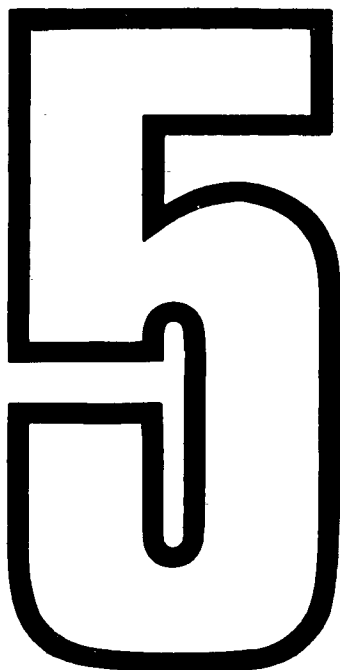


**John H. Bodley: Tribal Survival in the Amazon:  
THE CAMPA CASE**

---



John H. Bodley, Ph.D. (University of Oregon)  
is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at  
Washington State University, U.S.A.

This report has been written especially for the IWGIA DOCUMENT series. The previous reports in this series are:

- No. 1 Declaration of Barbados
- No. 2 Karl Eric Knutsson: Report from Eritrea
- No. 3 A. Barrie Pittock: Aboriginal Land Rights
- No. 4 Rupert R. Moser: The Situation of the Adivasis of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas, Bihar, India

IWGIA DOCUMENTS can be obtained through membership of IWGIA; or can be purchased separately for teaching purposes at the following prices:

- No. 1 ... US \$ 0.15, No. 2 ... out of print, No. 3 ... US \$ 0.30,
- No. 4 ... US \$ 0.30, No. 5 ... US \$ 0.40

Copenhagen, May 1972  
For the Secretariat of IWGIA  
Peter S. Aaby            Helge Kleivan  
Editors of the series

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

The membership fee for one year is US \$ 3.00 for individuals, US \$ 6.00 for institutions. Please make your check or international money order payable to:

The Secretariat of IWGIA,  
Frederiksholms Kanal 4 A,  
DK-1220 Copenhagen K,  
Denmark.

In 1542 Western civilization first encountered and began to systematically destroy the peoples and cultures of the Amazon basin. This destruction has continued for over four hundred years and is now nearly complete. It has taken many forms and has been justified in many ways, but today economic development is the prime factor at work to exterminate the remnants of tribal life. Most authorities maintain that the final disappearance of free tribal Indians is a necessary and inevitable step in the modern economic conquest of the Amazon. This premise has guided all previous attempts at "protecting" Amazonian Indians and is now being used by missionaries and developers to justify the continued destruction of tribal cultures. I cannot accept this premise however, and feel that tribal destruction is neither necessary nor inevitable, and certainly not in the best interests of the peoples involved. Many tribal peoples prefer to maintain their own distinctive life styles and must be allowed to reject economic development and its detrimental effects.

The Campa Indians of the Peruvian Amazon fought fiercely and successfully to retain their culture during the first three hundred years of contact with Western civilization. During the past hundred years, however, their homeland has steadily shrunk and is now in the pathway of a major economic development effort, which if carried out as planned, will make their traditional way of life impossible. The Campa thus typify the situation of many still independent Amazonian Indians. Therefore, a careful look at the Campa case will provide an opportunity for a reappraisal of the urgent question of tribal survival throughout the Amazon.

The Arawak-speaking Campa Indians, numbering approximately 21,000, are one of the largest native cultures remaining in the entire Amazon basin. They live in isolated family groups or small communities scattered through some 20,000 square miles of forest in the upper Ucayali drainage of eastern Peru. The ecological requirements of shifting slash-and-burn cultivation of manioc, together with hunting and gathering, forces the Campa to move constantly and keep their social groups small and widely dispersed. There is no pan-tribal organization and no tribal leadership, other than the warrior-chiefs who command the respect of a small following of close kin, but there is a clear recognition of their own cultural identity.<sup>1</sup>

The Campa's first contact with Western civilization occurred sometime in the sixteenth century and by the early eighteenth century Franciscan missionaries had almost succeeded in crowding all the Campa into missions and opening their land up for settlement, when the disgruntled Campa suddenly rebelled, destroyed the missions, and expelled the missionaries. For the next hundred years they enjoyed complete freedom from outside intrusion, because no one dared enter their territory.

