Norman E. Whitten, Jr.

Ecuadorian Ethnocide and Indigenous Ethnogenesis: Amazonian Resurgence Amidst Andean Colonialism
Norman E. Whitten, Jr. was born May 23rd, 1937. He took his Ph. D. degree in Anthropology in 1964 at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. His extensive field work with Black and Native peoples of South America, and especially of Ecuador, has recently resulted in two books - Black Frontiersmen: A South American Case (1974), New York, Wiley), and Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Jungle Qui- chua (1976, Urbana, University of Illinois Press). He is currently Professor of Anthropology and Director of Research, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801, U.S.A.

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Copenhagen, May 1976

For the International Secretariat of IWGIA

Inese Andersen Helge Kleivan

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The International Secretariat of IWGIA
Frederiksholms Kanal 4A
DK-1220 Copenhagen K
Denmark.
Norman E. Whitten, Jr.

ECUADORIAN ETHNOCIDE AND INDIGENOUS ETHNOGENESIS:
AMAZONIAN RESURGENCE AMIDST ANDean COLONIALISM

Copenhagen 1976
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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the moist tropics of South America, Native Americans—who are all too frequently referred to by Christopher Columbus' term "Indians"—are rapidly disappearing. Current literature documenting the rationality of the native peoples, together with detailed analysis of the processes of modernization and rapid change leading to their physical and cultural destruction, is reminiscent of the work of Friar Bartolomé de las Casas. During the early 16th century this good Friar quite convincingly argued that if native peoples were to survive, some labor force would have to replace them; the argument of native humanity applied to disappearing Indians opened the doors to the large scale African slave trade to the New World. The African impact on the new world expanded, as the native peoples' declined. But even today the nature of the African cultural influence is hotly debated, and often denied.

Today the thoroughly justified cries of "ethnocide" and "genocide" directed against the loss of the remaining native Americans—or better, those taken to be stereotypic representatives of bonified natives in contemporary tropical forests—are having an unintended effect on other native peoples comparable to the social malignancy of the European-sponsored African slave trade.

Since 1968 my wife and I, together with some North American and South American students, have been engaged in research with Ecuadorian tropical forest people who speak an Andean language. These people are expanding customary ways of doing things in the very face of national policies aimed at cultural obliteration
and assimilation into a lower class serf-like existence. This paper seeks to illustrate common, although complex, phenomena thus far poorly understood - the dual complementarities of cultural continuity and cultural change, of ethnocide and ethnogenesis. It is prepared as an exposition of data and analysis focusing on one dynamic period of time in the lives of a particular people - the Canelos Quichua - who in their total situation vis-a-vis national culture and national policies, may be taken as a microcosm of cultural continuity-cultural change, and ethnogenetic-ethnocidal dynamics in Amazonian-Andean settings.

**ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND AND SYNOPSIS**

Ecuador is a small Andean country. One of its many spectacular features is the double Andean chain which runs down its center. Just east of the Andes, in clear view of dramatic volcanic snow-cones of over 20,000 feet, live two of the largest concentrations of tropical forest Indians in central Ecuador. Both speak Quichua (a variety of the Quechua language) which is a language long associated with Incaic expansion in the highlands and well known as a lower-class, rural, "Indian" means of communication in contemporary highland Ecuador. These Jungle Quichua live near the towns of Puyo and Tena, each the capital of a province, Pastaza and Napo. All native Quichua speakers refer to themselves as Runa (and to their language as runa shimi - human speech). We have adopted the term "Canelos Quichua" to refer to the subjects of our research. Puyo Runa, a territorial grouping of Canelos Quichua culture, will be the specific subject of this paper. About 10,000 people participate in Canelos Quichua culture, and about 20,000 more lowland Ecuadorian native peoples speak mutually intelligible dialects. In addition, some 15,000 more Jivaroan peoples participate in comparable lifeways, and many of them intermarry with the Canelos Quichua.

The indigenous ethnic systems of the Oriente, as all the tropical rainforest territory east of the Ecuadorian Andes is called, are in themselves fascinating. Among other things, markers of a culture area in no way prohibit specific indivi-
duals from crossing the boundaries. Indeed, bi-culturalism and bi-lingualism are fairly common in certain areas of the central Oriente.

From the national perspective, though, one important, though false classificatory fact emerges: the overwhelming majority of native peoples of the Oriente are classed as either "Jívaro", or "Quichua", and the contrast is widely thought to designate very different cultures.

Ecuadorians are somewhat ambivalent about Jívaroans. On the one hand, there is a certain pride that fierce and until recently completely unconquered tribal peoples lived their head-taking ways in the rugged jungle terrain. On the other hand, there is a national shame that the land of Jívaroan insolence is as yet unconquered, and the conquest, as it grinds on, depends nearly totally on foreign-manufactured planes and equipment borne mostly by missionaries, oil searchers, and the military. Ecuadorians are not ambivalent about Quichua speakers, who are generally regarded with contempt (Casagrande 1974), and most certainly so when contrasted with the stereotype of Jívaroans.

CULTURAL MARKERS OF THE CANELOS QUICHUA

The contemporary Canelos Quichua refer to themselves, in Quichua, as Runa, person, indigenous person. Among themselves they also use the term Alaj, mythic brother, to address men from the acknowledged culture area. The derivation of the term Alaj comes from a myth segment in which two brothers become separated from one another. The older in search of the younger wanders in the forest and, in hunger, begins to break off a piece of tree mushroom, ala. As he pinches the mushroom it cries out and turns into the lost brother. The ala notion, to which I will return, is important in defining a basic level of male self-identification of the Canelos Quichua. Many men of Ancient Times had the ability to send their souls, aya, into special rocks or logs when their bodies died, from whence mushrooms would emerge to await wandering Runas who, in hunger, would pinch the mushroom and awaken the ancient Runas. An interplay
between the need to wander, to be on the edge of destruction due to war and illness, and the ability to awaken ancient souls and effect a resuscitation of population and culture (the ancient soul regenerated ancient knowledge) is bound up in the concept of Alai (the i is possessive).

Male continuity is closely tied to the concept of soul master spirit, Amasanga. As long as Amasanga lives, and as long as mushrooms grow out of trees and rocks, the Canelos Quichua men believe they will survive, even if there are no corporeal representatives through the immediate centuries. Female continuity is part of a complex structure involving Amasanga's wife, Nungu, and the pottery tradition which is transmitted from older women to younger women. From the female standpoint the culture will live as long as the rock and clay-dye soul designs endure. The union of man and woman constitutes a very special huasi, household unit, among the Canelos Quichua, through which cultural perpetuity is transmitted to future generations. The culture area is divided into large Runa territories which are in turn partially subdivided into defensible subdivisions for swidden horticulture called llacta. Each llacta has a founding shaman reference node.

