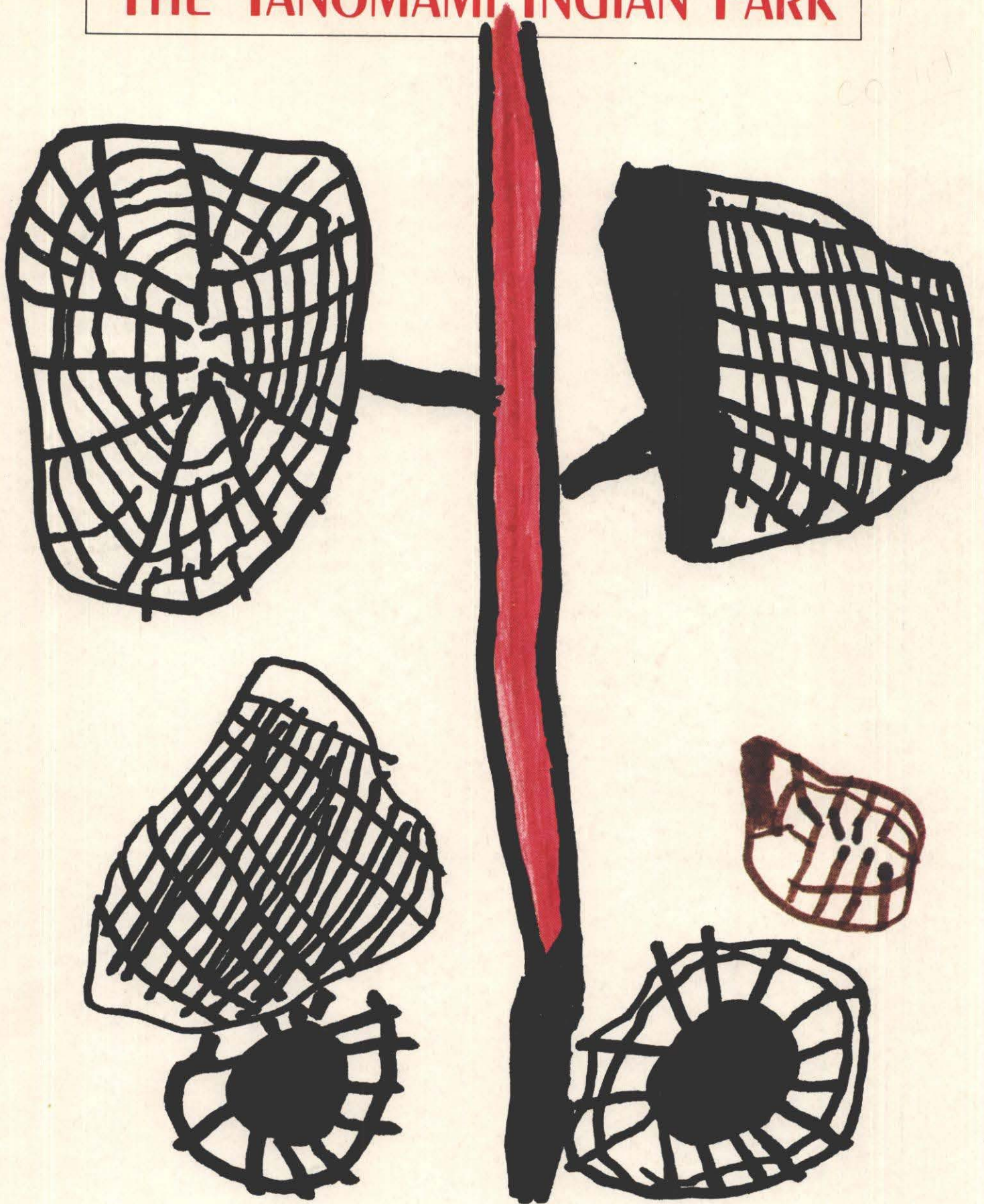


THE YANOMAMI INDIAN PARK



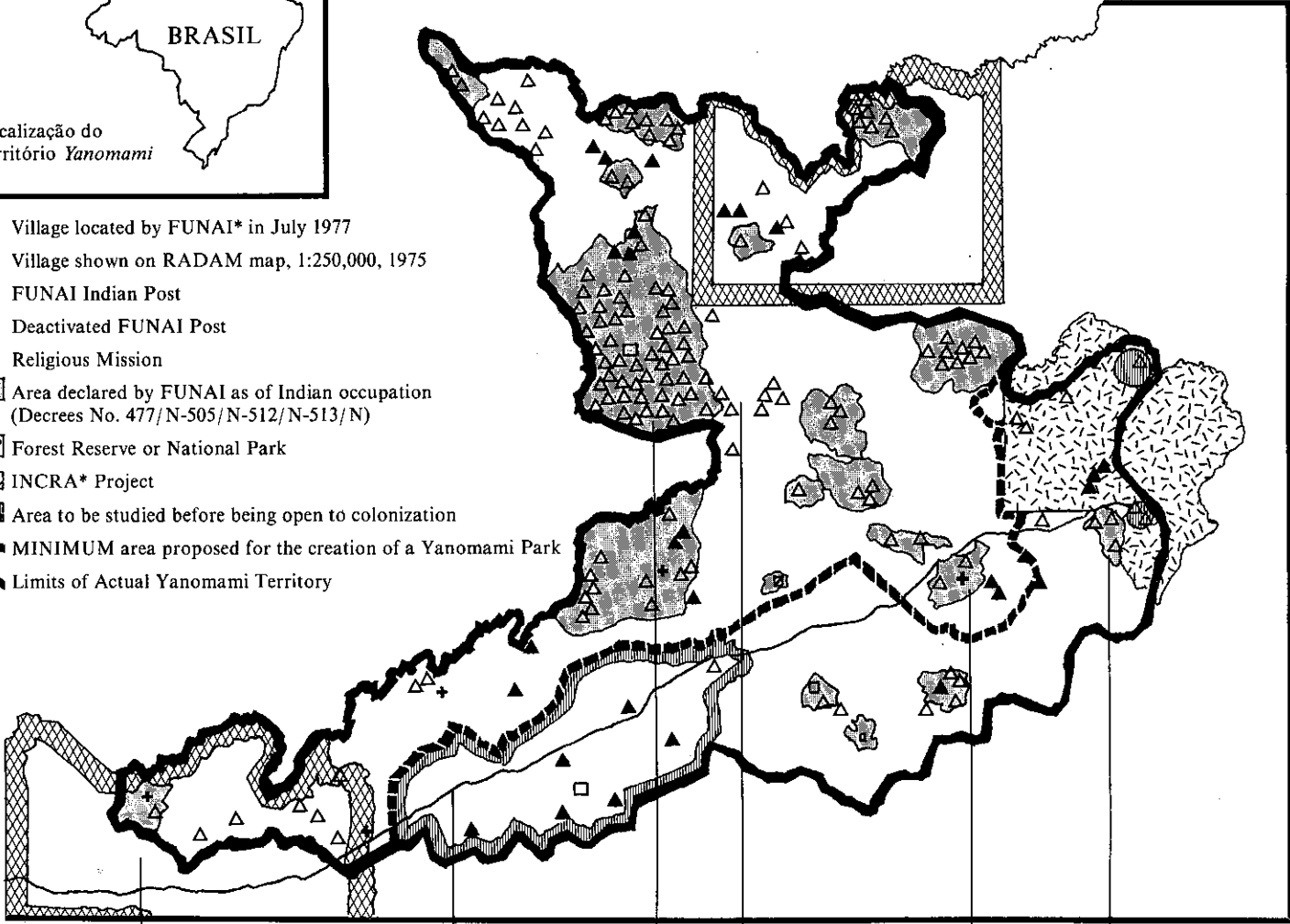
A CALL FOR ACTION

A Report By The Anthropology Resource Center

THE YANOMAMI AREA



- △ Village located by FUNAI* in July 1977
- ▲ Village shown on RADAM map, 1:250,000, 1975
- FUNAI Indian Post
- ▣ Deactivated FUNAI Post
- + Religious Mission
- ▨ Area declared by FUNAI as of Indian occupation (Decreets No. 477/N-505/N-512/N-513/N)
- ▩ Forest Reserve or National Park
- ▧ INCRA* Project
- ▤ Area to be studied before being open to colonization
- - - MINIMUM area proposed for the creation of a Yanomami Park
- Limits of Actual Yanomami Territory



National Park of Pico da Neblina (Salesian Mission and FUNAI posts)

Highway BR-210 Northern Perimeter Highway

Couto de Magalhães Region

Ajarani River Valley (FUNAI Post)

Serra do Surucucu Region (FUNAI post)

Catrimani Valley Region (Consolata Mission Station)

*FUNAI-Fundação Nacional do Índio (The National Indian Foundation), a division of the Ministry of Interior
 *INCRA-Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária (The National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform), a division of the Ministry of Agriculture

NOTE: Map shows 22 Yanomami Villages not located on either 1977 FUNAI Map or 1975 RADAM Map. Villages located by K.I. Taylor (IWGIA Document 37, 1979: 44; and 1980 communication.)

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THE YANOMAMI INDIAN PARK

A CALL FOR ACTION

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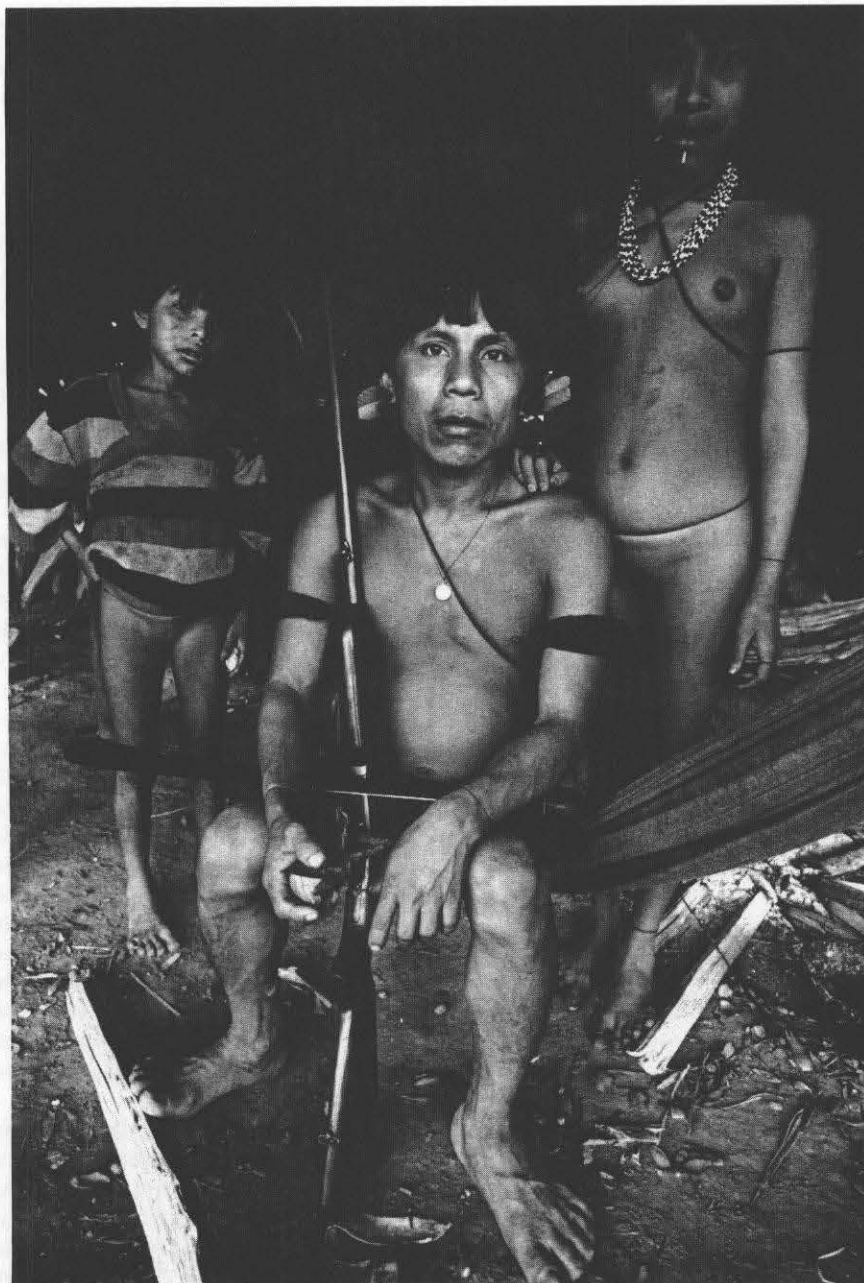
ABOUT THE DRAWINGS

Father Giovanni Saffirio, who has lived with Yanomami since 1968, collected the drawings in this report from the Yanomami Indians who live at the Catrimani mission station in Roraima. Father Giovanni grew to admire the communitarian life, spontaneity, joy, religiosity, elegance, and fine aesthetic sensibilities of the Indians. The Yanomami had never used felt-tip pens and paper to express their art. With Father Giovanni's encouragement, they quickly saw it as a way to represent and communicate concretely their thoughts, emotions, and observations. The Yanomami produced hundreds of drawings portraying the houses and gardens of the spirits, souls, and humans, the animals of the forest and rivers, the mythical creator Omam, and the people who lived at the beginning of time. They also created drawings depicting the realities of their present situation. The drawing on the front cover is of the Northern Perimeter Highway and the Yanomami houses now situated along the road.

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The Anthropology Resource Center is grateful to the many people in Brazil, the United States, and Europe who have contributed to this report. All of these people have shown efficiency and self-sacrifice in the campaign for the defense of the Yanomami people. The drawings in this report were made by Yanomami Indians and kindly provided by Father Giovanni Saffirio. Photographs of the Yanomami were provided by Claudia Andujar, Coordinator of the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Indian Park, São Paulo, Brazil. This report was designed by Pamela J. Van Orden. Typography by Boston Type & Print House. Printing by Mowbray Co.

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number 81-66852
ISBN 0-932978-04-5



I AM SURE THAT IN THE FUTURE MANY BRAZILIANS WILL BE ASHAMED TO HAVE HAD ANCESTORS AS BRUTAL AS WE ARE TODAY. I ALSO FEAR THAT MANY PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ARE NOW LOOKING AT US WITH FEAR. WHY IS THERE SO MUCH VIOLENCE AGAINST DEFENSELESS INDIANS? WHAT IS THE REASON FOR SUCH HATRED TOWARD HUMAN BEINGS? WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE YANOMAMI?

—Darcy Ribeiro, 1978

The recent effort to create a legally secure homeland for the 10,000 to 12,000 Yanomami Indian Nation in Brazil reflects much of the drama that is taking place throughout Latin America between small, but committed, groups of human-rights activists and powerful, national-security conscious, military states. For centuries, the Yanomami Indians lived free from the white man's greed, customs, and diseases along the border between Venezuela and Brazil. Foreign missionary groups only established their presence in the Yanomami area in the 1950's and 1960's. As the military government of Brazil turned its attention to exploiting the vast natural resources of the Amazon region in the early 1970's, it became clear that the relative physical and cultural isolation of the Yanomami would be short-lived.