Table 1  
ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF THE CAMPA POPULATION BY  
ECONOMIC ADAPTATION AND REGION

Region	Economic Adaptation			
	Traditional	Patron	Market	Total
Pachitea-Pichis	250	2000	2750	5000
Ucayali	250	1750	1000	3000
Pajonal	500	500	500	1500
Tambo	500	1000	1000	2500
Satipo	---	1000	2500	3500
Perene	---	500	2000	2500
Ene-Apurimac	1000	1000	1000	3000
	2500	7750	10750	21000

Table 2  
MAJOR CAUSES OF CAMPA DEATHS

ILLNESS	A d u l t s		I n f a n t s		total
	male	female	male	female	
Measles	10	15	7	10	42
Respiratory	6	3	2	2	13
Dysentery	4	2	0	0	6
Unspecified	8	6	0	1	15
total	28	26	9	13	76
VIOLENCE					
Killed by Campa	6	1	0	1	8
Killed by Whites	5	0	0	0	5
total	11	1	0	1	13
ACCIDENTS					
Snakebite	2	1	1	0	4
Other	0	0	0	1	1
total	2	1	1	1	5
SUICIDE	2	0	0	0	2
UNRECORDED	45	26	5	8	84
TOTALS	88	54	15	23	180

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAMPA AREA

During the fifty years between 1870 and 1920 Peru began a great eastward expansion and effectively opened much of its Amazon region for economic development. Campa territory was critical to development plans because of its proximity to Lima and because its several river valleys offered an ideal gateway from the Andean highlands to the rest of the Amazon region. At the same time it contained potentially valuable agricultural land and other natural resources.

In this initial phase of development, missionaries, engineers, and military expeditions sought out the navigable rivers, the shortest overland routes, and the best areas for settlement, and then pacified the Campa, opened up roads, and established outposts. In some areas pacification required only lavish gifts of tools and trinkets to the Indians, while elsewhere firm military action was necessary. Thousands of settlers, both Peruvian nationals and European immigrants, soon followed the explorers and missionaries into Campa territory. The Pichis trail was opened in 1891. It cut directly through the Campa area from the Chanchamayo valley to the furthest point of steamboat navigation on the Pichis-Pachitea river, and became a heavily traveled communication link between Lima and the Amazon. In that same year the Peruvian government gave a vast concession of unexplored Campa land to an English company for development. Soon the Perene Campa were picking Peruvian Corporation Ltd. plantation coffee and buying at the company store in an area where shortly before they had hunted and fished. By 1900 the region was experiencing a major economic boom. The search for wild rubber was in full swing and was bringing quick wealth to the "rubber barons" of Iquitos and the first economic involvement with civilization for many Campa. Settlements were scattered along the entire length of the Ucayali, Pachitea, and Pichis rivers, and towns and prosperous farms and coffee plantations filled the Chanchamayo and upper Perene valleys.

After these initial advances, the colonization and development of Campa territory proceeded steadily. Franciscan missionaries successfully pacified the local Campa and built a road into the Satipo and Pangoa regions by 1919, and thousands of colonists moved in to clear the forest and plant crops. In 1935 the Franciscans established a mission in the Gran Pajonal, the last major Campa stronghold in the isolated and rugged interior region between the Ucayali and Pachitea river systems. Then, with Campa labour, the Fathers completed a mule trail which ran seventy kilometers through Indian territory to reach settlements on the Perene, and brought in 100 colonists from the Andes who began raising coffee and cattle.

During the second world war there was a renewed flurry of economic activity in the Amazon, partly inspired by a new demand for wild rubber. In 1943 a truck road was opened between the Andes and the port of Pucallpa on the Ucayali river, just north of the Campa area. Pucallpa quickly became a major commercial center for the entire Ucayali, and the regional lumbering industry expanded rapidly because it was now possible to truck lumber to Andean and coastal markets.

Following world war II the Peruvian government was forced by dramatic population increases in the Andean region and by socio-economic problems of long standing, to be even more concerned with Amazonian development. As part of this increased concern, various oil companies were granted huge concessions in the Amazon in order to encourage exploration and the possible development of new petroleum finds. One of these companies, Peruvian Gulf Oil, had air photo mosaics prepared and carried out ground exploration of much of the Campa region, but no new finds resulted. However, beginning with the