The kinship system, ayllu, is seen by the Canelos Quichua as descending from ancient times to the intermarried ancestors of the contemporary elders. The interpenetration of ancestor souls, and souls acquired in a process of male shamanistic power quests, also seems characteristic of the Canelos Quichua, though also structurally similar to the Jivaroan and perhaps other lowland Quichua speakers.

Canelos Quichua shamans are regarded by other indigenous peoples as the most powerful in eastern Ecuador, and their alliances and duels lead people to re-figure ayllu structure so as to never belong to both ayllus of shamans bent on one another's destruction through the projection of spirit, supai, darts. In the art of ritual, the culture has specific patterns of performance which relate directly to kinship, mythology, shamanistic power and aspects of pottery design, and seem to set
the Canelos Quichua apart as a separate, well-integrated culture with definable characteristics.

The Canelos Quichua perceive their own lifeways as systems of transformable relationships, the relations being discerned in specifiable contexts, and the transformations occurring according to postulated enduring principles in the face of changing contingencies and constraints. Knowledge itself, ricsina, is gained through study of the outer world. Vision, muscuna, is essential to self, culture, and environment. Dreams and hallucinogenic trips with Datura and Banisteriopsis are necessary to develop visionary processes. The combination of knowledge and vision is dynamic and embodied in a continuous process of learning, yacha. One who learns to control this process within himself becomes yachaj, possessor of the learning process, and moves into the status which anthropologists call shaman.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically the Canelos Quichua are characterized by nearly 400 years of sporadic relationships with Catholic missions and missionaries. Significant in these relationships has been the development of a basic indigenous duality of Canelos Quichua identity bound to the concepts Sacha Runa and Alli Runa. Sacha Runa, jungle human, connoting knowledge, vision, and ability to learn is a construct ranging from the forest spirit Ama-sanga to every Runa capable of gaining knowledge from the rainforest environment. Sacha Runa is also the non-pejorative ethnic gloss given to other tropical forest indigenous peoples, known and unknown. Alli Runa is a "good Christian Indian" - one who accepts less than fair pay from the clergy, speaks trade Quichua, and dresses in tattered western clothes.

The Sacha Runa-Alli Runa symbolic opposition provides a crucial marker for Canelos Quichua society and culture. Alli Runa and Sacha Runa are one and the same; the former, Alli Runa - "good Christian Indian" - faces the refuge zone providing a trade locus in an expanding purchase society (Helms 1969), the other, Sacha Runa, maintains the relationship system, itself a
dynamic microcosmogony providing the impetus for continuing ad-
taptation in the face of chaos.

Word play and symbol play on the relationship between Alli Runa and Sacha Runa are nearly endless. For example, the Span-
ish term alma, soul, belongs to the Alli Runa as part of the salva-
tion of the church’s ministrations. Its transformation into Quichua is made by inserting the a vowel between l and m to give "alama", which is a national non-Indian pejorative term for the reputed Quichua tribe of eastern Ecuador. Alamas, by this definition, are Christianized heathen souls, converted "Ifvaros", who may partake in aspects of the sacraments, includ-
ing baptism, marriage, and death rites. The Dominican order’s alama concept has no etymological relationship to the Sacha Ru-
a concept of alaj, "my mythic brother", which is given as a-
alajma, for emphasis.

The Catholic church endeavored to impose a staff-holder, varayo, system of rule over the Puyo Runa, and other homologous territorial groupings. From the Canelos Quichua standpoint, each office holder had to maintain the Alli Runa-Sacha Runa duality. Successful varayos were powerful shamans, married to sisters of other powerful shamans. The church attempted to fil-
ter Andean-based folk Catholicism through such shaman varayos, stressing the dichotomy of God and the Devil, good and evil, saints and sinners, while at the same time creating an obvious rank-class system with themselves and other whites as superior, in distinction to all natives regarded as inferior. The sha-
mans, in turn, protected the native peoples from overwhelming Christian magic (e.g. changing wine into blood) by strong al-
liances with Asasanga, increasing their knowledge of church con-
trolled spirits (Jesus, Mary) to be incorporated into shaman-
istic performance. Asasanga, who became the Christian devil for the clergy, was probably strengthened as the indigenous forest spirit, particularly as the church contrasted clearing with forest, God with the Devil, whites with Indians.
SOME NATIONAL CATEGORIES

The Sierra and coast of Ecuador have long known a landed, wealthy elite, called blanco, beneath whom are many classes of people, variously categorized. They generally aspire to blanco values, but are reminded in multiple contexts of poverty cast in the idiom of racial mixture that their status in life is beneath that of the elite. The nation, below the elite, is often characterized as mestizo, an imputation of mixture from Indian and European "stock". Mestizaje, the ideology of mixture, is often invoked to assert a oneness of a people. But in any area - such as the Oriente - where there are no actual elite families, people identifying as non-Indian simply assume membership in the blanco category. To be "national" in the Oriente is to be "blanco", and to be other than blanco is to be indio, Indian. The equation of town or cleared forest with blanco, forest with indio, is today repeatedly made.

RECENT PUYO RUNA HISTORY AND FIELD SITUATION

Since 1947 the Puyo Runa have lived on a comuna - Indigenous commune - encompassing 17,000 hectares of some of the most rugged jungle territory in eastern Ecuador. But they regularly come and go from the town of Puyo, their expanding population of about 1,600 people necessitating an adaptation to both subsistence and trade economies. Part of the comuna, a segment called "the island", has been under illegal colonist invasion for over ten years. Our field situation was that we had two residences, one in Puyo, and the other in a small hamlet on the comuna. During our field research an oil boom struck Canelos Quichua territory, and withdrew before the end of our study. One effect of the oil boom was that it provided the capital and infrastructural supports for the Ecuadorian bureaucracy to modernize into its contemporary military dictatorship, and to begin to implement a plan of native cultural destruction and national expansion through conquest of its Amazonian forests. Part of the plan of national expansion involved creation of a homogeneous colono (colonist) - comunero labor force
to supply rapidly expanding tea and sugar plantations with cheap labor. The comuna territory just outside of Puyo became a real and symbolic focus for failure of this goal, both in eyes of developers, and in the perception of its indigenous inhabitants. I turn now to an analysis of some of the processes involved in this national-native clash by focusing on the complementarity of ethnocide, from the national perspective, and ethnogenesis from the native point of view.

