

- 1 Serra da Estrutura
- 2 TI Pirititi
- 3 Hi-Merimä
- 4 Igarapé Nauá
- 5 Rio Itaquaí
- 6 Igarapé Alerta
- 7 Igarapé Inferno
- 8 Rio Boia/Curuena
- 9 Igarapé Lambanca
- 11 Rio Quixito
- 12 Rio Esquerdo
- 13 Igarapé São José
- 14 Alto Rio Humaitá
- 15 Mashko do Rio Envira
- 16 Riozinho do Alto
- 17 Rio Jaminawa
- 18 Mashko do Iaco
- 19 Mashko do Rio
- 20 Cautário
- 21 Bananeira
- 22 Kawahiva do Rio
- 23 Massaco
- 24 TI Tanaru
- 25 TI Piripkura
- 26 Kawahiva do rio

- 30 Baixo rio Cauaburis
 - 31 Cabeceira do rio
 - 32 Igarapé Cravo
 - 33 Igarapé Amburus 34 Igarapé Flecheira
 - 35 Igarapé Maburrã
- 36 Katawixi
- 37 Rio Coti
- 10 Rio Coari
 - 39 Igarapé Tapada
 - 40 Igarapé Papavo

38 Kaidiuwa

- 41 Alto rio Canumã
- 42 Rio Parauari
- 43 Baixo Jatapu/Oriente
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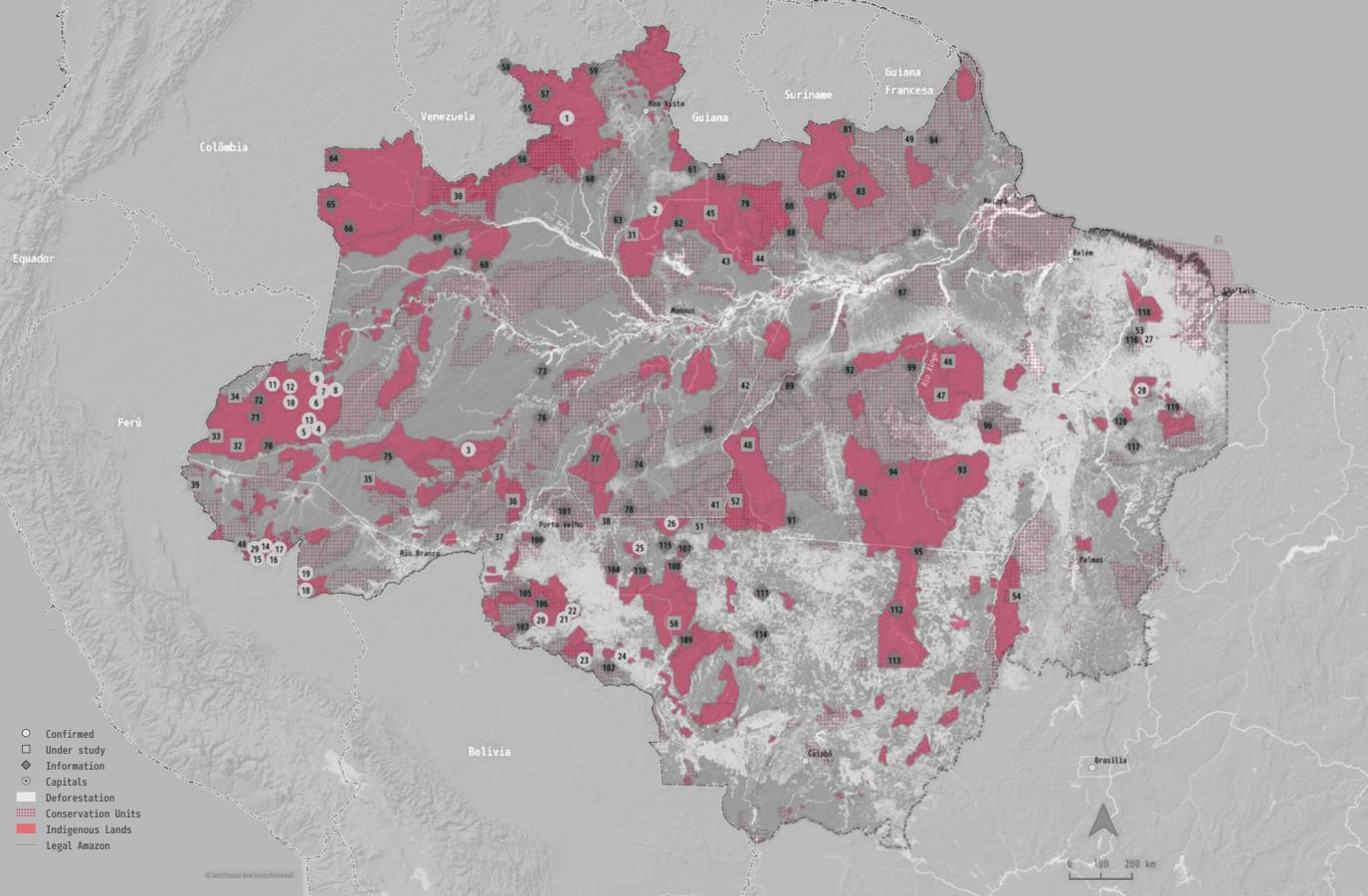
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ENCLOSURES AND RESISTANCEISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
IN BRAZILIAN AMAZONIA

In memory of Cari, elder of the Tenharim people, and so many other leaders whose lives were crossed by the violence and brutality so characteristic of the white man's world, and who left their descendants a legacy of wisdom and struggle.

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NO PEOPLE ARE AN ISLAND

EDUARDO VIVEIROS DE CASTRO

to take the form of an island Latin, *insula* French, *isoler* Portuguese, isolar

Indigenous Archipelagos and the White Ocean

The Brazilian Amazon is the region of the planet with the greatest number of native communities classified as isolated. In Brazil today, as with other countries in the Amazon region, there is a growing proliferation of reports and images which show isolated indigenous peoples. Funai counts 114 records, 28 of which are confirmed; most are concentrated in the border regions with other Amazonian countries¹. Virtually all of these peoples are living in what is officially termed 'voluntary isolation': far from ignoring the existence of other societies, they refuse any substantial interaction with them, especially with 'Whites', a term used by indians and whites, in Brazil, to designate the direct or indirect representatives of the nation state which is sovereign over indigenous territories.²

The reader should imagine pre-Colombian era America as an immense, diverse and complex multi-ethnic continent which was suddenly invaded by the European ocean. The modern expansion of Europe would be analogous, in terms of the history of civilisations, to the rising sea levels which threaten us today. After five decades of increasing submersion of the old anthropological continent only a few islands of aboriginal humanity remain above the surface. These

- 1 For the situation in five other countries with part of their territory in the Amazon (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Suriname), see OTCA (2018).
- 2 'White', much more than racial or pigmentary ethnopolitical category (even if its historical motivation is obvious), is a translation of many words from over 250 amerindian languages spoken on the Brazilian territory which refer to people and institutions which are not indigenous These words have many descriptive meanings, but one of them is 'enemy'.

surviving peoples have formed a veritable polynesia, in the etymological sense of the term: a dust of disperse ethnic islands, separated from each other by vast extensions of ocean of a fairly homogenous composition political (nation state), economic (capitalism) and cultural (Christianity) composition. All these islands suffered from violent erosive processes throughout the centuries, losing many of the ideal conditions for a full sociocultural life.

And the islands continue their decline, as the sea levels rise more and more rapidly. In the Amazon, where the 'white' ocean was still comparatively shallow, we are today witnessing a devastating tsunami. Even those rare, large islands – the group of indigenous lands of Rio Negro, TI Yanomami, TI Javari Valley and the Xingu Indigenous Park – are under threat from the waves.

The image of an archipelago suggests that *all* American indigenous peoples should be considered 'isolated'. Isolated from each other, of course; but also isolated or separated from themselves, insofar as the vast majority have lost their political and territorial autonomy, and had the cosmological foundations of their economy severely shaken. These peoples thus find themselves in a situation of 'involuntary isolation', even where their initial contact with Whites was more or less voluntary. For it was the foreign occupation and dispossession of indigenous America which created the archipelago: through the opening of vast demographic deserts (epidemics, massacres, slavery), which almost completely tore apart the pre-existing interethnic networks and isolated its components; and through the abduction of multiple network nodes and their confinement to missionary villages, later in 'protected' territories, that is, surrounded and besieged by Whites from all sides.

Closing In

The present decade marks what seems to be the closing in of the indigenous peoples of the world's largest tropical forest, now transformed into the 'last frontier' of the primitive accumulation of capital and a hot spot of environmental devastation. All the more so since, after a relatively long period in which the indigenist policies of various Amazon countries – in contradiction with other public policies of those same countries – were driven by respect for groups in voluntary isolation, the threat to all indigenous peoples (isolated or not) created by 'development' are now being consolidated in openly ethnocidal state initiatives.

This is especially the case in Brazil where the far-right government which has ascended to power wasted no time in starting the dismantling of the legislative and administrative machinery aimed at protecting the environment and defending traditional peoples, annulling, among other violations of the rights of these populations, the policy of no-contact of isolated peoples (distance monitoring, demarcation of protected territories) in force since 1987. The new government is entirely (this adverb sets it apart from previous governments) at the service of the interests of large extractivist and agroindustrial financial capital, on the one hand, and a strong evangelical fundamentalist lobby on the other; together, those interests – economic neoliberalism and ideological obscurantism – control parliament and occupy key positions in the executive.

Large capital covets indigenous lands, seeking the expansion of mining and agribusiness within a context of increasing privatisation of public land. The evangelical lobby covets indigenous souls, seeking the destruction of the immanent relationship between humans and non-humans, people and territory – an immanence which constitutes indigenous ways of life -, so as to universalise the colourless image of the 'Brazilian' citizen-consumer, docile to the state and subservient to capital. This spiritual colonialism is the accessory of territorial expropriation, but it is overall a strategic weapon of war mobilised by the State against every *free form* of life.

Are the isolated peoples of the Amazon destined to disappear as such, transforming into so many other indigenous islands in 'involuntary isolation'? Or worse, to submerge once and for all in the toxic ocean of progress, dissolving into the mass of 'poor' Whites, inhabitants (of scarcely white skin) of the peripheries of cities in the Amazon or the south of the country? Or will they stay on in the form of a so-called virtual people, as a spectral remnant which would permanently inhabit the spirit of indigenous peoples and their descendents, dispersed among the national population, like a memory which reminds these peoples that they are still indigenous – that they never ceased to be, and therefore may always be so again?

Images of 'Isolation' and 'Contact'

The people in voluntary isolation are those who chose, as far as history permitted, objective isolation before subjective isolation – which is the distancing from oneself created by contact and the consequential need to politically form part of another form of civilisation, organised according to principles incompatible with those which govern native civilisations. That said, the *voluntary* character of isolation has little in the way of being *spontaneous*. As noted in the OTCA document on the subject, "[It] is obvious that, in the large majority of cases, it is not about an isolation which is really 'voluntary', if we consider that the extreme vulnerability of these populations surrounded by exploiters of natural resources makes of their 'voluntary isolation' a strategy of survival" (2018:15).

Conversely, the groups which made contact with the world of whites often did so by their own initiative, driven either by the desire to obtain tools and other goods, by the need for protection against enemy attacks, or, more generally, by a characteristic 'anthropophagic' impulse of symbolic capture of alterity – an impulse which seeks, at the same time, a transformation of itself through that alterity (since it is incorporated *as such*). Managing and controlling such a transformation, when the alterity intended to be captured is revealed to have formidable powers of counter-capture of a different nature (since they are powers of *abolition* of alterity) – is the problem where the future of the continent's native peoples is played out.

With the assault of predatory capitalism on the most remote areas of the Amazon, records of 'new' peoples continue to increase. This growing emergence of isolated groups – with their consequent and always traumatic rupture from isolation, euphemistically called 'contact' – is due to the intense pressure which national governments and transnational companies exercise on indigenous territories in the form of mega infrastructure projects (which encourage land-grabbing, extensive farming and industrial monoculture, illegal logging) and large extractivist ventures (oil and mining).

An entire typology could be made of the different historical courses covered by the political-administrative notion of 'isolation'. As with the antonymous notion of 'contact', it designates a condition which, apart from being obviously relational, is eminently relative, distributed in a continuum which goes from an

imaginary zone occupied by the absolutely unknown peoples – that is, epistemically inexistent – to a zone of peoples classified as 'of initial contact'. The adjective 'initial' does not exclusively refer to the amount of time of contact, but also to its intensity.³

The term 'isolation' marks, overall, the absence of a direct subordination to the administrative apparatus of the State: some peoples or communities defined as isolated from the point of view of official agencies maintain varied, more or less sporadic relations with already-contacted and administered collectives. It is unlikely that any of the groups in voluntary isolation practices a language and culture unknown to the ethnological literature. In all cases where greater information is available, isolated collectives are local groups, morphological segments (clans etc.) or subcultural variants within a set whose other components are in different moments and situations of contact with so-called 'national society'.

- 3 According to the Funai definition, isolated indigenous peoples are those "with an absence of permanent relations with national societies *or* with infrequent interaction, either with non-indians or other indigenous peoples" (Funai n/d). For South America in general, see OEA-CIDH (2013) and OTCA (2018).
- 4 For example, the Hi-Merimã of the Purus with their counterparts Jamamadi and Banawá (Shiratori, 2018; Aparicio, 2018), or the Moxihatëtëma with other communities of the Yanomami group (Albert and Wesley de Oliveira, 2011).

There is still the extreme situation of those groups we could call 'lost' or 'stranded', survivors of ethnic cleansing, usually reduced to a handful of individuals. In certain cases they are family groups fleeing from hostilities (from other natives or whites) who took a different direction from the bulk of their group, later officially contacted, while the lost fraction remained in isolation for a much longer time, sometimes to the present day.⁵ See Viveiros de Co

One of the most dramatic examples of whole peoples reduced to a few members is the 'indio do buraco' from the Tanaru Indigenous Land, in Rondonia. He is, what everything indicates to be, the sole survivor of a massacre of an unknown

5 See Viveiros de Castro, de Caux e Heurich 2017 (p. 35-36), for the case of an arawaté family found twelve years after official contact of this people.

group, carried out by farmers and land-grabbers, at the end of the 70s. He refuses to this day any communication with Funai teams, wandering alone through an area of nearly 8,000 hectares; for shelter he uses small straw huts whose floor he digs out, forming a kind of den.

The paths which link the relative conditions of 'isolation' and 'contact' are thus multiple; they are also reversible. There are groups which, after years of interaction (forced or voluntary) with missionaries and regional patrons, have sought refuge in areas free from Whites. Some 'disappear' for centuries, to reappear suddenly. This was the much-publicised case of the Mashco-Piro, newly emerged on the Brazil-Peru border. Records of the existence of this group and its intense relations with Whites and other indigenous peoples date back to 1686 (Gow, 2011).

The Mashco seem to have abandoned horticulture at some point in the last century, becoming nomadic over territories of ancient indigenous occupation. The strategy of nomadism and a conversion to a hunter-gatherer economy is relatively common in cases of voluntary isolation, and is often interpreted by groups of their kin of longer contact as if their isolated counterparts were the 'savage'

6 Thus the Piro conceive the Mashco (Gow, 2011), or the Yanomami downstream in the Orinoco basin conceive the upstream Yanomami (Kelly, 2016), among many other examples.

7 Which is why Whites are called 'enemies' — see 2 *above*.

or 'primitive' image of themselves.⁶ In its misleading triviality, as if they were the mere introjection of White evolutionist anthropology, this interpretation seems to me decisive in understanding the structural persistence of the figure of the 'isolated group' in counter-colonial indigenous anthropology. The image of voluntarily isolated indians is, in fact, the 'unconscious' – and ambivalent – image which indigenous peoples have of themselves *as indigenous*. As indigenous means: while Whites see them as enemies.⁷

**

We know how, in stories of 'attraction and pacification' of indigenous groups, references to the existence of 'angry indians' (indios bravos) in the vicinity are recurrent. These can be contacted later on, but their presence while isolated, that is, as present in the form of an absence – an existence suggested in the negative by traces, footprints, noises, fleeting shadows – only seems to disappear under the condition of reappearing further ahead. It all happens as if every 'exit' made by an isolated people were to induce the *hidden presence* of another isolated people.

Frequently the isolated group is a recalcitrant or lost part of a group which gave in to attempts at contact or which actively sought it. Given the morphological characteristics of amazonian sociality - and their historical courses within a continent under occupation – there is always a part apart in every collective. As much as the adjective 'isolated', the noun 'people' must be understood as relative and relational - at least until the statal nomos arrives to fix identities and enclose territories. An indigenous community whose contact was made in a given indigenist 'attraction' operation rarely coincides with the entire population of the people it belongs to (in whatever scale or perspective this term is taken), except where there have been significant demographic losses. The spatial dispersion, temporal instability and political fractionality of indigenous collectives means that local groups have a lability capable of inhibiting unanimous movements and 'tribal' type solidarity. On the other hand, the internal heterogeneity of a cross-community network, from the point of view of intensity of interaction with Whites, is frequently an adaptive functional characteristic of Amazonian collectives.

Even when an entire people has been 'pacified' and its territory completely surrounded by the white ocean, leaving little or no possibility of the existence of uncontacted groups in the surroundings, the isolated peoples remain the object of a sort of presumption of existence, of a variable epistemological status, from the contacted peoples. Material indices of a non-familiar presence in the surroundings of the village; perceptual illusions and hallucinations; dreamlike experiences; shamanic testimonies; anecdotes; expeditions in remote areas... all kinds of materials support, cumulatively or alternatively, the discursive persistence of the figure of the isolated people.

Peoples in a State of Resistance

Before the past of the present of the contacted peoples, the 'isolated people' are a paradoxical presence of the past, an active memory of the indigenous political condition; a past which has not passed. The isolated people are like the self-concept of the contacted peoples, that is, of all those peoples who intensely experience, almost always painfully, their difference before the White world.

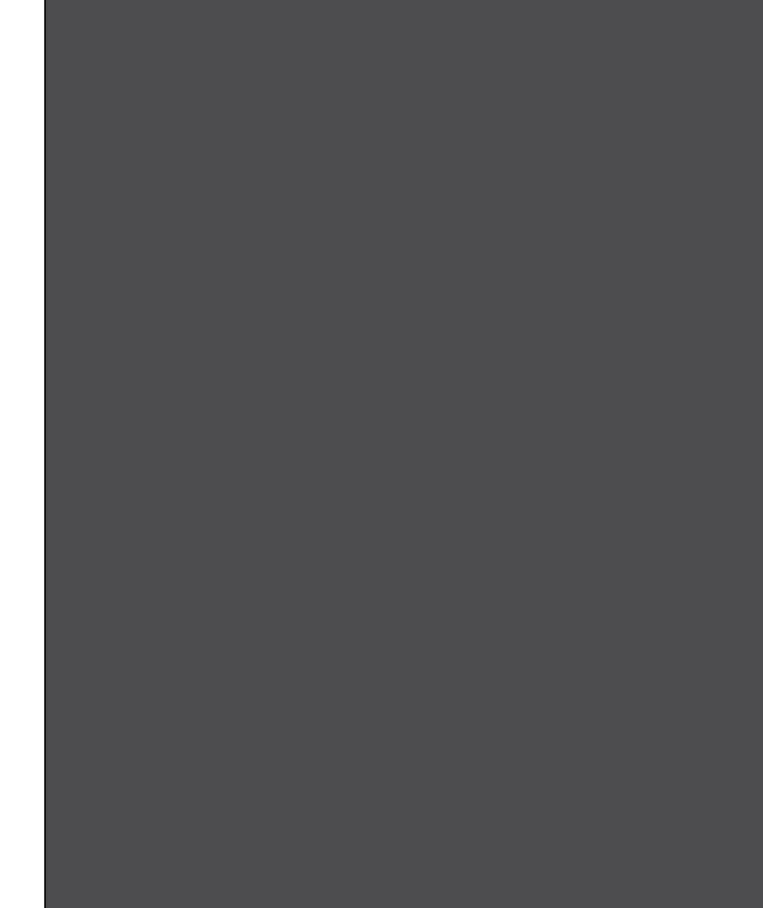
In an unexpected turn of history, that past which has not passed could become a form of joining the future, in an original manifestation of the 'indigenisation of modernity', famously discussed by Marshall Sahlins. Brazil has witnessed the reemergence of various new indigenous 'islands' in places where the white ocean had appeared to have engulfed everything long ago.

In counterpoint to the *isolated people who emerge* in remote or interstitial areas of the Amazon and Central Brazil – peoples who, often, do not yet know they are 'indians', that is, merely particular cases of 'indians in general', an entity specific to the White legal-statal ontology – we see emerging a variety of *virtual peoples who actualise*, in the Northeast, in the Southeast or in the Amazonian floodplains: various rural communities of small farmers, fishermen, *sertane-jos* and *caboclos* who rediscover themselves as indigenous and rightly claim the constitutional rights which protect indians 'in general'.

These new peoples are, in fact, among the most ancient of all; they are the reemergence of indigenous ethnic groups exterminated over five centuries of colonization of the atlantic forest, the caatinga and the channel of the Amazonas, who awaken and *reveal* themselves as indigenous, both to themselves and to Whites. To this phenomenon of emergence of new ethnopolitical actors we must add the progressive rupture of 'voluntary isolation' of 'traditional' indigenous peoples – that is, those who are, comparatively, in a situation of 'initial contact'. The emergence of peoples' federation movements, at various levels of inclusion, generating organizations with great capacity for protagonism, marks a new stage in the peoples' struggle in Latin America.

Equally, here and there we see the emergence of certain 'voluntary re-isolation' movements of a different nature to the escape to remote areas of peoples who have had contact with Whites. I am referring to initiatives such as that of the Ka'apor of northeastern Amazonia, which recently expelled all Whites from their land, from clandestine loggers to doctors and teachers, breaking with the Brazilian State and deciding to autonomously manage their life: "Autonomy is to be alone. It is not depending on anybody, and getting by" (Itahu, a ka'apor leader). 8

In all these varied situations of isolation, of de-isolation, of re-isolation, of appearance and disappearance, memory and experience, the evanescent, fugitive and protean figure of the 'isolated people' is immanent to indigenous cosmopolitics. It is the mode of spectral existence, that is, indestructible, 8 See Locatelli (2018). of that life form which Pierre Clastres (2017 [1974]) called the "society against the State".



FDTTORTAL

FANY RICARDO E MAJOÍ FÁVERO GONGORA

We are living through a grave period in Brazil's history.

Those who today occupy the highest positions of the executive branch defend the indefensible. We see admiration for the military coup of 1964; an explicit incentive to use violence against so-called 'minority groups' and 'social movements'; the criminalisation of civil society organisations and activist groups; the dismantling of public policies and the institutions responsible for their formulation and implementation; successive attempts to extinguish society's participation in collegiate bodies of federal agencies and to relax environmental legislation, enabling more predatory forms of environmental exploitation.

This is a government which refuses to face the global climate and environmental crisis and has positioned itself against the constitutional rights of indigenous peoples, especially the right of demarcation of lands traditionally occupied by peoples who are the native inhabitants of this country. We are witnessing a rise in deforestation and in the number of invasions of protected areas, combined with the weakening of the bodies responsible for the monitoring and suppression of environmental crimes, such as the ICMBio and Ibama, and for the implementation of policy focused on indigenous peoples, such as Funai.

The current book is placed within this generalised context of setbacks. In bringing together articles by indigenous and non-indigenous collaborators from the most varied areas of professional activity, we hope to present a current overview of the contexts faced today by the most vulnerable segments which compose Brazilian society: the isolated indigenous peoples.

The first part is dedicated to contextualising the situation of indigenous peoples in isolation in Brazilian Amazonia, the main challenges faced by the implementation of public policy aimed at those populations and the pressures and threats to which they are subjected to today. The last article of Part 1 is a modelling study based on different environmental governance scenarios and the implementation of infrastructure works which affect territories with the presence of isolated indigenous peoples in Brazilian Amazonia, as well as projections for deforestation up to 2039.

The increasing pressure and threats to these peoples and their territories is the main concern of the editors and authors of this book, who have put into words accounts of what Eduardo Vivieros de Castro calls the *closing in of the indigenous peoples of the largest tropical forest in the world* – as described in the prologue of this book.

This collective effort is, therefore, a genuine expression of sectors of Brazilian civil society in defense of the rights of indigenous peoples, especially their more vulnerable segments.

A considerable number of Indigenous Lands (TI) and Conservation Units (CU) in Amazonia are in the sights of the executive and legislative branches and economic sectors, both national and multinational, who defend the leasing and sale of these lands, the legalisation of mining and the planning of infrastructure works and large scale extractivist enterprises. Many of these initiatives could affect territories where isolated peoples have taken refuge and now live, most notably in the amazonian forest.

We also must draw attention to the increase of invasions by loggers, prospectors, ranchers, land-grabbers and squatters in areas where there are official records of the presence of isolated groups. An alarming case is the Yanomami TI, where the presence of illegal miners is estimated at over 10,000 people. There are, in the TI, several records of the presence of isolated peoples who, like the yanomami and ye'kwana contacted peoples, are in extreme danger due to diseases brought in by invaders, environmental degradation and the contamination of rivers, soils and fish with mercury, due to its irregular use in the extraction of gold.

Part 2 of the book is composed of contributions from various indigenous and non-indigenous authors — anthropologists, indigenists, linguists, journalists, etc. They deal with specific cases of isolated indigenous groups in the Amazon forest whose records of presence have been confirmed by Funai or are in the study phase. They are: Yanomami (Amazonas/Roraima); Pirititi (Roraima); isolated karíb (Pará); Awa Guajá (Maranhão); kagwahiva groups (Amazonas, Mato Grosso and Rondônia); and the isolated native in the Tanaru TI (Rondônia). There are also two chapters dedicated to the areas where there is the greatest number of records of the presence of isolated peoples in the country and in the entire american continent: the cross-border region between the state of Acre and Peru, and the Vale do Javari TI, which also borders Peru.

As Viveiros de Castro says, these are *peoples in a state of resistance*. They are survivors of massacres which the history of Brazil has silenced, but whose violence, however, continues to haunt them.

We are living in a time of urgency and of mobilising civil society, national and international public opinion, to pressure the Brazilian state to exercise its constitutional attributions and safeguard the lives of the indigenous peoples who have chosen to live in isolation, away from national society. The right to difference must be guaranteed, the Indigenous Lands and Conservation Units where they live must be protected, new areas with the presence of isolated groups must be demarcated, and pressure, deforestation and invasions in those territories must be fought.

The occurrence of new massacres must urgently be prevented

AN OVERVIEW OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN ISOLATION IN BRAZILIAN AMAZONIA

EDITORIAL TEAM

Introduction

'Autonomous', 'resistant', 'hidden', 'uncontacted', or 'isolated'. These are some of the terms used to refer to indigenous peoples who have decided to live away from the rest of the groups, whether indigenous or non-indigenous. The expression 'in voluntary isolation' is also recurrent, and raises numerous discussions in the fields of indigenism and anthropology – see, for example, Gallois (1992). Until the 1980s, they were commonly named 'elusive' [arredios] or 'angry' [bravos] (elusive to being contacted, one should add).

The idea that there are peoples living in 'isolation' since the arrival of the Portuguese colonists or groups which have lived outside of all the transformations which have occurred since then is problematic. As Gallois (1992) observed, these 'isolated' peoples often struck up relationships with segments of national society – frequently marked by violence, the spread of diseases and extermination – and, later, remnant groups rejected the colonial situation and fled to areas of refuge. It is not by chance that their territories are concentrated

mostly in the Amazonian region¹, in remote areas with difficult access.

Attempts at categorisation aside, the important thing to highlight is that these peoples share a condition: they seek to permanently maintain their isolation, that is, their distance in relation to all other groups. This is a decision which must be respected by national states, such as Brazil, in compliance with existing legal frameworks², especially Convention no. 169 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), guaranteeing their right of self-determination, protecting their territories from invaders and safeguarding the necessary conditions for their continued existence and resistance.

- 1 Despite most of the records on the presence of isolated groups in South America being located in Amazonia, there are records in the Brazilian *cerrado* and in the Gran Chaco region, on the border between Bolivia and Paraguay (Amorim, 2016). On the isolated Ayoreo of Gran Chaco, see: http://bit.ly/2xt4Wol
- 2 In Brazil, indigenist policy for the protection of peoples in isolation is rooted in the Federal Constitution of 1988 (articles 231 and 232), in Legislative Decree 143/2002 and Presidential Decree 5,061 / 2004. Regarding international law: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of 2007, the Guidelines for the Protection of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indigenous Peoples in the Regions of the Amazon, Grande Chaco and Eastern Regions Paraguay of 2012, the Special Rapporteur Reports on the situation of fundamental human rights and liberties of Indigenous People from 2006 and 2007, and the precautionary measures granted by the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights in favour of the Isolated Peoples of Ecuador and Peru (Vaz; Balthazar; 2013, p. 85-88).

Actions which promote forced contact with isolated indigenous peoples, or which affect the environmental and territorial integrity of their areas of occupation are grave violations of basic human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples. It is well known from the specialised literature that previous experiences of forced contact have caused the deaths of thousands of indigenous people, decimating entire populations (see Douglas Rodrigues, in this volume). Recently, the National Truth Commission (CNV) published the results of the first large scale investigation into human rights violations in the country during the military dictatorship which began in 1964 and lasted until 1985. During this period, at least 8,000 indigenous people were killed in massacres or due to epidemics resulting from contact³.

On the American continent, Brazil is the country with the largest number of recorded presences of isolated indigenous peoples. There is a heterogeneous set of records, from groups of hundreds of people to smaller groups with dozens of individuals, and, in other cases, indigenous populations which have been reduced to a few survivors. The Brazilian state recognises the existence of 114 records of isolated peoples⁴ which are classified accord-

- 3 It is important to note that the registered number of deaths by the CNV is the result of a still preliminary investigation, as only ten indigenous populations were considered within the scope of the analysis. What this means is that the real number of deaths is far greater than 8,000 indigenous people.
- 4 According to Funai (2016), the denomination 'isolated indigenous peoples' specifically refers to indigenous groups with an absence of permanent relations with society, or a low frequency of interaction with either non-indigenous or other indigenous peoples.

ing to the availability of information and their level of systematisation in the National Indian Foundation⁵ (Funai) database. ISA was given access⁶ to the official 2017 chart in which the existence of 28 'records of confirmed references', 26 'records of references under study' and 60 'records of references with information' could be observed.

