Jean Chiappino: The Brazilian Indigenous Problem and Policy: THE ARIPUANA PARK
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THE BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY:
THE ARIPUANA PARK

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IWGIA - International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs - is a nonpolitical and nonreligious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries.

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PREFACE

Contrarily to our first example of Brazilian indigenist policy, that of the Xingu Park (AMAZIND/IWGIA Document No. 13, Carmen Junqueira: The Brazilian Indigenous Problem and Policy: The Example of the Xingu National Park, Copenhagen/Geneva 1973), the present report will confront the reader with one of the worst abuses of FUNAI or National Indian Foundation. As a matter of fact, the example of the Aripuanã Park deserves the attention not only of readers concerned with the tragic fate of Amazon Indians, but of all those who still believe in putting an end to the oppression and consequent extinction of tribal minorities throughout the world.

As a result of two different aims and actions, viz. either those of the Villas Boas brothers and of Meirelles, or of unofficial and official indigenist policy, the Xingu and Aripuanã Parks were established in order to give their native population a chance of survival at the time when Brazil was launching its "conquest of the Amazon". In spite of several presidential decrees, but with the approval of FUNAI, and in compliance with an Indian Statute which more serves the cause of those who passed it than that of the natives, these reserves were recently crossed by highways. While for the Xingu Park its loss of territory in the north was compensated for by an extension to the south, that of the Aripuanã was reduced by half on pretence that many of the Indians were living outside the territory.

Situated on both sides of the Upper Aripuanã, and extending so far as to the Roosevelt and Juruna rivers, this Park was set up in 1969 for the protection of several thousand, still isolated Surui and other Broad-Belt Indians. If it is true that most of them have always lived outside the reserve, the blame is to be laid on FUNAI itself rather than on a native population which of course ignores both the agency and the territory chosen by it.

In our opinion, however, the reduction in 1973 was due to the Brazilian Government's desire to reach the large tin mines by BR-172, a highway linking them with the Trans-Amazonian proper and which would have crossed the Aripuanã Park. Be that as it may, already in 1969 the reserve began to be invaded by numerous prospecting firms and the Indians began to be contaminated with all kinds of epidemics. This being the moment when they were first approached by Meirelles. At that time, it was not known that the firms had been authorized by FUNAI, and that the responsible agency as well as the indigenist in charge had been somehow rewarded by them...
Thus when we travelled through the Amazon as a member of both the International Red Cross mission in 1970 and of the Aborigines Protection Society in 1972, FUNAI had good grounds to raise objections to our visit to the September 7th outpost and to meet us with a refusal as for our visiting the Rio Roosevelt outpost. Besides, one should bear in mind that the "massacre of parallel 11", which was brought to worldwide attention by Norman Lewis' article *Genocide* (1969) and by Christopher Hampton's play *Savages* (1973), took place precisely there in 1963.

FUNAI's complete failure in assisting and protecting the Broad-Belt Indians, and above all the agency's deliberate omission to call in the Red Cross while available, are but a proof of the Brazilian Government's intention to somehow get rid of its native population once national interests are involved, in other words once the Indians are an obstacle to so-called development and progress. As for Meirelles' son Apoena, when assuming the direction of the Aripuanã Park in 1974 and confronted with the disaster, his surprise was due either to his ignorance or to his lack of strength. As a matter of fact, and in spite of FUNAI's medical service, most of the Surui approached by his late father had died, and the rest of the tribe was down with disease and misery...

All this is but the result of a dishonest indigenist policy towards the Indians, indeed the cause of their oppression and consequent extinction. While in the Xingu Park the Villas Boas brothers succeeded in preserving the native population from being invaded by and contaminated through contact with the national society. The fate of the Aripuanã is an example of what happens to the Indians when they are entrusted to the usual FUNAI personnel and therefore totally deprived of assistance.

By letting it be understood that "for an authority to tolerate such abuses - be it genocide or not - and for an ethnologist to silence them finally comes to the same", Chiappino defined himself and his firm position better than we could have done. On our first meeting with Chiappino at the September 7th outpost, on August 18th, 1972, we had an impression of mutual understanding; two years later, when reading the present report, our first impression turned out to be true. Thanks to the rare perspicuity and outspokenness of the author, Chiappino's example of Brazilian indigenist policy is to be considered as being among the most valuable ever published and we can but recommend it to all those concerned with Amazon Indians.

René Fuerst,
director of AMAZIND
INTRODUCTION

The objective of this work is to report the experiences I had in Brazil during the five months of my stay with the Indians of the Aripuanã Indigenous Park, from July to December, 1972. I went there as a physician and ethnologist, having previously spent some time in the Peruvian forest in 1970, and in the Brazilian forest in 1971.

Thanks to the authorization which I had received from FUNAI (Fundação Nacional do Indio, i.e. National Indian Foundation), I was able to undertake my programme of ethnological research. While working among the Surui and Cinta-Larga (i.e. Broad-Belt) Indians, it would have been impossible to dissociate from their present situation while the conflict was still open and the tension still serious between the Brazilian and the native communities. The pessimism revealed at first was equaled only by the extent of the disaster which I observed. Hardly a year after their first contact with Whites, a good deal of these groups of Indians had been decimated by a fatal epidemic. Due to my profession and to the medical resources at my disposal, I was led to carry on both medical and ethnological activities at the same time, the one deriving from the other, in order to attempt to give these people serious medical assistance. In addition, I alerted the health department of FUNAI.

I shall here try to analyze the situation which I met, concealing neither the insufficiency nor the incompetence which I observed, and which are the causes of the disaster. I did not put up with the folkloristic tourist masquerades which were imposed on me. It is not my purpose to sing the praises of a system the deficiencies of which are so great that they are costing an entire population its life. I shall leave that to others, whose motives are obvious. I regret being compelled to take such negative action as the denunciation of the situation detailed in this work, but I believe it is urgent that it is brought to public attention. I should have preferred to continue on the spot the medical assistance which I had begun, but this was not permitted. I am quite aware of the seriousness of the accusations which I shall bring forward.
here; it is with full knowledge of the situation that I have forced myself to make them.

