

SUPYSÁUA

A Documentary Report
on the Conditions
of Indian Peoples in Brazil



Published by:
INDIGENA, INC.
and
AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL

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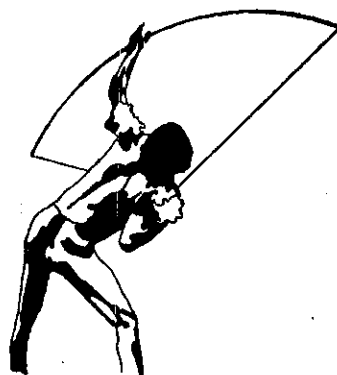
Supysáua is an expression in *nheêngatú* (Tupi) which means “the truth, only the truth.”

In 1970, following a momentary wave of international criticism, the National Indian Foundation of Brazil (FUNAI) published a small pamphlet titled, *Supysáua, O Índio Brasileiro* in order to counter various accusations that the Brazilian government was condoning a policy of genocide against its remaining Indian peoples and tribes. At the same time, announcements were made about the construction of the famous Trans-Amazonic Highway, and a program was formulated for the “integration” of Indians into national development and growth.

This report, compiled by INDIGENA and AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL, takes the same title as the National Indian Foundation pamphlet. Its purposes are to document the truth about Indian policy and practice in Brazil since 1970, and to factually document what is happening to Brazilian Indian tribes in the name of supposed “progress,” “integration,” and “growth.”

Photographs in this pamphlet are of the Wausha tribe, an Arawak-speaking group of 100 people who live along the Batovi River in the Xingu National Park, Mato Grosso, Brazil.

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A Documentary Report on the Conditions of Indian Peoples in Brazil

INDIGENA (the Spanish word for Native American) serves as a documentation center in the United States with up-to-date information on the legal, social, economic, political, and cultural conditions of indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

The central purpose of INDIGENA is to create a reciprocal information exchange between Native American peoples and organizations throughout the Americas in support of these people's struggles to become more powerful, to be self-reliant, and to determine for themselves the social and cultural systems under which they want to live.

As a secondary aim, INDIGENA attempts to inform and educate non-Indian publics about the conditions of native peoples, their struggles against racism and discrimination, and their quest for social, economic, and cultural justice.

The quarterly newsletter of INDIGENA, *News From Indian America*, can be obtained by writing:

INDIGENA
P.O. Box 4073
Berkeley, Ca. 94704

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL is an independent, non-profit organization whose main activity is to publish the *Brazilian Information Bulletin*. The *Bulletin's* main thrust is to document and disseminate information on: (1) repression in Brazil; (2) the U.S. role in supporting that repression; (3) the struggle in and outside Brazil against the repression; (4) Brazil's role in Latin America as a sub-imperial power; and (5) the so-called Brazilian "economic miracle."

The quarterly *Brazilian Information Bulletin* can be obtained by writing:

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL
P.O. Box 2279, Station A
Berkeley, Ca. 94702

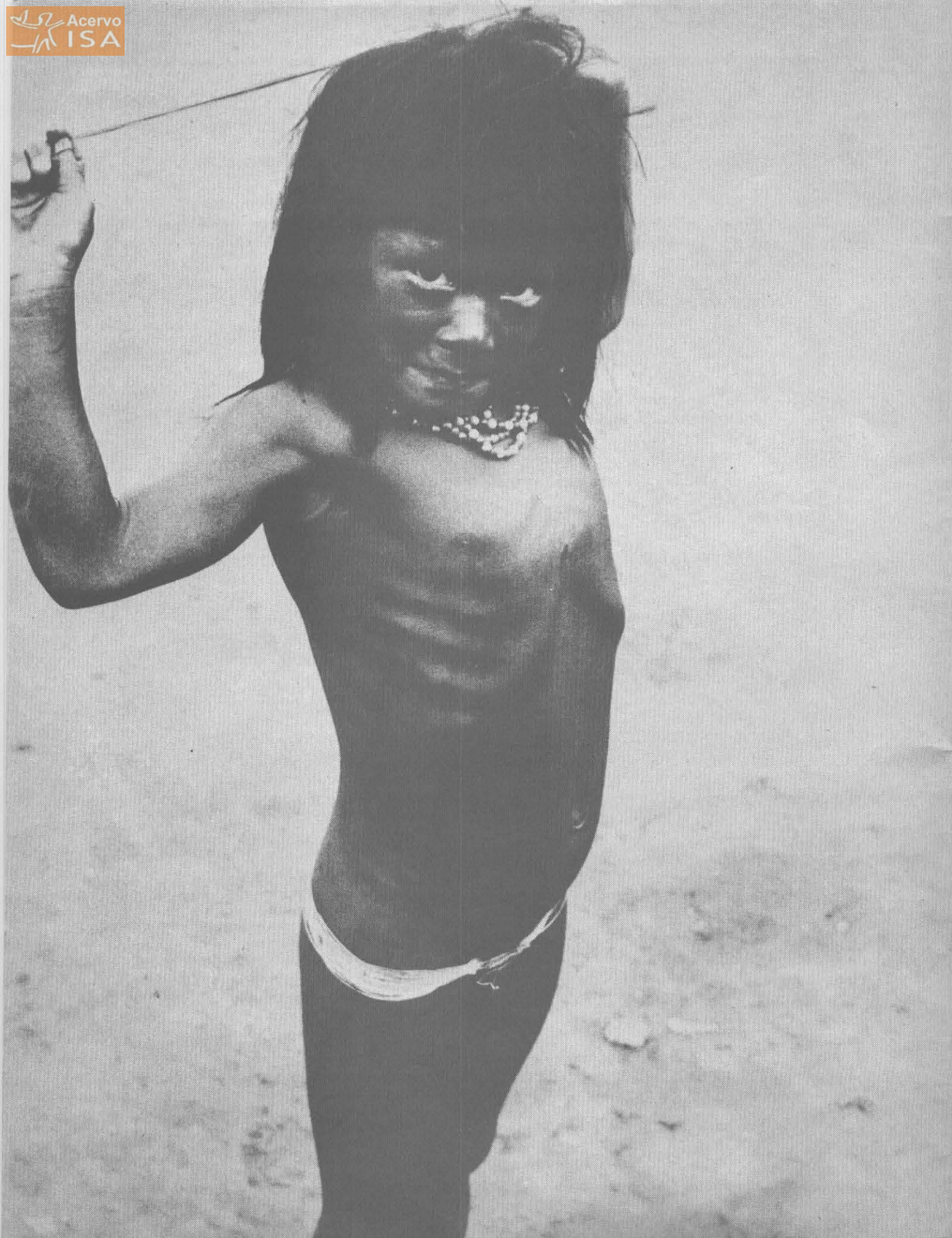
Comprehensive coverage of news about Indian peoples of Brazil (in Portuguese) as reported in Brazil's two leading daily newspapers — O ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO and JORNAL DO BRASIL — as well as the weekly newspaper, OPINIÃO, can be obtained by writing:

BRAZIL CLIPPING SERVICE
P.O. Box 4267
Berkeley, California 94704

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INTRODUCTION

In 1967, opposition members of the Brazilian Congress called for a full-scale investigation of the Indian Protection Service of Brazil (SPI). The voluminous report was published in March 1968, describing hundreds of crimes committed against Indian peoples ranging from bacteriological warfare and the bombing of Indian villages to outright torture and the failure to provide assistance to Indians in times of need.

"It is not only through embezzlement of funds," Attorney General Jader Figueredo wrote in his report, "but by the admission of sexual perversions, murders and all other crimes listed in the penal code against Indians and their property, that one can see that the Indian Protection Service was for years a den of corruption and indiscriminate killings."

The head of the Indian Protection Service, Major Luis Neves, was alone accused of 42 crimes, including complicity in several murders, the robbery and illegal sale of Indian lands, and the embezzlement of \$300,000.

World attention focused upon Brazilian Indian policy with the publication in 1969 of an article by the British journalist, Norman Lewis, titled "Genocide, From Fire and Sword to Arsenic and Bullets — Civilization Has Sent Six Million Indians to Extinction." Lewis's article was translated into several languages, and immediately caused a scandal in the international press. Several newspapers accused the Brazilian government of condoning a policy of genocide against its remaining Indian tribes, and called for a response by various governments and international agencies throughout the world.

Anxious about its image abroad, in late 1968 the military government of Brazil responded to these accusations, creating a new National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) to replace the corrupt Indian Protection Service (SPI) and promising that Indian peoples would be now protected in their rights to life, cultural freedom, and land. The international community was impressed by these promises, and within the short space of a year silence had replaced a brief period of world concern.

By 1970, the international press began to refocus its attention upon another aspect of Brazilian government policy, the opening up of the vast interior regions of the Brazilian Amazon. Articles appeared describing the construction of the new *Trans-Amazonic Highway*, a 3,000 mile road which would stretch from the Atlantic Ocean in northeastern Brazil to the jungle frontier with Peru. The "Green Hell" suddenly became a businessman's paradise, a garden of mineral, timber, and agricultural wealth. Detailed government plans were described predicting the inevitable development and growth of Brazil, the forging of a mighty and powerful nation on the back of the rich resources of its unexplored and immense interior.

True, following 1970, there were still the periodic reports about Indians, but these were typically about bloody skirmishes between highway workers and supposedly "hostile" and "savage" tribes along the newly opened frontiers. Brazil was on the move, and it had all the mystery and fantasy of the most dramatic episodes out of the American West.

The following document is the first of its kind to be published in the United States, and radically differs from most accounts of the occupation of the Brazilian Amazon which have appeared in the international, and particularly the North American, press. Specifically, four reports are published here which factually document the continued, brutal, and systematic attempt to exterminate the remaining 120,000 Indian peoples of Brazil.

The first report is an abridged version of Norman Lewis's article on "Genocide," which created the original international scandal about Indian policy in Brazil. The second article, which takes its title from a well known Brazilian poem, was written by a group of Brazilian bishops and clerics, and documents the contemporary nature of Indian policy in Brazil. The third article was written by a group of unnamed Brazilian anthropologists, and distributed at the XLI International Congress of Americanists, Mexico City, September 1974. The final document is a chart of foreign aid and investment programs in the Amazon region, especially as these pose a threat to Indian land and territorial rights.*

The two documents by the Brazilian clerics and anthropologists are particularly important, as they represent an urgent plea on the part of knowledgeable persons within Brazil that international attention again focus upon the situation of Brazilian Indian tribes. Both documents were written under the most severe conditions of political repression, and were courageously sent to the exterior in order to mobilize international action and concern. Several points which they make are extremely important to note.

First, both documents argue that there is essentially no difference between the former Indian Protection Service (SPI) and the newly created, and now bureaucratically entrenched, National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). If differences do exist, they appear in the nature of rhetoric and philosophy, rather than in the actual consequences of government policy on Indian lives.

Since 1970, FUNAI, an agency within the Brazilian Ministry of the Interior, has opted for a policy of "rapid integration" of indigenous populations into Brazilian national life. This policy assumes that Indians should be incorporated into the frontiers of national expansion, rather than positively protected on their aboriginal territories and lands.

In 1957, the Brazilian anthropologist, Darcy Ribeiro, demonstrated that all forms of "rapid integration" were merely euphemisms for Indian physical and cultural death. Of 230 tribes known to exist in Brazil in 1900, Ribeiro found that more than one-third (87 tribes) had become extinct in their contacts with Brazilian national society. Between 1900 and 1957, Indian population in Brazil dropped from over 1 million to less than 200,000 persons, leaving a spattering of "contacted tribes" who were culturally devastated and faced severe conditions of disease, depopulation, malnutrition, and poverty.

The fate of the more than 125 isolated Indian nations who still remained in the Amazon and Central regions of Brazil, Ribeiro argued, would depend on the ability of the government to provide a protective buffer between Indian communities and the frontiers of national expansion. Rapid integration, he concluded, would spell their doom.

Second, these documents provide unquestionable evidence that acts of genocide continue to be committed against specific Indian groups. These genocidal acts are more subtle, and hence less dramatic, than the bombing of Indian villages or the wholesale slaughter of Indian women and children. Their consequences, however, are more or less the same.

In essence, at the present moment, and increasingly since the construction of the *Trans-Amazonic Highway* in 1970, Indian peoples have been left unprotected in their constitutionally recognized rights to territories and lands (*Article 98* of the Brazilian Constitution). Although FUNAI originally promised to demarcate several Indian Parks and reserves, these promises have gone unfulfilled, resulting in the invasion of Indian lands by highways,

* Each of these reports refers to specific tribal groups. We have intentionally maintained the orthography used for tribal names in the original documents, rather than converting them to standard Portuguese or English spellings. The spellings are close enough in each document not to cause confusion for the reader.

development projects, mineral and agricultural enterprises. These invasions have brought with them outsiders, and led to the rapid spread of epidemics and disease. In the short space of a few months, whole tribes have been ecologically uprooted, and faced with depopulation, disease, and death.

These reports document numerous cases where the systematic expropriation of Indian lands has taken place under the purview, and often with the outright approval, of FUNAI. As an agency within the Brazilian Ministry of the Interior, the National Indian Foundation has tended to support powerful economic groups, rather than protect Indian lives. In no uncertain terms, it has become one of the key institutions in promoting the development and occupation of the Amazon, rather than a staunch defender of Indian rights.

Finally, each of these documents stresses the need for an international effort in support of Brazilian Indian rights. *Y-Juca-Pirama*, the document by members of the Brazilian Church, correctly argues that because of the political climate in Brazil, more public awareness of these issues often exists in the exterior than within the country itself. Similarly, the document by the group of Brazilian anthropologists argues that the government of Brazil should be held accountable, under Resolution 96 of the United Nations and Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization Accords, before international law.

The first of these resolutions defines the crime of genocide under international law. The second sets specific limits on government programs which are intended to integrate tribal or ethnic minorities. Both resolutions have been signed by the government of Brazil.

The need for an international effort in support of Indian rights is even more strongly provided by the evidence concerning foreign aid and investment in the Amazon region. The chart compiled from the files of INDIGENA and AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL which serves as the final document in this pamphlet shows the many areas where foreign enterprises, of one sort or another, have invaded Indian territories and lands. Both the pace and structure of the occupation of the Amazon has been determined from outside of Brazil, leading to a philosophy which promotes "development" at any human costs and the imminent ecological devastation of one of the largest natural areas in the world. Clearly, a major part of the responsibility for what is taking place in the Brazilian Amazon lies with these foreign enterprises and concerns.

There is a madness called "progress" and "civilization" which has infested the body politic of Brazil. This madness is endemic to the Americas, and has always neglected the rights of small tribal minorities to exist. In the name of this disease, millions of Indian people have been killed, and today thousands more are dying in the Amazon region of South America.

It is time, we believe, that this madness be brought to an end. It is time that the world community again affirm the rights of these peoples to exist. In the name of compassion, humanity, and international law, it is time that the criminals be held accountable, and the victims be provided with the conditions to live.

—INDIGENA
—AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL
November, 1974



GENOCIDE

From fire and sword to arsenic and bullets—civilization has sent six million Indians to extinction.

by Norman Lewis

The following article is an abridged version of "Genocide" by Norman Lewis (The Sunday Times, London, February 23, 1969), as published in the pamphlet Slave or Dead (Ata Kando, Holland, 1971).

If you happened to be one of those who felt affection for the gentle, backward civilizations — Nagas, Papuans, Mois of Vietnam, Polynesian and Melanesian remnants — the shy primitive peoples, daunted and overshadowed by the Juggernaut advance of our ruthless age, then 1968 was a bad year for you.

By the descriptions of all who had seen them, there were no more inoffensive and charming human beings on the planet than the forest Indians of Brazil, and brusquely we were told they had been rushed to the verge of extinction. The tragedy of the Indian in the USA in the last century was being repeated, but it was being compressed into a shorter time. Where a decade ago there had been hundreds of Indians, there were now tens. An American magazine reported with nostalgia on a tribe of which only 135 members had survived . . . too gentle almost to hunt. They lived as naked as Adam and Eve in the nightfall of an innocent history, catching a few fish, collecting groundnuts, playing their flutes, making love . . . waiting for death. We learned that it was due only to the paternal solicitude of the Brazilian Government's Indian Protection Service that they had survived until this day.

In all such monitory accounts — and there had been many of them — there was a blind spot, a lack of candor, a defect in social responsibility, an evident aversion to pointing to the direction from which doom approached.

It seemed that we were expected to suppose that the Indians were simply fading away, killed off by the harsh climate of the times, and we were invited to inquire no further. It was left to the Brazilian Government itself to resolve the mystery, and in March 1968 it did so, with brutal frankness, and with little attempt at self defense. The tribes had been virtually exterminated, not *despite* all the efforts of the Indian Protection Service, but with its *connivance* — often its ardent cooperation.

The Service, admitted General Albuquerque Lima, the Brazilian Minister of the Interior, had been converted into an instrument for the Indians' oppression, and had therefore been dissolved. There was to be a judicial inquiry into the conduct of 134 functionaries. A full newspaper page in small print was required to list the crimes with which these men were charged. Speaking informally, the Attorney General, Senhor Jader Figueiredo, doubted whether

10 of the Service's employees out of a total over over 1000 would be fully cleared of guilt.

The official report was calm — phlegmatic almost — all the more effective therefore in its exposure of the atrocity it contained. Pioneers leagued with corrupt politicians had continually usurped Indian lands, destroyed whole tribes in a cruel struggle in which bacteriological warfare had been employed, by issuing clothing impregnated with the virus of smallpox, and by poisoned food supplies. Children had been abducted and mass murder gone unpunished. The Government itself was blamed to some extent for the Service's increasing starvation of resources over a period of 30 years. The Service had also had to face "the disastrous impact of missionary activity."

Next day the Attorney General met the Press, and was prepared to supply all the details. A commission had spent 58 days visiting Indian Protection Service posts all over the country collecting evidence of abuses and atrocities.

The huge losses sustained by the Indian tribes in this tragic decade were catalogued in part. Of 19,000 Munducurus believed to have existed in the Thirties, only 1200 were left. The strength of the Guaranis had been reduced from 5000 to 300. There were 400 Carajas left out of 4000. Of the Cintas Largas, who had been attacked from the air and driven into the mountains, possibly 500 had survived out of 10,000. The proud and noble nation of the Kadiweus — the Indian Cavaliers — had shrunk to a pitiful scrounging band of about 200. A few hundred only remained of the formidable Chavantes who prowled in the background of Peter Fleming's Brazilian journey, but they had been reduced to mission fodder — the same melancholy fate that had overtaken the Bororos, who helped to change Lévi-Strauss's views on the nature of human evolution. Many tribes were now represented by a single family, a few by one or two individuals. Some, like the Tapaiunas — in this case from a gift of sugar laced with arsenic — had disappeared altogether. It is estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 Indians survive today. Brazil's leading social historian believes that not a single one will be alive by 1980.

Senhor Figueiredo estimated that property worth 62 million dollars had been stolen from the Indians in the past 10 years; cattle and personal possessions. He added, "It is not only through the embezzlement of funds, but by the admission of sexual perversions, murders and all other crimes listed in the penal code against Indians and their property, that one can see that the Indian Protection Service was for years a den of corruption and indiscriminate killings." The head of the service, Major Luis Neves, was accused of 42 crimes, including collusion in several murders, the

illegal sale of lands, and the embezzlement of 300,000 dollars. The documents containing the evidence collected by the Attorney General weighed 103 kilograms, he informed the newspapermen, and amounted to a total of 5115 pages.

In the following days there were more headlines and more statements by the Ministry:

"Rich landowners of the municipality of Pedro Alfonso attacked the tribe of Craos and killed about 100."

"The worst slaughter took place in Aripuaná, where the Cintas Largas Indians were attacked from the air using sticks of dynamite."

"The Maxacalis were given fire-water by the landowners who employed gunmen to shoot them down when they were drunk."

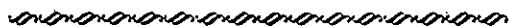
"Landowners engaged a notorious pistolero and his band to massacre the Canelas Indians."

"The Nhambiquera Indians were mown down by machine-gun fire."

"Two tribes of the Patachós were exterminated by giving them smallpox injection."

"In the Ministry of the Interior it was stated yesterday that crimes committed by certain ex-functionaries of the SPI amounted to more than 1000, ranging from tearing out Indians' fingernails to allowing them to die without assistance."

"To exterminate the tribe Beicos-de-Pau, Ramis Bucair, Chief of the 6th Inspectorate, explained, an expedition was formed which went up the River Arinos carrying presents and a great quantity of foodstuffs for the Indians. These were mixed with arsenic and formicides. . . . Next day a great number of the Indians died, and the whites spread the rumor that this was the result of an epidemic."



As ever, the frontiers with Colombia and Peru — scene of the piratical adventures of the old British-registered Peruvian Amazon Company — gave trouble. A minor boom in wild rubber set off by the last war had filled this area with a new generation of men with hearts of flint. In the 1940s one rubber company punished those of their Indian slaves who fell short in their daily collection by the loss of an ear for the first offense, then the loss of the second ear, then death. When chased by Brazilian troops, they simply moved, with all their labor, across the Peruvian border. Today, most of the local landowners are slightly less spectacular in their oppressions. One landowner is alleged to have chained lepers to posts, leaving them to relieve themselves where they stood, without food and water for a week. He was a bad example, but his method of keeping the Ticuna Indians in a state of slavery was the one commonly in use. They were paid 0.50 cruzeiros (15 cents) for a day's labor and then charged 3 cruzeiros for a piece of soap. Those who attempted to escape were arrested (by the landowner's private police force) as thieves. Senhora Neves da Costa Vale, a delegate of the Federal Police, who investigated this case, and the local conditions in general, found that little had changed since the bad old days. She noted that hundreds of Indians were being enslaved by

landowners on both sides of the frontier, and that Colombians and Peruvians hunted for Ticuna Indians up the Brazilian rivers. Semi-civilized Indians, she said, were being carried off for enrollment as bandits in Colombia. The area is known as Solimões, from the local name of the Amazon, and Senhora Neves was shocked by the desperate physical condition of the Indians. Lepers were plentiful, and she confirmed the existence of an island called Armaca where Indians who were old or sick were concentrated to await death. She said that they were without assistance of any kind.

From all sources it was a tale of disaster. No one knew just how many Indians had survived, because there was no way of counting them in their last mountain and forest strongholds. The most optimistic estimate put the figure at 100,000, but others thought they might be as few as half this number. Nor could more than the roughest estimate be made of the speed of the processes of extermination. All the accounts suggest that when the Europeans first came on the scene four centuries back they found a dense and lively population. Fray Gasper, the diarist of Orellana's expedition, claims that a force of 50,000 once attacked their ship. At that time the experts believe that the Indians may have numbered between three and six millions. By 1900, the same authorities calculate, there may have been a million left. But in reality, it is all a matter of guesswork.

* * *

The first Europeans to set eyes on the Indians of Brazil came ashore from the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral in the year 1500 to a reception that enchanted them, and when the ships set sail again they left with reluctance.

Pero Vaz de Caminha, official clerk to the expedition, sent off a letter to the king that crackled with enthusiasm.

(Here follows an account of the first favorable impression of the Indians' pleasing looks, manners, and generosity, which influenced Voltaire to formulate his theory of the Noble Savage; the economic conditions in Europe influencing the Spanish and Portuguese to seek colonies; and the resulting destructive effect of these initial contacts on the Indians).

The atrocities of the Conquistadores described by Bishop Bartolomeo de Las Casas, who was an eyewitness of what must have been the greatest of all wars of extermination, resist the imagination. There is something remote and shadowy about horror on so vast a scale. Numbers begin to mean nothing, as one reads with a sort of detached, unfocused belief of the mass burnings, the flaying, the disembowellings, and the mutilations.

Twelve millions were killed, Las Casas says, most of them in frightful ways.

Wherever they could be reached, in the Caribbean islands, and on the coastal plains, the Indians were exterminated. Those of Brazil were saved from extinction by a tropical rain forest, as big as Europe, and to the south of it, the half million square miles of thicket and swampland — the Mato Grosso — that remained sufficiently mysterious until our days for explorers like Colonel Fawcett to lose their lives searching in it for golden cities.