Plan Peruvia initiated by Supreme Decree in 1960, the government has taken a much more active role in the economic development and the promotion of new settlement in the Amazon. The Plan Peruvia selected a zone of some 45,000 square miles, including most of the Campa area, for a carefully planned program of development. The Oficina Nacional de Evaluacion de Recursos Naturales (ONERN) was set up to conduct a highly detailed study of the natural resources of key regions included in the Plan Peruvia and to make recommendations to guide the course of development. ONERN's work was supported in part by A.I.D. funds from the United States, and included technical assistants from A.I.D. and other countries including France and Canada. Combining air-photo interpretation and ground surveys ONERN researchers analyzed the climate, soils, vegetation, topography, and geology of the selected areas in order to estimate the costs and benefits of development, and to determine how the land could most effectively be used to raise the living standards and increase the economic productivity of the colonists. This research indicated that in vast areas development would be both unprofitable and detrimental to the environment. Fortunately these are areas where independent Campa still survive. Crucial to the ONERN proposals is the construction of a system of roads which will form part of the international Marginal Highway envisioned by President Belaunde in 1963. Plans call for a graduated population increase in three of the study zones (the Pachitea, Tambo-Pajonal, and Perene-Satipo-Ene) from their approximate totals of 15,000 in 1965 to nearly half a million within twenty years. Certainly this is one of the most ambitious development projects ever undertaken in the Peruvian Amazon, and it is fair to ask what its impact will be on the aboriginal inhabitants of the area. Unfortunately, official planning has all but ignored the Campa on the assumption that they would either adapt to changing conditions by becoming small-scale cash cropping farmers, or they could retire further into the interior.

#### THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT

The fierce hostility meeting initial efforts to develop the Campa area proved unsuccessful, and the last major armed uprisings, in which approximately 150 outsiders were killed, occurred in 1913-14. Following their defeat, many Campa turned to a religious movement which promised to destroy the invaders and remake the world, but this too failed.<sup>2</sup> As a result of a continuing process of adaptation beginning with pacification, the Campa population has become divided into three distinct groups. Campa in the first group are attempting to follow their traditional life style, and choose to live permanently in isolated interior areas outside of direct influence from the national economy. They obtain essential metal tools from other Campa in exchange for native articles within a formalized trading system.<sup>3</sup> A second group is formed by those who have established debt-relationships with particular settlers who act as their "patrons" and supply them with manufactured goods in exchange for labour or forest products such as lumber or rubber. Campa in the third group are attempting to achieve economic independence within the national economy. Many of these have joined mission communities where they can retain some sense of tribal identity, yet where cash is used, manufactured goods are more readily available, and cash-cropping, wage labour, and education combine to offer eventual economic assimilation. Table 1 presents regional population estimates for Campa living in each of the three groups, designated respectively as traditional, patron, and market.

Campa who desire to live traditionally and those who work for patrons have both suffered, and continue to suffer, severe deprivation as a result of the "development" of their homeland. Massive de-

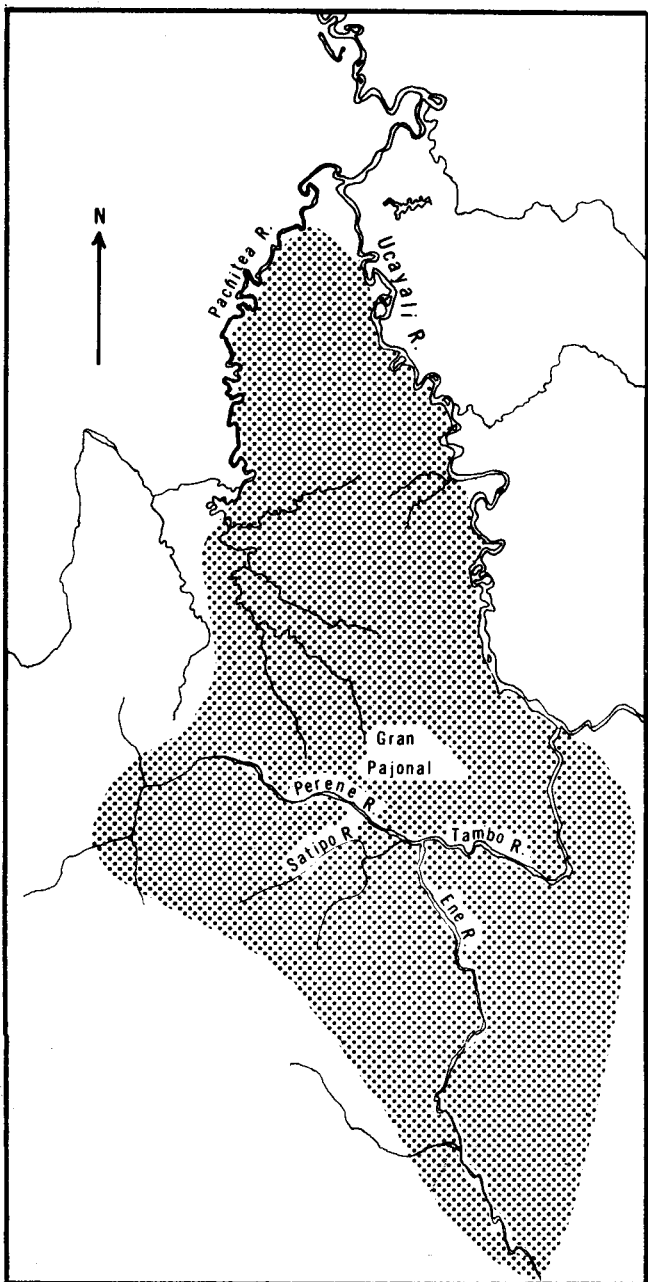
population resulting from introduced epidemics, indiscriminate killings, slave-raiding, and dispersion has been the immediate outcome of outside intrusion. Countless smaller Amazonian tribes have disappeared completely following initial contact due to such depopulation, but the Campa were too numerous and covered too large an area to be exterminated so quickly.

