Jürgen Riester: **Indians of Eastern Bolivia:**

**Aspects of their Present Situation**
Jürgen Riester, anthropologist, carried out field work in Eastern Bolivia, 1963-1966, 1970-1972, mainly among the Chiquitano, the Pauserna-Guarasug'we and the Chimane Indians. In 1973 and 1974 he worked in Eastern Peru, among the Tikuna Indians and the de-tribalized Indians in the Department of Loreto, Province of Maynas. He is presently teaching anthropology at the Catholic University, Lima.

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Copenhagen, January 1975

For the Secretariat of IWGIA

Peter S. Aaby Helge Kleivan Jens Erik Knardrup-Larsen
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Jürgen Riester

INDIANS OF EASTERN BOLIVIA:
ASPECTS OF THEIR PRESENT SITUATION

"The Indians were taken on Ascension Day in church while hearing mass. All the Indians captured were scourged, and along with the anguish of whipping, were forced to declare how much they loved their torturers. The scourging lasted many days, and took the lives of nine men and one woman. The woman had the courage to tell her tormentors that they could kill her, but that she would never testify against her husband; both she and her husband died in the anguish of the lash."

(Report of the Prefect of Trinidad, Department of Bení, Bolivia; September 17, 1887. Quoted in René-Moreno: Catálogo del archivo de Mojos y Chiquitos, Santiago 1888.)

Copenhagen 1975
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GENERAL FACTORS

This article is an attempt to describe the present situation of Indians of Eastern Bolivia. Historical events will be referred to only when they are relevant to an understanding of the Indian cultures. Before proceeding with a systematic description, certain facts which are of general importance for the entire geographical area should be noted.

Ribeiro (1971:20) has said that "The expansion of civilization proves, upon analysis, to be a uniform connection of dissociative factors to which each individual tribe can react in a different way, but to which it must react out of necessity". The reaction of the Indians of Eastern Bolivia to the invasion of Bolivian whites, in terms of the general context of penetration and not the motives behind it (Ribeiro 1971), can be summarized in the following manner.

1. The flight of Indians to areas of difficult access; which only implies a postponement of contact, as in the case of the Pauserna-Guarasug'wê and of the Chiquitanos who fled from the Jesuit mission in 1692.

2. The obliged acceptance by the Indians of the invaders. This "acceptance" marks the beginning of the gradual destruction of tribal life, as in the case of the Chiquitanos and the Mojos who were under Jesuit influence. It could of course, be the result of decades of struggle against the invaders, as in the case of the Chiriguano fatheros and the Ayoréode.

3. The final result of contact between Indians and non-natives is a profound change in the Indian culture, as in the case of the Pauserna-Guarasug'wê, the Kusikias, the Kitemokas and the Yurukarikias.

Ribeiro (1971:23) is of the opinion that "..... each tribe experiences for itself and without help, the compulsions resulting from this expansion, and that each reacts in accordance with its own specific cultural characteristics. Monographic studies tend to emphasize these different reactions because they alone explain each specific
1 ARAONA
2 AYOREODE
3 BAURE
4 CANICHANA
5 CAVINENA
6 CAYUBABA
7 CHACOBO
8 CHAMA
9 CHANE
10 MOSETENE and CHIMANE
11 CHIQUITANO (including CHURAPA in Santa Cruz region)
12 CHIRIGUANO (Ava- and Izozeño)
13 GUARAYU (GUARAYO)
14 ITONAMA
15 JORA
16 LECO
17 MATACO and CHULUPI
18 MOXO (MOJO)
19 MORE
20 MOVIMA
21 PACAHUARA
22 PAUSERNA-GUARASUG'WE
23 REYESANO
24 SIRIONO
25 TACANA
26 TAPIETE
27 TOTOMONA
28 YUQUI
29 YURACARE
30 PAUNACA, NAPECA, KITEMOCA, MONOCA, YURUCARICIA

BOLIVIA: INDIAN GROUPS AND THEIR LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION
situation."

The intention of this article is to describe these various possible reactions.

**The Present Situation**

In Eastern Bolivia, there are at present 41 tribes with an estimated total population of between 119,000 and 131,000 persons (see Table VII and notes). The following picture is evidenced by the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal population</th>
<th>Number of tribes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 100</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 - 250</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251 - 500</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501 - 1,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,001 - 2,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,001 - 3,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,001 - 4,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,001 - 5,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,001 - 10,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001 - 20,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,001 - 30,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 30,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The very existence of 29 tribes, averaging 202 members, is threatened because their numbers have been so reduced that only in certain cases could direct assistance be useful. Of these 29 tribes, it is certain that 16 will not last until the end of the seventies. Epidemics, violent subjugation and exploitation are responsible for the process of extinction. 1) 12 tribes, averaging 9,950 members, could survive in the future if proper assistance is swiftly given. (see Table II for a summarized picture).

---

1) Thus, during an epidemic in 1971-72, nearly all the children up to the age of 2 died in the region of Lomerio, south of Concepción de Nuflo de Chávez, dept. of Santa Cruz; over 60 children from measles in Urubichá, province of Nuflo de Chávez; according to statistics over 90% of the Indian population has TB....
### TABLE II

Situation of Indians in Eastern Bolivia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of tribes</th>
<th>Number of Indians</th>
<th>Average population per tribe</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>5,673-6,053</td>
<td>196-209</td>
<td>Facing extermination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(529)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>Will not survive the 1970's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>114,300-125,200</td>
<td>9,500-10,400</td>
<td>Can survive if assisted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE III

Estimates of Indian Population of Eastern Bolivia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Census 1950</td>
<td></td>
<td>87,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermosa 1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>54,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelm 1966</td>
<td></td>
<td>less than 87,000</td>
<td>3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelm 1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>72,033</td>
<td>4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riester 1974</td>
<td></td>
<td>119,968</td>
<td>131,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIL 1967</td>
<td></td>
<td>55,620</td>
<td>63,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIL 1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>69,850</td>
<td>71,350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Based on estimates. See Table III. No exact census has been carried out. Only in certain cases do reliable statistics exist. Existing data on the total number of Indians in Eastern Bolivia are very diverse. Among recent works, see Kelm 1966:67; Kelm 1972b:418; Torrico 1971; SIL 1967; SIL 1972; Hermosa 1971.

2) These statistics are related to those in the line immediately above. Hence, of the 29 tribes facing extermination, 16 will not survive the 1970's.

3) "According to calculations, the wilderness forest population totals 87,000. This figure is certainly too high." (Kelm 1966:67). Kelm is here referring to the 1950 Bolivian census. Contrary: it is quite certain that estimations under 100,000 are too low; for five tribes alone (the Chiquitanos, Guarayos, Mojos, Ayo y Izozeño-Chiriguanos and Movimas) I can provide figures totalling 94,500.

4) Kelm 1972b:418. The author does not provide figures for some tribes. If for these cases we add the figures provided by SIL 1972, we get an additional 6,735 and a total of 78,768.

5) SIL 1967 does not provide figures for some tribes. If for these cases we add the figures provided by SIL 1972, we get an additional 2,525 and totals of 58,145-66,145.
The statistics given here are intimately related to various investigations as well as to the State's concept of the term "Indian". The definition of the terms "Indian" (indígena) and "mestizo" depends on cultural factors. We do not consider that the use of an Indian language necessarily determines nativeness. Furthermore, clothing as a criterion is superficial and necessarily lends to errors. The attitude which dictates that these who do not superficially look like Indians are no longer Indians, can also be rejected, as Kelm (1966:71) points out. Years of experience and studies of ethnic identification (Riester 1974b) show that the presence of traditional beliefs (mythology, cults, religion), criteria for rules and judgement, kinship systems, organization and so forth have greater validity.

It must not be forgotten that in his confrontation with the national society, the Indian discards everything which might give him the appearance of being an Indian; even to the extent of denying his mother tongue, which is generally lost soon after this confrontation. We must not allow these manifestations to lead us into thinking that the Indian is not conscious of his attitude. He is completely aware of his behaviour. The phenomenon of re-training and adoption of specific aspects of expression of the national society element have been observed frequently (Cardoso de Oliveira 1972,1974; Nimuendajú 1914: 284-403 and Schaden 1971:35-42). Obviously, adoption does not imply acceptance. Certain expressions which are symbolic of the national society element such as: worship of the saints, the cross, the rosary, etc. and which conform to the factors by which people are judged as "good men" or "savages" by members of the national society element are adopted readily. Under these circumstances the Indians try to disguise their own culture in order to maintain their own identity. This is a passive attitude.

Indians from the interior of the Department of Santa Cruz who have been living in the department capital for even 40 years, who are materially acculturated, and whose children no longer speak any Indian language, can still be considered Indians from a cultural point of view, and consider themselves as member of an ethnic group. These emigrants from the interior have grouped in camps, but not according to ethnic characteristics. Naturally the members of different tribes from communities of the Santa Cruz area are aware of their own identity, but know that they can only hope for success in their demands if they present themselves as a closed group consciously living in a common past, of a common present, and with a common future. These Indians have learned to manipulate the mechanisms of the national society. They have organized themselves into unions and cooperatives.
and are members of political parties. They know that the simple rejection of their own culture as a means of maintaining their identity is not sufficient for the future, and that they will be successful only if they overcome their ethnocentrism. It is precisely in such situations of concentrated contact with Bolivians that we encounter the phenomenon of reevaluated nativeness, formulating their own ideology and finding a strong backing in multi-ethnicity. In this sense the statement of a Chiquitano, who has lived in the Santa Cruz area for 40 years, is characteristic and representative: "I am a Chiquitano and I feel the same way as my compatriots the Guarayos, Chiriguanos, or any other Indian because we live in the same society. If we are united, we are strong". This is not political party rhetoric. It is an active attitude.

In the same way, the Guarayos of the north-east of the province of Ñuflo de Chávez, Department of Santa Cruz, blocked the airport of Ascensión during one week in September 1974 and took over the local radio station as a measure to defend themselves against the abuses of the corregidor. This is an adequate attitude within the framework of the struggle for the liberation of the Indians.

We see by the examples of the Bolivian lowland that there is a differentiated range in the attitude towards the so-called 'integration', which is the disguise used by the Western World in order not to have to call this 'integration' by its real name:extermination, manslaughter, discrimination, etc. The new awareness of their own situation and the adequate play to oppose the invasion ranges from the passive attitude (withdrawal into distant villages, refusal to supply local markets, refusal to supply manpower to the white people, disguising of their own culture), to an active but not adequate attitude (see in this paper Loma Santa) towards 'integration', to an active and adequate consciousness (using the same mechanisms of domination employed by the national society to achieve the dependency; joining into cooperatives, organizing strikes, etc.).

It is well to bear in mind that the mestizo is an Indian who has consciously abandoned his traditional culture and absorbed the norms and values of Bolivian society, but in random fashion. In my opinion, reinforced by pragmatic data, an advanced stage of acculturation is not the same as mestizaje. The Chiquitanos, Mojos, Chiriguanos, Ayoré and others who use the products of the national society, cannot logically be considered mestizos. They make use of opportunities as a result of logical comparison (e.g. a stone axe is inferior to a metal axe) or for sociological reasons (i.e. not to be considered a savage), but these do not necessarily lead to the abandonment of spe-
cific cultural characteristics of Indian life.

Hardly any anthropological research has been done in recent decades on acculturated tribes, such as the Chiquitanos who have lived with the whites for more than four centuries. Most studies are carried out within the framework of traditional anthropology; culturally isolated groups still living within their cultures, in areas less affected by whites. One must however, mention Heath (1959), Hissink and Hahn (1961), Kelm (1972a), Fischermann (1975) and my own studies (1971; 1972; 1974). Knowledge of the process of mestizaje in Eastern Bolivia, within the overall framework of Bolivian reality is slight, and invariably influences statistics on the present populations of the various tribes.

In the following sections the present situation of the Indians of Eastern Bolivia will be illustrated by describing each of the various tribes individually. Due to factors beyond my control, it is impossible to include here two tribes of importance; the Guarayos of the province of Ñuflo de Chávez, Department of Santa Cruz; and the Ayoréode of the province of Cordillera, Chiquitos and Velasco, Department of Santa Cruz.

THE CHIRIGUANOS

The Chiriguanos, who belong to the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, have an estimated population of between 20,000 and 22,000 persons. This figure is based on information from the Apostolic Vicar of Cueva, visited in March, 1972; from Gabriel Salíás, the parish priest of Izozag; from my own studies carried out in the entire Chiriguan area, as well as from State and ecclesiastical documents.

The Chiriguanos have played an important role among the natives of the East in the history of Bolivia. Initially they refused to submit unconditionally to the white invaders. At least 14 great uprisings can be mentioned which at times resulted in the slaughter of Chiriguano (cf. Sanabria 1972). Literature on this brave tribe of warriors is ample and includes more than 300 titles, among them reports, articles and books. The most important works are those of Nordenskiöld (1912), Métraux (1942), Sanabria (1972) and Susnik (1968). The fate of the tribe who fought for liberty rather than submit to white invaders is discussed by Baptista (1972:111-115) in "Requiem para los Chiriguanos". In this article he describes their degeneracy in poverty and alcohol.