Public Policies for the Protection of Isolated Peoples and Their Territories

In Brazil, the institutionalisation of public policies aimed at indigenous peoples is not recent. Regarding the rights of indigenous peoples in isolation, a turning point in official policy came in 1987 after a meeting of sertanistas, anthropologists and other specialists. The no-contact policy was adopted from that point on, respecting isolated peoples' right to self-determination. Such a turn was the result of pressure from the indigenous movement, society organisations, anthropologists, etc, who had for a long time been calling for policy changes from the indigenist body; policies which until then had been focused on contact. attraction, and the 'pacification' of 'elusive' peoples. They were so named because they refused to abandon their territories, cut off by large infrastructure works such as highways, or invaded by grileiros [land-grabbers], posseiros [squatters], loggers and garimpeiros [gold miners] who reached these areas with the expansion fronts.

In order to develop the no-contact policy, a specific body was created within Funai:

- 5 Funai is the federal government body whose task is to formulate, coordinate, articulate, monitor and ensure the compliance of the indigenist policy of the Brazilian state.
- 6 ISA obtained this documentation via the access to information law (Case no 08850.002037 / 2018).

the Isolated Indians Coordination Team (CII), which was later renamed the Isolated Indians General Coordination Team (CGII). In place of the old 'attraction fronts', the CGII set up Ethno-environmental Protection Fronts (FPE), whose objective was to monitor and protect the surroundings of areas inhabited by isolated groups, as well as allowing for the required studies to identify and demarcate the lands of those isolated peoples by Funai's Directorate of Land Matters. Thus, in the 1980s, the first guidelines for a protection policy for isolated indigenous peoples were established through ordinances No. 1900/1987 and No. 1901/1987.

In 2009. Funai was restructured and the CGII became the General Coordination of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indians (CGIIRC), linked to Funai's Directorate of Territorial Protection, with the duty of guaranteeing the rights of isolated peoples and those of recent contact. The Protection System of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indians (SPIIRC) is comprised of the totality of actions organised by 11 decentralised units: the Ethno-environmental Protection Fronts (FPE), which are reference field units for the locating, monitoring, surveillance and protection of those peoples7. FPE teams are generally formed of a coordinator, indigenist auxiliaries and collaborators (indigenous people, woodsmen [mateiros], linguists, among others).

It is important to stress that Funai relies on a legal device when the presence of isolated indigenous peoples is verified outside of the boundaries of recognised Indigenous Lands (TI). This device is known as 'Restriction of Use', a measure which interdicts the isolated

7 FPE Guaporé/RO; FPE Awa/MA; FPE Madeira-Purus/AM; FPE Cuminapanema/PA; FPE Vale do Javari/AM; FPE Madeirinha-Juruena/MT; FPE Médio Xingu/PA; FPE Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau/RO; FPE Envira/AC; FPE Waimiri-Atroari/AM and FPE Yanomami and Ye'kwana/RR.

group's area of occupation and restricts the entry of third parties, with the purpose of ensuring the physical integrity of indigenous people while other protective actions are taken and administrative processes for the demarcation of the TI are carried out. This legal device is covered by article 7 of Decree 1775/96, in article 231 of the Federal Constitution of 1988 and in article 1, item VII of Law no. 5371/67.

Differentiated healthcare assistance is part of the policy focused on isolated and recently contacted indigenous peoples. In 2018, a joint ordinance from Funai and the Ministry of Health began to regulate healthcare assistance of those peoples, creating guidelines and strategies for joint action by Funai and the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health Care (Sesai), aimed at planning, execution and monitoring of activities relating to the health of these populations.

Despite federal indigenist policy addressing isolated and recently contacted peoples being considered globally at the vanguard, the challenges to its implementation are great, especially due to the successive cuts to Funai's budget (Mahalem; Almeida, 2017; Cardoso, 2018), as well as the current dismantling of government bodies.

Legal Competence in the Protection of Isolated Indigenous Peoples

It is incumbent upon Funai, through the CGIIRC/FPEs, to guarantee isolated peoples the full exercise of their freedom and traditional ways of life without the need to contact them (Article 2, item II, paragraph "d", Decree No. 7778 / 2012). The no-contact policy has the premiss of not seeking the contact of isolated peoples and acting only in specific cases, such as when the isolated group is in a situation of risk, suffering a concrete threat.

The recognition of indigenous peoples' rights over the lands they traditionally occupy are guaranteed in articles 231 of the Federal

Constitution; the rights of indigenous people to the lands they occupy independently of their demarcation must be guaranteed by Funai, as already determined by Article 25 of Law No. 6,001 / 1973 and other legal acts: Law No. 5,371 / 1967; Decree No. 1,775 / 1996 and Decree No. 9,010 / 2017.

Records of the Presence of Peoples in Isolation in Brazilian Amazonia

Under Funai's currently adopted classification system, records 'with information' are records reported to the CGIIRC about the possible existence of an isolated indigenous group which is included in the database through a screening process. Records which are 'under study' are, in turn, a set of data or qualified accounts on the presence of the isolated group with strong proof of its existence. A 'confirmed' record by Funai means the information held has been confirmed via location work (overflights), which has identified the territories occupied by these peoples and other relevant information.

The Funai list (2017) was the main source of information for preparing the maps and records of the presence of isolated indigenous peoples presented in this book, along with other sources. For decades now, the Socioenvironmental Institute (ISA) has permanently monitored the records of isolated indigenous peoples. On its database, built from information provided by a wide network of collaborators, there are 7 records 'with information' which are not included in the Funai list.

The ISA Monitoring Program crossed available records on isolated peoples in Brazilian Amazonia with its cartographic base of protected areas (Indigenous Lands and Conservation Units). In the case of records located outside of protected areas, the territory was defined as the micro-basin (level 6). This information was complemented with the

available data on the monitoring of these areas: the legal recognition (Indigenous Lands), the implementation (Conservation Units) and pressures and threats to the territories of the isolated peoples, such as deforestation, the existence of planned or implemented infrastructure works, mining requirements, the presence of loggers, miners, among others, affecting these protected areas or territories.

The position of the records on the 'Records of Isolated Indigenous Peoples in Brazilian Amazonia' map does not reflect their precise location, but an area of reference for each recorded presence of an isolated indigenous group.

The task of systematising and updating the records of isolated indigenous peoples in this book identified the existence of 120 records: 28 confirmed; 258 under study and 67 with information, seven of which are from the ISA database.

Territories Under Threat

The records of isolated indigenous peoples are distributed over a set of 86 territories: 54 Indigenous Territories and 24 Conservation Units (15 federal and 9 state). There are a further 8 areas which are unprotected.

Of the 54 Indigenous Lands with a presence of isolated groups, 44 are homologated, 5 have a use restriction ordinance, three are declared (Kawahiva do Rio Pardo, Kaxuyana-Tunayana and Uneiuxi) and two identified (Sawré Maybu and Apiaká do Pontal e Isolados). Seven Funai records (two 'under study' and five 'with information') and a record 'with information' from the ISA database are in territories without any form of protection.

8 Ava Canoeiro, a record under study and recognised by Funai (no. 67), wasn't considered in this publication as it is located outside of Brazilian Amazonia.

In the case of the 15 federal Conservation Units, 7 have full protection, and 8 are sustainable use. Twelve have implementation of at least one of the two management instruments (management council and/or management plan). Two federal Conservation Units (Flona de Urupadi and Rebio do Manicoré) do not have a management instrument. Regarding the 9 state Conservation Units, 6 have full protection, 3 are sustainable use. Of these, 8 are implemented with at least one of the two management instruments. One state Conservation Unit (PES do Sucunduri) does not have a management instrument.

It is important to highlight that 5 of the sustainable use Units are National or State Forests, a category in which concessions may be granted, including for logging. In addition, one of them is an Environmental Protection Area, a category with a lower use restriction, which permits private properties and the intensive use of resources, such as deforestation, agriculture, fishing and mining. So, even if they are Conservation Units, they may not be providing isolated indigenous peoples with the necessary protection.

Pressures and Threats

There are currently 56 infrastructure works in operation, creating pressure on 50 territories with a presence of isolated indigenous peoples. The incidence of the already implemented projects was analysed based on the distances defined by Interministerial Ordinance no. 60 (24/03/2015). Based on this criteria, 14 stretches of transmission lines, 16 highways, 2 railways, 9 hydroelectric power plants, 13 small hydroelectric power plants and 2 port facilities were identified, affecting 28 TIs, 13 federal CUs, 4 state CUs and 5 unprotected areas. In these territories, Funai recognises 67 records of isolated peoples (9 confirmed, 15 under study, and 44 with information).

By 2018, the 86 territories with a presence of isolated groups registered close to 900,000 hectares of deforestation. This group of territories includes 120 records of isolated indigenous peoples (28 confirmed, 25 under study and 67 with information).

In addition to construction or projects, half of the areas with a presence of isolated indigenous people is still under some type of pressure. The ISA database brings together information about the incidence of gold miners. loggers, land-grabbers and other illegal occupants which may be in these areas, as well as the prospect of mining exploitation. Of the 28 confirmed records of indigenous people, 14 are under some of these pressures. These occurrences are mostly linked to illegal logging and mining. Of the records confirmed, under study and with information, 40 areas are affected by logging. There is also information on the presence of illegal miners in at least 28 territories inhabited by isolated groups. These pressures, when combined, heighten the risk to the isolated peoples of Brazilian Amazonia.

LIST OF RECORDS OF PRESENCE OF ISOLATED PEOPLES IN BRAZILIAN AMAZONIA

CONFIRMED RECORDS

1 • Serra da Estrutura

This record is located in the Yanomami TI, in Roraima, a homologated and registered area. The TI overlaps with 3 CUs. The area had lost 0.25% of its forests by 2018. Three infrastructure projects are creating pressure on the TI: highways BR-174, BR-210 and BR-307. 1113 mining licence requests are lodged in this TI,

as well as 5 independent mining requests. The TI has a history of pressure from hunters and fishermen, with the biggest pressure coming from the large number of garimpeiros [mining prospectors] in its interior.

2 • Pirititi

This record is located in the Pirititi TI, in Roraima, in an area with a usage restriction. This area had lost 0.41% of its forests by 2018. Three infrastructure projects are creating pressure on the TI: highways BR-174 and BR-431. There is also a threat from works on the power transmission line between Manaus (AM) and Boa Vista (RR). Loggers are also a pressure on the TI.

3 • Hi-Merimã

This record is located in the Hi-Merimã TI, in Amazonas, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.07% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. However, it is a constant target of evangelical missionaries who enter the territory without authorisation, as well as extractivists and loggers.

- 4 Igarapé Nauá
- 5 Rio Itaquaí
- 6 Igarapé Alerta
- 7 Igarapé Inferno
- 8 Rio Boia/Curuena
- 09 Igarapé Lambança
- 10 Rio Coari
- 11 Rio Ouixito
- 12 Rio Esquerdo
- 13 Igarapé São José

These ten records are located in the Vale do Javari TI, in Amazonas, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.30% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. The TI is under constant threat from land-grabbers, loggers,

The process of systematising and updating the records of presence of isolated indigenous peoples in Brazilian Amazonia identified the existence of:

120 records of isolated indigenous peoples (28 confirmed, 25 under study e 67 with information)

Located in: 58 Indigenous Lands and 24 Conservation Units (15 Federal CUs and 9 State CUs). There are also 6 areas without any protection mechanism.

garimpeiros, wildlife traffickers and pressure for oil and gas exploration.

14 • Alto Rio Humaitá

This record is located in the Kaxinawa TI of the Humaitá River, in Acre, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.45% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. There are reports of pressure from loggers, hunters and illegal fishing in the TI.

15 • Mashco do Rio Envira

This record is located in the Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI, in Acre, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.55% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. The area is under pressure from loggers.

16 • Riozinho do Alto Envira

17 • Rio Jaminawa

These two records are located in the Riozinho do Alto Envira TI, in Acre, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.07% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure, however it suffers from logging activity.

18 • Mashco do Rio Iaco

This record is located in the Mamoadate TI, in Acre, a homologated and registered area. This record may include isolados who wander in the Cabeceira do Rio Acre TI. This area had lost 0.30% of its forests by 2018. Although it is not under pressure from infrastructure, the area suffers the presence of illegal loggers.

19 • Mashco do Rio Chandless

This record is located in the Chandless PES, in Acre, a CU with a management council, management plan and use plan. This area had lost 0.04% of its forests by 2018. The record is not under pressure from infrastructure. However, the CU may be affected by the construction of the Purus highway, which is intended to link the Peruvian cities of Puerto Esperanza and Iñapari.

20 • Cautário

21 • Bananeira

22 • Kawahiva do Rio Muqui

These three records are located in the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, in Rondônia, a homologated and registered area. These records are in the surroundings of the Pacaás Novos National Park (Parna), overlapping the TI. The area had lost 2.91% of its forests by 2018. The territory is not under pressure from infrastructure. 158 mining licence requests have been lodged at this TI, as well as requests for independent mining licences. Loggers, land-grabbers, fires and invasions are also threats to this Land.

23 • Massaco

This record is located in the Massaco TI, recognised for isolados and overlaped on the Guaporé Rebio, both in Rondônia. It is a homologated and registered area. This area had lost at least 0.3% of its forests by 2018. Two infrastructure works create pressure on the area, the Figueira and Saldanha hydroelectric power plants. Four mining licence requests

are lodged at this TI. The Rebio is under threat from fires reported since 2016 and the TI has a constant presence of garimpeiros, loggers, landgrabbers and squatters.

24 • Tanaru

This record is located in the Tanaru TI, in Rondônia, an area with use restriction. This area had lost 14.16% of its land by 2018. This TI is under pressure from an infrastructure project, the Cesar Filho HPP. Four mining licence requests are lodged at this TI, which is also under threat from farmers who occupy the area with cattle.

25 • Piripkura

This record is located in the Piripkura TI, in Mato Grosso, an area with use restriction. This area had lost 4.23% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. Two mining licence requests and one independent mining licence request are lodged in this TI. There is also pressure from loggers and farmers.

26 • Kawahiya do Rio Pardo

This record is located in the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo TI, in Mato Grosso, a declared area. This area had lost 1.16% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. There is one independent mining licence request lodged in this TI. It is under a lot of pressure from loggers, squatters, land-grabbers and farmers.

27 • Igarapés Presídio e Juriti

This record is located in the Caru TI, in Maranhão, a homologated/registered area. This area had lost 20% of its forests by 2018. The area is under pressure from two infrastructure projects, the Carajás railway and the BR-222 highway. The area is under frequent pressure from loggers and fires.

28 • Araribóia

This record is located in the Araribóia TI, in Maranhão, a homologated area. This area had lost 11.29% of its forests by 2018. The TI is under pressure from three infrastructure projects: two power lines and the BR-222 highway. There is a mining title request lodged in this TI. The region is a constant target for loggers, hunters, farmers and squatters, as well as subject to fires and leasing.

29 • Alto Tarauacá

This record is located in the Alto Tarauacá TI, extending to the Igarapé Taboca Alto Tarauacá TI, in Acre. The Alto Tarauacá TI is a Homologated/Registered area. These TIs are not under threat from infrastructure projects. The area is under pressure from farmers, squatters and loggers.

■ RECORDS UNDER STUDY

30 • Baixo rio Cauaburis

This record is located in the Yanomami TI, a homologated and registered area, and Parna Pico da Neblina, in Amazonas. This area had lost 0.25% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. 1,113 mining licence requests are lodged in this TI, as well as 5 independent mining licence requests. The TI has a history of pressure from hunters, fishermen and especially invasions from prospectors.

31 • Cabeceira do rio Camanaú

This record is located in the Waimiri Atroari TI, in Amazonas, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.12% of its forests by 2018. The region is affected by two infrastructure projects, the highways BR-174 and BR 431. 196 mining licence requests and a concession are lodged in this TI. It is also under pressure from the construction of the

Tucuruí Transmission Line, which will link Manaus and Boa Vista.

32 • Igarapé Cravo

33 • Igarapé Amburus

34 • Igarapé Flecheira

These three records are located in the Vale do Javari TI, in Amazonas, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.30% of its forests by 2018. This land is not under pressure from infrastructure. The TI suffers from constant threats from squatters, loggers, invaders, wildlife trafficking, garimpo and prospecting activity for oil and gas exploration.

35 • Igarapé Maburrã

This record is located in the Inauini/Teuini TI, in Amazonas, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.13% of its forests by 2018. This area is not under pressure from infrastructure. There are reports of extractivist invaders.

36 • Katawixi

This record is located in the Jacareúba/KatawixiTI overlapping the Parna Mapinguari, Amazonas, an area with restricted use. This area had lost 2.72% of its forests by 2018. There are five infrastructure projects in the surrounding areas of the record; the highways BR-230, BR-319, BR-364, and HPPs Jirau and Santo Antônio. The TI has a history of pressure from fishing, while the Parna is under threat from garimpeiros, loggers, mining and fires.

37 • Rio Coti

This record is located in the Serra Três Irmãos Ecological Station (Esec), in Amazonas, a CU with a management plan. This area had lost 0.5% of its forests by 2018. There are two infrastructure projects in the area's surroundings: the Jirau HPP and the BR-364 highway. A mining licence request and independent mining request are lodged in this territory.

38 • Kaidjuwa

This record is located in the Parna Campos Amazônicos, in Amazonas, an area with a management council and a management plan. This area had lost 0.94% of its forests by 2018. There are two highways in the surrounding areas of the record, BR-174 and BR-230. 13 mining licence requests and seven independent mining licence requests are lodged in this Parna. The area is under threat from logging and mining. The Park also suffers recurrent fires, registered since 2009 in the ISA database.

39 • Igarapé Tapada

This record is located in the Parna da Serra do Divisor, in Acre, an area with a management council and management plan. This area had lost 2.21% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. Five mining licence requests are lodged in this Parna. This area suffers from illegal hunters trafficking slaughtered animals to Peru, as well as logging on the Peru border.

40 • Igarapé Papavo

This record is located in the Kaxinawa/ Ashaninka do Rio Breu TI, in Acre, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 1% of its forests by 2018. This land is not under pressure from infrastructure, although it has a history of pressure from logging.

41 • Alto rio Canumã

This record is located in the Sucunduri PES, in Amazonas, an area with no management instrument. This area had lost 0.05% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. Five mining licence requests and three independent mining licence requests are lodged in this PES.

42 • Rio Parauari

This record is located in the Flona do Amanã. in the states of Amazonas and Pará, an area with a management council and management plan. This area had lost 0.67% of its forests by 2018. The BR-230 highway goes through the surrounding area of this park. 89 mining licence requests are lodged in this area, as well as 287 independent mining licensing requests and four authorisations for independent mining. In 2018, people working in conditions analogous to slavery were rescued from a clandestine mine.

43 • Baixo Jatapu/Oriente

This record is located outside of a protected area, in the states of Amazonas and Pará, a non-designated public area with 99 CAR registrations situated in the Amazon Minor Microbasin 676. This area had lost 2.08% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure.

44 • Pitinga/Nhamunda-Mapuera

This record is located in the Kaxuyana-Tunayana TI, overlapping the Faro State Forest and the Cachoeira Porteira quilombo, in Pará, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.13% of its forests by 2018. There are two highways in the surroundings of this record, BR-163 and BR-210. 65 mining licence requests are lodged in this TI.

45 • Karapawyana

This record is located in the Trombetas/ Mapuera TI, in PA/RR/AM, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.06% of its forests by 2018. This land is not under pressure from infrastructure. 146 mining licence requests are lodged in this TI.

46 • Igarapé Ipiaçava

This record is located in the Ituna-Itatá TI, in Pará, an area with restricted use. This area had lost 0.25% of its forests by 2018. There is a

transmission line in the area's surroundings. Six mining licence requests and one independent mining licence request are lodged in this TI. The area is under threat from loggers, miners and garimpeiros, as well as being one of the most affected TIs by the construction of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant.

47 • Igarapé Bom Jardim

This record is located in the Araweté do Igarapé Ipixuna TI, in PA, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.59% of its forests by 2018. This area is not under pressure from infrastructure. 24 mining licence requests are lodged in this TI. As well as being one of the most affected TIs by the construction of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant, it has a history of pressure from logging, fishing and land-grabbing.

48 • Alto Tapajós

This record is located in the Munduruku TI. in Pará, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.59% of its forests by 2018. There is a highway in the area's surroundings, the BR-230. 129 mining licence requests and 28 independent mining licence requests are lodged in this TI. There are two authorisations for independent mining, as well as a lot of illegal mining activity.

49 • Rio Amapari/Alto Oiapoque

This record is located in the Parna Montanhas do Tumucumaque, in Amapá, an area with a management council and a management plan. This area had lost 0.16% of its forests by 2018. There are two highways in the surroundings of this record, the BR-156 and BR-210. 15 mining licence requests and one independent mining licence request are lodged in this Park, as well as a concession. Since 2008, Brazil and France have signed bilateral agreements to fight illegal gold mining in the Parna.

50 • Rio Tenente Marques

This record is located in the Aripuanã Indigenous Park, in Mato Grosso, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 0.40% of its forests by 2018. There are eight infrastructure projects in the area's surroundings: a transmission line, three SHPs (Apertadinho, Cachoeira and Juína), the HPP Rondon II, and the three highways BR-174, BR-364, and BR-435. Nine mining licences are lodged in this TI, as well as logging, garimpeiros, and farming.

51 • Igarapé Pacutinga

This record is located in the Igarapés do Juruena PES, in Mato Grosso, an area with a management council and management plan. This area had lost 2% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. Three mining licence requirements and 6 independent mining licence requirements are lodged in the PES. The area is under threat from the presence of garimpeiros. In 2006, 100 people were found working in an illegal mine.

52 • Pontal

This record is located in the Apiaká do Pontal e Isolados TI and the Parna do Juruena, in Mato Grosso, a Funai approved and identified area. This area had lost 0.54% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. There are 6 mining licence requests lodged in this TI, as well as two independent mining requests. In 2016, the TI suffered moral collective damages when 12 funeral urns were removed for the construction of the Teles Pires and São Manoel Hydroelectric Plants. The Park is subject to constant logging activity.

53 • Mão de Onça

This record is located in the Awá TI, in Maranhão, a homologated and registered ≈

area. This area had lost 54.22% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from infrastructure. There is a mining licence request lodged in this TI. Pressure in the area 'began' in 1950 with the construction of the BR-222, but there is also a history of logging, land-grabbing, squatting and farming.

54 • Ilha do Bananal

This record is located in the Inawebohona TI, overlapping the Parna do Araguaia, in Tocantins, a homologated and registered area. This area had lost 2.41% of its forests by 2018. This record is not under pressure from works, but is being leased for cattle.

◆ AREAS WITH INFORMATION

In addition to the list above, there are 67 records with information on the presence of isolated indigenous people. These occurrences are spread among 31 TIs, 16 CUs, nine of which are for sustainable use with seven being fully protected, as well as 6 records which are outside of protected areas.

RECORDS WITH INFORMATION IN INDIGENOUS LANDS (TIs).

TI Yanomami

55 • Surucucu/Kataroa (no known pressures or threats)

56 • Parawa u (no known pressures or threats)

57 • Surucucu/Watho u (no known

pressures or threats)

58 • Auaris/Fronteira (no known

pressures or threats)

59 Amajari (highway, garimpo, mining, farming, logging, fishing)

60 • Rio Branquinho [Parna Serra da Mocidade] (no known pressures or threats)

TI Wai-Wai

61 • Alto rio Jatapu (garimpo, hydroelectric plant)

TI Trombetas/Mapuera e Waimiri Atroari 62 • Médio Jatapu (farming, fishing, logging, garimpo, highway)

TI Alto Rio Negro

64 • Igarapé Waranaçu (garimpo, mining)

65 • Rio Uaupés garimpo (no known

pressures or threats)

66 • Rio Cuririari garimpo (no known pressures or threats)

TI Uneiuxi

67 • Igarapé do Natal (garimpo, fishing, extractivism)

TI Maraã-Urubaxi

68 • Igarapé Bafuanã (fishing)

TI Rio Tea

69 • Rio Tea (extractivism)

TI Vale do Javari

70 • Rio Pedra (no known pressures or threats)

71 • Igarapé São Salvador (no known pressures or threats)

72 • Igarapé Pedro Lopes (land-grabbing, logging, invasions, wildlife trafficking, garimpo and pressure for oil and gas exploration)

TI Deni

75 • Cabeceiras do rio Cuniuá (logging, fishing)

TI Pirahã

77 • Rio Maici (no known pressures or threats)

TI Tenharim do Igarapé Preto

78 • Igarapé Preto (garimpo, squatting)

TI Trombetas/Mapuera

79 • Rio Cachorro/Cachorrinho (farming, fishing, logging, garimpo)

TI Kaxuyana-Tunayana/FES Trombetas 80 • Rio Kaxpakuru/Igarapé Água Fria (garimpo)

TI Tumucumaque

81 • Akuriyó do rio Mataware/Alto Jari

82 • Rio Citaré (garimpo, highway)

TI Paru D'Este

83 • Alto rio Ipitinga (no known pressures or threats)

TI Sawre Maybu/Flona Itaituba II 89 • Rio Jamanxim (garimpo, mining, logging)

TI Kayapó

93 • Rio Fresco (garimpo, logging, squatting, land-grabbing, farming)

TI Menkragnoti

94 • Iriri Novo (no known pressures or threats)

95 • Capot/Nhinore (garimpo, logging, fishing, highway, pollution, land-grabbing)

TI Xikrin do Cateté

96 • Xikrin - Cateté (hydroelectric, highway, railway, mining, garimpo, farming, squatting, pollution)

TI Baú

98 • Pu'rô (highway, railway, garimpo, logging, land-grabbing)

TI Igarapé Lourdes/Rebio do Jaru 104 • Serra da Providência (hydroelectric, logging, garimpo, farming, squatting, fishing, hunting)

TI Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau

105 • Igarapé Oriente (no known pressures or threats)

106 • Igarapé Tiradentes (no known pressures or threats)

TI Arara do Rio Branco

107 • Arara do Rio Branco (logging, fishing)

TI Aripuanã

108 • Médio Rio Branco (garimpeiro, logging, squatting, farming and land-grabbing)

TI Enawenê Nawê/Esec do Iquê 109 • Rio Iquê (garimpo, farming)

TI Zoró

110 • Norte da TI Zoró (squatting, landgrabbing, logging, farming, fishing, garimpo)

TI Apiaka/Kayabi

111 • Rio dos Peixes (logging, farming)

TI Parque do Xingu

112 • Alto Xingu (no known pressures or threats)

113 • Alto Xingu/Curisevo (hydroelectric plant, highways, railways, logging, fires)

TI Alto Turiaçu

118 • Igarapé Jararaca (logging, hunting, farming, fires, squatting, land-grabbing)

TI Cana Brava

119 • Cana Brava (hunting, logging, fires)

TI Krikati

120 • Rio Arraias (logging, leasing, farming, squatting, fires)

RECORDS WITH INFORMATION IN CONSERVATION UNITS

Parna Serra da Mocidade 60 • Rio Branquinho (highway)

APA Baixo rio Branco

63 • Médio Macucuau (mining, garimpo, logging, farming, land-grabbing)

Rebio do Manicoré

74 • Manicorezinho (mining, garimpo, logging, farming, land-grabbing)

FES Tapauá

76 • Rio Mucuim (no pressures or threats)

Parna Montanhas do Tumucumaque 84 • Alto Rio Amapari (highway, mining, garimpo)

Esec do Grão-Pará

85 • Alto Urucuriana/Alto Curuá/Alto Maicuru (no known pressures or threats) 86 • Alto Rio Mapuera (mining)

FES Trombetas

88 • Ponekuru/Acapu/Baixo Água Fria (garimpo, hydroelectric)

Flona de Urupadi

90 • Rio Abacaxis (mining, garimpo, farming, logging, land-grabbing)

Resex Riozinho do Anfrísio

92 • Riozinho do Anfrísio (logging)

Resex Renascer

97 • Kararaô (logging, farming)

Esec da Terra do Meio e TI Kararaô 99 • Mossoró (farming, fires)

Flona do Bom Futuro

100 • **Bom Futuro** (hydroelectric plant, mining, highway, garimpo, logging, fires, farming, land-grabbing, squatting)

Flona de Jacundá

101 • Cachoeira do Remo (mining, highway, garimpo, logging, farming, squatting, fires)

PES de Corumbiara

102 • Rio Corumbiara (no pressures or threats)

Resex Rio Cautário

103 • Baixo Cautário (logging) 114 • Arinos/Sangue (located na Microbacia Juruena 2350, no known pressures or threats)

RESEX Guariba Roosevelt

115 • Igarapé Boca da Mata (no known pressures or threats)

Rebio Gurupi

116 • Gurupi (logging, hunting, fires, farming, land-grabbing, squatting, wildlife trafficking

RECORDS WITH INFORMATION OUTSIDE PROTECTED AREAS

73 • **Urucum** (located in Amazon Minor Microbasin 1132, no known pressures or threats)

87 • Jari (located in Amazon Minor Microbasin 610, no known pressures or threats)

91 • Serra do Cachimbo (located in São Manoel Micro-basin 4235, no known pressures or threats)

117 • Serra do Cipó (located in Tocantins Microbasin 4061, no known pressures or threats)



ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES NOT OFFICIALLY (RE)COGNISED BY THE BRAZILIAN STATE¹

There are at least 40 records of possible presence of isolated peoples outside the limits of recognised Indigenous Lands. These groups run the risk of once again suffering a silent escape, exile and death; situations which are recurrent in the history of this country.

FABRÍCIO AMORIM former CGIIRC / Funai and indigenist of the Tumucumaque Program at the Iepé Indigenous Institute of Research and Education

Currently, the Brazilian government, through Funai, the body responsible for indigenist policy, holds a list of over 110 records of the presence of isolated peoples on Brazilian territory, with 28 of these being officially confirmed and over 80 still in the qualification and analysis stage, and as such unconfirmed (Oviedo, 2018; Silva, 2017; Apib et al, 2017). Of the 86 records at the research stage, at least 30 are outside the boundaries of Indigenous Lands. Some Brazilian civil society organisations, such as ISA and Cimi (Cimi, 2018), conduct independent research and have their own lists of recorded presence of isolated peoples. By crossing Funai, ISA and Cimi data, we obtain an even higher total: at least 40 records of a possible presence of isolated peoples or groups located outside of recognised Indigenous Lands.