The traditionally-oriented Campa have not been protected from the devastating effects of depopulation by their isolated interior locations, and in fact have been frequent targets of slave-raiders, and energetic patrons eager to capitalize on their ignorance of monetary values and their interest in manufactured goods by luring them into debt-peonage. They have also been highly susceptible to epidemic diseases such as influenza and measles which are easily introduced by even indirect contacts with outsiders, and often prove fatal because of their lack of both natural immunity and medical defenses.

It is difficult to evaluate precisely the relative significance of all the factors responsible for the continuing depopulation and the erosion of traditional life in the still large Campa homeland areas. Fifty years ago slave-raiding, killings, and epidemics were probably the most critical causes, while today, dispersion and epidemics are of primary importance.

As economic development progressed, slave raids, or correrias as they were popularly known, became widespread throughout Campa territory in order to meet the increased demand for cheap labour. As early as the 1870's Campa children were considered "articles of commerce" along the Ucayali river and slaving was still blatant during the 1930's and 40's. Today it is very infrequent. Evidence for the former extent of slaving was found during my genealogical survey of the modern Campa community of Shahuaya in 1966 where more than 30% of the adult population of 68 had either been captured as slaves themselves or had had a parent or grandparent captured. It is certain that slaving resulted in the removal of women and children, the killing of men, and the destruction and pillage of homes, as well as serious disturbance of surviving populations. Countless lives were also lost as a result of other armed clashes between Campa and troops, settlers, and rubber-gatherers along the advancing frontiers, but as the traditional population has dwindled hostile resistance to intrusion has virtually ceased.

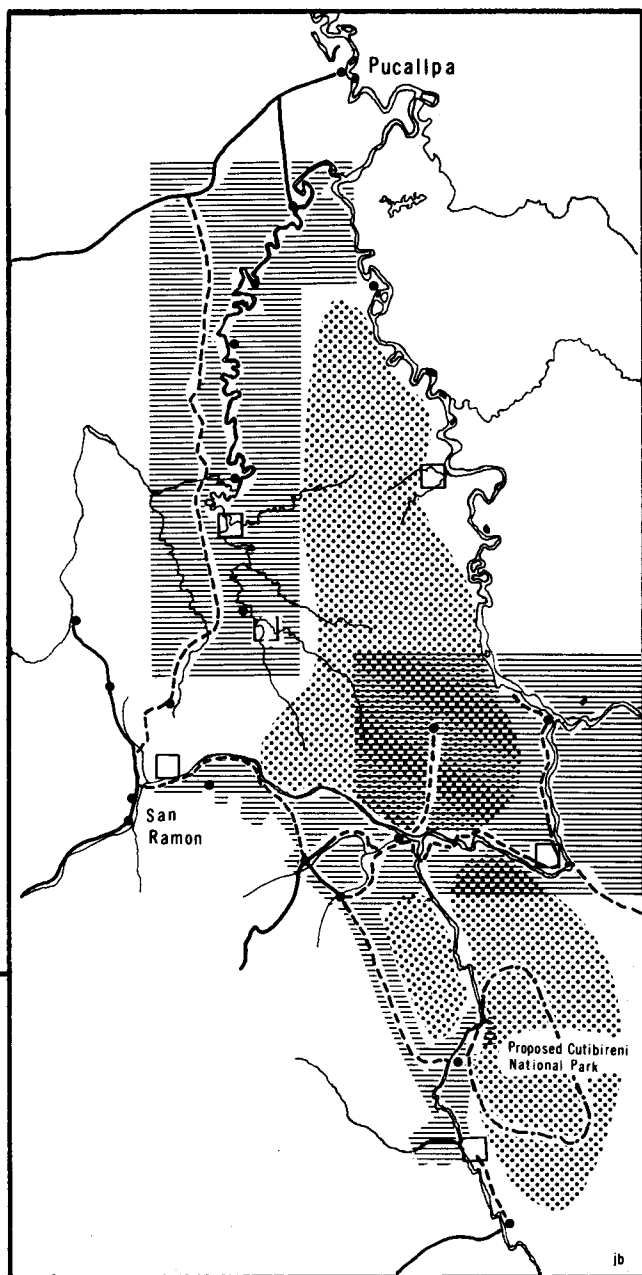
Increased mortality rates due to epidemic diseases introduced by outsiders has certainly remained a major cause of depopulation of traditional Campa areas over the past 100 years. Precise figures are of course unobtainable, but table 2 indicates that a large percentage of the deaths among modern Campa have resulted from such introduced illnesses. These figures are based on 181 deaths recorded in my genealogical data on Campa living largely in the Perene, Gran Pajonal, and Shahuaya regions since 1900. Unfortunately, in nearly half of the cases the cause of death was unrecorded, and hundreds of infant deaths were never listed in the genealogies. But even so, more than one third of the total cases involve deaths due to known epidemic diseases. Measles was the principal killer, but tuberculosis, influenza, whooping cough and dysenteries also took a heavy toll. When only cases of known death cause are considered, approximately 75% may be assigned to epidemic diseases. Entire families were often wiped out. I found many cases where only a single member survived. One man reported losing seven brothers and sisters, his mother, and three aunts and uncles to measles at the Sutsiki mission on the Perene in the late 1930's.