In 1972, a team of observers from the London-based Aborigines Protection Society (APS) visited the Yanomami area in northern Brazil. The APS team noted that these people were "still largely insulated from the colonizing and commercial interests of Brazil," and that they "seemed to be content with their own culture."¹ New plans, though, were underway for constructing highways through the Yanomami territory, and the APS team expressed concern over the ability of the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) to demarcate the Indians' lands. A series of maps that the APS saw at the central offices of FUNAI in Brasilia indicated that a reserve proposed for the Yanomami contained enough land for only 300 people and it would exclude almost every village known by missionaries in the area. "We consider," the APS team wrote in a report describing their mission, "that a major extension of this Reserve is both necessary and justified and furthermore that discussions should be opened with the Venezuelan authorities to see what forms of liaison and coordination of Indian policy are possible along the frontier."²

Since 1968, numerous anthropologists and missionaries have petitioned the Brazilian government to establish an adequate and secure land area for the Yanomami. These efforts became more intense in the mid-1970's, when construction of the Northern Perimeter Highway (BR-210) began, when large deposits of uranium and cassiterite (tin ore) were discovered on Yanomami lands, and when several hundred Indians died from diseases introduced by the highway workers. Between 1968 and 1978, twelve proposals calling for the establishment of a Yanomami land area were submitted to FUNAI. On every occasion, FUNAI ignored or rejected these proposals despite well-documented reports about conflicts between Indians and prospectors and the alarming spread of diseases such as malaria, measles, influenza, tuberculosis and river blindness (onchocerciasis).

In 1979, a group of clerics, anthropologists, and private citizens in São Paulo responded to this grave situation by forming a special committee called the Commission for the

Creation of the Yanomami Indian Park (CCPY). The commission prepared and submitted an 85-page document to the Brazilian Minister of the Interior. In this document, the CCPY took issue with a FUNAI initiative to create 21 small and discontinuous reserve areas for the Yanomami. The commission also made a proposal for the delimitation of a 16-million acre Yanomami Indian Park. This proposal was obviously not an ideal solution to the problems faced by the Yanomami in their abrupt contacts with outsiders. It did, however, set out the conditions within the framework of Brazilian law which would enable the Yanomami to survive physically and culturally, and which would protect the ecology of the region.³

"Initially, it appeared as if the CCPY would be successful in convincing the Brazilian government to begin legally establishing a Yanomami Indian Park. When the park proposal was submitted to government authorities in June 1979, the political climate was more open in Brazil. Numerous religious, scientific, and humanitarian organizations in Brazil committed themselves to the park proposal. At the same time, human rights and scientific organizations throughout the world offered their support. Most importantly, there was a relatively supportive atmosphere in the administration of FUNAI. The president of FUNAI had entered office in March and he seemed to be open to the ideas of anthropologists, clerics, and Indian support organizations.

As the park proposal came closer to acceptance, however, it became clear that there were powerful forces in the military government who were strongly opposed to the establishment of the park. The most influential of these forces were the governor of Roraima, who wished to see economic development in the territory at any costs, and several federal deputies, who felt that the Yanomami and other Indian groups posed a "national security" problem for Brazil.⁴

Throughout the summer and fall of 1979, numerous verbal exchanges took place between Indian support organizations and government agencies in which the Yanomami Park proposal was a key element of contention. The situation came to a head in November 1979 when the president of FUNAI, who supported the park proposal, announced his resignation. In his place, the government appointed a man who formerly served as director of security and information for DOCEGEO, a subsidiary of the Vale do Rio Doce Company (CVRD), a state-owned mining company in Brazil. By the end of 1979, in other words, it looked very much as if the Brazilian government, while proclaiming a policy of "democratization," was in actuality committed to a hardline and repressive stance on Indian affairs.⁵

As 1980 began, it also became obvious that only a renewed international effort might convince the Brazilian government to establish the Yanomami Park. Throughout

1 Aborigines Protection Society of London, *Tribes of the Amazon Basin in Brazil: 1972* (London: Charles Knight & Co., Ltd., 1973), p. 63. 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-6. 3 The Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park, "Yanomami Indian Park, Proposal and Justification" in *The Yanomami in Brazil, 1979*. International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs Document 37 (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1979), pp. 99-170. A History of Proposals and Declarations for the Delimitation of Yanomami Territory appears on pp. 113-15 of this document. 4 Alcida R. Ramos and Kenneth I. Taylor, "Yanomamö: The Long Struggle for a Demarcated Territory," *ARC Newsletter*, vol. 3, no. 4, December 1979, p. 2. 5 Shelton H. Davis, "Yanomamö Park Proposal: A Critical Time for Brazilian Indians," *ibid.*, p. 1.

the first few months of 1980, a stream of telegrams and petitions was sent to the government and the new FUNAI regime from concerned individuals and organizations throughout the world. Recognizing the strength of the international campaign on behalf of the Yanomami Park proposal, and always sensitive to its image abroad, FUNAI established a task force to reconsider the creation of the park. In the spring of 1980, this task force submitted a new and more comprehensive proposal for a Yanomami Indian Park to the Brazilian Minister of the Interior.⁶ Four months later, the minister promised that the park would be created by the end of the year. In the ensuing months, however, new actions were taken by the government and, at this date, it is still uncertain whether the government intends to establish a Yanomami Park or not.

Three other trends have occurred in the past year which provide some insight into the possible future actions of the Brazilian government with respect to the Yanomami area. First, large deposits of gold, diamonds, and titanium have been discovered in the Yanomami areas of Couto de Magalhães, Uraricaá and Santa Rosa.⁷ Second, the Brazilian Minister of the Interior has held a series of discussions with FUNAI, the Brazilian Institute of Forestry Development, the Special Secretariat for the Environment, and the Ministry of Mines and Energy about the Yanomami area. These discussions have focused on the possibility of establishing a multiple-use reserve on Yanomami lands.⁸ Finally, during the past year, Indian policy has become increasingly militarized in Brazil.

In the last year, 60 Indian agents with many years of service in the Indian bureau have been fired. The positions of these agents have been assumed by 36 coronels who have had little or no experience with Indian tribes. At the same time, the FUNAI bureaucracy has become much more rationalized. Many top-level decisions are now being made with the National Security Council and the National Information Service, while local functions are being placed in the hands of the state and territorial governments. In recent months, FUNAI has again proposed a project for government "emancipation" of Indians, especially of those Indian leaders who have taken a more active and vocal stance on Indian affairs. All of these changes will have extremely adverse effects not only for the Yanomami but also for every other Indian group in Brazil.⁹

As far back as 1976, the Anthropology Resource Center (ARC) brought to the attention of the international community the serious human rights violations that were being committed against the Yanomami and other Brazilian Indian tribes.¹⁰ Since then, ARC has released other reports on the Brazilian Indian situation, including the document published jointly with Survival International of London and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in Copenhagen, *The Yanomami in Brazil, 1979*. Despite this documentation, the situation of Brazilian Indians has gotten worse rather than better and there is every reason to believe that without a fundamental change of government Indian policy, it will grow even more serious in the future. It is essentially for this reason that ARC is publishing the current report.

The purpose of this report is not only to inform the international community about what has happened to the Yanomami since 1979, but also to put out another call for action on behalf of the rights of the 15,000-member Yanomami nation. This report is a call for action in at least two senses. First, it calls upon the Brazilian government to fulfill its promise of 1980 and immediately begin the process of establishing a secure, legal, and adequate land area for the Yanomami. Second, it calls upon peoples and organizations throughout the world, and especially official agencies such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, to recognize that if action is not taken immediately, the Yanomami, like so many other Indian nations in Brazil and throughout the Americas, will be condemned to death.

The first document in this report was presented as evidence by ARC to the Fourth Russell Tribunal on the Rights of Indians of the Americas held in Rotterdam (Holland) in November 1980. It describes the processes of genocide and land expropriation that have been unleashed against the Yanomami since the early 1970's. As a member of the United Nations, the Brazilian government has recognized that genocide is a "crime under international law, contrary to the support and designs of the United Nations, and condemned by the civilized world." The question of intent, which forms part of the definition of this crime under Article 2 of the International Genocide Convention,¹¹ becomes rather academic when it is realized that the failure of the Brazilian government to provide territorial protection for the Yanomami in the face of highway, mining and colonization programs has led to the deaths of numerous members of the tribe. In its final report, the jury of the Fourth Russell Tribunal recognized the critical situation of the Yanomami "whose 10,000 or so people in Brazil face the high probability of genocide unless immediate protective action is taken by federal authorities of Brazil at the highest level."¹²

The 1980 proposal for the creation of an Indian Park in the Brazilian territory of Roraima and the state of Amazonas recognizes the imminent threat of extermination that the Yanomami people face as a national or ethnic group. The purpose of this proposal is to stop the genocidal processes that have already been set in motion against the Yanomami and to provide these people with the necessary ecological and social conditions to survive.

The Yanomami Park proposal should also be of international concern because these people's rights to practice their culture, to speak their language, and to maintain their national identity are being systematically denied. Such denial constitutes an act of *ethnocide*: a violation of the principle that indigenous peoples have the right to exist as distinct people within the community of nations of the world. Although this right may at present be a moral one, it is increasingly gaining international recognition by agencies such as the United Nations.

A recent study analyzes the social, economic, and cultural changes that have taken place among Yanomami villages situated along the Northern Perimeter Highway and compares them with traditional ways of life in those

6 Robin Wright, "Thirteenth Proposal for Yanomami Park Awaits Decision," *ARC Bulletin 1*, 15 May 1980, pp. 1-4. 7 Robin Wright and Shelton Davis, "Massive Gold Rush in Yanomami Territory," *ARC Bulletin 4*, 5 January 1981, pp. 3-4. 8 The implications of this reserve program are analyzed fully in the first document included in this report. See also: "The Yanomami Area: 'National Reserve,' 'Mineral Reserve,' 'Forest Reserve,' or 'Indian Park?'" *ARC Bulletin 3*, 25 September 1980, pp. 7-8. 9 Eduardo B. Viveiros de Castro, "Indians, Laws and Policies," *ARC Bulletin 5*, 5 March 1981. 10 Shelton H. Davis and Robert O. Mathews, *The Geological Imperative: Anthropology and Development in the Amazon Basin of South America* (Cambridge: Anthropology Resource Center, 1976). 11 Article 2 of the 1948 International Genocide Convention defines the crime of "genocide" as: "Any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." 12 *Report of the Fourth Russell Tribunal on the Rights of Indians of the Americas*, (Rotterdam, November 1980), p. 35.

YAWERE THE sloth smiling

IYO A SHET



Kori smiling

WARE SMILING

SEIS SMILING

POXE

IYO A SHET

LAKE WHERE THE CAIMAN IS living

IYO A with the fire in his MOUTH

villages located deeper in the forest.¹³ According to this study, the most dramatic changes have resulted from the environmental destruction along the highway and the introduction of modern trade goods. Large numbers of forest animals were killed by highway workers from 1974 to 1976, and now the Yanomami living in this area are forced to hunt twice as much and for smaller game than in the past. Furthermore, the Yanomami living along the highway have much less animal protein in their diets than those who live in the forest. These environmental, economic, and nutritional changes, in turn, have severely damaged traditional Yanomami patterns of sharing and reciprocity. The Indians find that they cannot share their scarce game, fish, and fruits with all members of the village, and hence they either hoard their products or distribute them only within the conjugal family.

The Yanomami along the highway are also becoming more dependent on Brazilian goods and losing a great deal of their technological autonomy. Because the highway is a place where the Indians can obtain Western goods, it has a great appeal to the Yanomami. Small groups will often travel for days along the highway in order to barter or beg for goods from Brazilian farmers and settlers. Sociologically, these highway villages are becoming more fragmented and starting to resemble Brazilian peasant communities. If a secure land base is not established for the Yanomami, we can expect that these processes of deculturation and dependency will intensify. In fact, government plans call for the settling of Brazilian farmers along the first 105 kilometers of the new highway in 1981.¹⁴ This type of national integration, which has already taken place in several other Indian areas, will lead to the further undermining of Yanomami ecological adaptations, economic autonomy, and cultural integrity.

Obviously, there are compelling political and economic reasons why the Brazilian government has not provided positive protection for the Yanomami and other Brazilian Indian tribes. As we have argued elsewhere, Indian policy is shaped and determined by the larger economic development policies of the military government of Brazil.¹⁵ In recent years, Brazil has accumulated an enormous international debt, which at present is more than \$55 billion. One of the responses that the government has made to this debt situation is to increase its interest in exploiting the rich mineral, timber, and agricultural resources of the Amazon region. Above all, the government is interested in developing certain strategic areas in the Amazon in order to gain foreign exchange earnings to service its huge international debt.

The Serra dos Carajás region in the state of Pará is one of the major areas where development is taking place at present. Business journals indicate that there are more than 24 mineral projects and several agricultural schemes planned for this region at a total cost of over \$30 billion.¹⁶ Besides iron ore, which was the main reason for opening up the Serra dos Carajás, there are large reserves of bauxite, copper, cassiterite, coal, nickel, manganese, and gold in this region. The Brazilian government is hoping that the vast wealth of this region will lead to major investments on the

part of transnational corporations from Japan, Germany, Belgium, Italy, England, and the United States. Much of the infrastructure for this project, including railways and hydroelectric facilities, has already been built.

Brazil has also set its sights on becoming a major exporter of gold. Last May, a huge gold rush occurred in the Serra Pelada region of Pará. After four months, over 20,000 prospectors working in the region had discovered more than 3.6 tons of gold. Originally, the government hoped that these immense gold discoveries would help to pay for its growing international debt. In reality, however, the government has received minimal returns from the Serra Pelada finds and more than 60 percent of the profits have ended up in the hands of only a dozen prospectors.¹⁷

A few months after the Serra Pelada discoveries, the government also began to stimulate the opening up of other areas for gold prospecting, including the territory of Roraima. In 1975, large deposits of uranium and cassiterite were discovered in the Yanomami area. Further discoveries of gold, diamonds and titanium were made on Yanomami lands in 1979 and, in late 1980, a huge gold rush occurred in the Uricará River basin, where over 600 Yanomami live. Potentially, the whole Yanomami area could have the same economic interest for Brazilian planners as the Serra dos Carajás has today. In fact, it appears as if one of the main reasons why the Brazilian government has failed to act on the Yanomami Park proposal is because it wants to ensure the systematic and rapid development of the mineral resources of this region without the burden of having to protect Indian resources and lands.

To date, most mining activities in the Yanomami area have been carried out by individual prospectors, although CVRD and ICOMI (an affiliate of Bethlehem Steel) conducted geological explorations in the area in 1976. In 1978 and 1979, subsidiaries of CVRD also received three, three-year authorizations for mineral exploration in the Yanomami area from FUNAI and the Brazilian Ministry of Mines and Energy. In the future, we can expect greater involvement by state and multinational mining companies on Yanomami lands. If this happens, the implications for the Yanomami people will be serious.

Multinational and state-owned mineral corporations are no more socially and environmentally benign than individual prospectors on Indian lands. These companies are in the business of making money from the exploration, production, and marketing of minerals. Modern mining projects are based on large capital and technological investments and have a powerful tendency to create enclave economies. Highways, railroads, hydroelectric projects, and port facilities are usually associated with these developments. Boom towns spring up around mining settlements. Land reclamation seldom takes place; even if there is an interest in it, no one knows how to reclaim land under tropical rainforest conditions. In other areas of the world, such as Australia and the western United States, these projects have wreaked havoc among indigenous peoples.¹⁸ To condone such mining on Yanomami lands would allow the groundwork to be set for the final destruction of the Yanomami tribe.