The systematic extermination and oppression of the Chiriguanos, begun at the time of the Conquest, reached its peak with the massacre
II. CENTRAL AREA OF CHIRIGUANO TERRITORY

BOLIVIA

[Map of Bolivia showing locations such as Abapó, Masavi, Gutierrez, Saipurú, Yapiroa, LAGUNILLAS, CHARAGUA, Monteagudo, Choreti, Cuevo, Boyuibe, Ibo, Igüembé, Machareti, Tiguipa, Camatindi, Villa Montes, YACUIBA.]
of 1891-1892 (Sanabria 1972). Their subsequent enslavement on Bolivian agricultural and cattle-raising haciendas, as well as employment as un-
paid or poorly paid labourers in the sugar-cane fields, dates from the 
time of this uprising which was a final attempt at the recovery of 
their independence.

The area where the surviving Chiriguanos are to be found extends 
from 19° to 21°30' South latitude and from 61° to 63° West longitude 
in the province of Cordillera, Department of Santa Cruz. Two main 
geographical areas, inhabited by Chiriguanos, can be pinpointed: the 
eastern Andean foothills from Abapó through Monteagudo and from Cuevto 
Camantini, bounded on the east by a line extending from Santa Cruz 
to Yacuiba, Buenos Aires; and the Río Parapetí area. The Chiriguanos 
of the mountainous region call themselves "Ava" (man), while those of 
the Río Parapetí area call themselves "Izozeño". The slight cultural 
and linguistic differences which exist between Ava and Izozeño-Chirir-
guanos will not be dealt with here.

The Ava-Chiriguanos

Today the Ava-Chiriguanos live on former Franciscan missions 
south of Cuevo (Santa Rosa, Ibo, Iguembé, Boyuibe, Macharetí, Tígúipa, 
Camantini, etc.) and are completely dependent on mestizo employers 
whose sole interest is the exploitation of their labour force. In all 
of the villages, control has been taken over in recent decades by 
mestizos from Santa Cruz and the surrounding valleys. Only a few closed 
Ava-Chiriguano villages, such as Tentayapí and Sotos, remain. These 
two villages have no schools or mestizo residents. Merchants, however, 
makes periodic visits, exchanging alcohol, clothes, salt, etc., for 
agricultural products. In Eastern Bolivia, barter between Indians and 
Bolivian middlemen is common and results in profits of up to 800% for 
the merchants.

North of Charagua, in the area of Gutierrez, a few Ava-Chiriguano 
communities (Saipurú, Masari, Itembegaazu) which have been able to pre-
serve some characteristic traits of tribal life can still be found. 
Bolivian exploitation, however, has brought about changes even here, 
which have lead to the destruction of the native culture. In general, 
the exploitation of the Ava-Chiriguanos takes place on three levels:

1. Barter with travelling merchants in the Indian communities 
themselves;

2. Labour: a) as peons they migrate once a year to work in the 
sugar-cane and cotton fields of the Santa Cruz area
(compare with the Izozeño-Chiriguanos below),

b) as day labourers on farms and cattle ranches in the
province of Cordillera,
c) as servants of mestizos in towns such as Abapó,
Charagua, Cuevo and Camiri;

3. Objects of power struggles: Their votes are purchased with mer-
chandise and promises. Police reprisals are employed to exert
pressure.

Like all peasants of Eastern Bolivia whose economic capacity is
of regional importance and who in 1952 were granted the right to vote,
they are victims of the power struggles of political parties. Depen-
dence is so great in this region that entire sectors are under the con-
trol of one politician who determines which party the Ava-Chiriguanos
of a given community must vote for.

State offices have seen to it that most of the rural communities
have schools. Selection of employees for the teaching and administra-
tive positions of these schools, however, is in the hands of regional
authorities. There are 9 educational centres in the entire Ava and
Izozeño area (Ipati, Cabezas, Ipitacito del Monte, Heiti, Santa Rosa
de Cueva, Yuti, Izozog, San Antonio del Parapetí and Caipere), with a
total of 135 schools. In April 1972, 5983 pupils (3564 boys and 2419
girls) were attending classes. A total of 337 teachers were classified
in the following manner:

222 rural normal-school students;
9 graduate primary school teachers;
20 title-holders by seniority;
63 temporary teachers;
23 administrative and service personnel.

Of these 337 rural teachers, 305 were available for teaching, giving
an average of 17.7 pupils per teacher. Although this might be con-
sidered an advantageous figure, it does not reveal the real situation.

In some of the communities and centres, there is an ex-
cessively large number of pupils per teacher. In Yapiroa for example,
the figure is 95 to 1. Classes are held irregularly and it is common
that a pupil having had three years of primary school to be hardly
able to write more than his own name. This situation is due to a lack
of responsibility on the part of rural teachers as well as on the part
of local school authorities, who consider peasants to be second-class
citizens and therefore have no interest in raising the level of edu-
cation. It is not surprising then, that over 50% of first grade pupils
fail to pass on to the second grade and over 50% of second grade
pupils fail to pass on to the third grade.
### TABLE IV

Pupils in Chiriguano Area Schools, by Grade and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent of preceding grade</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2069</td>
<td>1504</td>
<td>3573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3564</td>
<td>2419</td>
<td>5983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These statistics show that the education of the rural children of this area is quite deficient and has reached catastrophic proportions. Parents have no interest in their children attending schools where they learn nothing, and prefer to employ them in agricultural labour, for here they are at least certain that they will learn something useful.

The Ava-Chiriguanos are dependent on the mestizos politically, administratively and educationally. This dependence is manifested specifically in the following situations:

- Barter with merchants within the communities
- Employment as peones in the sugar-cane and cotton fields
- Employment as day labourers
- Employment as servants
- Overtly controlled electoral procedures
- The caudillo system of political domination
- The inadequate educational system

### The Izozeño-Chiriguanos

The Ava-Chiriguanos live in a reasonably good agricultural area, but the Izozeño Chiriguanos inhabit the arid region of the Gran Chaco. They are forced to live in the surroundings of the Río Parapetí (between 500 and 1500 meters from the river), as this guarantees them a water supply even at the peak of the dry season. Holes are dug in the river bed when the river is dry to provide for drinking water. Researchers have found that deep wells could assure a water supply in-
dependently of the river, but this would require large expenditures beyond the means of these peasants.

The Izozeño-Chiriguano live in large communities of up to 70 dwellings and support themselves by cultivating small farms and raising goats and sheep. Both of these economic activities are of mere regional importance and do not surpass the limits of a subsistence economy, due to the lack of infrastructure, to an unimplemented and manipulated agrarian reform, and to the lack of opportunities for the introduction of modern farming methods. Only by means of an artificial irrigation system can agriculture be carried on in the Parapeti area. The Izozeño-Chiriguano dig canals in communal labour from the Río Parapeti to their farms. These canals are around 30 cm. wide, 25 cm. deep and up to 5 km. long. The distribution of water does not cause any serious problems among villagers. The only troubles occur with ranchers who occupy extensive land areas in the region and who have obtained titles to the most advantageous sections, i.e. land near the Río Parapeti, which provides water for their herds.

Agrarian reform in the Río Parapeti area is implemented and manipulated by local authorities, who almost always hold their jobs through the goodwill of the ranchers. Ranchers control the measurement of land in this manner and the Izozeño-Chiriguano have been pushed off the productive land which for generations had been the property of their communities by ranchers, who now officially possess the recognized right to its use. Villagers who oppose the expansion of the ranches are silenced by the threat of sanctions. Indians, perfectly aware of the power structure in their area, keep quiet, accumulating experience and offering passive resistance when they can.

A typical example is that of the community which we shall here call A. Two ranchers succeeded in obtaining title to the entire left bank of the Río Parapeti in the area. A, with a population of 600, was then according to the agrarian reform, situated on ranch land. The ranchers were legally able to dispose of the community territory, while the villagers were compelled to move their settlement to the less favourable right bank. The economic situation of the community, already miserable, has got progressively worse during the last five years, so that approximately 20% of its former inhabitants have abandoned the new village.

It is thus false to assume that land distribution in Eastern Bolivia has met with no difficulties due to the apparent availability of land. The quality of soil and the location of land with respect to transportation and local markets must also be considered. Invasion by
ranchers and subsequent manipulation and non-implementation of land reform has generally resulted in the Indians losing some of their relatively good land near the Río Parapetí, thereby worsening their economic situation. The economic dependence of the Izozeño-Chiriguanos on merchants and ranchers, who occupy political and administrative posts, which they use as means of exerting pressure, complicates the situation.

The poor economic situation of the Izozeño-Chiriguanos compels them to abandon their communities for three or four months of the year to seek employment as peones in the sugar-cane and cotton fields of Santa Cruz. Thus around 80% of the Indians abandon their communities, most of them with their families, leaving behind only old people who are incapable of working. They are contracted for work outside the Río Parapetí area by Bolivian contractors who are either hired by farmers or who charge 10% of the Indians' wages for providing them with work.

The conditions under which the Indian peones work are frightful. They receive no medical services, live in insufficient housing and perform work totally out of proportion to the wages received, all of which demands a high cost in human lives. After three or four months of heavy labour, they are able to save only about 300 Bolivian pesos (about US $15), which they use to buy clothes and iron tools.

The Izozeño and Ava-Chiriguanos are fully aware that their labour is poorly remunerated. Nevertheless, as they lack sources of self-employment, and as a result of the economic, political and administrative controls exercised by the white Bolivians, the Chiriguanos have no alternatives in this moment. The Chiriguanos, who from conquest times have attempted to avoid the foreign yoke, have demonstrated their capacity historically. The political consciousness of these peasants has not yet been extinguished by defeat in their numerous struggles for liberty. Today a new tendency is visible among them; not bound by traditional ancestral beliefs, there is a conscious focus on current problems. The manner in which the Chiriguanos will choose to tackle their problems is dependent on the attitudes and measures taken by local and national authorities.

THE MATAKOS

The 2,000 to 2,500 Matakos of Bolivia live on the Río Pilcomayo in an area extending from Villa-Montes near the Santa Cruz-Yacuiba railway on the Argentinian and Paraguayan border, in the province of Gran Chaco, Department of Tarija. Our information has been supplied
by the approximately 700 to 800 Matakos who live on the missions of Villa-Montes and Caipirendita, 12 km. from Villa-Montes on the Río Pilcomayo, and by missionaries of the Free Swedish Christian-Evangelical Community, supplemented by personal research.

The remaining Matakos are settled in the villages of Algodonal, Purísima, Resistencia, San Bernardo, Crevo and Sausal on the banks of the Río Pilcomayo. In addition, only about 60 Matakos live in three villages between Villa-Montes and Yacuiba (Aguarai, Palma Grande and Timboi). Thus with the exception of these three villages, all the Matako communities are located on the river, where the dwellings are grouped around a central square. Matako dwellings give an impression of poverty, being low huts in the tabique style covered with a flat roof of straw. Each village is under the leadership of an hereditary captain. No more than a few days a year are devoted to the cultivation of maize and joco, especially in recent years since harvests have been poor due to drought. Artificial irrigation by means of canals is unknown to the Matakos.

Both the Matakos of the missions and those of the villages earn their livelihood principally from fishing and from the sale of plaited straw articles. Small quantities of these articles are sold to railway passengers, but most of the production goes to mestizo merchants from Villa-Montes who market them elsewhere. These middlemen receive profits of up to 600%, since the producers are not paid in money, but in merchandise. Although the Matakos are fully aware of the unfair exchange, they have no alternative to the barter system. Since the merchants maintain excellent relations with local authorities or hold political and administrative power themselves, they monopolize the market and see to it that a Matako cannot sell his own products. Since these plaited straw products provide the sole Matako income for seven months of the year, merchants are able to implement the same methods used on the Chiriguanoos and described above. It is impossible then for the Matakos to escape commercial dependence.

Between May and September or October, almost all Matakos leave their homes to engage in fishing. During this period they live with their families in temporary huts of rushes and straw built on the river banks. They gather in groups of up to 30 families to do net fishing. Merchants who come to Villa-Montes from the valleys and the highland plains with refrigerator trucks, purchase the entire catch and control its marketing in Bolivian commercial centres.

Recognizing that a union of fishermen could result in greater production and provide a powerful instrument in dealing with merchants, the Matakos, on their own initiative, created an organization similar
to a cooperative. But here again, merchants assumed the monopoly on marketing, and set the purchase price of fish. In certain cases, Matakos, displeased with the situation, suspended fishing operations in order to force merchants to pay reasonable prices. The results of such strikes were meagre due to the total dependence of Matakos on fishing from May to October. The merchants on the other hand were able to purchase other products in the area and deliver them to highland plain and valley markets during the strike periods. The only alternative left to the Matakos is the formation of a sales cooperative directed by the producers themselves.

Matako Indians living in the arid portion of the Gran Chaco have, during the course of the last three decades, undergone a process of political mobilization. The transformation of traditional Matako culture, which has proceeded with great vigour since the establishment of Protestant missions around 1940, and stimulated by the degree of economic dependence, is today taking place at full speed.