CAMPA  
TERRITORY  
1850

0 50  
Scale





Recently both the missions and the government have made attempts to supply medical aid to threatened Campa in the form of immunizations and antibiotics, but for most such aid has not come in time. For example, a major measles epidemic devastated the Pajonal Campa in November of 1964 and measles deaths were still occurring when I visited the area in 1969. Five Campa died of measles at the Adventist mission of Miritiriani in 1965 even when medical aid was quickly available. Fear of such epidemics is often given as a reason for leaving a mission or other areas of frequent outside contact and retiring to the interior. As a further precaution, outsiders who visit isolated groups are watched closely and questioned to make sure they are not bringing illness.

It is not difficult to understand why people who have been steadily weakened and demoralized by years of slaving, killings, and devastating epidemics should become easy prey for labour recruiters. With the traditional life undergoing serious disruption and with the trade networks that normally supply metal tools breaking down, many young Campa men have come out of the interior regions seeking temporary patron labour for the excitement and material rewards that it seems to offer. At the same time recruiters have combed the interior in order to locate people who could be enticed to work for extremely low wages. This movement of traditional Campa out of the interior should be viewed as both a symptom of the disruption of traditional life and as itself a cause of further disruption. Evidence for the widespread population dispersal related to patron involvements was obtained by comparing origin and present location data on adults listed in my genealogies. Of 284 individuals who had moved away from the region of their birthplace, 209 or more than two thirds came from isolated traditional areas - primarily in the Gran Pajonal, and headwater areas of the Apurucayali, Anacayali, and Nazaratequi rivers. These figures clearly reflect a steady drain on traditional populations.

Dramatic demographic evidence for population decline was obtained during my 1969 survey of the still traditionally oriented Gran Pajonal Campa, where the direct effects of economic development have been felt only since about 1945. Certainly this area suffered the indirect effects of development earlier, but the severest effects did not come until the Obentení colonization project became effective. Data regarding household size clearly indicates a decline in the Pajonal as compared to the Pichis and Ucayali Campa who have largely abandoned traditional life in favour of continuous involvement with the national economy. Pajonal Campa households are significantly smaller than those of Campa in other areas. Thirty-four per cent of 80 households in the Pajonal contained two or less individuals and only 23% contained five or more, while in the Pichis-Ucayali regions 47% of 326 households surveyed contained five or more individuals and only 22% were composed of two or less individuals. More alarming evidence of population decline in the Pajonal is seen in the age composition of the population. A sample of 282 individuals based on my genealogical survey was 57% adults, while comparison populations in the Pichis-Ucayali regions averaged 40 to 45% adults. This indicates that the present Pajonal Campa are not even reproducing themselves even though a very dense aboriginal population formerly occupied the area. Some recent estimates have placed the modern population at as high as 6,000, and this may have been true in 1950, but at the present time there are probably no more than 1,500 surviving Pajonal Campa, and this figure will continue to dwindle if present trends continue unchecked. There are many complex factors involved in this decline, of which increased mortality due to epidemics is only one. Birth rate and infanticide are other crucial factors which I have not investigated. The trauma

of epidemics and the abuses of patron involvement which are most severe in the early stages may well produce a general apathy in the surviving population which would reduce the natural rate of increase.

