilities available in a town, such a centre could be very important.

In addition to practical support comes financial back- ing. This is more likely to come from organisations which aim at goals of self-development for indigenous peoples rather than of simply seeking ways to increase economic production levels. From the Amarakaeri perspective, it is important to diversify funding so that leverage from the donor to the recipient can be reduced.

Practical and financial support from both indigenous and non-indigenous sources is the way to remove obstacles to resistance, particularly resignation. The Amarakaeri have said many times to me that if they had the support they need- ed the work of forming a fully participating indigenous pop- ulation in FENAMAD would be much easier.

Indigenous self-development is the resistance trail lead- ing away from human rights violations. It is the way of self- determination and survival and one on which all indigenous organisations of the world are travelling. They may not all be going in one particular direction, such as some developers would prefer, but they will, at least be going in a direction they want to, in accordance with their needs and desires.
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