The processes of murder and enslavement slowed down during the next three centuries, but did so because there were fewer Indians left to murder and enslave. Great expeditions to provide labor for the plantations of Maranhão and Pará depopulated all the easily accessible villages near the main Amazonian waterways, and the loss of life is said to have been greater than that involved in the slave trade with Africa. Those who escaped the plantations often finished in the Jesuit reservations — religious concentration camps where conditions were hardly less severe, and trifling offenses were punished with terrible floggings or imprisonment: “The sword and iron rod are the best kind of preaching,” as the Jesuit missionary José de Anchieta put it.

By the 19th century some sort of melancholy stalemate had been reached. Indian slaves were harder to get, and with the increasing rationalization of supply and the consequent fall in cost of Negroes from West Africa — who in any case stood up to the work better — the price of the local product was undercut. As the Indians became less valuable as a commodity it became possible to see them through a misty Victorian eye, and at least one novel about them was written, swaddled in sentiment, and in the mood of *The Last of the Mohicans*. A more practical viewpoint reasserted itself at the time of the great rubber boom at the turn of the century, when it was discovered that the harmless and picturesque Indians were better equipped than Negroes to search the forests for rubber trees. While the eyes of the world were averted, all the familiar tortures and excesses were renewed, until with the collapse of the boom and the revival of conscience, the Indian Protection Service was formed. In the raw, abrasive vulgarity it displayed in its consumption of easy wealth, the Brazilian rubber boom surpassed anything that had been seen before in the Western world since the days of the Klondike. It was centered on Manaus which had been built where it was at the confluence of two great, navigable rivers, the Amazon and the Rio Negro, for its convenience in launching slaving expeditions, a city that had fallen into a decline that matched the wane in interest for its principal commodity.

With the invention of the motor car and the rubber tire, and the recognition that the hevea tree of the Amazon produced incomparably the best rubber, Manaus was back in business, converted instantly to a tropical Gomorrah.

The most dynamic of the great rubber corporations of those days was the British-registered Peruvian Amazon Company, operating in the ill-defined northwestern frontier of Brazil, where it could play off the governments of Colombia, Peru and Brazil against each other, all the better to establish its vast, nightmarish empire of exploitation and death.

(Here are mentioned gruesome descriptions of life on this plantation, where Indian slaves were whipped, tortured, killed for profit and sport, and the stud-farm where Indian women were made to produce the slave labor of the future.)

The worldwide scandal of the Peruvian Amazon Company, exposed by Sir Roger Casement, coincided with the collapse of the rubber boom caused by the

competition of the new Malayan plantations, and a crisis of conscience was sharpened by the threat of economic disaster.

When Brazilians had got used to the idea that their rubber income was substantially at an end, they began to examine the matter of its cost in human lives in the light of the fact, now generally known, that Peruvian Amazon Company alone had virtually murdered 30,000 Indians. Brazil was now Indian-conscious again and its legislators reminded each other of the principles so nobly enunciated by José Bonifacio in 1823, and embodied in the constitution: “We must never forget,” Bonifacio said, “that we are usurpers, in this land, but also that we are Christians.”

It was a mood responsible for the determination that nothing of this kind should ever happen again, and an Indian Protection Service — unique and extraordinary in its altruism in America — was founded in 1910 under the leadership of Marshall Rondon, himself an Indian, and therefore, it was supposed, exceptionally qualified to be able to interpret the Indian’s needs.

Rondon’s solution was to integrate the Indian into the mainstream of Brazilian life — to educate him, to change his faith, to break his habit of nomadism, to change the color of his skin by intermarriage, to draw him away from the forests and into the cities, to turn him into a wage-earner and a voter. He spent the last 30 years of his life trying to do this, but just before his death came a great change of heart. He no longer believed that integration was to be desired. It had all been, he said now, a tragic mistake.

* * *

The conclusion of all those who have lived among and studied the Indian beyond the reach of civilization is that he is the perfect human product of his environment — from which it should follow that he cannot be removed without calamitous results. Ensnared in the forest in which his ancestors have lived for thousands of years, he is as much a component of it as the tapir and the jaguar; self-sufficient, the artificer of all his requirements, at terms with his surroundings, deeply conscious of his place in the living patterns of the visible and invisible universe.

It is admitted now that the average Indian Protection Service official recruited to deal with this complicated but satisfactory human being was all too often venal, ignorant and witless, and it was natural that he should call to his aid the missionaries who were in Brazil by the thousand, and were backed by resources that he himself lacked. But the missionary record was not an imposing one, and even those incomparable colonizers of the faith, the Jesuits, had little to show but failure.

In the early days they had put their luckless converts into long white robes, segregated the sexes, and set them to “godly labors,” lightened by the chanting of psalms in Latin, mind-developing exercises in mnemonics, and speculative discussions on such topics as the number of angels able to perch on the point of a pin. It was offered as a foretaste of the delights of the Christian heaven, complete with its absence of marrying or giving in marriage, and many of the converts died of melancholy. After a while

demoralization spread to the fathers themselves and some of them went off the rails to the extent of dabbling in the slave trade. When these settlements were finally overrun by the bloodthirsty pioneers and frontiersmen from São Paulo, death can hardly have been more than a happy release for the listless and bewildered Indian flock.

When the Indian Protection Service was formed the missionaries of the various Catholic orders were rapidly being outnumbered by non-conformists, mostly from the United States. These were a very different order of man, no longer armed only with hellfire and damnation, but with up-to-date techniques of salesmanship in their approach to the problems of conversion. By 1968 the *Jornal do Brasil* could state: "In reality, those in command of these Indian Protection posts are North American missionaries — they are all in the posts — and they disfigure the original Indian culture and enforce the acceptance of Protestantism."

Whereas the Catholics for all their disastrous mistakes, had on the whole led simple, often austere lives, the non-conformists seemed to see themselves as the representatives of a more ebullient and materialistic brand of the faith. They made a point of installing themselves, wherever they went, in large, well-built stone houses, inevitably equipped with an electric generator and every modern labor-saving device. Some of them even had their own planes. If there were roads they had a car or two, and when they traveled by river they preferred a launch with an outboard engine to the native canoe habitually used by the Catholic fathers.

As soon as Indians were attracted to the neighborhood a mission store might be opened, and the first short step towards the ultimate goal of conversion be taken by the explanation of the value and uses of money, and how with it the Indian could obtain all those goods which it was hoped would become necessary to him. The missionaries are absolutely candid and even self-congratulatory about their methods. To hold the Indian, wants must be created and then continually expanded — wants that in such remote parts only the missionary can supply. A greed for unessential trifles must be inculcated and fostered. The Portuguese verb employed to describe this process is *conquistar* and it is applied without differentiation to subjection by force or guile. What normally happens is that presents — usually of food — are left where the uncivilized Indians can find them. Great patience is called for. It may be years before the tribesmen are won over by repeated overtures, but when it happens the end is in sight. All that remains is to encourage them to move their village into the mission area, and let things take their natural course. In nine cases out of 10 the local landowner has been waiting for the Indians to make such a move — he may have been alerted by the missionary himself — and as soon as it happens he is ready to occupy the tribal land. The Indians are now trapped. They cannot go back, but at the time it seems unimportant, because for a little longer the missionary continues to feed them, although now the matter of conversion will be broached. This usually presents slight difficulty and natural Indian politeness — and in this case gratitude — accomplishes the rest. Whether the

Indian understands what it is all about is another matter. He will be asked to go through what he may regard with great sympathy as a rain-making ceremony, as water is splashed about, and formulas repeated in an unknown language. Beyond that it is likely to be a case of let well alone. Any missionary will tell you that an Indian has no capacity for abstract thought. How can he comprehend the mystery and universality of God when the nearest to a deity his own traditions have to offer may be a common tribal ancestor seen as a jaguar or an alligator?

From now on the orders and the prohibitions will be destroyed, and the Indian who has never worn anything but a beautifully made and decorated penis-sheath to suppress unexpected erections, must now clothe himself from the mission's store of cast-offs, to the instant detriment of his health. He becomes subject to skin diseases, and since in practice clothes once put on are never taken off again, pneumonia is the frequent outcome of allowing clothing to dry on the body after a rainstorm.

The man who has hitherto lived by practicing the skills of the hunter and horticulturist — the Indians are devoted and incomparable gardeners of their kind — now finds himself, broom or shovel in hand as an odd-job man about the mission compound. He shrinks visibly within his miserable, dirty clothing, his face becomes puckered and wizened, his body more disease-ridden, his mind more apathetic. There is a terrible testimony to the process in the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture's handbook on Indians, in which one is photographed genial and smiling on the first day of his arrival from the jungle, and then the same man who by this time appears to be crazy with grief is shown again, 10 years later. "His expression makes comment unnecessary," the caption says. "Ninety percent of his people have died of influenza and measles. Little did he imagine the fate that awaited them when they sought their first contact with the whites."

There is a ring about these stories of enticement down the path to extinction, of the cruel fairy-tale of children trapped by the witch in the house made of ginger bread and barley sugar. But even the slow decay, the living death of the missionaries' compound was not the worst that could happen. What could be far more terrible would be the decision of the fazendeiro — as so often happened — to recruit the labor of the Indians whose lands he had invaded, and who were left to starve.

Extract from the atrocity commission's report:

"In his evidence Senhor Jordao Aires said that eight years before the [600] Ticuna Indians were brought by Fray Jeremias to his estate. The missionary succeeded in convincing them that the end of the world was about to take place, and Belem was the only place where they would be safe. . . . Senhor Aires confirmed that when the Indians disobeyed his orders his private police chained them hand and foot. Federal Police Delegate Neves said that some of the Indians thus chained were lepers, and had lost their fingers."

* * *

Officially it is the Indian Protection Service and 134 of its agents that are on trial, but from all these

reports the features of a more sinister personality soon emerge, the fazendeiro — the great landowner — and in his shadow the SPI agent shrinks to a subservient figure, too often corrupted by bribes.

One would have wished to find an English equivalent for this Portuguese word *fazendeiro*, but there is none. Titles such as landowner or estate owner which call to mind nothing harsher than the mild despotism of the English class system will not do. The fazendeiro by European standards is huge in anachronistic power, often the lord of a tropical fief as large as an English county, protected from central authority's interference by vast distances, the traditions of submission, and the absolute silence of his vassals. All the lands he holds — much of which may not even have been explored — have been taken by him or by his ancestors from the Indians, or have been bought from others who have obtained it in this way. In most cases his great fortress-like house, the fazenda, has been built by the labor of the Indian slaves, who have been imprisoned when necessary in its dungeons. In the past a fazendeiro could only survive by his domination of a ferocious environment, and although in these days he will probably have had a university education, he may still sleep with a loaded rifle beside his bed. Lonely fazendas are still occasionally attacked by wild Indians (i.e. Indians with a grievance against the whites), by gold prospectors turned bandit, by downright professional bandits themselves, or by their own mutinous slaver. The fazendeiro defends himself with a bodyguard enrolled from the toughest of his workers — many of them, in the backwoods, fugitives from justice.

It has often been hard by ordinary Christian standards for the fazendeiro to be a good man, only too easy for him to degenerate into a Gilles de Raïs, or some murderous and unpredictable Ivan the Terrible of the Amazon forests. It can be Eisenstein's "Thunder Over Mexico" complete with the horses galloping over men buried up to their necks — or worse. Some of the stories told about the great houses of Brazil of the last century in their days of respectable slavery and Roman license bring the imagination to a halt: a male slave accused of some petty crime castrated and burned alive ... a pretty young girl's teeth ordered by her jealous mistress to be drawn, and her breasts amputated, to be on the safe side ... another, found pregnant, thrown alive into the kitchen furnace. An extract from the report by the President of last year's inquiry commission into atrocities against the Indians corrects the complacent viewpoint that we live in milder days.



"In the 7th Inspectorate, Paraná, Indians were tortured by grinding the bones of their feet in the angle of two wooden stakes, driven into the ground. Wives took turns with their husbands in applying this torture." It is alleged, as well, in this investigation, that there were cases of an Indian's naked body being smeared with honey before leaving him to be bitten to death by ants.

Why all this pointless cruelty? What is it that causes men and women probably of extreme respectability in their everyday lives to torture for the

sake of torturing? Montaigne believed that cruelty is the revenge of the weak man for his weakness; a sort of sickly parody of valor. "The killing after a victory is usually done by the rabble and baggage officials."

* * *

It is the beginning of the rainy season, and from an altitude of 2000 feet the forest smokes here and there as if under sporadic bombardment, as the sun sucks up the vapor from a local downpour.

The Mato Grosso seen from the air is supposed to offer a scene of monotonous green, but this is not always so. At this moment, for example, a pitchblack swamp lapped by ivory sands presents itself. It is obscured by shifting feathers of cloud which part again to show a Cheddar Gorge in lugubrious reds. The forest returns, pitted with lakes which appear to contain not water, but brilliant chemical solutions; copper sulphate, gentian violet. The air taxi settles wobbling to a scrubbed patch of earth and vultures go by like black rags.

All these small towns in this meager earth are the same. An unpronounceable Garani name for a street of clapboard tapering off to mud and palm thatch at each end; a general store, a hotel, Laramiestyle with men asleep on the veranda; a scarecrow horse, bones about to burst through the hide, tied up in a square yard of shade; hairy pigs; aromatic dust blown up by the hot breeze.

Life is in slow motion and on a small scale. The store sells cigarettes, meticulously bisected if necessary with a razor blade, ladlefuls of purgative pills a half-inch in diameter, and handsomely-tooled gun holsters. The customers come in not to buy but to be there, wandering through the paper-chains of dusty dried fish hanging from the ceiling. They are Indians, but so de-racialized by the climate of boredom and their grubby cotton clothing, that they could be Eskimos or Vietnamese. They have the expression of men gazing, narrow-eyed, into crystal balls, and they speak in childish voices of great sweetness. Like all Indians everywhere, the smallest intake of alcohol produces an instant deadly change.

The only entertainment the town offers is a cartomancer, operating largely on a barter basis. He tells fortunes in a negative but realistic way, concerned not so much with good luck, but the avoidance of bad. All the children's eyes are rimmed with torpid, hardly moving flies. The fazenda, some miles away, has absorbed everything; owns the whole town, even the main street itself.

This is a place where cruelty is supposed to have happened, but the surface of things has been patched and renovated and the aroma of atrocity has dispersed. Everything can be explained away now in terms of extreme exaggeration, or the malice of political enemies, and all the witnesses for the defense have been mustered. Finally, the everyday violences of a violent country are quoted to remind one that this is not Europe.

Senhor Fulano lives with his family in three rooms in one of the few brick-built houses. His position is ambiguous. An ex-Indian Protection Service agent, he has been cleared of financial malpractices, and hopes shortly for employment in the new Foundation. He has an Abyssinian face with melancholy, faintly disdainful eyes, a high, Nilotic

forehead, and a delicate Semite nose. He is proud of the fact that his father was half Negro, half Jewish; a trader who captured in marriage a robust girl from one of the Indian tribes.

"Not all fazendeiros are bad," Fulano says. "Far from it. On the contrary, the majority are good men. People are jealous of their success, and they are on the lookout for a way to damage them.

"In the case you mention the man was a thief and a trouble maker. As a punishment he was locked in a shed, nothing more. He was drunk, you understand, and he set fire to the shed himself. He died in the fire, yes, but the doctor certified accidental death. There was no case for a police inquiry. In 30 years' service I have only seen one instance of violence -- if you wish to call it violence. The Indians were drunk with *cachaca* again, and they attacked the post. They were given a chance by firing over the heads, but it didn't stop them. They were mad with liquor. What could we do? There's no blood on my hands." He holds them up as if for confirmation. They are small and well cared for with pale, pinkish palms. His wife rattles about out of sight in the scullery of their tiny flat. There is a picture of the President on the wall, and another of his little girl dressed for her first communion, and no evidence in the cheap, ugly furniture that Senhor Fulano has been able to feather his nest to any useful extent.

He joined the service out of a sense of vocation, he says. "We were all young and idealistic. They paid us less than they paid a postman, but nobody gave any thought to that. We were going to dedicate our lives to the service of our less fortunate fellow men. If anyone happened to live in Rio de Janeiro the Minister himself would see him when he was posted, and shake hands with him and wish him good luck. I happened to be a country boy but my friends hired a hand to see me off to the Station. Everybody insisted on giving me a present. I had so many lace handkerchiefs I could have opened a shop. There was a lot of prestige in being in the service in those days." There are three whitish, glossy pock-marks in the slope of each cheek under the sad, Amharic eyes, and it is difficult not to watch them. He shakes his head. "No one would believe the conditions some of us lived under. They used to show you photographs of the kind of place where you'd be working; a house with a veranda, the school and the dispensary. When I went to my first post I wept like a child when I saw it. The journey took a month and in the meanwhile the man I was supposed to be assisting had died of the smallpox. I remember the first thing I saw was a dead Indian in the water where they tied up the boat. I'd hit a measles epidemic. Half the roof of the house had caved in. There never had been a school, and there wasn't a bottle of aspirin in the place. When the sun went down the mosquitoes were so thick, they were on your skin like fur."

He finds a book of press-cuttings in which are recorded the meager occasions of his life. A picture shows him in dark suit and stiff collar receiving a certificate and the congratulations of a politician for his work as a civilizer. In another he is shown posing at the side of Miss Pernambuco 1952, and in another he is a paternal presence at a ceremony when a newly pacified tribe are to put on their first clothing. There

are "before" and "after" pictures of the tribal women, first naked and then in jumpers and skirts, not only changed but facially unrecognizable from one minute to the next, as if some malignant spell had been laid upon them as they wriggled into the shapeless garments. The few cuttings scanned through out of politeness speak of Senhor Fulano as the pattern of self abnegation, and the words *servicio* and *devocao* constantly reappear. "My pay was 100 new cruzeiros a month," he says, "and it was sometimes up to six months overdue. In the first year only, I had measles, jaundice and malaria three times. If it hadn't been for the fazendeiro I'd have died. He looked after me like a father. He was a man of the greatest possible principles, and among many other benefactions he gave 100,000 cruzeiros to a church in Salvador. I see now that his son's been formally charged with invading Indian lands. All I can say to that is, what the Indians would do without him, I don't know."

Fulano is nothing if not loyal. "Fazendeiros are no different from anyone else," he says. "They try to make out they're monsters these days. You mustn't believe all you read."

It was certain that no one would be found now in this town to contradict him.

* * *

For a half-century rubber had been the great destroyer of the Indian, and then suddenly it changed to speculation in land. Rumor spread of huge mineral resources awaiting exploitation in the million square miles that were inaccessible until recently -- and the great speculative rush was on. Nowhere, however remote, however sketchily mapped, was secure from the surveyors sent by the fazendeiros, the politicians and the real-estate companies to measure out their claims. Back in São Paulo, the headquarters of the land boom, the *grileiro* -- specialist in shady land deals -- went into secret partnerships with his friend in the Government, who was in a position to see that the deals went through. A great deal of this apparently empty land was only empty to the extent that it contained no white settlements, and the mapmakers had not yet put in the rivers and the mountains. There might well be Indians there -- nobody knew until it had been explored -- but this possibility introduced only a slight inconvenience. In theory the undisturbed possession of all land occupied by Indians is guaranteed to them by the Brazilian constitution, but if it can be shown that Indian land has been abandoned it reverts to the Government after which it can be sold in the ordinary way. The *grileiro's* task is to discover or manufacture evidence that such land is no longer in occupation -- a problem, if sincerely confronted, complicated by the fact that most Indians are semi-nomadic, cultivating crops in one area during the period of the summer rains, then moving elsewhere to hunt and fish during the dry winter season.

A short cut to the solution of the problem is simply to drive the Indians out. Other *grileiros* quite simply ignore its existence, offering land to the gullible by map reference, sight unseen, and hoping to be able to settle the legal difficulties by political manipulations at some later date.

The *grileiro* with his maneuverings behind the

scenes was kept under some control while President João Goulart was in power, and it finally became clear to the big-scale land speculators that they were going to get nowhere until they got a new President. Goulart, although a rich landowner himself, held the opinion that Brazil would never occupy the place in the Western Hemisphere to which its colossal size and resources entitled it while it limped along in its feudalistic way with an 86 percent illiteracy figure and the land in the hands of an infinitesimally small minority, many of which made no effort to develop it in any way. The remedy he proposed was to redistribute 3 percent of privately-owned land, but also — what was far more serious — he announced the resuscitation of an old law permitting the Government to nationalize land up to six miles in depth on each side of the national means of communication — roads, railways and canals.

This would have been a death blow to the speculators, who hoped to resell their land at many times the price they had paid, as soon as it was made accessible by the building of roads. One such firm had advertised 100,000 acres of land for sale in the English Press. The land was offered in 100-acre minimum lots at £5 an acre. An initial purchase of land had already been sold, the company announced, "mainly to investment houses and trusts, insurance companies and a number of syndicates." A charter flight would be arranged for buyers from Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Liverpool, and representatives of Kenya farmers who had already bought 50,000 acres. "There is little hope," said the promotion literature, "of any return from the purchase of the land for a few years yet."

But in 1964 the speculative prospects brightened enormously when a *coup d'état* was staged to depose the troublesome Goulart, and the land rush could go ahead. A promotional assault was launched on the U.S. market with lavishly produced and cunningly-worded brochures offering glamor as well as profit, and phrased in the poetic style of American car advertisements. Amazon Adventure Estates were offered, and there were allusions to monkeys and macaws and the occult glitter of gems in the banks of mighty rivers sailed by the ships of Orellana. They had some success. A number of film stars took a gamble in the Mato Grosso. In April, 1968, in fact, a Brazilian deputy, Haroldo Veiros, revealed that most of the area of the mouth of the Amazon had passed into the hands of foreigners. He mentioned that Prince Rainier of Monaco had bought land in the Mato Grosso 12 times larger than the principality, whereas someone, stabbing presumably with a pencil point at a map, had picked up the highest mountain in Brazil — the Pico de Nieblina — for an old song, although it would have taken a properly equipped expedition a matter of weeks to reach it.

This was Doomsday for the tribes who had been pacified and settled in areas where they could be conveniently dealt with. Down in the plain on the frontiers with Paraguay it was the end of the road for the Kadiweus. In 1865 in the war against Paraguay they had taken their spears and ridden naked, barebacked, but impeccably painted — a fantastic Charge of the Light Brigade, at the head of the Brazilian army — to rout the cavalry of the

psychopathic Paraguayan dictator Solano Lopez. For their aid in the war the Emperor Pedro II had received their principal chief, clad for the occasion in a Loincloth sewn with precious stones, and granted the Kadiweu nation in perpetuity two million acres of the borderland. Here these Spartans of the West — poets and artists who practiced infanticide, adopting the children of other tribes when they were old enough to ride horses — were reduced now to 200 survivors, working as the cowhands of fazendeiros who had taken all their lands.

It was Doomsday too for Lévi-Strauss's Bororos. The great anthropologist had lived for several years among them in the 1930s, and they had led him to the conclusions of "structural anthropology," including the proposition that "a primitive people is not a backward or retarded people, indeed it may possess a genius for invention or action that leaves the achievements of civilized people far behind." He had said of the Bororos, "few people are so profoundly religious . . . few possess a metaphysical system of such complexity. Their spiritual beliefs and everyday activities are inextricably mixed." They had been living for some years now far from the complicated villages where Lévi-Strauss studied them, in the Teresa Cristina reserve in the South Mato Grosso, given them "in perpetuity," as ever, in tribute to the memory of the great Marshall Rondon, who had been part-Bororo himself.

Life in the reserve was far from happy for the Bororos. They were hunters, and fishermen, and in their way excellent agriculturists, but the reserve was small, and there was no game left and the rivers in the area had been illegally fished-out by commercial firms operating on a big scale, and there was no room to practice cultivation in the old-fashioned seminomadic way. The Government had tried to turn them into cattle-raisers, but they knew nothing of cattle. Many of their cows were quietly sold off by agents of the Indian Production Service, who pocketed the money. Others — as the Bororos had no idea of building corrals — wandered out of the reservation, and were impounded by neighboring fazendeiros. The Indians ate the few that remained before they could die of disease or starvation, after which they were reduced to the normal diet of hard times — lizards, locusts and snakes — plus an occasional handout of food from one of the missions.