A CASE OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND NATIVE RIGHTS

On September 15, 1972, the President of Ecuador, General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara, flew into the Shell Airport. He was accompanied by a group of colonels and captains, each the chief officer of a national agency or bureaucracy. The twenty minute flight from Quito was timed to correspond with sunrise, and the versatile STAL ("short take-off and landing") plane, locally called La Cucaracha, "the cockroach", touched down on the gravel strip at exactly 6:00 a.m. There the red beret-wearing crack paratroopers, trained in Panama for commando warfare, displayed their virtuosity by flourishing Czechoslovakian automatic rifles at passing buses and cars. Still other troops carrying rifles with fixed bayonets stood at attention along the short path of the group's walk. The governor of the Province whisked the President and his entourage into Puyo to meet briefly with civil administrators from all Oriente Provinces, and with the committee of prominent Puyo families at the governmental offices.

Then the entire group moved directly to the large auditorium in the Red Cross building where the President began a prolonged, programmatic speech about infrastructural development in the Oriente, the entirety of which was projected outward by loudspeakers, and broadcast on the local radio station.

The President's five hour speech stressed two main aspects of "development". The first of these was the infrastructural expansion through a projected network of roads, bridges, schools, public services, and new administrative division to govern the anticipated population expansion and demographic shifts toward
the sites of improved communications and stepped-up commerce.

The second aspect of the President's speech stressed the need for acceleration in small-scale commercial production and improved land utilization. The president railed against the prevalence of such critical indigenous subsistence crops as manioc and the practice of swidden agriculture. He urged poor colonists to work with the Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization, known by the acronym, IERAC (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización), to secure titles to land, loans from banks, and to clear away the jungle and plant such marketable crops as rice, cocoa, corn and grain, and to obtain and care for cattle and swine. He promised that modern pesticides and defoliants would be made available through government programs of education aimed at conquest of the forest.

Members of the governing board of the Comuna had previously prepared a letter to be delivered to President Rodríguez which, in their customary fashion, was in line with the direction of explicit national policy. They said they wished to participate in the processes of nationalization, to sell products, and to educate their children. Then they simply stated that until a means was found to eliminate encroachment and settlement of colonists on their land, they had little time to participate in the nationalist development of the Oriente. They urged him to set up the mechanism leading to a rapid solution to their loss of rights of usufruct on comuna territory, and to direct a small percentage of the budget designated for infrastructural development to provide access roads and improved schools and more teachers for the comuna's current inhabitants and its expanding population. The board members were told by a lawyer in the President's entourage that these matters must be taken up with officers of the Ministry of Social Security (Ministerio de Previsión Social) in Quito for they had been placed under its control when the Agrarian Reform Laws were enacted in 1967. The agency was not represented in the President's party simply because it had no direct relationship to development in the Oriente.
Among themselves, while listening to the radio, the comuneros puzzled over the "production" aspects of the President's speech. Many of the colonists they know either buy manioc and other staples from comuneros, or grow them in the system of swidden horticulture. Other colonists purchase staples trucked down from the Sierra. If everyone plants cash crops, the comuneros mused, what will we eat? In semi-jest some of the men who had returned from oil exploration said that "maybe we will be like the "guiringus" (gringos) and have canned sardines, cheese (which the Canelos Quichua despise), plantains, and manioc flown in to us from the coast and highlands". But the comuneros knew there was no way to finance such endeavors given the available cash crops. To undertake the ecological destruction suggested by the President would plunge them into the poverty which results from loss of a subsistence base, with no means of purchasing essentials. They would then be totally dependent on menial labor for hacienda enterprises, and had no intention of entering the "modernization" process with such a handicap.

They asked a distinguished Bishop to present their case to the President when the time for "questions and answers" came. This he did, eloquently arguing that native peoples have little chance for survival without formal recognition from the central government in its new development policies.

The president responded to this appeal far differently than when asked other questions about the economy of the Oriente. He did not address himself to economic, political, or legal matters, but rather invoked his own legendary ancestry. For Ecuador, especially in the Oriente, his answer was most unusual. He stated that he had always maintained that all Ecuadorians were part Indian, all of them contained some blood of the Inca Atahualpa; that although he did not know where he had acquired such blood, he insisted that he, too, was part Indian. "There is no more Indian problem", he insisted, "we all become white when we accept the goals of the national culture".

The proclamation of national ethnic homogeneity by Presi-
dent Rodriguez in response to the Bishop's defense of native needs was soon to be codified by the military establishment. Within ten days a new National Law of Culture was established by executive decree. (cf. El Comercio September 17, 1972:1) From this point on the process of creating a "national culture" (cultura nacional) through military bureaucracies dominated much of the publicized national ideology during 1972 and 1973, the period of our field research. The idea of a "national culture" merged with that of "cultural politics", política cultural, by early 1973 and resulted in an ideal national culture established by centralized administrative decree. This ideal became the formal, permissible cultural emphasis for those who would seek to participate in national development under the auspices of the National Revolutionary Government.

The day after the President's visit a general meeting of comuna members, called asamblea general, was held in a hamlet of the Comuna. It began at 10:00 a.m., and continued without a break until 4:00 p.m. The Bishop's statement on behalf of native problems was repeatedly discussed, together with the President's answer. Recent events in Puyo and the ubiquitous problems over illegal colonist settlement on the Island were brought into the discussion as the comuneros used their evolving politico-juridical system to cope with the nationalist position underlying observable events. Great attention was given to the fact that the east Ecuadorian rainforests and their inhabitants are part of the Ecuadorian Republic, and that the human and environmental adaptation for the present and probable future were bound to the success of Ecuadorian nationalization and modernization processes. Equally stressed was the total lack of understanding by governmental officials of the enduring, creative capacity of the Jungle Quichua, and other native peoples, to adjust their lifeways to modernization processes, while at the same time maintaining a viable subsistence base. A fundamental insight which had been mentioned repeatedly in day to day conversation was there publically articulated: "the nation needed our knowledge during periods of nationalist exploration; then we
were wealthy. It now needs our land and seeks to make us poor."

The President of the Republic had spoken of the law, and repeatedly specified the channels through which justice would be enacted. The comuneros attending the Asemblea decided that they would press a legal case for a final solution to the colonist encroachment problem through these channels.