The traditionally organized Campa community which was an outgrowth of local ecological factors has been the first casualty of economic development. Under aboriginal conditions small groups of related households were loosely organized about warrior-chiefs who directed their movements and defended their territory against neighboring groups. This arrangement was ecologically sound in that it helped maintain a low population density and assured the continued availability of natural resources, but has been unable to withstand the major depopulation and disruption of outside pressure. When these new pressures became intolerable the chiefs brought their local groups together in concerted efforts to protect their territories by force of arms, but when these efforts failed the groups began to disintegrate under the impact of all the depopulation factors listed and the chiefs were left without followers. At the present time there are only a handful of recognized chiefs surviving and they are supported by only a few households.

Outside influences bring other significant alterations in traditional patterns of social organization. Severe depopulation makes virtually all traditional social patterns and groupings difficult if not impossible to maintain. Disturbance of the demographic pattern is reflected in a decline in preferred marriage patterns which normally involve brother-sister exchanges, cross-cousin marriage, and polygyny. Households shrink in size and sometimes do not even contain complete nuclear families, while at the same time extended families and sibling groups are broken up.

The approximately 2,500 Campa who survive in the interior still have relatively vast areas of wilderness open to them that are presently considered unsuitable for development purposes and their culture remains intact, but depopulation continues to fragment families and local groups, undermines the position of the chiefs, and threatens to destroy the demographic base of traditional society. These Campa understand what is happening and often resort to the simple defense mechanism of actively avoiding contact with outsiders, as the only means of self-preservation. Active avoidance may mean abandoning a village that has been discovered by strangers, or placing arrows in the trail as a warning that outsiders are not welcome. Open hostility is rarely resorted to, but persistent intruders may be met with drawn bows. There is every reason to assume, that if left free of outside influence, these people would be able to continue a way of life that has brought them satisfaction since precolombian times.

Those Campa who come out of the interior to work for patrons find a difficult and disappointing life awaiting them because the demands of patron labour are highly disruptive to traditional cultural patterns and bring few rewards. Patron-oriented Campa have less time for hunting, which was formerly their most meaningful masculine pursuit, and find it less productive because of the scarcity of game in the more settled areas. Family life is also disturbed because men must spend months away from home working for patrons, and households must constantly be moved, while at the same time close kin become dispersed because individuals must travel widely in search of labour. Unfortunately it is also common practice for patrons to take advantage of the Campa's lack of experience by grossly overcharging for the cheap consumer goods they advance and undercrediting for the valuable labour and forest products they receive in return. For example, one Campa reported spending two years cutting mahogany to pay his patron for a

\$25 shotgun. A patron usually manages to keep his laborers in perpetual debt by urging them to accept new goods before the old are paid for. The Campa are for the most part scrupulously honest with their patrons and rarely fail to deliver what is demanded of them. Deferred exchanges of goods between trading partners were an essential feature of traditional Campa economic life, and this pattern was readily transferred to a patron debt-relationship. In many cases the relationship between the patron and his Campa debtor is characterized by a symbiotic interdependence, and the relationship may continue as long as it seems to be mutually advantageous. However it frequently happens that a Campa becomes dissatisfied with his patron and has difficulty breaking off the relationship against the patron's wishes.

When they are too old to be of any more use to a patron most Campa discover that they have traded their culture for a few ragged clothes, some battered metal kitchen utensils, and perhaps a broken flashlight. A few of those who realize they are being cheated and exploited return to the traditional life in the interior, but the majority find the lure of consumer goods irresistible and, in spite of their dissatisfactions, continue to work for their patrons in the hopes of some day obtaining a radio or outboard motor. Many join missions, learn Spanish, and send their children to school, and a handful may eventually even achieve their goal.

Economic development is also having a disturbing impact on Amazonian rain forest ecology, and ironically, many Indians are now joining in the destruction of their own environment for immediate economic reward. Their special forest skills are being used to speed the extermination of many formerly abundant but now endangered species such as the jaguar, manatee, caiman, and paiche. Economic development has transformed the subsistence oriented Indian into an efficient commercial skin and meat hunter, fisherman, and trapper for live animal dealers. Cheap Indian labour is also a significant factor in the conversion of vast areas of primary forest into farmland, and in the systematic exploitation of certain valuable lumber trees. Contrary to popular opinion, development can destroy the "indestructible" Amazon forest, along with the cultures and wildlife it supports.