I wish the reader will take into full consideration all the details which will be revealed; they are all important, not a single one should be ignored. I realize that some readers will in this report see but the experience of one man: an individual case, with all that this implies of subjectivity. Nevertheless, and though I have never considered generalizing from this single example, I must point out that the repetition of the same mistakes, and the unconditional obstinacy of one authority after another in committing them, make this example very indicative of Brazil's indigenist policy on the whole. This policy was defined by the late Francisco Meirelles after a long career as an indigenist. I am quite prepared to admit the perseverance and courage of this man, whom I met several times when he was the regional delegate of FUNAI in Porto Velho. But I cannot agree with his tactics. What has happened to the Indians he was responsible for? What has happened to the Pakahano, the Xavante, and quite recently, to the Surui and the Cinta-Larga? What will happen tomorrow to the Krenakrøre? It must be realized that this is a result of applying the so-called "realistic" policy, which made use of the fame and the efficient presence of Meirelles, who directed the "pacification", as well as of the most elaborate logistic support, combining land and air transportation. Moreover, this example does not concern a small group of Indians, but rather a total of some 1500 to 2000; or if one is to believe FUNAI, 5000 individuals, who until then lived isolated in the forest.

In the course of these five months, I met the difficulties inherent in the local conditions. None of these were insurmountable; only the incoherence of the system and the inconsistency of the authorities prevented me from providing the native population with the desired medical assistance. This was the only point on which I was able to attempt one more action, considering the circumstances which I am now about to expose, and which it was not incumbent on me to modify, since Brazil has chosen "integration" for its native population.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The area considered here is located between 60 and 61 degrees of West longitude and between 11 and 12 degrees of South latitude, on the border between the Federal Territory of Rondônia and the State of Mato Grosso. The climate is tropical and humid, with an alternation of dry and rainy seasons. I was there during the dry season.

The topography is broken, due to the hills, between which the
rivers flow in a generally south-to-north direction. The vegetation is primeval tropical forest, relatively high (20m.).

This area is bounded by important rivers: on the west, the Rio Jiparaná, a tributary of the Madeira; and on the east the Rio Roosevelt, a tributary of the Aripuanã. The Indians are located at the sources of the tributaries of these two rivers, in order to avoid, they say, contact with Whites. I must emphasize that these rivers are difficult to navigate due to many rapids and falls, especially the Rio Roosevelt. These waters are reputed for diamond prospecting.

The Surui Indians: The name Surui was given to them by Francisco Meirelles, because they were thus called by their north-western neighbours, the Gavião Indians of the Rio Lourdes, a tributary of the Jiparaná. The other names given to them vary, and it is not certain that they themselves use them, in spite of the reports of the Salesian Fathers (cf. Hugo, Victor: Os Desbravadores, 1959). They are also called Bocas-Pretas and Cabeças-Secas (i.e. Black-Mouths and Dry-Heads). In fact, these names can be due to their tattooing and painting around the mouth, and to the practice of both sexes shaving all the hair off their heads on certain occasions. Now, the term Surui is predominant, but there is a tendency to identify them with the Cinta-Larga Indians, although the Surui themselves formally oppose this, as I observed.

Their own name for themselves is "paiter'ite".

They are divided into four groups, exogamous by pairs and patrilinial, each having its own emblem and taboo animal.

The Surui define themselves with respect to their hereditary enemies:
- the Cintas-Largas to the south-east, whom they call the "pacini", and
- the "mojur", to the north-east, who are perhaps none other than the Gaviões of the Rio Lourdes, although I am not able to certify this, as I have never met them. These are at present the principal enemies of the Surui, as they invade the territory of the latter from the north-east, driving them toward the highway BR-364.

The territory of the Surui is drained in the west by small tributaries of the right bank of the Rio Jiparaná, the most important of which are the Riozinho and the Cacoal; and in the east by tributaries of the left bank of the Rio Roosevelt, including the Rio Branco.

I lived three months with the Surui, and followed some of their nomadic groups. I did not visit any of their villages because of the epidemic which was dispersing these groups.
The Cinta-Larga Indians: This name comes from the broad bark-belt worn by the men of this tribe. They call themselves "nzap", and are divided into four groups, each referring to a plant.

Their enemies are:
- the Nambikuara, on the south-east, and
- the Surui on the west, whom they call "njur".

The territory of the Cintas-Largas, at least that of the most western groups of this tribe, is located at the sources of the Roosevelt, the Eugenia and the Tenente Marques rivers. The groups seem to have been migrating north-east for some years, towards the Aripuanã and Juruena rivers. They are therefore no longer the direct enemies of the Surui, although they are still greatly feared by them.

I spent two months at the FUNAI outpost of the Rio Roosevelt among the little group of Indians - 11 persons - which used to live there. They are the remains of a more important group consisting of about a hundred people, which were decimated by an epidemic a year before my arrival in circumstances which were at the very least dramatic. I was able to go to a Cinta-Larga village eight days' march to the north, near the entry of the Tenente Marques or Capitão Cardoso river into the Roosevelt.

My linguistic research allows me to state that the Surui as well as the Cintas-Largas belong to the Mondé language group, which most likely can be grouped with the southern Tupi languages. One must note, however, that a Surui and a Cinta-Larga cannot understand each other, except for a few words in their present vocabularies. The Surui women who had been captured by the latter and whom we would have liked to meet had died the year preceding my visit there. On the other hand, the Cintas-Largas and the Gaviões do understand one another.

I had few previous demographic references; the figures which I had been able to collect were of little value as they concerned only isolated individuals, and could make one believe that these groups were extinct. The estimation of Father Victor Hugo for the Indians of the Rio Roosevelt amounted to a total of two to three hundred "souls" in 1959. I would say that I met 250 Surui, belonging to two of the groups which make up this tribe. They were joined by some individuals from the other two groups. Given the equilibrium which existed between these groups and the constant composition of the nomadic groups that I encountered, I am able to propose the figure of four to five hundred individuals for the Surui tribe. In fact, each nomadic group was composed of 35 to 40 Indians; I knew five of these groups with their leaders, that is, more or less 200 individuals, without counting "visitors". One must keep in mind, however, that this figure must be great-
ly diminished due to the epidemic. As a matter of fact, during my stay I registered twenty deaths of persons whom I knew either by name or by kinship, in other words an average of one death a week. During November, just before I left, the average was two deaths a week. I have later heard that the epidemic continued, with a figure of 45% mortality for the group which constantly visits the September 7th FUNAI outpost.