Shortly thereafter members of the council journeyed by bus to Quito to meet with officials in the Ministry of Social Security, while others visited the governor of the Province. The governor of the Province said he wanted to hear no more comuna problems, and sent the council to the Jefe Político in Mera Canton, eighteen miles away. In Quito representatives of the Ministry of Social Security said they would send a delegate to Puyo to settle the problem. They did this; but the delegate spent all of his time with colonists whom he knew, and refused to look at a map of the legal boundaries of the comuna. Upon his return to Quito he wrote to appropriate officials of the Province stating that the comuneros had "given up" their land, not understanding its worth, to colonists who had now "developed it". The Ministry lawyers said that the comuna would have to buy back its land at an increased price, to which would be added the worth of all of the produce (sugar cane, cocoa, bananas) growing on it. But the ministry added that it was illegal to sell comuna land. The comuneros were again placed in a typical bind. To regain usufructory rights they would have to buy land at prohibitive rates; but even if they could afford the rates they still could not buy back their own land, for comuna land cannot be sold. Colonists visited the government office to ask that comuna land on the Island be opened for sale, and this possibility was rapidly communicated back to the comuneros.

The comuneros were willing to lose some ground, but their understanding of universal intent of juridical precedents was correct in that they justly feared that one legal sale would lead to others. It was quickly decided that any land sales, or transfers or rights of usufruct, on the island would have to carry guarantees that no precedent would be set which could be
used in future sales of the rest of their territory.

An additional social factor within the national system controlling their juridical fate became crystal clear: both Jefe Político of Mera Canton, and the representative of the Ministry of Social Security responsible for comuna affairs, enjoyed enduring co-parent (compadrazgo) ties with prominent land renters of the Island. The comuneros confronted, in effect, individuals unified through a network of personal relationships extending from their territory to the canton head to the Ministry of Social Security.

Under ordinary circumstances such a series of personal ties would have little effect on political-economic process. But in this inter-ethnic context disputes over land combined with a challenge to blanco supremacy, and the symbolism behind co-parentship between co-nationals was sufficient to weld the dispersed network built around a few colonists and two officials into a special set of people at least temporarily dedicated to blocking native maneuver within some local and national offices. Colonos of the Island (even many with close ties to some comuneros) rallied around the nodal men with the co-parent ties; the people responsible to the Jefe Político stood firmly behind him; and the Quito lawyer used his established official staff in Quito, none of whom had reason to question any move on behalf of a people and land so distant to them.

This set of interlocked personnel in strategic positions prevented comunero access to possible resources within the local political economy and within national bureaucratic structure. Without support from the governor’s office in Puyo they would surely lose the entire Island. But they had confronted many such blocs before, and they set about building temporary alliances beyond the personal network of their adversaries, while needling these adversaries to more open, provocative, action which they could denounce before Puyo administrators.

The comuneros intensified their territoriality strategy. In late December a large ayllu ceremony was held on the Island. No colonists were invited, and the participants verbally abused
and threatened all colonists passing by. No Ecuadorian nationals were accepted, and the curious on-lookers were rapidly driven away. Many jokes were also made invoking the ancient power of the water spirit people to flood the Island when land fell into the colonists' hands.

In the comunas elections of January, 1973, four of the five council members were chosen from Spanish-Quichua bilingual Puyo Runa living on the Island. Puyo Runa from all over the comunas began verbally threatening the colonists, mentioning in such threats the possibilities of razing houses. Comuneros continuously pointed to colonists' crops and piles of cut wood, loudly demanding to know, "who authorized that work?" Every newcomer was told stories of the fierce "Jívaros" living nearby, who the comuneros said (with some justification) still raided occasionally on the Island. When colonists asked "why was the Island chosen for raids?" the comuneros replied, "because there are too many colonists here, and the Jívaros know that you people are weaker than we are".

This mixed strategy of territorially ranging from ritual enactment of ayllu power to skewed cabildo representation through outright harassment of colonists succeeded in again getting the comuneros audience with representatives of national bureaucracy and local political economy. When colonists continuously complain about uncertain, or "unstable" native behavior in their immediate neighborhoods, the governor's staff listens. And the minute the governor acknowledged a "problem" on the comunas, the comuneros began to shout back, "why are the colonists on our territory?"

The governor appointed his own military lawyer to this problem with the charge to settle all issues pertaining to the comunas. His first act was characteristic. He called in prominent colonists and informed them of his decision, setting a time of adjudication of all cases within a couple of days. But word spread quickly throughout comunas territory, and beyond; on the designated day the governor was amazed to encounter not only the indigenous council but every powerful shaman, including all
llacta founders, from the comuna. All had quickly set aside antagonisms, and joined forces in the face of a clear external threat to the Sacha Runa domain. There ensued a fascinating meeting in the Governor’s chambers in which the shamans affirmed loyalty to one another’s ayllus, and to the comuna territory beyond the Island, while some of their sons and sons-in-laws, many of them present or past members of the comuna council, argued the case of usufructory transaction on the Island. The former conversations were all in Quichua, the latter in Spanish.

Issue after issue, including alleged land transactions made by the Puyo Runa themselves, was presented to this grouping of powerful ones. In every instance unanimity of response was generated, in Quichua, and conveyed to the governor and his lawyer, in Spanish. In principle, all present agreed to concede rights of usufruct through legal land transfer to the most powerful, wealthy colonists, and to endeavor to regain usufructory rights through the purchase of products assessed at a labor market rate by an IERAC team, from the less wealthy. The Governor then ordered his lawyer to proceed to the hearing of cases, for purposes of drawing up a list of specific agreements. After many such meetings, all of them characterized by overt, verbal threats between colonists and comuneros, the governor’s lawyer ruled that about a dozen colonists would gain permanent rights to their land, but that the rest of the colonists would have to leave.

With this ruling many colonists went to IERAC with new requests. Instead of requesting validation of their illegal property on the comuna, they sought new land in another area. The "winning" colonists, by contrast, went to the Ministry of Social Security in Quito to argue against the military ruling. They pleaded another case on behalf of the poorer colonists, and asked that the Ministry reject the governmental ruling. The plight of the powerful colonists was simple, and all comuneros understood it. The strong blanco, white, land controllers would lose their cheap labor supply if the poor colonists were forced to leave, for no native comunero would work for them, under any
circumstances, while they still held their own territory. The Ministry of Social Security - the agency charged with protecting comunas rights - would not support such a pro-native decision and rejected the military solution worked out through the agency designed to help colonists. The Governor, in turn, an acknowledged enemy of comuneros, told the Ministry to either accept the offer, or give up its control of the comunas, and the Ministry agreed to the solution, "in principle", again turning rights for actual settlement - surveying land, arranging payments, and securing land title - over to IERAC representatives in the Puyo area. Up to August, 1974, no land had been transferred, the powerful colonists were still in control of their holdings, but some of the poorer colonists had left.