Matakos who are aware of their economic dependence and who have even presented alternatives, such as cooperatives and strikes, are not reacting passively to the invasion of Bolivian society, nor are they fleeing to the inhospitable areas of the Gran Chaco. Whether their efforts meet with success depends in the final analysis on regional and national authorities.

THE CHIQUITANOS

The Chiquitanos, whose total population is estimated at 40,000, live mostly in the provinces of Velasco, Ñuflo de Chávez, Chiquitos and Sandoval in the Department of Santa Cruz. The territory traditionally inhabited by the present Chiquitanos is bordered on the south by the Santa-Cruz-Corumbá railway, on the east of the Brazilian border, on the north by the Río Itenes, and on the west by the Río Grande.

Contact

The history of contact between the Chiquitanos and the non-native world can be divided into three periods: contact at the time of the Conquest; contact with the Jesuits; and contact with the Bolivians.

The Conquest

The colonization of the Eastern Bolivian lowlands took place from Paraguay. In 1559, Santa Cruz de la Sierra was founded near the present site of the capital of the province, San José de Chiquitos. The tribes in the vicinity were under the influence of conquistadores for 45 years. When Santa Cruz was moved west in 1595, however, they resumed
their free style of life and remained in the woods and on the pampas until 1692.

Compared with the first 45 years, during which some Aruac and Chiquito speaking Indians were under the influence of inhabitants of the first Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the 75 years from 1692 to 1767 had a much greater and more profound effect on the material and spiritual culture of the Indians.

The Jesuit Period

In 1692 the Jesuits founded the first mission among the Chiquitanos at San Javier de los Piñocas, in the present province of Ñuflo de Chávez, using methods applied earlier on the Guaraní reductions of Paraguay. To deal with the diverse languages and cultures of the area, they set up nine more reductions in the following years: Concepción, San Ignacio, Santa Ana, San Rafael, San José, San Juan, Santiago, Santo Corazón, and San Miguel. When the Jesuits were expelled from South America in 1767, there were 23,788 "Christianized" Indians of a total population of 37,000 living on the reductions (see Knogler in Riester 1970). This figure includes non-baptized Indians.

Indians of the Department of Santa Cruz were profoundly affected by the reduction experience. Villages consisted of blocks and were oriented towards a central square. The various Indian groups were located in special sections, each one represented by a chief. The entire village was under the leadership of a head chief who was assisted by a chapter. In fact the chiefs only transmitted the orders of the missionaries to the Indians. Their power then, was only apparent and was completely dependent on the good will of the missionaries who held religious, administrative and judicial power. By virtue of his position, the head of the mission could impose his influence in all fields and make any decisions he considered necessary. The reduction system, which will not be dealt with in detail here (see Mörner 1961, Fernández 1896, Fassbinder 1926, Riester 1967/68), succeeded in a few years in totally changing the appearance of the Indians subject to it.

On the reductions, cattle raising, improved agricultural methods, stable settlements, iron tools, looms, etc. were introduced into the Indian culture and economy. The Indians, under the tutelage of the missionaries, were incorporated into processes of production which enabled the non-native society to exploit their labour. The Christian religion was taught, the goal being to convert the "unworthy" Indian way of life into a "worthy one", according to the concept of the State of God: prayer and work. What survived this era was work for the non-native society: prayer was no longer of interest.
If there can be any justification, however slight, for this procedure, we must agree with Nordenskiöld (1922:186) who says that "The Jesuits protected the Indians from other whites, but divested them of their freedom and made them so dependent that after the expulsion of the missionaries they were easy prey for unscrupulous whites. Actually they set the stage for the extinction of many Indian tribes." Further on, Nordenskiöld speaks of the reductions as "golden cages" in which the Indians survived, at least physically.

The Indians living on the reductions knew what the whites wanted of them. Accustomed by the Jesuits to religious as well as economic, administrative and judicial dependence, it was quite easy to exploit their labour. Were the reductions "golden cages"?

The Bolivian Period

With the expulsion of the Jesuits, the third chapter in the history of Chiquitano-Bolivian relations began. The inhabitants of Santa Cruz appropriated land in the interior and forced the Indians to serve them, setting up farms and ranches exclusively maintained by Indians who did not benefit from their productions. The former reductions became centres of mestizos, who pushed the Indians towards the outskirts of the villages. The result of this process was that the majority of the Indians abandoned the villages to settle in camps. As the mestizos continued their advancement from these centres into the interior, expanding their economic activities and apprehending those Indians who had retreated, the living space of the Chiquitanos was continually decreased.

Economic dependence reached its peak in 1880 with the rubber "boom". Employers and conscripted Indian workers advanced into the tropical forest north of the 15th degree of latitude, where the coveted rubber tree was to be found. Their points of departure were San Ignacio in the province of Velasco and Concepción in Ñuflo de Chávez. In the rubber areas of these provinces, conditions were so bad that in 1930 the life expectancy of a captive Indian was less than two years (personal information from Mr. H. Heidecke, who for decades lived in the area representing the firm Zeller and Moser, and who was in charge of gathering rubber with Chiquitano workers). It is not known how many Chiquitanos died in the rubber forests between 1880 and 1945, but information given me by survivors indicates that it must have been thousands. These deaths were due to working conditions; malnutrition; diseases such as malaria, beri-beri, and scurvy; and the overall exploitative practices of the whites. Bolivian and foreign capitalists
used any means necessary to get Indians into the rubber forests. They were contracted and kept in debt, threatened with force and rented from other capitalists on whom they were dependent. The latter method was the most common. This system was modified during the construction of the Santa Cruz-Corumbá railway, when mestizos were contracted by the railway company to furnish a certain quantity of Chiquitano labour. Wages were paid to the mestizo, who kept from 30% to 50% of the money.

In addition to economic subjugation, the Chiquitanos have been used in various armed conflicts:

1. The Bandeirantes (also called Mamelucos) from the Portuguese colonies of Brazil invaded the Eastern Bolivian lowlands in search of slaves. An army of Chiquitanos trained and led by Jesuits defeated and annihilated the Bandeirantes. Enmity between the Spanish and Portuguese crowns was responsible for bringing the war to the Chiquitano reductions.

2. The Jesuits put Chiquitanos at the disposition of the Spanish in their struggle to "pacify" the Chiriguanos.

3. Chiquitanos played an important role in the Bolivian-Paraguayan "Chaco" War. Veterans were promised a small pension at the end of the war (1936), but by the end of 1973 no Chiquitano had ever received payment.

TABLE V

Summary of Chiquitano - Bolivian Contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1559-1592</td>
<td>Spanish Conquistadores</td>
<td>Lowlands invaded. Santa Cruz de la Sierra founded by Nuño de Chávez.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1690</td>
<td>Missionaries</td>
<td>Missionaries attempt unsuccessfully to make contact.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1692-1767</td>
<td>Jesuits</td>
<td>Ten reductions founded, on which the Jesuits had religious and secular power. Indians trained as manpower which could be incorporated into the productive process of the national society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-1767</td>
<td>Wars</td>
<td>Chiquitanos recruited to serve Spanish war interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1767-1880</td>
<td>Invasion of Bolivians</td>
<td>Encomienda system: land with Indians on it granted to Spanish colonists. Chiquitanos, prepared by Jesuits, are completely subjected economically.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1945</td>
<td>Rubber &quot;boom&quot;</td>
<td>The three waves of the rubber &quot;boom&quot; result in thousands of Indians being forced to work as unpaid or poorly paid manpower for Bolivian and foreign capitalists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-1936</td>
<td>&quot;Chaco&quot; War</td>
<td>Chiquitanos play important role, which is not recognized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-1955</td>
<td>Railway construction</td>
<td>Chiquitanos &quot;contracted&quot; to build railway by mestizos, who collect their wages.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The history of Chiquitano-Bolivian contact shows that methods were used by a small minority to gain power over a large majority through manipulation and exploitation. The economic, political, administrative, and judicial subjugation witnessed today is the result of this historical process. An understanding of the present situation of the Chiquitanos presupposes a knowledge of these events, since the present relations between natives and non-natives were forged by them.

**Economic Factors**

The Chiquitanos are sedentary peasants, who during the Agrarian Reform of the MNR government (1952-1964) received in parts legal title to their land. The products of a Chiquitano's land provide for his own subsistence and that of his family. Any surplus, which in practice is hardly worthy of mention, is sold to merchants.

Experience has shown the Chiquitanos that specialization in agricultural production for local markets is not profitable, since agricultural investments are out of proportion to sales prices (see below: Mojos). Although the Indian peasant is willing to produce more if he is guaranteed adequate prices, such guarantees have hitherto been given only occasionally, and so he produces only for his own use and to purchase a few manufactured goods. In addition to working their own lands, the Indians seek temporary employment as day labourers in their own area, or in Santa Cruz, Montero, Colonias, and Corumbá.

The exploitation of Chiquitanos by Bolivian merchants, farmers, and cattle raisers, who monopolize marketing and manpower, is total. Members of Bolivian society live exclusively from trade with these Indians, and exploit directly their manpower on farms and ranches, or as perpetual servants. Even though personal service was abolished under the MNR government, the system has not been basically changed, only modified.

Chiquitano slaves are still to be found in the lowlands of Eastern Bolivia, at the service of rubber extractors. Today, in the rubber
forests in the northern parts of the provinces of Velasco and Ñuflo de Chávez, some 350 Chiquitanos are bound to their exploiters. The Indian lives in constant debt to his boss. His rubber production is paid for in merchandise worth much less than the rubber. On a shotgun, the capitalist can, after expenses, make over 1300% profit. It is impossible for the Indian to ever get out of debt as the employer has no scruples about using deceit, the whip, or even murder. The only alternative is escape. This is, however, feasible only in a few cases, since while the Indian is collecting rubber in the forest (for an average of seven months a year), his children are working for the employer at the main camp. If in spite of obstacles, a Chiquitano succeeds in gathering his family and escaping with them, a hunt is usually organized. There are several cases in which entire families have been shot down.

Due to the present orientation of the Bolivian economy toward cattle raising in this area, and to a decline in the price of rubber on the world market, many capitalists have left the rubber forests and moved south. In these cases, the Indian workers have either left the forest with their employer, when still in "debt" to him, or have founded new villages in the rubber forests on their own initiative. In the latter case they have not left the forest, either because they do not want to return to the total subjugation of Bolivians, or because the forest soil is better for agriculture than that found in the south.

The decline in rubber production and the subsequent withdrawal of employers, which has allowed Indians to group into independent settlements is, according to Chiquitanos, more important than the best harvests.

There are some Chiquitanos living along the Santa Cruz-Corumbá railway, which crosses the province of Chiquitos. These Indians have had no social or economic benefit from the railway; on the contrary, it has made them poorer. The railway fulfills two functions, communication with the Atlantic and smuggling. It is the Brazilian economy which benefits from its existence, as it was financed by Brazil to serve Brazilian interests.

We could, without difficulty, extend the list of the economic and ideological exploitation of the Chiquitanos by the national society and the reaction of the Indians towards it (Riester 1974b).

In order not to overload this paper, I only want to point out here three noticeable aspects of the dependency of the Chiquitanos: 1) The 'criadas' system; 2) the Catholic Church; 3) the farms in Ñuflo de Chávez.
1) The criadas system

A 'white' family raises a Chiquitano child that has been 'given' to them by an Indian family. Girls have a better acceptance than boys. At the age of three years girls come into the service of the non-Chiquitano family. Although they don't get any payment, the following is even more shocking: once the 'criada' has reached the marrying age, she is allowed to have children but not to marry. These children are also raised within the 'white' family and will in turn be engaged as unpaid labour. The 'criadas' can be given away or lent and have no rights whatsoever.

2) The Catholic Church

The author of this paper has been witness to cases in which the Catholic Church, which owns the biggest farms in the region and whose wealth in cattle is really shocking, kept the Indians off rivers and lakes, depriving them of fish. Although Bolivian law forbids fences to be put along rivers or around lakes, as these are not personal property, the Catholic Church did not comply with this law. Thus, the Church denied by force the Indians' right to fish in lakes and rivers.

Even more widespread is the attitude of the Catholic Church in its policies towards the farmer cooperatives. The Church behaves as a paternal patron and tries to completely dominate such cooperatives, these being beneficial sources of which the Church takes advantage. Starting from a wrong picture of the Chiquitanos peasants, imposing a view of the future in accordance with the ideology of the Church, these cooperatives operate with minimal participation by the peasants, despite the efforts and the financial means of the Church. The Church behaves in the same way - though here we cannot go into a deeper analysis - in its educational institutions and with its communication media. The Catholic Church owns a radio station (Juan XXIII / Onk31) aimed primarily at non-Chiquitanos, who comprise only 15% of the regional population.