As far as the Cintas-Largas are concerned, my data are fragmentary. The ethnographic notes which I took at the Roosevelt outpost on the social system of this tribe, as well as what could be observed at the community I visited in the forest, allows me to estimate the number of members of this tribe to some four or five hundred individuals; but this figure is quite uncertain and should be used with caution.

PRESENT SITUATION

a) The Protection of Native Territory: This is in principle guaranteed in the Brazilian Indian Statute.

The local rivers are not good for communication, but there is a road, BR-364, which in general follows the Jiparanã river basin. For a long time it was just a simple path through the forest, but three years ago it was transformed by the army engineer corps into a large highway. It leads from Pôrto Velho in the north-west, the capital of Rondônia, to Cuiabá in the south-east, the capital of Mato Grosso, whence it continues towards São Paulo. It links, in the area dealt with here, the small cities of Rondônia, Cacoal, Riozinho and Pimenta Bueno. The population of these places is growing rapidly due to intensive colonization. I was amazed by the change which this road underwent during one year: numerous settlements appeared and were growing. I have in mind especially the small city of Cacoal, to which 3000 colonists had just moved. The massive arrival of small settlers, coming principally from the south, has been encouraged by the propaganda of INCRA, a body set up by the Ministry of the Interior to organize and control the development of that part of the country. INCRA offers various advantages to each settler: land, equipment, seed and advice, along with five-year credits. Land speculation goes at a great rate and important companies are establishing themselves, such as GLEBA, which employs some 1000 "colonists" off in the forest on the right bank of the Rio Jiparanã, at a place called Espingão d'Oeste, between Riozinho and Pimenta Bueno. These enterprises are organized into companies: some harvesting coffee, maize and wood; and others prospecting minerals, especially cassiterite (tinstone), which has replaced diamonds as an attracting force. In 1971, however, the prospectors of the area were "disarmed" and expelled, and
now all prospecting is under the control of FUNAI. Forest paths are thus multiplying, and the native land is gradually being invaded, giving rise to numerous incidents.

A protected zone was temporarily created by Decree nr. 62995 of July 16, 1968, in order to facilitate the pacification or, as it is now called, the "attraction" of the Indians. According to its title, this decree concerns the Cinta-Larga and the Nambikuara Indians; it does not mention the Surui. The limits of the protected zone are the right bank of the Rio Roosevelt and the left bank of the Rio Juruen. Thus this zone by no means protects the Indians which I met, as they live west of its western boundaries. The limits of the zone were set according to the well-informed advice of Francisco Meirelles, who in the beginning used to call all the Indians of this area Cinta-Larga, indiscriminately.

One cannot but see a contradiction in the fact that FUNAI is supposed to both defend and guarantee the interests of the Indians, and at the same time promote mineral prospecting on their territory. The conflicts deriving from this situation have been well-publicized: conflicts not only between representatives of FUNAI and prospectors, but also between the latter and Indians. One needs only to recall the "bombing" of a Cinta-Larga village, which brought the situation here to the attention of the public. These atrocities led to the disarming and expulsion of the prospectors from native territory, which was not accomplished without difficulty. Interests were at stake as cassiterite had been discovered, and the prospectors saw this resource slipping out of their hands.

In June 1969, a new decree established the Aripuana Indigenous Park within the previously mentioned boundaries, but without mentioning the presence of the Surui. The decree also stipulated that the area was to be reduced within the following two years, as soon as it turned out to be more than the Indians needed. Furthermore, it establishes that prospecting for minerals, in which the territory is said to be rich, is to be under the control of FUNAI. Thus under the cover of protecting the native population, the prospectors were disarmed and expelled and a reservation was created outside the area of conflict, while maintaining the ambiguity of the term Cinta-Larga for all the Indians of the area. Thus legal existence was denied to the Surui, as well as the protection due to them, in spite of the insistence of a group of prospectors of Rondônia, who opposed this to Meirelles, affirming that there were both Surui and Cinta-Larga Indians in the area, while the FUNAI representative claimed that there were only Cintas-Largas, whose main communities were east of the Rio Roosevelt. This stubbornness, and the pressure of various economic and political interests, resulted in the "pro-
tection" of the Cinta-Larga proper only, whereas the Surui Indians were sacrificed. This ambiguity, and the complexity of the situation were such that it was possible to deliberately confuse the issue and hide the reality. That is what happened during the visit of the four-man team of the Aborigenes Protection Society, which spent several hours at the September 7th FUNAI outpost on August 18, 1972. In the area no one is deceived by this fraud, neither GLEBA nor the prospecting companies who are quietly extending their business. I was present at the simulated removal of a boundary marker installed secretly by one of these companies on what is definitely Surui territory; the scene was photographed in my presence by Jesco von Puttkamer, the official photographer of FUNAI. But many other times I have observed the appearance of new non-Indian mule paths checkering Surui territory, and have been surprised to note the presence of the settlers' plantations less than a half-hour's walk from the September 7th Outpost. The Indians themselves brought these facts to my attention, believing that the produce was meant for them.

How can one speak of its protective role, when besides the dif-
ficulty involved in promoting respect for native land, FUNAI does not even try to protect the latter, but rather to promote the invasion of this land; and when all legal measures have been taken to tolerate this invasion?

This illusion of protection is even more striking, since a control system already exists. This is the FUNAI outposts, which are dependent on FUNAI's regional delegate and the Park director, both established in Pôrto Velho. They receive their orders as well as their budget from Brasília, and are supposed to control the various outposts, each consisting of a responsible chief and a dozen of workers. In the particular case, food is brought in from Pôrto Velho and Riozinho, by road and then by plane. Each forest outpost has its little landing strip, and its plantations the cropping of which is left to the initiative of the chief of the outpost. The regional delegation administers not only the Aripuanã Park, but all the other native territories of the Federal Territory of Rondônia. The FUNAI flying medical team, consisting of a physician, a dentist, and several nurses, is based at Pôrto Velho. Their role is to treat and vaccinate the Indians, as well as the FUNAI personnel.