1 I thank Elias Bigio and Clarisse Jabur for reviewing and discussing versions that culminated in this present text.

Since 1987, Funai has systematised and updated a list of recorded presences of isolated peoples. A 'record' is considered the base unit in the process of systematising data on the institutional recognition of the existence of isolated indigenous peoples. Based on the experiences of forced contact by the state, which caused immense harm and death to the populations (Freire, 2005; Rodrigues, 2014; Silva, 2017), especially in the 1970s during the developmentalist period of the military dictatorship, a group of sertanistas, indigenists and anthropologists officially proposed, in 1987, a radical paradigm shift in public policy. A new governmental practice of respect for the strategies of 'isolation' of indigenous peoples was born, recognising their self-determination as the best strategy for their protection. Following this paradigm shift, Funai began systematically compiling records of the presence of isolated peoples at the national level in the form of lists, as a planning strategy for executing these new guidelines.

In 2006, there were 41 records classified as 'under study', i.e. as unconfirmed presence of isolated groups. From 2010, the number of records grew substantially as a result of the work of the Ethnoenvironmental Protection Fronts (FPE) created at the end of 2009³. This increase in research resulted in the over 80 records at research stage in existence today. There is evidently, therefore, a direct relationship between the extension of Funai's activity and official knowledge of the existence of these peoples. Despite a public tender and increase in finan-

cial resources after 2010, it wasn't proportional to the increase in number of FPEs nor to the demands originating from the vertiginous increase of infrastructure works in the Amazon region between 2007 and 2014.⁴

The Official Recognition of the Presence of Isolated Peoples

The more it is studied, the more evidence emerges of the presence of these collectives. From the perspective of indigenist policy, isolated peoples exist as subjects with rights only insofar as their existence is documented. For this reason, documentary and audiovisual files must be composed and safeguarded which can, in and of themselves, break the barrier of legal invisibility. The state has difficulties in preventing, avoiding or responding to violence perpetrated against indigenous collectives which are still unstudied or 'unconfirmed'. The greatest challenge, probably, is related to uncertainties about the presence of these groups. It is not impossible, in this sense, that reports of their presence may be later technically refuted by Funai through field research. Based on Funai's reformulation of its systematisation methodology in 2012, before any research is conducted, reports with the greatest consistency are considered and included in the list of Funai records to be analysed, even if there is initially no large database on the presence in question.

Records at Research Stage Located Outside of Indigenous Lands

Of the 44 records in research stages located outside of Indigenous Lands, 23 are in Conservation Units (CU). Of the 23 CUs, 15 are fully protected and 8 are for sustainable use; 14 are federal CUs, and 9 are statal. Of the 23

4 Related to the 'Growth Acceleration Plan' government program: PAC 1 (2007-2011) and PAC 2 (2011-2014). CUs where there is evidence of the presence of isolated peoples, 8 CUs are on the Prodes list of the 60 historically most deforested. Imazon research published in 2017 on CU deforestation between 2012 and 2015 shows that nine CUs with evidence of isolados were on the list of the 50 most deforested of that period.

There is, additionally, a series of records outside of any area of environmental protection, including in regions with high rates of deforestation such as Rondônia, Mato Grosso, Pará, Tocantins and Maranhão. In the northeast of Mato Grosso there are four records of probable presence of isolated indigenous peoples outside of Indigenous Lands (Ricardo, 2006: 67), three of them in the same region where there have been two confirmed records.7 Faced with a high rate of deforestation, these isolated groups (if they in fact exist) either live in constant flight or take refuge in areas which still have reasonably preserved forest cover in surrounding regions - such as the southeast of Amazonas, where there is a mosaic of protected areas (Mosaico do Apuí). It is worth mentioning the case of the territory of the Tapayuna people, located between the rivers Arinos and Sangue, in the center-west of Mato Grosso. There are reports of the presence of segments of this people who remained in isolation after the removal of the Tapayuna⁸ at the end of the 1960s (Batista

- 5 RESEX Riozinho do Anfrísio, FLONA Bom Futuro, ESEC Terra do Meio, FLONA Jacundá, PARNA Serra do Divisor, REBIO Gurupi, PE Corumbiara and PARNA of the Amazon.
- 6 PE Guajará Mirim, REBIO Gurupi, ESEC Terra do Meio, FLONA Bom Futuro, RESEX Riozinho do Anfrísio, RESEX Rio cautário, REBIO Tapirapé-Aquiri, PARNA da Amazônia and RESEX Jaci-Paraná
- 7 Piripkura and Kawahiva do Rio Pardo.
- 8 Jê-speaking people, moved to the Xingu Park at the end of the 1960s.

² In general terms, the 'record' is linked to a region, or geographical references, where possibly or demonstrably there is a presence of isolated peoples.

³ Since the restructuring of Funai, made official between the end of 2009 and the beginning of 2010, the number of Protection Fronts increased from 6 to 12.

de Lima, 2019). There are also reports of the presence of isolados and of at least two massacres carried out by farmers in the 1990s and 2010s respectively.

The presence of isolated groups in western Maranhão is officially confirmed, located in the Caru and Araribóia TIs. In the Gurupi Biological Reserve (Rebio), there is a possible presence of an isolated awa group which probably moves between the Rebio and the Awá TI (Ricardo, 2006; Cimi, 2018). This isolated group(s) is vulnerable due to the pressure on its territories by criminal logging networks and the advance of the destruction of these forests, the last remaining in Maranhão.

In Rondônia, there are emblematic cases of violations of indigenous rights, as is the case of the Akuntsu and Kanoê in the Rio Omerê Indigenous Land, and the so-called 'indio do Buraco', in the Tanaru Indigenous Land. The peoples to which these small groups once belonged were decimated in successive massacres during the implementation of colonisation and economic development projects in Rondônia in the 1980s and 1990s, precisely the period in which their respective presences were not (re)cognised by the state.¹⁰

There was another population which was totally decimated. Until the mid-1990s there was an unknown group located outside of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, albeit close to its boundaries, in the Muqui river basin. The area where this group lived was restricted by Funai in 1996.¹¹ Funai teams located their malocas at

the time, but their existence remained 'disappeared' after successive attacks unleashed by settlers and due to the deforestation of the area. They were never seen again in the interior of the restricted section. Currently, their are records outside of Indigenous Lands in the north of the state of Rondônia, close to the Karipuna and Karitiana TIs, and the Bom Futuro and Jacundá National Forests (Ricardo, 2006; Cimi, 2018).

In recent years, large infrastructure projects have been implemented in the amazon region, linked to the Growth Acceleration Plans (PAC), some of which have impacted regions with a possible presence of isolated peoples. This is the case of the Belo Monte hydroelectric plant, which, in addition to its direct impact, substantially boosted rates of deforestation in the region and the theft of hardwoods in the TIs and CUs, including in areas with a reported presence of isolated peoples, such as the Terra do Meio Ecological Station and the Riozinho do Anfrísio Extractivist Reserve (Oviedo, 2018). Similarly, the Madeira and Santo Antônio hydroelectric power plants were built in regions where there is evidence of a close presence of isolados, such as the Serra dos Três Irmãos and Mujica-Nava Ecological Stations. 12 More striking still is the context of the construction of the Teles Pires HPP, in which there are signs of the presence of isolated peoples to the east of the Kayabi TI, a region which comprises the Teles Pires river basin - a frontier of deforestation. As already stated by Amorim (2016), none of these enterprises provided sufficient time nor financial and human resources for field studies on the presence of these peoples, which would have supported an adequate environmental impact study of the respective projects.

Illegal mining is also a worrying factor of vulnerability. We emphasise here the invasion

of the Amazonia National Park by garimpeiros [mining prospectors], where there are reports of the presence of a group in isolation. This is also the case of the Yanomami TI and the Serra da Mocidade National Park, regions in which there have been a series of records of the presence of unknown and little researched isolados. According to ISA, the interior of the Yanomami TI currently registers 10,000 garimpeiros in operation.¹³

North Pará: A New Frontier

The region which encompasses the north of Pará and northeast of Amazonas, constituting the Guiana Shield, is one of the last economic frontiers of the Brazilian Amazon. It is a region with huge stocks of ore, gold, bauxite, cassiterite, among others. Recent plans by the new government¹⁴ to economically integrate it through the construction of hydroelectric plants and highways demand special attention, not only due to the immense biodiversity and significant presence of quilombola and indigenous populations, but also due to the existence of numerous reports of the presence of groups in isolation. There are reports and records of possible presence in the interior of the region's TIs Trombetas-Mapuera, Nhamundá-Mapuera and Kaxuyana-Tunayana, for example, as well as outside of its limits (Ribeiro and Caixeta de Queiroz, 2015). In view of the aforementioned government plans it is therefore essential to strengthen Funai activity in the region¹⁵ in order to increasingly deepen knowledge of this presence, thus avoiding extreme situations of rights violations, as has occurred historically in other Amazon regions.

Concluding Remarks

The current political scenario in Brazil is strongly marked by 'developmentalist' conceptions, a throwback to the military dictatorship installed between 1964 and 1985. As if this weren't enough, the ruralist sector, closely linked to the current government, is pressing for measures which reproduce their historical logic of domination and capitalist production on the land. In the scenario, it is essential to strengthen Funai, which is officially responsible for the research and confirmation of the presence of isolated peoples, through the increase and training of staff and greater financial support for the conduction of field research.

Although it has already been occurring in some cases, it is also necessary to strengthen active indigenous participation in Funai field work processes - through training the indigenous people who work in the FPEs, for example. Spaces need to be created in which civil society and indigenous peoples can contribute to research on records of isolated peoples. As such, a constant improvement of the criteria and management methods of Funai's record list is necessary. The maintenance of the Policy Council for the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indigenous Peoples, created by Funai in 2016, is essential for civil society's contribution to public policies aimed at these peoples and the strengthening of Funai actions and decision-making processes. Finally, it is indispensable to conduct research on the records of isolados located outside of Indigenous Lands, in order to confirm or refute such presences.

⁹ The Akuntsu are currently three people as are the Kanoê, both peoples of recent contact. The 'Indio do buraco', in isolation, is only one person.

¹⁰ See the film Corumbiara (2009), directed by Vincent Carelli.

¹¹ The area restricted by Funai was at the time denominated Muqui River TI, bordering the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI.

¹³ See https://isa.to/2KPZTpJ.

¹⁴ The"Barão do Rio Branco Program" of the current Bolsonaro government provides for infrastructure works in this region.

¹⁵ Strengthening of the Cuminapanema Ethno-Environmental Protection Front and Manaus Regional Coordination.

CHALLENGES IN HEALTHCARE FOR ISOLATED AND RECENTLY CONTACTED PEOPLES

The history of relations between Indians and whites in Brazil teaches us that the weapons of conquest were some appetites and ideas, more efficient equipment of action on nature, bacilli, and viruses – especially viruses. (Ribeiro, 1996)

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The Impact of Diseases Arising from Contact Between Indigenous People and European Settlers

We know that Brazil was densely populated when the Portugues arrived. Authors estimate that between 1 million and 6.8 million people lived in the Amazon, in Central Brazil and the Northeast coast of the Brazilian territory.1 The population density of South America was so great that some chroniclers affirm it was possible to cross it, from Brazil to the Potosí mines in the Bolivian Andes, finding large indigenous villages all the way. They were also apparently healthy. They reported on the occurrence of few diseases on what they called an 'earthly paradise'. The jesuit Manoel da Nóbrega wrote in one of his letters, in 1550, that he had never heard "of anyone dying of fever, only old age" (Hemming, 2007).

> 1 See Sapper (1924); Kroeber (1934); Steward (1946); Denevan (1976) and Hemming (1978).

Paleopathological studies and historical evidence corroborate observations that infectious diseases were not significant in the lives of indigenous peoples before the arrival of Europeans. The arrival of settlers changed this situation by introducing a series of agents of contagious illnesses unknown to the natives but which were common in Europe, and which the settlers carried with them. What happened after contact is recorded in several historical accounts: high mortality from previously unknown contagious illnesses due to high vulnerability to new pathogens, especially viruses. Many peoples became extinct after entering contact with the Portuguese.²

This greater vulnerability to infectious diseases, unlike many believe, is not due to a failure in their immune (or defense) system. Their immunological competence has been proven by several studies showing that when vaccinated, natives produce antibodies and defenses like any healthy person.³

Of the factors that explain the high mortality rate, one of the most salient is the greater genetic homogeneity of indigenous groups due to preferentially inbreeding marriages. Living in relative isolation, these populations maintain a stable relationship with the agents of infectious diseases present in their natural habitat, in a state of balance and demographic growth. The introduction of new viruses and bacteria, hitherto unknown, upsets this balance and causes many people to fall ill at the same time, leading to many deaths.

The total absence of antibodies causes more serious cases of illness among isolated and recently contact indigenous people. A common cold can lead to a high fever, a lot of secretion and evolve quickly to pneumonia and death.

² Nimuendaju (1981).

³ Baruzzi, Abadala & Black (1982); Black (1994)

VULNERABILITY TO COMMON PATHOGEN AGENTS

In some situations, in order to detect the presence of antibodies to the main infectious diseases, it was possible to take blood tests soon after contact. Below are some of these cases.

Panará*

The Panará, also known as the Krenakore, were officially contacted in 1973, when the Cuiabá-Santarém highway was under construction. The violence of contact caused the death of one third of their population, through illness and massacres. It was possible to prove that none of them had antibodies for flu viruses which circulated in the world until 1967, when the process of attraction and contact began. Only 5% of contact survivors had antibodies against flu viruses which circulated until 1973, the year of official contact, and 55% of survivors had antibodies against flu viruses circulating until 1980, the year in which the study was carried out (Rodrigues, 2013).

Zo'é**

The Zo'é, a Tupi people inhabiting the north of Pará, were contacted in 1982 by evangelical missionaries of the Novas Tribos do Brasil Mission. In 1989, Funai carried out expeditions to determine the situation of the natives and ascertained that the group was in a precarious state of health. In a group of 34 examined Zo'é in 1989, none had antibodies for rubella, syphilis, chlamydia trachomatis, varicella, measles, hepatitis A and hepatitis B.

Xinane People

In 2014, on a beach near the village of Simpatia, in the Kampa and Isolados do Rio Envira TI (Acre, Brazil), first contact was made with natives who until then had lived in voluntary isolation. In a group of 24 indigenous Xinane people, none had antibodies for hepatitis A and B or syphilis. Only one person had antibodies for measles, indicating possible contact with the disease during the period of isolation.

Contact, illness and death: Panará case study

Time Period	Until 1967	1967 - 1973	1973 - 1975
Stages of the attraction and contact process	Isolation	Attempts of contact and escape	Official contact and two years near the Cuiabá- Santarém highway (BR 163)
Presence of anti-influenza antibodies***	No antibodies detected	Antibodies detected in 5% of survivors	Antibodies detected in 55% of survivors
Population	Between 350 and 600 (estimate)	Between 140 and 150 (Funai)	79 (group that was moved to the Xingu Indigenous Park)

^{*} On the Panará, see: https://isa.to/2KumXKJ



Another important factor to be considered is that, as epidemics devastate almost the totality of the population, the economy of the group is broken. With many sick people in the village there is nobody to care for the fields, provide assistance, food and water. Hunger and thirst takes over, increasing mortality further, as described by the *sertanista* Wellington Gomes Figueiredo, recalling a flu epidemic in the Arara group a few months after contact, in 1981.

At more or less midday we arrive [walking] at a village. Everybody stopped, too scared to go over, for fear of being attacked... so then a 7 year-old child appeared... at the door of the maloca, with a bow and arrow, confronting us. In the maloca, everybody was prostrate... with no strength for anything. There was only a woman who was in better shape, Kutê... Her and this boy, Tanti, who were in better shape, in some way, where feeding all the others. The entire rest of the group were in their hammocks. (Milanez, 2015).

There are not, in Brazil, systematic records on the impact on mortality after contact with isolated indigenous groups. Existing information, precarious and disperse, indicates that the epidemics which followed the break of isolation caused large population reductions in the vast majority of contacted groups in the past. Population loss can reach alarming proportions, of almost 80% of the population, as shown by the examples drawn from different sources of information (see Box). In the period after contact, while some groups were able to achieve a degree of accommodation which allowed them to survive, others diminished until they disappeared.

Learning From Mistakes

A new wave of contacts and deaths began in the second half of the 20th century, intensifying in the 1960s and 1970s, when the military plan of occupation of the Amazon was in place – including the construction of highways which penetrated the forests, home to innumerable indigenous peoples.

^{**} On the Zo'é, see: https://isa.to/2KypBPI

^{***} Antibodies tested for the 1918 pandemic (Spanish flu), viruses circulating between 1934 and 1957, 1957 and 1968, 1968 and 1980.

Mortality Associated with Contact with Some Indigenous Groups in Brazil in the 20th Century

People	Contact / Time period	Initial population	Final population	Depopulation (%)	Main viruses responsible for mortality
Aikewara	1960 - 1965	126	34	33	Influenza and Smallpox
Asurini Tocantins	1953 - 1962	190	35	81,5	Influenza, Measles, Chickenpox
Gavião Parkatêjê	1956 - 1966	580	176	70	Influenza and Malaria
Awa Guajá do Alto Turiaçu	1976 - 1981	91	25	72,5	Influenza, Malaria, Calazar
Kaingang de São Paulo	1912 - 1956	1200	87	92,7	Influenza, Measles, Smallpox
Ka'apor	1950 - 1951	750	590	21	Measles
Xokleng Santa Catarina	1941 - 1943	400 a 600	106	73,5 a 82,3	Measles, Influenza, Whooping Cough, Gonorrhea
Nambikwara	1948 - 1956	10000	1000	90	Influenza, Malaria, Measles, Tuberculosis
Karajá	1940 - 1956	4000	1000	75	Influenza, Measles, Malaria, Tuberculosis
Suruí Paiter	1980 - 1986	800	200	75	Measles, Tuberculosis
Panará	1976 - 1973	400	79	80	Influenza, Malaria
Parakanã	1970 - 1972	180	86	54	Influenza, Malaria
Waimiri Atroari	1971 - 1986	1500	374	75	Violence, Influenza, Malaria

Sources: ISA, Ribeiro (1956), Heelas (1978), Black (1994), Hemming (1995), Rodrigues (2013), Milanez (2015) and Valente (2017). Of the information available, we can learn that, among the factors which contributed to the high mortality recorded in various contacts, the most salient were the lack of facilities of the attraction fronts of the period, difficulties for the effective protection of indigenous territories and the lack of qualified health personnel to care for patients. In some cases, the epidemics were introduced by the official contact agents themselves.

The tragic experiences of the Funai sertanistas of this period caused a change in strategy in the institution's relationship to isolated indigenous groups, altering the protection paradigm: instead of seeking contact, they would guarantee isolation and protect the territories. The General Coordination of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indians (CGIIRC) was set up by Funai and Etho-environmental Protection Fronts (FPE)4 were implemented in regions where there was a confirmed presence of isolated groups, with the mission of protecting them and their territory, respecting their right to remain in isolation. Contact would only happen through the initiative of the isolados or if there were real threats to their physical integrity, detected by the CGIIRC-led protection system.

Indigenous healthcare, previously assigned to Funai, came to be the responsibility of the Ministry of Health in 1999. The Subsystem of indgenous Healthcare (SasiSUS) was set up, a component of the Unified Health System (SUS), whose operational units are 34 Indigenous Special Health Districts (DSEIs), covering all indigenous areas of the country. This subsystem is federally managed and be-

4 The Ethno-environmental Protection Fronts were created through different ordinances of the Funai presidency (Ordinance nº 290/2000). The General Coordination of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indians was created after the 2012 administrative reform of Funai.

longs to the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health (Sesai), created in 2010.⁵

In February 2013, three years after the creation of the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health, an inter ministerial workgroup was set up with the aim of "developing guidelines and strategies for health actions for isolated and recently contacted indigenous peoples, as well as health contingency plans for situations of contact with isolated people and epidemic outbreaks in groups of recent contact."

In November of the same year, the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO) organised a workshop on methodologies of healthcare, protection and promotion of the rights of recently contacted and isolated indigenous peoples in Brazil. This workshop was very important as it brought together the two governmental institutions responsible for the protection and healthcare of recently contacted and isolated indigenous peoples – CGIIRC/Funai/MJ and Sesai/MS – representatives of government agencies which interface with indigenist policy, universities, the indigenous

⁵ SasiSUS was created in 1999 and was the responsibility of Funasa (Fundação Nacional de Saúde – the National Health Foundation) until 2010, when the Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health (Sesai) was created within the Ministry of Health, replacing Funasa in indigenous healthcare management.

⁶ Interministerial Ordinance No. 171, 6th February, 2013.

movement and indigenist organisations of civil society.⁷

From these initiatives a fruitful discussion began between the CGIIRC/Funai and the Sesai, with help from collaborators, about how to prepare for the organisation of healthcare in situations of new contact which could fatally occur in the coming years. The GT concluded that there was a need for greater coordination between Sesai and CGIIRC and the development of contingency health plans for contact situations and facing the frequent epidemic outbreaks in recently contacted groups. The accumulation of discussions and the experience acquired in three contacts which took place between 2013 and 2017 subsidized the elaboration and publication, in December 2018, of a joint ordinance between the Ministry of Health and Funai, which "defines principles, guidelines and strategies for the healthcare of recently contacted and isolated indigenous peoples."

Challenges in Healthcare of Recently Contacted and Isolated Groups

According to the CGIIRC/Funai, there are 28 confirmed isolated groups and 17 recently contacted groups in Brazil. Other countries where there are records of isolated peoples are: Paraguay (2), Bolivia (2), Colombia (2), Venezuela (3), Ecuador (3) and Peru (26). Most

7 In addition to Sesai and CGIIRC, there were present: Inter-American Development Bank, ACTO, National Secretariat of Social Articulation, Civil Office, Human Rights Secretariat, Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Mines and Energy, Ministry of Budget Planning and Management, Federal Public Ministry, Coordination of Indigenous Organizations in the Amazon, Hutukara Yanomami Association, Forum of Presidents of Indigenous Health Councils, OPAN, CTI, ABA, CIMI, LALI / UnB and Project Xingu / Unifesp.

of the isolated peoples recorded in Brazil are in the Amazon region and many are close to Brazil's borders with neighbouring countries, which sometimes means that their protection becomes an international issue, as isolados tend to move across the border.

The policy for protecting the isolados is based on the presupposed autonomy of these groups to, so to speak, decide when they wish to make contact with us. The case of contact of 2014, in Xinane, warrants reflection.8 The entire group was composed of only 38 people. There were no elderly people and a small number of children under the age of 5. The small number of women was also notable. According to indigenous reports selected by the Envira FPE indigenists with help from interpreters of a similar language (Jaminawa), the group had been escaping, for a long time, the attacks of non-indigenous groups, possibly from the Peruvian side where there is illegal logging and the presence of drug traffickers. One of the reports describe an attack on a village in which the houses were set alight. Regarding illnesses, they mentioned deaths by fever, coughing, diarrhoea and vomiting. None of the adults, apparently, had living parents. A group of extremely vulnerable survivors required special continuous assistance to avoid extinction. Would the no-contact policy have managed to effectively protect them?

Contact with the isolados of Xinane was the first experience of a joint project between Sesai and CGIIRC. The contacts which followed, with the Awa Guajá in Maranhão and with the Korubo in the Valley of Javari, reinforced the importance of training the teams of the 20 DESIs which have isolated groups in their area of coverage, and whose headquarters are in eight states of the Legal Amazon.

8 See article about contact with the Xinane people in this publication.

Joint Ordinance No. 4094 of December 20, 2018, mentioned above, provides a 180 day deadline (ending late July 2019) for Funai and Sesai to elaborate and publish a guideline document for contingency plans, the establishing of protocols and joint action on healthcare for recently contacted and isolated indigenous peoples.

All of this indicates that the remaining isolated groups in Brazil are, in most cases, small, possibly fragments of peoples, whose territory is increasingly under threat from governmental and private Amazonian enterprises, the illegal extraction of wood and minerals and the expansion of agribusiness and deforestation of the Amazon.

It is a veritable siege that is pushing the isolados further and further into the interior of the more protected Indigenous Lands.

Often, they will approach the villages of contacted peoples, enter their fields and steal tools or utensils from their homes, increasing the risk of contagion and conflict. Some experienced indigenists and *sertanistas* believe we will see a growing number of contacts over the next years. The Brazilian State must be prepared for the contacts, including to set them off when detecting an imminent risk situation.

Current Context and the Risk of Genocide

The protection of recently contacted and isolated indigenous peoples is threatened as never before. This government has been opposed to indigenous rights from its election campaign, affirming, for example, that it will not demarcate any land and will review existing demarcations.

UF	Special Indigenous Health District (DSEI)			
AC	Alto Rio Juruá			
AM	Alto Rio Purus, Médio Rio Purus, Vale do Javari, Médio Rio Solimões, Alto Rio Solimões, Alto Rio Negro, Parintins			
AP	Amapá and North of Pará			
MA	Maranhão			
MT	Araguaia and Kaiapó/Mato Grosso			
PA	Kayapó/Pará, Guamá/Tocantins, Altamira and Rio Tapajós			
RO	Porto Velho and Vilhena			
RR	Yanomami			

The Indigenous Lands where isolated and recently contacted groups live, such as the Yanomami and Vale do Rio Javari TIs, have been invaded by prospectors and loggers, encouraged by the impunity resulting from the government's discourse in relation to minorities and the environment, the weakening of the indigenist and environmental monitoring agencies. In the north of Mato Grosso, loggers and grileiros invaded the area of the Kawahiwa isolados with impunity.

Despite National Congress preventing the dismantling of Funai as proposed by the President, who sought by provisional measure to remove the agency's powers to demarcate Indigenous Lands and assess environmental licensing of projects which affect TIs, the interest groups which control the government – representatives of agribusiness, mining, proselytizing evangelical groups – have kept

up permanent fronts of attack on indigenous rights.

In April 2019, protests by the indigenous movement throughout the country caused the Ministry of Health to retreat from its deconstruction of the healthcare subsystem for indigenous peoples, which involved extinguishing the Sesai and passing to the municipalities the resources and responsibilities for indigenous health. Despite the initial retreat, the essence of the SasiSUS is still being questioned and proposals for municipalisation 'wherever possible' remain.

Conferring visibility on the indigenous question and the situation of extreme vulnerability of isolated and recently contacted indigenous peoples in Brazil is more necessary than ever. Civil society needs to be informed of the grave threats to which they are exposed. The risk of new genocides occurring is real.



FUTURE THREATS TO THE TERRITORIES OF ISOLATED PEOPLES IN BRAZILIAN AMAZONIA

The abandoning of current policies for controlling deforestation and the political support for predatory agricultural practices, along with the possible execution of planned infrastructure works in the brazilian legal amazon, represent a serious threat to the integrity of the forest and the lives of isolated indigenous peoples in Brazil.

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Indigenous peoples in so-called 'voluntary isolation' are in a situation of extreme vulnerability from the invasions, massacres and spread of diseases on their territories. Public policies and protective actions were increased in recent decades, but illegal logging, illegal mining, the clearing of areas for agriculture, the intensification of land-grabbing and large infrastructure projects continue to gain pace. Currently, the growing incidence of contact with local populations and the environmental impact resulting from infrastructure works and the illegal exploitation of natural resources set a worrying and uncertain scenario for the survival of isolated indigenous peoples.

The scenario for the coming years, in relation to the territorial integrity of the areas occupied by isolated indigenous peoples, is very uncertain. Should the dismantling of environ-

mental policies by the current government be confirmed, as well as the ambition for new projects in the Amazon, the achievements in deforestation reduction of the last 14 years could be reversed in the next seven. As such, by 2025 the Amazon would return to the levels of deforestation of 2005. The maintenance of the forest is of extreme importance for isolated indigenous peoples, as the degradation of environmental services directly affects their lives.

Historically, infrastructure projects have been drivers of deforestation, land-grabbing and social impact in the Amazon, as opposed to promoting sustainable local development. Studies have shown that highways cause large socio-environmental impact and are obstacles to controlling deforestation (Fearnside, 2007; Carrero and Fearnside, 2011). The hydroelectric plants installed in the region over the last decade, under the argument of securing the energy supply to move the Brazilian economy, are another example of projects planned according to sectoral interests to the detriment of local needs (FGV, 2015; Fearnside, 2014; Villas-Bôas et al., 2015).

The current plan for federal government projects includes a super-agency for infrastructure, and a set of public policies for the regulation of transmission lines, highways and railways with auctions and concessions planned for 2019, and investments of around R\$ 20 billion. The challenges relating to infrastructure projects which could be sustainable remain the same. The transport sector, for example, has been unable to internalise environmental and social impact in a more effective way (Fearnside and Graça, 2006).

The processes which lead to deforestation and forest degradation are many and include land speculation, tax incentives, the creation of rural settlements, export and subsistence production, population growth and infrastructure projects (Fearnside, 2017). These

events cause two patterns which repeat over time, leading to deforestation: the expansion of previously deforested areas and the establishment of new deforestation hotspots (Fearnside, 1989).

Between 2004 and 2011, there was a systematic strengthening of environmental regulation in the country, with actions that worked in synergy to sustain the continued reduction of deforestation. However, growing pressure from rural landowners and political-business groups has resulted in environmentally regressive measures, such as the review of the Forest Code in 2012 and its consequent amnesty for past illegal deforestation, titles for glebas [tracts of land] larger than 2,000 hectares and attempts to relax environmental licensing. These measures were a signal to landowners, who saw them as encouragement for illegal deforestation. This has resulted in deforestation rates reversing their trend and growing steadily since 2012 (Soares-Filho et al., 2014; Fearnside, 2016; Rochedo et al., 2018; Soares-Filho and Rajão, 2018).

Previous studies have emphasised the role of territorial planning as central to the protection of isolated indigenous peoples (Espinoza, 2017; Garcia, 2018; Vaz, 2019). Currently, the network of protected areas with a recorded presence of isolated peoples, including Indigenous Lands (TIs) and Conservation Units (CUs) is comprised of 92 million hectares (excluding overlaps), equivalent to 18% of the Legal Amazon. Thus, the strategies for the protection and consolidation of those areas carry enormous implications for the conservation of the Amazon's ecosystem services (Strand et al., 2018) and the mitigation of global climate change (Soares-Filho et al., 2010).