13 Giovanni Saffirio, *Some Social and Economic Changes among the Yanomami of Northern Brazil (Roraima): A Comparison of "Forest" and "Highway" Villages*. M.A. Thesis in Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, August 1980. 14 *Ibid.*, p. 5. 15 Shelton H. Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977). 16 "Quem é quem na economia brasileira," *Visão*, 29 August 1980, p. 88. 17 Lucio Flávio Pinto, "Ouro, Serra Pelada paga a dívida?" *Informe Amazônico*, August 1980, p. 1; see, by same author: "A ilusão de riqueza é real para poucos," *Informe Amazônico*, 16 to 30 October 1980, pp. 4-5. 18 On the social impact of large mineral and energy corporations on North American Indian tribes, see: Joseph G. Jorgensen (ed.), *Native Americans and Energy Development* (Cambridge: Anthropology Resource Center, 1978). For the Australian situation, see the special issue of the *ARC Newsletter*, vol. 4, no. 4, December 1980.

Despite these conditions and threats, there are also some positive signs in the Yanomami situation. Following a year of planning and negotiation with FUNAI, the CCPY finally obtained authorization for a vaccination project among the Yanomami. The first phase of this project was conducted between December 1980 and March 1981, and was financed by grants from the Norwegian and Danish governments. Following these initial field surveys, the CCPY and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) plan to carry out a longer-term program of medical and community assistance for the Yanomami. The current vaccination project is particularly vital for the 4,500 Yanomami of the Surucucu region who have already experienced the first lethal effects of uncontrolled contacts with mineral prospectors carrying disease. For this reason, the vaccination program is a major priority of the CCPY at the present time.

Another hopeful sign is that the 7,500 Yanomami Indians living in Venezuela are now receiving the strong support of anthropological organizations in that country. This support includes investigations for a medical program and a large reserve that would guarantee the Yanomami rights to land, natural resources, and their traditional culture. The Venezuelan Yanomami, like their Brazilian kinsmen and neighbors, are threatened by the spread of river blindness, mineral exploitation, government integration policies, and the activities of evangelical missionary organizations, such as the New Tribes Mission. Obviously, as the APS team recommended in 1973, some sort of coordination will be necessary to insure the physical and cultural integrity of the Yanomami on both sides of the international frontier.

International organizations are also taking an increasing interest in the case of the Yanomami. In August 1979, the Anti-Slavery Society of London made an oral intervention on behalf of the Yanomami before the United Nations Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva. More formal documentation for this UN subcommittee has also been prepared by the Information Group on American Indians of the Society of Americanists in France.

In December 1980, the American Anthropological

Association, the Anthropology Resource Center, the Indian Law Resource Center, Survival International and Survival International USA presented a formal complaint titled "Violations of the Human Rights of the Yanomami People in Brazil" to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States. A copy of this complaint is included among the documents in this report. In the future, it is hoped that other organizations such as the International League for Human Rights and the International Labor Organization will consider the Yanomami case. These actions could have an important effect in guaranteeing Yanomami and other Brazilian Indians rights under international law.

Finally, since the mid-1970s, enormous strides have been taken in the formation of a powerful indigenous movement both within Brazil and throughout the world. The growing Brazilian Indian movement received worldwide attention when several Indian leaders from the Amazon met with Pope John Paul II on his visit to Manaus in July 1980. Currently, there are over 30 pro-Indian support groups in Brazil, a new national Indian organization, a monthly Indian newspaper called *Porantim*, and a wide network of concern from professional associations and church groups. One of the most useful services that peoples throughout the world can provide the Yanomami, besides continuing to stave off government repression and land expropriation, is to help cut a path between the Yanomami and the national and international indigenous movement.

Article 1, Section 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights reads:

All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.¹⁹

Simply stated, we believe that this article should be the fundamental guiding principle behind the present campaign on behalf of the Yanomami. It is our hope that the documents contained in this report will contribute to the continuation of this campaign.

—*Shelton H. Davis*
Robin Wright

May 1981

¹⁹ Quoted in UNESCO, *Some Suggestions on Teaching about Human Rights*, (Paris: UNESCO, 1968), pp. 124-5.

THE FATE OF THE YANOMAMI PEOPLE:
"INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO," "NATIONAL RESERVE," OR "INDIAN PARK"?



The Anthropology Resource Center submitted this document to the Fourth Russell Tribunal on Rights of Indians of the Americas, held in Rotterdam, Holland, from 24 to 30 November 1980.

ETHNIC BACKGROUND

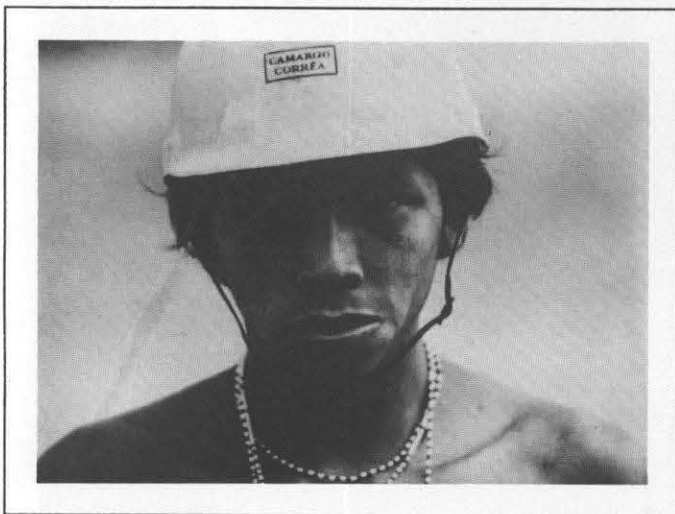
Traditionally, the Yanomami Indians have occupied a large area of tropical rain forest along the border between Brazil and Venezuela. In Brazil, they live dispersed in at least 200 villages, with a total population of approximately 10,000 people. Their population is equally large in Venezuela.

There is no doubt that the Yanomami have occupied this area continuously and for a very long time; in 1787, the Portuguese Boundary Commission registered their presence in the area.

The Yanomami practice a type of intermittent nomadism. Their socioeconomic system cannot exist without very extensive areas of land. All of their villages maintain frequent contacts for the exchange of goods and marriage alliances. Their agricultural system demands rotation of croplands, and their hunting, fishing and gathering activities need extensive areas of land to allow for soil regeneration and the replenishment of fauna and flora.

CONTACT SITUATION

The Yanomami are the largest Indian nation in Brazil still maintaining their traditional way of life. Since 1974, however, the physical and cultural integrity of the Yanomami have been threatened by the customary participants in the "drama" of the Indians. The Yanomami will be saved from the disaster which has struck so many Indian peoples only if immediate and effective measures are taken to create a unified and sufficient land area to allow them to maintain cultural and economic cohesion.



The principal events in the brutal contact that the Yanomami have had with Brazilian society are described below:

1973/1974 — The Northern Perimeter Highway (BR-210) cut through 225 kilometers of the southern part of Yanomami territory in the Federal Territory of Roraima. The consequences of this penetration into Yanomami lands were as follows:

- Along the first 100 kilometers, 14 Yanomami villages were practically decimated as a result of contact with the highway workers of the Camargo Corrêa Construction Company. These workers were recruited without any attempt to evaluate systematically the diseases which they might have carried. Today, the remnants of these Indians are dispersed in small family groups along the road, reduced to prostitution and subjected to systematic ethnocide. They have been infected by disease and suffer the effects of alcohol given to them by local lumbermen and loggers. This area neighbors the Ajarani River where the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) maintains a control post.

- In the Upper Catrimani region near kilometer 145, two measles epidemics killed about 80 Yanomami in the space of three years. According to the missionaries who assisted the Yanomami, in the three years which followed the construction of the highway cases of infectious disease among the Indians increased eightfold. Numerous cases of tuberculosis and venereal disease were also reported among Indians of this region.

- The Yanomami of the Ajarani River region had an estimated population of 400 people in the 1960's.¹ By 1974, they were reduced to 102 individuals, and by 1975 to 79 people.

- The Yanomami of the Mucajaí River region have increased in number in the last 20 years as a result of systematic assistance given to them by a group of missionaries of the Unevangelized Field Missions (MEVA). Nevertheless, because of contact with white settlers along the middle Mucajaí River who hire Indian labor, cases of tuberculosis and venereal diseases have been registered. A large number of cases of river blindness (onchocerciasis) have also been registered.

1975/1976 — The publication of a geological survey by the RADAM-BRASIL project started a "rush" to mine cassiterite in the Serra do Surucucu region of Roraima. More than 500 placer miners invaded Yanomami territory, provoking a situation which became as serious as that which followed the initial construction of the Northern Perimeter Highway.

To make matters worse, the presence of mining camps in the region led to physical conflicts between Indians and miners. The missionaries who worked in the area denounced the murder of Indians who insisted on remaining in the region of the mining site. The federal authorities

¹ Ernest Migliazza, *The Integration of the Indigenous Peoples of the Territory of Roraima, Brazil*. International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs Document 32 (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1978), pp. 17-19.

finally intervened by ordering a halt to mining activities in the Indian area, and by calling for the evacuation of the miners. At the same time, however, the authorities had already accepted requests for prospecting permits from large companies interested in operating in the region.

In 1975, the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) and the Secretary of Agriculture of Roraima created the Projecto Fundiário Boa Vista (PFBV). Part of the Polamazonia Program for farming and cattle ranching, this project resulted in the penetration of traditional Yanomami lands in the Apiaú, Ajarani, and Mucajá River valleys.

1977 — The “Roraima Cattle Raising District” was planned to the west of the Rio Branco as far as meridian 62° W in the county of Caracarái. The district consists of two regions (*Gleba A 1* and *Gleba Caracarái*) and covers an area of 600,000 hectares divided into 146 lots of 2,000 to 2,300 hectares each.²

The demarcation of this cattle-raising area represents a grave violation of the rights of the Yanomami Indians to the possession of the lands that they occupy.

Gleba A 1 partially overlaps the Mucajá area which was declared to be “occupied by Yanomami Indians” by FUNAI itself (Decree 477/N).³

In the southwestern portion of *Gleba Caracarái*, there are several Yanomami villages that, although known to FUNAI, have not had their lands demarcated.

In the northwest portions of *Gleba A 1* and in *Gleba Caracarái* near the Apiaú River, there are also Yanomami Indians. These Indians live among settlements and cattle ranches already established in the area. Their lands have not been demarcated nor do they appear in the final FUNAI survey report of 1977.

In the northwest portion of *Gleba A 1* and in *Gleba Caracarái*, in the upper Apiaú region, an area which has been known to belong to the Indians was released for colonization before being surveyed by FUNAI and with the knowledge of the Indian agency.⁴

In the region between the Ajarani and Apiaú Rivers in Roraima, 195,000 hectares of land previously occupied by Yanomami groups that were decimated by contact with whites during construction of the Northern Perimeter Highway have been included in the agricultural projects mentioned above.⁵ The survivors in this region have been given an area of 35,400 hectares, the so-called Ajarani area.

1978/1980 — DOCEGEO, a subsidiary of the Vale do Rio Doce Mining Company, established its first camp in the Serra do Surucucu in Roraima, in order to prospect for cassiterite, previously exploited by placer miners. The Surucucu region is the area with the greatest concentration of Yanomami — about 4,000 to 6,000 Indians, most of whom are still isolated from contact with whites.

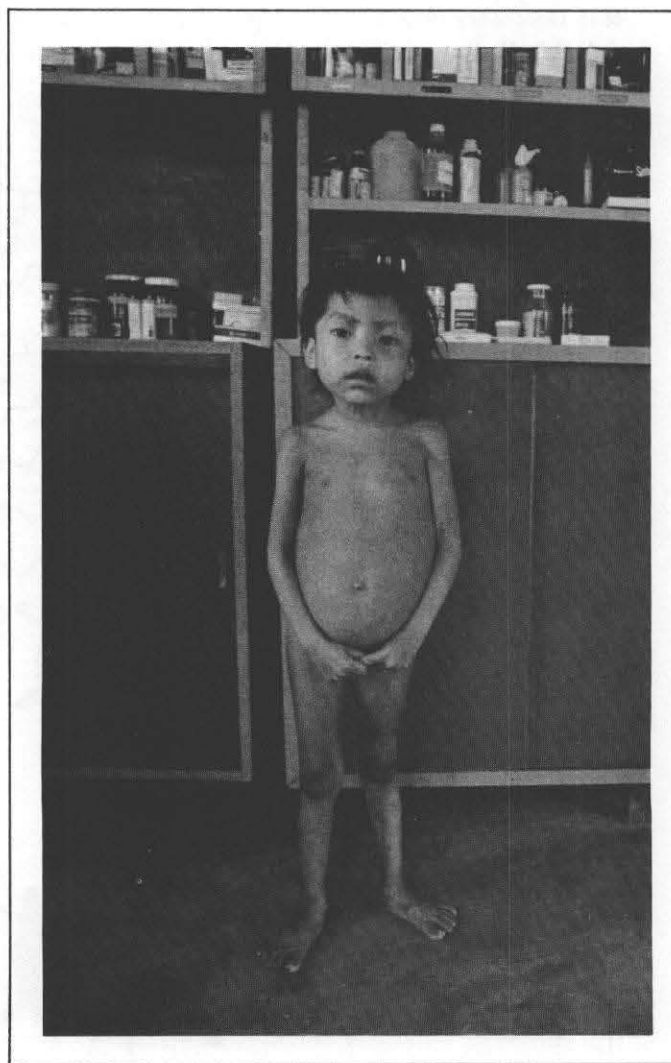
Mineral prospecting conducted by DOCEGEO was terminated in July 1979 but, in September, the illegal entry

of placer miners at Couto de Magalhães (near the Serra do Surucucu) was reported. Approximately 300 Indians live in this area. A new influenza epidemic broke out at Couto de Magalhães and travelled rapidly to the Yanomami of the Catrimani valley.

In February 1980, 30 placer miners from the State of Pará invaded the Couto de Magalhães area in search of gold. Fearing repercussions, FUNAI had them immediately removed.

In May 1980, the Ministry of Mines and Energy gave mineral concessions to two mining companies interested in prospecting for titanium. The president of FUNAI declared in August that the same concessions had been cancelled.

In the Maturacá region, about 500 Yanomami Indians were contacted by Salesian missionaries in the 1930's. By 1978, only 150 of these Yanomami were found by a rescue team of the Brazilian Air Force. These survivors were in an advanced stage of malnutrition and had been contaminated by tuberculosis, pneumonia and malaria.



2 Território Federal de Roraima, Distrito Agro-Pecuário — Roraima. *Gleba A 1 — Gleba Caracarái*. Secretaria de Economia, Agricultura e Colonização. 1977. 3 Fundação Nacional do Índio, “Portaria no. 477/N.” 22 December 1977. 4 Fundação Nacional do Índio, Viagem de estudos no Território Yanomami cumprindo determinação da Portaria no. 252/p. de 06-05-77 e conforme solicitação contida no processo FUNAI/BSB no. 4585/76 (Report). 1977. 5 Fundação Nacional do Índio, Levantamento aéreo Yanomami feito pelo subgrupo de trabalho “XVIII” — Roraima de acordo com a Portaria no. 304/P de 17-06-77 (Report). 1977.