The various outposts dealt with here are:

- Riozinho, situated on BR-364 and therefore serving as a base for the other outposts of the area. At this base every entrance into the native territory is in principle controlled, as signs indicate clearly that one is already in the Aripuanã Park. This violates the decrees
setting up the reservation. The control is carried out by a member of the Federal Police, Natalicio, whose commercial activities are his principal occupation. He is not liked by the population, which nevertheless respects him because of what he represents. The Surui Indians hate him so much that he takes advantage of his physical resemblance with another FUNAI employee, Ubirajara, by using the latter's name, when he is not present, among recently arrived Indians. They are both quite obese.

The other places are located in the forest:
- The September 7th outpost, on the left bank of the source of the Rio Branco,
- The Rio Roosevelt outpost, on the left bank of the Rio Branco, above its junction with the Tenente Marques or Capitão Cardoso river. This is a former camp of prospectors who had their equipment confiscated and were expelled,
- The Serra Morena outpost, further east.

I have been to all these places except the last, and have had the opportunity to walk around on the paths joining them. This allowed me to observe the colonists' invasion of the territory, which was of no small interest.

This faulty territorial protection is joined by the medical one, which is of criminal seriousness as we shall see.

b) The Medical Assistance:

One must first remember that these native societies are so-called "self-subsistent" economic systems. Which does not mean that they are in a state of hunger or poverty. Without going into purely ethnographic detail, it is sufficient to note that these Indians are semi-nomadic hunters and agriculturists. Their communities, or villages, are in the dry season split into small nomadic groups which follow their game. Each group has its own hunting grounds. The game is abundant; one has only to see the daily supply of meat to be convinced of this. Likewise, their plantations are well provided; the quality of the produce surprised Dr. Evaldo Medeiros, an agricultural engineer who accompanied me on my visit, and who collected samples. They raise maize, sweet manioc, yams, peanuts, sweet potatoes, bananas and papayas, as well as cotton and tobacco. One must not forget to add the produce of gathering, especially Brazil nuts and honey, which are abundant in this area. All this explains the richness and variety of the diet of these Indians.

But what happens to hunting and planting when the territory is invaded, when the group is decimated and immobilized by too many dying persons? What can we offer but a few tins of food or dried meat, and
only when they are available? This dietary insufficiency only adds to the factors causing epidemics and death.

I must also mention that these societies are endogamous, but this does not mean that they have hereditary defects; natural selection has been hard, probably harder than on us today, so that any defects which may have appeared have been eliminated quickly. What was not viable has disappeared. The very fact that these societies have lasted down to our day in the state in which we met them in the forest before any contagious contact took place, is the proof of my hypothesis. The perfect adaption to the environment, I have been able to observe, is but the result of a highly structured social system, which, although different from ours, functions just as well. It would have continued to do so if we had not appeared on the scene. It is a crime to think and to say that we are facing the "end of a race". Without us, these people would have continued to exist. Before us, they lived, now they will have to learn to survive, compelled as they are to exist side by side with us. It is so easy for us, in the presence of the consequences which we observe, the epidemics which are decimating them, to lay the blame on cultural differences. The only negative result which can be attributed to their biological isolation is their greater susceptibility to infection carried by us, the Whites, the "civilized" people. They have not had the opportunity to develop immunity to certain illnesses, especially virus infections, such as "ordinary" influenza which is so common to us. Thus they are struck down by vast epidemics, influenza taking the form of a broncho-pneumonia quickly resulting in death. The first chroniclers have given us good descriptions of these pandemics; we too often forget that at the time of the arrival of the Whites, the population of North and South America comprised one-fourth of that of the entire world. One century later this population had decreased by one-half, not from war but due to epidemics which occurred immediately after the first contact, and hunger and the regroupment of population only aggravated that. This is what bothered the first settlers, who were forced to import Negroes to replace the Indians who were thought to be too delicate to work in mines and on plantations. The Negroes had already undergone this selection. This argument has tended to generalize the idea of a "weak" race or of the "end of a race", attributed to Indian societies contacted, as soon as it is observed that they cannot survive the confrontation with Whites.

This is the situation in which I found the Surui upon my arrival. Their state was disastrous one year after their first contact with Whites: a contact which took place too rapidly and without the benefit of any medical assistance. Stages were jumped over: the settlement of
the territory of the Indians keeping pace with their "attraction". To
be sure, a medical mission by helicopter had been organized by Apoena,
the son of Francisco Meirelles, one year before I arrived. This mission,
sent perhaps out of good will, revealed the inconsistency and the use-
lessness of such a decision. Hastily put together and brutal in form,
it was a total failure, except that it flew over and visited one Surui
village quickly abandoned by its occupants at the arrival of such a
machine. From the participants in this expedition, including the FUNAI
photographer Jesco von Puttkamer, I have obtained only details of folk-
lore and unkind remarks on the behaviour of the Indians. Who at this
stage of "pacification" could ever believe in the success of such me-
dical assistance but those who see in it only propaganda and a gra-
tuitous exploit? This attempt was followed by no other. Upon my arrival,
I observed that there was no medicine in the "pharmacy" of the September
7th outpost. At my insistence, a new mission was organized with the
FUNAI medical team. Headed by Dr. Marcos Porto, it included a dentist
with his material, a nurse, and an agronomist. It was to go to the
forest, where a large number of sick Indians had been reported. This
mission was also just a propaganda number to impress me; it consisted
mostly of intra-muscular injections of Eucalyptine and a series of
tetanus vaccinations which were useless in the present situation, and
indeed not harmless. Such vaccinations are useless and even question-
able, when administered to a group of people whose infectious state
stems from an entirely different cause, and who even under normal con-
ditions are subject from birth to telluric contacts. In this case, it
seems obvious that tetanus vaccinations are not what is most urgently
required. Furthermore, they were given on the run, without taking even
a minimum of notes on the group vaccinated, and without observing the
consequences. For such were not the motivations behind the preparing of
this escapade. All necessary care, on the other hand, was taken to
acquire photographs to prove the efficiency of the medical help given
by FUNAI to sick Indians. This staging reached its peak when upon my
return I met the team headed by Roberto Pozzato, son of the regional
delegate of FUNAI, and Jesco von Puttkamer, who came to meet me and
report on the mission, which was to be the object of a newspaper ar-
ticle. This team was so impressive and heavy that it could not make
more than two or three kilometres per day. Quickly filled with folklore,
it went, leaving me behind alone with the little rest of my own mede-
cines. I intended to observe the consequences of the vaccination. I had
to carry a young Indian on my back to the September 7th outpost, as I
was afraid of an abscess following the injection. He was shivering in-
tensely and had paresis of the leg on which he had been vaccinated.
That was when I met, upon leaving the forest, the members of the Abori-
gines Protection Society mission inquiring on the outpost and the In-
dians depending on it.