They suffered, too, from the great emptiness and aimlessness of the Indian whose traditional culture has been destroyed. The missionaries, upon whom they were wretchedly dependent, forbade dancing, singing, or smoking, and while they accepted with inbred stoicism this attack on the principle of pleasure, there was a fourth prohibition against which they continually rebelled, but in vain.

The Indians are obsessed by their relationship with the dead, and by the condition of the souls of the dead in the after-life — a concern reflected in the manner of the ancient Egyptians by the most elaborate funerary rites — orgies of grief and intoxication, sometimes lasting for days. The Bororos, seemingly unable to part with their dead, bury them twice, and the custom is at the emotional basis of their lives. In the first instance — as if in hope of some miraculous revival — the body is placed in a

temporary grave, in the center of the village, and covered with branches. When decomposition is advanced, the flesh is removed from the bones, which are painted and lovingly adorned with feathers, after which final burial takes place in the depths of the forest. The outlawing of this custom by an American missionary reduced the Bororos to despair, but the missionary was able to persuade the local police to enforce the ban, and the party of half-starved tribesmen who dragged themselves 200 miles on foot to the State capital and presented themselves, weeping, to the comissario, were turned away.

Final catastrophe followed the devolution by the Federal Government of certain of its powers — particularly those relating to the ownership and sale of land — to the Legislative Assembly of the Mato Grosso State. This at once invoked a law by which land that, after a certain time limit, had not been legally measured and demarcated reverted to the Government, to take over the Teresa Cristina reserve. It was a legal device which saddled Indians, many of whom did not even realize that they were living in Brazil, with the responsibility of employing lawyers to look after their interests. It had been employed once before, and with additional refinements of trickery, in an attempt to snatch away the last of the land of the unfortunate Kadiweus. On this occasion it seems that only two copies of the official publication recording the enactment were available, one of which had been lodged in the State archives, and the other taken the same day to the reserve by the persons proposing to share the land between them.

Hardly less haste was shown in the occupation of the Teresa Cristina reserve. It was a muddled, untidy operation, and it turned out in the end that considerably more land had been sold on paper than the actual area of the reserve. This was before the final demoralization and collapse of the Indian Protection Service, and local officials not only challenged the legality of the sale but called in vain for State troops to be sent to repel an invasion of fazendeiros supported by their private armies carrying sub-machine guns.

The state of affairs that had come to pass at Teresa Cristina only five years later, in 1968, is depicted in the testimony of a Bororo Indian girl. "There were two fazendas, one called Teresa, where the Indians worked as slaves. They took me from my mother when I was a child. Afterwards I heard that they hung my mother up all night. . . . She was very ill and I wanted to see her before she died. . . . When I got back they thrashed me with a raw-hide whip. . . . They prostituted the Indian girls. . . . One day the SPI agent called an old carpenter and told him to make an oven for the farmhouse. When the carpenter had finished the agent asked him what he wanted for doing the job. The carpenter said he wanted an Indian girl, and the agent took him to the school and told him to choose one. No one saw or heard any more of her. . . . Not even the children escaped. From two years of age they worked under the whip. . . . There was a mill for crushing the cane, and to save the horses they used four children to turn the mill. . . . They forced the Indian Otaviano to beat his own mother. . . . The Indians were used for target practice."

Thus were the Indians disarmed, betrayed, and hustled down the path towards final extinction. Yet in the heart of the Mato Grosso and the Amazon forests there were tribes that still held out. Classified by the Government manual on Indians as *isolados*, they are described as those that possess the greatest physical vigor. Nobody knows how many such tribes there are. There may be 300 or more with a total population of 50,000, including tiny, self-contained and apparently indestructible nations having their own completely separate language, organization and customs. Some of these people are giants with herculean limbs, armed with immense longbows of the kind an archer at Crécy might have used. A few groups are ethnically mysterious with blue eyes and fair hair, provokers of wild theories among Amazonian travelers, and there is one tribe supposed by some to have migrated to these forests some 2000 years ago from the island of Hokkaido in Japan. One common factor unites them all, a brilliant fitness for survival — until now. For 400 years they have avoided epidemics. They have armed themselves with constant alertness. They have been ready to embrace a new tactical nomadism. They have made distrust the greatest of their virtues. Above all their chieftains have had the intelligence and the strength to reject those deadly offerings left outside their villages by which the whites seek first to buy their friendship, then take away their freedom.

The Cintas Largas were one such tribe living in magnificent if precarious isolation in the upper reaches of the Aripuaná River. There were about 400 of them, occupying several villages.

They used stone axes, tipped their arrows with curare, caught small fish by poisoning the water, played four-foot long flutes made from gigantic bamboos, and celebrated two great annual feasts; one of the initiation of young girls at puberty, and the other of the dead. At both of these they were said to use some unknown herbal concoction to produce ritual drunkenness. They were in a region still dependent for its meager revenues on wild rubber, and this exposed them to routine attacks by rubber tappers, against whom they had learned to defend themselves. Their tragedy was that deposits of rare metals were being found in the area. What these metals were, it was not clear. Some sort of a security blackout has been imposed, only fitfully penetrated by vague news reports of the activities of American and European companies, and of the smuggling of plane-loads of the said rare metals back to the USA.

David St. Clair in his book, *The Mighty Mighty Amazon* (Souvenir Press, 1968), mentions the existence of companies who specialized in dealing with tribes when their presence came to be considered a nuisance, attacking their villages with famished dogs, and shooting down everyone who tried to escape. Such expeditions depended for their success on the assistance of a navigable river which would carry the attacking party to within striking distance of the village or villages to be destroyed. The Beicos de Pau had been reached in this way and dealt with by the gifts of foodstuffs mixed with poisons, but the two inches on the small-scale map of Brazil separating these two neighboring tribes

contained unexplored mountain ranges, and the single river ran in the wrong direction. The Cintas Largas, then, remained for the time being out of reach. In 1962, a missionary, John Dornständer, had reached and made an attempt to pacify them but he had given them up as a bad job. The plans for disposing of the Cintas Largas were laid in Aripuaná. This small, festering tropical version of Dodge City 1860 has the face and physique of all such Latin-American hell-holes, populated by hopeless men who remain there simply because for one reason or other, they cannot leave. A row of wooden huts on stilts creak in the hard sunshine down by the river. Swollen-bellied children squat to delouse each other; dogs eat excrement; vultures limp and balance on the edge of a ditch full of black sewage; the driver of an ox-cart urges on the animal wreckage of hide and bones between the shafts by jabbing with a stick under its tail. Everyone carries a gun. Cachaca offers oblivion at a shilling a pint, but boredom rots the mind. There are two classes, those who impose suffering, the utterly servile. In this case nine-tenths of the working population are rubber tappers, and most of them fugitives from justice.

It is cheap and sometimes effective, besides being the quite normal procedure where a tribe's villages are beyond reach, to bribe other Indians to attack them, and this was tried in the first instance with the Cintas Largas. The Kayabis, neighbors both of the Cintas Largas and the Beicos de Pau, had been dispersed when the State of Mato Grosso sold their land to various commercial enterprises, part of the tribe migrating to a distant range of mountains, while a small group that had split off remained in the Aripuaná area, where it lived in destitution. This group took the food and guns that they were offered in down-payment, and then decamped in the opposite direction and no more was seen of them.

Later a *garimpa* — an organized body of diamond prospectors — appeared in the neighborhood. They were all in very bad shape through malnutritional disorders. They had attacked an Indian village and had been beaten off and then ambushed, and several of them were wounded. The intention had been to capture at least one woman, not only for sexual uses, but as a source of supply of the fresh female urine believed to be a certain cure for the infected sores from which *garimpeiros* habitually suffer, and which are caused by the stingrays abounding in the rivers in which they work. *Garimpeiros* are organized under a captain who supplies their food and equipment, and to whom they are bound — under pain of being abandoned in the forest to die of starvation — to sell their diamonds. Like the rubber tappers — who are their traditional enemies — they are mostly wanted by the police. The feud existing between these two types of desperado is based on the rubber tappers' habit of stalking and shooting the lonely *garimpeiro*, in the hope that he may be found with a diamond or two. In this case emissaries arranged a truce, and the *garimpeiros* were brought into town, given food, and a company doctor patched up the wounded men. Common action against the Cintas Largas was then proposed, and the captain fell in with the suggestion and agreed to detach six men for this purpose as soon as everyone was fully rested. In the condition in

which he found himself, he may have been ready to agree to anything, but by the time the *garimpeiros* had put on a little flesh and their wounds had cleared up, there was an abrupt cooling in the climate of amity. Aripuaná was not a big enough town to contain two such trigger-happy personalities as the *garimpa* captain and the overseer of the rubber tappers. For a while the poverty-stricken rubber tappers put up with it while the affluent *garimpeiros* swaggered in the bars, and monopolized the town's prostitutes. The, inevitably, the *entente cordiale* foundered in gunplay.

A series of expeditions were now organized under the leadership of Francisco de Brito, general overseer of the rubber extraction firm of Arruda and Junqueira of Juina-Mirim near Aripuaná, on the river Juruana. De Brito was a legendary monster who kept order among the ruffians he commanded by a .45 automatic and a five-foot tapir-hide whip. He was a joker with Indians, and when one was captured he was taken on what was known as "the visit to the dentist," being ordered to "open wide" whereupon De Brito drew a pistol and shot him through his mouth. There was a lively competition among the rubber men for the title of champion Indian killer, and although this was claimed by De Brito, local opinion was that his score was bettered by one of his underlings who specialized in casual sniping from the river banks.

The expeditions mounted by De Brito were successful in clearing the Cintas Largas from an area, insignificant by Brazilian standards, although about half as big as England south of the Thames, but there remained a large village considered inaccessible on foot or by canoe, and it was decided to attack this by plane. At this stage it is evident that a better type of brain began to interest itself in these operations, and whoever planned the air-attack was clearly at some pains to find out all he could about the customs of the Cintas Largas.

It was seen as essential to produce the maximum number of casualties in one single, devastating attack, at a time when as many Indians as possible would be present, in the village, and an expert was found to advise that this could best be done at the annual feast of the *Quarup*. This great ceremony lasts for a day and a night, and under one name or another it is conducted by almost all the Indian tribes whose culture has not been destroyed. The *Quarup* is a theatrical representation of the legends of creation interwoven with those of the tribe itself, both a mystery play and a family reunion attended not only by the living but the ancestral spirits. These appear as dancers in masquerade, to be consulted on immediate problems to comfort the mourners, to testify that not even death can disrupt the unity of the tribe.

A Cessna light plane used for ordinary commercial services was hired for the attack, and its normal pilot replaced by an adventurer of mixed Italian-Japanese birth. It was loaded with sticks of dynamite — "banasa" they are called in Brazil — and took off from a jungle airstrip near Aripuaná. The Cessna arrived over the village at about midday. The Indians had been preparing themselves all night by prayer and singing, and now they were all gathered in the open space in the village's center. On the first run packets



of sugar were dropped to calm the fears of those who had scattered and run for shelter at the sight of the plane. They had opened the packets and were tasting the sugar ten minutes later when it returned to carry out the attack. No one has ever been able to find out how many Indians were killed, because the bodies were buried in the bank of the river and the village deserted.

But even this solution proved not to be final. Survivors had been spotted from the air and were reported to be building fresh settlements in the upper reaches of the Aripuaná, and once again De Brito got together an overland force.

They were to be led, in canoes, by one Chico, a De Brito underling. The full story of what happened was described by a member of the force, Ataíde Pereira, who, troubled by his conscience and also by the fact that he had never been paid the 15 dollars promised him for his bloody deed, went to confess them to a Padre Edgar Smith, a Jesuit priest, who took his statement on a tape recorder and then handed the tape to the Indian Protection Service.

"We went by launch up the Juruana," Ataíde says. "There were six of us, men of experience, commanded by Chico, who used to shove his tommy-gun in your direction whenever he gave you an order!" (Chico, it was to turn out, was no mere average sadist of the Brazilian badlands, but one of those terrifying human beings for whom cruelty is sex. For this kind of Latin American — and they have been the executioners in so many revolutions — the ultimate excitement lies in the maniac use of the machete on their victims, and it was to use his machete that Chico had gone on this expedition.) "It took a good many days upstream to the Serra do Norte. After that we lost ourselves in the woods, although Chico had brought a Japanese compass with us. In the end the plane found us. It was the same plane they used to massacre the Indians, and they threw us down some provisions and ammunition. After that we went on for five days. Then we ran out of food again. We came across an Indian village that had been wiped out by a gang led by a gunman called Tenente, and we dug up some of the Indians' mandioca for food and caught a few small fish. By this time we were fed up and some of us wanted to go back but Chico said he'd kill anybody who tried to desert. It was another five days after that before we saw any smoke. Even then the Cintas Largas were days away. We were all pretty scared of each other. In this kind of place people shoot each other and get shot, you might say without knowing why. When they drill a hole in you, they have this habit of sticking an Indian arrow in the wound, to put the blame on the Indians."

This expedition breathed in the air of fear. Ataíde reports that there were diamonds and gold in all the rivers, and the shadow of the *garimpeiro* stalked them from behind every rock and tree. A violent death would claim most of these men sooner or later. Premature middle-age brought on by endless fever, malnutrition, exhaustion, hopelessness and drink overtook the rubber-tappers in their late twenties, and few lived to see their thirtieth birthday. An infection turning to gangrene or bloodpoisoning would carry them off, or they would die in an ugly

fashion, paralyzed, blind and mad from some obscure tropical disease, or they would simply kill each other in a sudden neurotic outburst of hate provoked by nothing in particular, for a bet, or in a brawl over some sickly prostitute picked up at a village dance.

Hacking their way through this sunless forest a month or more's march from the dreadful barracks that was their home, they were dependent for survival on the psychopathic Chico and his Japanese compass. It was the beginning of the rainy season when, after a morning of choking heat, sudden storms would drench them every afternoon. They were plagued with freshly hatched insects, worst of all the myriads of almost invisible *piums* that burrow into the skin to gorge themselves with blood, and against which the only defense is a coating of grime on every exposed part of the body. Some of the men were blistered from the burning sap squirted on them from the lianas they cut into.

"We were hand picked for the job," Ataíde says, with a lackluster attempt at *esprit de corps*, "as quiet as any Indian party when it came to slipping in and out of tree. When we got to Cintas Largas country there were no more fires and no talking. As soon as we spotted their village we made a stop for the night. We got up before dawn, then we dragged ourselves yard by yard through the underbrush till we were in range, and after that we waited for the sun to come up.

"As soon as it was light the Indians all came out and started to work on some huts they were building. Chico had given me the job of seeking out the chief and killing him. I noticed there was one of these Indians who wasn't doing any work. All he did was to lean on a rock and boss the others about, and this gave me the idea he must be the man we were after. I told Chico and he said, 'Take care of him, and leave the rest to me,' and I got him in the chest with the first shot. I was supposed to be the marksman of the team, and although I only have an ancient carbine, I can safely say I never miss. Chico gave the chief a burst with his tommy gun to make sure, and after that he let the rest of them have it. . . . All the other fellows had to do was to finish off anyone who showed signs of life.

"What I'm coming to now is brutal, and I was all against it. There was a young Indian girl they didn't shoot, with a kid of about five in one hand, yelling his head off. Chico started after her and I told him to hold it, and he said, 'All these bastards have to be knocked off.' I said, 'Look, you can't do that — what are the padres going to say about it when you get back?' He just wouldn't listen. He shot the kid through the head with his .45, and then he grabbed hold of the woman — who by the way was very pretty. 'Be reasonable,' I said. 'Why do you have to kill her?' In my view, apart from anything else, it was a waste. 'What's wrong with giving her to the boys?' I said. 'They haven't set eyes on a woman for six weeks. Or failing that we could take her back with us and make a present of her to De Brito. There's no harm in keeping in with him.' All he said was, 'If any man wants a woman he can go and look for her in the forest.'

"We all thought he'd gone off his head, and we were pretty scared of him. He tied the Indian girl up

and hung her head downwards from a tree, legs apart, and chopped her in half right down the middle with his machete. Almost with a single stroke I'd say. The village was like a slaughterhouse. He calmed down after he'd cut the woman up, and told us to burn down all the huts, and throw the bodies into the river. After that we grabbed our things and started back. We kept going until nightfall and we took care to cover our tracks. If the Indians had found us it wouldn't have been much use trying to kid them we were just ordinary backwoodsmen. It took us six weeks to find the Cintas Largas, and about a week to get back. I want to say now that personally I've nothing against Indians. Chico found some minerals and took them back to keep the company pleased. The fact is the Indians are sitting on valuable land and doing nothing with it. They've got a way of finding the best plantation land and there's all these valuable minerals about too. They have to be persuaded to go, and if all else fails, well then, it has to be force."

De Brito, the man who organized this expedition, was to die within a year of it in the most horrific circumstances. When he found cause for complaint in one of his men he would normally tie him up and thrash him until the blood ran down and squelched in the man's boots, but in an aggravated case he would have one of his henchmen use the whip while he raped the culprit's wife as the punishment was being inflicted. An Italian called Cavalcanti, who tried to attack the overseer after receiving the more serious punishment, was promptly shot dead and his body burned. A revolt of the rubber tappers followed in which nine men were killed. De Brito when cornered was, like Rasputin, very difficult to disable, and absorbed several bullets and a thrust in the stomach with a machete before he went down. After this he was stripped, the bowels plugged back with a tampon of straw, then dragged still alive into the open and left for the ants.

* * *

How many Indian hunts of the kind mounted against the Cintas Largas must have gone unnoticed in the past, condemned at worst as a necessary evil? Ataide speaks of them as if they were commonplace, and the likelihood is confirmed by a statement, made to the police inspector of the 3rd Divisional Area of Cuiabá Salgado who investigated the case, by a Padre Valdemar Veber. The Padre said, "It is not the first time that the firm of Arruda and Junqueira has committed crimes against the Indians. A number of expeditions have been organized in the past. This firm acts as a cover for other undertakings who are interested in acquiring land, or who plan to exploit the rich mineral deposits existing in this area."

When one considers the miasmatic climate of subjection in which these remote rubber-baronies operate, in which the voice raised in protest can be instantly suffocated, and as many false witnesses as required created at the lifting of a finger, it seems extraordinary that police action could ever have been contemplated against Arruda and Junqueira. It appears even more so when one surveys the sparse judicial resources of the area.

Denunciations of the kind made by Ataide lie forgotten in police files by the hundred, simply because the police have learned not to waste their

strength in attempting the impossible. Nine major crimes out of ten probably never come to light. The problem of the disposal of the body — so powerful a deterrent to murder — does not exist where it can be thrown into the nearest stream, where — if a cayman does not dispose of it — the piranhas will reduce it to a clean skeleton in a matter of minutes.

In the case of the brazen and contemptuous tenth, where a man murders his victim in public view, and makes not the slightest attempt to hide the crime, he knows he is under the powerful protection of distance and inaccessibility. Aripuaná is 600 miles from Cuiabá, the capital and seat of justice of Mato Grosso, and it can be reached only by irregular planes. Moreover at the time Inspector Salgado began his investigation, about 1000 criminal cases were awaiting trial in Cuiabá, where, since the tiny local lock-up can accommodate some 50 persons (all ages and sexes are kept together), most criminals manage to remain at liberty awaiting their trial, which may be long delayed.

Salgado's task was immediately complicated by factors unrelated to the normal frustrations of geography and communications. Ataide, principal witness and self-confessed murderer, was now the owner of a sweet stall on the streets of Cuiabá, and could be picked up at any time, but other essential witnesses were beginning to disappear. Two of the members of Chico's expedition had managed to drown themselves "while on fishing trips." The pilot of the plane used in the attack on the Cintas Largas was reported to have been killed in a plane crash. De Brito had of course been murdered in the rubber tappers' revolt and even Padre Smith, who had taped Ataide's confession, could not be found.

Despite the series of contretemps Salgado completed the police's case against Antonio Junqueira and Sebastião Arruda exactly three years after his investigations had begun, and the documents were sent to the judge. Under Brazilian law, however, the next procedure is the formal charge, the *denuncia*, which must be made by the public prosecutor, and it now became evident that the case might never surmount this hurdle. In all such countries as Brazil where a middle class is only just emerging, the landed aristocracy and the heads of great commercial firms are almost impregably protected from the consequences of misdemeanor by dynastic marriages, interlocking interests and the mutual security pacts of men with powerful political friends. This is by no means an exclusively Latin American phenomenon, even, and is equally prevalent in Mediterranean Europe.

In this case the public prosecutor, Sr. Luis Vidala da Fonseca, promptly objected that the case could not be tried in Cuiabá because Aripuaná came under the jurisdiction, he said, of Diamantino. The papers were therefore sent to Diamantino where the judge immediately sent them back to Cuiabá. The question being referred to the supreme judiciary, it was ruled that the trial should take place in Cuiabá. So far only a month had been lost.

Fonseca now claimed exemption from officiating on the grounds that he was lawyer to the firm of Arruda and Junqueira. A second public prosecutor refused to be saddled with the embarrassing

obligation, and the judge of the Cuiabá assize agreed with him and turned down Fonseca's application. Fonseca then applied to the supreme court again for an annulment of the local decision. The application was refused. By now nine months had been used up in maneuvers of this kind, and it was April 1967.

At this point an attempt was made to settle these difficulties, to the satisfaction of all concerned, by the appointment of a substitute public prosecutor — who immediately claimed exemption on the grounds of his wife's somewhat remote relationship with Sebastião Arruda. The plea was accepted and another public prosecutor found, who declined to officiate, basing his refusal on the legal invalidity of Fonseca's objection. All papers were therefore returned to Fonseca. In September 1967 a fourth substitute public prosecutor was appointed who, instead of taking action, sent the papers to the Attorney General who confirmed the original decision that Fonseca, who had moved away, was competent to act. This was followed by an endless bandying of legal quibbles and the appearance and departure of a succession of substitute prosecutors until March 1968 when the Attorney General was goaded to a protest: "Since August 1966 the papers relating to this case have been shuffled about in an endless game of farcical excuses and pretexts, to the grave detriment of the prestige of justice." Thus encouraged, the eighth or ninth substitute public prosecutor took action, and made a formal charge against the murderers of the Cintas Largas nearly all of whom were by now, after five years, either dead or not to be found. The names of Antonio Junqueira and Sebastião Arruda were omitted from the *denúncia* "as their assent to the massacre of the Indians has never been established." At this, the police attempted to take the law into their own hands by ordering the two men's preventive arrest. This could not be carried out, because they had gone into hiding.

* * *

What is to be done?

Of the present excellent intentions of the Brazilian Government there can be no doubt. The investigations began in 1967 are still going on and it is expected that many persons will be brought to trial in a few week's time. In the meanwhile the Ministry of the Interior issues what is intended to be reassuring news.

"There must be a serious re-examination of the agreement between the Ministry of Agriculture and the State of Mato Grosso affecting the 35,000 hectares of the Teresa Cristina Reserve.

"Action will have to be taken against powerful groups who obtained *de facto* possession through invasion.

"These serious problems can only be resolved by legal action for the recuperation of lands in Paraná, Pernambuco, Paraíba and Bahia . . . a very difficult task.

"Strict investigations are called for in the matter of Indian lands in Rondonia, and a special vigilance in areas rich in strategic metals."

One reads the history of the four years' legal battle against the firm of Arruda and Junqueira, and the imagination reels at the thought of what lies in store

for the champions of justice for the Indians — the practiced and methodical wasting of time, the pleas for exemption, the demands for re-trials, the appeals and the counterappeals, while the months run into years, and the years into decades, and the Indian slowly vanishes from the earth.