3) Farms in Ñuflo de Chávez

As a result on the one hand of the Supreme Resolution of the Government of the MNR (Movimiento Nationalista Revolucionario), according to which the 'white people' had to pay "adequate" wages to the Indians employed in the agricultural establishments, and on the other hand of the fact that the agricultural prices dropped due to a strong Brasilian influence that came together with an improvement of the infrastructure, the one-crop farms disappeared almost completely. In

1) The Obras Públicas and Comité Pro-Santa Cruz organizations constructed roads to the 'white-centers' and to the farms of Latifundistas with the money from Indians and tax from oil companies. The infrastructure policies only benefited the upper class aspirations.
addition to this, the price of meat went up and, as a consequence, the agricultural establishments changed over to cattle farms, which need less labour (see de Lucca/Mamani 1974; Riester 1971c and 1972c).

In the Bolivian lowland we always find the "mixed" farms, which means that the necessary food crops are grown by the Indians that live in the 'territory' of the farms. The owners have all the power over the Indians living on the territory of the estate, according to the titles obtained from the Agrarian Reform agency. The Indians were not taken into account for the purposes of Agrarian Reform and so they have no rights. In fact it is quite convenient for the farmers to have Indians on their territory, for the Indians only use the land in cycles of three years and go on clearing the bush in further land. In the meantime the owner can use the other land for grazing, giving no payment to the Indians.

In the region of Ñuflo de Chávez there are still in 1974 farms where the Indians live under slavery conditions. They are not allowed to leave the farm without the permission of the owner and no foreign persons are allowed onto it. The Chiquitanos working in these estancias are usually payed with two pairs of trousers and two shirts for one year's work. It is also usual that for religious and national festivities the owner accepts hens and eggs from his 'hijitos chiquitanos' (Chiquitanos children). Even though this extreme situation is limited, it is nevertheless shaming for Bolivia.

Generally all over the Chiquitano territory the work done by the Indians, be it as cow-boys (vaqueros) or agricultural workers (peones) on the farms, shows a well-differentiated range according to the region and depending on the history, the proximity of villages (pueblos) or towns to white populations and the access to a better infrastructure, but shows one common factor: the exploited and deceived are always the Indians.

On one hand Agrarian Reform has deceived the Indians, or better, it has not taken them into account because the Agrarian Reform authorities are the patrons themselves, and on the other hand they are cheated by the above mentioned practices of economic engagement. The 'contact' between the patron and the peón to carry out work on the farms (cow-boys, agricultural worker, domestic service, etc.) is always advantageous to the farmer.

E.g. The payment for clearing one hectare of jungle and turning it into agricultural land (by slash and burn) is 250 Bolivian pesos (US $ 12.50) on the average, though there are variations according to the region. The work takes about 37 days, which makes a daily pay of 6.75 Bolivian pesos (US $ 0.33). The work by 'tareas' (10 x 100 m),
that is meant to be carried out by one man in one day, is payed with
5 Bolivian pesos (US $ 0.25) plus food. These are relative figures be-
cause up to 50% of the payment is commonly made in 'naturales' (pro-
ducts), which means in alcohol, clothes, salt, ammunition, etc. (In
some cases, in regions under complete control of the landowners, there
is no cash-payment at all).

The products sold to the Indians have no relation to their real
price. Thus, as an average we arrive at absolute figures that go from
2.8 Bolivian pesos (US $ 0.14) to 3.7 Bolivian pesos (US $ 0.18) per
day, depending on the region.

Even though the Apostolic Vicariates in the Chiquitano zone found-
ed agricultural cooperatives, in order to have some cash income, they
support the regional policies in word and deed. I only want to point
out one fact that shows the 'Humanistic' position of the Catholic
Church in the said regions: this is a letter sent by the Bishop Of
.......... to the authorities in La Paz, in which he says more or less
the following "I protest. There are landowners wanting to pay more
than 8.00 Bolivian pesos (US $ 0.40) to the Indians. If this goes on
we won't be able to work our estates, our farms......"

There are priests within the Catholic Church who are opposed to
these racist, discriminating and injust policies and also to the of-
ficial policies: they are on the side of the peasants for they know
that paternal policies are both wrong and dangerous.

The Future of the Chiquitanos

The Chiquitanos are the most numerous native group in the low-
lands of Eastern Bolivia. The economic existence of Bolivians in the
area is dependent on their manpower. Through manipulations, the Chi-
quitanos are deliberately placed and maintained in a marginal state of
administrative and political dependence. As they have been unable to
abolish this structure, there has been no significant improvement in
the conditions under which they live. Development projects directed by
the church, and with seemingly great possibilities, have been unsuc-
cessful. The cooperatives which have been set up, merely constitute
another opportunity for exploitation by the profit mentality. If deve-
lopment assistance is to lead to a real rise in the Indian standard
of living, it will have to be completely restructured.

The alternative for the Chiquitanos is not "help to self-help",
but a fundamental change in the attitudes of those whites who can and
want change. The Indians are well aware of this and it is therefore
false to assert that this fact must be taught them. Projects based on
this false assumption naturally produce negative results. The problems
of Indians of the Eastern Bolivian lowlands are inseparably linked to non-native Bolivians. No changes can occur without a change of attitude on the part of this dominant group.

After years of experience as an anthropologist, I am convinced that the only feasible alternative for these Indians is for the Bolivian government to carry out structural changes in the socio-economic field, and to recognize the Chiquitano as a full citizen in practice. Church organizations must also change their attitude toward the Indians, directing their development policies toward goals different from those presently stipulated. At the same time, Bolivians of the non-native population must themselves develop and cease to consider the Indian as a second class human-being who can be easily exploited. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, it can hardly be hoped that the Chiquitanos will ever be able to place their capabilities and effort at the service of the entire Bolivian nation, to which they theoretically belong.

THE PAUSERNA-GUARASUG'WÉ

The Pauserna-Gurasug'wé no longer exist as a tribe. In 1968, when their last captain was killed by mestizos on the banks of the Río Itenes, the tribe split up and fled into the forest, in fear of death. When I first visited them in 1964-65, there were 50 Pauserna-Gurasug'wé. At the time of my second visit, they numbered only 27 persons, of whom 60% were over 60 years of age. About a hundred years ago however, the tribe numbered at least 300 persons. Since 1930, these Indians have lived between the Río Paraguá and the Río Itenes, in the province of Velasco, Department of Santa Cruz. They had been previously situated on the banks of the Río Pauserna and in Brazil, and spoke a Guaraní dialect.1)

Contact

The history of contact between the Guarasug'wé and mestizos, which brought about the death of Guarasu culture, begins with the rubber "boom" around 1880. In search of rubber, the first Bolivians to make lasting contact with the group, advanced from San Ignacio de Velasco towards the Itenes-Paraguá area. Following the mestizos came Chiquitano Indians, forced to work in the rubber forests of Velasco, who lived totally dependent on mestizos under the most inhuman conditions. From the beginning of the "boom" on, mestizos attempted to pacify the Guarasug'wé with varying degrees of success. Father Pes-

Indian territory 1968

Former villages

Lines of withdrawal
ciotti initiated his unsuccessful attempt to gather the Guarasug'wê on to a mission at this time. The mestizos brought with them epidemics of the grippe which wreaked havoc among the Indians. In a few years the tribe was decimated. Although the Guarasug'wê attempted to avoid the area dominated by mestizos, fleeing into the woods, the search for "black gold" led the mestizos to penetrate deeper and deeper into the forest. The result of this penetration was the progressive reduction of Guarasug'wê tribal territory and decreased opportunities for evasion.

The second greater rubber "boom" from 1940 to 1945 marked no change in mestizo behavior towards the Guarasug'wê; on the contrary, arms were used to threaten the Indians so that they would work for wages. It is only due to the strong political and spiritual position of the leaders of the tribe that the Guarasug'wê were not exterminated 30 years ago. Extermination was inevitable, however, as the struggle was so unequal.

Economic Factors

The Pauzerna-Guarasug'wê lived partly from agriculture and partly from hunting, fishing and gathering. They lived a semi-nomadic life, moving to new lands within a wide territory every two or three years. They repeatedly returned to abandoned camps, however, for products such as bananas and yuca. Coming and going between two, and sometimes more camps, could take place over a long period of time. There was then, a slow process of mobility over a long span of time. The sudden abandonment of a camp took place for religious, rather than economic reasons.

Modern Subsistence Opportunities

Iron tools, clothes, rifles, ammunition, salt, alcohol and so forth, had to be acquired through barter. In return the Indians offered rubber, ipecahuana and animal hides including: ocelot, jaguar, otter, wild hog and crocodile. Almost all the men produced, during from three to five weeks, one or two balls of rubber. During their trips into the forest they gathered ipecahuana, much desired by mestizos for sale to pharmaceutical laboratories. The gathering necessary for the sale of ipecahuana was not foreign to the Guarasu culture, nor was hunting, which had always played an important role in their lives.

Rubber production, however, profoundly influenced the traditional economy as it demanded permanent settlement. The Guarasug'wê were compelled to learn a work process entirely unknown to them, and to acquire tools in order to avoid surrendering to a complete dependence on the rubber companies. The fate of the Chiquitanos in the rubber forests of Velasco was not unknown to the Guarasug'wê. As a result they preferred
to produce rubber with their own tools independently.

The influence of new weapons and tools as well as the use of money changed their material culture and economic system. Relations between the Guarasug'wé and the outside world were primarily based on barter. The Indians exchanged the products mentioned above for articles necessary for subsistence. In this barter they were cheated to an enormous extent. For example, in 1964 a Bolivian paid them 500 Brazilian cruzeiros for one kilogramme of rubber, which he could resell for 800 to 1200 cruzeiros (economic orientation in the area is towards Brazil; the monetary unit used is the Brazilian cruzeiro (Cr $) rather than the Bolivian peso ($b)). Ipecahuana was purchased from Indians at Cr $ 1,400 and resold at Cr $ 20,000 to 25,000. A Bolivian could then purchase a shotgun for Cr $ 14,000 and sell it to a Guarasug'wé for Cr $ 50,000. That is to say, the Guarasug'wé had to pay 100 kg. of rubber, which the Bolivian in turn could sell for from Cr $ 80,000 to 120,000, a profit of from 470% to 750% on his initial investment of Cr $ 14,000. Profits on the most important articles sold to the Guarasug'wé are shown in Table VI.

**TABLE VI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Guarasug'wés</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 liter of rum</td>
<td>Cr $ 120</td>
<td>Cr $ 2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 shot gun</td>
<td>Cr $ 14,000</td>
<td>Cr $ 50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 cartridges</td>
<td>Cr $ 600</td>
<td>Cr $ 3,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. of salt</td>
<td>Cr $ 20</td>
<td>Cr $ 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. of shot</td>
<td>Cr $ 700</td>
<td>Cr $ 3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Religious Factors**

Among the Pauserna-Gurasug'wé, the shaman was the main religious personality and repeatedly called the Indians to rebellion against the Bolivians. He spoke of paradise on earth: the land without evil or Ivýrehį Ahae. An important myth tells the following story:

"...The great shaman, karaiuhu, came and said: 'We have lost Janeramai, the grandfather of us all. The land is going to come to an end. We must go to where Janeramai is, because there one can be happy and janerataqüe (the soul) will never end. We have owned this country, but we have lost it. We must go. Let us go.' The Guarasug'wé followed the shaman in search of the land without evil, Ivýrehį Ahae. They crossed much land, many mountains and many
IV. TERRITORY OF THE MOXOS

BOLIVIA

- Santa Rosa
- San Borja
- Rio Rapelo
- Rio Matos
- Rio Aparé
- San Ignacio
- MOXOS
- San Pedro
- San Javier
- TRINIDAD
- Loreto
- R. Mamoré

0 50 km
tions, despoiling their resources in record time (Métraux 1942:58; René-Moreno 1888).

The civil authorities, who arrived after the Jesuits, made servants out of the Mojos, as well as the rubber "boom" at the end of the last century, delivered the Mojos into dependence on the mestizos.

Thousands of Indians were captured and taken into the rubber forests on the banks of the Río Beni and in the Department of Pando to gather rubber as paid peones and as servants. As oarsmen, the Mojos took charge of transporting the rubber to Riberalta, Mato Grosso, Guajaraminim, and other points. One consequence of the inhuman working conditions to which the Mojos were subjected in the rubber forests was the radical reduction of their population within a few years (Métraux 1942:58; Coimbra 1946; Fifer 1971:137-141). René-Moreno (1888: 505) reported the following: "Today there is quite a scarcity of manpower for navigation...Reliable official documents attribute this scarcity to two causes: that Indians who have rebelled prefer to live in the forests of the Río Surecú rather than to endure the oppression of the Caravanas (whites and mestizos); and that Caravanas are recruiting and taking to Madera hundreds of Indians to work in the rubber forests...from which they never return, either because they are never released or because they perish there...."

One of the reactions of the Mojos to the Bolivian invasion of Beni was the messianic Loma Santa movement, which originated in 1887 and took on military characteristics. This movement still exists and was studied by the author in 1971-1972. Mojo resistance to the invaders, who possessed the political and military power necessary to exploit Indian manpower and to make servants of them, failed for reasons described in previous chapters. When the Bolivians occupied their villages, the Mojos were forced to the outskirts; a phenomenon often observed throughout Eastern Bolivia. In Trinidad for example, the Mojos live on the other side of the stream, exposed to yearly floods, in the lowest part of the town known as Pompei, in bamboo huts where they are crowded together in the tiniest space. In other villages the situation is no better.