Methodology

Based on implemented and planned infrastructure projects and the historical trajectories of land use and coverage in Amazonia, the current study aims to produce scenarios of threats according to the implementation of infrastructure projects for territories with a presence of isolated indigenous peoples. The area of the study covers 54 Indigenous Lands (TIs), 15 federal Conservation Units (CUs), 9 state Conservation Units and 8 areas with no protection measures, which include 120 records of isolated indigenous peoples (28 confirmed, 25 under study, 67 with information).

This survey used public data on protected areas (ISA, 2019); hydroelectric plants (HPPs), small hydroelectric plants (SHPs) and transmission lines (ANEEL, 2018); railways (EPL, 2018); highways (DNIT, 2018); ports (ANTAQ, 2013); hydrography, altimetry and urban centers (IBGE, 2016); PRODES deforestation (Inpe, 2018); requests via the law for access to information on pipelines (EPE, 2015) and records of isolated indigenous peoples (Funai, 2018).

For records of isolated indigenous peoples located in the interior of protected areas, the boundaries of the protected area were taken as the territory of potential occupation. For records located outside of protected areas, the boundaries of the micro-basin (level 6), according to Venticinque et al. (2016) were adopted. To assess the incidence of infrastructure projects on isolated indigenous peoples, the concept of direct area of influence (DAI) of the project was used according to Interministerial Ordinance No. 60/2015, which was delimited according to the guidelines of the bodies responsible for the sectors studied.¹ The potential impact of the infrastructure pro-

1 The metrics for the delimitation of the Direct Area of Influence of the infrastructure works were: (i) ducts, 5km; (ii) transmission lines, 8km; (iii) ports, 10km; (iv) railways, 10km; (v) highways, 40km, (vi) small hydroelectric plants (SHP), 40km; and (vii) hydroelectric plants (HPP), 40km.

jects considered the occurrence of overlaps between the territories and the projects planned.

The modelling to simulate deforestation on territories with a presence of isolated groups was carried out using the Dinamica EGO platform (Soares-Filho et al, 2013). The study begins with the historical analysis of the effectiveness of protected areas in stopping deforestation. To this end, an analysis was made of annual deforestation in buffers of 10km within and outside of each protected area. assessing the temporal trend and the effect before and after designation. The method analysed the chances of deforestation occurring from 2002 to 2017 in a set of 632 protected areas in the Legal Amazon. Other variables used to calibrate the model were: initial (2012) and final (2017) land use maps, distance from rivers, distance from main highways, maximum net present value of soy and cattle revenues, agricultural ability for mechanised crops, terrain elevation, declivity, attraction by urban centers and existing roads in 2018.

The modeled scenario of deforestation rates were inserted in the model, which distributes the rates to sub-regions of Amazonia according to historical deforestation trends. Each sub-region has, therefore, a spatial transition model which portrays the influence of variables on the location of deforestation, and another model which projects the expansion of a network of highways on the spatial deforestation patterns. Three scenarios of environmental governance were formulated for 2039:

(1) Weak Environmental Governance (Full Reversal)

This scenario presupposes the abandoning of the current policies for deforestation control, as well as strong political support for predatory agricultural practices. It represents the worst governance scenario, with a severe impact on deforestation rates which could potentially return to pre-2005 levels. The return

to the maximum rates of deforestation of the previous decade would lead to annual losses of 2.7 million hectares of forest in the Amazon.

(2) Intermediate Environmental Governance (Intermediate)

This scenario represents the continuation of current policies for deforestation control, while, in contradiction, considering a growing political support for predatory agricultural practices. This includes the low degree of implementation of the Forest Code, the legal support of land-grabbing, the freezing of the creation of new protected areas and the downgrading, reduction and de-constitution of established protected areas. The growing rate of deforestation observed in the Amazon from 2013 extends to 2039. As a result, annual deforestation would reach nearly 2 million hectares in 2039.

(3) Strong Environmental Governance (NDC Target)

This scenario envisages the effort required to meet the Nationally Determined Contribution - NDC goal (Brazil, 2016) through reduction of deforestation in the Amazon, including actions such as the expansion of command and control policies on deforestation, political support for the environmental agenda of the country and the effective implementation of a Forest Code together with economic incentives for forest conservation. Annual deforestation in the Amazon would be reduced to around 400.000 hectares in 2039.

For the allocation of deforestation, the model has a spatial resolution of 25 hectares and annual steps. The results were recorded for a set of 78 protected areas and 8 unprotected areas with records of isolated indigenous peoples, totalling 93 million hectares. The model additionally can calculate the potential of reduction of deforestation and associated CO2 emissions. The model adds annual carbon



stocks (Baccini et al., 2017) resulting from deforestation in protected areas under the given scenario, assuming that 85% of its forest carbon is freed into the atmosphere (Houghton et al. 2000). Results from the modelling show which areas would be more vulnerable if deforestation continues unchecked, thus presenting a picture of the direct contribution of protected areas towards its reduction.

Results in the Three Modeled Scenarios

The Impact of Planned Infrastructure Projects Figure 1 shows the planned infrastructure projects which the territories of isolated indigenous peoples are subject to. A total of 133 planned projects (35 HPPs, 49 SHPs, 20 high-

ways, 14 stretches of transmission lines, 7 ports, 7 railways and 1 duct) causing impact on 56 protected areas (37 TIs, 11 federal CUs, 8 state CUs) and 5 unprotected areas. These territories total 97 records of isolated groups (23 confirmed, 20 under study, 54 with information). Such projects require careful environmental impact assessment, guaranteeing prior consultation with indigenous and traditional populations in the region.

Figure 1. Location of Planned Infrastructure Projects Causing Pressure on the Territories of Isolated Indigenous Peoples in the Amazon.

There are 23 confirmed records affected by 25 planned infrastructure works (11 highways, 8 HPPs, 3 ports, 2 transmission lines and one railway). For the 20 records under study, there is pressure from 64 infrastructure projects on the territories (16 HPPs, 19 SHPs, 3 transmission lines, 21 railways, 3 railways and 2 ports). For the 54 records with information, there are 87 infrastructure projects causing pressure on the territories (25 HPPs, 21 SHPs, 10 transmission lines, 20 highways, 7 railways, 4 ports).

Twenty-two protected areas (14 TIs, 6 federal CUs, 2 state CUs) and three unprotected areas are pressured by 70% of the planned projects (Figure 2). It should be noted that there are

NO. OF PLANNED INFRASTRUCTURE



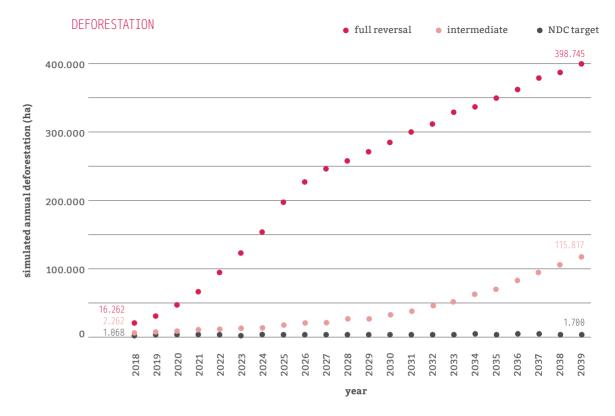
Figure 2. Protected Areas and Unprotected Micro-basins Most Pressured by Planned Infrastructure Works.

three records under study (PI Aripuanã, Parna Campos Amazônicos and Parna Montanhas do Tumucumaque) which are under threat from 20 planned projects. The environmental bodies responsible for environmental licensing must consider the need to assess not only the impact generated by a single project, but the behaviour of that impact within the conjunction of projects planned for the same region. The cumulative impact is rarely aligned with environmental licensing policies or described in the projects or their mitigating measures.

The infrastructure projects considered in this study can generate irreversible environmental impact on the territories and ways of

> life of isolated peoples, and the indigenous peoples who coexist in those areas, such as: increase and pressure from deforestation, illegal exploitation of natural resources, land-grabbing, degradation of water resources and contact with loggers, gold miners and project staff. As highlighted previously, the building of a highway, for example, can have increased socio-environmental impact if, within the same area of influence, a hydroelectric plant or a port for exporting grain is also built. Some examples of the cumulative and synergistic effects of environmental impact, which impact 20 records (7 under study and 13 with information) of isolated groups are: (i) integration of the BR-163 with the Ferrogrão railway and Amazon River waterway; (ii) integration of the BR-319 with the Amazon River waterway; (iii) integration between the waterways of the rivers Tapajós/Juruena/Teles Pires with group of hydroelectric plants planned on those rivers.

Regarding isolated indigenous peoples not pressured by planned infrastructure projects, 21 protected areas (16 TIs:



Alto Tarauacá, Araweté/Igarapé Ipixuna, Awá, Inauini/Teuini, Inãwébohona, Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira, Kaxinawa do Rio Humaitá, Kaxinawa/Ashaninka do Rio Breu, Mamoadate, Rio Tea, Uneiuxi Pirahã, Massaco, Krikati, Araribóia and Wai-Wai; 4 federal CUs: Flona de Jacundá, Parna Serra da Mocidade, Rebio do Gurupi and Resex do Rio Cautário; one state CU: FES Tapauá) and 3 unprotected areas (micro-basins Amazonas 1132, Amazonas 676 and São Manoel 4235) are in this condition. Thus, 24 records of isolated groups (5 confirmed, 6 under study, 13 with information) are not under pressure from planned works.

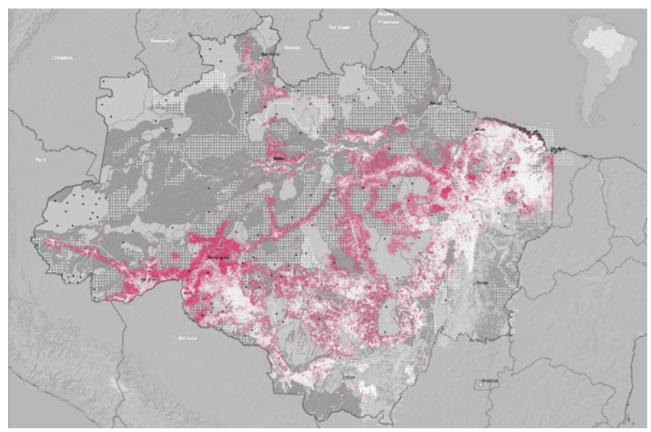
The Impact of Deforestation

Analysis of the effectiveness of protected areas in containing deforestation shows that between 1997 and 2015, protected areas presented a positive effect after their designation or demarcation. Fully protected CUs had the most refractory effect, followed by TIs and sustainable use CUs.

For analysis of the worst-case scenario (Full Reversal) the refractory effect of protected areas was disregarded, i.e. considered non-existent. As such, the allocation of regional deforestation rates is guided only by the set of spatial variables. For the purpose of comparing this scenario with the Intermediate and NDC Target scenarios, the projected effectiveness of protected areas is included in the last two. In the comparison between the Intermediate and NDC Target scenarios, the effect is included only in the latter. In this way the potential contribution of protected areas to the studied scenarios can be assessed.

Figure 3 shows potential deforestation in protected areas with a presence of isolated indigenous peoples throughout the simulated period for the three studied scenarios. The

Figure 3. Simulation of Deforestation in Protected and Unprotected Areas with Records of Isolated Indigenous Peoples in the Three Scenarios



SIMULATION OF DEFORESTATION IN PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED AREAS WITH RECORDS OF ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE WORST-CASE SCENARIO



worst scenario (Full Reversal) shows that, in 2018 and 2039, 77 protected areas (54 TIs, 15 federal CUs, 8 state CUs) and 7 unprotected areas would lose a total area of 6 million hectares (Figure 4). Between 2018 and 2039, the potential increase in deforestation will have been 2000% and could directly impact 120 records of isolated indigenous people (28 confirmed, 25 under study, 67 with information). The results show the dismantling of environmental governance, in which protected areas do not

Figure 4. Simulation of Deforestation in Protected and Unprotected Areas with Records of Isolated Indigenous Peoples in the Worst-Case Scenario (Full Reversal)

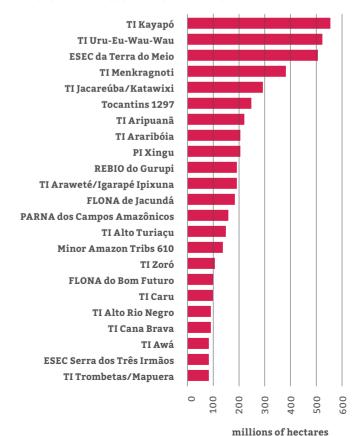
make a contribution towards the reduction of deforestation. The isolated peoples living in these areas would be under severe threat in this scenario. In the period from 2018 to 2026, simulated deforestation will have almost doubled in relation to the already accumulated deforestation in those territories.

In the other two scenarios (Intermediate and NDC Target), between 2018 and 2039, 76 protected areas (54 TIs, 14 federal CUs, 8 state CUs) and 7 unprotected areas will have lost a total forest area of 1.7 million hectares and 943 thousand hectares respectively. Between 2018 and 2039, the potential increase in deforestation in the Intermediate scenario will have been 5000% and would directly impact 118 re-

cords of isolated indigenous peoples (28 confirmed, 24 under study, 66 with information) The NDC Target scenario presents a potential deforestation increase of 59% during the same period (Figure 3). However, when comparing the two scenarios, it can be observed that the effect of the protected areas influences the reduction (45%) of the simulated deforestation in the NDC Target scenario.

Figure 5 shows the 21 protected areas most under threat from deforestation in the worst-case scenario (Full Reversal). In all, deforestation would correspond to 80% of the simulated total. Of this group, the TIs Kayapó, Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, Menkragnoti, Jacareúba/ Katawixi, Aripuanã and Araribóia, the Xingu Indigenous Park, the Esec da Terra do Meio and Rebio Gurupi, should be highlighted, which together add up 3.2 million hectares of sim-

AREAS UNDER PRESSURE FROM DEFORESTATION



ulated deforestation. These results therefore indicate the protected areas most in demand of greater investment in deforestation prevention and territorial consolidation, as they account for a significant share of deforestation.

When assessing the remaining forest cover, it can be observed that in the Full Reversal scenario, some protected areas will have lost all forest cover by 2039. This is the case of the TIs Cana Brava e Krikati, Flona Bom Futuro, Esec Três Irmãos and Resex do Rio Cautário. Other areas will have lost a significant quantity of forest during the period under study, such as: Rebio Gurupi (86%), Flona de Jacundá (83%), Arara do Rio Branco TI (80%), Awá TI (71%), Jacareúba/Katawixi TI (69%), Caru TI (66%), Araribóia TI (64%), Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI (46%) and Apiaká-Kaiabi TI (40%). In these cases, the five confirmed records of isolated indigenous

> peoples should be highlighted, located in the Araribóia, Caru and Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TIs, and severely threatened by deforestation. On average, between 2018 and 2039, protected areas with a presence of isolated indigenous peoples will have lost 1.5% of their forest cover per year. In the Intermediate and NDC Target scenarios, forest cover loss would be 0.35% and 0.01% per year respectively.

> The potential contribution of those 78 protected areas and 8 unprotected areas to the reduction of deforestation and associated CO2 emissions can be estimated via the means and means differences in

> > Figura 5. Protected and Unprotected Areas with Records of Isolated Indigenous Peoples Most Under Pressure from Deforestation in the Worst-Case Scenario (Full Reversal).

the three scenarios modelled. As such, it is estimated that the protected areas considered in the study could contribute, between 2018 and 2039, to avoiding 2 million hectares of deforestation, equivalent to 875 million tons of CO2. The TIs, followed by the sustainable use CUs, are the greatest contributors to the reduction of deforestation. The guaranteeing of territorial rights, as well as the protection and management of these protected areas, support the maintenance of the forest and consequently avoid CO2 emissions resulting from deforestation.

As a result, protected areas with a presence of isolated peoples play an important role in meeting the Brazilian emission reduction targets as established by Law 12.187 (29th December 2009), which introduced the National Policy on Climate Change. Studies show that forest maintenance can benefit from economic incentives and compensation from global and regional funds (Medeiros Junior, 2019). The results of this study can support the formulation of public policies for compensating those who work to reduce deforestation, taking into account, in a clear and effective manner, the role of indigenous populations, their way of life and the protection of their territories.

Final Considerations

This study identified numerous planned infrastructure works which threaten the ways of life of isolated indigenous peoples and the protection of their territories. In total, 133 planned infrastructure works in the Amazon will affect 56 protected areas (TIs or federal and state CUs), as well as five unprotected areas. In all, 97 records of isolated indigenous peoples are seriously under threat.

The pressure which the infrastructure sector is putting on the federal government to review environmental licensing regulations and the rules which give Funai powers to assess

environmental impact is a serious threat to these territories and indigenous peoples. For these businessmen, analysis is beyond Funai's attributions, making environmental licensing 'more time-consuming and risky for investments'. But it is precisely this supervision which ensures the rights of native peoples, established in the Constitution of 1988 and ratified by Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO), of which Brazil is a signatory.

With budget cuts, the emptying of Ibama and the prospect of an urgency vote for Law Proposal no. 3729/2004 and annexes, which would establish a general law for environmental licensing, there will be an increased risk to the environment and of potential impact to isolated indigenous peoples, whose rights will be threatened and less protected.

The recent technical note published by the National Institute of Colonisation and Agrarian Reform (Incra, 2019), which removes non-homologated TIs from the Land Management System (Sigef) is a measure which could increase the threat level to those territories. Incar's determination could mean that nearly 236 TIs which have inconclusive demarcation could disappear from official databases. Of these TIs, 11 (2 identified, 3 declared, and 6 lands with 'restricted use') hold 10 records of isolated indigenous peoples (4 confirmed, 3 under study and 3 with information). The consequences of excluding these areas from Sigef could be irreversible. If there is no public information on where those 11 TIs with isolated group presences are, Incra itself could award titles to land-grabbers illegally occupying the lands. Title bearers of lands superimposed on territories with the presence of isolated indigenous people could obtain environmental licences for activities such as deforestation.

In view of this threat, we have detected the importance of measures related to

the consolidation of these TIs, especially the identification and delimitation studies of the six TIs which are banned through decrees for restricted use (Piripkura, Tanaru, Pirititi, Ituna/Itatá, Igarapé Taboca do Alto Tarauacá and Jacareúba/Katawixi) and the completion of the process of recognition of 5 TIs (Apiaká do Pontal e Isolados, Kawahiva do Rio Pardo, Kaxuyana-Tunayana, Sawré Maybu and Uneiuxi).

We also stress the need for the conclusion of management tools (management council and management plan) in three CUs (Flona de Urupadi, Rebio do Manicoré and PES do Sucunduri) and the regulation of the territory with no protective measures (Amazonas 676) which presents significant overlap with non-designated public areas.

Spatial modelling indicates what the trends of deforestation are for the period 2018-2039. To this end, the role of territories with a presence of isolated indigenous peoples was assessed in relation to deforestation control, with the aim of developing a deforestation simulation under different environmental governance scenarios.

We formulated a scenario of full reversal of deforestation rates, returning to early 2000s levels, when there was a notable absence of governance in public policies of land use and control. Between 2018 and 2039, 77 protected areas (54 TIs, 15 federal CUs and 8 state CUs) and 7 unprotected areas will have lost a total of 6 million hectares.

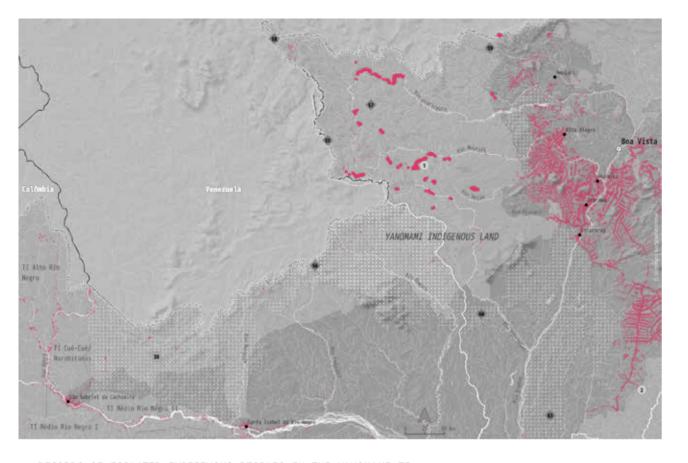
In this scenario, the potential increase in deforestation has a direct impact on 120 records of isolated indigenous peoples (28 confirmed, 25 under study, 67 with information). The results show that by 2025, the gains in governance achieved since 2005 could be undone, i.e. the worst-case scenario reverts all the gains made in fighting deforestation over the last 14 years in just seven.

The consolidation of protected areas with a presence of isolated indigenous peoples is a central strategy for Brazil to meet its NDC Target. As such, protected areas with a presence of isolated groups are not only important for the reduction of emissions from deforestation, they are also large carbon sinks that annually sequester around 100,000 tons of CO2.

In a scenario which threatens isolated indigenous peoples, Funai and other government bodies must be institutionally strengthened with a sufficient installed capacity and a compatible budget; as well as being supported by higher decision-making bodies in the judicial and legislative powers.

The following actions are urgent for the protection of isolated indigenous peoples: (i) to conclude the administrative processes of records at the information and under study stages; (ii) to strengthen the management and protection instruments of restricted and banned territories of isolated indigenous peoples; (iii) strengthen Funai's Ethno-environmental Protection Fronts, allocating them appropriate human and financial resources; (iv) issue use restriction decrees for areas with isolated indigenous peoples which are outside of TIs and CUs; and (v) intensify operations of control in TIs and CUs with a presence of isolated indigenous peoples.





RECORDS OF ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE YANOMAMI TI

- Confirmed
- Information
- Capital
- Cities of reference
- Indigenous Lands
- ::::::: Conservation Units
- Deforestation (Prodes 2018)
- Forest degradation (SIRADY April 2019)
- International Border



MOXIHATËTËMA: THE ISOLATED YANOMAMI OF THE SERRA DA ESTRUTURA

The growing prospector invasion has put pressure on the territory occupied by the isolated yanomami, who have been forced to migrate to escape conflict and death. In recent decades, the history of migration of these groups has been related to invasions which are also causing the environmental degradation of the largest indigenous land in the country.

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The geo-referenced Funai database on groups in voluntary isolation in the Yanomami Indigenous Land holds information on eight groups. Six of these are in the process of qualifying the information held, one is at the location stage and another, the only whose occurrence is actually confirmed, is in the monitoring stage. They are the 'Isolados da Serra da Estrutura', or Moxihatëtëma¹, as they

1 The name derives from the fact that the men in this group keep the foreskin of the penis (moxi) held with two strings (hatëtë-) tied at the waist (while their neighbours the Yanomami tie the foreskin with a single cotton string). The group has different designations which are based on this expression: Moxihatëtëa, Moxihatëtëma thëpë, Moxihatëtëma thëri pë.

are known to the other Yanomami², situated in the Catrimani-Mucajaí interfluve, near the headwaters of the Apiaú River, and surrounded by mining in practically all directions.

Everything indicates that the Moxihatëtëma are remnants of a vast group of villages of the Yãroamë-speaking Yanomami subgroup (Ferreira, 2012), which since the 1920s occupied the Mucajaí-Catrimani interfluve until the time of their first (catastrophic) contacts with society³.

Based on the records of the first explorers of the region (Salathé, 1932; Holdridge, 1933; Dias de Aguiar, 1940) and up until the 1940s, the Yãroamë constituted a rather numerous group. Travelling through the region in 1939, the pioneer Brás de Aguiar recorded, based on information from other groups, the presence of at least 28 'Jauri' nodes along the valley of the Catrimani River. This information also appears in reports by the Brazilian Commission of Limit Demarcation (CBDL) of 1940 and 1941.

According to the accounts of Yaroamë elders, from the 1920s onwards intra and intergroup conflict drove various micro-movements in the direction of large rivers, which culminated in the approach of societal fronts of expansion and first contact with balateiros [latex extractivists], gateiros [feline hunt-

- 2 The Yanomami constitute a cultural and linguistic group composed of, at least, six subgroups speaking languages of the same family: Yanomam, Yanomamɨ, Sanöma, Ninam, Yāroamë and Ỹanoma.
- 3 Part of the Yãroamë, further south, still lived in the Arapari region, a tributary of the Catrimani River, in the 1930s, and later moved to the basin of the Ajarani River (and probably to middle Apiaú). Among the episodes which marked the first contacts of these Yãroamë with non-indians, a measles epidemic in 1968 and, in 1973, the opening of a portion of the North Perimeter Highway on their territory are notable.

ers] and fishermen. The 1940s and 50s were marked, consequently, by epidemics and episodes of poisoning4, which had a significant impact on the group's demography, spurring new arrangements and displacements (Verdum, 1995).

It is therefore quite likely that the Moxihatëtëma are descendents of a small populational core which remained isolated in the mountainous region between the headwaters of the Apiaú River and the upstream left bank of the Catrimani River during the migratory process which took other branches of this subgroup to populate the basins of the rivers Ajarani and middle Apiaú.

The epidemiological shocks caused by the first contacts, in effect, contributed to the intensification of conflict between the different Yanomami groups of the region, and, due to being located precisely in the expansion zone of the Yanomae subgroup, which was moving from the Serras towards the East, and the Ninam territory, in middle Mucajaí, the Moxihatëtëma became the preferred targets of accusations of sorcery from the other groups, faced with the 'unexplainable' deaths caused by new diseases. As such, for nearly half a century the history of the Moxihatëtëma was marked by a great bellicosity with their surroundings.

As proof of this, during the 1970s in the Yanomae communities of the Lobo d'Almada River basin, various adults of Yaroamë origin, who had been kidnapped in their infancy, were recorded during the field research of the anthropologist Bruce Albert (1985). Similarly, there were accounts of numerous incursions between the two groups, which lasted un-

> 4 Several historical cases of collective poisoning of the Yanomami invited to eat by balateiros were registered by Bruce Albert in the years 1920-1930 in the Toototobi and Catrimani river basins.

til the 1980s. The last record of those incursions dates from 1985. A Funai report of this year mentions an attack of the Lobo d'Almada Yanomami against the Moxihatëtëma, with rifles acquired from prospectors⁵. On the occasion, the existence of three collective houses belonging to prospectors was reported.

Regarding the Ninam (of Middle Mucajaí), the ethnographic literature also documents a long past of incursions against the Moxihatëtëma and an absence of friendly relations between the groups. The anthropologist J. F. Peters (1998) reports of, for example, a ninam incursion in "search of wives" to the south of the Mucajaí River, "between 1936 and 1944", in which the expeditionaries accidentally crossed the territory of the 'Moxatotau' and were vigorously repelled with arrows (Peters, 1998; Early & Peters, 2000). It is similar to another attempted attack on the 'Moxatotau' in 1967, this time to avenge the death of a ninam hunter who disappeared in the forest, mentioning the finding of an abandoned 'Moxatatu' camp and the presence of a stone hatchet (Peters, 1998).

Peters' informants assured him that the group had migrated in 1961 to the north bank of middle Mucajaí out of fear of these enemies (op. cit.). A similar attitude can be seen among the Yanomae of the Catrimani region who, until the 1980s regularly attributed responsibility for the sudden deaths of older men (pata thëpë) to the enemy sorcerers (oka pë) of this group.

In 1986 the opening of the Cambalacho airstrip at the headwaters of the Apiaú River completely changed the dynamic of the region,

> 5 Report authored by the head of the Paapiú Indigenous Post, T. de Souza Filho (10th RD)

image Isolated Yanomami maloca, Yanomami TI.



further intensifying the prospector invasion of the Yanomami territory. This pressure, in turn, forced the Moxihatëtëma to move towards the northeast and abandon the area they had occupied for decades. The ensuing prospector expansion in the entire Yanomami TI, with dramatic epidemiological and environmental consequences, removed this group from the attention of its traditional enemies. thus bringing the incursions to an end.

From 1987 until 1990, at the height of the goldrush on the Yanomami TI, it is estimated that there were around 100 active prospectors, with 300 to 500 machines working daily, 80 landing strips and 300 aircraft flying in service of the activity (MacMillan, 1995), with the Moxihatëtëma territory right in the center of the bedlam.

In the 1990s there would occasionally circulate, in the regions of Catrimani, Mucajaí and Apiaú, rumours of armed conflict between prospectors and Moxihatëtëma and, eventually, there was speculation about the disappearance of the group, victims of the whites' illnesses and violence. However, in 1995, the survival of the Moxihatëtëma could be attested based on a Funai report in which two prospectors had been struck by their arrows in the Alto Apiaú region (Verdum, 1995).

After this episode, and despite the cooling of the prospecting situation with the Homologation of Indigenous Land and Operation Selva Livre, the Moxihatëtëma remained practically forgotten for nearly fifteen years. Until the 14th July 2011, when the group was finally located during a Funai aerial reconnaissance mission. The overflight 3 was motivated by information provided by the Yanomami of the rivers Mucajaí and Couto Magalhães, who had registered various indices of the presence of group members in the southeast forest of the upper River Uxiu, a tributary of the right bank of the river Mucajaí (footprints, camps, fires, food leftovers and household items, as well as chance encounters with Moxihatëtëma hunters).

The proximity of the *Moxihatëtëma* to their traditional enemies is probably related to the progressive shrinking of their migratory space in the region, surrounded by a new wave of prospecting activity which had already forced them to leave the headwaters of the Apiaú in the second half of the 1980s. Both the south/southeast (alto Apiaú basin) and the west/northwest (alto Catrimani and Couto de Magalhães) regions of the former

Moxihatëtëma territory had been invaded by prospectors at the time.

Since the 2011 meeting described by Albert & Oliveira (2011), the *Moxihatëtëma* are now monitored by the Yanomami and Ye'kwana Ethno-environmental Protection Front, and by the Hutukara Associação Yanomami with certain apprehension. A base was installed near the Serra da Estrutura airstrip and various operations to combat prospecting were carried out on the TI, without the threat being controlled or even minimised.