And when, if ever, after all the lawsuits are settled, a little land is wrested back from the great banks, the corporations, the fazendeiros, the timber and mining concessionaires that now hold it — still what is to be done? Can the mission hanger-on, miraculously refurbished in body and spirit, return once again to the free life of the *isolado*? Does any remedy exist for the Indian, who, when the great day comes for the repossession of his land, finds the forest gone, and in its place a ruined plain, choked with scrub? Can a happy, viable, self-sufficient people be reassembled from those few broken human parts? The new protective body, the National Foundation for the Indian, finds some cause for hope in Xingu National Park. This is the magnificent and almost single-handed creation of two dedicated Indian fundamentalists, the Vilas Boas brothers, who believe that it will remain for all eternity an unchanging redoubt of the old Indian way of life — a view it is hard to discover anyone who shares. It was founded a generation ago when the ranches and fazendas were still busily digesting frontier territories hundreds of miles away, but their appetites have sharpened again.

The park shelters perhaps a dozen tribes, and there they live cheerfully obsessed with their Stone Age rituals, absorbed in perfectionist handicrafts, body-painting, keeping precious fires alight. The Vilas Boas brothers believe that even aspirin is detrimental to the Indian's self-sufficiency, they exclude missionaries, and do not particularly welcome visitors of any kind. There are dotted lines on the map of the park in the Foundation's office, showing the extensions they propose to make, which will allegedly double its present area; and, remembering the fate of President Goulart when idealism and commercial interests were in collision, one can only wonder.

At best, and should this growth in the park's area ever take place, a total of 4000 *isolados* will have been salvaged, plus a few hundred in a new reserve just created in the Tumucumac mountains in the far north, and these will be guarded like rare birds of prey in the Highlands of Scotland. The future of the 50,000 or 100,000 Indians — whatever the figure is — left outside these reserves seems obscure indeed. At the moment they are to some slight extent protected by a national mood of self-recrimination, which is almost certain to calm once again to indifference. There are only 100,000 *puré* Indians at most out of a total population of 80 millions, and it is unrealistic to believe that their welfare can ever become an obsession in a country in which such multitudes are thrown together in the pit of destitution. It is more unrealistic still to imagine that whenever "strategic" metals are found some means will not be devised to exploit them, whether or not they happen to be in an Indian reserve.

It seems almost too bold to consider the unique case of the Maxacalis as a possible compromise solution between an imperilled isolation and the ethnic suicide of integration, yet there is no other

possible hope. The Maxacalis -- mysterious in their origins, like so many Brazilian tribes -- live in three villages in the State of Belo Horizonte. They speak a strange, guttural language, carve totem poles similar to those of the Indians of Canada, and among other unusual customs noted by anthropologists who have studied them is their method of dealing with rare cases of murder. When this happens the assailant becomes the guest of honor of a ceremony before his funeral, after which he is killed and buried in the same grave as his victim, "so that they may become reconciled." Like all other Indians the Maxacalis are protected in theory by a paternal constitution that leaves them in possession of their ancestral lands, but like all other Indians the exact extension of their lands had never been defined, and there are no title deeds. In the meanwhile, and as the years go by, the surrounding fazendas slowly clear the forest and move their boundaries closer. Years ago the Maxacalis found they could no longer live as hunters and fishermen, and as a stopgap measure the Government gave them some cattle. These were stolen by the Indian Protection Service officials in charge of them, who at the same time helped themselves to what was left of the Indian land, and set themselves up as ranchers. By 1966 there was no land, no game, no fish and no cattle. The Maxacalis then took up arms and attacked fazenda after fazenda, slaughtered the animals, set fire to the buildings.

It was a lucky chance indeed for them that these attacks were carried out not against big fazendeiros of the kind who could have called in planes or used bacteriological warfare to destroy them. Instead, their opponents were smallholders of limited imagination and resources, who fell back on the traditional method of distributing fire-water in the Maxacali villages. The effect of this on starving stomachs was explosive. A civil war started within the tribe causing 10-12 deaths a week, and when hunger drove the survivors in the direction of the white fazendas again, they found that professional killers hired in Belo Horizonte were awaiting them. It was the story all over again of some desperate last-ditch encounter in the middle of the last century between a handful of Redskin and American pioneers, but now while one was still armed with bows and arrows, the other had changed its .45 colts for sub-machine guns.

Early in 1967 Captain Manuel Pinheiro of the Military Police was sent out from the State capital to take charge of a situation that -- now that one or two of the Indians had got hold of firearms -- was beginning to look as though a small, spontaneous guerrilla war might develop. The measures taken were prompt, arbitrary and effective. The captain first took back 7000 acres from the fazendeiros and charged rent for the rest of the Indian land they occupied. With the money he built three small irrigation dams, and bought up-to-date agricultural equipment. (The illicit herds owned by the SPI agents were sequestered and every Indian family got at least one cow.) Pinheiro says that the fazendeiros were quite happy to accept the need for the measure when it was explained to them. The sale of fire-water was punished from this time on by 15 days forced labor in the police post, and the captain claims that this, too, was taken in the right spirit. Within six months

the tribe was not only self-supporting, but producing a surplus of milk and cheese, as well as some excellent handicrafts.

The policy here while the Military Police remains in control is one of absolute non-interference in tribal customs and beliefs -- a kind of benevolent apartheid in reverse with the white man held warily at arm's length. The Maxacalis have been given an economic personality that carries with it comprehension and respect. They buy, sell and exchange. Their cooperative has opened a banking account, taken out insurance policies, even undertaken hire-purchase commitments. Their involvement with the hallowed myths and taboos of surrounding white society offers its own kind of protection. They have been given another human dimension, stripped of the pernicious mystery of the forest. Men are to be found in Maxacali country who will shoot an Indian out of hand, with the slightest provocation, but a casual killing of this sort begins to look more like murder when the victim has business associates and a credit rating.

Six months ago a Maxacali went to São Paulo to take a course for tractor drivers, which includes dismantling and re-assembling the machine. In a subsequent competition he received first prize out of 50 entrants. He was regarded not as a *civilizado*, but a tribal Indian, and, returning to his village, he would sleep, as before, in the house of his father-in-law; the whole family, men, women and children, piled together, naked, on the communal wooden bed "to keep out the cold."

If any final and comprehensive plan for the Indians' salvation is to be evolved, some decision must be reached about the missionaries. As it is, the Government's attitude remains ambiguous. On the one hand a Ministry issues a report that says, without any attempt to beat about the bush, that "the confrontation with religious catechism proved disastrous for the [Indian Protection] Service." White missionaries have even been charged by the authorities with such venal activities as trafficking with the Indians in semi-precious stones and in furs. They are endlessly attacked, too, in the Press, and one supposes with Government approval, for the "conscientious destruction of indigenous culture, while offering nothing in its place." Yet at the same time pacification teams are constantly being sent out to deal with isolated tribes, and each of these contains two missionaries who will initiate a process shown by all the evidence to be deadly in its ultimate effects.

Whatever is decided -- even, for example, should Brazil be induced to take the step of permitting only medical missionaries to work among the tribes -- an uncomfortable fact has to be recognized. This is that tens of thousands of Indians have now been reduced to total dependence upon the missions, and the withdrawal of their economic subsidies would transform present misery and squalor into outright starvation. Reforms in this direction would call for vastly more funds than appear to be available at present.

As it is, the impression one gets of the National Foundation for the Indian is that the task it is tackling with so much evident enthusiasm is beyond

its strength. Its offices in the roaring tropical Manhattan of Rio de Janeiro are small and cramped, occupying about a tenth of the floor space of one of the innumerable banks that surround it. The feeling is of something being attempted on a shoestring. The Foundation has a million dollars a year to spend.

It is nothing.

It is hard to see how the Foundation can be effective in its battle with the strength, the cunning, and the influence of the commercial interests it is bound to confront, and reports so far give no reason for optimism. After nine months of the new boom the news from Indian country remains depressing. A party of university students returning from a field study at Areiões in Mato Grosso found nothing but hunger, and exploitation of the Indians by the whites. The Foundation's inspector of the 7th Region was

alleged to have deserted his post, leaving the Indians there abandoned. On the very same day that these other two items appeared in the Press, a deputy testified to the Congressional Committee for Indian Affairs that slavers entering Brazil from Surinam were carrying off Indians of the Tirios tribe — who were supposed to be safe in their new National Park of Tumucumac.

Early in the year Professor Darcy Ribeiro, the leading authority on the Indians of Brazil, published a gloomy prediction. He calculated that in accordance with a survey of data collected over the past 50 years, there would not be a single Indian left alive in Brazil in 1980.

What a tragedy, what a reproach it will be for the human race if this is allowed to happen!

* * *



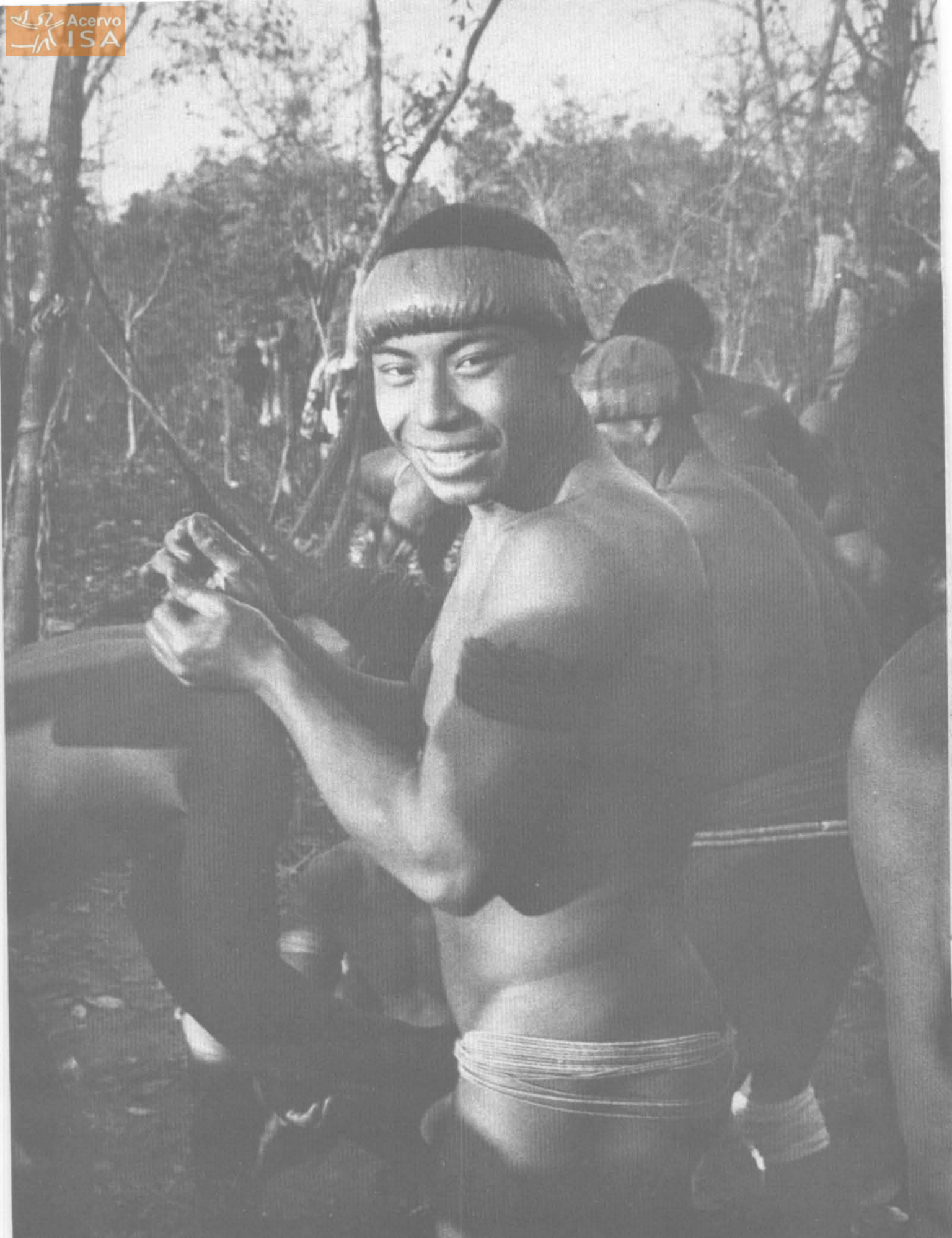
“FUNAI’s mission is a dual one. First, it pacifies hostile Indians so that Brazil, an underdeveloped nation, may extract the riches of its vast wilderness area as efficiently and painlessly as possible. Second, it protects the Indians it pacifies against the harmful aspects of our civilization with which they cannot cope.

As an example, it prosecutes trespassers on lands set aside for Indian use. It guards its charges against exploitation. It seeks to keep the diseases of civilization away until the Indians can be immunized; otherwise, measles or smallpox might sweep the region, taking a fearsome toll.”

—W. Jesco von Puttkamer,
“Brazil Protects Her Cintas Largas,”
National Geographic,
September 1971.

“French MD Jean Chiappino informs in a message sent to the 8th Regional Office of FUNAI in Porto Velho that the state of the Surui (a Cintas Largas band) Indians, pacified two years ago, is extremely grave and that they are practically being decimated by TB, infections, and above all, chronic starvation. Sent to the present director of the Aripuana Indian Park the message states that from June to the present date more than 20 Indians have already died in the vicinity of the Seventh of September post. It stresses the urgency of action by the International Red Cross to help the tribe, besieged by hunger and diseases since FUNAI allowed private companies to prospect for mineral resources within the Park.”

—“Fome e Doencas Dizimam
Indios Suruis no Parque Aripuana,”
Jornal Do Brasil,
November 21, 1972.



Y-JUCA-PIRAMA

AN URGENT DOCUMENT BY THE BISHOPS AND
PRIESTS OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON



The following is an abridged and edited version of a much longer translation of Y-Juca-Pirama kindly provided by the Division for Latin America, United States Catholic Conference.

PREFACE

On the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, moved by our conscience and by our mission and by the shock of reality that surrounds us, we submit to the national conscience and in particular to all those who share with us the same hope, this urgent document about the conditions of Indian peoples in Brazil.

THE SITUATION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLES IN BRAZIL

On November 12, 1971, the Bishops of the far western region of Brazil declared: "Throughout the entire country the lands belonging to Indians are being invaded and gradually expropriated. The human rights of Indian peoples are virtually unrecognized, leading to their rapid cultural and biological extermination, as has already happened to so many other Brazilian tribes." (*L'osservatore Romano*, January 30, 1972.)

A document signed by 80 scientists in Curitiba said: "The signers of the present document, connected to the Indian problem for reasons of professional activities or from purely humanistic motives, believe that they must publicly address the national authorities and the conscience of the Brazilian people to the threats that are being renewed against the most fundamental rights of the native populations of Brazil." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, June 15, 1971.)

Our purposes here are to assess the validity of the above statements and to verify that the rights of Indian peoples are not merely being threatened, but are actually being violated in Brazil. What follows are a series of reports taken from Brazilian newspapers and magazines since the construction of the Trans-Amazonic highway two years ago:

"In response to criticism voiced by the Villas Boas brothers concerning the construction of the BR-80 highway through the Xingu National Park, General Bandeira de Melo, President of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), said that the highway would not create problems for the Indians." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, n.d.)

This statement contradicts that of others. An anthropologist, for example, who was an adviser to the President of FUNAI stated: "Everyone knows that a road cutting through an Indian Reserve is a

vehicle which will bring enormous problems to the Indians and consequently to FUNAI." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, March 31, 1973.)

Orlando Villas Boas, Director of the Xingu National Park, was quoted as saying the following about the BR-80 invasion: "All it has brought to the region is alcoholism, prostitution, adventurers, and those who destroy the environment." (*Jornal Do Brasil*, November 16, 1973.)

Earlier this year, it was reported that: "Three FUNAI officials at the Alalau (Roraima) substation were killed in revenge by the Waimiris-Atroaris Indians who, in June 1972, were humiliated by forestry workers hired to assist in the construction of the Manaus-Caracará Highway." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, February 2, 1973.)

Professor Eduardo Galvão of the Goeldi Museum in Belem argues that the same thing could occur in other areas, and predicts "... clashes between Indians and settlers along the new Northern Perimeter Road." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, August 18, 1973.)

A Manaus newspaper reported, in connection with the situation in Roraima: "The Indian continues to be a defenseless victim. His lands are invaded, his reservations are plundered and his women are raped. The Boa Vista police know it. ... FUNAI also knows it ... only we do not know why the Indians must continue to be exterminated under the supposed protection of FUNAI." (*A Notícia*, January 10, 1971.)

The BR-80 Highway uprooted the Txukarramac tribe, who were formerly within the confines of the Xingu National Park. "As a result, other problems will arise and by the time they are realized, many Indians will be dead." (*O Globo*, July 19, 1971.)

Unfortunately, this prediction proved true: "... four dead, 20 critically ill and 70 hospitalized following an outbreak of measles affecting the Txukarramac Indians, in one of the most serious epidemics of disease ever to strike the Xingu National Park." (*Jornal do Brasil*, November 15, 1973.)

From the viewpoint of FUNAI such calamities are justified, because, in the words of the President of the National Indian Foundation, "... the Xingu Park cannot hinder the country's progress." (*Visão*, April 25, 1971.)

The words of General Bandeira de Melo seem less like those of the President of an agency created to defend the rights of the Indians, than an echo of the words of the large landowners of Amazonia. "With reference to FUNAI guidelines for 1972," Bandeira de Melo claimed, "I stress again that the Indian cannot be allowed to impede development." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, October 26, 1971.)

Yet, the very construction of a road in a native area is a violation of the rights which Indians possess

to their lands. According to Gonzalo Rubio, Director of the Inter-American Indian Institute: "Added to the activities of adventurers and explorers of the past against the native populations there are now new factors, the roads and the forces of progress — which, although they do not intend to cause harm, undeniably disturb the life of the groups through which they pass." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, August 8, 1972.)

The threat which these new highways pose is reflected in the statement of Engineer Claudio Pontes of the Empresa Industrial e Técnica, one of the construction companies for the Northern Perimeter Road: "At no time will our work be interrupted, even if there are problems with Indians." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, August 15, 1973.)

In summary, "The Trans-Amazonic and other highways under construction in the north of the country are encircling 80,000 Brazilian Indians, condemning them to extinction." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, March 12, 1971.) Similar reports come from other areas of Brazil.

Moving to the south of the country, we find the following melancholy testimony of the anthropologist, Carlos de Araujo Moreira Neto: "... the current situation of the Kaingang Indians in Rio Grande do Sul, particularly as regards the successive invasions of Nonoai Reserve by intruders, FUNAI's position and that of other official agencies concerned is characteristically cautious and dilatory, which tends to strengthen the 'status quo.' In this respect, there is no difference between the actions of FUNAI and of the SPI [the former Indian Protection Service] both of which are incapable of making any material change in the general system of usurpation and degradation to which Indians are being subjected." (from: "The Situation of the Indian in South America," World Council of Churches, 1972.)

Professor Sílvio Coelho dos Santos, Director of the Anthropological Museum at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, says of Indians in the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul: "Drunk, dressed in rags, and starving, hiding in the brush or begging by the roadside, the several thousands of Indians on the Rio Grande do Sul Reserves have been virtually ignored during the recent months of widespread news coverage about their tribal brothers to the north." (*Veja*, February 28, 1973.)

Engineer Moises Westphalen, a university professor and renowned expert on the Indian problem, says: "The *gaucho* [Rio Grande do Sul] government has always participated in the usurpation of Indian lands, and FUNAI is completely ineffective. What they are doing to the Indians in Rio Grande do Sul is genocide, because these people cannot live without land." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, March 28, 1972.)

To the North, in the State of Mato Grosso, the Xavante Indians are said to be "on the warpath and ready to react against any invasion of their Reserves." (*Jornal do Brasil*, July 8, 1972.)

The Tapirapés were recently "threatened with removal from their lands by FUNAI" which wanted to "relocate them on the Ilha do Bananal, giving way to pressures exerted by the Companhia Colonizadora Tapiraguáia." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, April 4, 1972.)

"The Galera and Sararé Indians of the

Nhambiquara group, whom FUNAI is moving to a native reserve, are in such a precarious state of health that, several months ago, an outbreak of influenza arising from contact with whites decimated the entire tribal population in the 15 year-old age group." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, May 31, 1972.) Relocation of the Nhambiquara resulted from pressures to assign their lands to powerful economic groups.

In Goiás, it is reported that "... 250 Xerente Indians are attempting to assume control of the town of Tocantinias, having already taken over several estates. The Indians claim ownership of the lands on which they live." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, September 3, 1971.)

On the island of Bananal, where the Indians are a spectacle for tourists staying at the John F. Kennedy Hotel, we read the following: "The Karajas Indians roam drunk through the city of São Felix in Mato Grosso. The Indians cross the river screaming loud in the night." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, March 31, 1972.)

On April 19, 1973, the so-called "Indian Day" in Brazil, we received a letter from Luciara signed by 125 inhabitants of the Island of Bananal and addressed to the Director of the Araguaia Indian Park. Among other things, it said: "On their behalf (the Karajas Indians of Luciara), we request urgent intervention by FUNAI. Some of them are seriously ill (tuberculosis) and all of them are completely abandoned. They need special help on a permanent basis."

In Bahia, we find the same violation of Indian rights: "Men addicted to alcohol, women becoming domestic servants, children dying before they reach their first birthday — this is how the Quiris Indians live, a tribe now in decline at Vila de Mirandelo, 293 kilometers from the capital city of Salvador." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, January 1971.)

The Pataxos Indians of Bahia protested against an attempt to remove them from their aboriginal territory in the following terms: "We, the Indians, are like a plant which, when moved from its place of origin, if it does not die, at least it suffers greatly. We cannot agree to leave here because we were on this land many years before the Park existed. For better or worse, it is ours, it is where we were born, where we were brought up, and where our fathers and forefathers died and were buried." (*Jornal do Brasil*, February 20, 1972.)

In Pará, "... the Indians (Gaviões) have just been moved to another area by FUNAI. But they were so traumatized that the women even aborted their babies in order not to give birth to children, since infants, according to them, made it difficult for the tribe to move. And the tribe was always moving from place to place, fleeing from the white man." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, May 25, 1972.)

A group of them "... in rags and starving, arrived in Fortaleza to ask for help" and in their simple language denounced FUNAI because it is headed by civilized men, and "civilized men cheat the Indian." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, December 15, 1971.)

In the Northeast, "Xucurus, Fulniôs, Pankararus, and Hamués ... survive in spite of being confined to a fraction of their former territory and wander from place to place always being chased away." (*O Jornal*, April 29, 1973.)

"In Rondonia, occupation affects both the Indian and the ecology." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, May 22, 1973.)

Death arises everywhere and the fact that those responsible are the "squatters, prospectors and rubber planters who invade Indians lands ..." is what the President of FUNAI himself has to recognize. (*O Estado de São Paulo*, December 3, 1971.) But the real responsibility, as was reported by the Chamber of Deputies in Brasilia, belongs with FUNAI because "it has given permission to mining companies to prospect for ore in the native areas ..." (*Correio Brasiliense*, December 8, 1971.)

In this rapid review of the Indian situation, it is quite clear, as stated by Professor Newton Maia, Director of the Department of Genetics at the University of Parana, "... that Brazilian Indians are being exterminated. With the advancement of white civilization there have been clashes, and it is always the Brazilian Indian who is most affected. This extermination does not take place only because of more powerful weapons, but also from biological causes introduced by the white man." (*Veja*, April 5, 1972.)

In May 1968, a Task Force created by Presidential decree to investigate the Indian Protection Service (SPI) declared: "Notwithstanding strong legislation which, from the colonial period, has tried to protect our Indians, debasement of these forest-dwellers continues. The difficulties of enforcing these laws and the slowness of bureaucratic processes in cases of invasion or expropriation are incentives for the continued usurpation of Indian lands. Always illegally, by fraud or by violence, the land has been taken from its original holders. It is not unusual for such acts of dispossession to be 'legitimized,' under the concealment of a decree, law, or administrative act." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, May 1968.)

It is our position that in spite of the creation of a new agency to protect Indian rights (FUNAI), their situation continues to be the same, if not worse, than that described in the Task Force's investigation of SPI. We are in agreement with the chief of the Karaja tribe who bitterly declared, "FUNAI and SPI are the same thing."