I nevertheless had time to exchange some remarks with Dr. Marcos
Porto on the medical observations which I made daily. My point of view
seemed only to raise difficulties, which did not seem insurmountable to
me if one believes in what one is doing. I insisted on the risk of
spreading an epidemic of hepatitis through not taking a minimum of care
in giving injections. And there were some cases of hepatitis in the
group. I explained my concern about some other Indians to be mentioned
later, who I feared were suffering from tuberculosis, and suggested a
campaign of B.C.G. vaccinations - the only effective remedy in such a
situation. I was told that this was not necessary, since the Indians
would immunise themselves as soon as they got into contact with the
germ, and that besides they had only to eat salt as we do in order to
protect themselves from this illness! With which I did not agree, to
say the least.

I do not know what use was made of my medical report, but I can
relate the following: the epidemic reached all age groups, death occur-
ing within two months after the appearance of a hoarse cough, which
filled the forest in the evening, and which we learned to be the pre-
monitory symptom signifying contamination. This was soon followed by a
pussy expecotoration which was very difficult to get out, and which ex-
husted the patient. Associated with this syndrome was a permanent
fever. The development was quicker in young children; this broncho-
pneumonia carried off its victims in terminal cachexia. The family and
social group was distressed, disoriented and destroyed by the scope of
this epidemic. I calculate that 60% of the population was affected.

What is even more serious, I observed three cases which resembled
tuberculosis, evincing along with the pulmonary syndrome, a cervical
ossification in one case, and cold abscesses in the two others, evolving
towards fistulization. Unfortunately the samples I took were apparently
lost although I gave them to the nurse with many recommendations. Later
I heard that saliva tests taken by others had given positive results
for Koch's bacillus (the tuberculosis bacillus). In one of these cases,
I was able to administer for several weeks an anti-tuberculosis treat-
ment consisting of injections of streptomycin, with some success, espe-
cially as an improvement in general condition.

The inconsistency of the FUNAI health department, the irrespon-
sibility of its representatives, and indeed its incompetence in such
conditions, lead me to declare that to rely on it in stating that me-
dical assistance is given to the Indians would give a false sense of
security, and even be a danger to the native population. This department contains no reality. I do not like to generalize, but I have alerted the higher authorities in Brasília. What has happened to my report? For all I know there must be a few competent and conscientious people in FUNAI; but I have not met them. I realize this is a serious accusation, but I am simply asking what has been done to alleviate this situation. Was it not foreseeable? Is there at present a physician entrusted with vaccinating the Surui Indians? Why has my collaboration not been accepted, nor even the vaccines and antibiotics which I offered to the President of FUNAI? Why is the assistance of the International Red Cross not requested for this precise task, instead of having it visit areas with less obvious medical problems?

Is it sufficient to issue an Indian Statute to have a good conscience? Is it enough to publish photographs showing a doctor giving Eucalyptine injections to justify oneself? Or to film for a television programme the simulated bandaging of a Surui in good health, on the advice of Father Victor Hugo, who alleged to me that it was just to keep him quiet. Moreover, this was at the September 7th outpost, where the health condition of the Indians is worst. Isn't this purely propaganda, and wasn't FUNAI afraid that I would reveal that there is no reality behind it?

Is this work of protection too disagreeable for certain people, or does it signify a deliberate policy? Does not the silence which is maintained reveal that certain persons are well aware of what they are promoting? And let us not be afraid of a word: is this not geneocide? This would explain why before I left Brazil I was asked to sign a statement acknowledging the efforts of FUNAI, especially in the field of medical assistance to the Indians, stating that the Indians fiercely opposed these efforts, and that all in all it was a question of persons who had been undernourished for thousands of years, in other words the end of a race. This statement, of which I am in possession of the rough draft, was presented to me in the name of the President of FUNAI, General Bandeira de Mello, by the FUNAI regional delegate in Pôrto Velho.

I maintain that I have never observed such things: neither as regards the protection of the Indians by FUNAI, nor any resistance offered by them to my remedies, with what little confidence they were given. This certainly requires a certain availability, and should be the task of someone living among them. Moreover, the effectiveness of these remedies is certain, but they must of course be available. This seems to me to be the least one could do if one is to hope for some decent kind of integration. I had thought that this was the goal sought and defined by FUNAI. These reflections have been submitted to its Pre-
sident and to the scientific committee, with a plan of work in which I would collaborate. Until this day I have received only a "case dismissed". The epidemic is spreading and has now reached the Cinta-Larga Indians.

c) To Pacify, Educate and Integrate:

Since these circumstances have brought about a situation which in my opinion was foreseeable, there is no possible way out left to the Indians. They are forced to submit to this confrontation, this cultural shock which is being imposed on them. They are trapped between the highway and other groups of Indians. At present the Mojur are gradually invading Surui territory from the north, most likely pushed by Whites, but I have not confirmed this, although I know of the presence of the latter north of the territory, and of the construction in this area of a dozen landing strips. This is the most probable reason for such a movement of Indians, as the only other reason could be the growth of population leading to territorial expansion. And who could dare believe that this could take place under the present circumstances? If it did, it would be proof that these Indians are not "the end of a race". But to be more realistic, we should have to admit the flight of Indians from contact with Whites, which they submit to only under force. And this is also what is revealed by recent experiences on the "attraction" front with the Krenakrore by the Villas Boas brothers, well-known indigenists who have been led by these experiences to give up such tactics. Illness which immobilizes the native group, as in our case, is also a kind of force.