HISTORY OF DECLARATIONS AND PROPOSALS

1968/1980 — The prospect of rapid economic occupation of the region and the consequent threat that this presented for the Yanomami led to several proposals and declarations regarding the demarcations of Yanomami lands. The aim of these proposals was to guarantee the Indians' rights to the possession and occupation of their lands. Between 1968 and 1978, 11 proposals and/or declarations were submitted to the government, but to no avail.⁶ To date, the problem of Yanomami lands has not been resolved.

■ In the FUNAI document No. 94/68 of 12 June 1968, the director of the 1st Regional Inspectorate of FUNAI recognized as Indian land the territory between the Piranteira Falls on the lower Catrimani and the headwaters of the Catrimani and its tributaries.

■ In December 1968, anthropologists Kenneth I. Taylor and Alcida R. Ramos submitted a proposal for the creation of a Yanomami Park to the President of FUNAI.

■ On 13 and 14 July 1969, Taylor and Ramos supplemented their initial proposal with information acquired from the missionaries of the Catrimani Mission.

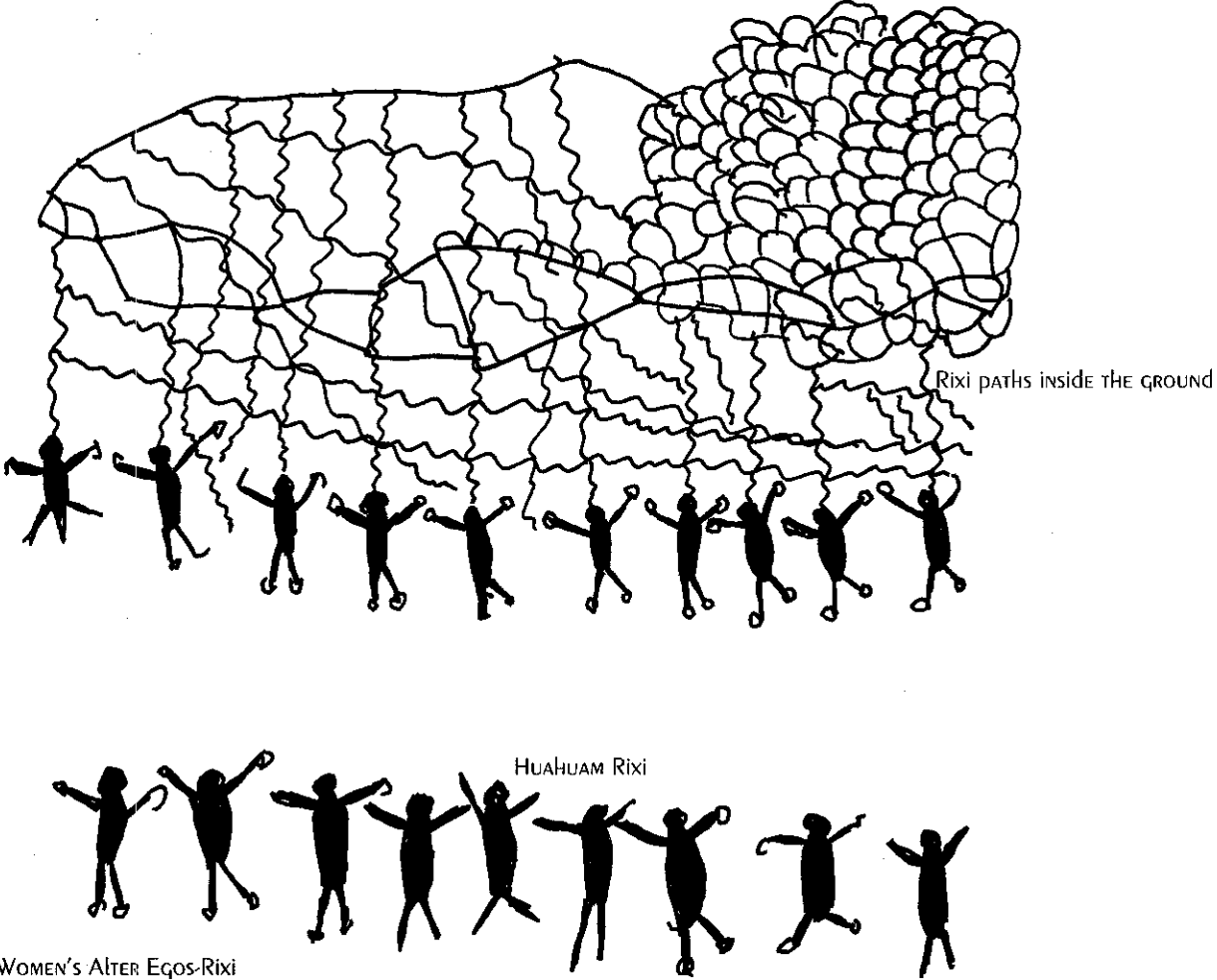
■ In March 1969, the bishop of Roraima requested the creation of a Yanomami Indian Park, in document No. 15/69 addressed to the Head of the 1st Regional Inspectorate of FUNAI.

■ In 1969, Minister of the Interior José Costa Cavalcanti submitted a draft of a decree for the creation of a Yanomami Indian Park to the President of the Republic, General Arthur da Costa e Silva. This decree was published, as an unsigned draft, by the Ministry of the Interior and the President of FUNAI.

■ In November 1972, the Bishop of Roraima again requested the Indigenous Council of FUNAI to take steps for the creation of a Yanomami Indian Park.

■ In April 1974, Father João Batista Saffirio, the head of the Catrimani mission, submitted another proposal for a Yanomami Park, with an annexed topographical study, to the President of FUNAI.

■ In 1975, the Yanomami Project — a FUNAI-contracted project under the direction of Kenneth I. Taylor



⁶ Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park, "Yanomami Indian park, Proposal and Justification," in *The Yanomama in Brazil, 1979*. International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs Document 37 (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1979), pp. 113-15.

— provided for a study for the creation of a Yanomami Park.⁷

■ In May 1976, anthropologist Kenneth I. Taylor sent to FUNAI a “proposal for the correct and appropriate demarcation” of Yanomami lands.

■ In April 1978, the Roraima Diocese at the request of the president and the delegate of the 10th Regional District of FUNAI — Sr. Juliano Escóssia of COAMA-FUNAI — submitted another proposal for the demarcation of an Indian Reserve in the Catrimani River region.

■ On 11 August 1978, the Roraima Diocese, following contact with FUNAI personnel, presented another proposal designed to clarify and complete the proposal of April of the same year.

■ In May 1979, General Democrito Soares de Oliveira — the coordinator of the Amazon Division of FUNAI — submitted a document to General Ismarth de Araújo Oliveira, the President of FUNAI, suggesting the demarcation of 5 separate Indian areas in Roraima. This document resulted from studies undertaken in collaboration with the Unevangelized Field Missions (MEVA).

■ On 28 June 1979, a group of Brazilian citizens petitioned Sr. Mário Andreazza, Brazilian Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Adhemar Ribeiro da Silva, the president of FUNAI, to create a 16-million-acre Indian Park for the Yanomami. The group, later known as the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park (CCPY), also urged the government to initiate with greatest urgency a vaccination program for the Yanomami Indians.

■ In February 1980, at the suggestion of FUNAI superintendent Dr. Pedro Fatorelli, a work group was organized to prepare the most recent proposal for the creation of a Yanomami Park. Under the advice of Dr. Fatorelli, this proposal was designed for all existing Yanomami villages, including those left out of the original CCPY proposal. As a result, the area of the Yanomami Park was substantially increased. The official FUNAI document urges an area of 25-million acres for the Yanomami of Brazil.

As demonstrated above, the history of the Yanomami Park proposals over the years has been a unique saga. Until today, no solution to the land problem has been accepted and each one has disappeared in some obscure government ministry. The 1979 proposal has received the greatest amount of attention and publicity, because of a systematic campaign following its presentation to the Brazilian authorities. The 1980 proposal, in fact, is the direct result of a consistent national and international campaign involving many Western nations. Even though officials of the Territory of Roraima have intensified pressure against the park proposal, Minister of the Interior Mario Andreazza has manifested the government’s willingness to seek a solution to the Yanomami question. What, though, does this official solution entail and what will be its possible consequences for the Yanomami?

THE PRESENT IMPASSE

In the face of the accelerated invasion of Yanomami lands, FUNAI issued four decrees in 1977 and 1978 (decrees 477/N, 505/N, 512/N, and 513/N), declaring several areas in the Federal Territory of Roraima and the State of Amazonas as being “of Yanomami Indian occupation.” FUNAI’s initiative resulted in the administrative delimitation of 21 Indian areas, all of them quite small and all separate from each other. Many people have referred to this initiative as the “Yanomami archipelago.”

The proposed 21 reserve areas circumscribe groupings of villages and leave between them open corridors which will facilitate the surrounding of the Yanomami by colonization fronts and the subsequent encroachment of the Indian areas by white settlers. These reserves will multiply the possibilities of conflict and create a situation which the authorities will find impossible to control.

The scheme for discontinuous parcels of Yanomami lands is not only harmful because it will facilitate the usurpation of Indian lands, but it is also inviable for four other reasons:

First, to reserve for the Indians only those areas which include their dwellings and immediate surroundings is to deny them, in the short run, access to the large areas which are needed for their hunting, fishing, and gathering activities. This will prevent the Indians from continuing this type of “intermittent nomadism” and will lead to the ecological depletion of their surroundings and the consequent degeneration of their soil, faunal, and floral resources.

Second, the fragmentation of the Indian lands will lead to the rapid destruction of their traditional subsistence system. Isolated in ecologically depleted areas, the Indians will be reduced to a situation of total economic dependence on the national society. The solution that FUNAI has found in the delimitation of 21 discontinuous areas disrespects the provision in Article 23 of the Indian Statute which states that “possession by the Indian is held to mean effective occupation of the land he holds in accordance with tribal usages, customs, and traditions and on which he lives or exercises an activity indispensable to subsistence or economic utility.”⁸

Third, to establish discontinuous areas isolated by open corridors is to jeopardize, if not prevent, the economic, ceremonial, and marriage exchanges which are essential to the maintenance of the social dynamics of intervillage relations and those between sets of villages. These dynamics are a fundamental feature of the cohesion of Yanomami society. This solution also contradicts Article 2, VI of the Indian Statute which states that “in the process of integration of the Indians into the national community, the cohesion of the native communities and their cultural values,

7 *O Estado de São Paulo*, “Decadentes Índios Aguardam a FUNAI,” 26 February 1975. 8 *The Indian Statute* (Law no. 6.001 of 19 December 1973), article 23.

traditions, usages, and customs" must be respected.⁹

Finally, to break up the Yanomami territory will multiply the points of contact with national society and, as a consequence, the risk of transmission of infectious diseases such as measles, tuberculosis, and influenza which are lethal to these Indians. The dispersal of the Indian areas will also make it more difficult to establish an adequate program of medical assistance as recognized in Decree No. 58,824 of 1966, which is intended to fulfill Article 20, Items 1 and 2 of the International Labor Organization Convention 107 on Indian and tribal populations. To aggravate even more the health situation of the Yanomami, the encroachment in and ecological depletion of their lands will rapidly result in chronic malnutrition and exaggerated parasitic infestation.

Meanwhile, the uncontrolled invasion of Yanomami lands by placer miners and mining companies continues. On 19 August 1978, FUNAI President General Ismarth de Araújo Oliveira, signed a three-year contract with three subsidiaries of DOCEGEO for prospecting in ten different lots in the Serra do Surucucu where more than 4,000 Yanomami live.¹⁰ On 13 May 1980, the Minister of Mines and Energy signed another three-year contract giving prospecting rights at the Serra de Couto de Magalhães, neighboring the Serra do Surucucu, to two mining subsidiaries: Mineração Tapajós Ltda. and Mineração Guariba Ltda.¹¹

Roraima Congressman Hélio Campos presented a proposal to the Brazilian Congress on 19 December 1979, which advocates the removal of *all* Indians living along the borders of Brazil (Projeto de Lei No. 2294).¹² In effect, Campos proposes relocating some 90,000 Indians who inhabit the frontier regions to the interior of the country, using national security as a pretext. The Yanomami are included among the 90,000 Indians. Congressman Hélio Campos' proposal is clearly genocidal.

In the first six months of 1980, FUNAI entered a new phase of "decentralization." Decentralization means the transfer of responsibility for Indian affairs from the federal to the state and territorial governments. In the states and territories, where local economic and landed interests are most powerful, the indigenous population is totally vulnerable. With this new FUNAI policy, the Yanomami will be more than ever at the mercy of local politicians. At the same time, FUNAI can comfortably clear itself of the responsibility it has as "tutor" of the Brazilian Indians. This is especially true in the Territory of Roraima, which is known to be traditionally anti-Indian.

It is also known that if and when the lands of the Yanomami are officially declared an Indian Park or

"Reserve," the Yanomami region will turn into a multi-interest area over which several government agencies will have jurisdiction. FUNAI President João Carlos Nobre da Veiga declared in February 1980 that one of these agencies would be the Ministry of Mines and Energy.¹³

On 5 August 1980, Mário Andreazza further declared, during a publicized TV program that a possible solution to the Yanomami problem could be the creation of a "national reserve." A "national reserve" would insure the presence of federal control in the Yanomami area. The creation of national parks, forest reserves, ecological stations, mineral reserves, and the like are all designed precisely to insure such a presence, especially when military posts are established along the borders.

The presence of these governmental agencies in and of itself would not represent a dangerous intrusion into the Yanomami territory. There is the risk, however, that these reserves would remain "reserved" by the state and later be declared areas of national interest. In other words, a "national reserve" could become an area open for economic exploitation and would inevitably result in the breaking up of the Yanomami nation, loss of land, spread of diseases and economic dependence for the Indians.

A "multi-interest" or "national reserve" is, therefore, very different from an "Indian Park" for which, by law, FUNAI is the only responsible body. In contrast to a "national reserve," an Indian Park does not generate conflicting interests between national agencies and the Indians because the reason for its existence is precisely to guarantee protection for the Indians so that they can survive as a people.

In conclusion, there are several crucial questions regarding the future of the Yanomami:

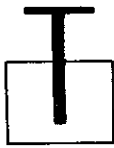
- How much longer will it take the Brazilian government to demarcate Yanomami lands?
- Will there be a unified territory for the Yanomami Nation, or will there be several reserves created within a multi-interest area co-administered by various competing federal agencies?
- What form will this demarcation take and how just will it be for the Yanomami?
- What will be FUNAI's role in the decision-making process regarding this demarcation?
- Will FUNAI have equal decision-making power with the other governmental agencies interested in the natural resources of the Yanomami territory?
- If a "multi-purpose" reserve or reserves is created, instead of an exclusive Indian Park, how much longer will the Yanomami remain the largest unacculturated Indian nation still surviving in the Americas?

⁹ *The Indian Statute, supra.*, article 2, VI. ¹⁰ *O Estado de São Paulo*, "A Mineração pode gerar um conflito," 4 September 1980. ¹¹ *Diário Oficial*, Alvará No. 2.539 of 13 May 1980, and Alvará No. 2.540 of 13 May 1980, 16 May 1980, Sect. 1, 8881. ¹² Hélio Campos, "Projeto de Lei No. 2.294 de 1979," *Diário do Congresso Nacional*, 17 November 1979. ¹³ *A Notícia de Manaus*, "Roraima," 8 February 1980.

V IOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE YANOMAMI PEOPLE IN BRAZIL



The following communication was submitted on behalf of the Yanomami people to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States by the American Anthropological Association, Anthropology Resource Center, Indian Law Resource Center, Survival International, and Survival International USA in December 1980. Some minor editorial changes have been made in the original document which in no way alter its content.



his complaint is being filed against certain sectors of the Brazilian government on behalf of approximately 10,000 to 12,000 Yanomami Indians living in the state of Amazonas and the Federal Territory of Roraima in northern Brazil. The treatment of the Yanomami Indians by some sectors of the Brazilian government and by private individuals and corporations acting in concert with these governmental agencies violates regional and international legal commitments which Brazil has undertaken. Brazil is subject to the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights by virtue of its membership in the Organization of American States (OAS). As a member of the OAS, Brazil is obliged to respect and guarantee those rights which are enumerated in the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man. Among those rights implicated in Brazil's treatment of the Yanomami Indians are the right to life, liberty and security of person (article I); the right to equality before the law (article II); the right to religious freedom and worship (article III); the right to a residence and movement (article VIII); the right to preservation of health and well-being (article XI); the right to basic civil rights (article XVII); and the right to property (article XXIII). The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights is empowered to entertain this communication under articles 18, 19 and 20 of its governing statute.

The past deliberations of the OAS and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights on the problems of indigenous peoples reflect a special concern with the treatment of indigenous populations by national governments and their citizens. For example, in 1971, the Commission found that indigenous populations were entitled, under article II of the Declaration (equality under the law), to special legal protections because they have suffered severe discrimination. The Commission called upon member states to "implement the recommendations made by Inter-American conferences and Indian conferences, especially the provisions of article 39 of the Inter-American Charter on Social Guarantees which deals with the protection of indigenous populations."¹ The right of indigenous peoples to special protection under the law was strongly reaffirmed by the Commission in a resolution adopted in 1972. The Commission stated that "special protection for indigenous populations constitutes a sacred commitment of the states" and exhorted national governments to encourage their officials "to act with the greatest zeal in defense of the human rights of indigenous persons, who should not be the object of discrimination of any kind."²

In addition, the OAS's Five Year Plan on Inter-American Action, adopted in 1979, establishes as a priority for member states "the preservation and strengthening of the cultural heritage of the ethnic groups" and "combating the discrimination that invalidates their potential as human beings through destruction of their cultural identity and individuality as Indian peoples."³

It is clear that the OAS and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights are committed to the protection of the rights of indigenous populations. Thus, it is appropriate for the Commission to consider this communication on behalf of the Yanomami Indians. As the case of the Yanomami so vividly demonstrates, a pattern of consistent disregard for the human rights of indigenous peoples severely threatens their survival.

LEGAL STATUS OF INDIANS IN BRAZIL

By law, all Indians in Brazil have a status of tutelage or wardship. Under this status, Indian peoples lack legal capacity with respect to certain acts⁴ and they also lack the political and civil rights to which other Brazilians are entitled.⁵ Indian peoples who have been "emancipated" from this status are entitled to all political and civil rights enjoyed by Brazilian citizens under the national constitution. Emancipation is gained upon showing to a court that the petitioner is 21 years of age or older, knows the Portuguese language, has the skill to perform a useful activity in the national community, and has a reasonable comprehension of the usages and customs of the national community. Upon release from this wardship status, Indians acquire full legal capacity.⁶ So far, no Indians have been emancipated.

The Indian Statute also provides for emancipation of communities, in the following terms:

Article 11. By decree of the President of the Republic, emancipation of the native community and its members from the tutelary regime established by law can be declared, when applied for by the majority of the members of the group and proof has been furnished, by an enquiry made by the competent Federal agency, of their full integration in the national communion.

Sole paragraph. For purposes of the provisions of this article, the requirements established in Article 9 must be met by the applicants.

Although emancipation of communities has been proposed in several instances in the past, it has never been passed for any Indian communities.

In general, the rights of Brazilian Indians to their lands are extremely limited and precarious. In many cases, the legal protection afforded Indian lands is simply inadequate to prevent expropriation or impairment of rights. As a general rule, Brazilian law does not recognize in Indian people the right of any kind of ownership in the lands they occupy.⁷ Instead, the Brazilian Constitution provides that all land occupied by Indians belongs to the Union.⁸ Article 198 of the Brazilian Constitution guarantees Indians permanent possession of the land they inhabit and recognizes their right to the exclusive use and enjoyment (usufruct) of its natural resources and of all benefits existing therein. However, this right extends only to the "topsoil wealth;"

1 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *Informe Anual*, OEA/Ser. P. AG/doc. 227, 17, 20 March 1972 (Washington: Organization of American States, 1972), at 37-38. 2 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, OEA/Ser. L/V/II, 29 doc. 38 rev. (Washington: OAS, 1972). 3 Organization of American States, *Five-Year Plan on Inter-American Indian Action*, Resolution CP/RES 289 (403/79), OEA/Ser. P. AG/doc. 1102/79, 5 October 1979 (Washington: OAS, 1979). 4 The juridical incapacity of the Indian is relative, as opposed to absolute, where, in the case of absolute incapacity, the incapacitated is represented, regardless of his/her manifestation of will. Although the Indian ought to be assisted by a tutor, in cases of isolated tribes or those in intermittent contact, such as the Yanomami, FUNAI in practice represents them. 5 *The Indian Statute*, (Law no. 6.001 of 19 December 1973), article 5. 6 *Indian Statute*, *supra*, Chapter II, article 9. 7 The question of the non-recognition of absolute legal ownership in the lands is indeed more complex, given that full ownership includes the right to alienate land. It has to be remembered that Brazilian law does not regulate "collective ownership" such as the Indians conceive it, even though the Indian Statute stipulates respect for the "system of ownership of the Indians," in Article 6. 8 *Brazilian Constitution*, article 4 (IV).

subsoil wealth may be subject to prospecting or mining by third parties under leases obtained from the government.⁹ Indian people are entitled to a share of the royalties derived from mineral exploitation on their land:

Article 24. The usufruct assured to Indians or forest-dwellers comprises the right to possess, use and receive the natural wealth and all the utilities existing on land occupied by them, and likewise the product of economic exploitation of said natural wealth and utilities.

Article 44. Ground wealth in the native areas can only be exploited by the forest-dwellers, who have the exclusive right to practice placer mining, panning and screening for nuggets, precious and semi-precious stones in the areas in question.

Article 45. Exploitation of subsoil wealth in the areas belonging to the Indians, or to the domain of the Union, but in the possession of Indian communities, shall be effected in the terms of the legislation in force with due observance of the provisions of this law.

Although the Constitution declares that the Indians' possessory right shall be permanent, Brazilian law permits the government to expropriate Indian lands. Native lands are subject to "intervention" by the government "to work valuable subsoil deposits of outstanding interest for national security and development" or "for the sake of national security" generally or "to carry out public works of national development" generally.¹⁰ The government also has the power to remove tribal groups once it is determined that an area must be exploited in the national interest.¹¹

The law authorizes the government to set aside Indian land in various forms in order to provide greater protection for a tribal group. Land can be designated as an Indian Reserve, an Indian Park, an Indian Farming Settlement, or an Indian Federal Territory.¹² However, where Indian peoples presently occupy land, their right to possession is recognized legally even in the absence of a physical demarcation by the government.¹³

The National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) administers the government's Indian policies and enforces the Indian Statute. Created in 1967, FUNAI is under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior. FUNAI may grant the right to mine subsoil wealth on tribal possessions to third parties and has the authority to call upon the Federal Police or Armed Forces to cooperate in assuring the protection of the land occupied by the Indians.¹⁴ In general, FUNAI has the responsibility to defend Indian rights against infringement by public agencies and private individuals.¹⁵

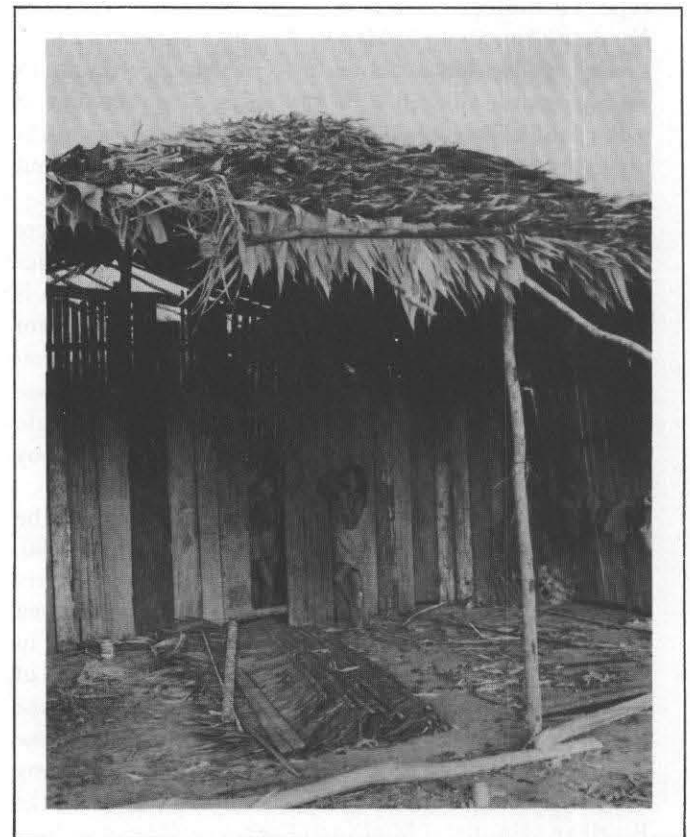
F ACTUAL ALLEGATIONS

The Yanomami Indians are the largest unacculturated group of indigenous people in South America. In Brazil alone, an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 Yanomami live in the State of Amazonas and the Federal Territory of Roraima. They presently occupy an area of 10-million hectares, consisting primarily of tropical rain forest. Until 1973, the Yanomami lived in relative isolation from surrounding non-Indian communities and, in fact, many Yanomami

had no contact with non-Indians at all. In 1973, however, the national government of Brazil initiated the construction of federal highway BR-210, the Northern Perimeter Highway, which passed directly through the Yanomami territory. (see map on p. I). Subsequently, the government began colonization projects which opened up substantial areas of Yanomami land to mining and cattle ranching. These actions, sanctioned and encouraged by the government, have resulted in a massive invasion of Yanomami lands, social disruption of the Yanomami way of life, and widespread disease, death and destruction.

As planned, the Northern Perimeter Highway transects the Yanomami territory for 600 kilometers. From 1973, when construction was begun, until 1976, when construction was halted for economic reasons, the Yanomami population in the region declined drastically. Along the Ajarani River where the road crosses, the population dropped from 400¹⁶ to an estimated 102 people, in the years between the sixties and 1973. As a direct result of the invasion of highway workers, the population declined from 102 in 1973 to 80 people in 1975.¹⁷

A Brazilian anthropologist, who was present at the time of the initial invasion by highway workers, witnessed Indians in a state of misery, sickness and shock. The Indians refused to speak their language, and they were wearing ragged clothing given to them by highway workers and infested with influenza, measles, tuberculosis and other diseases:¹⁸



⁹ *Indian Statute*, *supra* note 5, articles 24, 44, and 45. ¹⁰ *Indian Statute*, article 20, Section 1. ¹¹ *Indian Statute*, article 20, Sections 2 and 3. By itself, article 20 foresees intervention only if there is no alternate solution. This point is fundamental yet, in practice, it has been systematically disrespected. Even though both the Brazilian Constitution and the Indian Statute guarantee the protection of those rights enumerated in the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, the facts demonstrate that they have been ignored. ¹² *Indian Statute*, Chapter III, articles 26 through 30. ¹³ *Indian Statute*, articles 22, 23, and 25. ¹⁴ *Indian Statute*, articles 34 and 35. ¹⁵ *Indian Statute*, article 35. ¹⁶ Ernest Migliazza, *The Integration of the Indigenous Peoples of the Territory of Roraima, Brazil*. International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs Document 32 (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1978), pp. 17-19. ¹⁷ Alcida R. Ramos, "Yanoama Indians in Northern Brazil Threatened by Highway," in *The Yanoama in Brazil, 1979*, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Document 37 (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1979), p. 13. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

According to Professor Orlando Sampaio Silva of the University of Para, the consequences of this massive penetration could be seen two years later:

"To worsen the problems of the Yanoama brought about by the construction of the BR-210 road — the Northern Perimeter Highway — some of their villages recently became disorganized and about half of the population of these villages died stricken by flu, measles, tuberculosis, venereal diseases . . . Indians became prostitutes, and today there are only a few remnants who wander about on the roadside, psychologically degraded and socially alienated . . .

Some groups in the region of the Ajarani River have been scattered, their villages abandoned and many of the Indians died. These are the "Yauari" (a Yanomami group), those remnants who wander along the Northern Perimeter Highway. Some Indians (Yanomami) have been used as unskilled labor in sawmills that were established on the stretch of the road east of the Repartimento River."¹⁹

Similar conditions were reported at the Catrimani mission station, just three kilometers from the new highway. For more than a decade, a group of Italian Catholic priests had been trying to prepare the Yanomami for their eventual contacts with outsiders. When the highway teams arrived in 1974, neither the Indians nor the missionaries were prepared. Diseases, including tuberculosis and venereal infections, increased eightfold in a period of 15 months. Then in 1977, a second measles epidemic struck the Indians at Catrimani, killing 67 persons and creating chaos throughout the region.²⁰

Equally devastating has been the extensive mining which the government has permitted within the Yanomami territory. In February 1975, the Brazilian RADAM project reported radioactive matter in the Surucucu region of Yanomami territory. In March 1975, six prospectors discovered large deposits of cassiterite (tin). This region contains 74 Yanomami villages with an estimated population of 4,500 people. By early 1976, nearly 500 miners were working in the Surucucu region and armed conflicts broke out between Indians and miners over scarce food resources.

Although considerable quantities of cassiterite were mined, FUNAI did not seek compensation for the Yanomami nor did it seek a share of the mining profits as is required in article 45 of the Indian Statute. FUNAI did not take steps to prevent disruption of Yanomami communities nor protect the legal right of the Yanomami to possession of their lands. In addition, FUNAI failed to vaccinate the Yanomami against infectious diseases introduced by the miners.

By 1979, two large mineral companies were known to be conducting mineral surveys in the region. Early in 1980, Brazilian newspapers reported that more than 3,000 miners were waiting in the frontier town of Boa Vista in Roraima for government authorization to invade Indian lands. In March 1980, reportedly with the help of the Governor of Roraima, diamond and gold miners illegally entered the Couto de Magalhães area, in the southern sector of the Yanomami territory, causing a major flu epidemic among one cluster of Yanomami villages.²¹ On 13 May 1980, the Brazilian Ministry of Mines and Energy issued two author-

izations allowing surveys for the mineral titanium in the Couto de Magalhães region.²² These authorizations were made in complete secrecy and ignored the existence of at least six large Yanomami villages in the region to be explored.²³

Recent information has also disclosed that the President of FUNAI authorized three subsidiaries of a large Brazilian mineral company, DOCEGEO, to survey and conduct prospecting in the Serra do Surucucu region in 1978. This authorization is valid until August 1981.²⁴ Meanwhile, the invasion of Yanomami lands by placer-miners continues. Press reports indicate that 3,000 placer miners searching for gold have illegally invaded the Uraricaá region in the northeastern sector of Yanomami territory. This area, with a population of approximately 500 Yanomami, is recognized by FUNAI as being Indian lands, according to a document of 1977 (*Portaria*, 505-N, 29 May 1978).²⁵

A third major threat to the Yanomami has been colonization projects. In 1975, the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) began a development project which has had adverse effects on Yanomami communities. Designed primarily to benefit small ranchers, this project has resulted in the loss of much Yanomami lands, the dislocation and disintegration of Yanomami communities, epidemics of measles and malaria, and instances of tuberculosis.²⁶

Not only has the Brazilian government failed to protect the Yanomami against the invasion by outsiders, but it has also failed to recognize and provide for the Yanomami living within the boundaries of newly created national land reserves.