"THE BRAZILIAN MODEL": REASONS FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF THE INDIANS*

*The "Brazilian Model" is a term used by government planners and economists to describe the specific combination of state incentives, international aid and investment and private financing used to promote economic growth and development in Brazil.

Although newspaper reports on the situation of Brazilian Indian tribes have been extensive, they tend to meet with indifference from the Brazilian public, who hold an erroneous view which is both superficial and biased as far as native populations are concerned. For the vast majority of Brazilians, the Indian is no more than a "savage," a relic of the past.

The native population of Brazil is the victim of every conceivable form of injustice. Indian policy itself is attracting the most severe criticism to the

point of being "... completely worthless and a mass of contradictions." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, May 13, 1971.) Most important, as the now retired Indian agent, Antonio Cotrim Soares, stated: "An urgent reformulation of the methods of FUNAI is the only way of avoiding the destruction of the Brazilian Indians by civilization." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, April 20, 1973.)

With the exception of a few dedicated and knowledgeable Indian agents, FUNAI is characterized by a total lack of preparation for the mission which it is entrusted to fulfill. It has become, in the words of Dr. Amaury Sadock, an enormous piece of bureaucratic machinery centered in Brasilia "... whose decisions are alien to the well-being of the native community." (*O Estado de São Paulo*, August 9, 1973.)

In order to awaken national consciousness and to clarify the "Indian Problem," which in essence is a problem of ourselves, it is necessary to analyze the underlying causes which are leading to the extermination of Indian peoples in Brazil. Basically, these causes are general in scope, rooted in the ways in which the Indian policy of FUNAI is related to the wider political and economic directives of the Brazilian state. It is impossible to reformulate a valid native policy without redefining principles and concepts and without placing it in the context of the national policy of which it forms a part. In the case of Brazil, the critical issue is the "Brazilian Model," a global scheme of development which defines the policy and practice of FUNAI.

Political leaders of the country do not hide the fact that "integrated and dependent capitalism" has been chosen as the means of "progress" for Brazil. It has also been demonstrated that the "Brazilian model" contemplates a form of "development," which only benefits a small minority of Brazilians, and the powerful international economic groups who they represent. The result of this option, rather than bringing about true development, is the increasing marginalization and theft of the Brazilian people, whether they be craftsmen or laborers, small urban or rural property owners or tenants, leaseholders, sharecroppers, agricultural workers, underemployed or unemployed.

Even more serious is the fact that the country as a whole is becoming more dependent on other richer and stronger nations, which prevents a national development experience, defined and undertaken by the Brazilian people themselves (See "En Ouvi O Clamor do Meu Povo," and "Marginalização de um Povo, Grito das Igrejas," recent Brazilian Church documents).

All administrative sectors of the government, including FUNAI, have been created to fulfill the political and economic directives contained in the "Brazilian Model." Since these directives follow an anti-national and anti-popular line, the function of various government agencies is to mitigate and monitor any social tensions which arise. As the ethnologist, Carlos Moreira Neto of the National Research Council, has argued: "Brazil is going through a development fever which has had detrimental influence upon FUNAI." (*O Popular*, November 22, 1973.)

“When the territory where only Indians live begins to receive colonists, forestry workers and ore prospectors, the authorities resolve the inevitable conflict between Indians and whites — when there are still Indians left — by relocating the native group to another area more removed from civilization and sometimes already populated by enemy tribes.” (*O Estado de São Paulo*, November 7, 1972.)

A number of commentators have highlighted the essentially economic motives behind FUNAI policy. Deputy Jeronimo Santana vehemently declared: “FUNAI . . . has become an entity where groups take refuge to exploit the natural resources of the reserves where the Indians live. Today it is the Indian who is of least importance. The Indian is a ‘thing’ and the policy put into effect by FUNAI proves it.” (*O Estado de São Paulo*, January 19, 1972.)

The “occupation of Amazonia” forms part of the government’s overall development policy, as do the foreign or multinational companies who find great opportunities for lucrative investments in mining and forestry operations or in the organization of cattle-raising enterprises.

Claudio Villas Boas claims: “They say it is necessary to open up roads to populate and settle the Amazon. Now the roads are open, and we can see that man is still absent. The forests are being leveled not only to open up the roads, but also to introduce cattle. The only way to conquer the Amazon is with cattle. . . . And for this the Indians are being expelled from their reserves and our ecological balance is being savagely mutilated.” (*Jornal do Brasil*, April 21, 1973.)

Minister of the Interior, Jose Costa Cavalcanti, has said, “The development of Amazonia will not stop because of the Indians.” (*Jornal do Brasil*, September 18, 1973.) According to this position, if the Indians are there, but do not produce according to the dictates of integrated and dependent capitalism, if they do not have legal title to the land, if they do not own agricultural enterprises, then they must give way to the new “colonizers,” they must withdraw from their lands which “civilization” has now decided to sell or give away to those destined to develop the interior of the country. If the Indians — thus challenged and robbed of their theoretically recognized rights, as well as their natural way of life — die, then let them die. If they resist, they are to be opposed as though they were the invaders of their own lands.

We submit that the real directives behind Indian policy in Brazil are contained in the “Brazilian Model” of development itself. Further, we believe that the only way in which FUNAI’s policy can be radically changed is through a complete change in Brazilian policy as a whole. Without this total change, FUNAI or any other agency will be unable to go beyond the limits of a cheap and hypocritical “welfarism” for those who have been condemned to die; an agency which camouflages unprofessed support of large landowners and the exploiters of our national wealth.

From what has been thus far said, the immediate conclusion would be that there is no solution to the so-called “Indian Problem” in Brazil. Experts on the Brazilian interior, officials and missionaries who reach out to new groups of Indians are tormented by the awareness that the result of their labors is only to delay (or accelerate?) the extinction of these groups by a few years. As the young Indian agent, Apoena Meireles, has said: “It is with sadness that we are attempting to bring them here, knowing that a future without prospects awaits them.” (*Correio da Manhã*, September 19, 1972.)

Notwithstanding this tragic prospect, or precisely because of it, the native peoples who are threatened with extinction must be saved. They, far more than the records of humanity, are living humanity. This is why it is necessary that only persons and entities who are aware, competent, and unbiased should be mobilized to solve this problem.

We are in disagreement with the repeated statements of the Minister of the Interior that “The Indian problem is a problem for Brazil.” (*O Estado de São Paulo*, March 25, 1972), and that “other countries know nothing about the problem of the Brazilian Indian.” (*O Estado de São Paulo*, November 9, 1973.) The misnamed “Indian Problem” is a problem for humanity, a problem whose causes and motivations are perhaps better known in countries where there is freedom of information and discussion than in Brazil.

In the final analysis, there are millions of human beings in the Americas and several thousands in Brazil, who, for centuries, have suffered the gravest injustices inflicted by a “race” which claims to be superior. If the conscience of humanity were equal to the volume of information, such an iniquitous situation would no longer be tolerated. The “Indian Problem” in Brazil cannot be understood, and much less solved, unless it is situated in its international context.

At the same time, however, it is also obvious that no adequate solution will be found if this problem is separated from its national context, taking into account that the Indians only constitute several thousands within the crushing majority of millions of Brazilians living in poverty and wretchedness. “‘Civilized’ society will only have the right to speak of integration of the Indian when no one is dying of hunger in its midst.” (*O Popular*, November 22, 1973.)

Perhaps most important is the need for a change among ourselves. We must recognize that the Christian entities which are most concerned with “giving assistance” to the Indians often lack socio-political awareness and vision. Accordingly, on the dubious pretext of alienated charity, they frequently betray their mission of tenaciously defending (Indians) from physical and cultural death or respecting their freedom and dignity as human beings.

“The Catholic Fathers themselves,” a recent article states, “after more than 100 years of preaching, are being obliged to change tactics, for if they continue to pursue the same goal from Anchieta and Nóbrega,

what they would achieve would be disintegration, marginalization, destruction, and death of what remains of Brazilian native groups. And this change in tactics is precisely with a view to respecting Indian peoples, their beliefs and ways of life, appreciating their culture instead of trying to impose our culture upon them." (*O Popular*, November 22, 1973.)

A WAY OF HOPE

In conclusion, we believe that the crucial question is this: What would Brazil be if it truly relied upon the Indians, rather than attempting to annihilate them as at present?

It is quite possible that many capitalist and imperialist-minded Brazilians and authorities fear this question, which shows that, consciously or unconsciously, they support the extinction of these peoples who, by virtue of their positive values, constitute a living denial of the capitalist system as well as of the "values" of a so-called "Christian Civilization."

Without assuming the idyllic vision of a Rousseau, we feel it urgently necessary to recognize and make public certain values which are more human, and thus more "evangelical," than our "civilized" values and which constitute a true alternative to our society:

1. The native peoples in general have a system of using the land base for the community and not for the individual. There is therefore no possibility for the domination of some by others on the basis of private exploitation of the means of production.
2. All production resulting from labor or the utilization of the riches and, therefore, the entire economy is based on the needs of the people, and not on profit.
3. The only purpose of the social organization is to guarantee survival and the rights of all, not just of a privileged few.
4. The educational process is characterized by the exercise of freedom.
5. The organization of power is not despotic but shared.
6. The native population lives in harmony with nature and its phenomena, unlike our "integration" with various forms of pollution, and the destruction of the natural habitat.
7. The discovery, development and existence of sex enters into the normal rhythm of the Indian's life in an atmosphere of respect, without the characteristics of taboo or idolatry which are manifested in our society and have so much influence over it.



"All my work as a doctor among the Indians of Brazil was oriented to a single idea: that the rapid process of civilizing the Indian is the most effective form of killing him."

—Dr. Noel Nutels, famous Brazilian Indianist with over 25 years of medical experience among Brazilian tribes.

* * *

This year, when we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, if we compared these rights with our civilized reality and with the Indian reality, perhaps we would be surprised to discover that the Indians live and respect them more than the nations who were responsible for their formulation.

If we had the courageous humility to learn from the Indians, perhaps we would change our individualistic ideas and our economic, political, social, and religious structures so that, instead of domination of some by others, we could make the world harmonious through cooperation.

The time has come to announce, in hope, that he who would have to die is the one who *must* live.



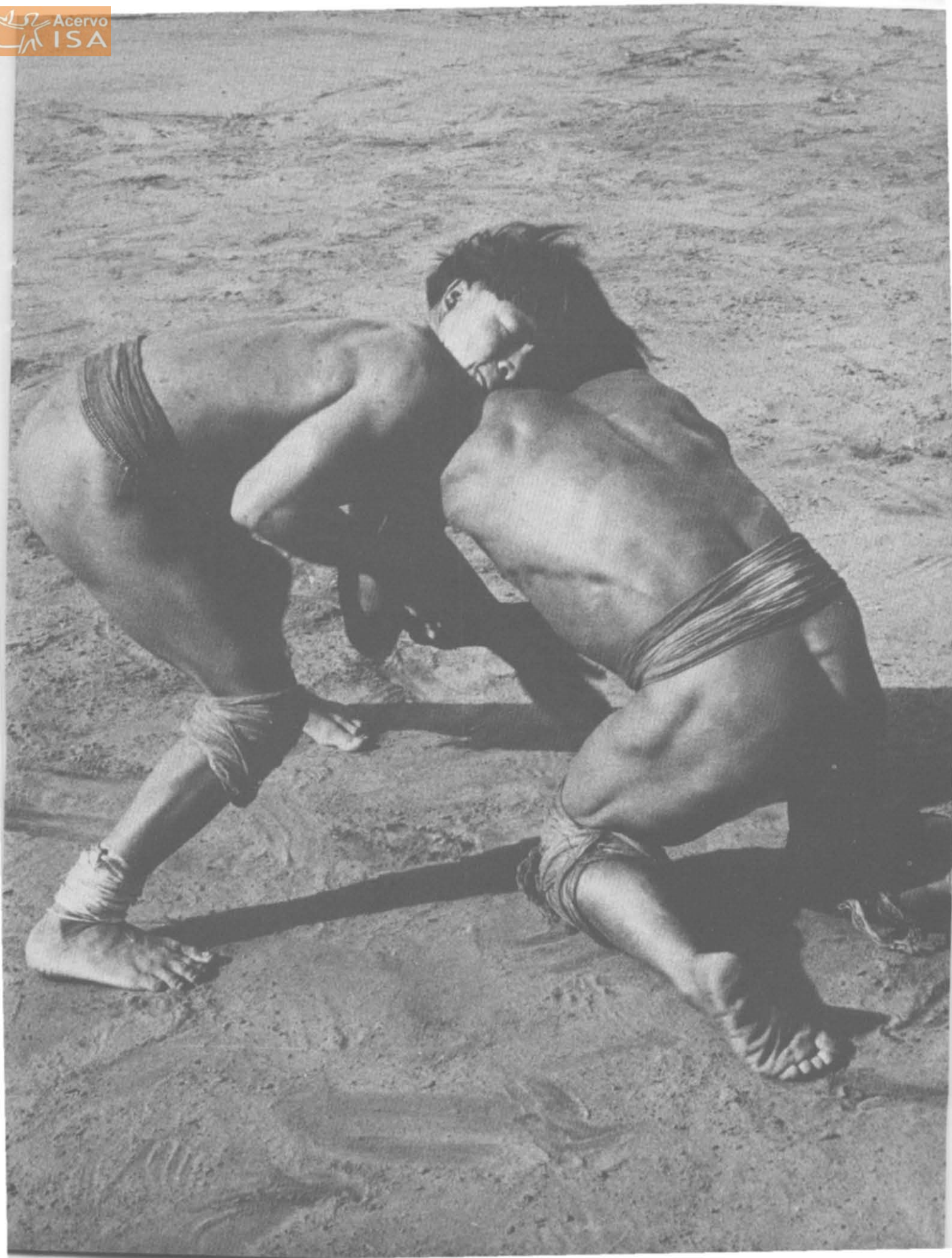
(December 25, 1973)

Signed by:

- Dom Maximo Biennès (Bishop of Cáceres)
- Dom Hélio Campos (Bishop of Viana)
- Dom Estevão Cardoso de Avellar (Bishop of Marabá)
- Dom Pedro Casaldáliga (Bishop of São Félix)
- Dom Tomás Balduino (Bishop of Goiás)
- Dom Agostinho José Sartori (Bishop of Palmas)
- Frei Gil Gomes Leitão (Marabá)
- Pe. Antonio Iasi (Diamantino)
- Frei Domingos Mãia Leite (Conceição do Araguaia)
- Pe. Antonio Canuto (São Félix)
- Pe. Leonildo Brustolin (Palmas)
- Pe. Tomás Lisboa (Diamantino)







“During my term of office, I will attempt to remove the Indian from the pages of the press.”

—General Oscar Jeronimo Bandeira de Melo,
on assuming office as the President of the
National Indian Foundation (FUNAI),
June 1970.

“My task will be to integrate the Indian into national society, because it is impossible to stop the process of development of the country with the argument that Indians should be protected and maintained in their pure state.”

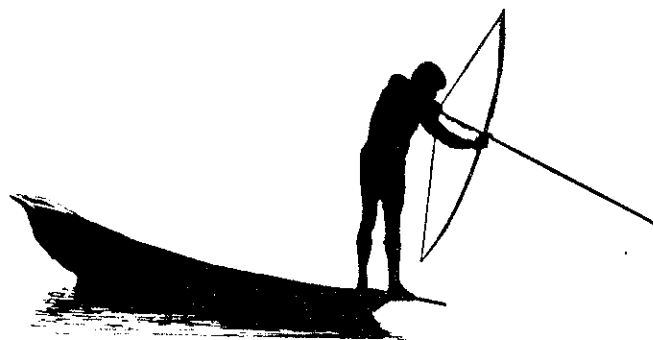
—General Ismarth de Araujo,
on assuming office as the
President of the National Indian Foundation,
March 1974.

“Never before was so much being done for the Brazilian Indian as today when we want to better the conditions of life of these groups and not let them be treated as animals in a zoo for the pleasure of tourists. Our plan is for their gradual integration into our society, participating in our economic system; because if not, in the future, the process of development will not leave one Indian alive in his own habitat.”

—Sr. Jose Costa Cavalcanti,
former Brazilian Minister of the Interior,
November 9, 1973.

“This is a promise that I can strongly make: we are going to create a policy of integrating the Indian population into Brazilian society as rapidly as possible. . . . FUNAI constituted one of the important themes of my conversations with the President. We think that the ideals of preserving the Indian population within its own ‘habitat’ are very beautiful ideas, but unrealistic.”

—Sr. Mauricio Rangel Reis,
Brazilian Minister of the Interior,
March 1974.



THE POLITICS OF GENOCIDE AGAINST THE INDIANS OF BRAZIL

DOCUMENT BY A GROUP OF BRAZILIAN ANTHROPOLOGISTS

The following document is an abridged version of a report written by a group of Brazilian anthropologists, and presented at the XLI International Congress of Americanists, Mexico City, September 1974. Because of the nature of political repression in Brazil, their names were not attached to the document.

At a time when General Ernesto Geisel replaces General Garrastazu Medici (as Brazil's President), new and grave dangers hang over the indigenous racial minorities of Brazil. In his first public announcement, the new Minister of the Interior, Mauricio Rangel Reis declared:

"This is a promise that I can firmly make: We will assume a policy of integrating the indigenous population into Brazilian society in the shortest time possible. . . . We believe that the ideals of preserving the indigenous population within its natural 'habitat' are very nice ideals, but unrealistic."

This thesis is not new. With more or less emphasis, it has come to be the dominant Indian policy of the government since 1964. What is new is that the government now has better conditions than ever before to put this policy into practice. In December 1973, General Medici sanctioned a new law, the Indian Statute, which established a legal basis for the "rapid integration" of Indians, and the wholesale expropriation of their lands.

The most notable aspect of this policy is that it completely ignores the history of indigenous experience in Brazil, which has proven, over a period of 70 years, that the hundreds of tribes who have been subjected to a policy of "rapid integration" do not integrate into Brazilian society, but on the contrary, rapidly deteriorate and disappear as a people.

FUNAI POLICY

The National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) was created in 1968 in order to counter various accusations that the Brazilian government was practicing a policy of genocide against its remaining Indian peoples and tribes.

In its original statutes, FUNAI was presented as a synthesis of the most advanced aspects of Brazilian indigenous policy. It incorporated the conclusions of the Brazilian indigenous experience, and endorsed the principles of the United Nations and the International Labor Organization as regards human and minority rights.

The first article of the FUNAI statutes included the following:

- a. respect for tribal institutions and communities;
- b. guarantee of the permanent possession of lands which Indians inhabit, and the exclusive use of natural resources therein, according to the Brazilian Constitution;
- c. preservation of the biological and cultural equilibrium of Indian communities in contact with national society;
- d. defense of the spontaneous acculturation of Indian communities, rather than their rapid and enforced acculturation.

At the same time, pressured by public and international opinion, the government promised support for the Xingu National Park, and the creation of five new indigenous parks: the Tumucumaque Indian Park, in the extreme north of the state of Pará, the Aripuaña, in Rondonia and the extreme west of Mato Grosso; the Araguaia, on the Island of Bananal; the Ianomami, in the extreme north of Amazonas; and the Atalaia of the North, in the west of Amazonas.

By 1970, however, FUNAI began to change its policy, and deviate from the principles stated in its original charter. Economic groups from the south of the country, large landowners, and foreign corporations began to pressure the government to open up the lands of the Amazon, and opposed the recognition of Indian rights. The government announced plans for the construction of the Trans-Amazonic Highway, mobilized financial support from international agencies such as the World Bank, and introduced a system of fiscal incentives to lure investments into the Amazon region. Finally, several FUNAI declarations began to assume an entrepreneurial position, arguing that Indians must be integrated as a manual labor force into Amazonian development and growth.

On January 25, 1971, the President of FUNAI signed a decree which read: "Assistance to the Indian will be complete as possible, but cannot obstruct national development nor block the various axes of penetration into the Amazon region."

In accordance with this new orientation, FUNAI's central preoccupation became the rapid attraction and pacification of tribes living along the route of the *Trans-Amazonic Highway*. Immediately, it became clear that FUNAI's function was not the protection of constitutionally recognized Indian rights, but the protection of highway workers against a supposed Indian threat.

Thus, the solemn dispositions of the FUNAI program (i.e., respect for the rights of tribal minorities) were left on paper, and the government began to repeat the genocidal policies of the past. Today, it is more than three years since these policies have been put into practice. Let us briefly consider what has occurred.

ALONG THE ROUTE OF THE TRANS-AMAZONIC HIGHWAY

1. *The Jurunas, Araras, Paracanas, Assurinís, and Kararões:*

At the end of 1970, FUNAI "attraction" teams contacted the first tribes along the route of the *Trans-Amazonic Highway* in the state of Pará: the Jurunas, 75 kilometers from Altamira, and the Araras, on the banks of the Penetacuá River, 170 kilometers from the highway. By 1972, of the 200 Araras contacted, no more than 50 were left. The tribe had abandoned its village, and was wandering, perplexed, along the highway, in the darkest of misery.

Also, in 1970, contact was established with a group of Paracana Indians, in the valley of the Pacajás River, to the north of the Serra do Carajá. Support for the "pacification" of the Paracanas was provided by the *United States Steel Company*, who, in conjunction with the state-owned firm of *Vale do Rio Doce*, had obtained a large iron ore concession in the area.

On December 18, 1970, a helicopter carrying a FUNAI delegate and a director of *United States Steel* arrived in the area, and made contact with 25 Paracana tribesmen. The Indians were given blankets, and immediately were stricken by an epidemic of influenza.

Within six months of first contact, not less than 40 Paracanas had died from influenza. At the same time, FUNAI officials were reported to be having sexual relations with Indian women.

By order of General Ismarth de Araújo, a judicial investigation was called, but only the accused persons were heard, and they denied everything. FUNAI announced that "the denunciations were totally unfounded." Meanwhile, the two lower-level Indian agents who had made the original accusations were chastised.

In November 1971, Dr. Antonio Madeiros visited the Paracana village and found a pattern of promiscuity between "civilized people" and the Indians. Thirty-five Indian women, and two FUNAI officials were found to have venereal disease. Eight children in the village were born blind, as a result of gonorrhoea, and at least six children died from dysentery. In February 1972, another influenza epidemic struck. Doctors were sent to the area, but without medicines, leading to the death of more members of the tribe.

A similar process occurred during the "pacification" of the Assurini and Kararão tribes. Of 80 to 120 Assurini contacted in their village along the banks of the Bacajás River in 1971, no one knows

how many exist today. Of 85 Kararão Indians, first contacted in 1965 and later "pacified" during the opening of the *Trans-Amazonic Highway*, only three miserable individuals remained in 1972.

2. *The Tembês:*

The Tembe live on the banks of the Gurupí River, along the border between Pará and Maranhão. For several years they were protected against land invasions by a title deed provided by the government of Pará. Nevertheless, in the late 1960s, FUNAI began to negotiate with *King Ranch*, a United States-based enterprise, for the transference of the Tembe lands.

In order to receive financial incentives from the government agency charged with the development of the Amazon region (SUDAM), the *King Ranch* needed a certificate demonstrating that no Indians occupied these lands. FUNAI provided them with the certificate. Then the *King Ranch*, together with the government, began proceedings for the voiding of Indian title, and the Tembe were dispossessed of their lands.

The invasion of the Tembe Reserve is typical of what is happening to Indian lands all along the *Trans-Amazonic Highway*. By the end of 1973, almost all of the region was occupied by agricultural enterprises, colonization projects, or mining firms. Of eleven reserves created by government decree to receive tribes found along the highway, *not one* has been concretely planned or protected against outside invasions.

THE ARAGUAIA RIVER VALLEY

1. *The Tapirapés, Carajas, and Javues:*

The Tapirapé Indians live near the town of "Santa Teresita," along the Mato Grosso side of the Araguaia River. Protected over the past decade by a religious mission, their population nearly doubled, reaching 104 persons in 1972.