At every turn it was painfully apparent that the modernization processes, as implemented by Ecuadorian officials, continuously excluded native peoples seeking their guaranteed juridical and political rights. Events within this moment of micro-evolutionary time signal the coalescence of interrelated processes which have profound effects on the Republic of Ecuador, and upon the dynamic, adapting tropical forest people of its eastern region. We turn now to the processes, all of them well identified cross-culturally, to consider their present and potential effects.

INTERNAL COLONIALISM

This concept varies considerably in the literature (cf. Frank 1967, 1969, Gonzáles Casanova 1965, van den Berghe 1967, Stavenhagen 1970, Hoetink 1973) in terms of levels of generality, but draws direct attention to situations "... where an independent country has, within its own boundaries, given special legal status to groups that differ culturally from the dominant group, and created a distinct administrative machinery to handle such groups". (Colby and van den Berghe 1969:3).

Twentieth century Ecuador has been characterized by gradual, though stormy and bloody, ideological and legal transformation from a system of rigid castes, with Catholic whites on
top and pagán Indians on the bottom, to a reticulated class-caste system with pronounced regional differentiation of linked ethnic, linguistic, and cultural systems. (cf. Blanksten 1951: 13-31, Linke 1960:22-38, 58-86) By the 1970’s the ideology of mestizaje, racial mixture, dominated the public ideology of Ecuadorean nationalism. Yet, with an ideology of mestizaje, the republic seems bent on a course of pervasive cultural, social, and ideological pluralism.

One critical manifestation of continuing pluralism is the projection of the mestizaje nationalist charter onto Ecuador’s culturally diverse peoples. Alfredo Pareja Diezcanseco (1970: 89) sums up this prevalent intellectual and military "Liberal" view of his country:

Ecuador is not a country inhabited by white folk, for as an ethnic minority they only add up to scarcely one-tenth of the total population. Neither is it a country of Indians, for in that case its history would be one of regression, or else, of stratification ... the nation is Mestizo .... Once the Indians enter civilized life .... the Mestizo part of the population will be more homogenous.

No person casually wandering through any part of Ecuador, talking with its people listening to their own conversations and watching their transactions could ever be so ideologically deluded as to imagine himself in anything resembling an ethnically homogenous setting. Joseph B. Casagrande (1974) offers a startlingly contrastive view to that of Pareja. Significantly, his view reflects the results of intensive participant field research by a number of anthropologists in six Highland Indian communities, "each representative of a distinct ecological type". (Casagrande 1974:93)

Like several of its neighbors (Colombia, Peru, Bolivia), Ecuador is characterized by a sharply stratified dual society in which there is a castelike division between the Indian and non-Indian sectors. Estimates of the Indian population of the
Sierra vary greatly depending upon the criteria of Indianness employed, but a figure of one million would probably not fall far off the mark ... the Indian's situation is aggravated by being relegated to the lowest stratum of Ecuadorian society.

.... Even the kindliest among the whites tend to look upon the Indian as a child perpetually held at a developmental stage lower than that of a full adult human being, or they regard him simply as a brute little better than any animal capable of carrying a heavy load .... The fact that some Indian groups in Ecuador are singled out for special comment or praise - the Ota-valenos, for example, are said to be proud, clean, industrious, intelligent, and so on - is in effect to commend them for having qualities that one is surprised to find among Indians and at the same time to damn other Indian groups with the implication that these are precisely the qualities they don't have ....

In short, racism in Ecuador is institutionalized to a degree that would shock even black Americans. (Casagrande 1974:94)

On first glance, Pareja's view would seem naive, or alarmingly biased. But his is a statement of Ecuadorianist, intellectual, politician nationalism, while Casagrande's is one of ethnographic description and social analysis. Pareja's concern seems to be with those who might seek to escape the racism attendant on being regarded as "indio", Indian. The gap between indio and blanco is structurally homologous to the black/white distinction made in the United States, and which Ecuadorians make, as well (Whitten 1974:174-201, Stutzman 1974). The concept "mestizo" is an ideational resolution professed by intellectuals and political nationalists, but it is not an ethnic category to which most Ecuadorians aspire. Those who would shed "Indianness" and claim national identity seek to participate as "blanco" within an ecological niche devoid of elite, non-mestizo, superordinate blanco status. As intellectuals and political leaders in Ecuador manifest an identity of "mestizo" they seem to clean away the racist mire within specific sectors of the country, thereby admitting those aspiring to class-based identity to less stigmatized participation in the "revolutionary"
political economy.

Although not documented by research in Ecuador, as in Guatemala (van den Berghe 1974:316-327), I strongly suspect that shedding the stigmata of imputed Indianeness by Ecuadorians seeking national acceptance as "blanco" is dependent upon geographical mobility and the change of ecological niches. There is an Ecuadorian concept reflecting such mobility which provides tenuous linkage between elite concepts of mestizaje, on the one hand, and the poor nationals' concepts of blanqueamiento, "whitening", on the other hand. The concept often revolves around the term cholo.

Cholo is a polysemic construction which suggests Quichua speaking racial heritage, slowness of thought, but clear assimilation into national culture. People within a highland town or village will employ the term "cholo" for poor locals whose parents or grandparents spoke Quichua, and were thereby excluded from many civil and ecclesiastical practices and activities. But from the standpoint of many people from the capital city, or larger towns, all people from that rural town may, in some contexts, be regarded as cholo. Even in the corridors of a foreign university I have known Ecuadorian students or other Ecuadorian residents to stigmatize colleagues with the cholo designation, drawing their criteria from known place of origin, and interpreting body build, and other personal and physical criteria suggesting stereotypic Indian ancestry.

Any "liberalizing" of Ecuadorian racial ideology includes all cholos in Pareja's "mestizo" part of the country. From the elite standpoint, such inclusion embraces many "Indians", but for those who are stigmatized by the cholo classification, Indianeness is far behind them. The nationalist, intellectual, concept of "mestizo" itself incorporates the notion of Indian descent (remember President Rodríguez's response to the retiring Bishop in Puyo), as part of an ideology of prior mixture. And the ideology of prior mixture asserts contemporary participation in national (blanco, white) culture. The conceptual framework, then, for the previously stigmatized to participate, as ethnic
blancos, in a modernizing, military controlled political economy, is to be found in Pareja's representative statement.

The actual mechanism for such national incorporation seems to come primarily through geographic mobility. For highland Ecuadorians, movement down the slopes of the Andes, either toward the coast or Oriente, is the actual demographic mechanism triggering transformation from stigmatized bearers of an unwanted, localized Indian heritage to a nationally exalted, generalized, mixed heritage with a blanco future.