In 2011, Funai estimated that close to 3000 prospectors were illegally operating in the Yanomami TI, with 42 airstrips and 300 barges. Up until July 2013, successive Funai operations, in partnership with the army and military police, were able to remove at least 1500 prospectors from the TI, deactivate 22 strips and sink 84 barges. However, the constant high





price of gold means that the business of illegal prospecting continues to be extremely lucrative and, consequently, difficult to combat.

Over time, resources destined for the protection of Indigenous Lands became scarce and operations less and less frequent. Protection bases were deactivated and many were taken over by the prospectors themselves as places to support their logistics. The Serra da Estrutura Protection Base, for example, began functioning as a sort of flight platform for other prospectors, due to its privileged location and the size of its strip (known as the *Pista da Botinha*).

At the end of 2014 the Protection Front overflew the home of the *Moxihatëtëma* on a routine flight and found it completely empty⁶. Once again, there was speculation that the group might have been decimated in a conflict

The following year however, the *Moxihatëtëma* were newly rediscovered, living in a collective home of elliptical shape, adjacent to a large area of fields (around 20 hectares), composed mostly of bananas. Based on the photograph of the house, taken from inside the aircraft, one can count seventeen sections of juxtaposed sloping roofs⁷, from which a population of 70 to 80 people can be inferred. The location of the new home is around 30km on a

with prospectors and for months the location

of the group remained an enigma.

7 This architecture is characteristic of the Yāroamë subgroup in the time of its first contacts with whites in the 1950s and 1960s.

image Previous page: Environmental degradation caused by illegal garimpeiros in the region of 'Tatuzão', Uraricoera River, Roraima; above: Clandestine landing strip used by garimpeiros in the region of Homoxi, Yanomami TI.

6 https://brasil.elpais.com/ brasil/2014/12/26/politica/1419618934_407302.html straight line from the old one. When observing the new location on the map, in connection with information on areas of prospection, it is clearly noticeable that this displacement had as one of its motivations the distancing from the prospection of the regions of Kayana u (Mucajaí) and Paapiú (Couto Magalhães), one of the zones where activity has intensified the most in recent years.

The latest survey carried out, through interpretation of satellite images, on the prospecting situation in the Yanomami TI is alarming: over 1,300 hectares of degraded areas, without considering riverbeds impacted by barge activity. It is possible that today, the number of active prospectors in the TI has tripled in relation to its number in 2013, with the difference being that in this period prospecting has concentrated in zones and is less fragmentary. The rivers Uraricoera, Mucajaí, Couto Magalhães, Catrimani, Lobo D'almada and Apiaú are the most affected areas. Of these, only the Uraricoera is not in proximity of the Moxihatëtëma territory. The report hasn't yet been ascertained, nor is it clear if this was the only recent episode of conflict.

At the current rate at which prospection is developing within the Yanomami TI, it is very likely that the number of conflicts between isolados and non-indigenous will increase and reach alarming proportions. Furthermore, in addition to the cases of violence there is a very disturbing situation of health vulnerability of the *Moxihatëtëma* regarding infectious diseases brought in by the invaders, against which they possess no immunity. Given this, it is essential the Brazilian state promotes the immediate 'disintrusion' of prospectors in the Yanomami TI, that it permanently reoccupies

the Serra da Estrutura Protection Base⁸ and designs an emergency healthcare plan for an eventual situation of contact. Otherwise, it is very likely the *Moxihatëtëma* will, in a not too distant future, experience a real tragedy, similar to the one experienced by the Yaroamë during their period of first contacts, with the difference being that this time the state is totally aware of the risks and has the means to avoid it.

"THEY PROTECT US, JUST AS WE PROTECT THEM

DAVI KOPENAWA YANOMAMI
Yanomami leader, president of the
Hutukara Yanomami Association,
talks of his concern for the survival of
the Moxihatëtëma, a Yanomami group
that lives in isolation in the Yanomami
Indigenous Land in Roraima.

When I heard relatives talking about the Moxihatëtëma for the first time, I must have been 10 or 11 years old. They thought about looking for them, walked in the forest for a week and found their path there. They followed them until they found a big house, a xapono. To this day they are still there. The house grew. I think there are more dwellers.

They are hard to find, they have a path and another place to hide. They abandon the house and have a place to hide. They don't like gifts. They took them machetes, they left them on

the path, axes, machetes, knives... they don't accept them. They prefer to use the stone axe, they're used to it. They have a tool for bringing down big trees and building houses. Axes and machetes they won't accept. They tried to leave them on the path. So they stopped.

In 2015, the Funai team left the Serra da Estrutura Protection Base¹. They were there close by to protect them. We helped, the ISA helped and the Hutukara helped to install radio communication. We put two Yanomami together with the Funai people at the base. We helped to get it going and when the funds ran out, the base was deactivated and we never went back.

I am very worried about them. They protect us, just as we protect them. They protect the people of the Paapiú maloca, Alto Catrimani, Toototobi, Piau, Missão Catrimani, Alto Mucajaí. They are protecting us by not allowing the prospectors to get close. And we protect them too. That's why I'm very worried about them.

I didn't want them to die alone, to die without knowing... Without seeing who one day killed them. It is the garimpeiro [prospector] who kills. I think it was some seven months ago the garimpeiro made an approach. Because the garim-

1 In May 2019, FUNAI announced the reopening of the three Protection Bases and the monitoring and repression of prospecting in the Yanomami TI: BAPEs of the Serra da Estrutura (Mucajaí tributary), Demarcation (Mucajaí) and Korekorema (Uraricoera). These were closed in 2015 and 2016 due to lack of funds, and in November 2018 the Federal Public Ministry in Roraima (MPF/RR) sentenced in favour of the Union and Funai to reactivate the bases.

editor's note Statement edited from an interview made by Bruno Weis, Marília Senlle and André Villas Bôas.

image Davi Kopenawa Yanomami.

peiro goes far, walks a lot. On the banks of the river until he gets to the mountain, he goes to look for gold in the mountain. And there was a yanomami, our kin, from Alto Catrimani. The garimpeiros ran out of food and they invited this yanomami:



⁸ In May 2019, FUNAI announced the reopening of the three Protection Bases and the monitoring and repression of prospecting in the Yanomami TI: BAPEs of the Serra da Estrutura (Mucajaí tributary), Demarcation (Mucajaí) and Korekorema (Uraricoera). These were closed in 2015 and 2016 due to lack of funds.

"Let's go, let's get the macaxeira from the Moxihatëtëma!". So he said: "I can't go, they are bravos [angry]". So the garimpeiros said: "But if they're bravos, we're bravos too". "Then you go first" said the yanomami, and he stayed behind.

So they went there and a Moxihatëtëma was in the field. The garimpeiro went there pulling out the manioc and the Moxihatëtëma came up to him. First, the garimpeiro ran, together with the yanomami. The next day, the garimpeiro went back to take the manioc. Then the yanomami said "you are disturbing my relatives. Now they're angry. They are waiting for us". "Ah, so if they're waiting, I'll take my rifle", said the garimpeiro. So he took the rifle and the Moxihatëtëma was there waiting. The garimpeiro was taking the manioc cane when the Moxihatëtëma shot an arrow at him. The garimpeiro was armed with a rifle and fired. Paaaaaaaaa! He dropped! Another Moxihatëtëma fired an arrow at the garimpeiro. One died and the other ran, pierced. That's how it happens.

That happened last year. We told Funai, ISA, we reported outside that the garimpeiros were attacking and had already killed some Moxihatëtëma².

Now the garimpeiros are coming back, through the rivers Apiaú, Mucajaí, Couto Magalhães... They're going back there. I don't want the garimpeiros to kill any more of them.

They're not getting too ill, because the garimpo haven't got there yet. They are protecting themselves. I wanted the government to protect them, so we want to denounce, to spread the message in Brazil and outside.

Their house is big. I think that the Moxihatëtëma are about 40 or 50 people. First, it was a small house, then the house grew.

I calculate 50 people and there's only that group... They are a bit tall. Strong. They don't eat beans, fat, only game, honey, fish. They speak Ỹaroamë. I don't understand, I would like to understand, but I don't want to disturb them!

I won't disturb them and they won't disturb me. Leave them in peace, let them live as they choose the rest of their life. I can't take them the illnesses of the napë [non-indigenous]. If they come looking for me, I will get in contact with them. But as they have not been in contact, I will respect that. The same way they chose a place to live, without worrying about us.

One time, another Funai yanomami interpreter stayed in the Serra da Estrutura Protection Base. He stayed for a month. One day he went to hunt and found the Moxihatëtëma. He tried to talk and listen but he didn't understand anything... So they came close and that yanomami had a dog for protection – and they're scared of dogs, they don't like them. So he said: Awei. Kami yanomami ya, wamaki nohimayu ["I am yanomami and I am making friends with you"]. They understood. They went back. The yanomami understood what he said. "I'm afraid of your dog", they said. That's what he heard. He said that he was a friend, but he understood that they cannot be friends because the are used to living alone, just with their family. There are other places where our relatives live like that.

2 In 2018, on several occasions, the Hutukara Yanomami Association (HAY) informed the authorities about the conflict, and requested by letter the opening of an investigation into this case by the Federal Police of Roraima, and also asked for the reactivation of the Protection Bases in the Yanomami TI and the permanent presence of public agencies responsible for monitoring against invaders, such as the *garimpeiros*.

There was another encounter of the Moxihatëtëma with garimpeiros. In 1986/87, there were a lot of garimpeiros going around, but they were expelled. They shot and drove out the garimpeiros. They shot and ran into the forest. As all our kin, they run fast. The garimpeiros can't catch them. Nowadays the garimpeiros are getting closer, but the Moxihatëtëma don't let them, they run into the forest, they hide. That's why they're still alive.

The forest-land of the Moxihatëtëma is the same as ours. Theirs is mountain. The land is good for them, for plants, fields, hunting. They plant banana, macaxeira, manioc, cane, taioba, cará, peach palm, mamão. That's what they plant. Omama, our creator, gave us those seeds. Their father had them already and gave them the seeds. The food of the whites comes from very far away. Rice, beans, corn, potato, it's different. Our food is from right here in Brazil, from this earth. From where Omama was born and could find a seed. It wasn't brought here, it's regional, from right here.

They are at the headwaters of the Apiaú River. First they stayed in the big river, then they went to the headwaters of the Apiaú. Seven months ago, when the garimpeiro came close, I overflew there and saw their maloca. They don't let anyone land, not even helicopters. They use big bows like the Waimiri.

The villages which are closest to them are in Alto Catrimani and Uxiú. Once they appeared there. They shot at a Ninam but missed. They want to be at rest.

3 Watch the video made by HAY and ISA with images by the film-maker Morzaniel Yanomami of the Moxihatëtëma. Morzaniel was the first Yanomami to film the group, with the help of FUNAI, on the occasion of the operation in combat illegal mining in the Yanomami TI. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QxuA1j10cDU

So I, the Hutukara Yanomami Association³, we want to protect the Moxihatëtëma, to speak in their name and ask for them to be left in peace.

If one day I meet the Moxihatëtëma, I will say that it's best not to meet the napë [non-indigenous], it's better to stay around there. Napë doesn't care. If one day I meet them, I will tell them everything I know, everything I see. The napë doesn't care for the Indian. He just wants to knock down the forest and end it. Things are bad for us. They prefer to stay there and die. I also want to die in my house and meet my soul. That is my thinking.

If I met them, I would say this:

Don't be with the napë. Our father was mistaken. They only seem good, only seem friendly. They offer old clothes, shoes, machetes, axes and food. Then the illnesses come. Napë in the city doesn't remember us. Only when we are dying in the forest. Few people think of the people in the city. When Indians are dying, they come. The only thing they bring is flu, malaria, tuberculosis and violence. They kill us and then go and do their garimpo, because they say we are living on top of wealth.

That's what I'll say if I meet them

"WHAT MIGHT SAVE THEM IS THEIR GEOGRAPHIC POSITION, THEY ARE HIGH UP IN THE SERRA DA ESTRUTURA

In the Yanomami Indigenous Land, isolados coexist with the threat of prospection [garimpo]. It is estimated that there are 10 thousand prospectors [garimpeiros] in the TI illegally extracting minerals, mostly gold. **Anderson Vasconcellos**, coordinator of the Yanomami Ye'kwana Ethnoenvironmental Protection Front, monitors records of peoples in voluntary isolation living in this TI, and also the Yanomami and Ye'kwana, considered peoples of 'recent contact'.

Which isolated peoples are monitored by Yanomami Ye'kwana FPE? I work with the Yanomami and Ye'kwana peoples who are people of recent contact, and there are a few references of isolados. There's a confirmed reference and others being studied. We have aerial photographs and accounts from nearby peoples. We do monitoring by overflight and also through witness accounts.

We have an active base in Perimetral Norte, in the municipality of Caracaraí, 200km from the capital, the Jarani base and three other deactivated bases, one in the River Mucajaí channel, one in the Uraricoera River and one in the Serra da Estrutura, in the Iracema region.

We received a judicial decision from the Federal Public Ministry for Funai and the Union to reactivate those bases. We did the planning and we'll recover the Mucajaí River Base.

How is the monitoring done? By overflying and collecting data with surrounding communities. They have no contact with the isolated Yanomami, but they understand and know who are the *bravos*. When they find something, they pass it on to the indigenous associations, who pass it on to Funai. It's more superficial, because the cost of doing those overflights and entries is very high. Starting this year, we're going to focus on reopening the bases and on

the references which need more study.

To do the restoration of a base and recover physical structures in the Legal Amazon, that has a high cost of access, human resources, logistics. And Funai is having budget problems. In addition to needing support from other public security agencies, such as the Federal

editor's note Interview given to Clara Roman, ISA journalist.

image Environmental degradation caused by illegal garimpo near the Ye'kwana community in the region of Waikás, on the Uraricoera River, Yanomami TI, Roraima.



Police, the Army and Ibama. The Army had a base in Mucajaí, but left the region due to the Venezuelan migration crisis; they had to transfer the troops to meet that demand.

Are these peoples under threat? They are certainly under threat. There are airstrips very close to the location of those isolated peoples. Strips which are the logistical distribution of the *garimpo* mining on Indigenous Land. What might save them is their geographic position, they are high up in the Serra da Estrutura. The prospecting is closer to the river.

Was there any situation of approach on behalf of the isolados? No, they really are in voluntary isolation. They are not even seeking contact. We once in a while hear that one tried to take a woman from another maloca, to increase his family. But they didn't seek contact. We believe they are fine where they are. Many Yanomami say that, when they go hunting, they see the broken trees. They went hunting and saw that somebody was watching them. They know the area is inhabited by 'indios brabos' (angry Indians) and so there is always the possibility of finding them in the forest. Three years ago we got information from Indians who went on a hunt and found a dead garimpeiro, killed with large arrows, different to the ones they use. They are called the relatives of the Moxihatëtëma. They have a traditional way of passing the string on their genitals.

What is the importance of the no-contact policy? Previous contacts have not been successful. The policy of no contact respects the interests of that group. If they wanted contact, they would have gone after it. The *Moxihatëtëma* are not seeking contact of any kind. They understand that they do not need the presence of relatives and the government.

What was monitored in the last expeditions? From the overflight we see the fields. We have a few minutes to watch the people walking in the center of the malocas, and the moment they notice you, they run. You can't make out details, but you can see the field and do a count of the minimum number of people in the community.

Can you give details about the garimpo situation in the Yanomami TI? In 2015,

a Fiocruz study $^{\rm 1}$ was already pointing out mercury contamination in the water.

At the time there were 3,000 garimpeiros. You can even see it in the turbidity of the water and in Boa Vista you see it in the silting of the river. We identified it in Rio Branco. It can be identified in any river with a *garimpo* presence.

1 See Fiorruz study (Basta, 2016), in partnership with ISA, on mercury contamination in the Yanomami TI: https://isa.to/31f8F6t

In Uraricoera and Mucajaí, the colour of the water changed, and the natives reported that the fish were dying, and that drinking the water gave them stomachache. This contamination generated by the mining does not



only affect the Indigenous Land but majoritarian society, which is also being contaminated. It's the same water, but often people don't see it or aren't feeling the effects.

Even the Sesai say that many garimpeiros arrive with malaria at the health posts in the villages and the staff are obliged to assist them. There has been chaos in the Indigenous Land because of the presence of garimpeiros. The Sesai is providing assistance to the garimpeiros. Either because they are threatened or because they cannot refuse to provide care.

Mining affects hunting. The garimpeiro doesn't stay on the barge, he goes hunting – as well as contaminating and destroying. The issue of hunting and gathering is affecting the indigenous mode of life. Apart from the issue of the threat of illnesses. An isolado can pick up a tool from a garimpeiro and be contaminated.

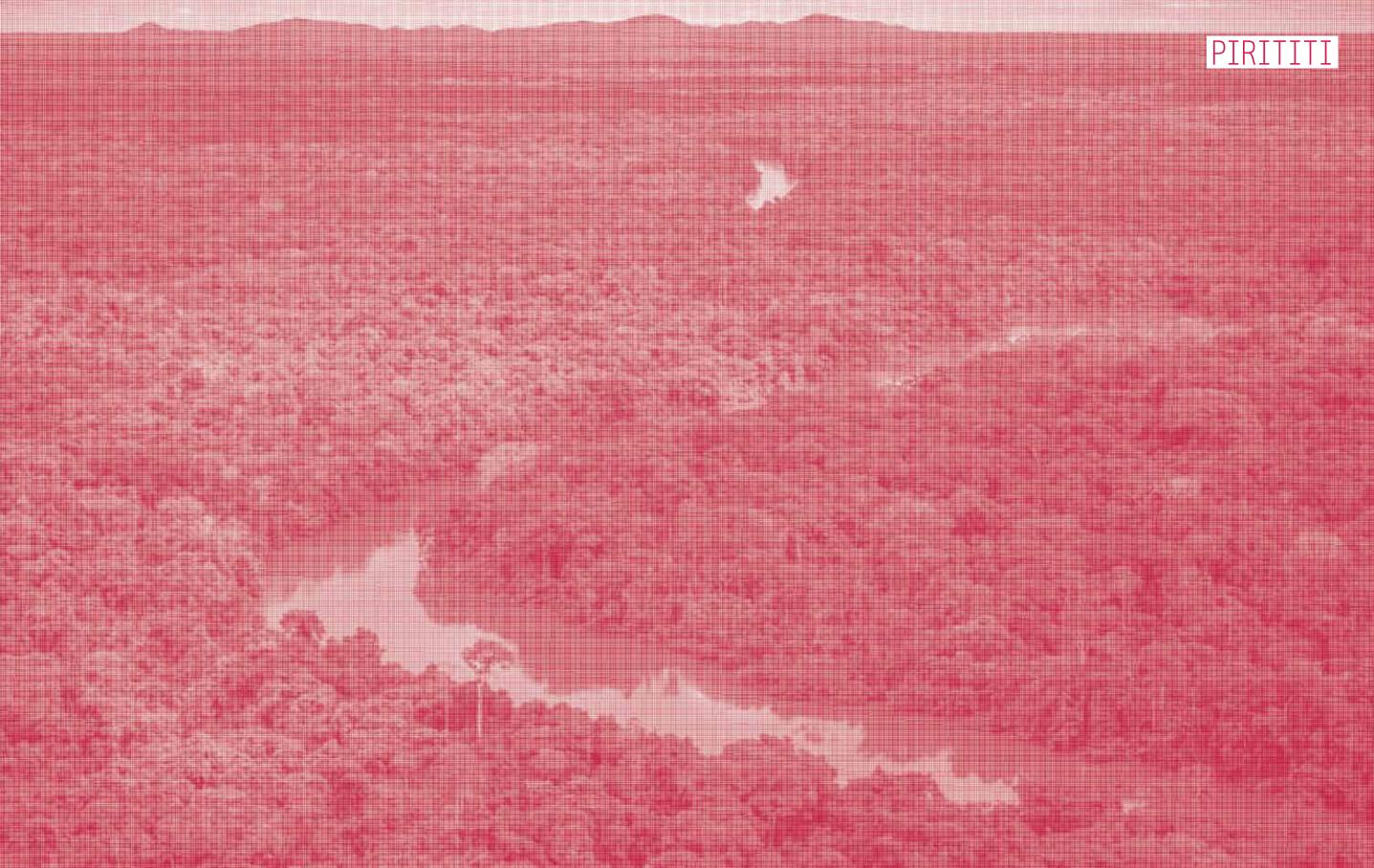
That is another thing we see: the interference of garimpeiro mining in the organisation of recently contacted peoples. Garimpeiros sexually lure the natives... Then they have children, they'll have a family, and that family will be pro-garimpeiro and that will interfere in the dynamics of the indigenous peoples.

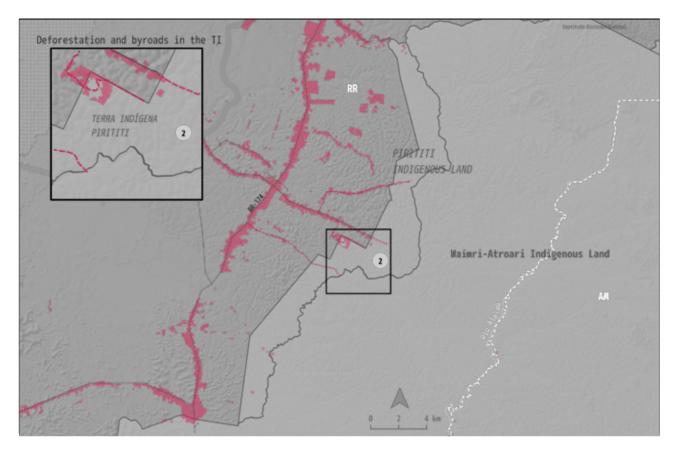
For us, beyond the issue of contamination of the rivers, there's this social contamination which leaves many scars. When the *garimpo* arrives, he creates and maximises conflicts between the groups, arming the natives, in order to stay... It becomes more bloody. He brings cachaça and has relations with the women. So that interferes and increases conflict. These are the strategies of the *garimpo*.

Apart from the garimpo, are there other threats? There is *grilagem* [land-grabbing] but it doesn't compare to *garimpo*... [*garimpo*] is really the villain of the story.

What is the importance of Indigenous Lands from the point of view of environmental conservation? The Indigenous Lands guarantee the preservation of the country's forests. It is super connected. In the Yanomami TI, deforestation occurs in the *garimpo* areas and has increased because of it. In the latest operations monitoring the *garimpo*, growth was so big that we noticed non-indigenous villages in the TI. Villages with streets, several businesses and services. This scares us and it isn't talked about or known by the population. They use trike motorcycles on their tracks, they use much more powerful engines on their boats, and cellular and satellite communication. They have all possible electronic equipment. The forms of communication and technology of the *garimpo* are better than the government's.

image Yanomami women and children in the region of Paapiú (Yanomami TI), during the returning of hair samples collected in 2014 for tests to detect the levels of mercury in their bodies.





PIRITITI INDIGENOUS LAND

Confirmed

— Highway

---- Byroad

Accumulated Deforestation

Indigenous Lands

Conservation Units



"WE KNOW WHAT THEY ARE GOING THROUGH": THE WAIMIRI ATROARI'S PROTECTION OF THE PIRITITI ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Even after the BR-174 happened, we're here in need of support from the government. (...) Even today the Waimiri Atroari are under threat. Imagine a people who don't understand anything, who don't understand what is coming from outside, what is surrounding their own land. They don't know anything. Our people have suffered a lot, imagine the Pirititi people, that's why we want to protect them, they are human. They are meant to live there.

WAIMIRI ATROARI COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION and SILVIA DE MELO FUTADA (ISA)

The words of the historians and leaders of the Kinja people (the self-denomination of the Waimiri Atroari) echoed on a moonlit night. Counting men (wykyry) and women (weri) there were 43 Kinja gathered in the Waimiri Atroari (Nawa) Support Center, on the edge of the BR-174, a road which crosses their territory connecting Manaus and Boa Vista. While some gave an account of what they knew of the Pirititi and chronologically pieced the facts together, others kept closeby, listening attentively.

The intensity and emotion of their speech clearly conveyed their condition: the narrative is of a double belonging. The very history of the Kinja means that both perspectives connect. Memories of childhood and youth, and the old stories of the *txamyry* (elders) are the memories of a people who were isolated and threatened and had their territory invaded and their rights violated. If initially they were harassed by merchants seeking wild animal skins and other products of vegetal extractivism, from the 1970s onwards they were the victims of three major development projects by the Brazilian State.²

The first project was the opening of BR-174 in the 1970s, which cut the traditional Kinja territory in half, and its population, estimated at between 1,500 and 3,000,3 was decimated as a result of epidemics and all manner of violence. Only 374 people survived. A memo between the military commanders tasked with the construction of the BR-174 lists clear orders for "carrying out small demonstrations of force, to show the effects of a machine-gun blast, of defensive grenades and the destruction caused by the use of dynamite" in front of indigenous people. The testimonies collected speak of the bodies of indigenous people being buried next to the highway and aerial attacks on Kinja villages.4

In the 1980s, other government projects, carried out in tandem, continued to have an impact on the Kinja people: a concession for

- 1 Carvalho, J. P. F. 1982. Waimiri-Atroari: A História Que Ainda Não Foi Contada. Brasília. Edited by the author.
- 2 Testimonial by Porfírio Carvalho em Milanez (2015).
- 3 Estimates by, respectively, de Carvalho (1982) e Relatório do Comitê da Verdade do Amazonas: O Genocídio do Povo Waimiri-Atroari (2012). https://isa.to/2KuZlWj.
- 4 Preliminary judicial decision, Jan 2018, public civil action no. 1001605-06.2017.4.01.3200, proposed by the MPF in light of the União and Funai. https:// isa.to/31jdAnc



mineral extraction for the Paranapanema company deprived the Waimiri Atroari TI of over 700,000 hectares, and the installation of the Balbina hydroelectric plant diverted the Uatumã River and flooded approximately 30,000 hectares of the TI, including entire villages. Memories of violence and atrocities perpetrated by the Brazilian State reverberate amongst the Kinja of the most varied ages. In the case of the oldest, the *txamyry*, those memories are also marked on their bodies.

Today, after many years of activity of the Waimiri Atroari Support Program (PWA), created in June 1988 under Term of Commitment TC 002/87 signed between Funai and Eletronorte for compensation of the Waimiri Atroari for the impact caused by the Balbina hydroelectric plant, the Kinja finally number over 2,000 individuals. They are fully aware

5 Vide note 2 above.

image Pirititi house, Pirititi TI, Roraima.

of the violence of the predatory development model which affected their people and territory, taking them to the brink of total extermination. This is where their condition of a double belonging becomes clear. Their questioning and contestation of this predatory model is not merely because they were its victims, but because today it seen from a new place. They fight for indigenous territorial rights and respect for the existence of the isolados, known as 'Pirititi', whose land (Pirititi TI) is adjacent to the Waimiri Atraori TI.

The voices and memories of the Kinja, gathered together that night in the Nawa, did not only echo through the night of the Kinja territory. They also echoed through time. They echo not only to remind everybody of the injustices and violations they suffered, but to take a stand against the threats which the Pirititi face today. They echo so that history does not repeat itself with the neighbouring people. If decades ago, or a century ago, the Brazilian State and the *kaminja* (non-indigenous people)

had dreamt for the Kinja what the Kimja today dream for the Pirititi, the Kinja would not have suffered a genocide.

The Kinja have known of the existence of the Pirititi for a long time: "They have always been there, always. From the time before Dauna's [the oldest person present on the day of the collective interview] grandfather". For them, the Pirititi are descendents of the Xikiwipi, a name used by the elders to refer to a people with whom they coexisted in the northern part of their territory since time immemorial. The arrow of the Pirititi is different, it is made of bamboo, it is thinner and painted with a black poison, to kill their prey. There are many differences between the two peoples: their language, of which there is little information or understanding; the shape and materials of their houses; the size, material and shape of the arrowhead. Still, the Kinja call them their kin, perhaps because the do not recognise as equal only those who share their language, culture and knowledge, but also those who share a known condition of living. Let this historical condition of isolation not mean that the Pirititi must face the same atrocities experienced by the Kinja.

Funai has since the 1980s collected data regarding the location of the Pirititi, and even accounts of indirect contact with them. As well as identifying trails in the forest, they sometimes approach neighbouring localities and take items, such as baskets. Due to the fragility of the group in the face of increasing illegal occupations in the region and the presence of prospectors (garimpeiros) in areas close to the Pirititi, Funai decided to create the Rio Branquinho Surveillance Post in the northeast of the Waimiri Atroari TI. From reports according to remains found, the Pirititi showed no interest in contact, rejecting opportunities for an encounter.

In 1998, the Kinja themselves, accompanied by Funai employees, went on a monitor-

ing expedition, repeating the same itinerary made 10 years previously during the demarcation of the Waimiri Atroari Indigenous Land.6 Traces were found during the expedition, such as footprints and cut vines, and the same fields, with abandoned caruá and cassava plants, with pupunha palms and sticks for collecting the pupunha with, and Brazil nuts cut at the foot of a Brazil nut tree. They also found non-indigenous occupations near the Pirititi region and areas of invasion on their own land, previously nonexistent. Thus, Kinja leaders who were present on the expeditions of 1988 and 1998 signed a letter sent to Funai denouncing the threats to the Pirititi and requesting the interdiction of the Pirititi occupied area, with a sketch of the proposed delimitation:

The Pirititi are outside of our reserve, on the other side of the Branquinho River, where the RR government and INCRA are building highways and settlements. If the whites find our kinsmen, they will die from illness or simply be shot. We think there are not many of them, and wish for them to live in peace and far from the whites. This is why we want Funai to demarcate the land (...) so that the Pirititi are guaranteed their land, if Funai won't do it we will go there ourselves and demarcate the land and prohibit new settlements there. We also found a dirt side road on our own land, after our land had been demarcated. We want Funai to work

6 Federal Decree No. 94.606/1987, sets the current boundaries of the Waimiri Atroari TI. According to Carvalho (1982), the first law of recognition of the Waimiri Atroari territory is State Law no. 941/1917, revoked in 1921. For information about alterations of the official recognition of the TI, see Waimiri Atroari: a'a ikaa ineptypy – Waimiri Atroari: divulgando nossa história (ISA, 2017).

quickly and tell everybody not to build roads and settlements near the Branquinho River.