#### IMPLICATIONS AND PROSPECTS

The Campa case clearly casts doubt on many commonly accepted views of the relationship between tribal cultures and the technologically more powerful cultures which are rapidly replacing them. It has been almost unanimously assumed by social scientists, missionaries, and others concerned with development, that the extinction of tribal life is natural, inevitable, and beneficial. Those who oppose these views are accused of romanticizing the natives and of attempting to deny them the benefits of civilization. These views must be re-assessed, now that it is becoming apparent that the benefits of economic development and advanced technology may not be worth their price of worldwide environmental degradation which may ultimately threaten the existence of all human life. Social scientists might well question the wisdom of endorsing and encouraging the final extermination of cultures that reject our "advances" and instead find satisfactions in a technologically simple life in close harmony with its environment.

Those who argue that cultural extinction is a natural, and by implication good, process in which cultures becoming unfit for their environments are eliminated, overlook the fact that most of these supposedly "maladapted" cultures are actually more successfully

adapted to their natural environments than more "advanced" cultures. It is only the presence in their cultural environment of more powerful and ultimately more destructive, expansionist cultures which they are unable to tolerate. Biological species that are unable to adapt to massive changes in their environment caused by cultural activities find many scientists advocating their survival, and indeed few question their right to exist, but unfortunately, social scientists seem to accept the proposition that only those cultures that can adopt our superior technology should be allowed to exist.

The assumption that tribal extinction is inevitable is perhaps a more dangerous view, because it is a self-fulfilling prophecy that encourages people to either do nothing, or else work to speed the "inevitable", and lets them feel good about helping the natives to accept it. According to this, "you can't fight progress" view, all people will inevitably desire a "higher standard of living" as defined by Western culture, and will willingly pay any price to obtain it. It would therefore be immoral to do anything that might slow the process. Inevitability is of course impossible to disprove, but the Campa have chosen to resist it for at least 400 years and show every indication of continued resistance.

The simple weakness of the "benefits of civilization" argument is that many people like the Campa either prefer their own definition of the "good life", but find it increasingly difficult to attain because of outside interference, or else are dazzled by the material wealth and power of civilization and discover too late that it is only a costly mirage. In fact, civilization brings the Campa many very doubtful benefits for which it demands a heavy price. While axes, machetes, and metal pots are unquestionably beneficial, and these can be obtained through traditional trade patterns with no loss of cultural independence or pride, the rest of civilization's consumer goods require a major sacrifice of both Campa culture and environment and offer only questionable benefits in return. A shotgun, for example, might appear to be a great improvement over the Campa bow, but the bow is easily made and far more versatile, while a shotgun deteriorates rapidly in the humid environment, requires months or even years of disruptive and disagreeable labour to obtain and further labour to keep it supplied with ammunition. It would appear that rather than being beneficial utilitarian articles, most of the manufactured goods sought by the Campa have become absurd new prestige symbols because of their association with a powerful alien culture that is destroying their traditional life.

If Campa tribal extinction is not inevitable, and if many Campa prefer their way of life to the doubtful benefits of civilization, the most important question is what can be done to insure their right to continued cultural independence. The best guarantee would be for the Peruvian government to recognize the Campa's inviolable and inalienable right to the interior areas which they now occupy, including the proposed Cutibireni National Park. These areas would be declared Campa Land and would become a sanctuary for those Campa who desire to pursue their traditional life unmolested. Within this zone all forms of outside interference including recruiting, patron labour, missionary activities, and cash-cropping would be permanently prohibited. The road which is projected for the Gran Pajonal would not be built, and the few settlements and missions in that area would be phased out. Medical aid which is absolutely necessary to counteract the effects of introduced diseases and certain metal articles which have long been part of traditional culture could be supplied by government supported posts operated by trained Campa who would offer them in exchange for native goods. These native goods could then be sold to

tourist shops and museums to help finance the posts. It is likely that many years would elapse before population increase could become a problem in the traditional areas, and before that happened natural control mechanisms would presumably become reestablished. Because of the basic economic independence of the traditional Campa any other kinds of assistance would be unnecessary and possibly even detrimental.