The Mojos are economically dependent on Bolivians, either as day labourers on their farms, as cowboys on their cattle ranches; or depending on Bolivian merchants who travel to even the most isolated camps to barter with the Indians, receiving natural produce in exchange for cloth, iron tools, alcohol, and so forth.

About 90% of the Mojos' farm products, yuca, maize and bananas, are produced for subsistence. The remainder is sold to merchants. The
Indians are fully aware that they are paid low prices, but the merchants control the market, and so the Mojos have no alternative. The reaction of the Mojos then is to produce a minimal agricultural surplus, only about 10% of the total production. At present they prefer to hire out as temporary labourers, where they can earn more than in agriculture.

To produce 150 arrobas of maize, a Mojo must clear and sow one hectare of woods. The investment in time required per hectare for clearing, burning, fencing, sowing, cultivating, and harvesting, plus the cost of one arroba of seed maize, represents 80 days of work. The 150 arrobas of maize produced can then be sold for 5 Bolivian pesos per arroba, or 750 Bolivian pesos. In reality, however, a maximum value of only 200 Bolivian pesos can be obtained through barter. A Mojo working as a peon in the fields, as a cowboy on a cattle ranch or as a servant in a Bolivian household can earn 960 Bolivian pesos for 80 days of work, if he is paid in money. The average wage in the Beni area is 12 Bolivian pesos per day, without meals. Even when he is paid in merchandise, his earnings are greater than if he had devoted the same 80 days to agricultural production. The small agricultural surplus which is not raised for subsistence is considered more as a reserve against possible difficulties such as disease, celebrations, or lack of outside employment, rather than as a regular source of income.

Indian peasants know by experience that their agricultural produce is subject to great price fluctuations, and that they are entirely dependent on the local market. For these reasons they prefer the more secure source of income; employment as peones. It must also be mentioned that the national market demand is rapidly satisfied and at present cannot be increased, due to the lack of infrastructure resulting in high transportation costs (only air transportation is available for bringing produce out of the Beni area), and the high investments required in agriculture make purely agricultural production unprofitable for Indian peasants.

The Mojos, who like the other peasants of the Bolivian lowlands live on the margin of Bolivian society, have also had their territory invaded by Bolivians. The result has been the destruction of their traditional Indian culture; and political, administrative, economic and educational dependence.
La Loma Santa (the Holy Hill) is no chimera, but the result of the impact of Bolivian society on Indian cultures. Mestizos occupied villages and lands which were the legitimate property of resident native populations, forcing these Indians into servitude and subjugation. The search for the Loma Santa, equivalent to the Guarasu "land without evil", is a messianic movement which for almost a century has mobilized Indian tribes of the plains of Beni. These tribes speak various languages and have been joined, since 1965, by groups of peasants in the mountains of the Departments of La Paz and Beni.

Available literature concerning this messianic movement tells us that it was headed in 1887 by a Mojeño Indian by the name of Andrés Guachoco. Guachoco, who considered himself a messiah, the incarnation of the Christian god, mobilized Indians to a rebellion, which was easily crushed by Bolivians, who had at their disposal an entire political and military apparatus, while the Indians fought only with bows and arrows. Although the Bolivians succeeded in quelling the rebellion, they were not able to extinguish the idea of the Loma Santa. Around 1920 another messianic movement originated in San Lorenzo and San Francisco among survivors and disciples of the movement of Andrés Guachoco.

It is known that Guaraní-speaking Guarayos moved from the province of Ñuflo de Chávez to San Ignacio de Moxos and started a movement around 1960. Information dating from the original missionary period tells of a similar movement revealing typical Guaraní elements. In addition to the Mojeño movement, Yurakarés (Yuras), Chimanes and Mosetenes took part in a similar migration, and a short time ago (1970) peasants from the Alto Río Beni area set out on a march, stimulated by prophecies of a future full of hope.

All in all, we know of three great movements since 1900, originating in San Lorenzo, San Francisco, and San Ignacio de Moxos. The first wave of this century took place around 1920; the second after the "Chaco" War, which ended in 1936; and the third around 1962.

All of these migrations had one and the same goal: to discover the Loma Santa which was presumed to lie in the eastern slopes of the Andes. Thus the Mojeños went from San Lorenzo and San Francisco by way of the Río Maniquí to the Río Securé. The following wave began in San Ignacio, crossing the Río Aperé, Río Chevejecuré and Río Dumi, to reach its first "goal" near the Río Maniquí. The last migration, which took place around 1962, proceeded from San Ignacio de Moxos to the Río Aperé, where Pueblo Nuevo (new village) was founded.

The participants in the Loma Santa movement, whose ancestors had
taken part in Guachoco's military movement, knew from experience that a military confrontation with Bolivians should be avoided at all costs. For this reason they did not seek direct battle with Bolivians, but on the contrary attempted to avoid it. In spite of this attitude, Bolivians, whose economic system was and is based on Indian manpower, attempted by all means at their disposal to detain the Indians and induce them to return to their villages so as not to loose this labour force.

Participants in the movement explained in conversations in 1971 and 1972 that Loma Santa migrations developed slowly. Small groups left their villages and settled on different sites, establishing farms and sending out commissions charged with investigating new and unknown terrain. The various groups maintained contact with each other and exchanged experiences. When it was fairly certain that the Loma Santa had been found, a new wave exploded with renewed hope and enthusiasm. With insufficient food, in a warm and humid tropical forest area of the eastern Andean slopes, unhealthy for human habitation, the Mojeños would set off again and again, only to settle finally on a different site, disillusioned and weakened by disease and hunger.

Hundreds of persons perished on these migrations, as informants have indicated, but these frustrations and difficulties wrested the Mojeños from their total dependence on the karaiyana (the Mojeño name for mestizos and whites), and so the migrations continued. Some Mojeños would settle for a prolonged period in one place, for example at Fátima Mission and at San Borja, but this did not indicate that they had given up their search for paradise on earth. Other Mojeños, who had been living along the Río Maniqui took up the idea of the Loma Santa, and leaving Cosincho, on the banks of the Río Maniqui, followed a cattle path long unused to settle for a short time near the Río Beni, in Hua-
chi. Here they met peasants of the valley and high plateau areas, some of whom joined the messianic movement. Together they passed through Covendo on their way to the Río Elena and the Río Altamachi.

In 1972, approximately 500 Mojeños set out on an eight days walk from Covendo, a village near the Río Altamachi. These Mojeños, some of whom had travelled through more than 1500 kilometres of forests since they had left San Ignacio, San Lorenzo, and San Francisco, were convinced that the Loma Santa was finally within reach in the hills of Cochabamba. They had searched everywhere in the areas of the Río Securé, the Río Apere, the Río Maniqui, and in the pampas of San Borja, but had found nothing. This left the area of the upper Altamachi as the only remaining possibility. This remaining Mojeño group, now diminished, which in its various migrations has penetrated as far as
Covendo, is still searching for the Loma Santa, firmly convinced of its existence. Neither disease, nor the death of the majority of the members of their tribe, can persuade them to abandon their search. The description and prophecies given them by shamans concerning the Loma Santa, which is to be found at the end of their pilgrimage, are far too promising.

The Background of the Loma Santa

La Loma Santa (the Holy Hill), also called la Pampa Santa (the Holy Plain), reveals distinctive syncretic elements. The messiah Guachoco considered himself to be the incarnation of the Christian god; Jesus and the Virgin Mary spoke through him. Reports speak of a cross at the top of the Loma Santa, of Saint Michael grazing cattle there, and of a Catholic priest. This priest, probably of great importance for the movement, is reported to have said: "Do you want to stand on piles of meat? This is how paradise appears to you; then it must exist for you? Just go and find it!"

This priest is said to have already found the Loma Santa and to distribute blessings, bowing his head and moving it from one side to the other.

Along with Christian motifs originating from the time of the Jesuit administration of Mojo reductions (1689-1767), as well as from contemporary missionary teachings, purely native themes, such as ritual dance and song, beating of dance canes, and mystical themes, are present in the movement. The Mojeños have no doubt as to the existence of the Loma Santa. As proof they mention the attempt made by certain persons from La Paz to transport cattle from the Loma Santa by airplane, and the journey of a karaiyana from Trinidad to the Loma Santa, where he met Saint Michael, who told him that the cattle and all other riches there are destined for the poor.

Airplanes from La Paz and letters written by Saint Michael to the Mojeños prove that the Loma Santa movement can include modern elements. The motivation behind these migrations is perfectly clear. Informants have said:

"This Loma Santa is for us...."
"The villages are no longer ours, they belong to the karaiyana. They have thrown us out...."
"...All the cattle is not for the karaiyana bosses...."
"This village was ours.....they took everything away from us...."
"We left this village because the karaiyana ruined us...."
"This Loma Santa is in exchange for our village...."

At first the Loma Santa movement was headed by the prophet and caudillo Guachoco. Bolivians had hoped that with the execution of
Guachoco, the movement would come to an end. These hopes were in vain, however, even though its militancy waned in the following years, without the direction of this powerful leader.

The penetration of the karaiyana into Indian areas signaled the beginning of the gradual decline of traditional Indian culture, the dissolution of accepted values and norms. Villages founded by the Jesuits, exclusively inhabited, and even partially administered by Indians were invaded by residents of Santa Cruz, who appropriated them, the surrounding lands, and the manpower of the Indians. The Indians lost their freedom and independence and were forced to adjust to forced labour, with scarce wages, for the benefit of a privileged class. Forced labour, as well as the capture of Mojeños during the rubber period, took place concurrently with the dissolution of Indian communities.

The karaiyana "cleaned" the Indian villages, forcing the inhabitants to move to the outskirts, but kept them near enough to take advantage of the manpower, on which their commercial system and economic welfare depended.

Informants have said:
"They took everything away from us; the town belongs to the karaiyana. Once only San Ignacio people lived here...."
"The villages are not ours any more. They belong to the karaiyana, who have thrown us out....They didn't pay for anything. Where we had our houses, the karaiyana took them away from us and put us a little way outside, then a bit further. This took place in every village. In Trinidad....where are the Trinidad people? On the other side of the stream, in what they call Pompei, the ugliest part of Trinidad...."
"These karaiyana are sorry that the San Ignacio people have left....because....they're in trouble without them; they always worked for them cheaply...."

It is hardly surprising that the church helped talk the Indians into returning to San Ignacio de Moxos, and that the missionaries even scoffed at them: "Let these Indians work! They're looking for the Loma Santa, what nonsense! What does the Loma Santa offer them?" It is not surprising either that the Mojeños, conscious of the attitude of church representatives towards their movement, have lost all confidence in them.

The Loma Santa is not destined for the karaiyana, but exclusively for the poor. This includes the Movima Indians, who like the Mojeños have lost their village. As one informant indicates: "Of course, it's for the Movimas, too, in exchange for their village, Santa Ana. There'll
be trousers, shirts, clothes and cattle for them, in exchange for their village. The village isn't theirs any more. It's just for the karaiyana ...."

The karaiyana, who have several times looked for the Loma Santa, have been and will be punished by death when the Mojeños find it. Wild animals will be let loose to attack the karaiyana. One informant says: "There are all kinds of wild animals, but they are tied up.... God himself tied them up. When we all come, there will be no danger; then the animals will be let loose, and it will be dangerous for the others. But for us who live inside there will be no danger. We will have everything....and the karaiyana will have nothing...."

To the Mojeños, the Loma Santa is a reality just as real as the fact that the karaiyana appropriated their villages, their land, and their manpower. On the Loma Santa, the Indians will find everything that the rule of the karaiyana has taken from them: freedom and material security. Freedom will, in contrast with the situation in the villages today, consist in total independence; the Indians will be able to live as they see fit, in their own villages, on their own land, under their own administration. Material security means that they will have sufficient food, clothes, and tools.

The Loma Santa is a place of justice, the place to be given them by God as compensation for the injustice endured by Mojeños in the villages now belonging to the karaiyana. It is the world "inside out", a renewal, what was once had and was lost. The Mojeños, the Movimas, the Yurakarés, the Guarayos, the Mosetenes, the Chimanes, and the peasants will have everything, the karaiyanas nothing.

In spite of the many attempts to find the Loma Santa, it has never been found because it has been enchanted. It has been transformed into an obstacle (curichi or yomomo) both because the karaiyana accidentally found it, although it is not destined for them, and because of the attitude of the Mojeños themselves. Informants have expressed it thus: "When you're looking for the Loma Santa, it's no good to lie down with your wife. It's no good. Some do it anyway, and that's why we can't find the Loma Santa."