The Tapirapé territory, however, was included in the immense landholdings bought by the *Tapiraguaia Colonization Company*, a São Paulo real estate firm supported by incentives from SUDAM. Typically, FUNAI did not come to the defense of the Indians, but rather decided to relocate them to the Araguaia Indian Park on the Island of Bananal.

The Araguaia Indian Park was created by presidential decree in 1971, and is the traditional territory of the Carajá and Javaé tribes. To call this island an "Indian Park" is misleading, as for more than 10 years Bananal has been occupied by cattle ranches and tourist hotels. The once great Carajá Nation is now reduced to a couple of hundred people, with the men corrupted by alcohol and the women prostituting themselves to local whites. An "Indian Hospital" exists on the island, but 17 percent of the Carajás have tuberculosis. The infant mortality rate is astounding.

The Javaé tribe lives in the interior of the island. Their territory has been surrounded by the barbed wire fences of intruding cattle ranches, and they die in misery from tuberculosis, trachoma, influenza and measles. To date, the Tapirapé have refused to be

removed to the "Park," aware of the inhuman conditions they would face.

2. *The Xavantes:*

In 1945, the once large and powerful Xavante Nation was "pacified," resulting in a large number of deaths and tribal disorganization. The Xavante inhabited a vast territory bordering on the States of Mato Grosso and Goiás. During their "pacification," and the ensuing invasion by cattle ranches, a number of Xavante bands were relocated to mission stations and large ranches. In the 1960s, one group of Xavante was carried by airplane to the immense *Suiá-Missú Ranch* (680,000 hectares), owned by a wealthy São Paulo industrialist and the Italian firm, *Liquigas*.

Throughout the 1960s tensions grew between the 2,000 member Xavante tribe and invading ranchers. Finally, in 1969, the government conceded to the Xavante demands, promising them a reserve which comprised one-tenth of their original territory. The Xavante, however, protested, arguing that the reserves were too small, and that the cattle had driven away all of their game. The Xavante continued to stand up for their rights, blocking the highways being built into their territory, and refusing to be forcibly relocated as a cheap labor force to the surrounding ranches.

In 1972, the government again promised the Indians new reserves. This time, however, the ranchers protested, claiming that the land was theirs, and refused to let government topographers measure the Xavante lands. The Xavante again became demoralized, claiming that neither the government nor the ranchers respected their rights.

In October 1973, it was learned that three Xavante were assassinated by local ranchers. The Federal Police were sent to the Xavante region, but more to protect the ranchers than to follow through with the demarcation of the Indian reserves. As of March 1974, tension remained in the Xavante area, with neither the Indians nor the large ranchers agreeing to be moved.

ON THE CUIABÁ-SANTAREM ROAD

1. *The Cranhacarores:*

In February 1973, the Villas Boas brothers made first contact with the legendary and hostile Cranhacarore tribe. Actually, the brothers lamented this "attraction mission," as they knew the fate that would await the tribe. The contact, however, was necessary because the *Cuiabá-Santarem Highway* would pass within four kilometers of the Indian Territory, and cattle ranches were beginning to surround the tribe. Immediately following the Villas Boas brother's contact, the contradictions of FUNAI policy became clear.

In March 1973, President General Medici signed a decree for the establishment of a Cranhacarore Reserve, but it did not include the territory inhabited by the tribe. Further, throughout the year following their "pacification," FUNAI officials at the Cran-

hacarore substation promoted the movement of Indians from their village to the highway, where construction crews were located. On January 6, 1974, Brazilian newspapers carried a report on what was happening to the Cranhacarore tribe.

According to Ezequias Paulo Heringer, an Indian agent commissioned to investigate conditions along the Cranhacarore front, the Indians had been introduced to homosexuality by Antonio Souza Campinas, the very man charged with their protection by FUNAI. In a public denunciation, Heringer confirmed that the Indians had abandoned their villages and fields, and were mixing with soldiers and workers along the *Cuiabá-Santarem Highway*. The Indians were already addicted to alcohol, and were dying from diseases.

Months before, several Indian agents, including Orlando Villas Boas, had warned FUNAI against placing Antonio Campinas in charge of the Cranhacarore front. Nevertheless, his character was supported by FUNAI, and Heringer rather than Campinas, was punished by the government. Following the initial press exposé of his behavior, Campinas was simply transferred to another "pacification" front, but then after more public denunciations, he was suspended by FUNAI.

As of March 1974, Cranhacarore tribesmen were still reported to be dispersed along the highway, fraternizing with truck drivers, begging for food. Their fields were totally abandoned, and they were in a state of sickness, hunger, and misery. The tribe was totally disorganized, and without protection. In time, they would either disappear, be taken as workers to surrounding cattle ranches, or be forced to relocate into the confines of the Xingu National Park.

IN RONDONIA

1. *The Cintas-Largas and Suruis:*

Few tribes have suffered as much as the Cintas-Largas, whose territory is located at the headwaters of the Aripuaña River, along the borders between Mato Grosso and Rondonia states. Throughout the 1960s, they were victims of a series of massacres, which included the slaughter of Indian women and children, the bombing of their villages, and death through "presents" of sugar mixed with arsenic poison.

Finally, in 1968, a FUNAI "pacification" team convinced the Cintas-Largas to live peacefully with settlers along the expanding frontier, and in 1971 the Aripuaña Indian Park was created to protect the more than 2,000 Cintas-Largas and Suruis Indians. Their protection, however, was short lived, and immediately tragedy struck these tribes.

In October 1971, a measles epidemic arose among a Surui band, and in December the Indians rebelled, killing an Indian agent in charge of the Aripuaña Park.

General Bandeira de Melo, the President of FUNAI, blamed the Indian rebellion on a number of colonization companies who had invaded the Park, but later it became known that these companies were authorized by the Indian Foundation itself. One

company in particular, the *Itaporanga Colonization Company*, was selling land parcels in the Park.

In January 1972, Deputy Jeronimo Santana of Rondonia accused FUNAI of "patronizing" these invasions and failing to protect Indian rights. He provided evidence that several tin mining companies, including *Compania Espirito Santo de Mineracao* (owned by W. R. Grace-Patiño) and *Compania Auxiliur de Mineracao* (controlled by the Halles banking group) were given permission to prospect in the Park.

Later, in November 1972 it was learned that gunmen has been hired to assassinate the Cintas-Largas tribe. At the same time, a French doctor, Jean Chiappino, reported that the Suruis were being decimated by tuberculosis and malnutrition. He confirmed that more than 20 Surui had died from tuberculosis in the previous months, all located at the "Seventh of September" Indian Post.

In March 1973, SUDECO, the agency in charge of development of the central-west region, announced the construction of a highway through the Aripuaña Park. Some days later, FUNAI announced that it had given permission for the building of the road.

Finally, in October 1973, FUNAI announced that the original demarcation of the Aripuaña Indian Park was "hasty," and declared that it would be reduced too one-third of its present size.. At the same time, it was learned that ten mining companies were given prospecting rights in the Park, including multinational affiliates of *Billington Corporation*, *Royal Dutch Shell*, the *Itau* financial group, an associate of the *Rockefeller-Moreira Salles* group, and the *Molybdenium Corporation* (MOLYCORP).

Apocna Meireles, the Indian agent who led the first "pacification" expeditions to the Cintas-Largas, declared:

"Today, there is a tragic reality in the Aripuaña Park. In less than four years, the lands of the Cintas-Largas have begun to be invaded, the epidemics have already left their mark, and many of them have fallen along the road where they have found misery, hunger, and prostitution of their women."

THE EXTREME NORTH OF BRAZIL

The tribes who are most distant from the fronts of expansion are in the large area to the north of the Amazon Basin, within the regions of Amapa, northern Pará, Roraima, and western Amazonas. There are no less than 10,000 Indians in this region, dispersed in hundreds of villages.

Throughout this century, the Indian population has greatly diminished as a result of various forms of slavery created by the rubber and Brazil nut industrial booms. Today, the major threat to Indian survival lies in the construction of the *Northern Perimeter*, *Alenquer-Surinam*, and *Manaus-Caracará-Boa Vista Highways*.

The *Northern Perimeter Highway* will extend for 2,500 kms. and pass through several Indian areas. FUNAI has announced that it will go ahead of construction crews, in order to insure the survival of Indian groups. In reality, this has not happened. The work on the *Northern Perimeter Highway* began in August 1973, and only in November did FUNAI

receive the necessary funds to send "attraction teams" to the region. On November 20, 1973, forest workers on the Northern Perimeter encountered a group of 50 uncontacted Indians near Caracará, without being accompanied by a single functionary of FUNAI.

Five tribes (the Parakotó, Charuma, Warikyana, Vayana, and Tirió), numbering approximately 5,000 persons, in the region of the Trombetas River, in northern Pará, have two highways moving in their direction. The majority of these Indians are within the area of the Tumucumaque Indian Park. Nevertheless, this Park, created by a decree of 1968, has recently been closed, in all probability, to avoid criticism once the highways intrude within its boundaries.

In Roraima, land speculation has received a great impulse in the past few years. The government agency charged with agrarian reform, INCRA, has demarcated private properties in the area, but as of yet has not delineated any Indian lands. Over 3,000 Indians live in this region, including the Maçuchi and Vapitxana tribes, whose lands have passed into the hands of large agri-businesses. On May 18, 1973, a group of gunmen invaded a Maçuchi village, killing one Indian, and injuring several others.

In southern Roraima, both the *Manaus-Boa Vista* and *Northern Perimeter Highways* are crossing the territories of the Atroari, Waimiri, Machacali, and Iauaperi tribes. Since 1968, a series of conflicts have emerged between these tribes and invading highway workers and settlers.

The Atroari and Waimiri resisted the intrusion of the *Manaus-Boa Vista Highway* in their territory, killing a priest and eight other workers sent to "pacify" the tribes. In April 1970, a merchant contracted six gunmen to hunt down these Indians, and nine Attroaris were assassinated. No one has yet been convicted for these crimes, although they caused a scandal in the Brazilian press.

Farther to the West, the *Northern Perimeter Highway* will cross the northern part of the State of Amazonas, passing through the territory of the Ianomami tribe. In 1968, and again in 1971, FUNAI promised that a Park would be created for the approximately 5,000 Ianomami-speaking Indians on the Brazilian side of the frontier, but to date no Park has been created.

An even greater concentration of Indians is found in the extreme west of Amazonas, in the basin of the Solimões River. In this region, which will also be crossed by the *Northern Perimeter Highway*, live several thousand Indians, the principal groups being the Baniwa and Tucana tribes. The Atalaia do Norte Indian Park, decreed in 1968, and promised by General Bandeira de Melo again in 1972, still remains on paper.

Meanwhile, even previous to the arrival of the new highway, problems between Indians and whites have arisen: sickness, slavery in the rubber plantations, bloody conflicts. In 1972, the Marubo Indians attacked lumber workers in the area. Then in 1973, an Indian post was attacked by the Marubo, in retaliation against broken promises by FUNAI.



THREAT TO THE XINGU NATIONAL PARK

In November 1973, General Ismarth de Araújo, one of the numerous generals who occupy a high administrative post in FUNAI and who in the government of General Geisel has been promoted to its Presidency, announced in Brasília that a change in the orientation of the Xingu National Park was inevitable. He declared that it was the official intention of the government "to integrate into society" the 15 tribes that live in the Park.

Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas, the two world famous brothers who for 29 years have dedicated themselves to the protection of the Indians of the Xingu, immediately protested. They argued once again that such rapid integration would lead these tribes to the destiny of hundreds of others in Brazil.

"Our position," Orlando Villas Boas said, "is not novel. The Indian culture must be protected until the Indian has the option of integration." He went on to state that if a change in national policy was made, he and his brother would submit their resignations to FUNAI.

The Xingu National Park, home of 15 tribes representing the four major aboriginal language groups of Brazil, is a legend of humanism, an admirable and respected work which has been publicly recognized both within Brazil and abroad. Yet, throughout its history, the Park has always had its enemies, those who would forsake Indian rights, and rob Indian peoples of their lands.

In 1961, when President Janio Quadros signed the law creating the Park, there was strong opposition on the part of landowners in the Brazilian Congress and in the bastions of government. Fortunately, this threat was controlled, but in 1970 again, large land owners, motivated by fiscal incentives provided by the Brazilian government, again were demanding the Xingu lands.

Huge cattle ranches began to arrive at the frontiers of the Xingu Park, provoking incidents, invading its limits, and looking for Indians as a cheap source of labor.

Then in February 1971, the government announced the construction of a highway through the Park. The highway was being built by the Superintendency for the Development of the Center-West (SUDECO), an agency within the Brazilian Ministry of the Interior, like FUNAI.

At the time of the announced invasion, the Minister of the Interior claimed, "We will give all assistance to the Indian, but he cannot be an obstacle to the development of the country." The President of FUNAI confirmed his view, adding that, "the highway will not prejudice the Park."

Behind the SUDECO highway project were some of the most powerful agri-business associations in Brazil: *The Association of Agri-Businessmen of the Amazon*, *Federation of Agriculture of Mato Grosso (FEMATO)*, *The Development Corporation of Mato Grosso (CODEMAT)*. Reinforcing their desire for land were several foreign companies and various powerful economic groups from the south of the country: BRADESCO, Manah, Union Paulista, Codespar, Codeara, Anderson Clayton, Magalhães Pinto,

Borden, *Electro-Radiobraz*, *Reunidas*, *Liquigas*, *Ometto*, *King Ranch*, etc.

The BR-80 Highway was planned to cut through the northern part of the Xingu National Park. Another highway, it was soon discovered, was planned to connect the ranches of the Xingu Basin with the *Cuiabá-Santarem Highway*, passing through the middle of the Park.

As the press reports emerged, it became known that a private plane belonging to the *Reunidas* group was used to fly officials over the Xingu, and that the Brazilian Minister of the Interior had dined with businessmen in the area at the *Suia-Missu* ranch as early as April 22, 1969.

In March 1971, one of the directors of SUDECO stated in the newspaper *O Globo*, "... the immense lands that form part of the territory of the Park are able to be used rationally, with the creation of experimental farms, in which the Indians would be employed in the work and cultivation of the fields."

To legitimize the invasion of the Park, a press campaign was let loose with the intent of defaming the Villas Boas brothers and their work.

"The Indians of the Xingu," a Director of SUDECO claimed, "live in a state of incredible misery, practically left to their own luck, because those responsible for the Park consider it better to maintain them in their natural state." The President of FUNAI said: "The Indian is not a museum piece ... for the pleasure of foreign anthropologists who know nothing about the national reality."

These criticisms were malicious and false. In truth, those who made them were actual enemies of the Indians, rather than those who were preoccupied with the experience that the Xingu National Park represents. Never mentioned was the fact that throughout the world, the Xingu National Park had been praised as one of the most successful and humane forms of Indianist protection in the entire history of the Americas.

Immediately following the invasion of the Xingu Park by the BR-80 Highway, one section of the Txucarramãe tribe was displaced from its lands. At the same time, several ranches began to converge upon the northern limits of the Park, and a small town of Brazilian settlers grew up along the banks of the Xingu.

In November 1973, several Txucarramãe tribesmen entered the town, and they were stricken by measles. The Brazilian press reported that more than a hundred Indians were ill, and four had already died. Out of desperation, Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas were forced to convince the Txucarramãe chiefs to lead their remaining tribal members into the now reduced limits of the Xingu National Park.

A POLICY OF GENOCIDE

In a European television interview of February 13, 1970, the Brazilian Minister of the Interior, General Costa Cavalcanti, emphatically declared: "I formally reject the accusation that the Brazilian government has at any moment practiced genocide against our Indians. ... The policy of the government of Brazil is one of gradual integration. This is defined by the

directives set forth in Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization, of which Brazil is a signer."

Let us consider what is exactly stated in Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization accords concerning the "integration" of tribal populations:

Article 2(c): "to create the possibility of national integration, without means destined to artificially assimilate tribal populations."

Article 4: "excluded is the use of force or coercion with the object of integrating tribal populations."

Article 12: "tribal populations will not be displaced from their territories without their free consent."

Article 13: "when such displacement does occur under exceptional circumstances, the tribal populations will receive lands at least equal to those which they previously occupied."

If we compare these dispositions with the facts previously cited, it becomes clear that there is nothing less than a basic contradiction between Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization and the Indian policy of Brazil.

Nevertheless, General Costa Cavalcanti has negated before the world that the Brazilian government is practicing genocide against the Indians. What he overlooks are the facts of what is happening to the Indians of Brazil, and the point that genocide is a perfectly defined juridic concept.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, through Resolution No. 96 of December 11, 1946, declared that genocide is a crime against international law. *Article 2* of the Resolution, which is written into the Brazilian Penal Code, defines this crime as follows:

Article 2: "By means of the present accord, genocide is understood as any of the following acts, perpetrated with the intention of destroying, partially or totally, a national, ethnic, or religious group:

- a. to kill members of the group;
- b. to inflict grave damages on the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group;
- c. to intentionally submit the group to conditions of existence which forcibly produce their total or partial physical destruction;
- d. to adopt measures destined to impede births in the group;
- e. to forcibly transfer children from one group to another."

Point (c) alone is enough to condemn the Indian policy of the government of Brazil as decisively genocidal.

THE NEW INDIAN STATUTE

On December 19, 1973, General Garrastazu Medici signed the new "Indian Statute," a law which summarized the program of FUNAI concerning the destiny of the tribal minorities in Brazil.

Every law must be viewed in relation to the reality which it applies. Under present conditions, in which the occupation and development of the Amazon is taking place at an extremely rapid and destructive pace, a genuine concern for the survival of tribal

communities should be reflected in a law which reinforces and militantly protects their rights to exist. Once such protection is affirmed, the law can then treat "integration."

Basic to the new Indian Statute is its emphasis upon the "rapid integration" of tribal populations. On signing the Statute, General Medici declared: "The cardinal objectives of the Statute consist precisely in the rapid and healthy [sic] integration of the Indian into civilization."

Further, the new Statute highlights the entrepreneurial philosophy assumed by FUNAI since 1967, including the increasing government interference in Indian properties and lands and the penetration of private businesses into tribal communities.

A number of other elements of the Statute are also important to mention. First, *Article 20* enables the government "to intervene" in Indian areas for: (a) "the imposition of national security," (b) "the realization of public works that are in the interest of national development," and (c) "for the exploitation of the subsoil wealth of relevant interest to national security and development." Indian groups, according to this article, are able to be "removed . . . from one area to another" for such projects as highway and reclamation construction, mining operations, or cattle and lumber enterprises. It is essentially a mandate for moving Indian tribes out of the way of any development, rather than protecting them in their legitimate rights to territory, resources, and land.

Second, President Medici vetoed Paragraph 2 of *Article 18* of the Statute which prohibited "third parties from contracting Indians for practices or activities such as hunting, fishing, and collection of fruits, and also agricultural activities, cattle raising, or extraction on Indian lands."

This veto not only provides an open field for the exploitation of Indian lands by private businesses, but provides a legal sanction for the conversion of Indians into a cheap and available labor force along the various interior "frontiers."

Third, *Article 9* of the Statute lists various conditions by which "any Indian is able to petition a competent judge for his liberation from tutelage, and bring him under the regime of civil law." The seemingly liberal aspect of this article, in reality, abandons the position of recognizing Indians as a people apart.

In place of an attempt to integrate and emancipate the tribal community as a whole, it stimulates the individual emancipation of the Indian, with the motive of the extermination and disintegration of the group. True, some individuals will be "integrated," but into a process of inhuman oppression, where false promises will be used by economic groups to convince Indian youths that they should become slaves for the ranches and mines.

In summary, despite its liberal and modernizing tone, the new Indian Statute provides a mandate for the destruction of Indian communities in the name of "assimilation" and "integration." General Medici signed the Statute three months previous to the end of his government. On entering office as the new Minister of the Interior, General Mauricio Rangel Reis affirmed the new regime's support of the Statute, and declared: "Our policy is one of integrating the Indian population into Brazilian society in the shortest time possible."

CONCLUSION


Seven years ago international public opinion became aware and was horrified by the crimes being committed against the Indian peoples and tribes of Brazil. A wave of international protest forced the military government to act. An avalanche of new laws and decrees were passed seemingly in favor of the Indians. Brazilian ambassadors were sent around the world to counter the accusations and make promises of change. International laws, such as those of the United Nations and its agencies, were used to legitimize the Indian policy of Brazil.

Yet, as we have seen, these crimes continue. The situation of the Brazilian Indian today remains one of extreme gravity. They are being threatened now as never before. In the disguise of a new rhetoric, and through a series of false promises and lies, Indians continue to be systematically exterminated and destroyed.

Brazil has signed Resolution 96 of the United Nations which defines the crime of genocide, and Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization which limits and defines government actions that can be taken in the name of the "integration" of tribal minorities. It would be an act of supreme justice if the United Nations would petition the military government of Brazil to account for the situation of its Indians. A minute investigation must be made. Threatened tribes must be visited. Reliable witnesses, who exist, must be questioned. The Indian policy of Brazil must again be judged by world opinion.

Brazil has promised before Humanity to preserve the remaining Indians who live in her territory. But the preservation of minorities is not a compromise of one nation alone. It is a compromise of all Humanity. . . . The destiny of the Indian peoples of Brazil must be accounted for before the other peoples and nations of the world.

—March 16, 1974



"In our modest opinion, the true defense of the Indian is to respect him and to guarantee his existence according to his own values. Until we, the 'civilized' ones, create the proper conditions among ourselves for the future integration of the Indians, any attempt to integrate them is the same as introducing a plan for their destruction. *We* are not yet sufficiently prepared."

—Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas,
Directors, Xingu National Park
(1974).

"All through Brazilian history, from the most distant colonial times to the present day, the efforts for the 'integration' of the Indian constituted the essential and almost sole object of the official Indian policy. Throughout all the epochs the 'integration' of the Indian was promoted by just wars and forced pacification, by decimation, by forced labor, by religious conversion, and however many more techniques which were or continue to be imagined or suggested by interested sectors. . . . The Indian continues to be, today as always, the object of the same 'integrationist' efforts."

—"The Indians and the Occupation of the Amazon,"
a document signed by 80 Brazilian ethnologists,
anthropologists, historians, and sociologists,
July 14, 1971.





“We found two temporary houses (along the new Cuiaba-Santarem Highway), and a population of 35 persons, all suffering from gripe, including the Kranhacarore chief, Iaquil, who did not know where he was. . . . The customs of the tribe have degenerated and tobacco and alcohol now form part of the new habits of the tribe. . . .”