In 2012 a new discovery sped up Funai's process of interdiction of the Pirititi area. During a routine monitoring overflight of the occupations in the surrounding area of the Waimiri Atroari TI, Porfírio Carvalho, then PWA's technical coordinator, sighted a small clearing and requested the pilot to get closer to investigate, believing it was an invasion. What they saw surprised everybody. In the small clearing there was a typically indigenous home covered with straw and banana tree leaves. With the location identified, they flew over the site again the following day with a delegation of Kinja and Funai staff. Architectural features of the structure (maloca) were documented, and two Pirititi individuals were photographed, one holding a bow and arrow. According to the Kinja, Carvalho communicated with Funai and stressed the importance of immediate action, as settler farms had been identified just 6 km away from the house of the Pirititi, as well as a neighbouring highway 10 km away. As they are a people who move over great distances (objects taken by the Pirititi from a Kinja village had been found nearly 100km away) there was a high risk of a confrontation occurring between the Pirititi and the settlers. Being a small group, a flu contagion would be devastating.

Under Brazilian law, indigenous peoples have originary rights over their lands regardless of formal title or recognition. In 2012 the Pirititi TI was interdicted by Funai for three years, a legal administrative measure taken in order to restrict access by non-indigenous people and their activity, ensuring the protection of the isolated indigenous people, their territory and resources. The interdiction of

the area was renewed twice more,⁸ most recently in December of 2018. The Pirititi TI, which spans just over 43,000 hectares, is fully within the municipality of Rorainópolis (RR) and is adjacent to the Waimiri Atroari TI.

However, an administrative interdiction by itself does not stop all illegal activities which undermine the area's integrity. Currently, total deforestation of the Pirititi TI exceeds 600 hectares, and overt the last 10 years, reached its peak in 2015 (65 hectares) and 2017 (276 hectares).9 The area attracts interest especially as it is rich in hardwoods and highways make it easily accessible. Analysis of the self-declared records at the Rural Environmental Registry (CAR) shows 29 records overlapping with the Pirititi TI, occupying nearly 50% of it.10 In April of 2018, an Ibama operation apprehended 7,387 illegally removed logs from the TI, a total of over 15,000 cubic meters of wood. It was the largest recorded seizure in the state of Roraima, with a quantity of logs which could load 1,000 trucks.11 Considering a 10km band as the contour of the TI, total deforestation reaches almost 20,000 hectares. and over the last decade annual deforestation in surroundings of the TI also reached its peak

- 8 Funai Order No. 1.271 of 22/12/2015 (DOU 23/12/2015) and Funai Order No. 1.549 of 05/12/2018 (DOU 14/12/2018).
- 9 Cartographic analysis of the ISA Protected Areas Monitoring Program based on deforestation data from Prodes/ INPE (2018).
- 10 Cartographic analysis of the ISA Protected Areas Monitoring Program and records from the Rural Environmental Registry, Brazilian Forest Service (2016).
- 11 IBAMA news from June 2018. "Ibama identifica e multa em R\$ 15,5 milhões os responsáveis pela extração ilegal de 7,3 mil toras na TI Pirititi (RR). https://isa.to/31cQ3Eg.



in 2015, surpassing and area of 940 hectares.¹² As well as being a violation against the Pirititi and their territory, these illegal actions are a plundering of a heritage which belongs to all Brazilian society. According to the policy on identification of priority areas for the conservation of biodiversity and benefit sharing, the Pirititi TI overlaps with the polygon identified as AMZ-207, considered to be of extreme importance for biodiversity conservation. At the beginning of the 00s, recommended actions for conflict mediation between settlers, grileiros and indigenous peoples, for the protection of archaeological sites and the restriction of

new settlements in the region¹³ serve as proof of the existence of historical conflict, which in recent years has intensified. The identification of conservation priority areas is a public policy instrument designed to support decision making in an objective and participatory manner when planning and implementing actions for the conservation of Brazilian biodiversity, such as the creation of conservation units, and the licensing, control and promotion of sustainable use.

13 Cartographic analysis of the ISA Protected Areas Monitoring Program with the cartographic bases of the policy of evaluation and identification of priority areas for conservation and benefit sharing from 1999 to 2018 (Federal Decree no. 4339/2002).

image Ibama seizes thousands of illegally extracted logs in the Pirititi TI, Roraima.

The Careful Protagonism of the Kinja

During all those years, the protagonism of the Kinja was not limited to demanding that Funai act to protect the Pirititi: given the imminence of the threat, the Waimiri Atroari Community Association (ACWA) incorporated surveillance and monitoring of the Pirititi TI and isolado protection into its routines. In 2013, during an overflight, it was verified that the maloca identified previously had been burnt with no signs of its occupants. With extreme concern about the outcome of a possible confrontation with invaders, and fearing for the safety of the Pirititi, the Kinja and Brasília, Funai formed an expedition to verify the cause of the fire and the existence of any signs indicating that non-indigenous incursions may have forced contact. They also sought to verify the legality of any occupations in the Pirititi occupied area.

The expedition's detailed planning is proof of the seriousness of the Kinja in protecting the Pirititi. In addition to closely observing Funai's official technical recommendations regarding assistance to isolated peoples and having as their main guideline to only assess their situation, the Kinja avoided direct contact with the Pirititi and outlined other, more restrictive guidelines. In designing the expedition's strategy, all points were debated exhaustively and all members had to accept the agreed conditions, which aimed to guarantee the security of the Pirititi and of their own members. To be part of the team, all members had to: be in perfect health, have their vaccinations up to date and no contact with people with contagious illnesses in the last 30 days; to be aware of the responsibility and risk of integrating the team. Taking objects which could attract the Pirititi was prohibited, in case of an encounter, and only a single camera and GPS were allowed. Other measures taken were: to advance slowly, stopping every hour, so the Pirititi would know of their approach and could distance themselves should they so wish; the identification of a leader who all would obey without question; and a maximum limit of 30 minutes for the recognition and photographic documentation of the burnt area, and search for the presence of non-indigenous people or acts of violence (bones, weapons, etc.).

Such attention and care with the Pirititi, and respect for their choice of no contact has always been present among the Kinja. In the 1998 expedition, after finding traces of the Pirititi, Mário Parwe, a member of the 1988 expedition with expert knowledge of the territory, said that they were only 30 minutes from the village. Although many were enthusiastic about meeting their kin, Parwe's decision was to go back, as the purpose of the expedition was not to make contact but to verify the living conditions of the Pirititi and their location.

The 2013 expedition found no signs of violence or extermination, which lead the Kinja to think that the *maloca* may have been burnt by accident or even for some cultural practice of the Pirititi. Even so, as a response to the intensifying occupation approaching the northeastern boundary of the Waimiri Atroari TI and advancing on the Pirititi TI, the Kinja built a surveillance post to contain the threats and monitor the territories through constant rotation.

As if the violence they have been subjected to, much of it committed by the Brazilian state, were not enough, in recent years a new threat hovers over the Waimiri Atroari and Pirititi TIs: the construction of the Manaus-Boa Vista Transmission Line, a project which will connect Boa Vista to the national grid which, at the beginning of 2019, was designated by the National Defense Council as strategic to sovereignty and national security, according to Resolution no. 01 of 02/27/2019 (DOU 02/28/2019)". The Federal Public Prosecutor's

Office expressed concern¹⁴about the government's attempt to accelerate the environmental licensing of the project without respecting the process of current environmental law or proper dialogue with the Kinja, who have never refused dialogue and recognise the population of Roraima's demand for electricity. It is important to note that the Kinja recently elaborated a Consultation Protocol¹⁵with the purpose of publishing forms of how their people should be consulted.

In 2018, the Federal Justice in Amazonas recognised the violations against the Waimiri Atroari people when the BR-174 highway was opened, and determined that projects causing large scale impact on their Indigenous Land cannot be carried out without previous consent from the Kinja (Waimiri Atroari). 16 In addition to the genocide they suffered, to this day the Kinja are still affected by the impact of the highway. The kinka have carried out daily monitoring of the wildlife killed on the 125 kilometers of the BR-174 which cuts through their territory since 1997 and by March 2019 had recorded over 13,000 direct deaths of dozens of species, many of which are prey that the Kinja depend on for food sovereignty. In the case of the construction of BR-174, documents and accounts show that due to the hurry in getting the work finished and an insistence by the military regime on maintaining the road's course as well as strong indigenous resistance, tensions heightened and the Army took over operations, formalizing a policy of extermination.¹⁷

In the course of their history, the Kinja, also known as the Waimiri Atroari, reasserted themselves: if previously they were isolado warriors, victims of harassment and violence by a non-indigenous society and the Brazilian State, today they defend and protect the Pirititi, an isolated indigenous people under extreme threat. The Kinja expect that society and the Brazilian State will also consider their indispensable role in guaranteeing the respect and protection of the indigenous peoples of Brazil, whether isolated or not.

^{14 &}quot;MPF estuda medidas diante de tentativa de aceleração de licenciamento do Linhão de Tucuruí entre AM e RR", March 2019. https://isa.to/31eCEvc.

¹⁵ Ie'xime Arynatypy Nypykwatypy: Waimiri Atroari Behe Taka – Waimiri Atroari Consultation Protocol. ACWA and PWA. 2018. https://isa.to/31aAay5

¹⁶ Preliminary judicial decision, Jan 2018, public civil action no. 1001605-06.2017.4.01.3200, proposed by the MPF in light of the União and Funai. https:// isa.to/31jdAnc

"WE WILL FIGHT FOR THE ISOLATED INDIAN EVEN IF THE GOVERNMENT DOESN'T CARE

The Pirititi have always been there

They have always been there, always. We don't know much about his way of life. He is a nomad, he doesn't have a big field like we do. He lives from the native fruits. There aren't many groups who won't go near us. We understand that he doesn't want contact with us. In the past they were many. But they had internal wars.

Noone has properly identified their language. We haven't even spoken to them, nor heard them properly, so we're not certain of whether they are family. They were our same height. We couldn't see if they were our kin, but we consider them our kin. We are here to protect them and stop them being approached.

His arrow, it's a type of small bamboo he uses, the tip is painted. When it strikes the prey it paralyzes the animals. Black poison. With that difference you can tell that they are not of our own, they are the Pirititi people.

I grew up seeing his traces. Their house is not like ours, they live under the forest, they don't cut many trees. I think that when their population dropped they got used to living like that. He is a nomad, at a time he is here, at another time he is over there in another place. During the dry season he goes somewhere else. He goes after the $tracaj\acute{a}$ egg.

He eats game, *jabuti* tortoise, monkey, *caititu* hog, tapir, açaí, buriti palm. He picks Brazil nuts to eat, he roasts the nuts. From the overflights, we discovered that they have fields. Now, it's difficult to see from up high if there is manioc, if there is planted cane. We saw they had planted banana near their maloca. They had peach palm, sweet potato, pineapple. To build the house the material used was ubim straw. They build the maloca from the ground. It's long and rectangular. Totally different to our ones.

The day I went with Txamyry Carvalho [on the overflight], I saw him walking naked with an arrow. He was angry (*brabo*). He wanted to shoot the plane. We had to go higher. Loggers invaded the Pirititi area. The isolated Indian does not like deforestation.

We did the overflight to protect them, to write the report and send it to Funai. Their reply took so long... we couldn't wait so long because the loggers were getting close, already entering their land. So we had to do it ourselves and build the Rio Branquinho Surveillance Post on our land.

We got ahead so we could defend it. We did everything to stop the invaders, loggers, nut farmers... We planned the post, with our own resources, from its construction, fuel, food,

editor's note Edited accounts from an interview by Silvia de Melo Futada (ISA) Glenn Shepard (Museu Goeldi).

Edited accounts based on interviews with the Kinja leaders Ewepe Marcelo (Maryda), Tuwadja Joanico (Maiamy), Dauna Elzon (Arykawa), Sanapyty Gerencio (Karypa), Damixiri Renato (Kareb Syna), Waika Elinaldo (Atywa), Wiribia Orêncio (Pardo), Kraima Mário (Mehri) Txawe Zacarias (Maiamy), Piana Cláudio (Bana), Meki Mércio (Arykawa), Kratxinji (Arykawa), Kabaha Aluzio (Anahkwa), Parany Mateus (Paryry), Tykwehna Fernando (Cacau), Daitany Gilberto

(Iawara) and Paulo Kabaha (Arawba).

uniforms, everything with the resources of the Waimiri Atroari Community Association. That would be the government's role, but they don't care. We're the people who care about them.

We're there on the lookout, so invaders don't enter. We stay there, guarding where our border is. We don't go inside much. We stay there and guard, so that the invaders don't enter and so that he doesn't run away either.

And now as it [the invasion] stopped, they're returning to their land, were he as always lived. That is their area. Nobody can enter. If we go in, we will die there, because they might think we are white men. We understand that we can't disturb them.

Protection of the Isolated 'Kin'

We suffered a lot, imagine them! We think they have a low population and that the outside world could wipe out their population. We need to take care of them, leave them in peace, because if we go over to his house, we will disturb him. So it's better to leave him as he is and let him live how he wants. There shouldn't be much contact with them. We could bring illnesses, we could bring flu.

Today the Waimiri Atroari are under threat. Imagine a people who don't understand anything about what's coming from outside. We spent all our resources trying to stop illnesses from coming in. Any stranger can attack his home, because that already happened to our ancestors. We suffered a lot, imagine them! That's why we want to protect him, he's human. He was meant to live there.

We think there must be another isolated Indian here on our land. If we had planes to overfly the entire area we could find out. On the side of Anavilhanas we believe there is, because the forest is very intense, but we're not certain. There is the Anahkwa [Waimiri Atroari village] report. During the war, they ran away and we don't know where they are. But those people, we believe they must exist, because they are wise people, very young. They disappeared... so how did it end, right? We only think of the incident of the hydroelectric plant, the Taboca company entering... if they didn't flatten their house... We have the hope of finding them one day. We never saw a trace again. That was a long time ago.

And if one day the Pirititi wish to have contact?

One day, if he decides, he really decides to come with us, nobody will fight with him. We will give everything we have. That's the way our people are. We can give them pans, everything that is a necessity. They might want to wear clothes, we will give them clothes. Not used clothes. Our clothes could be full of bacteria. Those people are healthy, they don't have any illnesses of the white man. It could cause them problems. That's why we don't want any *kaminja* [non-indigenous], any invader to get close to him. Because if the invader arrives and gives them used clothes, will he return to go and look after him?

The world of the kaminja is very kwada [bad, ugly]. They destroyed our forest, they are killing all our animals, they are killing our food. And the poor Indian will eat what? We have experience, we are seeing the outside world destroy \approx

everything without thinking about the future. We can help him [Pirititi] understand. It will take many years for him to understand, because the world of the *kaminja* is very difficult to understand.

The current situation of the indigenous peoples of Brazil

Now, the Indian is more abandoned. The government doesn't care about the Indian. They just think of deforestation, they just think of land division. When we [make a detection], either at the work front, or Funai staff, or any other non-governmental organ, the government will say there are no Indians there. The overflight was done, we saw a village... A few months later, people in the press saying that it was an invention, that the Pirititi don't exist, that the Waimiri Atroari have invented a new village of isolated Indians in there!

This government is not a good government, not for their own people, nor for our people. They want to issue decrees to open mines on Indigenous Land, even if it's official, even if the Indian doesn't want to. That is absurd, it is a lack of respect! The isolated people, to remain independent, have to stay there. The government has to take care not to mess with his land, not destroy his land. If they destroy his land, what is he going to eat? Where is he going to find another forest? Most of Brazil has already been deforested!



This error of the government isn't from nowadays. History says: '500 years ago Brazil was discovered'. It wasn't discovered! That's the mistake. That needs to be corrected. What government is going to correct that mistake? Who will? As long as that contaminated brain exists nobody will ever correct that mistake. It will only be fixed when new brain is in Congress, the deputies, governors. Only if you change the whole brain.

We Kinja are a warrior people, we are a tough people and we are going to live here.

We are going to fight for that isolated Indian, even if the government doesn't care. We will fight for him!

"BOTH THE WAIMIRI ATROARI AS MUCH AS THE PIRITITI ARE SURVIVORS

Marcelo de Sousa Cavalcante is the coordinator of the Waimiri-Atroari Ethnoenvironmental Protection Front for indigenous peoples of the region and works in collaboration with the Waimiri Atroari in protecting the Pirititi.

What are the main threats to these peoples? The Waimiri Atroari and Pirititi Indigenous Lands are besieged by Incra settlements, villages, cities with mills and farms, and fishermen, hunter and extractivist colonies. The greatest threats, pressures come from those places and people, given that the preservation of the forest, of animals, fish and chelonian sanctuaries are on these Indigenous Lands.

What is their history of contact? The most intense and recent contact of the Waimiri Atroari with our society happened 51 years ago with the construction of the BR-174, the Paranapanema mine and the Balbina hydroelectric plant. Contact of the Pirititi with our society is not known, but contact between the Pirititi with the Waimiri Atroari goes back a long time. In their history there has been a record of conflict, attempts to steal women and domestic tools and the use of clearings.

Both the Waimiri Atroari and the Pirititi are survivors. The former had no choice of whether to make contact or not with our society. The latter chose to isolate themselves from settlers as well as other non-indians, who know how to be close to them, and from the Waimiri Atroari, with whom they had intense conflict.

We only found their traces: stolen tools and food from the Waimiri Atroari fields.

What is the importance of the no contact policy? You are responsible for the people with whom you make contact. For example, in the case of the Waimiri Atroari, considered by Funai as people of recent contact. After the impact of three large enterprises and a violent outbreak of measles, their population was reduced from around 3,000 to under 400 people. They were going to disappear culturally and physically. But that changed with the Waimiri Atroari (indigenist and environmental) Program implemented by the sertanista Porfírio Carvalho, an agreement between Funai and Eletronorte. The indigenist philosophy was to lift the self-esteem and dignity of this people, not allowing the entry of anything that was degrading to Roman, ISA journalist.

editor's note Interview given to Clara

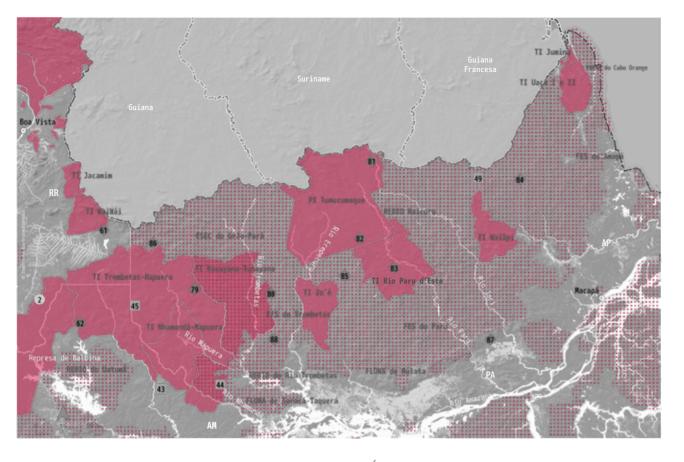
our society, such as alcohol, cigarettes, begging and other behaviour and things that are unnecessary to our culture. The Waimiri Atroari people reacted positively. Their population grew, their celebrations and rites of passage increased every year until they reached the natural balance of their society. In the case of the Pirititi, they don't want contact. So contact isn't made, but we protect them. The Waimiri Atroari, who live in conflict with them, also understand that and don't wish to make contact with the Pirititi.

How do you see the maintenance of restriction of use for lands where the isolados live? By restricting access to the use of lands occupied by isolados, the integrity of these peoples is maintained.

What is the context of the threats to the isolados and their territory? The Pirititi occupy the basins of the Branquinho, Trairi, Alalau and Pitinga rivers, according to reports from the Waimiri Atroari on where they have been sighted. One of their villages was sighted on an overflight close to the Branquinho River. The nearest settler was close to 7 km away. There were large neighbouring highways, a nearby village (close to 30km away) and several settlers along the highways.

The Protection Front was created in 2011 and the Pirititi TI was banned access in 2012. Soon after, our control teams discovered terraces of illegally extracted wood inside the interdicted TI. The logger invasions were contained thanks to our teams, formed of officials and Waimiri Atroari who were willing to protect the Pirititi. We also know of the existence of non-indigenous occupations there, but we don't know the number of invaders. We are waiting for Funai to carry out a land survey.





RECORDS OF ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN NORTH PARÁ

- Confirmed
- Under Study
- Information
- Capitals
- Deforestation
- Conservation Units
- Indigenous Lands
- International Border



"THOSE WE NO LONGER SEE": MEMORIES OF CONTACT AND ISOLATION AMONG THE KARÍB IN THE NORTH OF PARÁ

After decades of living in large concentrations in mission villages, the various indigenous groups of this vast region are reoccupying their ancestral lands and sharing, once again, areas with "those we no longer see": the 'isolated' relatives who stayed in their places of traditional occupation.

VICTOR ALCANTARA E SILVA CTI Anthropologist and Doctoral Candidate in Social Anthropology - PPGAS/UNB

Together with a staff member of the Cuminapanema Ethno-environmental Protection Front-(FPEC), I took part, in July 2017, in a meeting at the Turuni village, in which we presented the progress of the joint work¹ between the CTI and FPEC, the qualification of information about the presence of isolados in the region and a schedule of Funai expeditions. The Indians, at the end of the meeting, questioned the planning and argued that the region inhabited by the Inkarini (or Inkariyana) isolados was a high risk area: outside of Indigenous Lands and within the Trombetas State Forest. which could be exploited economically and is a garimpo hotbed. Their demand was for a trip

> 1 Developed under the 'Ethnoenvironmental Protection of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indigenous Peoples in the Amazon' project, undertaken by the CTI in technical cooperation with Funai, with support from Fundo Amazônia.

to a small igarapé where, 47 years ago, they lived for a few months with the Inarini. After returning from the meeting, we sat with an old Katxuyana leader to begin planning and listened to his account of the encounter.

In 1970, two years after the Katxuyana were removed from their village on the Cachorro River and taken to the Tiriyós Mission, gateiros (skin hunters) going up the Erepecuru River arrived at the mission/military base and gave news of the presence of Indians speaking their same language living downstream. At the end of the year, the Katxuyana and Tiriyó organised a trip in which for several days they descended the long stretches of waterfalls of the Erepecuru River in rowing canoes. On the way, other gateiros [hunters] and garimpeiros confirmed the story: if they went up one of the tributaries of the lower Erepecuru, they would find old houses belonging to the Indians. After three days travelling up the igarapé they found only garimpeiro and quilombola camps. Discouraged, they began their journey back.

Then we saw a castanheira [Brazil nut tree]. - Look there, a castanheira! Let's see if there are husks we can make vinho with? [...] And then we saw it! There was a small igarapé and we saw a large opening, it was different, we saw an old house, an already made tapiri, done by the Indians. They make them like that, they make a house inside and surround it with straw. [...] There were two houses in the centre, we know how it is, we make them. So we were happy! - Let's see where the path goes. The path led to the other side [of another igarapé]. We followed the road, it was different, like a path with a ravine. We carried on.

The words above are the Katxuyana leader's. He said that, as it was late, they couldn't follow the path on that day. The next day they walked until around midday and then returned. They \$ set out once again carrying hammocks, fire and flour, in order to sleep on the way. In the early afternoon they found more houses near a small clearing with potatoes, carás and papaya. The fire was still burning from the day before. Hanging in a tree, they noticed a body wrapped in straw. They camped. The following day, they continued with caution and reached the banks of another igarapé.

We heard them, they had a port, and another one further up [...]. Then we heard a murmuring. - It's here, they're here! It didn't sound like a lot of people. [...] - So it's here, now what? Then the elder [Katxuyana], as we do, the elder knows when he finds a relative who was never contacted. - This is how we'll do it. He put his wife in front, and he was behind, a sign that the relative is not a warrior, for the relative to know when it's not a warrior. He knows, so that's what we'll do. He is coordinating, he knows how to speak too, we knew it was Inkarini. Inkarini our language is well known, so let's see. We sang a bit and then shouted, a celebratory sign, a sign of meeting.

Despite their care, the first meeting was somewhat tense. Caught by surprise, the Inkarïnï reacted. The leader's description follows:

There was an [Inkarïnï] elder, an old man. He picked up a piece of wood, a cudgel, speaking a Katxuyana language, and at that moment another one was on the bank and came out, another younger one, and said:

- Calm down! The old man calmed down.

- Maybe they are other people, our friends, our relatives? He calmed the old man down. He came over, the other one, and then they talked. He said: - What is your ethnicity? - We are Katxuyana! - Ah, I know Katxuyana.

- Katxuyana were our friends, we celebrat-

ed together, always visited. He remembered his old ones. – It's us! It is not Karaiwa,² it is not your enemy, we are your relatives. The old man calmed down. The women hid, it was only he who stayed out with us.

On this trip, three days went by with the Inkarïnï, and they said farewell with the promise of returning next year. Back in the Tiriyós mission, they told the others about who they had met, that they were relatives, spoke the same language, they painted and adorned themselves like the Katxuyana.

- So, what do we do? - We will always keep in contact with them, and if they want to, one day, we can bring them! - But for now, we'll only go there to visit, to spend some time with them there, not to bring them back soon. That's what we agreed.

In 1971 they organised another trip, this time with support from the prelacy of Óbidos. They took a plane to the city of Óbidos and went up the Erepecuru River by boat to the quilombola community of Pancada, which gave support for them to reach the campsite on their previous trip. Once again they were received by the Inkarïnï with suspicion. The situation then calmed down when they recognised the Katxuyana from the previous trip. This time, they stayed with them for four months. Although invited, the Inkarïnï were not interested in following them back to the Mission, but said to the Katxuyana that they were always welcome. The leader concluded:

I want to go back again, I want to. But sadly there is no more support for me. And then finally, I forgot. But I haven't forgotten, in my dreams, my relatives are always there, we always talk. Now we are here closeby [in

2 Non-indigenous, white.

the Cachorro River]. If it was how we were at the time, younger, then I would organise a trip and go and find them, right?

The expedition, which took place in November 2017, was organised by FPEC/Funai, with support from the CTI, together with the Katxuyana, Kahyana and Tiriyó, as a result of the dialogue we had been establishing with groups from the Trombetas-Mapuera, Nhamundá-Mapuera and Katxuyana-Tunayana TIs regarding the presence of isolated peoples in the area.³ For the Indians, the trip meant the possibility of a new reunion with the Inkarïnï.

The story of the Katxuyana leader illustrates one of the many episodes of encounters and misencounters which mark the history of the indigenous peoples of this region.⁴ Displacement caused by pressure from colonisation and eco-

3 The Cuminapanema Contact Front was created during the process of contact with the Zo'é, after the withdrawal of the Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil from the area, at the beginning of the 1990s. Subsequently called the FPE Cuminapanema, it worked exclusively with the recently contacted Zo'é until 2010. After 2010, it began to undertake operations for monitoring and locating records of isolated indigenous peoples within its area of activity, comprising the north of Pará, part of Amazonas and Amapá. Support was provided by CTI, from 2015 to 2018, within the purview of the project mentioned above.

4 As told by the history of the Katxuyana, Txikiyana and Kahyana peoples, all these groups, including the Inkarïnï, lived in the region of Óbidos, from where the first groups went up the tributaries of the upper Trombetas, and the last groups along the Erepecuru River (cf. Frikel, 1966 and 1970; Coudreau, 1901; Nicolino, 1946). For a Txikiyana perspective, see Alcantara e Silva (2015).

nomic fronts, as well as missionary contact initiatives, alters the constant movements of approach and distance among the groups. The emergence of the 'isolados' needs to be situated within this history, as it was precisely 'contact' which, through cutting the networks of native relations, produced isolation – understood as the rupture, even if temporary, of these relations.

Despite the advance of forest product extraction-based economic fronts over the entire region throughout the first half of the 20th century, operations by the Indian Protection Service (SPI) in that period were restricted to the Jatapu River, where, in 1942, it installed an Indigenous Attraction Post (PIA Jatapu) above the Santa Maria waterfall. The Xowyana, Kararayana and Okoyimoyana groups were concentrated at this post. Epidemics caused part of these groups to move away from the Jatapu River and along its tributaries.

In other areas, it was the Indians themselves who were responsible for contact and bringing the isolados to live in their villages. This cycle of contacts began in 1949 when missionaries of the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM) settled among a small Waiwai group in the upper Essequibo, on the border of Guyana and Brazil. The Waiwai initially invited groups they kept exchange circuits with in the upper Mapuera, such as the Xerew, Parukwoto, Txarumayana and Mawayana. These groups then invited others from their own networks of relations, such as the Xerew of the Acarí River, Tunayana and Txikiyana, and so on, bringing groups from the rivers Nhamundá, Mapuera, Jatapu, Turuni, Acarí, Trombetas, among others to the Kanaxen mission-village.

Other missions were formed. In 1958, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) began to operate on the Nhamundá River. At the end of the 1960s, with the participation of indigenous people from the Kanaxen mission-village, the UFM set up the Araraparu mission among the

Tiriyó in the south of Suriname, where the remaining Tunayana and Txikiyana were taken, after part of the group went to Kanaxen.

In 1968, the Katxuyana of the Cachorro River, with whom part of the Kahyana and the Werikivana had met, were moved from their villages to the prelacy of Óbidos and taken in Brazilian Air Force (FAB) planes to the Tiriyós mission, installed at the Brazil-Suriname border, at the headwaters of the Erepecuru River. A small group which remained at the Cachorro River moved to the Nhamundá River, where they were stopped by the missionary and Indian pastors from returning to their former area. If previously these peoples lived in hundreds of dispersed villages, in a few years they became concentrated in a small number of large mission villages distant from each other. 5 However, in the various stories of contact with these peoples, there is always a group which refused, which did not want to leave its place, which dispersed in the forest and was never seen again.

If since the 1950s the missions had imposed a form of contact based on the Karíb in the north of the Amazon, the situation on the Brazilian side worsened in the 1960s when military geopolitics in the Amazon was elevated to a project of the military government and large infrastructure works were planned to promote the 'integration' of the region to global capitalist markets. A little-documented side of this geopolitics was that the FAB struck an alliance with the missionaries who were already active in these areas. For the creation of the Tiriyós Mission, in 1959, an informal partnership was held between the prelacy of Óbidos and the military, christened the

5 They never stopped travelling to and using portions of their old territories, to visit relatives as well as to seek crops in their former fields, collect fruit, go fishing or spend time there.