Sexual abstinence is demanded, as well as the discarding of articles of civilization and of the karaiyana, together with ritual dances, songs, and prayers, as conditions for finding the Loma Santa. One informant says: "The people of Trinidad didn't want to work either; they just wanted to dance. They celebrated here night and day, and danced touching the ground. They danced with masks of wood, bull masks and horse masks. They didn't want to work; they just asked the Father for things. They just danced...."
The experiences of the Mojeño Indian Pedro M. are of transcendental significance and so will be summarized in brief:

1. He followed the rugged and rocky course of a river to a place where he found gold dust. When he tried to pick it up, a strong wind came and blew it away. He got his eyes full of dirt and could see nothing.

2. Farther up the river bed, rocks suddenly joined together and separated. It was impossible to cross them without being smashed. The Mojeños who reached this place perished. Their corpses are still in the river bed.

3. A herd of cattle could be seen, but as soon as one approached them, they disappeared as if swallowed up by the earth.

4. There were wild animals:
   a) a viper with a thousand heads and one with a thousand paws.
   b) a wild animal with feet like a horse’s hooves.
   c) a bisexual wild animal, the most dangerous of all the animals, who will kill any Mojeño who goes looking for the Loma Santa alone. That is why many Mojeños have not returned to their villages from the forest.

5. There were many yuncumarios (bears) in the Altamachi area who threatened the Mojeños.

6. All the Mojeños should go looking for the Loma Santa together.

Point 6 contains the most important element. Only after all the Mojeños who have gone looking for the Loma Santa have reunited, will it be found. For then it will no longer be enchanted. Foreign ethnic groups from the high plateau should not participate in the search, but Indians of the llano are not considered foreigners. For this reason the guide of the Mojeños of the Río Bení exhorted the Mojeños of the Río Maniquí, the Río Securé, the Río Aperé, San Borja, and of other areas, to set off again. He let the peasants understand that they were only allowed to follow them at a distance. Almost all the Mojeños living near the Río Bení, and a small number from the Río Maniquí and the Río Securé, gathered and moved on to the Río Altamachi. Only when they have successfully crossed the river and the rocks with no loss of life, will they finally reach the Loma Santa. Then they will call in all the hungry and oppressed Indians of the plains and the high plateau, so that they will no longer have to suffer the rule of the karaiyana, but can also enjoy the riches of the Loma Santa.

Those Mojeños who have not left their villages to join the movement are considered "poor people" by the emigrants, because they are enslaved by a few insignificant karaiyana objects. The Loma Santa promises material welfare, but to the Mojeños it means much more: material
security, economic freedom, and independence from the karaiyana.

When the Loma Santa has been found, a community life will be led. While Indians who do not live on the Loma Santa will have to work hard to satisfy their needs, the Loma Santa will be a paradise on earth.

In 1972 and 1973, these Mojeños were wandering from one place to the other in the hills of Cochabamba near the Río Altamachi, between Covendo and the city of Cochabamba. They were determined not to lead a life of oppression. Belief in the Loma Santa is a kind of response and solution for those who are not willing to live in slavery. The final result is obvious: just as hundreds of other Indians have perished in such migrations, the last members of the movement will die in the hills near the Río Altamachi.

THE MOVIMAS

The Movima Indians, who speak an isolated language, were, like the Mojos, concentrated by the Jesuits on reductions. During the Jesuit period they lived on the reductions of Santa Ana, San Luís, San Borja, and Santos Reyes (Métraux 1942:81-82).

According to the figures of the Apostolic Vicariate and those of the Protestant missionaries of Santa Ana de Yacuma, as well as on personal studies in Movima territory, approximately 10,000 Movima Indians are living in the area between 13° and 15° South latitude and between 65° and 66°30' West longitude. This area is centered along the Río Yacuma, the lower Río Rapula, the Río Matos, and the Río Apare (see Map IV).

In all there were once around 180 Movima communities. Communities of some size are El Perú and Desengaño on the Río Apare. El Perú is also inhabited by Mojos. North of Santa Ana de Yacuma, on the shores of Lake Rogoaguado, there are two other camps, Coquinal and San Miguel, established by Movimas from the Río Rapulo. The departure of these Movimas from the Río Rapulo area was the result of disagreements with ranchers. With the exception of a small number living in isolation in Monte de Oro, between the Río Rapulo and the Río Maniquí, all the Movimas have abandoned their traditional culture. The process was initiated by the Jesuits on the reductions, and continued at an even greater pace in the post-Jesuit period. Along with other plains Indians, Movimas were engaged as tappers and oarsmen in the rubber forests. Those who survived and returned to their native villages were employed as peones and cowboys on Bolivian farms and ranches.

The province of Yacuma lies in the centre of the cattle-raising area of the Department of Beni. The extensive pampas, adequate for
V. TERRITORY OF THE MOVIMA

BOLIVIA

[Map showing geographical locations and regions related to the MOVIMA territory, including Lago Rogoaguado, Exaltación, Sta. Ana, San Borja, San Ignacio, and Trinidad.]
cattle-raising, were entirely occupied by ranchers. There are ranches here with up to 17,000 head of cattle. The richness of the department of Beni can be attributed to its pampas, on which the herds of Bolivia graze. There are few Movimas who have succeeded in raising cattle to such an extent that they can subsist exclusively from this occupation. Movimas who settle near a farm or have their huts on farm land, sow the land at the orders of the farmer, to whom the produce belongs, receiving small wages in kind (see Chiquitanos). Movimas living in camps along the Río Yacuma, the Río Rapulo, the Río Matos, and the Río Apepere are in no better economic circumstances; their dependence on merchants and the local markets makes their exploitation even more effective.

The systems of dependence which the Agrarian Reform was intended to crush, have only been modified. No profound structural changes have taken place. The Agrarian Reform implemented all over Eastern Bolivia except in areas near the city of Santa Ana, has benefited the big land owners and consolidated their position. In Movima territory it resulted in the continued pauperization of the Indians and their reduction to a state of servility.

THE CHIMANES

This tribe is remarkable for Eastern Bolivia, and perhaps for all of Latin America. The Chimanes are distinguished, not by their exceptional cultural characteristics, but because in spite of having been in contact with missionaries and mestizos for over a hundred years, they still maintain their own culture to a great extent.

One of their principles has been the rejection of close contact with civilization, which, as they know, could only bring misfortune to them. In this manner the Chimanes, with the exception of a few who live in the vicinity of San Borja, have succeeded in preserving their identity and their human dignity. How much longer will they be able to resist the Western civilization? The result of not resisting is, as we know, "integration".

Although vivid traces of Indian culture can still be found, it is probable that within a few decades nothing will remain. The fault will not be that of the local merchant, who is only a figurehead for the representatives of a larger society, nor the local market, but the prevailing system. Within this system there is no future for human beings who do not consume wildly or accumulate things with the sole aim of using them for their own welfare, and in order to exploit other human beings. Do we not already realize what is going on in the forests of Latin America?
The Chimanes alone will not be able to defend themselves, for they neither have power nor thoroughly understand the mechanisms of the capitalist world, which function with electronic efficiency. At present 5% of the Chimanes live under the domination of the Western society; this number is growing daily. Gradually they are being swept along by the wave of capitalism; soon they will no longer exist. Their struggle is not as tenacious as was that of the Pauserna-Guarasugwé, for the representatives of the Western society have learned from their own mistakes.

Chimane territory is situated between 14°30' and 15°30' South latitude and between 66°30' and 67°30' West longitude, extending from the Río Chiquibey to the headwaters of the Río Matos, the Río Dumi, the Río Chevejecuré and the Río Civerene, and from the headwaters of the Río Maniquí to San Borja, the capital of the province of Ballivian. The great majority of the Chimanes, who number approximately 2,000 to 2,500 persons, live on the banks of the Río Maniquí.

The extention of Chimane territory has changed little in recent centuries, due to its inaccessability, and to the economic activities of the *mestizos*. The area inhabited by this tribe includes hilly forest, but no *pampas*. This area forms an impassable barrier between the high-land plateau and valleys on the one hand, and on the other hand the low-lands.

The typical Chimane settlement pattern is an individual dwelling near some watercourse. Normally no more than five houses are ever found at the same place, for economic reasons.

**Economy**

The Chimanes are fishers; their main subsistence depends on this activity. Usually they cultivate no more than one hectare of land, using slash-and-burn techniques to raise bananas and yuca, which demand less intensive care and permit longer absences than other crops. Hunting is also of considerable importance.

As a result of their fishing activities, small hamlets inhabited by only a few persons, and temporary migrations are the rule. The Chimanes follow schools of fish up and down the river, taking possession of a beach for a period of three or four months. During the season of intensive fishing, they return to their respective fields for supplies of agricultural produce.

Both fishing and hunting are integrated solidly into the structure of the Chimane culture. Rules prescribe the exact consumption of each family. These norms prevent the destruction of natural resources. A balance is maintained between the human population, its necessary food supplies, and the natural resources available.
In addition to this system, there exists a system of distribution which assures each Chimane of his necessary sustenance. Even persons who have not participated in hunting and fishing enjoy the right to share in the results. Religion forbids the hunter or fisher to eat too great a part of his catch; it must be distributed. Distribution is based on the principle of reciprocity which does not necessarily imply direct or equivalent compensation. These distribution rules likewise prevent proficient hunters and fishers from accumulating commodities by means of which they could gain additional profits; they guarantee the equality of all. There are neither rich nor poor, and it is impossible to accumulate capital. The Chimanes, as the other tribes of the Bolivian lowland, are non-capitalist societies.

With the appearance of mestizos, missionaries, and other Bolivians, dominated by different economic models, this system has undergone some changes. By means of deceit or even by force of arms, merchants have forced Chimanes to buy objects which are almost always useless for them. The merchants are exerting all possible efforts to create a market, for the Chimanes must be "converted" to the consumer economy.

Some Chimanes have withdrawn to isolated areas, where it is difficult for merchants to go. This voluntary isolation has been successful in individual cases, but it is not possible for all the Chimanes to abandon their settlements. The confrontation between Indians and merchants has in the past decade taken on militant characteristics, based on ancient traditions. Thus in the late sixties, they killed and ate a merchant known to be a thief, during a religious ceremony. The Chimanes are cannibals traditionally, but in the event that no human being is available, a doll made of tobacco powder is substituted. The ceremonies themselves are conducted in the traditional temple, "the shipa".

New economic activities introduced by merchants will over a prolonged period bring about the total reorientation of the Chimane economic system. The results will be individualism, the accumulation of goods, the disappearance of the traditional system of distribution, economic inequality, and so forth.

An attempt will be made to analyze the situation of the 150 to 250 persons living at the only Chimane mission, Fátima, on the Río Chimane. These Chimanes have only partially been able to maintain their traditional economic system. The population density on the mission prevents the Indians from having their fields near their huts. It also means that the fish supply cannot be guaranteed throughout the year, which is one of the reasons why the Indians are leaving the mission. Those who leave may return to their fields at Fátima after some
time, or they may leave permanently rather than submit to the discipline of the mission. All Chimanes know of Fátima, and about 80% of them have lived there temporarily at one time or another. It must be emphasized, because it is an exception in South America, that the mission exerts no direct pressure on the Chimanes, but allows them to decide freely where to settle. Since the mission wants to convert them to a more stable way of life, it has had to provide new sources of supply: by attempting to change the Chimane economy, and by formulating alternatives.

The more sedentary life lived at the mission has led to increased labours in the fields and to an increase in the importance of vegetables in the diet. Due to demographic pressure, hunting grounds in the immediate vicinity of the mission have been exhausted, so that in order to hunt successfully, it is necessary to go a long way from the mission.

Thus the Indians who live at the mission permanently are faced with the problem of the diminished supply of fish and meat. The most important of these problems, the supply of fish, has not been solved. A solution to the meat supply problem is being experimented with. At present the mission owns 250 head of cattle. When a Chimane has cultivated one hectare of land, he is given one head of cattle completely free. It is hoped that this measure will produce two results: the permanent residence of the Chimanes and the assurance of a meat supply in the future.

In general, the problems facing the mission are of such dimensions that the success of this undertaking appears doubtful. The Indians have an economic system which is different from that of the mission, which espouses a capitalist economy. They refuse to settle permanently in one place. A sedentary life demands a change of social and religious orientation.

With the exception of a few families, the Chimanes have preferred to work on the mission only temporarily, without making any commitment. They fully realize that if they acquire cattle they will have to give up their traditional way of life. For work on the mission they are given two meals and 5 Bolivian pesos a day, in accordance with Bolivian law. They are paid in vouchers which they can use only in the mission shop. This keeps them from purchasing alcohol from merchants. The success of this measure is limited, since the Indians acquire alcohol by exchanging for it chickens, farm produce, and even tools, cloth, and other goods purchased in the mission shop with their vouchers. The products purchased at reasonable prices in the mission shop are exchanged for liquor at a twentieth or even a thirtieth of their
value. These contradictions inherent in the system have a moral effect on the missionaries and a physical effect on the Indians. The result is that the Indian is inculcated in individualism and a commercial mentality which, together with the mission programs, tend to destroy the Chimane economic system. Apart from religious intentions, the mission at Fátima was founded specifically to protect the Chimanes from the unbridled exploitation of merchants. It remains to be seen if this can succeed within the prevailing structure.