What are these tactics? To pacify, to educate and to integrate. We have seen that this was at first used as a pretext for disarming the prospectors in order not to interfere with the FUNAI indigenists. I shall not come back on the reasons which led to situating the Aripuanã Indigenous Park at its present location. But even if the protected zone was marked out with precision at the place where it ought to be, one could still not be satisfied. It would be naive to think that the accumulation of settlers along its boundary will not spread to the zone itself, if only for hunting, not to mention secret prospecting. Whatever the case, this protection is only temporary: limited to two years, after which the area is to be reduced as it is thought that it will no longer correspond to the needs of the native population. Will they then be integrated? Of course not, and this is fully understood. To grant but two years of respite before the intensive settlement of this territory, that is to presume that acculturation, the reduction of the thousand-year-old differences generally recognized as the inheritance
of these societies, can take place within two years, is in fact equivalent to a sentence of death passed on these Indians, death not only cultural but also physical. How could it be otherwise when the native population is so quickly approached with no respect neither for their culture nor for their physical presence or their land? In its haste to make the country profitable, Brazil recognizes that the presence of the Indians is a brake on its expansion, if not a blemish which such a modern country owes it to itself to eliminate, for its own prestige. Under the cover of nationalism, it decrees a policy called in principle "integration", but which at the level of concrete reality is nothing else than a genocide. This genocide which Brazil refuses to admit should be unmasked by its present indigenist policy followed by FUNAI.

To pacify, educate and integrate. How can one in practice differentiate between these three phases, when even in the best of situations they will have to take place simultaneously? Quite simply, this chronology implies three different tactics.

The period of pacification - the term preferred today is the "phase of attraction", a subtle nuance - is the prodigious period in which every indigenist dreams of participating. Better than "pacification", which applies only to the Indians, the term "attraction" may appear more objective, since it applies especially to the Whites. It denotes the risky side of the enterprise, but also the bait used, the gifts. This phase is often described as the "period of engagement", during which it is thought that the two groups vie in courage with each other, and enter into a cycle of "exchanges", whereas in truth it is just a political means by which each of the parties observes the other. It is also forgotten that this phase is not entered upon until the Indians are forced by modern means to submit to contact, until they are surrounded, with no means of escape. How astonished the indigenists are when they do not observe the reciprocity which they expect to obtain in exchange for the gifts with which they shower the Indians. Actually there is an abundance of gifts, but in one direction only; when the Indian is satisfied he prefers to withdraw. Disappointed by this unilateralism, the Whites can now only count on the dependence which these gifts risk creating, in order to establish their domination; but one must realize that the latter is not established until the Indian land is invaded - one outpost might be enough - and until the disorganization of the native society is brought about by epidemics. This is not much spoken of; the newspapers prefer to exalt the courage of the indigenists isolated within a hostile environment, in the midst of savages, and to boast of the victory of one culture over another, singing of promising
mornings.

But what is left when the euphoria of this period has passed? What remains to "consummate" the marriage? Dying Indians, and the memory of an indigenist who was called "daddy", now departed for other conquests, to other fronts of attraction, perhaps bitter over the role he has been made to play. He quickly justifies his conscience, by considering that it could not be otherwise, that history has always been this way. Thus relieved of his sense of guilt, he pursues his task somewhere else. The Indians, those who have survived, now have to beg for the "gifts" which they were previously given. They must submit to the orders of an outpost chief who is usually a stranger, and from whom they understand, but too late, that they are alienated. What resistance can they offer: decimated, hungry, infected, and cut off from all social life except that available at the post while waiting for a supply plane? While thinking of making a pact, they have been swindled, and it is now too late. This period, called that of "education", is the most unpleasant to watch, but it is very significant. We have seen that the indigenist has gone, and the personnel in charge of the outpost are too interested in other occupations, too concerned with the adventurous side of new contacts, and therefore do not get much engaged in this second period. When they do turn up, it is only to reveal their shameless paternalism by taking a young Indian out of his environment, dragging him to the city and when the moment of curiosity has passed, abandoning him to a mission, where he can await the next plane back to the forest. This is a general practice, in spite of the risks of contagion involved: it is a means of gaining personal publicity. For the Indian, it is the beginning of a great deception. Do the truly responsible persons realize this and thus leave the task to those who will patiently and innocently deceive the Indians? Those servants will not have the honours, and will finally, but too late, discover the role they have been made to play.

Photographers and journalists come to witness and give an account of the situation. But their motives, speaking only of the most praiseworthy ones, are exhausted as quickly as their stock of film. The search for folklore and for the primitive purity which is only pure and primitive in their mind, will appear through their articles. This weakness is quickly unmasked by the Indians, who, although afraid of the camera, eventually end up lending a hand to the masquerade they are asked for.

Missionaries, too, are closely involved in this stage, but their preoccupation is formally opposed to respect for another culture. In the present case FUNAI, fearing the passion of the Catholics, prefers to collaborate with Protestants, and particularly with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The means at their disposal and the work fur-
nished by them may explain this authorization, especially since they are little inclined to denounce excesses which they witness.

The anthropologist is quickly deviated from his purely scientific preoccupations in order to analyze an indigenist situation which is only indigenism in name. He is confronted with the problems to which the Indian is subject, but runs into the official policy, and obtaining no favourable response to his proposals for improving the conditions of the Indians he is studying, he powerlessly witnesses their extinction.