Given a commitment on the government's part to do so, it would certainly not be impossible to protect the Campa from the unwanted disturbances that now threaten the sense of security and self-reliance that is essential for their continued survival. The precedent for such action has already been set by the Australian government's successful New Guinea policy of designating "uncontrolled areas" where the natives were left strictly alone until the government was ready to gradually extend its control over them. However securing the borders of Campa Land would require full support from the Peruvian government and strict enforcement of the non-interference regulation. This task could no doubt be accomplished by a specially trained Campa police force in cooperation with the Guardia Civil who already occupy army posts in strategic areas. At the same time there would need to be enforcement of regulations already on the books designed to prevent the abuses and exploitation of the Campa laborer. This would greatly reduce labor recruitment in the interior even without specific prohibitions on such activities because it would no longer be highly profitable to hire isolated monolingual tribal Indians.

The official recognition of a vast region of "Campa Land" with adequate safeguards against intrusion, would be an important affirmation of the value of Campa culture, and would encourage many Campa to return to their way of life instead of surrendering to the eroding effects of civilization because they see no alternative. Such a move would not be as drastic as it might seem, because as the ONERN study demonstrates, most of this region could never be profitably developed. However, it would represent a significant change in government law respecting jungle Indian lands, because previous laws have only recognized Andean-style Indian communities, and have allowed "reserves" to be formed only according to an acreage allotment based on the requirements of sedentary Quechua Indians for raising potatoes in the Andes. There has been no official recognition of the fact that semi-nomadic jungle Indians cannot support their culture on these small plots.

Those Campa who have chosen economic development would of course be free to do so, but they face a very difficult and uncertain future and should be aware of their prospects. Overcrowding in the few areas suitable for agricultural development and major inequalities in wealth are already occurring, and these trends are likely to continue. Large reserves of tribal land exclusively for Campa use should be set aside in potentially rich agricultural zones so that the distinctly Campa communities now developing around religious missions can have a chance to retain their cultural identity. The government has expressed interest in such reserves but has so far been reluctant to act on specific proposals. There seems to be a basic conflict between plans for massive outside development and colonization and the reservation of an adequate land base for the Campa who wish to participate in the national economy. In the interests of long-run stability and security, when their land base is secured the market-oriented Campa should work for economic self-sufficiency. They will probably find that tribal land tenure and cultural mechanisms for equalizing the distribution of wealth and stabilizing population growth will be of greater importance than "economic development" in the usual sense.

A vast area of "Campa Land" in the interior for traditional Campa, and a system of smaller "reserves" for independent, market-oriented Campa communities, would appear to be the most satisfactory alternative to the severe hardships now caused by development. At the present time there are many other areas in Peru and elsewhere in the Amazon where tribal cultures are under serious development pressures and where the alternative suggested here should also be considered.

#### NOTES

The data upon which this work is based were gathered during fifteen months of research in Peru between 1964 and 1969. Fieldwork in 1968 was supported by a National Defense Education Act fellowship summer research grant from the University of Oregon, while the primary research in 1968-69 was supported by National Science Foundation doctoral dissertation grant GS-2089 and a National Institute of Health Predoctoral Fellowship MH-39867-01 under the direction of Philip D. Young of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, U.S.A.

1. Further ethnographic material on the Campa is available in the following sources: Bodley 1970 and in press; Varese 1968; Weiss 1969; and in the Proceedings of the XXXIX International Congress of Americanists.
2. The uprisings of 1913-14 and the messianic movement are described by Bodley (in press).
3. This system of trade is described in some detail in a paper entitled "Deferred Exchange Among the Campa Indians" which was presented at the annual Northwest Anthropological Conference in Portland, Oregon, March 1972.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bodley, John H:  
1970. Campa Socio-Economic Adaptation. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oregon. 197 pp. University Microfilms.  
in press. A Transformative Movement Among the Campa of Eastern Peru. *Anthropos*.
- ONERN (Oficina Nacional de Evaluacion de Recursos Naturales)  
1964. Evaluacion e Integracion del Potencial Economico y Social de la Zona Perene-Satipo-Ene. 2 vols. Lima.  
1966. Inventario, Evaluacion e Integracion de los Recursos Naturales de la Zona del Rio Pachitea. Lima.  
1968. Inventario, Evaluacion e Integracion de los Recursos Naturales de la Zona del Rio Tambo-Gran Pajonal. Lima.
- Varese, Stefano  
1968. La Sal de los Cerros: Notas Etnograficas e Historicas Sobre los Campa de la Selva del Peru. Universidad Peruana de Ciencias y Tecnologia. Lima. 161 pp.
- Weiss, Gerald  
1969. The Cosmology of the Campa Indians of Eastern Peru. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan. University Microfilms.