Such a movement into the Oriente brings the nationalizing population smack into the face of its rainforest inhabitants. This is a profoundly indigenous face, having nothing whatsoever in common with the ideal of blanqueamiento. If acknowledged in their richness and adaptable character, the native cultures of the Oriente would contradict the ideology behind the revolutionary force of nationalistic consolidation. I return to this argument shortly.

In the 18th and 19th Century the United States of America undertook policies of genocide, and later internal colonialism, to deal with its native populations. In mid-twentieth Century Ecuador an essentially humanitarian government is choosing internal colonialism and ethnocide as its strategies of political nationalism. Agrarian reform in the Ecuadorian Sierra was accompanied by colonization schemes of the Oriente. As colonization from Andes to tropical lowlands stepped up, the process of internal colonialism rapidly evolved, and brought the Sierran indio-blanco contrast to the eastern rainforest. Everything having to do with "development" and "progress" was equated with IERAC, a dynamic national bureaucracy aimed at opening new land claims for people self-identifying as non-Indian.

The only really viable alternative open to native peoples living within range of governmental control of the Oriente was found in the formation and maintenance of comunas indígenas, native communes. These were relegated to another sort of national bureaucracy, the Ministry of Social Security, governed by another set of laws and decrees. In every conversation with Mini-
stry of Social Security personnel by members of our research group, and in every meeting of the Comuna San Jacinto participated in by Ministry officials, a concept of the Indigenous comuna emerged as a reservation complex governed from a distance as a total institution. Local maintenance is supposed to be by a form of primitive democracy where, as one official stated in a formal lecture to the comuneros, "even the most ignorant and backward of you can assume the presidency". While colonists get technical assistance and a responsive ear to infrastructural development from such agencies as USAID, the Peace Corps, and IERAC, comuneros get courses (in Spanish) on how to better regulate their own lives.

The processes of internal colonialism affect both national developers and native peoples, at various levels in the developing Republic. The possibility of transformation from comuna system into one of parishes and cantons is extraordinarily difficult for native people, particularly in zones where swidden horticulture is practiced. No provisions for formal land claims can be made prior to re-incorporation as another sort of regional unit, and incorporation as parish or canton opens all land claims to outsiders. Furthermore, appointments to office are made by a system of political favoritism (cf. Blanksten 1951, Whitten 1965) effectively excluding native peoples.

Processes of internal colonialism have their genesis in formal recognition within national systems of cultural differentiation. But the elaboration and evolution of such systems, even under the most enlightened, liberal governments provide differential, unequal technological and administrative advantage to the dominant cultural sector, to the escalating disadvantage of other sectors.

A step beyond the Ecuadorian case is that of relocation of native peoples, and the development of reservations. Both of these processes further restrict the adaptive advantage of peoples by destroying their economic and social capacity to maintain their system of rapid change, on their own terms. Few contemporary Ecuadorians favor reservation systems, except for those
seeking to control and preserve the most exotic, evangelical mission-dominated groups, such as the Huarani Auca. Ecuadorian planners seek to assimilate those who speak Quichua into the cholo way, and to extend the blanqueamiento franchise to the expanding mass of national poor. This process is ethnocidal.

ETHNOCIDE AND RACISM

According to Webster's New World Dictionary, "Genocide" is a concept, "first applied to the attempted extermination of the Jews by Nazi Germany, the systematic killing or extermination of a whole people or nation". The concept of ethnocide is taken from genocide, and refers to the process of exterminating the total lifeway of a people or nation, but in the ethnocidal process many of the peoples themselves are allowed to continue living.

The current attempts of ethnocide aimed at indigenous people in eastern Ecuador are systematic, large scale, and planned, as well as random, local, and unintended. Illustrations of ethnocidal policies include monolingual education in Spanish, proselytization by Catholics and Protestants, courses in social organization aimed at altering family, kinship, and other bases of social cooperation and competition launched by government, church, and Peace Corps Volunteers, and the steady encapsulation of natives on eroding territories, without infrastructural support. Even in the area of medicine it is difficult for a native person to buy a physician's services without being treated to a lecture about the evils of chicha--manioc gruel, with low alcoholic content--drinking.

From the capital city to the Puyo hinterland a general agreement among non-Indians exists that the process of ethnocide of Amazonian peoples, including those residing in the Oriente, is nearly complete. Because the Canelos Quichua near Puyo, for example, have shed overt signs of the national stereotype of what Amazonian natives should look like - they wear western clothes, eschew face painting and feather wearing in the presence of mestizos, and speak Quichua, a language which many poor
Ecuadorians understand - local non-Indians attribute differences to disorganization resulting from rapid change. The double-edged assumption of the passing of traditional ways, on the one hand, and the remaining native peoples as disorganized residue of modernization, on the other, generates policies that seek stepped-up destruction. By considering the Canelos Qui-chua to be an inadequate variant of imposed western standards those who claim to be "pro-Indian" engage in assimilation activities with the native peoples, while those who dislike native peoples, or even the idea of their existence, deplore the effort and make invidious comparisons between comuneros and colonos, always pointing out the cash value of the labor of the latter.

When the might of international petroleum consortia descended on eastern Ecuador in the late 1960's many native peoples witnessed catastrophic short-run change. Within a few years a subsistence economy with wide flung trade networks was saturated with a morass of technological imposition, and, in some areas, floods of highland colonists were flown into forest areas where they were totally dependent for their survival on either imported goods, or take-overs of native chagras. Most of those who witnessed parts of the process, Ecuadorean and foreign, cried "ethnocide!" (cf. Robinson 1971, Whitten 1975).

Perhaps the response of President Rodríguez is now more understandable when he told the Bishop that he was descended from Indian ancestry, rather than saying that Indians had no place in the government's development plans. Ethnocide occurred in the Oriente during the time of foreign exploitation, so the current legend of the Revolutionary government goes. Today the Republic should mourn the passing of a native heritage, but in so doing learn to respect the mestizo all the more, for he is the last living embodiment of nativeness. The native and his environment have become nationalized, and in the new blanqueamiento ethnic charter lies both the future and the past of national consolidation.

The clearly dynamic and puzzlingly non-national cultural
adaptation of the Canelos Quichua is viewed as the residue of deplorable ethnocide. Intellectuals point out that, because they speak Quichua, they were either early conquered by the Inca, or "tamed" by the Catholic Missions. They are sometimes portrayed, in the words of one "sympathetic" priest, as "slaves looking for a master". The ordinary colonist in the Oriente is more bluntly racist; he categorizes all Quichua speakers by the clearly pejorative term, indio, "Indian". His basic contrast is between indio and blanco. The former is categorized as infrahumano, subhuman, the latter as gente, person. It is common to hear "the Indian is more backward than the animals", "the Indian is lower than the animals", and "the Indian is not a person because he is lower than the animals".