On 5 June 1979, the Pico da Neblina National Park was created in the State of Amazonas (see map on p. 1). In no instance does the document creating this Park mention measures to be taken for the protection of the 2,000 Yanomami Indians who inhabit this region. Two Salesian missions are located in this area: one, on the Maturacá River (a tributary of the upper Cauaboris River) with 360 Yanomami Indians; and the other, on the Marauíá River with 1,500 Yanomami Indians. According to data reported by the regional delegate of FUNAI in 1980, two FUNAI posts (one permanent and the other sporadically functioning) are located on the Maiá and Iá Rivers with a population of approximately 300 Yanomami Indians.²⁷

Five hundred Yanomami lived in the region of the Maturacá River when they were contacted by Salesian missionaries between 1925 and 1940. In 1978, members of the Brazilian Air Force estimated that there were about 150 survivors of this group living in a state of malnutrition and suffering from malaria, pneumonia and tuberculosis. Decimated by diseases, some survivors of this group fled from Brazil into Venezuela. The missionaries allege that they lack the conditions to attend to these and other Yanomami. Until today, the Yanomami who live far from the mission

19 O. Sampaio Silva, *Os Yanomami — denominação de um povo sem esperança* (Recife, 1979), pp 6-8, cited in The Committee for the Creation of the Yanomami Park, "Yanomami Indian Park, Proposal and Justifications," in *The Yanoama in Brazil, 1979*, pp. 104-105. 20 Ramos, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7. 21 Shelton H. Davis, "Mining Projects endanger Amazon's Yanomamo Tribe," *Multinational Monitor*, February 1980. 22 *Jornal da Tarde*, "Yanomamis, a luta pelo direito da vida," 30 July 1980. 23 Kenneth I. Taylor, "Development against the Yanoama. The Case of Mining and Agriculture," in *The Yanoama in Brazil, 1979*, pp. 44, 70-71. 24 *O Estado de São Paulo*, "A mineração pode gerar um conflito," 4 September 1980. 25 *O Estado de São Paulo*, "Roraima teme corrida de garimpeiros," 5 November 1980. 26 K.I. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-90. 27 Fundação Nacional do Índio, (First Regional Delegation of Manaus), *Radiotelegrama No. 110*, 12 March 1980.

settlement and FUNAI posts remain without medical assistance.²⁸

CURRENT SITUATION

Between 1968 and 1979, anthropologists, scientists and religious organizations submitted at least 12 proposals to the Brazilian authorities for the establishment of a land reserve for the Yanomami. The twelfth proposal of 1979 was a direct response to the threats posed by the construction of the highway, extensive mining activities and colonization projects. Through 1979, however, FUNAI failed to take significant steps in support of these proposals.

Only since February 1980 has the Brazilian government finally begun to take new steps towards the creation of an Indian Park for the Yanomami. As defined by Brazilian law, an Indian Park is "an area contained within land in the possession of Indians, whose degree of integration is sufficient to allow economic, educational and sanitary assistance being supplied to them by the agencies of the Union, wherein the flora, fauna and natural scenery of the region are to be preserved."²⁹ A governmental task force was established in 1980 to draw up the thirteenth proposal for the creation of the Yanomami Park. On 7 April 1980, the President of FUNAI received the proposal and, at this moment, government authorities outside of the Ministry of the Interior are reportedly studying it.

This most recent proposal is designed to guarantee the physical and cultural survival of the Yanomami by protecting their health, preserving the natural environment, guaranteeing the control and protection of the region, and ensuring the conservation of natural resources.

Recent developments in Brazilian government policy, however, render extremely doubtful the formal adoption of the proposal and the creation of the Park as set forth in the 1980 proposal.

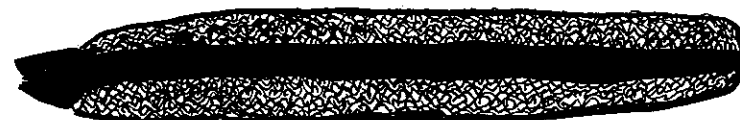
First, the President of FUNAI himself has declared that the Yanomami Park, when created, would be considerably reduced from the proposed limits set forth in the 1980 proposal. The President has declared that the Yanomami Park would not only be an indigenous reserve but also a forestry and mineral reserve. The Park would be administered by the National Institute of Forestry Development (IBDF), the Ministry of Mines and Energy, and the Special Secretariat for the Environment (SEMA).³⁰ It is possible that two of these agencies — IBDF and the Ministry of Mines and Energy — will be concerned with the development or exploitation of natural resources in the Yanomami area.

Currently, IBDF has two proposals for the Yanomami area. The first proposal is for the Pico da Neblina National Park, which already exists and which makes no provisions for the 2,000 Yanomami living in the area. Theoretically, a national park is concerned with the preservation of nature. The second proposal is for a national forest which can be used for the future exploitation of forest reserves.³¹

SEMA is interested in creating an ecological reserve with ecological stations.³² There is the possibility, however, that SEMA would enter the Yanomami region by proposing land corridors and once more cut up the land area into several reserves. SEMA is an agency connected with the Ministry of the Interior. It is linked to Brazil's Second Plan for National, Scientific and Technological Development.

For political reasons, a multi-agency control was clearly proposed so that the Yanomami would not maintain autonomy as a distinct people.

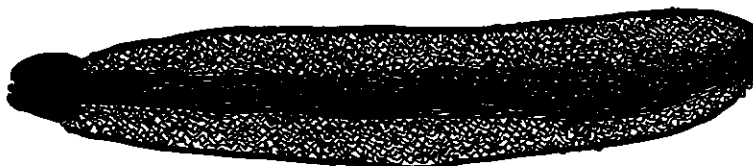
Second, the President of Brazil signed a decree on 17



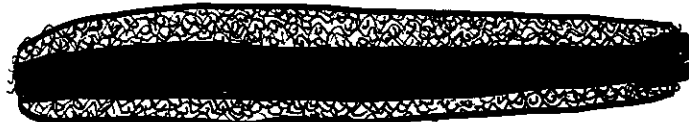
Rainbow son



LAKE WHERE THE RAINBOWS LIVE



Rainbow FATHER



Rainbow MOTHER

²⁸ *Jornal da Tarde*, *supra*, note 22. ²⁹ *Indian Statute*, *supra*, note 5, article 28. ³⁰ *A Notícia de Manaus*, "Roraima," 8 February 1980. ³¹ *Jornal da Tarde*, *supra*, note 22. ³² *O Estado de São Paulo*, "Parque Yanomami sai este ano," 1 August 1980.

April 1980 authorizing the administrative restructuring of FUNAI. This decree will result in the transfer of much of FUNAI's responsibilities in Indian affairs to the states and territories of Brazil.³³ In the past, the states and territories have been notorious for their disregard of Indian rights, and they have chosen to exploit natural resources within Indian areas. This decree increases the political power of the states and the risk that, once the Yanomami Park is created, economic groups interested in exploiting natural resources will prevail to the detriment of the Indians.

Third, federal deputy Helio Campos of Roraima — a man who was twice the governor of the territory — has proposed legislation (Projeto de Lei no. 2.294 of 1979) in the Brazilian Congress advocating the removal of all Indians living within a 150 kilometer strip of the Brazilian border.³⁴ In effect, this legislation proposes the removal of 90,000 Indians — including all Yanomami — to the interior of the country. This proposed legislation violates Brazilian constitutional law which guarantees the right of indigenous people to possession and usufruct of their lands (Constitutional Amendment No. 1/69, Article 198). Furthermore, the President of the Republic has recently decreed that the 150 kilometer strip along the Brazilian border is an area of national security and that all decisions regarding the administration of this frontier area will rest with the National Security Council. Such decisions include requests for the concessions of public lands, installment of mineral companies, and the establishment of colonization projects.³⁵

Finally, it is especially distressing to see that certain government authorities outside the Ministry of the Interior may be delaying the creation of the Yanomami Park.³⁶ This is particularly troubling given that the history of proposals is now entering its twelfth year and that the 1980 proposal was prepared under the initiative of FUNAI. Recently, the Brazilian Minister of the Interior declared that the govern-

ment would resolve the Yanomami land question by the end of 1980. The Minister's solution, however, involves many different government agencies whose criteria for the demarcation and administration of the area may not guarantee that the rights of the Yanomami Indians are respected.

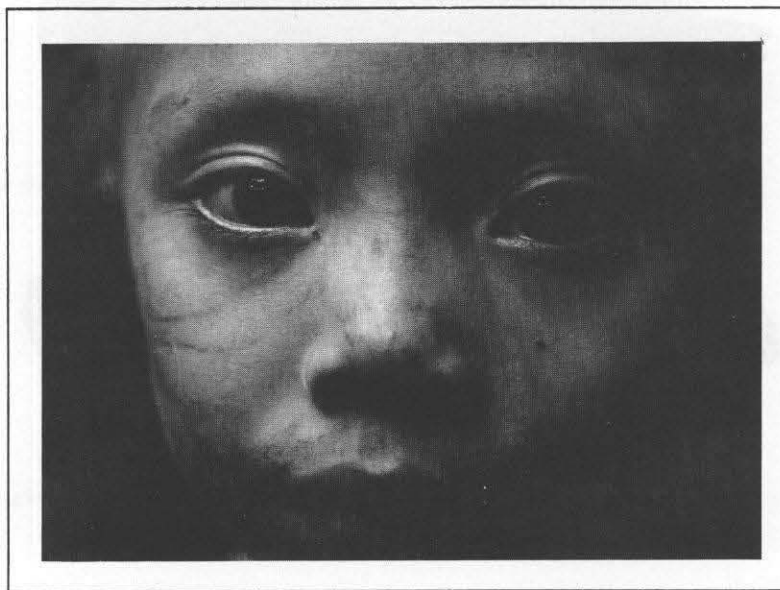
The organizations bringing this complaint are deeply concerned that the Yanomami Park proposal will not be adopted by the Brazilian government due to political and economic pressure to open the Yanomami territory to mining. They are further concerned that the Park may not guarantee a united territory and can run the risk of being subdivided into separate areas; that, in the alternative, the Park established by the Brazilian government will be insufficient to guarantee the survival of the Yanomami people; that legislation will be enacted authorizing the removal of the Yanomami from their territory; and that mining will be permitted in the Yanomami territory without adequate safeguards regarding the land rights and health of the Yanomami people.

VIOLATIONS

Petitioners assert the following human rights violations:

The acts of some sectors of the Brazilian government in permitting mining and highway construction within the Yanomami territory in disregard of Yanomami land rights constitute a violation of the right to equality before the law, the right to a residence, the right to basic civil rights and the right to own property. These rights are guaranteed to the Yanomami in articles II, VIII, XVII and XXIII of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man.

The failure of the Brazilian government to protect the



33 *O Estado de São Paulo*, "Presidente aceita mudar FUNAI agora," 18 April 1980. 34 *Diário do Congresso Nacional*, "Projeto de Lei No. 2.294 de 1979 (Do Sr. Hélio Campos)," 17 November 1979; *Folha de São Paulo*, "Deputado quer garimpeiros em área indígena," 6 January 1980. 35 *Folha de São Paulo*, "Faixa de fronteira é regulamentada," 27 August 1980. 36 *Folha de São Paulo*, "Ministério retarda criação de reserva," 5 May 1980; *O Globo*, "Demarcação das terras indígenas pode demorar," 11 September 1980.

Yanomami against disease caused by invasion of miners and highway construction teams constitutes a violation of the right to life and the right to preservation of health and well-being, guaranteed by articles I and XI of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man.

The failure of the Brazilian government to protect and enforce the Yanomami's rights to possession of their lands against intrusion by miners, highway construction teams and agricultural colonists constitutes a violation of the right to equality before the law, the right to a residence, the right to basic civil rights and the right to own property, all guaranteed by the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man.

The failure of the Brazilian government to ensure the survival of the Yanomami by creating an Indian Park for their benefit deprives the Yanomami of the right to a residence, the right to own property and the right to preservation of health and well-being in violation of articles VIII, XXIII, and XI of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man.

The failure of the Brazilian government to prevent and the complicity of some agents of the government in the dislocation and disruption of Yanomami communities constitutes a violation of the right to life and liberty, the right to religious freedom, the right to a residence, the right to preservation of health and the right to own property, as guaranteed by articles I, III, VIII, XI and XXIII of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man.

EXHAUSTION OF DOMESTIC REMEDIES

Under the provisions of article 20(c) of the Statute of the Inter-American Commission and articles 29(d) and 34 of the Commission's Regulations, the Commission may examine certain communications alleging violations of human rights only after domestic legal procedures and remedies have been duly applied and exhausted.

The present complaint concerns a "general" rather than an "individual" case of alleged violations insofar as it raises broad policy and factual questions concerning Brazil's treatment of 10,000 to 12,000 Yanomami Indians. In light of the Commission's consistent practice with respect to "general" cases (see Case No. 1684, reported in the Annual Report of the Commission of 1972, Twenty-eighth session at 16-20), the petitioners hereby request that the Commission waive the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies.

Further, it is a well-established principle of international law that purported remedies must be both adequate and

effective before the rule of exhaustion of domestic remedies may properly apply. (See article 34 of the Regulations.) A complaint is not required to pursue remedies which are futile or unreasonably prolonged. The laws and policies of Brazil do not offer the possibility for effective redress of the complaints of the Yanomami people on whose behalf this communication is being filed. For over 12 years the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) has refused to take concrete action to protect the rights of Yanomami by creating an Indian Park. The threat to the survival of the Yanomami people is serious and immediate and petitioners have no reason to believe that FUNAI or any other Brazilian governmental agency will take the necessary steps to prevent the extermination of the Yanomami. An internal judicial remedy is completely foreclosed by the Yanomami's legal disability or lack of capacity to sue or otherwise assert rights in judicial forums. Administrative and legislative efforts to redress the Yanomami grievances have all been futile. This case is thus appropriate for consideration by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

RELIEF REQUESTED

The following relief is requested:

1. That this communication be considered by the Commission in accordance with the provisions of articles 22 through 55 of the Commission's Regulations and articles 18, 19 and 20 of the Commission's Statute.
2. That the Commission undertake an on-site investigation to study the violations alleged herein, as authorized by article 18(g) of the Statute and article 41 of the Regulations.
3. That the Commission pass a resolution urging the creation of the Yanomami Park and transmit this resolution to the appropriate government officials in Brazil, pursuant to article 18 of the Statute.
4. Such other relief the Commission deems appropriate.