The Chimanes still do not understand why the missionaries do not distribute meat free and equally to all when a head of cattle is slaughtered, or at least be satisfied with one fish or a handful of bananas as payment for three kilos of meat. Here traditional reciprocity has been put out of balance, since the distribution of the material possessions of the Chimanes is totally unequal to that carried out by the mission. In the eyes of the Chimanes, the mission possesses great quantities of material goods which they do not have, and they cannot understand why they may not share in these riches, which would be taken for granted in their own culture. The mission, on the other hand, considers that it is holding its material possessions for the benefit of the Indians; that they are to serve as the basis of a policy of long-term development which will slowly increase the Chimane "standard of living".

The economic system introduced by the Bolivians and by the mission has nothing in common with traditional Chimane economy. While the merchants trade for their own profit and exploit the Indians, the mission is attempting to introduce Christianity by means of settling them. Naturally these two Western systems are operating with different goals and means. To the merchant, the Indian is an "animal" to be used and abused. The mission, on the other hand, recognizes the Chimanes as human beings, although of the "wrong faith", and therefore, according to the apostolic conscience of the Christian religion, ought to be converted. It is true, however, that they do not act according to the principle that "the end justifies the means".

Tribal Organization

In the tribal organization of the Chimanes, two points are to be noted. The family is patrilineal and matrilocal at first, then neolocal. The Chimanes are traditionally polygamous, a man marrying two wives. Sisters are preferred as spouses (sororal polygamy). A tendency has appeared within the tribe to abandon polygamy, a clear indication of the influence of the Western mentality. This in turn has resulted in an intensification of extra-marital sex, as the Chimane male is not yet sufficiently puritan to abstain from sex when his wife is pregnant.
The Chimanes practice infanticide. This custom has two important objectives for the Chimanes, who live in an environment which is ecologically limited: it prevents the development of cripples who cannot survive by their own efforts; and it controls the density of the population, so that it does not exceed the proportions necessary to maintain an equilibrium between existing natural resources and the production of a sufficient food supply.

The infanticide rate is at present high, due to two factors: because of the trend toward monogamy there are fewer women who can get married, i.e., be supported, and the productive activity necessary for subsistence is performed almost exclusively by men. Fishing, hunting, and labour in the fields, including the slash and burn process are performed exclusively by men, while women are responsible only for sowing.

The Chimanes have no chiefs; they are not a hierarchically organized society. There is no way to accumulate goods or usurp power. In order to present a unified appearance to the outside world, the position of the shaman has been strengthened. Shamans are recognized as long as they abide by the rules of the society. No attempt will be made here to analyze the duties of shamans, but rather their present social position.

Due to the irruption of Bolivian society and the mission, the central social institutions of Chimane culture have been changed. The shamans, as unifying elements in the society, are attacked by merchants, as well as by the mission. As the repository of tradition, the shamans fight against the consumption mentality, so that the merchants have a hard time selling to the Indians. Their presence is likewise inconvenient for the mission, which desires to introduce a new religion. The more influence Bolivian society and the mission gain, working at different levels, the more insecure the position of the shaman will become.

At Fátima, for example, there is no Chimane temple. Celebrations are carried out in secret and without the complet ceremony. When the Indians wish to participate fully in religious ceremonies, they leave the mission, for it is well known that there are shamans living the traditional way of life outside the mission. Shamans remain at the mission for a short time, and only to work, to obtain iron tools, and so forth. The result is that the few Indians who live permanently at the mission are alienated from their traditional culture. The mission, by increasing its influence, with the voluntary or involuntary assistance of the rest of Bolivian society, will contribute to the slow decline of the Indian culture.

In addition to the profound cultural transformations mentioned above, social problems have arisen at Fátima due to the unusual con-
centration of so many Chimanes at one place. They are not, for example, accustomed to living in houses right beside each other. The total Chimane group at Fátima does not want Indians promoted by the mission to gain influence over them. The acquisition of power and the struggle for prestige, due to the transformation of the economy into production for individual enrichment in terms of money, is arousing serious conflicts leading to enmity among the Chimanes.

In the wooded hills of Bolivia there are from 2,000 to 2,500 Chimane Indians who insist on living a life worthy of human beings, as they understand it, within the framework of their culture. Under present circumstances, they have no future as a tribe. The main concern, however, is whether it will be possible for the Chimanes to survive physically after they have been spiritually destroyed.

THE CHULUPIS, PAKAHUARAS, YUQUIS, SIRIONOS AND CHAKOBOS

The Chulupis, whose numbers certainly do not exceed 100, live on the plains of the Gran Chaco. They inhabit the arid region north of the Río Pilcomayo up to and across the Paraguayan border. In both Bolivia and Paraguay the Chulupis are persecuted with firearms by the ranchers, like wild animals. The Chulupis, who wander back and forth between Paraguay and Bolivia, trying to make a living without harming anyone, will be extinguished by the Paraguayans and Bolivians within a few years.

This will also be the fate of the Pakahuaras, who speak a language belonging to the Pano family. According to Kelm (1972:129) there exist "around a dozen Pacaguaras, remains of the Southern Panos...". It would be romantic to imagine that this handfull of Indians will be able to survive. Their territory in the Department of Pando (see Map I) is being reduced; the result will necessarily be contact with Bolivian society and their incorporation into one of the systems of this society, such as a mission or a ranch. Such incorporation will be equivalent to extermination.

Recently the SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) made contact with a hitherto unknown group, the Yuquis. They appear to be a subgroup of the Sirionó Indians; their material culture and their physique show traits similar to those of the Sirionós. The SIL founded a mission for the Yuquis; according to the missionaries, a total of 50 persons are living there. For good reasons, the SIL refuses to admit any anthropologist to the mission, which they are able to do since the only means of access is with a SIL airplane in a five-minute flight from Todos Santos (see Map I).

Some bands of Sirionós are still living in the forests of the
Departments of Beni, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. They have only a formal contact with Bolivian society, but due to the advance of Bolivians their territory is constantly being reduced, so that they will eventually be brought into permanent contact shortly (Kelm 1966:68-71).

The present situation of the Chákobos at the SIL mission at Río Ivón (see Map I) is analyzed by the anthropologist Heinz Kelm (1972: 129,245-246) who writes:

"At present there still exist 169 Chákobos...." "The problem arises....with the unconditional demand to integrate a tribally conscious ethnic minority into the national economy, it is unquestionable that the process once begun must be continued. To leave the Chákobos to themselves would, as experience gathered elsewhere shows, mean their rapid ruin. The linguist-missionaries have taken responsibility for the future of the Chákobos. It is a positive sign that they are concerned with the extension of the economic basis of the Chákobos, apparently realizing that the most pressing problems of these Indians are overwhelmingly of this world. But the declared main objective of this work is to gain a broad knowledge of the Chákobos, this being equivalent to the mastery of their language. If the idea of self-approval and self-realization lies behind the translation of excerpts from the Bible, the attempt to teach reading and writing - if not exclusively, at least predominantly - on the basis of a language spoken by only 169 persons, seems hardly reasonable. After a continuous contact of seventeen years, there are today two men who more or less master Spanish, but they have learned it outside the mission, from mestizo employers. There are also two young men trained by the mission as teachers, whose Spanish is quite faulty. Undoubtedly a Chákobo, who does not know the language of the country, and in addition, as can be observed, does not possess even close to a satisfactory knowledge of money, will feel insecure, cheated, and inferior as soon as he leaves the area where he lives. It is to be emphasized that a knowledge of Spanish would be, even for a Chákobo, a positive acculturative factor, since it would represent an enrichment without at the same time requiring an abandonment of independent traditional assets. This is not at all the case with respect to the second objective of the efforts of the linguist: the goal he entertains in his quality of missionary. 'Undoubtedly the Christian principles which they imbibe together, in their studies and in contact with the linguists constitute a beneficial result of great scope in the life of these people,' writes Prost, a missionary among the Chákobos. 'Thanks to Christianity they have been liberated from their superstitious ideas and their suppression through fear of the evil spi-
rits.' It must here be established in principle that the ethnocentric
determination of Christian confessions claims to replace present be-
liefs by something better. Thus the Indian will either be given a
feeling of inferiority, or the consciousness of his inferiority, al-
ready formed by other factors, will be reinforced. It ought to be,
however, the most pressing concern of those who are superior to him
in civilization to help him to preserve pride in his tribal unique-
ness and traditions during the process of gradual technical and eco-
nomic assimilation. As far as the Chá kobos are concerned, they are
not equal to a spiritual confrontation with the Christian doctrine
of salvation, and consequently apparently not inclined to accept
Christianity as a possible ideology. Even in the formal sense, we
have been unable to notice any essential Christian influence."

"Of primary importance is undoubtedly the protection which the
Chá kobos enjoy from the linguist-missionaries, and which apparently
extends to guaranteeing the Indians the rights to their territory.
One can only hope that these are not collective rights, in the name
of the mission. The fact that the Chá kobos are kept apart from other
people is supposed to protect them, but the danger is present that
things could develop in an unwanted direction; the declared inten-
tion to destroy the religious centre of Chá kobo culture, plus the
recognizable tendency to preserve the culture when it is a question
of bright feathers in the nasal septum or male braids, could quickly
lead to the development of an exotic ghetto in which the Chá kobos,
robbed of their true humanity, would be degraded to fools for the
admiration of the no less foolish tourist."

What Kelm describes here is nothing new in the history of the
contact between plains Indians and Bolivian society or the missions.
Once again one must wonder whether the Chá kobos will be able to sur-
vive physically when they have been integrated and killed spiritually.
Nevertheless, neither the missionary nor the mestizo are responsible
for this state of affairs; they are only themselves the peones of the
prevailing system. The necessary changes cannot be expected from these
peones; they will never question the system in which they function and
which gives them their economic and cultural position. Change must
come both from the oppressed, fighting for their rights, and from
systems whose objectives are to liberate them and break their present
dependence, searching for a real structural change within a theoretical
as well as practical frame of reference. This frame of reference cannot
be oriented towards those who have power today, but towards those who
today are oppressed.
SUMMARY

(Written in collaboration with Bernd Fischermann)

The subject of this article has been extensive, both thematically and geographically. In spite of the cultural differences stressed, certain common traits must be kept in mind. All the tribes dealt with live in Bolivia and belong to the largest stratum of the population, the peasantry.

I.

It is impossible to understand the living conditions of the greater part of the Indian population of Bolivia without taking into account the historical events which brought them about.

A) In the Pre-Spanish period, traditional forms of economic and social organization guaranteed all Indian groups sufficient economic and social security. While a hunting and gathering economy permitted only a limited standard of living for groups such as the Ayoréode, Yuquis, Sirionés, etc., other tribes such as the Mojos, Baures and Chánes of the Aruak language group were on the threshold of civilization. The indicators of their state of development, include large villages, intensive agriculture with irrigation and drainage systems, dams and canals, connecting the villages.

B) The Indians underwent fundamental cultural changes on the Jesuit reductions. Demographic changes brought about on the reductions, the introduction of new methods of production as well as the imposition of new forms of political and social organization, prepared the Indians for the exploitation which began in 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled. The Indians were taught new labour processes which in the broadest sense benefited the mercantile activities of the Spanish colonists, and later of the republic. The Jesuits did not encourage the Indians to develop an independent economic system in accord with prevailing conditions, nor did they teach them to understand the system existing outside the reductions. The reductions, sometimes consisting of entire tribes, could therefore be taken over by successors to the Jesuit with little difficulty.

C) In the following period, an ever growing number of capitalists, in response to the exigencies of the world market, penetrated the forest and the plains to organize the exploitation of natural resources such as quinine and rubber. A great quantity of cheap labour was necessary for the exploitation of these resources, and
was sought among the Indian population. Since the Indians did not accede of their own free will, entire tribes were removed from their territories and kept in a state of dependence through loans. Thousands of Indians died: e.g. Chiquitanos and Mojos. Only groups such as the Guarasug'we and Ayoréode, who inhabited inaccessible territories and who militantly resisted enslavement, were able to survive for any length of time as cultural and social entities. The enormous profits made by firms operating in the lowlands were squandered in part on the importation of luxury articles from Europe, and in part were transferred to the cities or abroad. At the end of each "boom", the area affected was left in a state of desolation.

D) The Indian population had been disintegrated and had lost the economic and social security afforded by their tribal communities. Dispossessed of the traditional economic bases, they were compelled to depend on external factors. This situation was taken advantage of by more and more colonists who settled in the lowlands and lived off the exploitation of Indian labour. Former Indian centres were invaded, destroying the social structure and finally displacing the Indian population. Through loans and alcohol, free Indian communities of the interior were brought into economic dependence.

II.

The process described above determined the economic conditions of the lowlands to a great extent. With the exception of some of the more strictly stratified societies, the traditional social and economic organization of the Indian population was free of exploitation. Historical tradition and the clearly delineated cultural environment gave the Indian a feeling of pride in the cultural attainments of his group and in the autonomous way of life which allowed him to decide his own future, within his group.

At present the Indian lives in an environment of external domination where in order to secure his subsistence and that of his family, he must submit to dependence, and in which his own cultural values and habits are worthless. The ruling class in Eastern Bolivia considers the Indian to be an inferior being who can be used as an object for the attainment of their own ends.