When colonists relegate native peoples to "below animal" status, they refer to the cultural adaptation made to the jungle. Indeed, in all such discussions, the ability of native peoples to understand the dynamics of tropical forest ecology dominates. From the colonists' perspective animals live in the forest; they are conditioned by their natural environment to their present biological adaptation. But many colonists are also aware that native peoples of Amazonia creatively transcend animal ways, not by denying the forest, but by elaborating a symbolic, transformational structure of humanity out of its everlasting sound and motion. Moreover, the native Quichua speakers of the eastern forests of Ecuador also participate in nationalization processes, seeking to expand their social system to incorporate the new technology and to adapt that technology to their known environment.

Such cultural adaptation is in a deep sense antithetical to the nationally espoused ideology of development and the emergence of national culture. For the mestizo caught up in the nationalistic process of blanqueamiento, the thought of living with the jungle is repugnant. It suggests living as an animal. Some colonists do regard themselves as living such an existence, but they invariably hope for eventual incorporation into national culture. They see Jungle Quichua elaborating another cul-
tural adaptation within a rainforest biosphere, and here they relegate such native people to alien, non-human status, no matter how closely other aspects of their lifeways, or actual living conditions, approximate that of the colonists.

Conquest of Amazonia has long been an Ecuadorian dream, one in which frustration and continuous loss to other nations has been an overriding feature. In a very real sense the Jungle Quichua both as a people rising to defend themselves, and symbolically, stand in the way of realizing this dream. And it is on this deeper, ideological front, that a fundamental confrontation is now occurring. This is why, I think, that no agency in contemporary Ecuador can bring itself to the final solution of a land problem involving native peoples, unless that solution involves obliteration of indigenous adaptability and creative environmental exploitation. Any current ruling in favor of such peoples would demonstrate national or agency weakness, and open the door to new alliances and dynamics of local level politics and change in which the Canelos Quichua would play an increasingly active, pivotal role. The national bureaucratic apparatus, and the agencies furthering colonization are still too weak to overwhelm 1,600 or more native peoples living within a refuge zone in one of the country's most rugged rainforest territories.

This combination of factors leads to increasing negotiation over usufructuary rights in the Puyo hinterland and creates a situation conducive to the Canelos Quichua knowledge of governmental policy. In the face of ethnocidal policies seeking to hem them in, deny their existency, and denigrate their rationality and culture, the Puyo Runa have expanded and diversified their population, and have effectively maintained control of their dwindling zone.

Throughout the contemporary world peoples such as the Canelos Quichua are increasingly placed in separate legal categories, with separate governmental and international agencies developed to deal with them. In short, national ideologies of ethnic homogenization spawn processes of cultural pluralism. (cf. Despres 1975) To advocate such homogenization is necessarily at the
same time to call attention to the cultural differences to be eradicated, and this heightened attention triggers the elaboration of ethnic boundaries. In turn, ".... the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences". (Barth 1969:16)

National policies aimed at incorporating "different" ethnic segments also spawn programs which seek to "help" people assimilate more rapidly. In countries such as Ecuador where the political ideology of race mixture predominates in the public set of nationalization symbols, peoples with distinctive lifeways are ultimately regarded as engaging in, or disposed to take, political action, and so they come to justify reprisal. In 1973, the Canelos Quichua were alternatively regarded as invisible, non-national, and sometimes politically anti-national by many Puyo administrators. Whatever the policy of the day within the party of the revolutionary government, a salient feature of bureaucratic life was that the Puyo Runa would neither disappear nor take the step necessary to justify annihilation.

ETHNOGENESIS

Peoples whose cultures are acknowledged by an application of ethnocidal policies often intensify and adapt ways of doing things which underscore their own implicit, transformable symbolic relationships. The symbolic template, so to speak, provides a manageable cosmogony (Fernandez 1974:126) linking the known and the unknown, and provides a set of ethnic markers (Barth 1969:9-38) in the face of inevitable nation state expansion (cf. Fried 1967). Such adaptive processes, known as ethnogenesis, are taking place everywhere.

The Canelos Quichua have a clear-cut set of reference categories which they transform into an adaptable system of relationships, through which they relate known history to mythology, immediate history to the present, and out of which they seek to transform their culture to a future lifeway which improves upon the present. Internal diversification is maintained through
both ayllu and huasi systems, and transformable structures allowing for communication and alliance with various tropical forest and Andean peoples are furthered. In the face of the mestizo (human=gente)/non-mestizo (sub-human=indio) ethnic descent rule invoked by political nationalists, the Puyo Runa have repeatedly asserted their own ethnic charter: "we are people", they say in Spanish, "natives of this area, descended from the intermarried ancestors in grandparental times". When speaking Spanish they refer to themselves, as gente, explicitly contrasting their meaning of gente with the ethnic categories blanco and mestizo.

In addition to the Spanish language reversal in the native-colonists contrast, which the Puyo Runa employ, they have their own rendition of the mestizaje concept. They use the terms mashca puyu, "barley gut"; saracancha, lit., "corn gut"; guaraapurisa, lit., "sugar-beer gut". By developing a set of pejorative categories for the nationals which refer to imputed contents of their "stomachs", the Puyo Runa spread certain connotations of these intruders to all Jungle Quechua speakers. The shungu, "stomach-throat-heart" area of animals and fish is often examined for special "stones" with spirit power. The stones are kept as gifts from Amasanga and Nunghuf, then the shungu is discarded so that its invisible spirit contents can return to the forest or river. The shungu in humans contains inherited and acquired spirit helpers. By typifying outsiders in terms of real or imputed stomachs full of swill - whether of barley powder, toasted corn, or sugar beer - the Puyo Runa make them of lesser status than humans or animals, and regard them as devoid of acquired competence. Furthermore, stomachs full of swill are spiritually impotent, and when the Canelos Quechua make alliances they invariably base the continuance of alliance on spirit and soul acquisition. Denial of spirit substance of nationals removes them as a category from the ethnic charter of the Canelos Quechua. They come to embody the basic "evil" of life, manalli shungu, "bad stomach".