Those closest to the Indians are the FUNAI employees, servants or workers as they are called, and the small settlers, for the simple reason that they are in the same area and part of the same system. This cohabitation, this living side by side, will be the factor which will bring about the desired education, or rather the diseducation which the Indians will undergo. They will have to learn not to be Indians. The workers are involved in daily confrontations with the Indians. How can one be angry with them for taking their role of educators seriously, when for a change these roles are reversed? Indeed they are serious, and it is touching to see how hard they try to establish an Indian vocabulary. They are the only ones who are conscious of living in an extraordinary situation, as if they understood that in a short time it will all be over. Are they not in the same boat? What means are at their disposal? Just enough to survive on. Thus it is through them, with their ignorance, their faults of judgment, that the Indians will approach our culture. They like to read photo-novels while listening to romantic stories in the evening. And this can only take place when the post maintains a certain cohesion. But it is rare that outpost chiefs, upon whom this cohesion depends, are not transferred. During my stay, the average term of service at an outpost was three months. This rotation upsets the already unstable equilibrium which exists between the two communities - Indians and Brazilians, even though the rotation is often motivated by simple administrative considerations, such as holidays or conflicts among the personnel, which were frequent. Such rotation was not limited to chiefs; it has happened that the majority of the personnel has been transferred to another outpost with no concern for the risks involved of spreading epidemics. I remember the venereal diseases I had to treat whenever chief or workers returned from their holidays.

How can one dare to speak of ethnocentrism or ethnocide in the case of these people: a word as barbarous as it is indecent here, when one sees the simplicity, the poverty in which they live? How can one be angry with them when we are the ones who have taught them these ideas,
which they have acquired with such effort, tossed about as they are by the difficulties of life. They are confronted with a system which is not the one to which they have been subjected, and they will persist in trying to destroy this system which is foreign to them, as if this revenge could help them to survive and justify their condition. And out of this confrontation, which often remains good-natured on the individual level, will result a permanent state of conflict as soon as these two systems begin to confront each other. At least in this case there is confrontation because there are two parties, so that there is some possibility of adjustment and adaption. But what happens when the orders come from a directing bureaucracy which knows and desires but one goal: to extend its power? The orders come and must be obeyed; the incoherence is so great that often the outpost chief is unable to control his men. This was the situation I observed at the Rio Roosevelt outpost, just to take a well-known example.

The rare visits of the authorities to the outpost are limited to what is necessary to maintain the morale of the men. Only the chief speaks, and he avoids reporting any faults for fear of losing his position; recalcitrant workers risk being fired under the most fallacious of accusations. I have observed these rapid visits to the outposts at which the report could be summed up as "everything in order". The same was true of the daily radio messages, which also reported "everything in order", and nothing else. Being so distant, the personnel forget, get distracted, get tempted, each one by himself. This may perhaps explain the succession of misappropriation of funds destined to help the Indians. Once it was Apoena Meirelles, then director of the Aripuanã Park, in July 1971. Once again it was Ernesto Ferdinando Pozzato, regional delegate of FUNAI and Park director, in September 1972. The former is at present in charge of the attraction of the Krenakrore Indians; the latter is being treated for malaria. This also explains how I could witness 35 Indians, arriving at the outpost from the forest, being stripped of all their necklaces and other ornaments within less than half an hour. They managed to save their bows by leaving them in the forest. This deprivation was said to be in order to start a system of exchange: each object for a T-shirt. No necklace, no T-shirt. All these objects are sold, which makes it possible to get through the end of the month. It was curious to see that these objects accumulated in the bag of the outpost cook. Having control over the food reserves, he traded cans of sardines to the Indians, who greatly appreciate fish. One must remember that at the outpost an Indian is dependent for his food on FUNAI from the moment he is forced to live there.

Besides begging, which begins very quickly among the Indians, the
"education" consists of obeying orders, the incoherence of which I have already mentioned. Furthermore, this education will lead him to work for others, something hard to envisage for an Indian. Only when they are socially disorganized by epidemics and have powerlessly witnessed the invasion of their land, will the small communities of survivors submit. One can in this case no longer speak of an Indian society, but of various individuals attempting to survive. The example of the Rio Roosevelt outpost was significant on this point.

The men become workers and will in principle receive pay, in which they have no interest, having no need for the goods which they are told they can buy with the money they earn. Their needs are limited: metal objects are lent to them by FUNAI, and money is useful to them only for buying clothes: two shirts, a pair of trousers, bathing trunks, an electric torch and a machete. At no time is the money considered by them as a stimulus, and they are not alienated to it.

They will continue doing what they have previously done: slashing and burning the forest. They will hunt, and if they still consider this a pleasure, it will quite soon become their only means of freedom; they will even have to deserve it. It is not always certain that their request will be complied with. For sure, they are allowed to eat at the common table: beans, manioc flour and dried beef. Sometimes there will be game, if it is a feast, but then the Indian is nearly always sitting at the end of the table. He gets the scraps, a bit of fat, the bones, although it is he who has done the hunting. But aren't these the delicacies of the native population? And didn't they get the head and the tripes? This is said openly, the behaviour is explicit enough, and the Indian chews his bones. The next time he will hunt monkeys, because he knows that Whites don't like monkeys. It can be said that a state of malnutrition always accompanies the so-called phase of education. This is due not only to a diet, based on canned food, but also to sedentary life, which causes game to flee the area. How can one believe that one can sufficiently feed a group of immobilized Indians when one knows quite well that one has hardly enough to meet the needs of a few FUNAI employees? The personnel are themselves so convinced of this malnutrition that I have never seen anywhere else such a consumption of all kinds of vitamins and tonics. It was enough to see the expression of a passing FUNAI employee when to his disappointment he learned that he would have to stay at the outpost and have a meal there due to the schedule or transport problems. This fact should be well noted in order to recognize that the Indian has good reasons for accepting with reserve the food offered to him, he who was used to eating fresh meat. This nutritional penury and the monotony of the diet also permit the develop-
ment of infections.

The Indian woman will not have the same future. Knowing the importance of her role in Indian society, one finds her here completely isolated with no activity or responsibility. She does not cook any more, with the exception of the head or the tripe of some game, or of a monkey. There is no question of her being allowed to cook for the outpost; once and for all it has been recognized and admitted that she is incompetent. Neither may she make pottery or do cotton work. She waits until she is called to the place which serves as a kitchen, where timidly she takes her meals. She has no more contact with the world of men. She has become a recluse. Fortunate is the Indian woman who has a child to occupy her. Sometimes she will be given the laundry of the outpost chief to wash, in exchange for some sugar. She can no longer even make any ornaments, due to the lack of raw materials. This extreme situation is perhaps owing to the fact that there are no Brazilian women at the Rio Roosevelt outpost.