Trinomio FAB-Missionário-Indio (CEDI, 1983). This partnership was intended to create points of support on Brazil's borders with Suriname, Guiana and Venezuela through the opening of airstips, settlement of Indians and missionary 'acculturation'.

In 1960, Operation Parima was set up to investigate evangelical missionaries in the Rio Branco Territory (Roraima) and resulted in an alliance between the FAB and members of the World Evangelization Crusade, the name adopted by the UFM in Brazil. Replicating the Tiriyós Mission, the FAB had support from the Crusade, which was already active in Uaicás, to open new airstrips in Parima and Surucucus, and install a post on the border. In 1962, the FAB, with support from UFM missionaries, set out from Kanaxen with indigenous people to open an airstrip near the Cafuini River, named 'Uai Uai', with the intention of repatriating and concentrating the Waiwai. As such, the 'emptiness' propagandised by the military dictatorship was created on indigenous territories, securing the space needed for large projects to move forward.

These projects still threaten the existence of the peoples of this region. In 2014, in the midst of federal government efforts to build large hydroelectric plants on Amazonian rivers, the Energy Research Company (EPE) surreptitiously tried to resume studies for the Cachoeira Porteira HPP and was barred by the MPF after complaints from the Indians and quilombolas of the Trombetas River. In January 2019, Jair Bolsonaro announced he would issue a decree to create the Barão de Rio Branco project. Devised by the Government's Strategic Affairs Department, the proposal resumes projects from the time of the dictatorship and provides for three large works in the state of Pará: a hydroelectric plant on the Trombetas River, a bridge over the Amazon River in the municipality of Óbidos, and an

extension of the BR-163 reaching the border with Suriname.

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I often heard people who lived in these missions say they were 'deceived' by those who took them there. If the continuous movements of fusion and fission, approaching and distancing, 'contact' and 'isolation' are constitutive of the Karib groups of the region, for those invited by others to see their villages, it was natural to invite them back. From the indigenous point of view, 'contact' and 'isolation' are both possible - and reversible - forms of relating. However, the type of Contact (Contact with a capital C, in the State-form) espoused by the missions, the SPI, the military, made the Karib's pendular movement impossible, as they could no longer return to their own villages. At the same time, those who used to live close to others who had left had their relationship networks cut off. Contact impeded reversibility by creating the categories of Isolated and Contacted: it is possible to cease to be isolated, but not cease to be contacted. As such, it was concentration in large villages that produced the 'isolation of the isolados' by straining the relationships between the groups, fragmenting their native networks and restricting their movements within the space.

The Waiwai, Tiriyó and others who engaged in these contacts, did so in their own way, analogous to that of inter-visitation and invitations to celebrations. In the space of the missions however, this mode was captured and made to work in favour of concentration. Nonetheless, those who invited other peoples to come to the missions said that they did so to protect their relatives who were 'suffering' in the forest. From this perspective, the way to effectuate that protection was to bring groups which had remained in the forest closer, as a way of freeing them from the extermination and suffering which they had themselves experienced.

Their protagonism in these contacts created, in relation to Funai, a paradoxical image of the Waiwai: although their expertise was used in attraction fronts of other indigenous groups, such as the Arara Attraction Front, it was also used to associate them to missionary projects, which prevented them, until very recently, from maintaining relations with the Waimiri Atroari and the Zo'é.

Currently, the various peoples of this vast region are in an accelerated process of dispersal through their ancestral territories. Leaving the large concentrations and reoccupying the places of their former villages, they once again share a space with those who stayed. And so they resume relations with the isolados through the stories of their elders and their fleeting presence.

The change of direction in Brazilian indigenist policy from the end of the 1980s, with the establishment of protective actions geared towards respecting the choice of isolation, the non-obligation of contact and the constitutional guarantee of Indigenous Lands opened up a new perspective for relationships between peoples and isolados. Throughout the CTI and FPEC project activities, an idea became central for the Indians: the 'protection' of the isolados. It has become evident that it is possible to protect isolado land from invasion by Karaiwa and so, over those years, a consensus was built around the idea that the best thing to do, for now, is to leave them where they are, until they so wish. Indigenous people do not give up seeking contact (lowercase c) with them, that is, to see their signs, to be certain they are well and to protect their lands. They have not given up on maintaining relations with the others they suggestively call, in their different languages, 'those we no longer see'.

"ALL THESE TRACES ARE CLEAR SIGNS OF THE PRESENCE OF ISOLADOS IN THE REGION

Fabio Nogueira Ribeiro is the coordinator of the Cuminapanema Ethno-Environmental Protection Front (FPEC), whose area of operations spans the Zo>é TI and 12 records of dispersed isolated groups, between the rivers Jatapu (Roraima/Amazonas) to the west, and the Oiapogue River, to the east. The Front operates on an extensive area: northern Pará, northern Amapá, northeast Amazonas and southeast Roraima.

How does the Front do its job? The Cuminapanema Front is located in the city of Santarém (Pará). There is an FPEC Protection Base in the Zo>é TI with a continuous Funai staff presence.

Regarding records of isolados, we follow the CGIIRC methodology of collecting field data (through expeditions, overflights, and talking to populations close to the records) and desk research (documentary and bibliographic searches, analysis of satellite images) and coordination of various kinds with indigenous and indigenist organisations and state bodies, with the aim of consolidating a policy of protection of territories occupied by these isolated groups.

Does the Front today have the resources it needs to fulfil its role? The main obstacle for the Cuminapanema Front is the lack of personnel. We are currently six people, who are responsible for the protection policy of isolated and recently contacted peoples in the FPEC's area of activity. Through partnerships with indigenous and indigenist organisations, the Front has been able to fulfil its institutional role, mainly in the Zo>é TI and with the records of isolados in the region of the rivers Jatapu, Nhamundá, Mapuera and Trombetas. However, due to the lack of personnel, systematic activity has not been possible for records located in the Maicuru, Paru de Leste, Jari, Amapari and Oiapoque river basins.

How did the last monitoring expeditions go? In recent years, there have been expeditions for locating isolated groups in the interior of the Katxuyana-Tunayana and Trombetas-Mapuera TIs, the Grão Pará Ecological Station and the Trombetas State Forest, among others. There have also been expeditions to monitor the Zo>é and Katxuyana-Tunayana Indigenous Lands. These expeditions were for gathering information on the presence of isolated groups in the regions mentioned and on the presence of invaders in

editor's note Interview given to Victoria Franco, ISA journalist

Indigenous Lands - mainly garimpeiros - and/or areas where there are records of isolated peoples.

When monitoring, what are the traces you find? On the expeditions of recent years we have found traces such as: capoeiras, ceramic shards, discarded envira bark, footprints, broken branches, varadouros, cut hair, animal feathers, broken jabuti bark. As all of those traces are found in areas where contacted indigenous people have not been in a long time, they are clear indications of the presence of isolados in the region.

What still needs to be done to improve the Front's work? The progress of FPE work structures depends on the expansion of staff, the institutional strengthening of Funai (resource management, institutional coordination, continued training of staff in middle and end areas) and the expanded participation of the indigenous peoples of areas surrounding the territories of isolated groups in protection policy.

Specifically regarding the policy of protection of isolated peoples, the continued training of our staff, the continued functioning of the Ethno-environmental Protection Bases (BAPEs) and improvement of budget execution capacity and institutional coordination of the indigenous body, are, in my view, essential.

Regarding policies of territorial protection and the promotion of the rights of recently contacted people, the coordination and continuity of long term indigenist programs by Funai, the coordination of indigenous and indigenist organisations of civil society and the training of Funai and Sesai staff so as to guarantee the effective presence of the state on Indigenous Lands inhabited by those peoples are the main challenges.

Are there non-isolated indigenous peoples living in the region? Yes, in the region of the Trombetas-Mapuera, Nhamundá-Mapuera and Katxuyana-Tunayana TIs there are various indigenous peoples, known as Waiwai, Hixkariyana, Katxuyana, Kahyana and Tunayana. Although I'm not absolutely certain, I believe the population of those groups totals approximately 4,000 people. These peoples have a historical relationship with the groups we today classify as 'isolados'. During the 1950s and 1960s, these groups of peoples (-yana) composed vast networks of relations which covered practically the entire region of the Guianas.

What is the history of contact in the region of the Guianas? The 'history of contact' of that region is very complex and it is impossible to go into details here, even more so if we consider the extension of the area of FPEC activity, which covers the immense forest from Oiapoque to Jatapu. However, in the region where FPEC has concentrated its efforts, i.e. the region of Trombetas-Mapuera and Tumucumaque, the history of contact is well documented. In a general sense, the various Karib-speaking groups which live scattered over vast areas of forest and who relate to each other through wide networks of land and river routes 🙈 were, from the end of the 1950s, concentrated in large missionary settlements, with the main ones being: Kanashen (in Guiana), Alalaparu and Palomeu (in Suriname) and Missão Tiriyó (in Brasil).

This process of concentration and evangelisation had several consequences, the main ones being the 'emptying' of large interfluvial areas and the fracture of the networks of Amerindian relations. Several groups and malocas chose to live in the large missions. Others didn't, and those who 'didn't go' ended up constituting the groups which today the Brazilian state recognises as 'isolados'.

That is to say, populations who previously were definitely a part of these wide networks of relations, but, with the emptying of the region, became 'isolated' at specific points of these interfluvial areas. This missionary policy of concentrating indigenous peoples around large missions proved to be, over time, inadequate. As time passed, tensions between formerly dispersed groups and food scarcity in populous regions resulted in the decentralisation of these large missionary settlements and the formation of new villages.

This process can be observed in most of the Indigenous Lands of the region, particularly in the rivers Nhamundá and Mapuera, and in the region of Kwamalasamutu (in Suriname) and in the Tiriyó Mission, in the Parque do Tumucumaque TI. The history of contact of the Zo>é is a separate chapter and was even more recent, in 1987. I recommend, in this case, reading the works of the anthropologist Dominique Tilkin Gallois, including the Detailed Identification and Delimitation Report (RCID) of the Zo>é TI.

The fact that contact in the region is so recent, with most of the populations considered by the Brazilian state to be contacted peoples in north Pará (Waiwai, Hixkariyana, Katxuyana, Tiriyó etc.), means that there is a very vivid memory of the networks of Amerindian relations existing in the period before the great migrations to the missionary settlements. The RCIDs of the Trombetas-Mapuera and Katxuyana-Tunayana TIs, by the anthropologist Ruben Caixeta de Queiroz (UFMG), are very informative on the subject.

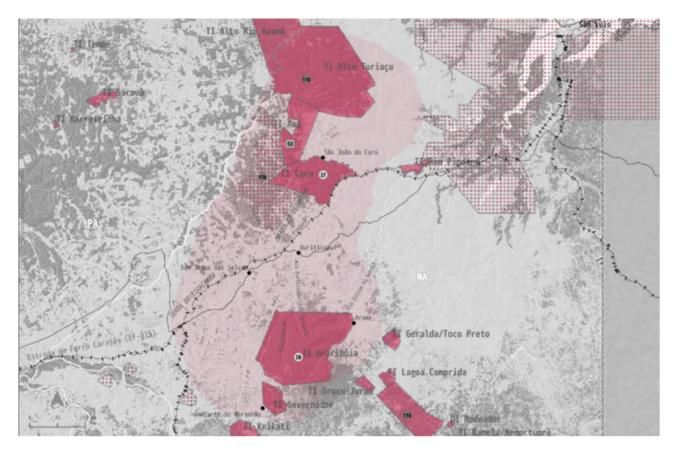
What is the importance of the no-contact policy? Based on the principle of precaution, and taking into account that the 'isolation' of certain indigenous groups comes from a deliberate decision, the no-contact policy is important as it has enabled the reorientation of the state's relationship with indigenous peoples who do not maintain permanent relations with 'national society'. In other words, if previously the policy was of annihilation ('just war' in the colonial period), pacification, evangelisation and contact, always aiming for the integration and liberation of indigenous territories, the no-contact policy ended up internalising the right of difference (or right to be 'isolated') and territorial protection as its fundamental premises. The fact is, after more than three decades of consolidation of the no-contact policy, this Brazilian public policy is today a benchmark for Amazonian countries with a verified presence of isolated Indians.

What is the importance of maintaining the restriction of use for lands occupied by isolados? The tool of use restriction is of essential importance in the context of the no-contact policy, as, in view of the principle of precaution, it enables the Protection Front to safeguard the territory of a population in a high vulnerability situation, as is the example of the Piripkura and the Pirititi, and to carry out field research which will substantiate later land regularisation of the area.

What is the relation between the permanence of those populations in those territories and the environmental conservation of those areas? In the region in question, the records of isolated groups match the interfluvial and headwater regions of practically all the rivers which run to the Amazon: Jatapu, Nhamundá, Mapuera, Cachorro, Trombetas, Erepecuru, Cuminapanema, Maicuru, Paru de Leste, Jari, Amapari and Oiapoque. The region is comprised of an immense Amazonian corridor of protected areas, composed of Indigenous Lands, Quilombola Territories and Conservation Units. The presence of isolados in those areas and the protection of those territories by the state are, therefore, essential factors in the conservation of that area of the Amazon.

What are the greatest threats to these peoples and their territories? The FPEC's area of activity is part of a region which covers north Pará and small portions of the states of Amapá, Amazonas and Roraima. This area forms a huge forest, which was inhabited by indigenous peoples for millennia. In the 1960s and 1970s, some government projects for opening highways and building hydroelectric power plants didn't go ahead. However, there are various sources of pressure. The greatest threats to these peoples are related to clandestine garimpo activity, fundamentalist evangelical missionaries active in the region and government incentives for mining and opening highways in areas very close to some of the records of isolated peoples. Some highways come very close to Indigenous Lands (as is the case of the Jatapuzinho region, in which a highway coming from Caroebe-RR reaches the border of the Indigenous Land) and there is evidence of international drug trafficking in the region. It is also a focus of public and private interests for mineral exploitation and logging which, if consolidated in future, will be vectors of pressure on the indigenous territories.





AREA OF TRADITIONAL AWÁ GUAJÁ OCCUPATION

- Confirmed
- Under Study
- Information
- Area of Traditional Awá Guajá Occupation
- ⊙ Capitals
- Cities of reference
- Deforestation
- Conservation Units
- Indigenous Lands
- —— BR-222
- ├ | Railway
- Legal Amazonia



THROUGH THE FORESTS OF THE PINDARÉ RIVER: IMAGES OF AWA GUAJÁ ISOLATION¹

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The Contact of 2015

In the first days of 2015 contact with two Awa Guajá women and one man was reported in the Indigenous Land of Caru in Maranhão. The news spread online from sources such as Funai, associations such as Cimi as well as other news sites.³ The two women were Itapirỹ, Marjuá and the son of one of them,

- 1 The exercise proposed here is to think critically of the situation of the so-called 'isolated indigenous people' based on my practical experience with the Awa Guajá. As the author, I am aware of the importance and dedication of Funai and Sesai employees involved directly and indirectly in the effort and protection of the isolated collectives, and of the Awa Guajá in particular. As such, despite containing passages with criticisms, the present study aims first and foremost to contribute both to the debate as well as policy regarding the issue.
- 2 This research was supported by FAPESP, whom I thank, through research support no. 2015/12658-6.
- 3 Contact was made in the last days of 2014, between the 30th and 31st of December of 2014, with news reports circulating at the beginning of 2015.

a young man named Taky.⁴ They are the remaining members of a group which resisted contact since the 80s, known as the 'Miri-Miri group', in reference to the name of their leader. The group even warranted the creation of the Tiracambu Post (TI Caru) which aimed to settle them there, but Miri-Miri and his people preferred to stay in the forest. It is estimated that all existing isolated people in TI Caru are remaining members or descendents of this group.

After decades on the run, through mountains and forests drained by the rivers Pindaré and Caru, Itapirỹ, Marjuá and Taky found themselves trapped, with no prospects, in one of the Amazon's most threatened territories. Contact, full of trauma and radical changes, could have been the outcome of this survival story, but unfortunately, especially for the two women, it was the beginning of a new cycle of agony.

The new village, a place which should have been a shelter, became (literally) a space of death. While the young Taky restarted is life in the village of Tiracambu, even getting married there, his mother and aunt experienced the worst of what should have been their 'adaptation' to a new life. They suffered greatly from a change of diet to which they never adapted; they were harassed by all sorts of agents, including the press and organizations seeking images – many to be used in campaigns to protect 'isolated peoples'. Furthermore, invasive medical interventions only increased

4 Without altering the economics of the arguments or ethnographic data, all names of Awa Guajá people have been changed to preserve the anonymity of those involved.

their discomfort⁵ (see Magalhães & Maxikôa, 2017). Before the state health apparatus, the two women were trapped by institutions and forms of approach which were in many ways inadequate for handling such vulnerability.6 If one takes into account not only the contact of 2015 but also those made previously (such as 2006, also in TI Caru), one notices that people who previously lived in the forest do not fully adapt to life in the villages to which they are transferred. Those who lived in 'isolation' until recently are not interested in keeping relations with people from outside the villages, with this new, very small-scale coexistence being more than enough.

The end of the process of contact reported here is even more melancholic. Marjuá spent a long time in São Luís with Itapirỹ for the treatment of bouts of flu and tuberculosis as well

> 5 I was able to meet an excellent doctor who was working with Sesai and CGIIRC/ Funai and all concerns regarding the preservation of the women's dignity. Even so, medical interventions in such extreme cases are always complicated and wearing.

> 6 It is not a matter of relativizing the complicated choices made by the Sesai teams throughout the process as, when I mention the various agents' interaction in this process I mean all of them, including myself. That same year, 2015, I received a call from two Sesai coordinators in Brasília wishing to consult about the transfer to a São Luís hospital of two recently-contacted women, as they were literally dying of starvation in the village of Tiracambu. My own opinion was that between immediate death in the village and a chance of recovery in hospital, the hospital was preferable. Fortunately, it turned out to be a temporarily successful operation.

image The Awa Guajá contacted in 2014, Tiracambu village, Caru TI, Maranhão.

as a severe case of starvation caused by her non-adaptability to the new diet, whose foods were simply rejected by her body. Finally in 2016 they returned to the Tiracambu village, and from there they fled to the forest, where Mariuá died in 2017. Her death was the result of successive cycles of respiratory illnesses and the fragility of her body in the face of the process of contact. It is yet another episode which lays bare the difficulty the Brazilian state has in dealing with isolated indigenous people, as well as being a portrait of the violence present in such relations.

In a complex account transcribed by linguist Marina Magalhães together with Maxikoa Awa Guajá (2017), we discover that both women decided to return to the forest because Marjuá, above all, was "terrified of medication". Putting aside the decisions – always complicated and fraught with dilemmas - of the Protection Front and Sesai in these situations, it can be affirmed that from December 2014 until 2016 (when they returned to the forest), both women continuously took medication. According to Itapiry, constantly being medicated was the salient factor for Marjuá's return to the forest, withdrawing from the village, the health service and the non-indigenous world, the karaí. The 'food' was another factor of attrition, as nothing whatsoever the karaí could offer Marjuá was tolerated: flour, rice, porridge, not even fruit.

Itapirỹ says that she and the late Marjuá couldn't stand the whites 'tampering' with them any longer, and as such took the first opportunity they had to return to the forest. In the forest all they found was more flight and hunger. Marjuá passed away in the forest and Itapirỹ was found - hungry and decrepit - by a group of Awa hunters at the headwaters of the Traíra stream, in TI Caru. Today she lives relatively well in the Tiracambu village with her son. She is there a little by choice and largely by tolerance.



Stories of Escape and Reinvention

The Awa Guajá are a small indigenous population living in the eastern portion of the Amazon, more specifically to the Northeast of Maranhão. They are estimated to be around 520 people (census by the author, 2018). The majority have lived in contact for decades in villages in the Alto Turiaçu, Awá and Caru TIs, but also in isolated groups, confirmed by Funai, living between the Awa and Caru TIs. However, it is further south and east, in the Araribóia TI, the area of guajajara occupation, where the main record of the isolated Awa Guajá can be found.

The presence of 'the isolated of Araribóia' is of great concern not only to Funai employees, but also to the Guajajara (or Tenetehara), who share their territory with these isolated people, and who have been acting as protectors of those Awá who do not wish for contact. Similarly, the Awa Guajá who live in the villages are concerned with the precarious way of life of their 'isolated relatives'. As such, men who live in the Caru and Awá TIs con-

stantly join expeditions of the Araribóia TI organized by the Awá-Guajá (FPEAG) / Funai Ethno-Environmental Protection Front, to in some way contribute to the protection of their relatives.

The isolated Awa Guajá of the Araribóia TI add up to dozens of people, differing from the isolated groups who live between the Awá and Caru TIs, who are less numerous. From the perspective of the contacted groups, those we know of as 'isolated' are known as 'people of the bush' (awa ka'apahara) when considered 'close', or 'angry people' (mihua) when thought of as distant, which could be, the Awa say, even a different indigenous people that the whites do not know of.

If we observe the type of conviviality established between the Guajajara of the Araribóia TI and the Awa Guajá population living there, whose various encounters are often silent and elusive, we find a form of mutual knowledge. A similar thing happens with the Awa Guajá of the Caru and Awá TIs, who correlate the isolated people of those areas with their own family

groups, tracing relations through kinship and history. Uncontacted groups are linked to relatives of parents, uncles and grandparents, as if the 'relatives of the bush' – as they are often called – were people of the past who still live in those woods.

Thus following Awa Guajá thinking, I use the term 'isolated' (isolados in Portuguese) with quotation marks to show that there exists, at least for the people living in the villages, a varied spectrum of the types of people living in the forest. Some would be close, literal relatives, others not so. With some, contact is desired, with others it is not. It could be other Awa Guajá, whose names and history is partially known by older Awa from the villages; people who have always chosen to live in the forest, without seeking proximity with the non-indigenous. However, these isolados may also be from another people unknown to us: 'angry people' called mihua. The Awa Guajá who live in the villages are not full of certainties on the subject of the isolados and as such, a cultivation of this mistrust, this certain cautious doubt, is something we can learn from them.

According to the news, Funai reports, disparate documentation and, overall, accounts from the Guajajara, the estimated number of isolated Awa Guajá in the Araribóia TI is at least 60. It is a surprising figure, as it concerns isolated groups living on Indigenous Land which is home to over 14,000 Guajajara people

and is subjected to extremely high rates of deforestation resulting from illegal logging.7

Little is known about how the isolated Awa Guajá organise; how many groups there are; which groups are in which regions of the TI; the exact number of people, as well as other strategic information. Due to their great mobility and the fact they are constantly fleeing loggers, drug traffickers, posseiros [squatters] and other invaders, it is difficult to be sure of where those isolated groups are or even their number.

Up until the 1990s other contact was made in the Araribóia region with Awa Guajá families and/or individuals who were later transferred to the Caru and Awá TIs. We can therefore affirm that the isolados who today are resisting in the Araribóia TI are the remaining members of a population group composed of speakers of the same language (Guajá), who have lived separate for a long time. In other words, there is little doubt from the Protection Front (FPEAG) about which indigenous collective we would be dealing with in the Araribóia TI. The FPEAG is certain that the Araribóia TI isolados are all Awa Guajá. However, as mentioned previously, the Awa are wary of what type of people those isolados are, and say they will only be certain they are really Awa when they hear the language they speak. If it is the Guajá language, then yes, they are awatea, 'people like us'.

The form in which the Awa Guajá always organised (small villages and settlements)

is a reflection of a particular sociality. They prefer independent and more 'fragmented' forms of social organization, characterized even by the estrangement between Awa Guajá collectives themselves. Even currently, their villages, formed of different families, are organized by 'sectors' based on groups of important men or 'heads' (tamỹ). And after decades of being organized into four villages (Cocal, Awa, Tiracambu and Juriti), the contacted Awa Guajá are dividing into new ones, and we have no knowledge of how many more will form.

This ebbing and flowing movement may help us understand the Awa who live in isolation, as well as how they are seen by those living in the villages. Although they share a common social history of similar drama and episodes, the people of each region have experienced different forms of escape. It is precisely this multi-locality which causes the Awa Guajá to spread from the Alto Turiaçu, Awá and Caru TIs to the Araribóia TI. There are, for example, signs of the presence and passage of the Awa in regions very distant from one another, from the city of Araguaina in Tocantins, through the region between the rivers Zutiua and Pindaré, to settlements in the lower Caru River; regions which are hundreds of kilometres away from each other.

Living far away from each other, from before contact until today, the different local Awa Guajá groups, as previously stated, do not form a homogenous group. They do not correspond, therefore, to an idealised 'indigenous group' with intercommunal exchanges, self-identification with the 'group' and alliances in different situations. Paradoxical as it may seem, it was perhaps this very 'fragmentation' which allowed the Awa to remain uncontacted by non-indigenous people, thus sparing them from an even more tragic end, such as complete extermination.

Due to these characteristics, the history of contact with the Awa Guajá is based on spe-

cific cases made with small collectives and not an entire population. As expected, there are always groups who allow themselves to be contacted or even seek to be contacted, mainly for reasons related to health, food or other pressures, while others refuse contact. The result is what we see today: on the one hand, a process of contact which has lasted at least 50 years with collectives who continue to resist contact with non-indigenous people; on the other hand, the newly-contacted Awa Guajá living in a situation of extreme vulnerability in regards to health, territorial protection and access to adequate food. This can be seen in the high number of deaths which have been occurring in the Awa villages.

In the case of the people living in the villages - which the state classifies as 'recently contacted' and therefore under heavy guardianship - we are talking about a people who have experienced various policies of contact: from the creation of the so-called 'attraction fronts' to indigenous posts, the restructuring of Funai and the creation of Protection Fronts. Throughout this period, the recently contacted Awa were excluded from participating in any process which may have prepared them for the barbarity that would ensue, most recently with the doubling of the Carajás railway line and the ascension to power of a government represented by a president who is hostile to the climate change agenda and avowedly racist and anti-indigenous, elected in Brazil in 2018.

The Awa Guajá are today caught in a whirlwind which involves the Awá-Guajá Ethnoenvironmental Protection Front, the Guajajara (now their allies in protection of the forest as 'Guardians'), as well as other agents, all with vast resources from the Basic Environmental Plan (PBA) for the expansion of Vale's Carajás railway line. In order to deal with these challenges, two indigenous associations were created with the aim of gaining strength. In 2018 the Kak Association (TI Alto Turiaçu) and the

⁷ The satellite monitoring system created by ISA has been detecting an average of 590 monthly logging alerts since analysis began (September 2018). Images indicate that in the period of September 2018 to April 2019 alone 64.4 km were cleared for small roads used for theft of wood. known as ramais. Ramais total 1214.7 km, covering 20% of the Araribóia TI, which is 413.000 hectares.

Arari Association (TIs Caru and Awá) were founded. The Awa, for decades portrayed as 'exotic', 'nomads', 'hunter-gatherers', 'survivors' and other adjectives which emphasise a mistaken 'primitiveness', wish to manage their own lives. Challenges such as the influx of money from social benefits, the arrival of NGOs, environmental compensation projects and even evangelical missions (as in Alto Turiacu TI), have put much uncertainty, even existential, before the Awa Guajá. The greatest challenge lies in ensuring a compatible form between environmental protection, the development of sustainable sources of income and upholding quality of life, not only for themselves but also the isolados.

Araribóia Indigenous Land: Time and Land

The Araribóia Indigenous Land is an area where there is still a large Awa Guajá contingent in voluntary isolation. Not by chance, this TI has a topography formed of small mountains and hills as well as quite dry areas far from water resources which served as a shelter for a large part of the population for hundreds of years. They are a people who leave few traces on the landscape as they do not plant (in the case of the isolados), they are materially minimalist and have an interest in the art of hunting to which silence and discretion are essential. This population has always occupied the higher parts of the forest. They are people of the headwaters. As such, to look at the TI Araribóia is to look at an ecological history which is invisible to non-indigenous eyes.

When observing the history of the occupation of this TI, we see that the Awa Guajá were always in proximity to the Pindaré River, which is today still considered the 'great river' (y'ramãj). The path of the Pindaré allowed for a migratory flow, since the 19th century, which started in the Araribóia TI in the direction of what is today the Caru TI, and from here in the direction of the region of the present day

TIs Awá and Alto Turiaçu, further north. It was probably through the Pindaré River that the Awa occupied a large part of their territory, arriving at the headwaters of the Caru River and its streams (igarapés). If we look at the tributaries of the Pindaré, such as the rivers Zutiua, Buriticupu and Caru, we can see this basin as an almost arterial group which drains the entire traditional Awá Guajá territory. The 20th century interrupted this flow with the arrival of migrants, the construction of BR-222 in the 1960s and the Carajás railway line in the 1980s.

To think of the TI Araribóia region as historically the 'heart' of a large Awa Guajá territory was an idea raised by Gomes and Meirelles in an account of a trip (2002). The authors noted that the mountainous areas of both the TI Araribóia as well as nearby ranges (Desordem and Tiracambu) were always occupied by the Awa due to their low 'agricultural interest' for people such as the Ka'apor and Guajajara. The Araribóia TI seems to be central to understanding not only the isolados who live there, but also the Awa who live in other TIs.

It is as if all the Awa were connected to common ancestors who lived in the region which today is TI Araribóia. If in recent decades the two areas with a confirmed presence of isolados (between TIs Awá and Caru and in TI Araribóia) shelter independent groups, in the sense of being, according to Funai, different 'records', this was not the case decades ago, if we observe the occupation of the region in the long term. Before the construction of the BR-222 highway (in the 1960s), there was something resembling a 'continuous Awa Guajá territory', formed by a kind of corridor which extended from the Araribóia TI to the Alto Turiaçu TI.

What lies at the origin of almost the entire Awa Guajá exodus, from the exit of their ancestral territory (TI Araribóia) to their arrival in

> image Forest fire in the Araribóia TI, Maranhão.



the woods of the Pindaré where the main villages are found today, was precisely the fragmentation of their living spaces (the forest) due to successive waves of migrants, the formation of settlements and, soon after, small municipalities near the TIs. The economy which emerged was dependent on the forest for the extraction of wood, the clearing of land, the production of coal, the exploitation of natural resources (such as jaborandi leaves for the pharmaceutical company Merck), as well as the opening of pastures and planting of grass. It is, in a certain way, with some mitigating factors given drastic reduction of forest resources, still the focus of the regional economy.