Stress on native intra-ethnic, indigenous inter-cultural
(e.g. Jívaro-Canelos Quichua) intermarriage in the times of the
grandparents is re-affirmed in periods of external crisis, as
occurred in the case of the land inquest discussed above. When
the shamans, each the possessor of an ancient and grandparental
shaman soul, symbolically link themselves together by unanimous-
ly agreeing to courses of political action, many supports are
invoked that reinforce ethnogenesis. First, the llactas are
symbolically united through their founding ayllu nodes, against
the counter pressure of fission due to hamlet autonomy and in-
dividual linkage to the national system. Second, ayllu fission
due to shamanistic duels is glossed over in an intensification
of overlapping membership in discrete ayllus. Third, intensi-
fication of shamanistic power to form a territorial pool is in-
evitably communicated to Quichua speakers in other Runa terri-
tories, and to Jívaroans of various zones. So long as the power
of the Puyo Runa is massing against non-natives, some Jívaroan
support is usually given. During our field work a number of
entreaties to Jívaro proper and Achuara peoples were made by
the powerful shámans. Such extension of ethnic charter is made
by invoking lines of stipulated descent, and demonstrated inter-
marrriages in grandparental times provide the basis for such ap-
peals for support.

In the face of heightened national ethnocide, Alli Runa-
Sacha Runa duality remains adaptable to the sphere of contrasts
existing between brokerage missions and the forest biosphere.
The Alli Runa concept has expanded, though, to incorporate the
national distinction between Indian and non-Indian. Alli Runa
becomes a campesino, a rural person manifesting some markers of
contemporary Ecuadorian culture (especially in Spanish speech,
western dress, and in some gestures and customs such as hand
shaking and showing teeth when asking for a favor). For those
self identifying as Canelos Quichua, the campesino concept em-
body both the native notion of "Runa", person, and the idea
of bi-cultural, "Quichua-Spanish" adjustment. The Canelos Qui-
chua people capable of moving about in the rural world of bu-
reaucratized Ecuadorian national culture clearly self identify
as bi-cultural, able to compartmentalize the signals of two cultures, and reincorporate them on a deeper level in their indigenous system. Campesino del Oriente, then, becomes "rural person of the Oriente (wishing to participate in nationalization processes)", for the Alli Runa, but also translates exactly as "Sacha Runa", (Runa-Campesino, Sacha-Oriente), something that the Puyo Runa find hilariously significant.

The Jungle Quichua, as rural campesinos, seek alliances with other Quichua peoples of Andean Ecuador, and use the intermediaries of missionaries, Peace Corps Volunteers, and others seeking to help Indians adjust to nationalization. Opportunities for travel to churches, conferences, governmental and international agencies are sought, particularly with the aim of identifying and gaining an understanding of other indigenous peoples, and other non-nationals. The Sacha Runa franchise extends to all native peoples of montana and Amazonia, known and unknown, who would join with the Canelos Quichua in maintaining their refuge zone, and in expanding the adaptive dimensions of tropical forest culture. Through the Alli Runa-Sacha Runa cognitive duality of ethnic patterning, and the strategies played out to maintain it, the Puyo Runa seek to span Andean-Amazonian ecologies, reincorporating an ancient set of postulated alliances through recourse to modern technology.

The hamlets themselves embody the transformable concepts of Sacha Runa-Alli Runa, in their multiple dimensions. Through this set of indigenous-national symbols the Puyo Runa cope with the representatives of the agencies of national and international sponsorship with a specific charge to "help Indians". These include Peace Corps Volunteers, Dominican missionaries, Evangelical protestant missionaries, and most recently Episcopalian missionaries. Beginning with discussions of technical problems in either Quichua or Spanish (usually the latter), the Puyo Runa endeavor to lead the outsiders to an appreciation of contemporary Quichua-Spanish bi-culturalism. For those who will listen and learn, the duality is gradually resolved into a discussion of "Quichua" and "Jivar" conflict and mixture. Eventually, the
basic Sacha Runa system of relationships crucial to continuing adaptation is revealed. But few listen, for understanding of the dynamic symbolic and social foundation of Jungle Quichua culture usually negates the ultimate mission and charter of the "self-helpers". Such representatives seem to feel some compulsion to find floundering remnants of exotic peoples, and to help them to live up to the charge given by the Revolutionary Government, namely to assimilate to national norms of the "mixed" poor, and then to the essential infrastructural support and technical aid so readily granted to colonists. These outsiders are received, fed, treated with courtesy and asked about their "program". Their support is enlisted to maintain native territorial boundaries and to help with negotiations in Puyo and Quito.

The contemporary Puyo Runa have opted for population expansion. They are totally aware that this expansion will leave them in a condition of poverty unless they too can participate more fully in the technological development of the Oriente. They make this point to everyone willing to listen. They also point out that the aspects of their existence most deplored by developers - swidden horticulture, extensive use of manioc, chicha as a staple of life, division of labor by sex, classification of the biosphere through metaphors of sentience reflecting rainforest dynamics, and the importance of an enduring forest, fertile soil, and clean water - provide the underlying bases for their adaptability within an environment as yet poorly understood by those who have not encountered Sacha Runa.

Many contemporary Canelos Quichua understandably predict an impending Time of Destruction which they seek to overcome by judicious combination of ancient and new knowledge. They face the future bravely, with the vision of ultimate survival and cultural integrity. Knowledge of means by which to avoid physical destruction as occurred in their past Times of Destruction is sought. They know how to maintain and expand productivity, provided land is not wrenched away from them, or destroyed through national or international borne environmental degrada-
tion. They require modern medical services to complement their own system, and modern legal services through which to press their just claims. They seek proficiency in Spanish, to add to their proficiency in other native languages, and so welcome schools together with programs of medical help and legal counsel.

The plight of the Canelos Quichua facing nationalistic ethnocide and racism is shared with Quichua and Jívaro speakers (among many other native peoples) in other parts of Ecuador, and in Colombia, Peru, Bolivia. Although by themselves the Canelos Quichua make up a very small part of the Republic of Ecuador, with its more than seven and a half million people, they share common experiences and a common language family with well over seven million other Andean and Lowland peoples in these adjacent nations. The processes of ethnocide sponsored by new militaristic governments throughout the Andean zone, and across Amazonia, have set up the potential mechanisms for resuscitation of non-national forces of indigenous ethnogenesis.

But one must not accept the ethnogenesis analysis with the hope of a brighter future for Andean and Amazonian natives. Genocide has already occurred repeatedly in the last few decades, and many ethnocidal policies have succeeded in destroying native adaptation and adaptability, leaving bare remnants of earlier magnificence. The complementarity of ethnocide and ethnogenesis exists in the most tenuous of balance. As contemporary nationalist governments, together with international agencies and corporations, strive to conquer Amazonia this balance may once and for all tip in favor of final native obliteration. And, if obliteration is not accomplished, then the survivors of national ethnocide may well find their cultural contribution to the stream of New World lifeways denied, while their labor is increasingly utilized.
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Causanguichi alli runaguna; Sacha Runa causan!
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