Thus we have seen that here one can no longer speak of an Indian society, but at the most of various individuals, in a poor physical and psychological condition. I wish I could remember the number of cases of "escape" from the outpost: this is the term used when an Indian leaves it for the forest. The large number of these cases implies that the situation is almost impossible for the native population. Especially when it is realized that this Indian is no longer admitted into his own group. This "escape" is then to a certain extent his own perdition. One can then say that the apparent equilibrium to be observed when quickly visiting the outpost is but an illusion.

What use is it then to issue decrees proclaiming "respect for the person of the Indian and his institutions, for the tribal communities, the guarantee of the possession of the lands which they inhabit and of the exclusive use of the natural resources on them."? This is surely not the case in the territory which I have visited. As far as "protecting the spontaneous acculturation of the Indian so that it entails a socio-cultural evolution without abrupt leaps" is concerned, one can appreciate the delicate methods used. Nor have I observed the "preservation of the biological and cultural equilibrium of the Indian". I have dwelt at sufficient length on the health conditions of these Indians to be able to affirm that they receive no medical aid or assistance of any kind. This is only theatre, deceiving those who wish to be deceived, including the leaders of FUNAI, and forebodes the final phase: that of "integration". How many Surui and Cinta-Larga Indians will even reach this stage? Who would dare to marry an Indian or a first generation half-breed? I have seen enough of them wandering on the roadside:
Pakahanova, Xavante, and other Nambikuara Indians. The men, at least, can lead a relatively decent life, on condition that they accept any kind of work. But what about the women? They end up in some dive, which will get them, besides certain diseases, a swarm of children, who in turn will drag their misery along the roadside. This is how cross-breeding will take place, in the most sordid misery and abandonment. With great humanitarian and nationalist zeal, it is said that the Indians must be saved from this ordeal, without observing the mechanism which produces it. How far we are from the good words of Francisco Meirelles, who thought that it was the vocation of the Indian to become an ethnic component in the population of Brazil. This policy, said to be "realistic", and I have not the sense of humour to make a bad pun here, only manipulates words in order to camouflage the reality, which is quite different. To refuse to describe this reality would be to sentence oneself to take part in the crime which is being perpetrated. It is not enough to reject the accusation of genocide; one must also do something so that one cannot be accused of it, not just by preventing observers from entering the native territory, which is equivalent to condemning oneself. Nor is it enough to justify ones own inadequacies, and this word seems weak, by the excessive culture difference between us and the Indians, putting all the responsibility for our failure on them. The Indians, as far as they are concerned, never asked us for anything.

CONCLUSIONS

In the present state of things, it seems to me that Brazil's indigenist policy is to the prejudice of the Indians. That is what I have observed in the example exposed above. This is a recent example, concerning a large number of Surui, Cinta-Larga, and Mojur Indians.

I have noted that for the majority of these Indians there is no territorial protection, since the Aripuana Indigenous Park was established east of the area inhabited by the Surui and the Mojur. Furthermore, large concentrations of settlers are installed on the very boundary of the native territory (3000 settlers at Cacoal), or even within it, such as the GLEBA at Espírito d'Oeste (1500 to 2000 settlers). All these agglomerations are developing their plantations and their prospecting in native territory. Numerous landing strips have at present been constructed in this area. Game is beginning to run short for the Indians, and infectious contagion is spreading without any vaccination campaign having been undertaken. Only some individuals have been hastily vaccinated against tetanus.
In spite of my efforts and the alarm which I sounded to the Brazilian authorities in face of the disaster which I observed, no assistance has been implemented in the field. I myself received a "case dismissed" when I offered medical collaboration. I emphasize that FUNAI is not fulfilling the role which it ought to play among the Indians: protection and assistance. It allows no action at the medical level, which is an indispensable basis when contacting native populations. I assert that the medical aid given by FUNAI is meaningless, and only reassures the conscience of those who at present are intensely pursuing the "attraction fronts". In the area the epidemic is spreading. When I left I observed that 60% of the population was affected and that there was an average of one death per week. The latest news is that 45% of the Surui group which had the most contact with the September 7th outpost has died.

I can state this figure with great certainty, as I am in possession of the names or the kinship of the deceased Indians. Actually the figure is probably greater, if one takes into account deaths which have taken place in the forest and of which we have no knowledge.

It would seem difficult to contradict such statements. I thus accuse especially the health department of FUNAI of being non-existent. Purely economic and political motives keep the few elements of good will from proceeding with effective medical assistance, which would at least allow the Indians to survive. Until the time of contact, the Indians got along quite well without us, and they were the better off because of it. Since they are now forced to live side by side with us, we owe it to them to limit the damage due to this cohabitation. The least we could offer them is an effective medical assistance which could allow us to hope for a more decent "integration". I do not think that the physician can cure all the wounds inflicted on these people. It is on this action that we will be judged. Their land has been invaded and robbed in the name of the principle of our cultural superiority; let us give them some chance of survival by vaccinating them. If we do not, we shall be entirely responsible for the disappearance of these Indians.

This example can serve for other cases which will multiply in the future. I wish to emphasize that it is urgent:

1) to effectively protect native land, which will have the additional advantage of limiting contagious contact and of preserving the fauna necessary for hunting activities.

2) to give a medical examination to all persons in contact with the Indians, including the systematic tracking of tuberculosis by skin tests and chest X-rays.

3) not to transfer personnel from one outpost to another during
epidemics, at the risk of spreading them.

4) to limit "visits" to the outposts, as every person is a germ vector.

5) to vaccinate systematically the groups in contact with non-native population, including the BCG against tuberculosis and a polyvalent influenza vaccination. Precautions must be taken to space these vaccinations one month apart, and to observe the reactions which they may produce. This is the only suitable measure, and is less difficult than the treatment of disease. Many examples have shown the effectiveness of these vaccinations in a native population. I myself have observed that it is possible to administer them with little means at one's disposal. The Indians will not refuse to be vaccinated if only some confidence is established. The language itself is no obstacle. On the other hand, this requires the total availability and responsibility of the practicing physician.

I greatly regret that I have not been able to collaborate in such a programme; I would have shown that it is feasible. I hope that I have now shown that it is justified.
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