—“Contato Mudo Comportamento Kranhacarore,”

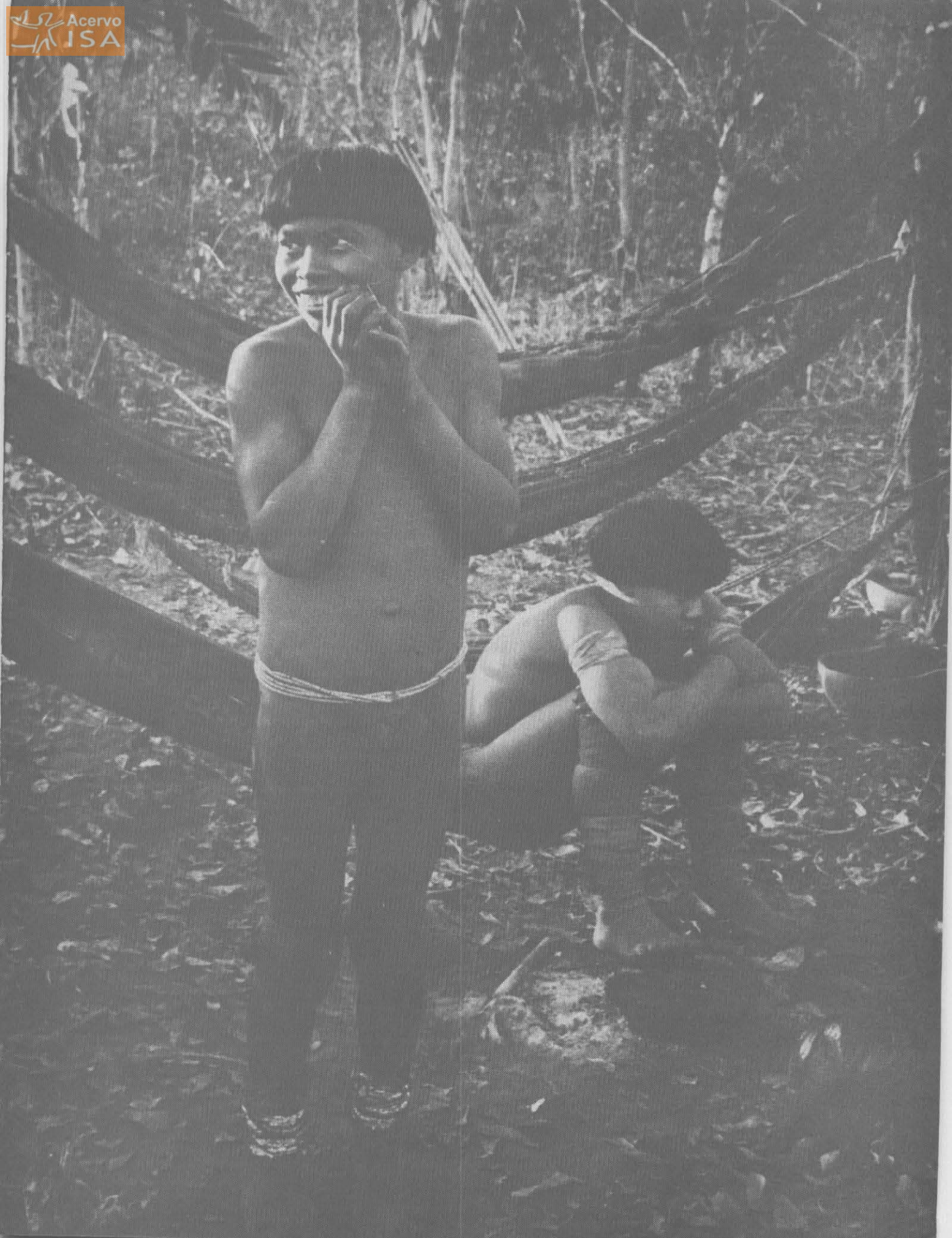
Estado de Sao Paulo,

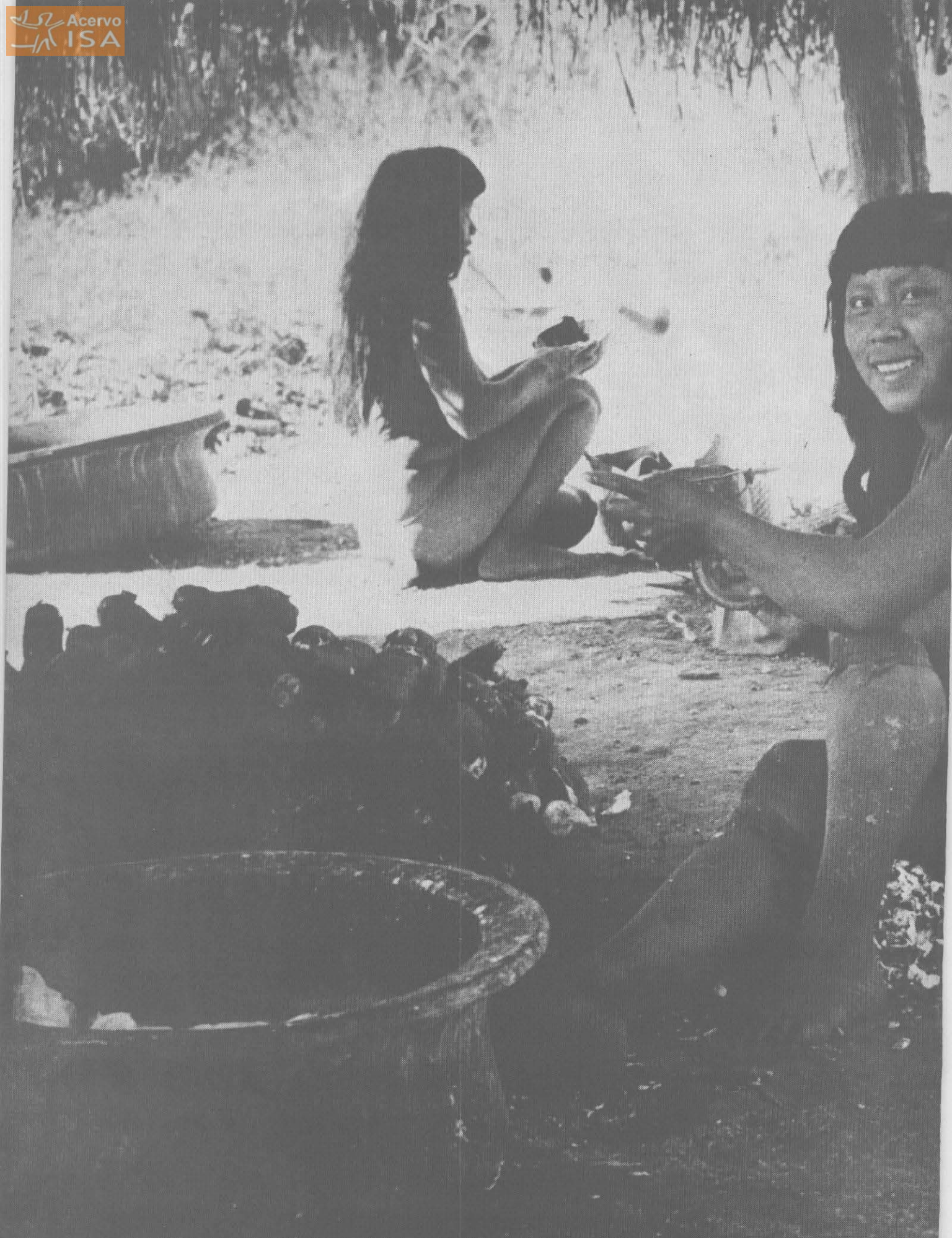
January 1, 1974.

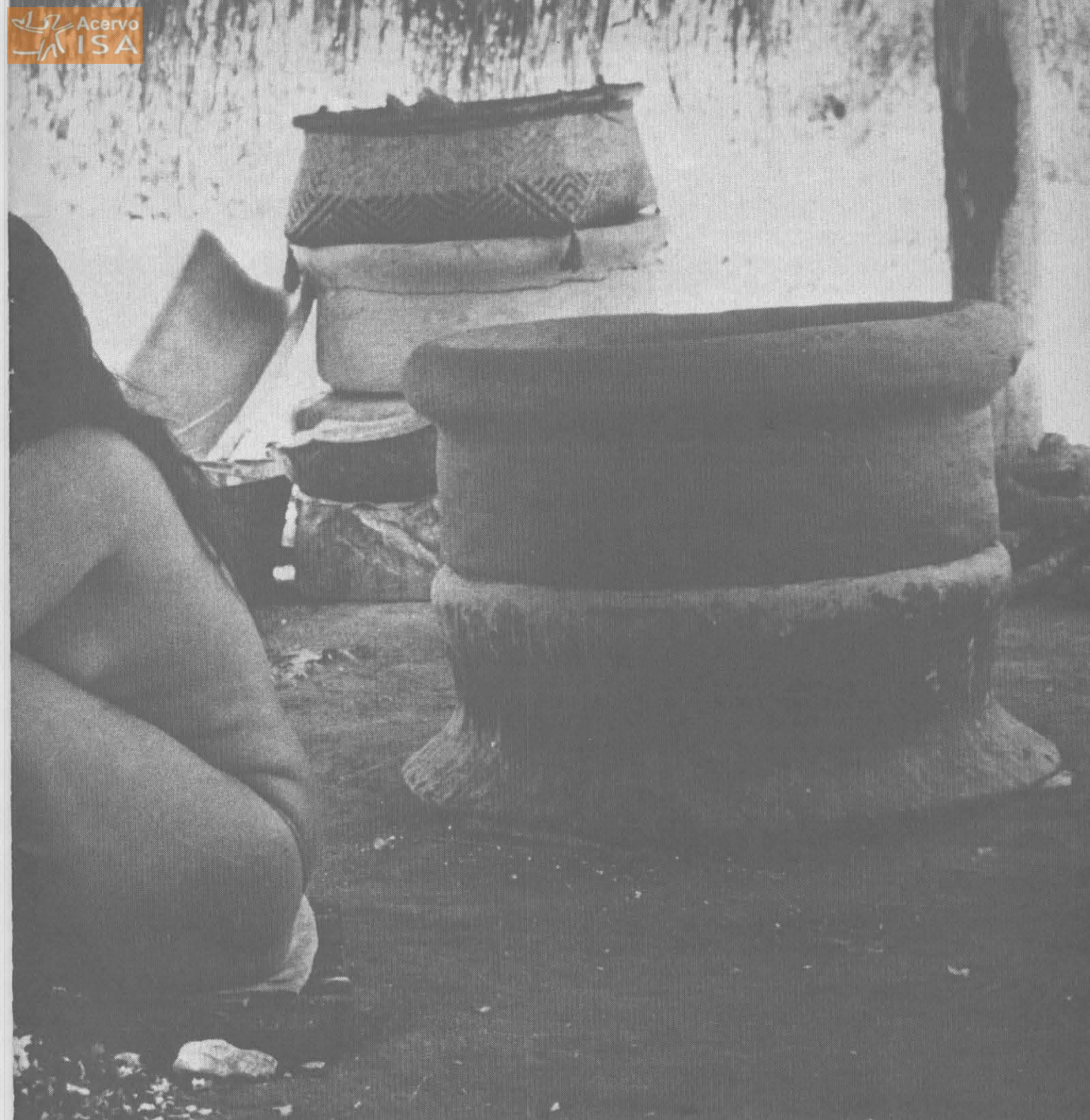
20 LARGEST FOREIGN INVESTORS IN BRAZIL

	US\$ Million
1. Brazilian Light Ltd. (CANADA)	142,038
2. Volkswagenwerk A.G. (GERMANY)	118,853
3. British-American Tobacco (U.K.)	98,881
4. Rhone Poulenc S.A. (FRANCE)	80,606
5. Ford Motor Company (U.S.A.)	79,849
6. Standard Oil Company (NEW JERSEY-U.S.A.)	71,531
7. Nippon Usiminas Kabushiki Kaisha (JAPAN)	61,050
8. Shell Overseas Holdings Ltd. (ENGLAND)	57,194
9. Union Carbide Company (U.S.A.)	53,168
10. General Motors Corp. (U.S.A.)	46,764
11. General Electric Company (U.S.A.)	46,193
12. Solvay & Cie. S.A (BELGIUM)	44,941
13. N.V. Anicvido Inc. (CURACAO)	43,724
14. N.V. Philips Gloeilampenfabriken (NETHERLANDS)	33,388
15. Daimler-Benz A.G. (GERMANY)	30,262
16. Johnson & Johnson (U.S.A.)	29,731
17. Atlantic Richfield Company (U.S.A.)	29,685
18. Anderson Clayton & Company (U.S.A.)	29,032
19. Robert Bosch GmbH (GERMANY)	28,755
20. Daimler-Benz Holding A.G (GERMANY)	28,332

BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE BUREAU
551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017







“How could you return to this world after seeing how we live? How can you breathe this foul air or sleep with these noises (the traffic)? How can you eat this food made to have tastes which are not its own? Why would you want to have intercourse with these women who seem afraid to be women and hide themselves and cover their eyes? And who are these men with guns who stand in the paths of the village [the ever-present Brazilian military police]?”

—Tawapuh, a Wausha tribesman,
commenting upon his impressions on being taken to
the Brazilian city of Sao Paulo for medical treatment,
September, 1971.

TOTAL AID TO BRAZIL
SINCE THE MILITARY COUP OF 1964
(in millions of dollars)

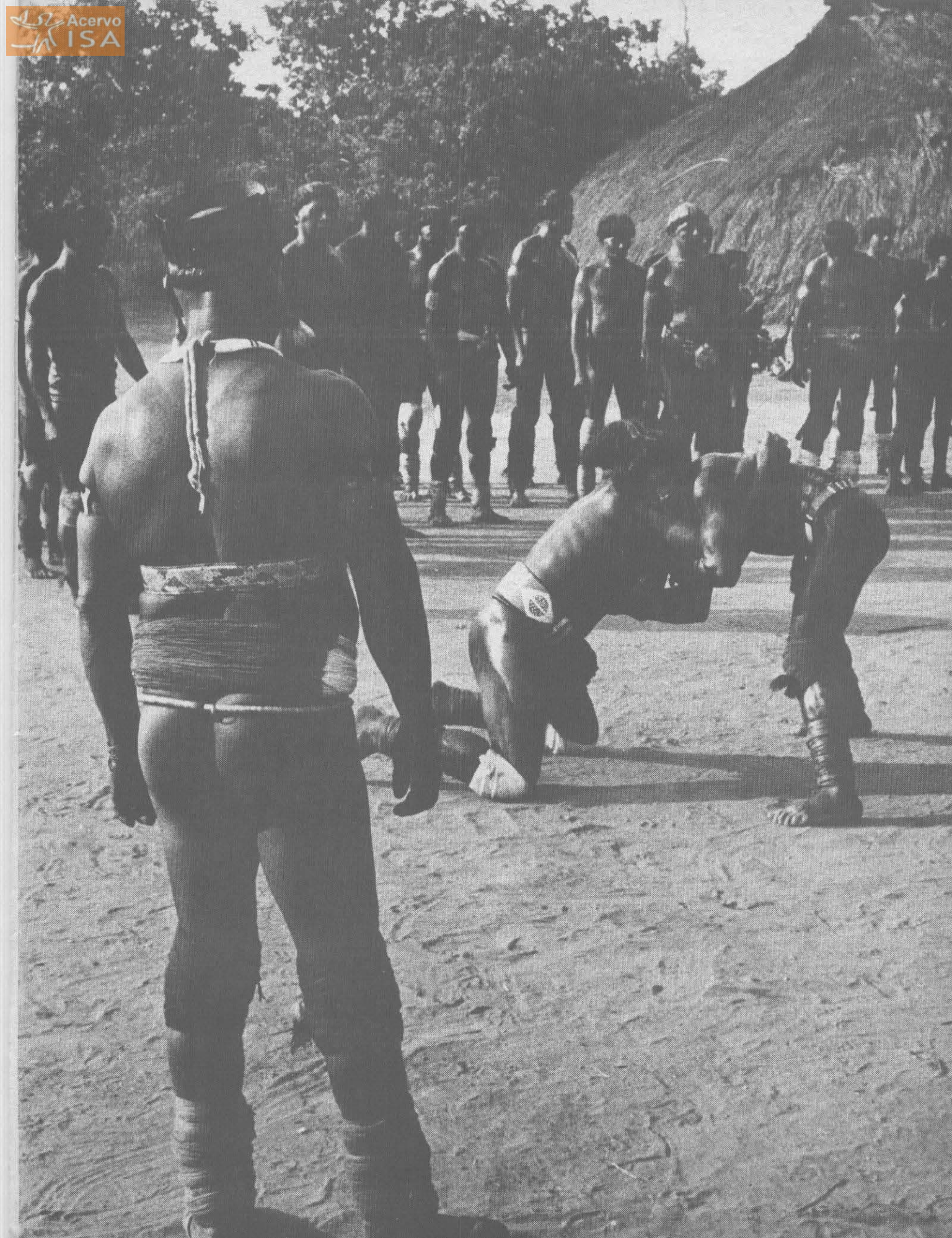
U.S. Agency for International Development ..	\$ 1,246.6*
PL 480 (U.S. Food for Peace Program)	478.1*
U.S. Military Assistance Program	186.1*
World Bank	1,168.3*
International Finance Corporation (a World Bank affiliate)	89.4*
Inter-American Development Bank	776.4
<hr/>	
U.S. Export-Import Bank ("long term loans")	271.2
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) (insurance of U.S. investments)	636.2

SOURCE: U.S. Agency for International Development,
*U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants, July 1, 1945 to June
30, 1971* (Washington, D.C.; 1972).

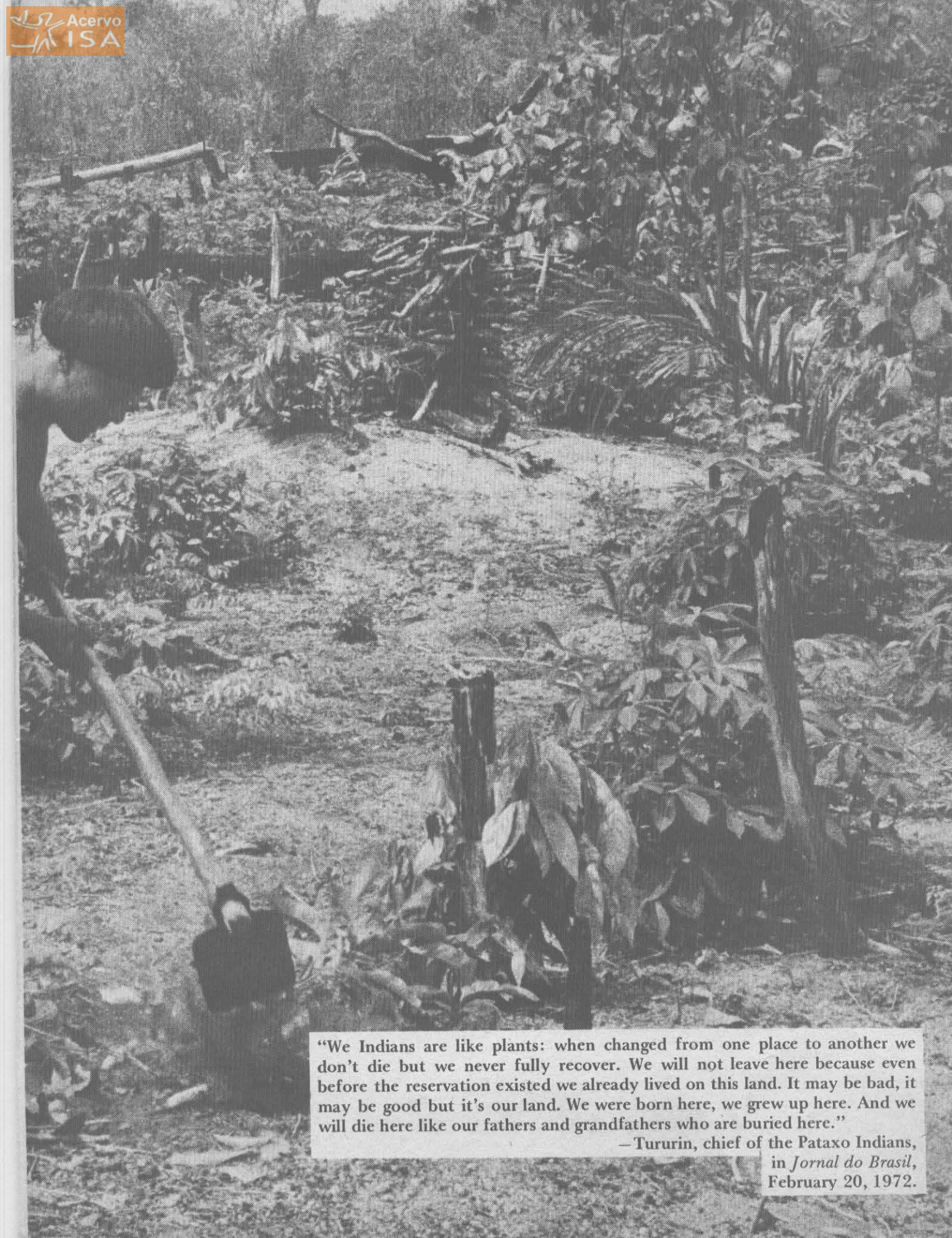
NOTE: Date from fiscal 1964 to fiscal 1971; Asterisk*
indicates fiscal 1972 data taken from annual report of
the agency and added to the total as of 1971.

"You can buy the land out there now for the same price as a couple of bottles of beer per acre. When you've got half a million acres and twenty thousand head of cattle, you can leave the lousy place and go live in Paris, Hawaii, Switzerland, or anywhere you choose."

—an American rancher who owns land in the Mato Grosso,
as quoted in Robin Hanbury-Tenison, *A Question of
Survival for the Indians of Brazil* (London, 1973).



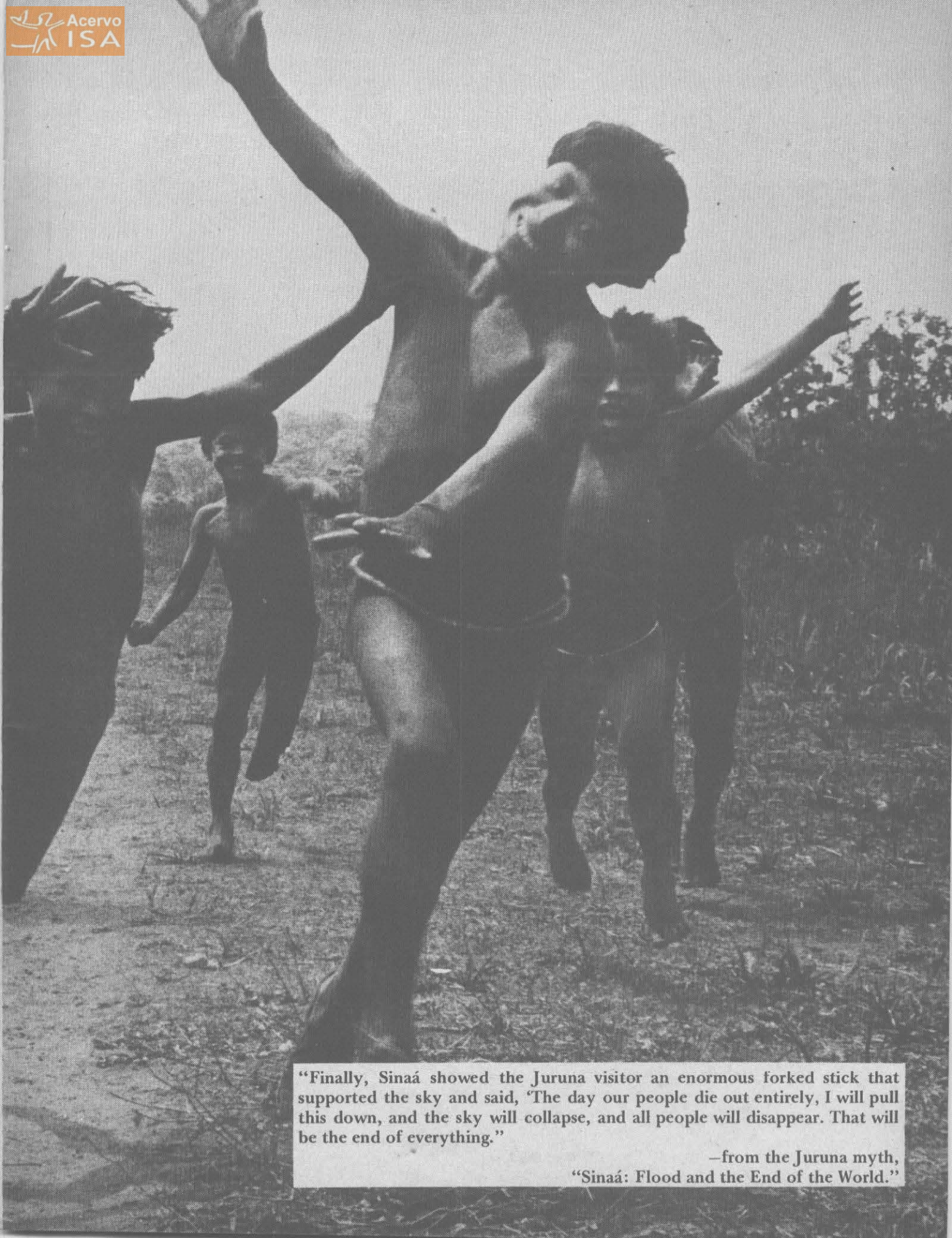




“We Indians are like plants: when changed from one place to another we don’t die but we never fully recover. We will not leave here because even before the reservation existed we already lived on this land. It may be bad, it may be good but it’s our land. We were born here, we grew up here. And we will die here like our fathers and grandfathers who are buried here.”