Respectfully submitted,

11 December, 1980

Edward J. Lehman, *Executive Director, American Anthropological Association.*

Shelton H. Davis, *Director, Anthropology Resource Center.*

Tim Coulter, *Executive Director, Indian Law Resource Center.*

Barbara Bentley, *Director, Survival International.*

George Krumbhaar, *Acting President, Survival International, USA.*

LETTERS OF SUPPORT ON BEHALF OF THE COMMUNICATION ON VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE YANOMAMI PEOPLE IN BRAZIL

The following two letters were written in support of the OAS complaint by the presidents of the Brazilian Anthropological Association (São Paulo, Brazil) and Cultural Survival, Inc. (Cambridge, Mass.). They are reproduced here with permission of the authors.

*Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
Organization of American States
19th and Constitution Avenues, Room 133
Washington, D.C.*

Dear Sirs,

We have become aware of the full text of the Communication presented to this Commission by five organizations who are distinguished in the rights of indigenous people, among whom is the American Anthropological Association, and which is entitled: "Violations of the Human Rights of the Yanomami People." We request that you give attention to the following points:

(1) The Brazilian Association of Anthropologists (A.B.A.), through this letter, endorses, in all respects, the facts which the five organizations have brought forth in the Communication to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. We wish to clarify, moreover, that the facts, data, texts and legal interpretations presented in it were already known by the A.B.A. and Brazilian associations which are working towards the creation of the Yanomami Indian Park. We consider, still, that an international campaign on behalf of the creation of this Park, in the ways proposed by the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park, is essential so that this objective can be reached.

(2) One of the solutions proposed by FUNAI (The National Indian Foundation) is to establish an "archipelago" of 21 "islands" reserved for the Yanomami. This represents, if it is put into effect, a particularly powerful form of destruction of the socio-cultural integrity of the Yanomami. Such a solution will prevent the periodic movements of local groups and will bring about the cessation of matrimonial, economic and ceremonial exchanges, which are fundamental factors for the cohesion and reproduction of Yanomami society. It will multiply the possibilities of indiscriminate contact between Indians and "civilized people," creating opportunities for the dissemination of epidemics and violence of all sorts against the Yanomami.

(3) The solution publicly announced by the Minister of the Interior Mr. Mario David Andreazza in 1980 is to create a large Park in the area, but to reserve in it forest areas, mineral areas, ecological stations and areas of environmental protection. These areas will be submitted to the control of other governmental agencies and not FUNAI. In practice, this means an even greater division of the Yanomami territory into "islands," closing access to the areas which are destined for other purposes; although, by law, all of the territory in the Park is the possession and usufruct of the Yanomami Indians.

For that reason, it is our duty to pass into the hands of this Commission a copy of recent publications of the National Congress (the House and Senate), in which there appear the amendments, substitutions and opinions for the Legal Project no. 2.139 -D, of 1979, which deals with the creation of ecological stations. In such stations (article 7), hunting, gathering, fishing, etc., are prohibited. Such environmental protection will prevent the Yanomami from using their territory for their social reproduction, which could constitute a particularly clever strategy to force the "integration" of these people.

What preoccupies us especially is opinion no. 769, approved on 25 September 1980 by the Finance Commission of the Senate, reported by Senator Raimundo Parente. Included in it is a list of the areas selected by SEMA (the Special Secretariat for the Environment) for the implementation of ecological stations. Among these, is the Maracá area, in the Federal Territory of Roraima, which partially invades the Yanomami area.

We have information that this law will be voted on in the coming month of March by the National Congress.

Recalling, finally, that until the present moment no concrete method has been announced by the government to guarantee the Yanomami their right to the lands they occupy,

We sign below, sincerely,

Eunice R. Durham
President of the Brazilian Association of Anthropologists

16 January 1981

Mr. David Padilla
 Assistant Executive Secretary
 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
 Organization of American States
 19th and Constitution Ave. NW
 Room 133
 Washington DC 22180

Dear Mr. Padilla,

A complaint has been filed by five organizations on behalf of the Yanomami Indians and against the government of Brazil. For more than a decade, the Brazilian government, and its Indian agency (FUNAI), has refused to protect the basic human rights of the Yanomami by not creating an Indian park for them. The Yanomami, as wards of the state, and not Brazilian citizens, cannot make claims in Brazilian courts of law.

The written complaint submitted to the Commission documents the situation of the Yanomami in a clear and concise manner. We believe the case presented supports the relief requested in the four points listed on pages 17 and 18 of that document.

However, additional information about the Yanomami case should be included in the complaint. First, FUNAI's ability and inclination to protect Brazil's Indians in general are questionable. Second, the 21 area proposal which FUNAI has developed to solve the Yanomami lands problem is inadequate. And third, gold miners have recently entered into areas traditionally occupied by the Yanomami and in large part included within the FUNAI 21 area proposal. These three points will be discussed briefly in this letter, with appropriate documents appended.

Recent events, personnel changes, and statements by high-level officials of FUNAI raise serious questions as to FUNAI's ability or desire to protect Brazil's Indians. In Appendix A, "FUNAI and Indians Along the BR-364," Cultural Survival has assessed events within FUNAI in the past year when more than 50 professional Indianists were fired or resigned from FUNAI after administrative posts were taken over by military personnel. There are 36 colonels in FUNAI and at least half of them have come from the notorious National Information Service and the National Security Council.

Colonel João Carlos Nobre da Veiga was appointed President of FUNAI in late 1979. Since then, 36 Indian leaders have been assassinated and not one assassin has been brought to trial. The following statements by Nobre da Veiga, and other reports in the Brazilian press, give an indication of the Brazilian Indian situation.

—On 23 June, Nobre da Veiga said that he knew nothing

about Indians, but asserted that "to administer FUNAI it is not necessary to understand Indians. It is only necessary to understand administration."

—Nobre da Veiga also stated: "A FUNAI staff member, more than anything, should act as a judge between two cultures, that of the whites and that of the Indians. When he begins to defend one side more than the other he becomes biased and for this reason undesirable."

—An Indian from Acre signed a statement that Nobre da Veiga offered him money to drop land claims his group was putting forward.

—On 14 September, Nobre da Veiga stated that, "the biggest problem of the FUNAI is that in the past innumerable areas were declared native areas without there having been any consultation with interested parties such as IBDF (Brazilian Institute of Forestry Development), the National Department of Mineral Production, DNER (National Highway Department), INCRA (National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform), and the state governments."

—Called to testify before a congressional committee on native affairs, Nobre da Veiga characterized Article 198 of the Brazilian Constitution as "extremely violent, hard and implacable" in its defense of the Indians' right to their lands and said that FUNAI was trying to lessen its impact.

Other top officials in FUNAI have held positions that compromise their effectiveness. Col. Claudio Pagano, Director of FUNAI's Department of Native Resources, worked for INCRA, an agency promoting colonization in many Indian areas. Since he was hired, FUNAI's files on Indian lands are no longer available for public inspection.

Colonel Ivan Zanoni Hausen, Director of FUNAI's Department of Community Planning, stated publicly that "the Indian Statute is a book of poetry to feed the fantasies of eggheads." Interviewed on television, he said that the disturbances within FUNAI were "provoked by international communism."

Brazil's attempts to set up land reserves for the Yanomami have been beset with a number of problems. In June 1977, FUNAI, to determine settlement patterns, began plans for an aerial survey of virtually all Yanomami lands in Brazil. The survey, undertaken during the rainy season when there was considerable cloud cover, produced uneven results. Photos showed some areas in great detail while at least two areas were totally blank. One hundred and sixty villages were located on FUNAI's maps, and 21 areas in Roraima and the state of Amazonas were then "declared as areas of Yanomami Indian occupation" in a series of decrees by the President of FUNAI (see Appendix B).

The Committee for the Creation of the Yanomami Park has written that the FUNAI survey carried out in July 1977 "suffers from serious technical shortcomings (IWGIA 37: 141)." The Committee substantiates this by stating that:

In fact, an evaluation of the results of this survey, checked against other documents and against the present situation of the Indian villages, allows us to point out the following inaccuracies:

- a) 12 villages located by the FUNAI aerial survey are nevertheless left outside the areas that have been declared as occupied by the Indians . . . ;
- b) 42 villages not included in the FUNAI decrees have, however, been mapped by the RADAMBRASIL Project (1975) . . . Therefore, either there were faults in the FUNAI survey, or significant movement of malocas (villages), by the Indians, in the period of five years. Either alternative confirms the inadequacy of the areas declared by FUNAI to be "occupied by Yanomami Indians". . . ;
- c) 2 areas were declared to be occupied by Indians without any villages having been registered at these locations by the FUNAI aerial survey . . . ;
- d) 3 areas known to be Indian areas were not surveyed and/or declared to be occupied by Indians . . . ;
- e) 4 villages have moved following the FUNAI aerial survey and are now outside the areas declared to be occupied by Indians;
- f) 3 FUNAI posts were not mentioned in its own aerial survey of the area.

To conclude, the area of at least 16 Yanomami villages have not been declared by FUNAI as being occupied by Indians (items "a" and "e"). This represents 8000 Indians, or approximately 9.52% of the population. Adding these 16 villages to the 42 surveyed by the RADAMBRASIL Project and which were missed by the FUNAI Decrees, and without taking into consideration those areas known to be Indian but not surveyed by FUNAI, the number of Yanomami left outside the areas declared to be occupied by these Indians represents about 2,900 Indians, that is, 34.52% of the population. Even though this is an approximation (taking into account the possibility that the figure of 42 villages may mean, *in part*, movements by the Indians rather than survey errors), it raises doubts about the credibility of the survey carried out which, given the fundamental importance of the matter, is sufficient to call for a carefully considered revision.

The aerial survey of the Yanomami settlements suffers from such technical shortcomings as to invalidate the project of demarcation of their lands, for which it was the basis. This situation is aggravated by the fact of its having been the *only* basis for the delimitation carried out. In this sense, the 21 islands of land defined by the Decrees 477/N, 505/N, 512/N and 513/N are nothing but an arbitrary dismembering of traditional Yanomami territory produced by mere bureaucratic geometry (ARC/IWGIA/SI 37, pp. 117-118.)

The 21 areas, decreed officially as the lands occupied by Yanomami Indians, are not sufficient to ensure the physical and cultural survival of the Yanomami Indians. The delimitation of discontinuous areas, with open corridors of 5 to 30 kilometers on the average, pose grave threats to the integrity of traditional Yanomami lands and their right to effectively occupy it. These corridors permit encroachment by colonists — increasing the possibility of conflict — and create a situation no present government is organized to control. The archipelago approach to Yanomami land problems impedes communication between areas, forces some groups into areas not used traditionally (intimate knowledge of areas for subsistence activities is extremely important), and by estimating low land needs, ensures that the land will be overused in a short period of time. Finally, and most importantly, the 21 areas, while based on legal decrees, are not yet legally demarcated land reserves for the Yanomami. Thus, while the negative effects of an inadequate demarcation program are already having an effect, the Indians do not have guarantees to any land.

An example of negative effects of unprotected island reserves is now evident in the Uraricaá region. One of the supposed advantages of the Yanomami land decrees was that it would be illegal for prospectors to enter Indian lands, and mining could only be undertaken on a concession basis with some of the profits going to FUNAI for the Indians. This has not been the case. In October 1980, Yanomami lands in the Uraricaá region were invaded by gold miners. By mid-November 7000 miners were in the area, with an additional 500 miners daily entering the Coimin River area. The miners are less than 20 kilometers from 10 Yanomami villages, in violation of the boundary of one of the 21 areas recognized by FUNAI. No effort has

been made to remove the miners from the Indians' land. In fact, Brazilian newspapers speculate that the Department of Mineral Assistance in Roraima leaked the news of gold in the area to miners in Boa Vista. Further, while present panning operations are alluvial and only on the borders of Indian lands, miners will undoubtedly push their way further into the lands of the Yanomami. Since the invasion of Yanomami lands, hepatitis and malaria are reportedly spreading within the region.

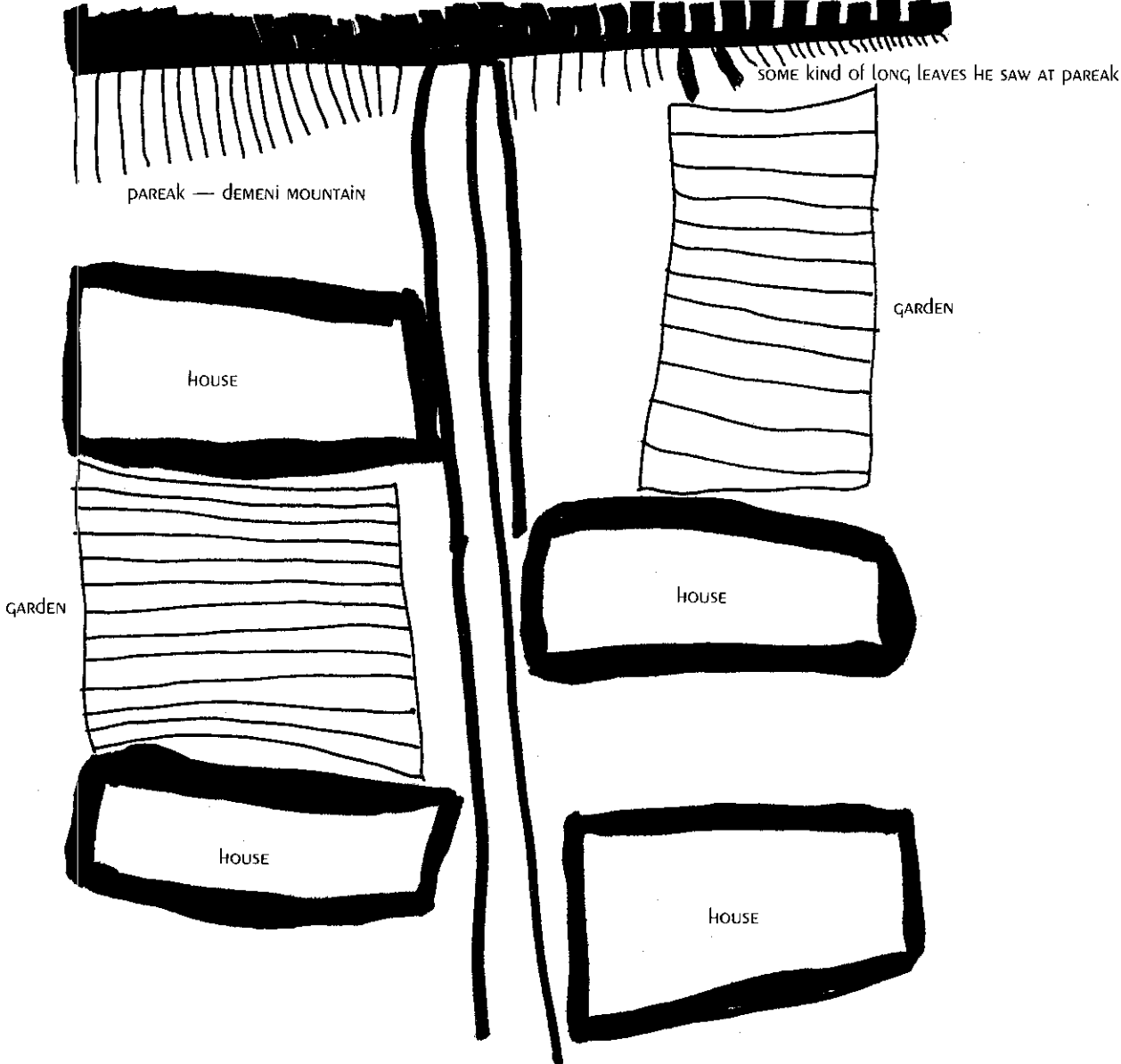
The formal complaint submitted to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States on behalf of the Yanomami people makes a strong case for the intervention of the Commission on behalf of these people. The Yanomami, like many tribal groups, cannot defend themselves. They have no legal

status in Brazil. The formal complaint and the information we have included above must make reasonable people seriously question the ability or the desire of those responsible for the Yanomami within the Brazilian government to carry out their assigned duties. We respectfully recommend that the Commission act responsibly on the four points requested in the formal complaint.