Native labour is exploited in many ways, the most crude of which are to be found in cases where the Indian has not yet totally abandoned his own culture and has retained the possibility of supporting himself independently. In these cases, necessary manpower is obtained by
various systems of direct dependence such as debt slavery and the servant system. Merchants acquire any surplus, produced by free Indian communities, by exchanging it for inferior and almost useless products such as alcohol and cheap cloth, on which they make enormous profits.

Eastern Bolivian Indians are in reality, an element which has been totally integrated into the global economic system of the ruling classes of the country, whose existence can only be understood as a function of an overall political system. Although the amount of exploitation for which a given merchant is responsible may be of importance in a concrete microeconomic framework, one cannot hold him responsible when attempting a criticism of, or an attack on, the existing forms of dependence in the socio-economic field.

The present situation of Eastern Bolivian Indians in the context of the internal and external dependence of Bolivia itself, on Europe and the United States, has also been demonstrated. This dependence, which has given rise to a national elite, is manifest not only in state politics, but extends to the most isolated Indian village, lost in the forests and on the pampas.

III.

Organizations working in the lowlands must be judged by the extent to which they confront this situation, and promote the participation of the Indian population in Bolivian society, which is the goal of the state. Assistance granted by the state to the lowlands has so far been quite modest and has been limited principally to the field of education and to the improvement of the infrastructure.

Ecclesiastical organizations have acquired special importance in Eastern Bolivia. The Catholic Church strives to disguise the contradictions, emanating from the situations in the lowlands, for the sake of political and social "peace". Therefore it is not surprising that in the many conflict situations which arise, Catholic organizations cede to the pressure of the most powerful economic groups, directing their efforts in accordance with the interests of these (see above: Chiquitanos).

The contribution of the Protestants to the social and economic development of the lowlands is next to nothing, in spite of the fact that they have a considerable amount of capital and personnel at their disposal. Their efforts are directed exclusively to making new converts. Their religious fanaticism allows them to see the Indian only as a poor pagan to be won for their creed. This attitude blinds them to the social and economic condition of the Indians. The missionaries took no account of the well-known fact that forest Indians have no
immunity against grippe and mumps, and so failed to take the necessary preventive measures. Due to the religious zeal of these evangelists, hundreds of Indians have succumbed to epidemics of these diseases.

Smoking, drinking and participation in Catholic and other religious celebrations fulfill important social, political and economic functions in village communities. By forbidding their members to engage in these activities, the Protestants exclude the Indians from participation in the civic life of their communities. Since this prohibition decreases their success among village Indians, the Protestants concentrate their main efforts on the conversion of native groups still living a traditional cultural life. Among these groups they generally implement a policy of isolation, fearing the influence of the lowland population with its deep-rooted Catholic traditions. Methods used to isolate their protégés can be summarized as follows:

A) Geographical and linguistic isolation in order to avoid contact with Bolivians.
B) Deliberate creation of antipathy toward the 'damned' non-converted groups of Indians and Bolivians.
C) The refusal of outside help so as to avoid the impression that others are also doing something for the mission population.
D) A failure to introduce new subsistence techniques after changing the settlement patterns and destroying the original economic activities of the Indians, which results in economic dependence and a lack of sufficient food supplies, causing malnutrition and disease.

Thus the Protestant missionaries work against the participation of the Indians in Bolivian society, ideologically motivated, they produce in their converts a degree of alienation from the national society which is even more effective than a state of total isolation. This is most unfortunate since, in the final analysis, it is in the interest of the Bolivian nation as a whole to bring about the participation of all ethnic groups in the national society.

IV.

In summary it can be stated that:

A) Throughout a broad historical process of adaption, traditional Indian culture has developed into its present form. Its social, economic and cultural bases are organized to assure conditions necessary for the maintenance of life.
B) Missionaries and colonists have been destroying the economic and social bases of Indian cultures while failing to replace them with organizational forms adequate to the new conditions which
would allow the Indian population an independent development. This interference has led to detribalization and disintegration, resulting in dependence on economically more powerful classes who take advantage of the Indians.

C) The attempts of church organizations to resolve this situation have failed because they operate within a social environment which subjects the Indians to the interests of the ruling economic groups. The consequences are the relegation of the Indian population to the lowest stratum of Bolivian society and even its physical destruction.

D) Organizations operating in the lowlands must take the side of the Indians in the many conflict situations and protect them from exploitation. Forms of continuous participation in Bolivian society must be developed in collaboration with the Indians themselves. The Indians are well disposed to such a process on condition that their cultural values and personality be respected. On this basis the Indian is willing to take the steps necessary to enter the modern industrial era.

V. The reservation has been posed as an alternative.

The reservation cannot be the answer. United States experiences with Indian reservations show that they are not a viable alternative. Indians are not zoological rarities to be stared at. The argument that Indians survive on their reservations, at least physically is invalid since precisely the contrary is the case. The death rate is higher and the birth rate lower for reservation Indians than for those not on reservations (Reister 1975:Chiquitano). These artificial Indian centres, founded by the dominant society, ruin the Indians either slowly through the introduction of the by-products of civilization or more quickly by means of diseases and firearms.

Reservations serve to disguise the fact that the Indians are robbed of their land, jammed into small and unfavorable areas, enslaved, exploited and completely manipulated. They are show windows to ease the bad conscience of the civilized world. Essentially they are no better than concentration camps.

VI

The alternative for the Bolivian society to form a multi-ethnic nation can only be achieved in accordance with principles which guarantee the Indians the right:

a) to formulate their own future,
b) to express their ideology,
c) to take part in all projects to be elaborated, structured and administered by themselves,

d) to articulate amply and at all levels their own culture.

As declared at the International Congress of Americanists in México by representatives of Latinamerican Indians as well as by progressive social scientists:

"The self-management of the indigenous groups does not imply their isolation or a supposed self-sufficiency, but on the contrary, the utilization by all the ethnic groups of all the resources and experiences of the national society, in order to choose soundly and freely their own options and ways of action. The self-management implies therefore, the participation within a greater framework and a dialectic interrelation with the social totality. Thus, suppressing the unilateral coercive relationship, the possibility is open to a process of equalitary interaction depending upon the achievements in the de-colonization and the total liberation of the American people."
### TABLE VII

Estimates of Tribal Population in Eastern Bolivia

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<td>15-17000</td>
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<td>2500</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>500</td>
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Total: max. | 60350       | 63620    | 71350    | 72033     | 89543        | 131303       |
(min.)       | (55620)     | (69850)  | (78843)  | (119968)   |              |              |

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NOTES ACCOMPANYING TABLE VII

x) Tribes which were visited by the author in 1963-65, 1970-72, and 1974.
1) Including the Ayréode of Paraguay, called the Moros.
2) In the area of San Matías, in the province of Sandoval, Dept. of Santa Cruz, adjacent to the Brazilian border, there are today only four Bororós. They are descendents of a group of about 120, who were settled in Bolivian territory by a German rancher named Reck some decades ago.
3) These tribes no longer live on Bolivian territory
   a) Due to the loss of parts of Bolivian territory to Brazil and Paraguay and to migratory movements, i.e. the Chamakokos, Chorotís, Guatoses, Guakurús, Lenguas, etc.
   b) Because they have been exterminated, i.e. the Otukísches, Penokías, Yurukárikías, etc.
4) The reference in Riester 1972b referred exclusively to the Mose-tenes of Covendo, Santa Ana de Huachi and Puerto Linares of the Dept. of La Paz. The Chimanes were not taken into account.
5) Including the Kusikias, Kitemokas (10), Napekas (40), Monkokas (20), Churapas (200), and Paunakas (150). The Churapas live in Buena Vista and vicinity, north of the capital of the Department of Santa Cruz. The remaining Indians live around Concepción de Ñuflo de Chávez (see above; Chiquítanos).
6) Including the Ava- and Izozeño-Chiriguanos.
7) Including the Guarayús (Guarayos) who live outside their traditional area (the northeast of the province of Ñuflo de Chávez).
8) The author has only visited the Sirionós of the northeast of the province of Ñuflo de Chávez (Salvatiera/Río Negro).
9) The Tobas left Bolivia for economic reasons and settled in Argentina.

General Note

Torrico's data should be used with a maximum of prudence. It must be noted that the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) manipulates its statistics in certain cases (as can be appreciated from the cases of the Chimanes, Itonamas, Lekos, Movimas, and Mojos) for the following reasons:
1. The SIL missions are not having the success they claim. The Indians are refusing to accept the new religion, and the missionaries are withdrawing, as is the case with the Itonamas and Movimas. The SIL
gave drastically reduced population figures for these tribes. According to the SIL an epidemic drastically reduced the Itonama population, but in reality only a total of 400 persons died, including Baures Indians and mestizos.

2. The population figures of a given tribe are increased either to justify the presence of more missionaries, and/or to demonstrate the mission's success, by means of baptisms performed. At present there are five North American families living among the Chimanes, who at the most number 2,500.

3. To obtain funds from the United States.
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Note to the Bibliography: Literature on the llano Indians

Whoever in Bolivia looks for publications dealing with the population of the llano and East Bolivian lowland plains in detail, will be quite disappointed. I know of only one monograph published in Spanish on a llano tribe (V. Hermoso 1972). Only a few attempts have been made to present the entire Indian problem of Bolivia, with varying results. Besides such scientific works, the Bolivian public has been informed about the Indians of the plains mostly through novels in which historic events occupy the foreground, while native life is presented more naively than realistically (i.e. Aguirre 1961; Gutierrez 1961; Fellman 1967)¹. Works having a more strictly historical objective are more often encountered. In this field, inhabitants of the Santa Cruz and Beni Districts have distinguished themselves singularly (Sanabria 1966; Finot 1939; Aguirre 1933; René-Moreno 1888 and 1940).

Scientifically based anthropological work dealing with the problems of the plains Indians is almost unknown in Bolivia. Nevertheless, valuable points of departure have been developed. Retamoso (1927: 15), describes the situation of the Indian in one sentence: "The present life of the colon is very sad, his economic situation is lamentable, and his future is quite bleak; the most well-off Indian hardly owns a yoke of oxen".

In his Historia Social del Indio Boliviano, Reyer (1963:2,3,5, 6,211,216) attempts to expose social and economic backgrounds and although his general exposition refers primarily to the highland plain and valleys, it may also be applied to the llano population.

In his work Este país tan sólo en su agonía, Baptista (1972:115) tells of the Chiriguano Indians who at one time risked their lives in

¹ See the analyses Alcazar 1973 and Echevarria 1973.
the defense of their liberty, their land, and their families against
the attacks of the whites. Comparing them with the present Chiriguanos,
he reveals his sincere opinion in this manner: "There the valiant war-
riors of another age, now turned into miserable peones, who get a small
tin of alcohol for three days of work. This is also a way to die, a
slower death than that of their forefathers, but none the less certain".

Unfortunately such expositions are few. In the majority of de-
scriptions of Indians, made by Bolivians, the prejudices of the authors
occupy the foreground. The Indian is presented as a strange being act-
ing irrationally and wandering helpless and naked in the woods. Thus
Chávez-Suárez (1945:96) writes: "...the primitive is a nomad who hides
stark naked in the woods in a state of savagery; he is an irrational
being...."

The norms and values of Bolivian society are applied in the judg-
ment of foreign ethnic groups and this must necessarily lead to er-
roneous results. If an objective view of the native way of life is to
be obtained, it must be derived from existing realities. Value judg-
ments should be rejected. A good example of the results of failing to
do this is the following quotation: "The Matacos...discrete and reserved
in character, is cowardly, indolent, lazy and obtuse. An instinctive
thief, he lives in indigence. Any strange objects catches his
attention and he desires to possess it. Like a monkey, he manipulates
with a smile on his face..." (Torrice 1971:138). Here Torrico equates
the Mataco Indian with a monkey, further on he states that: "The in-
habitant of the selva is a true human beast; however much he is edu-
cated, one cannot trust him, for he will always preserve the instinct
of evil" (1971:184).

In addition to these palpably false statements, one must reject
the entire basic concept. To Torrico the Indian is a creature some-
where between an animal and a human, an in any case worthless. In most
works dealing with the Eastern Bolivian llano with which we are fami-
lar, the following points of view are taken:

1. The presumed irrationality and primitiveness of the Indian is em-
phasized. Negative qualities are attributed to him; he is said to
be sadistic, cheating, filthy, lazy, lying, thieving, and to lack a
sense of family, justice, or political order. It is said that he
cannot plan economically for the future, and that he has no desire
to improve his position.

2. These characteristics are considered instinctive and hereditary.
Thus it is supposedly impossible to overcome this instinctive state,
unless these qualities are suppressed by kindness, education, or
force of arms. Even if this is done, instinct will reassert itself
again. Contradicting all scientific knowledge about human nature, the authors conclude that it is hardly worthwhile dealing with such people.

3. On the other hand, the free life of the Indian, understood as a life without bonds, is admired as is his courage in fighting and his presumed sexual potency and freedom.
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