— Tururin, chief of the Pataxo Indians,
in *Jornal do Brasil*,
February 20, 1972.





“Finally, Sinaá showed the Juruna visitor an enormous forked stick that supported the sky and said, ‘The day our people die out entirely, I will pull this down, and the sky will collapse, and all people will disappear. That will be the end of everything.’”

—from the Juruna myth,
“Sinaá: Flood and the End of the World.”





“All Indians who let the white man move into his territory ended up losing nearly all their land. . . . The Txucarramãe do not want to kill anyone. But if *caraiba* [the Indian word for white man] invades our land, we will kill because the land was always ours and we never had to ask for it in the big cities.”

—Rauni, a Txucarramãe chief,
December 6, 1973.

THE RAPE OF INDIAN TERRITORY: *** FOREIGN AID AND INVESTMENT IN THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON



I. TRANS-AMAZON ROAD SYSTEM

56

MAJOR HIGHWAYS IN TRANS-AMAZON SYSTEM:¹

INVASION OF INDIAN LANDS:²

FOREIGN FINANCING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE:

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS:

TRANS-AMAZON HIGHWAY
3,100 mile road from north-
eastern Brazil to Peruvian
frontier

Jurúna, Arara, Parakaña, Asurini,
Kararão

WORLD BANK: \$400 million loan
to Brazilian Natl. Dept. of Roads
and Highways (DNER), largest loan
to highway sector in bank's
history³

EARTH SATELLITE CORP./
LITTON INDUSTRIES/WESTING-
HOUSE CORP.:—contracts for
Project Radam (Radar Amazon), \$7
million aerial photographic survey
of Amazon⁶

BELEM-BRASILIA HIGHWAY
running north to south on
eastern edge of Amazon

Gavião, Krahó, Apinayé, Xavante,
Xerente

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK:—
\$3,898,350 loan to Camargo Correa,
S.A., largest construction company
in Brazil, for purchase of Caterpillar
equipment⁴

CATERPILLAR BRASIL:—sale of
770 pieces of machinery worth \$47
million to Brazilian Army Engineer
Corps and 7 private companies
building Amazon roads⁷

SANTAREM-CUIABA HIGHWAY
running north to south through
west-central Brazil

Kreen-Akaróre
Xingu National Park
(BR-080 Road)

U.S.A.I.D.:—\$8.4 million grant for
training in use of remote sensing
data at Earth Resources Observation
Satellite headquarters, Sioux Falls,
South Dakota⁵

KOMATSU (Japan), FIAT (Italy),
GENERAL MOTORS, J.I. CASE,
CLARK EQUIPMENT, EATON
CORP., WABCO, HUBER-WARCO
(U.S.):—other foreign companies
in \$125 million earth-moving
equipment market⁸

NORTHERN PERIMETER
HIGHWAY
2,500 mile road skirting northern
border between Brazil and
Guyana, Surinam, Venezuela,
Colombia, and Peru

Tumucumaque Indian Park
Waimiri-Atroari
Yanomami Indian Park
Atalaia do Norte Indian Park

PORTO VELHO/CUIABA ROAD
major highway passing through
Mato Grosso and Rondonia

Aripuana Indian Park

*** The following chart of foreign aid and investment in the Brazilian Amazon has been compiled from the files of INDIGENA and AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BRAZIL.
Numbered footnotes refer to the documentation at the end of the chart.

II. THE MINING FRONTIER

MINERAL AND AREA OF EXPLORATION:⁹

IRON ORE

Serra dos Carajas, Para

MANGANESE

Serra do Navio,
Territory of Amapa

BAUXITE

concessions along Trombetas
River, Para

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CASSITERITE or TIN

concessions in Territory
of Rondonia

INVASION OF INDIAN LANDS:

Xikrin-Cayapo
northeast of *Xingu National Park*¹⁰

south of Palikúr
Karipúna
Galibi-Marwôrno¹¹

Tumucumaque Indian Park
Pianokoto-Tirió
Warikyana-Arikiéna
Parukoto-Charúma¹²

*Aripuana Indian Park*¹³
Cintas Largas
Surui

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN AREA:

AMAZONAS MINERAÇÃO:—joint
venture of state-owned Cia. Vale do
Rio Doce and UNITED STATES
STEEL¹⁴

INDUSTRIA E COMERCIO DE
MINERIOS:—joint venture of
Antunes' CAEMI and BETHLE-
HEM STEEL¹⁵

ALCOA, ALCAN (Canadian
spinoff of ALCOA), NIPPON
STEEL (Japan), KAISER ALUMI-
NUM, NATIONAL BULK
CARRIERS, PECHINEY,
ALUSUISSE, RIO TINTO ZINC,
HANNA MINING¹⁶

CIA. DE MINERAÇÃO FERRO
UNION:—Billiton/Royal Dutch
Shell

CIA. ESTANIFERA DO BRASIL:—
W.R. Grace/Páúno

CIA. BRASILEÑA DE
METALURGIA:—Rockefeller-
Moreira Salles/Molybdenium Corp.

MINERAÇÃO ARACAZEIRO:—
Itau/National Lead Industries/
Portland Cement¹⁷

FOREIGN FINANCING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK:—\$5.5
million loan to ICOMI for man-
ganese pellet plant in Serra do
Navio¹⁸

OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT
CORPORATION (U.S.):—insurance
for Alcoa, W.R. Grace, and Hanna
Mining investments¹⁹

EARTH SATELLITE CORPORA-
TION:—Project Radam mineral
surveys of Amazon Basin for
Brazilian government and private
companies²⁰

U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY:—
21 mineral and geological exploration
projects in collaboration with
National Department of Mineral
Production (DNPM) and state-owned
Mineral Research Corporation
(CRPM) under sponsorship of
Brazilian government and
U.S.A.I.D.²¹

Foreign Aid and Investment in the Brazilian Amazon (continued)

III. THE AGRI-BUSINESS FRONTIER

AGRI-CORPORATION:	AREA:	INVASION OF INDIAN LANDS:	FOREIGN FINANCING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE:
JARI FLORESTAL E AGROPECUARIA D. Keith Ludwig/National Bulk Carriers ²²	2.4 million acre farm and ranch along Jari and Paru Rivers, Territory of Amapá	9 Apalai (Aparai) villages to north and west ²⁷	WORLD BANK:—\$60 million loan for improvement of cattle-raising industry (1974), two former loans of \$76 million for meat production (1967/1972) ³²
SWIFT-ARMOUR-KING RANCH recent mergers and purchases by Deltac International, International Packers Ltd., and Brascan ²³	180,000 acre cattle ranch in Paragominas, border between Pará and Maranhão	Tembe/Urubu-Kaapor Indian Reserve ²⁸	U.S. A.I.D.:—\$11.9 million loans to Amapá Regional Development Institute for agriculture and livestock research ³³
VOLKSWAGEN BRASIL ²⁴	56,000 acre cattle ranch in Santana do Araguaia, Pará	several northern-Cayapo tribes ²⁹	U.S. A.I.D.:—\$32 million loan to International Research Institute (partly financed by Rockefeller Foundation) for tropical rice production studies in the Amazon ³⁴
SUIA-MISSU RANCH owned by Liquigas (Italy) ²⁵	1.4 million acre cattle ranch along Suiá Missu River, northern Mato Grosso	Xingu National Park (north) Xavante (south and east) ³⁰	BLUE SPRUCE INTERNATIONAL and INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE:—project to sell herbicide 2,4,5-T (Agent Orange) to Brazilian government for deforestation of Amazon ³⁵
66 São Paulo owned land and cattle companies:—area of large landholdings of Stanley Amos Sellig (U.S. real estate entrepreneur) ²⁶	Municípios of Barra do Garças and Luciara, Mato Grosso	Tapirapé Araguaia Indian Park 5 Xavante Reserves ³¹	

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IV. THE EXTRACTIVE FRONTIER: RUBBER AND TIMBER

FRONTIER SITUATION

A. RUBBER (boom: 1890-1910/bust: 1910 to present, with brief upsurge during World War II)

PERUVIAN AMAZON COMPANY:—British registered rubber company which controlled most of northwestern frontier of Brazil during boom years³⁶

MADEIRA MAMORÉ RAILWAY:—250 mile railway promoted by Col. George Earl Church, a New England entrepreneur and railroad engineer, between Porto Velho and Guajará-Mirim, completed in 1912³⁷

FORDLANDIA:—two and a half million acre rubber plantation established by Henry Ford in 1927 on Tapajós River, north and south of Santarém³⁸

SITUATION OF INDIAN TRIBES

Murder and slavery of 30,000 Indian people living on frontiers of Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru³⁹

Extermination of 41 Indian nations in Juruá-Purus culture area, Territory of Acre⁴⁰

Extermination of Tupi-Kawahib nations in Tapajós-Madeira culture area⁴¹

B. TIMBER (major invasion by foreign companies in period from 1965 to present)⁴²

COMPANHIA AMAZONAS MADEIRAS E LAMINADOS:—186,000 hectare Georgia-Pacific operation at Portel, Para

Major threat to remaining 94 Indian nations, numbering over 60,000 people, who live in the Amazon region ⁴³

MADEIRAS FINAS DO BRASIL LTDA:—operation owned by Gilbert Imported Hardwoods, 120 miles from Belem

MADEIRAS GERAIS DA AMAZONIA:—operation owned by Robin Hollis McGlohn

BRUMASA:—operation of Bruynzeel (Dutch) at Porto Santana, Amapa

SUPERFINAS MADEIRAS LTD.:—operation of Toyomenka (Japan) in the Breves Strait, mouth of Amazon River

JARI FLORESTAL E AGROPECUARIA:—\$300 million project of D. K. Ludwig/National Bulk Carriers

MADEIRAS TROPICAIS LTDA.:—operation owned by Beau Murphy (Atlanta, Georgia) at Porto Santana, Amapa

V. OTHER PROJECTS

WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS/SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS (Santa Ana, California):—190 missionaries among 36 tribal groups; contracts with Brazilian Minister of the Interior, FUNAI, and Brazilian National Museum.⁴⁴

NEW TRIBES MISSION (Woodworth, Wisconsin):—Extensive missionary program among Brazilian tribes; print shop; training of Brazilian missionaries.⁴⁵

INTERNATIONAL POLICE ACADEMY (Washington, D.C.):—Training of Military Police of State of Minas Gerais, agency in charge of Rural Indian Guard in Brazil and Indian Prison Camp at Crenaque, Minas Gerais.⁴⁶

CENTRO DE INSTRUCAO DE GUERRA NA SELVA (Jungle Warfare Training Center):—400 square mile tract of virgin jungle in heart of Amazon near Manaus, established by Brazilian Army and U.S. advisors on model of U.S. Army's Jungle Warfare Training Center at Fort Sherman in the Panama Canal Zone.⁴⁷

AMAZON EXPLORERS (Parlin, New Jersey), BOOTH AMERICAN SHIPPING CORPORATION (New York), LINDBLAD TRAVEL, INC. (New York):—"Green Hell" tours of Amazon area, particular focus upon tours of Indian villages.⁴⁸

HUDSON INSTITUTE (New York):—Herman Kahn's famous "Great Lakes" plan to flood, dam, and "develop" entire Amazon Basin region of South America (1967)⁴⁹

ARNOLD ARBORETUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY (Cambridge, Massachusetts):—extensive ethnobotanical and pharmaceutical research among Waika and other Indian tribes of northwestern Brazil for potential commercial exploitation of native medicines and knowledge.⁵⁰

INSTITUTE FOR CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH (Washington, D.C.):—a division of Operations and Policy Research, Inc. which has published major maps of location of Brazilian Indian tribes, with specific reference to "potentially hostile tribes."⁵¹

U.S. BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (Washington, D.C.):—planning and participation in VIIth Inter-American Indianist Congress, Brasilia, August 1972, a major attempt to legitimize Brazilian Indian policy before international community.⁵²

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"Caterpillar Tractor Co. is cleaning up on Brazil's massive road building program, and, in particular, on the Trans-Amazon Highway that will eventually stretch 3,100 miles from eastern Brazil to the Peruvian border. In just two years, Caterpillar has sold 770 pieces of machinery worth \$47 million to the Brazilian army's engineer corps and to the seven private construction companies that are building the road."

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"Big business is moving into the backlands. In the Brazilian Mato Grosso between two tributaries of the Amazon, the Italian conglomerate Liguigas is carving out a 1.4 million acre ranch. Only a few charred tree trunks remain after the jungle is slashed and burned, and the land is seeded in hardy native grasses. . . . As part of an ingenious scheme for eliminating middlemen, Liguigas is building an airstrip in the jungle big enough to take chartered 707's. The company will slaughter on the ranch, package the meat in supermarket cuts with the price stamped on in lire, and fly it direct to Italy, letting nature do the chilling at 30,000 feet."

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Cambridge, Mass. 02138

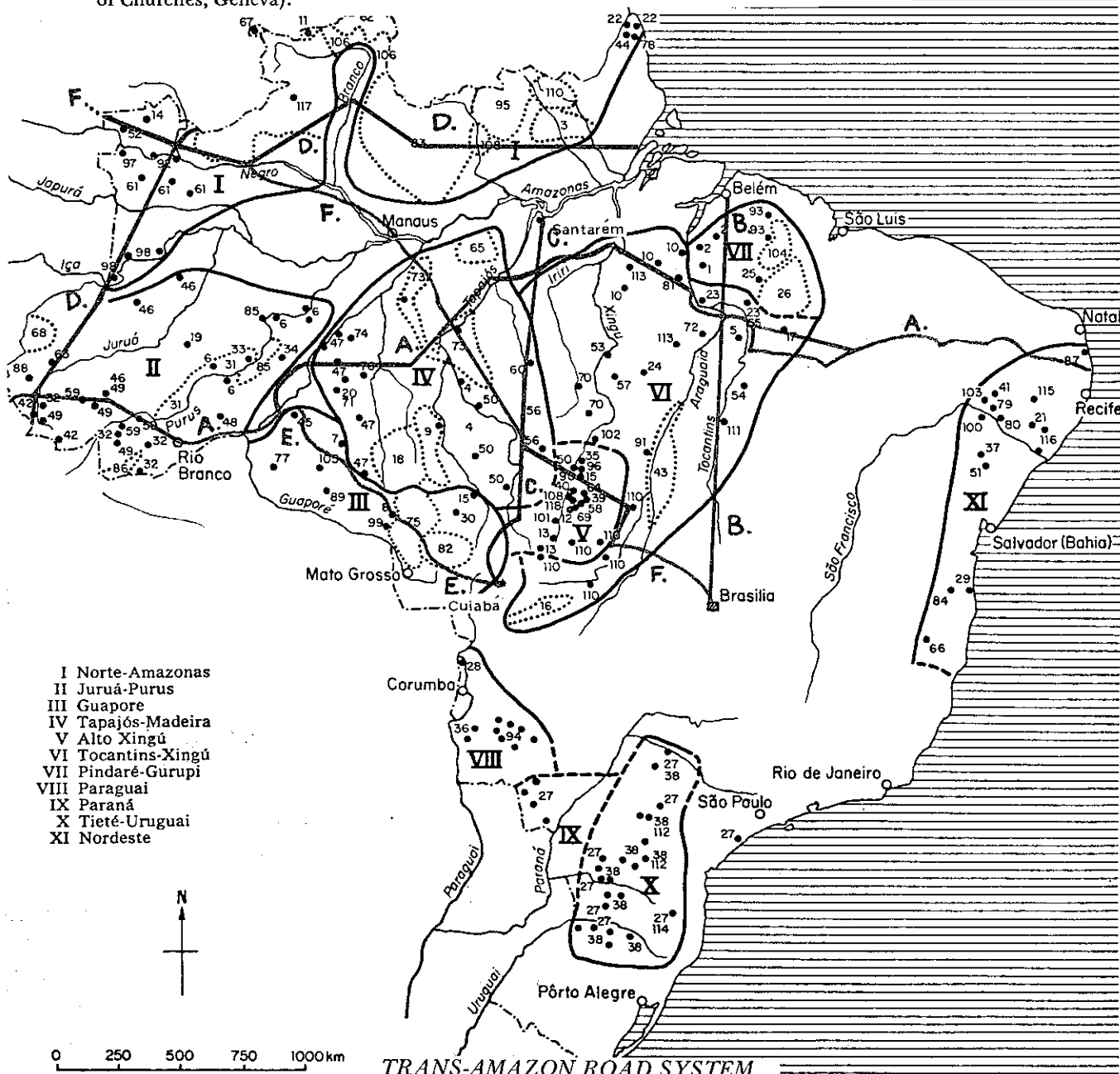
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Berkeley, Calif. 94704

BRAZIL: INDIAN GROUPS

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1 AMANAYE | 60 KURUAYA |
| 2 ANAMBE | 61 MAKU |
| 3 APARAI | 62 MAKUXI |
| 4 APIAKA | 63 MARUBO |
| 5 APINAYE | 64 MATIPUHY |
| 6 APURINA | 65 MAWE |
| 7 ARARA | 66 MAXAKALI |
| 8 ARIKAPU | 67 MAYONGONG |
| 9 ARIPAK TSA | 68 MAYORUNA |
| 10 ASURINI | 69 MEHINAKU |
| 11 AWAKE | 70 MENKRANOTIRE |
| 12 AWETI | 71 MOREREBI |
| 13 BAKAIRI | 72 MUDJETIRE |
| 14 BANIWA | 73 MUNDURUKU |
| 15 BEICO-DE-PAU | 74 MURA |
| 16 BORORO | 75 NAMBIKUARA |
| 17 CANELA | 76 NUMBLAI |
| 18 CINTA-LARGA | 77 PAKAHANOVA |
| 19 DENI | 78 PALIKUR |
| 20 DIARROI | 79 PANKARARE |
| 21 FULNIO | 80 PANKARARU |
| 22 GALIBI | 81 PARAKANAN |
| 23 GAVIAO | 82 PARESI |
| 24 GOROTIRE | 83 PARUKOTO-XARUMA |
| 25 GUAJA | 84 PATA XO |
| 26 GUAJAJARA | 85 PAUMARI |
| 27 GUARANI | 86 PIRO |
| 28 GUATO | 87 POTIGUARA |
| 29 GUEREN | 88 POYANAWA |
| 30 IRANTXE | 89 PURUBORA |
| 31 JAMAMADI | 90 SUYA |
| 32 JAMINAWA | 91 TAPIRAPE |
| 33 JARUARA | 92 TARIANA |
| 34 JUMA | 93 TEMBE |
| 35 JURUNA | 94 TERENA |
| 36 KADIWEU | 95 TIRIYO-PIANOKOTO |
| 37 KAIMBE | 96 TRUMAI |
| 38 KAINGANG | 97 TUKANA |
| 39 KALAPALO | 98 TUKUNA |
| 40 KAMAYURA | 99 TUPARI |
| 41 KAMBIWA | 100 TUXA |
| 42 KAMPA | 101 TXIKAO |
| 43 KARAJA | 102 TXUKAHAMEI |
| 44 KARIPUNA | 103 UAMUE |
| 45 KARITIANA | 104 URUBU |
| 46 KATUKINA | 105 URUPA |
| 47 KAWAHIB | 106 WAPITXANA |
| 48 KAXARARI | 107 WARIKYANA |
| 49 KAXINAWA | 108 WAURA |
| 50 KAYABI | 109 WAYANA |
| 51 UNLISTED | 110 XAVANTE |
| 52 KOBWA | 111 XERENTE |
| 53 KOKRAIMORO | 112 XETA |
| 54 KRAHO | 113 XIKRIN |
| 55 KRIKATI | 114 XOKLENG |
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| 58 KUIKURO | 117 YANOMAMI |
| 59 KULINA | 118 YAWALAPITI |

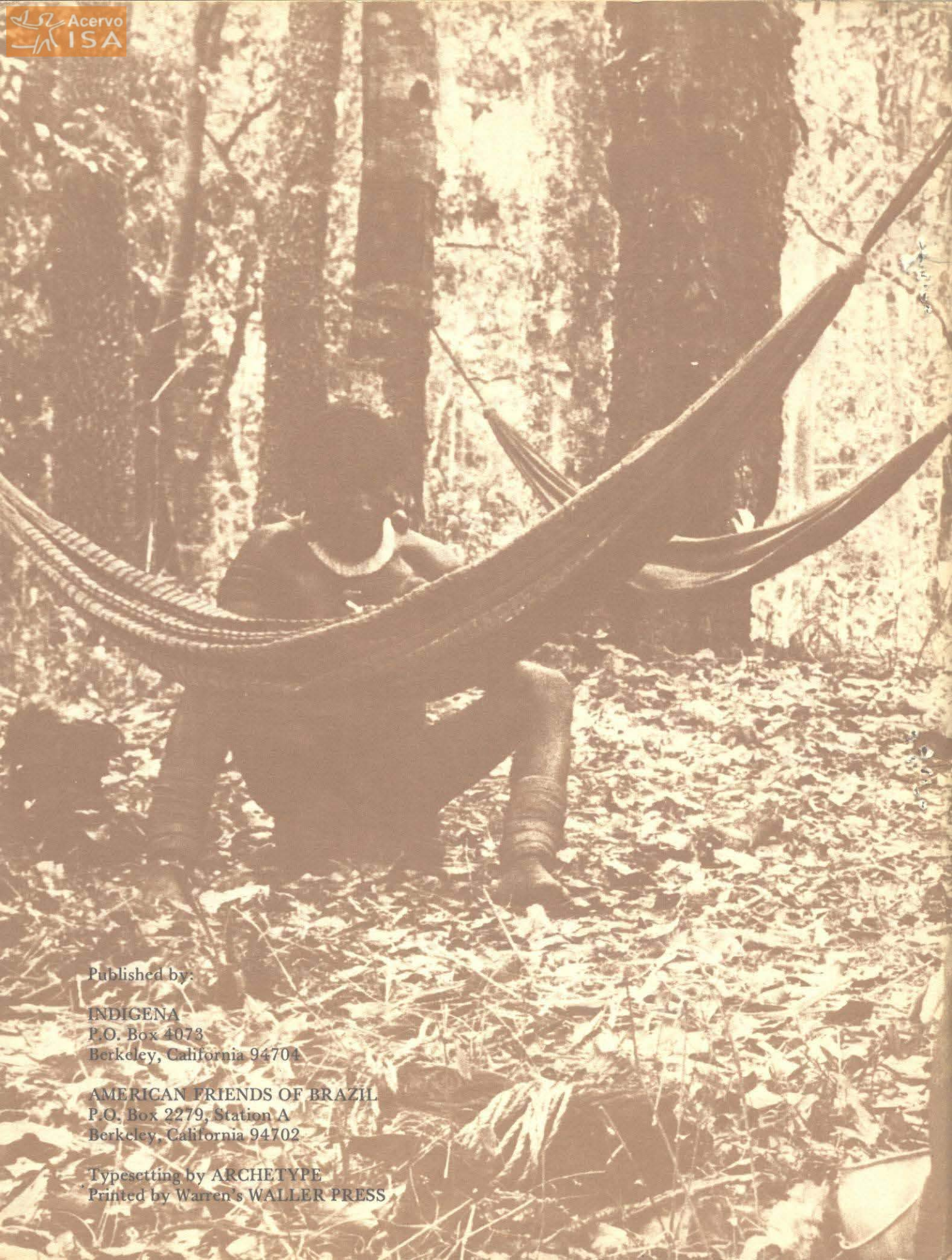
BRAZIL: INDIAN GROUPS, CULTURE AREAS AND TRANS-AMAZONIC ROAD SYSTEM

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TRANS-AMAZON ROAD SYSTEM

- A. Trans-Amazonic Highway (BR-230)
- B. Belem-Brasilia Highway (BR-010)
- C. Santarém-Cuiabá Highway (BR-165)
- D. Northern Perimeter Highway
- E. Cuiabá-Porto Velho Road (BR-364)
- F. Highway (BR-080)



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