Thank you very much for considering this grave matter.

Sincerely,

David Maybury-Lewis
President, Cultural Survival, Inc.
Cambridge, Massachusetts



FUNAI post AT KM 211

Highway BR 210

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL IN SUPPORT OF THE YANOMAMI INDIAN PARK PROPOSAL

The following letter in support of the Yanomami Indian Park proposal was signed by 34 prominent scientists, clerics, and humanists, and presented to the President of Brazil in June 1979.

Most Excellent Sr. General João Batista de Figueredo
D.D. President of the Republic

The undersigned,

CONSIDERING that the highest objectives of policy announced by Your Excellency have as their end to increase the well-being and quality of life of Brazilians, orienting development towards greater social benefits;

CONSIDERING that high federal authorities have suggested the adoption of a global policy to fix standards for the rational occupation of the Amazon, which includes the creation of national parks and biological reserves in the region in order to guarantee the preservation of its ecosystems;

CONSIDERING that the agrarian policy defended by Your Excellency presupposes a great effort in the recovery of already occupied lands, near to the most densely populated areas;

CONSIDERING that the area inhabited by the Yanomami Indians in the Federal Territory of Roraima and the State of Amazonas is a privileged area for the creation of an Indian Park from the human as well as from the ecological point of view;

CONSIDERING that Constitutional Amendment no. 1/69, in article 198 and Law no. 6.001 of 19 December 1973, articles 2, IX and 22 guarantee to the Indians the permanent possession of lands inhabited by them, and recognizes their right of exclusive usufruct of the natural wealth existing on these lands;

CONSIDERING that article 2, V of the Statute of the Indian guarantees to the Indians the "permanence in their habitat, proportioning to them the resources for their development and progress;"

CONSIDERING that article 23 of the Statute of the Indian defines as the possession of the Indian the "effective occupation of lands he holds in accordance with tribal usages, customs and traditions, and on which he lives or exerts an activity indispensable to subsistence or economically useful," independently of its demarcation and attending "to the actual and historic consensus regarding the antiquity of occupation" (*idem.*, article 25);

CONSIDERING that it is the competence of the Union to establish areas destined for the possession and occupation of the Indians (*idem.*, article 26) including those in the form of Indian Parks (*idem.*, article 26, sole paragraph "b", and article 28);

CONSIDERING that the Yanomami Indians, whose population is estimated to be approximately 8,400 people, traditionally inhabit the Federal Territory of Roraima and the State of Amazonas, and are distributed in villages;

CONSIDERING that these villages maintain continuous marital, ceremonial and political exchanges among themselves;

CONSIDERING that the Indians live from agricultural production, in a system of periodic rotation, and from hunting, fishing, and gathering, all of which activities are essential to their survival and complementary with each other;

CONSIDERING that the areas declared as of Indian occupation by FUNAI have left out of account not only the necessity for a larger area, which is vital to the survival of the Indians, but also have ignored immediate areas which are actually and effectively occupied by the Indians, disjoining the territory into discontinuous areas;

CONSIDERING that contacts with "civilization" — teams for the cutting of the forest, for the construction of Highway BR-210, diamond prospectors, hunters, rubber-gatherers, brazil-nut collectors — have been conducted in an uncontrolled and calamitous manner;

CONSIDERING that at least the demarcation of a continuous area will be propitious for the survival of the indigenous community, without harming their cultural values, traditions, usages and customs, as is assured to them by the Constitution and by the Statute of the Indian, and in view of the gravity of the situation and the urgency of the measures to be taken, and

CONSIDERING that the creation of the Park will halt the inadequate exploitation of the region and the consequent irreparable harm to the Brazilian community;

The undersigned come to the presence of Your Excellency, in accordance with the disposition of Constitutional Amendment no. 1/69, in article 153, 30, in order to present the SUGGESTION FOR THE CREATION OF A YANOMAMI PARK, in an area of the Federal Territory of Roraima and the State of Amazonas, according to specifications and by the justifications of the REPORT elaborated, and which we now attach.

The signers appeal to the humanitarian and patriotic sentiments of Your Excellency because the creation of the Yanomami Indian Park, now being suggested, will mean adequate protection for the essential dignity of the Indians,

who are human beings and Brazilians and who will contribute valuably to affirm, before the world, the Brazilian dedication to humanism and democracy.

Respectfully,

8 April 1979

Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco

(Ex-Senator, ex-Minister of the Interior, ex-President of the Brazilian Order of Lawyers)

Raymundo Faoro

(Ex-President of the Brazilian Order of Lawyers)

Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns

(Cardinal of São Paulo)

Dom Aldo Mongiano

(Bishop of Roraima)

José E. Mindlin

Dalmo de Abreu Dallari

(Professor of Law at the University of São Paulo, member of the São Paulo Justice and Peace Commission)

José Lutzenberger

(Ecologist from Rio Grande do Sul)

Antonio Candido de Mello e Souza

(Member of the Federal Council on Education)

Dom Ivo Lorscheider

(President of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops)

Hélio Pereira Bicudo

(Ex-Attorney for the State of São Paulo, member of the São Paulo Justice and Peace Commission)

Heraclito F. Sobral Pinto

(Lawyer from Rio de Janeiro)

Dom Tomás Balduino

(Ex-President of the Indigenist Missionary Council, Bishop of Goiás)

Eduardo Seabra Fagundes

(President of the Brazilian Order of Lawyers)

Francisco de Assis Barbosa

(Ex-President of the Brazilian Press Association)

Alberto Venancio

(Lawyer for Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco)

Arthur César Ferreira Reis

(Ex-Governor of the State of Amazonas)

José Candido M. Carvalho

(President of the Brazilian Foundation for the Conservation of Nature)

P.M. Bardi

(Director of the São Paulo Museum of Art)

Luiz de Castro Faria

(Ex-President of the Brazilian Association of Anthropologists)

Carlos Drummond de Andrade

(Brazilian writer and poet)

Orlando Villas Boas

(Ex-Director of the Xingú Indian Park, adviser of the Indigenist Council of FUNAI)

Samuel Benchimol

(Professor of History at the Federal University of Amazonas, Director of the Center for Documentation in Manaus)

Eneas Salati

(Director of the National Institute of Amazonian Research)

Paulo Nogueira Neto

(Secretary of the Special Secretariat for the Environment)

Roberto Pompeu de Souza Brasil

(Ex-President of the Journalism Syndicate of Brasília)

Thales de Azevedo

(Anthropologist at the University of Bahia)

Gilberto Freyre

(Ex-ambassador, sociologist and writer)

Alceu de Amoroso Lima

(Philosopher, scholar and writer)

Dom Paulo Ayres Mattos

(Bishop)

Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues

(Linguist at the University of Campinas)

Dom Luciano Mendes de Almeida

(Secretary General of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, Bishop of Brasília)

Claudio Villas Boas

(Ex-Director of the Xingú Indian Park, adviser of the Indigenist Council of FUNAI)

José Maria da Gama Malcher

(Ex-President of the Indian Protection Service)

Oscar Sala

(Ex-President of the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science)



ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE YANOMAMI PARK PROPOSAL

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Akwesasne Notes (Mohawk Nation)
 American Anthropological Association (Washington)
 American Association for the Advancement of Science (Washington)
 Anthropology Resource Center (Boston)
 Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights (London)
 Association Française des Anthropologues (Paris)
 Camera dei Deputati (Rome)
 Centro di Apoggio al Parco Yanomami (Rome)
 CIMRA (Colonialism and Indigenous Minorities Research and Action Group) (London)
 Commission on Human Rights, United Nations Economic and Social Council (Geneva)
 Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean, National Council of Churches (New York)
 Council on Hemispheric Affairs (Washington)
 Cultural Survival (Cambridge)
 Encuentro de las Naciones Indígenas de la Republica de Venezuela (Paraguaiipoa, Venezuela)
 The European Parliament (Brussels)
 Foundation Workgroup Indian Project (Amsterdam, Holland)
 The Fourth Russell Tribunal on Indians of the Americas (Rotterdam, Holland)
 German American Indian Group (Stuttgart)
 Groupe de Recherche sur l'Amérique Latine (Toulouse)
 Le Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités (Paris)
 Incomindios (Berne)
 Indian Law Resource Center (Washington)
 Indian Rights Association (Philadelphia)
 Institut Latino-Americano de l'École des Hautes Études Economiques et Sociales de St. Gall (Switzerland)
 Instituto Indigenista Interamericano (Mexico City)
 International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (Copenhagen)
 Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (New York)
 Onaway Trust (Leeds, England)
 Oxfam-America (Boston)
 Programme to Combat Racism, World Council of Churches (Geneva)
 Senato della Republica (Rome)
 La Société des Américanistes (Paris)
 Survival International (Bonn, London, Ireland, Paris, New York, Washington)
 Svensk-Indianska Forbundet (Stockholm)

Universitets Etnografiske Museum (Oslo)
 Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (Washington)
 Washington Office on Latin America (Washington)

BRAZILIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Anthropos do Brasil (Brasília)
 Associação Amazonense de Proteção Ambiental (Manaus)
 Associação Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio de Janeiro)
 Associação Catarinense de Preservação da Natureza (Santa Catarina)
 Associação Gaúcha de Proteção ao Ambiente Natural (Porto Alegre)
 Associação Nacional de Apoio ao Índio (Curitiba, Porto Alegre, Ijuí, Florianópolis, Brasília, Rio de Janeiro)
 Associação Nacional do Índio (Salvador)
 Comissão pela Criação do Parque Yanomami (São Paulo)
 Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo (São Paulo)
 Comissão Pró-Índio do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro)
 Conferência Nacional dos Bispos Brasileiros (Brasília)
 Conferência Nacional dos Bispos Brasileiros, Regional Norte (Manaus)
 Conselho Indigenista da FUNAI (Brasília)
 Conselho Indigenista Missionário (Brasília)
 Conselho Indigenista Missionário, Regional Norte I (Manaus)
 Departamento de Antropologia do Museu Paraense-Emílio Goeldi (Belém)
 Escola Paulista de Medicina (São Paulo)
 Grupo Kukuro de Apoio à Causa Indígena (Manaus)
 Igreja Evangélica da Confissão Luterana no Brasil (Porto Alegre)
 Museu de Arte de São Paulo (São Paulo)
 Museu de Zoologia da Universidade de São Paulo (São Paulo)
 Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro)
 Sociedade Brasileira pelo Progresso da Ciência - (Fortaleza and Rio de Janeiro)
 Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso do Sul (Campo Grande)
 Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (Santa Catarina)
 Universidade Federal de São Carlos (São Carlos)

BRAZILIAN INDIAN LEADERS SUPPORT THE YANOMAMI PARK

In early 1981, the Brazilian government announced that it would create a Federal Park in the Yanomami area, with federal government agencies and the military occupying the areas between seven small Indian reserves. Two thousand, eight hundred Yanomami Indians living in the State of Amazonas would be excluded from this Federal Park. The following letter was signed in April by Brazilian Indian leaders and representatives of Indian support organizations, protesting the Federal Park proposal and urging the creation of a Yanomami Indian Park.

The Indian leaders and representatives of support organizations for the Indian cause, having met in São Paulo for the Seminar called INDIANS — HISTORIC RIGHTS, have become aware of the news concerning the intention of the Executive branch of the government to create a Federal Park in the Yanomami area, and not an Indian Park. We feel obliged to express ourselves publicly to the authorities of the country and to the national conscience, to show once again our support for the Proposal for the Creation of a Yanomami Indian Park, as elaborated by the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park (CCPY) in 1979.

The recently-announced Federal Park will not only break up the Yanomami territory but also, by the installation of other federal agencies and the presence of federal troops within its limits, will result in the disintegration of the Yanomami people, disrupting their socio-cultural equilibrium, compromising their ethnic cohesion, and directly threatening not only their growth but also their very survival.

The proposal of the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park is a rigorously made document and has received the widest support from innumerable institutions and from nationally and internationally known persons. It

has also been approved by the Indigenist Council of FUNAI.

For these reasons, we who have signed below reiterate our permanent disposition to continue to struggle for the creation of a Yanomami Indian park, in an area of sufficient and continuous extension and in the terms of the proposal by the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park of 1979.

São Paulo, 29 April 1981

Signed by 42 leaders from the following tribes: Xavante, Karajá, Krahô, Tapirapé, Irantxé, Tikuna, Apurinã, Wasu, Parice, Terena, Xucurú-Kariri, Pataxó, Tukano, Miranha, Galibi, Wapixana, Bakairi, Tirió, Potiguara, and Macuxi.

And by 32 representatives of the following Indian support organizations: the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park, the Pro-Indian Commissions of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Acre, the Center for Indigenist Work, the Indian Missionary Council, Oxfam-Brazil, the Center for Indigenous Studies, the National Association of Support for the Indian, the Brazilian Anthropological Association, and several journalists, anthropologists, and lawyers.



Why, after the pronouncements of so many scientific and intellectual voices, has the Yanomami Park still not been created? This is the question we are all asking in view of the aggression that this Indian group continues to suffer and considering the threats against them which are becoming more and more severe. The Yanomami do not want anything except the right to live in peace in their own territory. The park will give them this tranquillity.

— CARLOS DRUMMOND DE ANDRADE

ANTHROPOLOGY RESOURCE CENTER

The Anthropology Resource Center (ARC, Inc.) is a public-interest anthropology research organization in Boston, Massachusetts. The work of the center has focussed on the social effects of energy and development policies on indigenous peoples in the Amazon basin of South America and in the western United States; and on energy and educational issues in New England. ARC maintains a Citizens' Information Center comprised of newspaper clippings, research reports and public documents, designed especially for students, citizens and community groups. The center also publishes periodic reports, working papers, a quarterly newsletter, and bimonthly bulletin.

*ARC has published *The Geological Imperative* (1976), a report on the effects of mineral and petroleum exploration on the Indian peoples of the Amazon basin; *Native Americans and Energy Development* (1978), a study which documents the scope and effects of coal, uranium and oil developments on Indian tribes and energy "boom towns" in the American West; *Rural Revitalization*, a working paper on rural social change in the United States; and *The Yanoama in Brazil*, 1979, a joint publication of ARC, Survival International and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs which reports on the effects of highways, mineral development and agricultural projects on the Yanoama Indians of Brazil.*

Past issues of the ARC Newsletter have discussed the Yanomami Park proposal, Brazilian Indian policy, social and environmental impact assessments on Indian lands, and Australian Aboriginal land claims. The ARC Bulletin, a separate publication, focuses international attention on the situation of Indian peoples in Brazil, Brazilian Indian policy, and recent developments in the campaign on behalf of the Yanomami Indian Park proposal.

A brochure describing the center's work and publications, as well as membership information, can be obtained by writing the Anthropology Resource Center, 59 Temple Place, Suite 444, Boston, MA. 02111.

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