Separation into different groups of isolados is the direct result of official and local policy aimed at the economic development of the north region as a whole and the state of Maranhão in particular, driven mostly during the years of the military dictatorship in Brazil and present until today. These policies caused irreversible impact on the Awa territories, their relations and their own conception of

'time' which structures life, which was divided into a temporality known as the 'time of the bush' (ka'amyna) in contrast with today or the 'time of the village' (areripa, 'our home' | Funai ripa, 'Funai home').

According to Funai, regarding the Indigenous Lands of Maranhão,

all isolados are living in areas of abundant wood extraction, and their lives are under serious threat. They live their lives fleeing from loggers, with whom contact could be fatal as a result of violence or the low immunity of the isolados with external diseases (FUNAI, 2013).

With this knowledge, the escapes, walks and wanderings of these isolados do not merely portray particular forms of existence, often exoticized by ideas of 'nomadism' or 'hunting-gathering', as if the spatiality of these collectives was more precarious than our own, ~ for example. On the contrary, the Awa Guajá isolados are perhaps among the people who



most need to innovate in their daily lives to continue existing. This eternal flight is a radical process of invention of culture8.

Life on the paths and trails (are rapea, 'our paths'), in which 'living' is meshed with 'walking'9, is a radically different project of humanity to those of the non-indigenous. Through this cosmo-political proposition and

> 8 In the sense discussed by Roy Wagner (2010) I mean 'invention' not in an artificial or false sense, but as a dynamic and creative process which seems to presuppose all culture. 'Invention' as an epiphenomenon of the production of culture, that is, as part of a transformative human creativity.

> 9 Wataha, 'walk' (caminhada). Term which suggests translations such as 'hunting' and 'walking' (andar) which, in turn are the two forms of knowing most recalled by the Awa Guajá in debates about the production of knowledge.

the invention of other possible worlds¹⁰ – or in the possible reinvention of this world - via aesthetic, political, cosmic and ecological means, these collectives refuse a trivial existence and they refuse life in proximity to whites. This resistance is a portrayal of a kind of fury for living... coupled with a distrust... as well as vulnerability... and the impossibility of a good life in any other form... ultimately, we are before a situation in which definitions will never be 'this' or 'that' and I'm at a loss for words here. all I can do is to stutter. The paths down which the Awa Guajá slip away reflect a people who deny, at a very high price, an encounter with their own extermination.

> 10 Images borrowed from the work of the philosopher Isabelle Stengers (2018).

image Caru TI, Maranhão.

"RECOLLECTIONS OF ITAPIRY AND MARJUÁ'S RETURN TO THE FOREST

Escape, Fear, Hunger and Exhaustion

Itapirỹ and Marjuá fled the village of Tiracambu while a woman shouted for them.

They were going into the woods, running the whole time. They were running from the medication. Marjuá was terrified of medication! She wasn't happy with the flour either.

Accounts from the villagers of Tiracambu (TI Caru) about the escape of Itapirỹ and Marjuá, two Awa Guajá contacted at the end of 2014 who a year later decided to return to

- We got tired of the karaí [non-indigenous] people interfering with us. We fled!

They fled far, through the Igarapé Tiracambu, through the closed forest. And then they went far through the forest, through the igarapé Traíra, and then another and another... until the igarapé Água Branca, the wetlands of Água Branca. They went by the mountains. There are high mountains there. They ran far away, through the forest, and Marjuá would get tired!

That was it, every day! They fled running through the forest. They would light a big fire because of the jaguars. They didn't eat for fear of somebody hearing them breaking coconuts and going after them because of the noise. They didn't eat! They were very scared, terrified!

Itapirỹ carried drinking water in a recipient she took with her from the village when they fled and made a seal with wax and fire. She would fill it up when they found water. They had water for drinking and washing, but after Marjuá died she became afraid that somebody would come up behind and kill her while she was washing. She was very scared that a jaguar might catch her while washing also. And as the forest is cold, she didn't wash.

Encounter with the mihua

Itapirỹ saw *mihua* [unfriendly people], she told us clearly:

- There's an area of mihua! They nearly killed me in the hiding place I made to kill birds.

She found a marked path which went under a tree and realised there were people on that side. It was closed forest. She was walking and noticed the broken branches indicating that people had passed through there. She then heard the kakỹ bird singing, cornering the people. The bird announced to her the presence of people walking there. There were a lot of people! So, she fled, because she was afraid they would be mihua.

editor's note Accounts captured in the Guajá language and translated by the linguist Marina Magalhães and Majakatỹa Awa Guajá in August 2017.

They were mihua! She says.

She was frightened of them. She would hide in the closed $\underline{\ }\underline{\ }$ forest because of them. She would hide to eat her prey. She was alone in the forest and was scared of being killed.

- This is really a mihua area! She told us, referring to the area where she was at that moment.

Death of Itapiry and the Threat From Invaders

Marjuá died early in the escape. It was winter, when the rains are already heavy. She was very tired because of the mountains. Her heart was bad. It was what the doctor had seen. Marjuá didn't die here with the Awa. She died far away in the forest, high in the mountains.

Itapirỹ says that the place where Marjuá died has karaí invaders, it has a road. There are loggers. They were there, where they killed and ate alligator. That was when Marjuá lay down to sleep and never awoke. Itapirỹ thought she was asleep, until she realised she had died.

They had made a house there and the loggers ended up finding their trail. As soon as she realised Marjuá had died, she wrapped her in the hammock, covered her with leaves and moved a few meters away from the tapiri. By then it was already morning. As soon as she left the loggers arrived shooting at everything, including Marjuá's body. They didn't see Itapirỹ who ran away. She had just left and they arrived. It was the loggers who fired. When she ran away she got lost and couldn't find the way back.

It was shortly after the day they fled the village. It was a place where there were invaders. They saw an old 'arrastão', a cassava field and another of rice. Itapirỹ says that she was going along the path and, when she returned, there was a karaí there. He looked like a farmer. It was in the region we call brejo (wetlands), very far away. There are invaders and isolados there.

Encounter with the Awa and Return to the Village

When she was found in the woods, Itapirỹ was very far, lost. They thought she was a mihua (unfriendly person). They didn't recognize her face, she was very dirty.

- *I am Awa*. She said!
- Friend, who are you? Are you Itapirỹ? They said to her.

She really wanted to come here and stay with us, but she didn't know the way. So she stayed in the headwaters of the Presídio igarapé, she made a nice house and stayed there. She didn't know how to return to the village because the burning destroyed a large part of the forest and she lost track of the paths. That's why she didn't return after Marjuá's death. She says that the burning was so great that she had to go very far to reach the high woods, where the fire hadn't burnt everything. When she managed to reach that place, Marjuá was no longer with her.

- *I want to eat flour.* She said to us.

Itapirỹ was extremely thin when she was found in the bush. We fed her. She was almost dying. Now she's very happy here. She was very happy when she saw the cassava flour. She won't leave again! She has new friends and won't flee to the forest. Now she wants to stay here in the village.

image Following pages: River bath, Juriti village, Awá TI, Maranhão.



"THESE INDIANS ARE STRANDED

In Maranhão, the isolated Awa Guajá are among the most vulnerable people on the planet. Hunters and loggers are getting closer and closer to the areas occupied by the isolados. With resources aimed at control and protection, Bruno Lima is coordinator of the Awá Guajá Ethno-environmental Protection Front, which monitors three confirmed references of isolated groups and works alongside the 520 recently contacted Awa.

What does the Awá FPE do? The front carries out actions for around 520 recently contacted indigenous people, distributed in five villages and three Indigenous Lands. The villages of Tiracambu, Awa and Nova Samiã are in the Caru TI; the village of Juriti is in the Awá TI; and the village of Guajá is in the Alto Turiaçu TI. We also monitor three confirmed references of isolated Awa groups living in voluntary isolation in the TIs Caru, Awa and Araribóia, as well as other non-confirmed references. Projects in the villages of the recently contacted, among others, consist of monitoring actions regarding health, education, social advancement, ethno-development, cultural strengthening and strengthening of autonomy, infrastructure, territorial protection, etc.

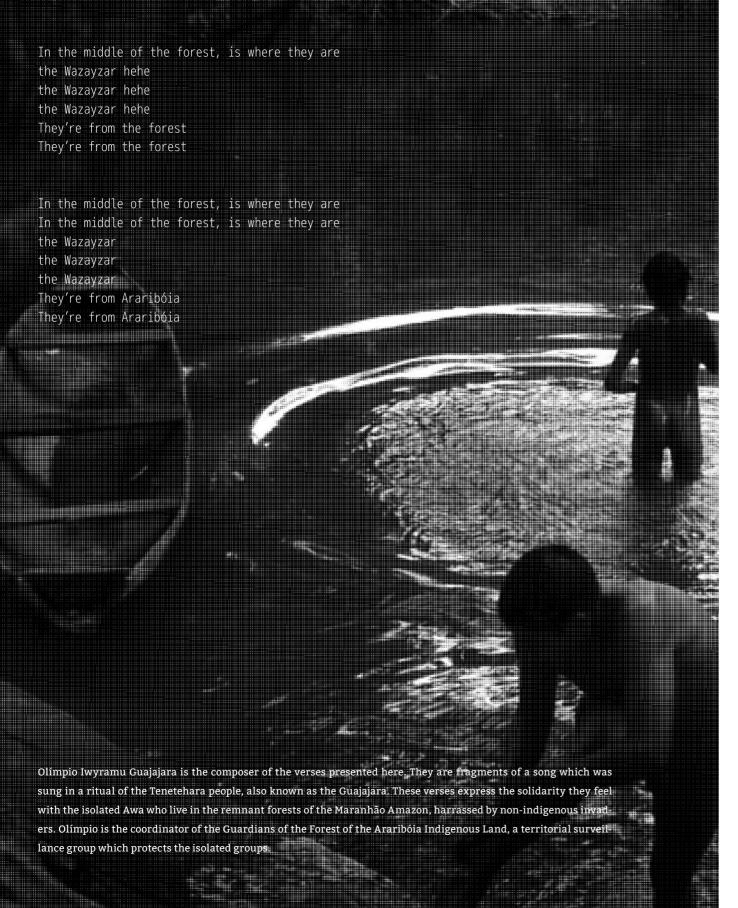
Which isolated peoples are monitored by the front? There are three confirmed references of Awa groups in voluntary isolation and other non-confirmed references. In the Indigenous Land of Araribóia there are large groups, camps with 12 tapiris, between 30 and 50 indigenous people. They live in a mountainous region, which gives us a degree of peace of mind as it is an area which loggers don't go to often. It is said there are two groups.

There's a long history of sightings. There are accounts of their children smiling, singing. They have pets, you can see because they clean out a place in the ground for the coati, which is their pet.

The remains found when monitoring are tapiris, ravines, honey, hunting remains, arrowheads and footprints. It is interesting that there is an inverse monitoring happening, they monitor us too, more than we do them. The most recent expeditions in the Araribóia TI were for monitoring isolados and the degraded area affected by fires and invasions by loggers.

editor's note Interview given to Clara Roman, ISA journalist

What are the main threats to these people? There are many. • The Araribóia TI, for example, is one of the 10 most vulnerable indigenous lands we know. It is completely surrounded with $\stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow}$



side roads cutting through the entire area. There are 14,000 Guajajara, some involved with logging. Many whites encourage marriage with indigenous people to then become leaders and lease, but mostly extract wood. However, there are the Guardians of the Forest who carry out checks. There is hope for the land – the strengthening of control actions is one of them. And linked to it, the recovery of degraded areas.

In 2015 a fire burnt over 50% of the TI as well as strategic areas of the isolados. A lot of riparian forest was lost. The last option would be contact, but we thought contact would not be the best way – at the current pace either there will be no forest left or there will be conflict with the loggers. I always err on the side of no contact, but we are in a critical situation, they are stranded.

During 2014 'disintrusion' of the Awá TI was secured and there were Environmental Police positioned in two bases. For a year we managed to keep the police in those bases. Later, with budget cuts, we could no longer maintain the policing and a significant increase of cattle pastures in the region followed. There are 10,000 head of cattle in the area. In the north, in the Alto Turiaçu TI, logging is more intense. There have been operations which have destroyed sawmills, but there is no point in one-off operations because they return very quickly. The solution has to be permanent policing.



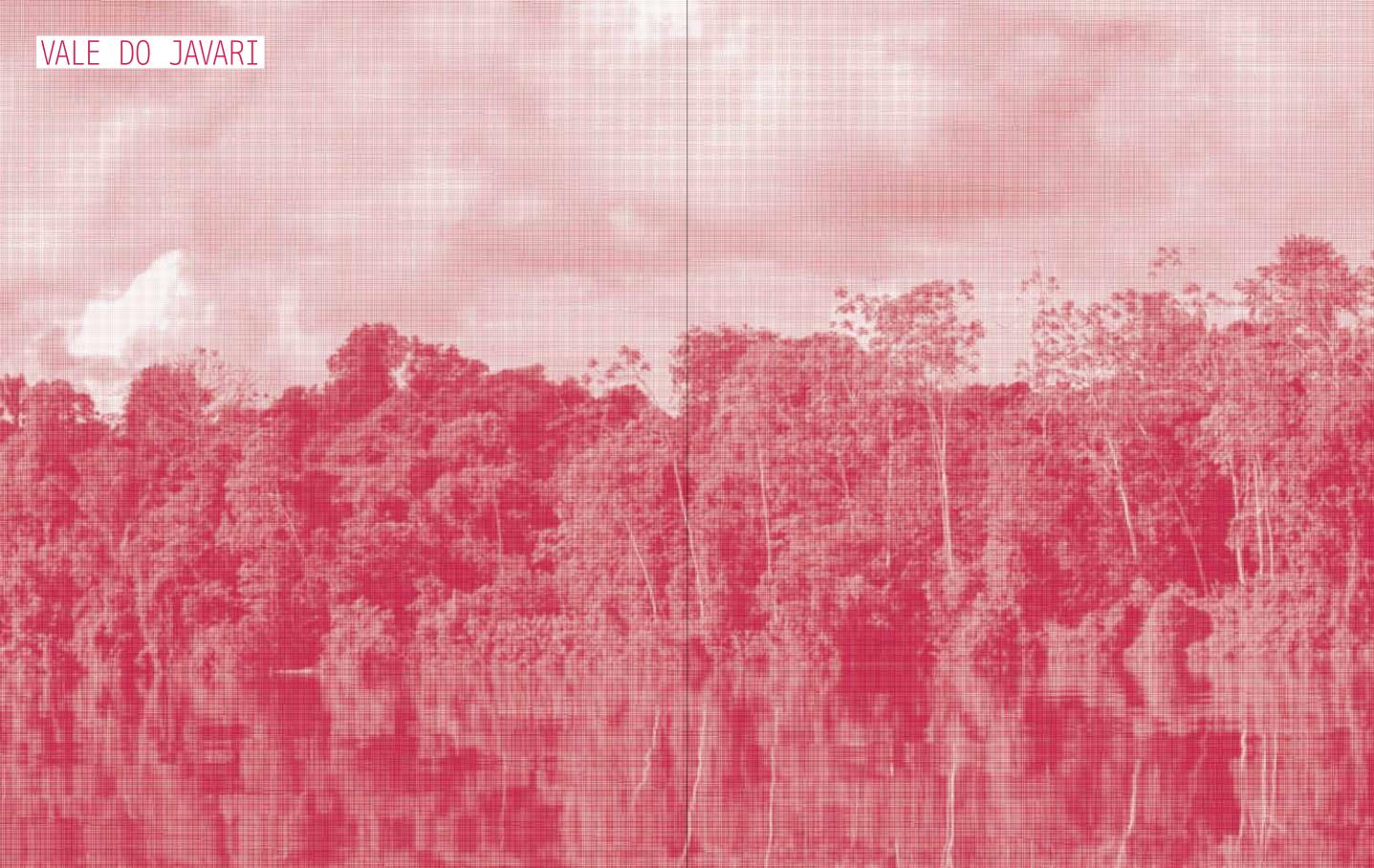
What is the history of contact with the Awa? The Awa move in small family groups and the last contact happened at the end of 2014, two indigenous females and one male. The two women had tuberculosis and needed to be transferred to São Luís, where they spent nearly a year in treatment. They returned to the village and then, to the forest... One of them succumbed and died in the forest. The other returned to the village and lives there with the young man, in the village of Tiracambu.

Why did these people decide to avoid contact? These indigenous people are a symbol of resistance. They fled the anthropic activity in the south of Pará until first contact with Funai was established in the center-south of Maranhão. Until when will there still be forest? The bush is disappearing, the prey is leaving, lakes running dry... For now, they're able to keep their way of life.

On our last expedition, we saw the remains of a variety of prey. They eat jabuti, capelão, the food that is proper of the Awa. You could see they were living like Awa. They are coexisting harmoniously in the midst of the chaos. But we don't know until when.

What is the importance of a policy of no contact and restricted use of lands occupied by isolados? A no contact policy is the best way of preserving the autonomy, the decision these isolated peoples have made, and also avoiding catastrophe such as death by illnesses transmitted by non-indigenous people and all the socio-cultural disruption that comes with contact. It is also important for ensuring legal certainty for processes of demarcation and Funai activity with those groups in voluntary isolation.

What is the current situation of the Awá FPE? Do you have the resources needed to fulfil your role? We are working at our limit, with very few resources and our protection posts under threat of closure. However, resources resulting from compensation for environmental and social damage, mostly for indigenous surveillance, have permitted the purchase of GPS equipment, cameras, quadricycles, etc. I think it would be important to give the two Awá TI Protection Posts an overhaul, securing communications, with other equipment as well as new vehicles.





RECORDS OF ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE VALE DO JAVARI TI

- Confirmed
- Under study
- Information
- Cities of reference
- Deforestation
- Conservation Units
- Indigenous Lands International Border



JAVARI VALLEY: A TERRITORY SHARED BY VARIOUS CONTACTED AND ISOLATED PEOPLES

Those who are Javari from childhood have been told to avoid encounters with the isolados or have had to deal with the presence of those groups, as we share the same territory.

BETO MARUBO leadership representative of the Javari Valley indigenous movement

The Javari Valley Indigenous Land (Vale Do Javari TI) is located in the extreme west of the state of Amazonas, with an extension of 8,544,448 hectares. It is the second largest TI of the country, physically demarcated in 2000 and homologated in 2001. This TI is home to seven different peoples: Marubo, Mayoruna (Matsés), Matis, Kanamari, Kulina Pano, Korubo and Tyohom-Dyapa.

The Marubo live in the upper and middle regions of Curuçá and Ituí. A part of the Mayoruna live in the middle Javari and Curuçá, as well as its tributary, the Pardo River, and another part lives in the upper Jaquirana River. The Matis have their villages in the middle Branco River, a tributary of the Itaquaí River. A part of the Kanamari are in the middle Javari and upper Itaquaí and another part in the upper Jutaí. The Kulina Pano live in the vicinity of the low Curuá River and the Korubo of recent contact have their villages in the lower Ituí River. The Korubo who remain in 'voluntary isolation' live in different regions than the Korubo of 'recent contact'. The Javari Valley Ethno-environmental Protection Front has been monitoring more than seven villag-

es in the regions of the Curuena River headwaters and tributaries of the Itaquaí River. The Tyohom-Dyapa are a recently contacted people, much like part of the Korubo, and their history of contact is due to interethnic relations with the Kanamari and the sharing of territories. In practice, the Tyohom-Dyapa were contacted by the Kanamari and since then have lived in the same community, called Jarinal, in the upper Jutaí River.

According to Funai, there are at least 16 records on the location of 'isolated' groups in the region of the Javari Valley. Of these, three are being studied and three are accounts from indigenous and non-indigenous people which still need to be analysed through specific studies, usually field expeditions, overflights and aerial pictures. This means that the Vale do Javari TI is home to the biggest number of indigenous natives living in 'voluntary isolation' in Brazil and, very possibly, the world. Most of the references are located in the eastern portion of this Indigenous Land, through which the Jandiatuba, Curuena, Jutaí, Jutaizinho and Juruazinho rivers flow. Although we do not know all the factors which led to this relative concentration of isolated groups in one part of the Vale do Javari TI, we have clarity on some correlated factors: the pressure of economic fronts and the presence of invaders from centuries past until the present day; the difficult access of the headwater regions during most of the year; the low concentration of contacted indigenous people in the headwaters of rivers and igarapés - the preferred dwelling of isolados.

In all there are more than 60 villages or communities located in the Vale do Javari TI, the majority situated in headwater regions and the middle rivers which flow through the region. The majority of languages spoken in Javari, considering their ethnological and historical predominance, are from the Pano linguistic family. As such, the Marubo, $\frac{\pi}{2}$



Mayoruna, Matis, Korubo and Kulina speak specific languages belonging to the same linguistic family. Apart from these peoples, only the Kanamari and the Tyoham-Dyapa speak languages of a different linguistic family (Katukina). This convergence between Pano languages means they are able to understand each other, with each having specific pronunciation and terminologies.

There is no exact data on the population number of indigenous peoples in 'voluntary isolation' in the Javari Valley. Respecting the no-contact policy instituted by Funai since 1987, what exists is visual and physical information of villages, fields, etc., obtained by remote monitoring, field expeditions or low altitude overflights. However, depending on the size of the fields and malocas, it can be inferred, conjecturally, that the malocas located on the rivers Jutaí, Jandiatuba and on the São José igarapé are the most populous. In all, these considerations are subject to other analyses, which can lead to different conclusions.

Avoiding Contact, An Old Pact

We, Marubo, call the isolados mukanwá or yora-tintô. Each of the ethnic groups of our region has a specific denomination. In general, all the peoples of the Javari Valley have lived or currently live with isolados in shared areas. Those who grew up in the Javari Valley since childhood have been told to avoid encounters with the isolados or have had to deal with the presence of these groups, as we share the same territory.

Amongst us, Morubo of the Curuçá River, the guidance of the elders was always that we should avoid the regions of the upper Arrojo River (tributary of the Curuçá), upper Sete Acha River (tributary of the Curuçá), upper Açaí River and upper Barrigudo River (tributary of the Curucá), as well as upper Negro River (tributary of the Ituí) and upper Novo River (tributary of the Ituí). In these areas, it is well-proven, the isolados have lived for decades. For the elders of the Marubo villages, the isolados of the Inintya igarapé (tributary of Arrojo) are our close relatives who prefer to remain isolated. They say that one of the clans separated due to interethnic conflict a long time ago - according to the stories perhaps dozens of years before the period of rubber exploitation in the region (turn of the 20th century).

However, little is known in this respect. There are no reports of interaction between the Marubo and isolados. The dry dock used by the Marubo of Curuçá and Ituí crosses the territory of the isolados in the region of alto Arrojo and Maronal. Reports are specific and recurrent. There are stories of Marubo hunters who killed peccaries or black monkeys and when they went to gather their prey, the isolados had taken it. In mid 2005, the Marubo of the Kumaya village were surprised by isolados in the vicinity of the Inambú igarapé. At the time, Funai encouraged an expedition in the region to attempt to gather information on these isolados, however the constant rains put a stop to activities. The last such occurrence¹ of this type was in 2010, when the Marubo of the village of São Sebastião were hunting in

> 1 According to Américo Nëkëmpa Marubo.

image Isolado houses in the interfluve of rivers Itaquaí and Jandiatuba, Vale do Javari TI. Amazonas.

the region of low Arrojo, near the village. The dogs cornered an isolado relative who was taking a peccary slaughtered by Marubo hunters.

In 2007 and 2008, the Kanamari of the Bananeira village had to move their village due to the increased presence of isolados in the upper Itaquaí region. On one occasion, they could see that the isolados were already setting traps with caltrops in the paths of their clearings with the intention of hurting the Kanamari. In 2015 and 2016, the Mayoruna of the Flores village, in the low Curuçá River, reported frequent visits of isolados in their fields and on one occasion even heard them in the clearing areas.

Between 2016 and 2017, the Marubo of the villages of Rio Novo and São Joaquim also reported the constant presence of isolados in their fields. On one occasion they entered the maloca to steal tapir meat and ripe bananas. This incident forced the Marubo to move their village to the vicinity of lower Novo River, on the opposite bank. Despite the move, the isolados continued to get closer to the old São Joaquim village and the current community of the Marubo.

Because we share the same territory, there were always indirect or unexpected forms of approach between the indigenous people with long years of contact with non-indigenous society and those which remain in 'voluntary isolation', that is, who avoid contact. We know this by means of specific signs and codes left by them in the middle of the forest, such as tapagem of the paths, a clear sign that the do not want anybody using their tracks.

Contact with the Korubo

The contact which occurred between the Korubo, who were isolados in the region of upper Itaquaí, and the Kanamari of the Massapê village is important. It happened in 2014, 🖂 when one of the korubo women was bitten by a cobra and the injury sustained from the bite \approx became infected. The brother of this woman sought help from the Kanamari and so contact ensued. Following this, Funai joined the Kanamari and, with support from the Sesai health teams, steps were taken to treat the patient. In a general sense it was a peaceful approach, despite the climate of panic among the Kanamari, who were influenced by the history of Korubo relations, considered fierce in the defense of their territories.

In 2014, a group of Matis, travelling to the municipality of Atalaia do Norte, encountered a group of Korubo isolados in the channel of the Coari River. Soon after this encounter, on their return, a Korubo child caught the flu and died in less than a week. This death triggered a conflict between the two ethnic groups, as the Korubo though they had been victims of a 'spell' by the Matis. At the end of that year, the Korubo isolados attacked three Matis who were planting corn, resulting in two deaths. The following day, the Matis attacked the Korubo and the conflict caused the deaths of ten Korubo, approximately.

In September 2015 there was contact between the Korubo of the Coari region (tributary of the Ituí River) and the Matis of the Branco River channel. The Matis sighted Korubo trac-

es near their villages and went to the location. They took a unilateral initiative and forced the contact as a measure of preventing furtive attacks by the isolados. Despite the Vale do Javari FPE raising awareness for years about the importance of keeping isolado territory free from interference (something which is thought of as an 'implicit and natural pact' adopted by all villages of the region), these two episodes resulted in contacts – even though one is the extreme of the other.

Taking into consideration the normality of coexistence in the region, on an extended timescale it could be concluded that these events were provoked by unilateral interests which went beyond the 'implicit pact' of mutual respect. In the first case, contact was motivated by the need to help heal a heavily infected wound.² In the second case, the interest of the Matis was in reoccupying the territories that were inhabited by their ancestors before their first contact with Funai in 1975. But, in a general sense, since the 1980s, there were no reports of contact between village groups and the isolados of the Javari Valley region, with the exception of official contacts which occurred with state intervention, as was the case with the Korubo in 1996, whose contact

> was led by the Javari Valley Contact Front. This began to change from 2014 with the Kanamari/Korubo and Matis/ Korubo contacts.

> There is no sign that the isolados of Javari have fled to adjacent regions. All the ethnic groups who are today in the Javari Valley have always in-

2 According to the health teams, if left unattended, the patient could have had serious complications such as amputation or deformation of the lower limb.





habited the region. In all, it could be inferred that some groups may have moved from one subregion to another, within the Javari Valley. A good example is the Korubo, who for decades inhabited the subregions of the middle and lower rivers Itaquaí and Coari, and lower Ituí, however, they gradually split into subgroups and today occupy areas in the region of upper, middle and low Curuena up to the banks of the Jutaí.

Currently, there are approximately 134 Korubo considered to be 'recently-contacted'. Additionally, there are around 45 Tyohom-Dyapa who live in the Kanamari peoples' village of Jarinal. The latter are also an example of contact made by indigenous people who already had a long history of contact with non-indigenous people. The difference between the Tyohom-Dyapa and the recently contacted Korubo lies in the fact that, in the

first case, the state did not participate in the contact let alone in providing due medical assistance, and, in the second case, there was monitoring by government agencies such as Funai and Sesai, which continued to assist the Korubo since their first contact.

Indigenist Policies and Indigenous Protagonism for the Protection of the Isolados

The involvement of indigenous organisations with issues concerning the presence of peoples in voluntary isolation in the Javari Valley is new. Until very recently, these discussions

image Previous page: 'tapagem' made with palm leaves by isolated indigenous people, São Joaquim village, Vale do Javari TI, Amazonas; above: contacted Korubo group moves towards the Ituí Protection Base, Vale do Javari TI, Amazonas.

were led by Funai, particularly by the Vale do Javari FPE.

When the demarcation of Indigenous Land was still an unreachable horizon, there were teams from the indigenist agency operating in the interior of the TI. However, information about the isolados was confidential, given the large quantity of loggers, hunters, river traders³ and even indigenous people themselves who lived on the same territory. There was great distrust on behalf of the indigenist agency in sharing such information. The fear was that it could increase the vulnerability of the isolados. There were moments when not even the Funai team based in the municipality of Alatalaia do Norte participated in the expeditions which were organised, mostly, by staff from other regions of the country and coordinated by the then Department of Isolated Indians (DII).

Even in this scenario, the indigenous movement was able to hold discussions on the issue of isolated relatives, although the main objective was to convince the authorities at the time to monitor the entrance of non-indigenous peoples to the main rivers which gave access to the various subregions of the Javari Valley, where there was already news of the presence of isolados. This was in addition to the fact that sporadic reports would emerge of deaths of isolados provoked by attacks from the most varied types of invaders who, until then, moved around freely in the Javari Valley.

From 2005, indigenous organizations began to demand the sharing of information in order to protect the physical integrity of the isolados, a well as the territories inhabited by them. The creation of the Ituí Surveillance Base was a landmark in the ethno-environmental protection of the isolados of the Javari

Valley. The base was only able to achieve the objectives expected at the time thanks to the conciliation of two factors: incisive action by the state through Funai, and indigenous action in territorial surveillance operations. The results were considerable: areas which were previously completely devoid of native flora and fauna are recovering. Despite these achievements, in the last seven years these results have been slowly showing a systemic and consecutive decline. This is due to Funai undergoing an institutional weakening, with a lack of official staff and consecutive budgetary constraints which have made almost the totality of its field activities in the Vale do Javari TI unviable. Currently, the Funai bases haven't been totally closed thanks to the complementary action of outsourced staff and the indigenous people themselves who continue to work in quite precarious conditions.

New Threats on the Horizon

In parallel to this weakening of Funai and territorial surveillance and protection, threats to the Vale do Javari TI and, consequently, the isolados have grown exponentially. In the regions of the Jutaí River, prospecting activity has grown year upon year, reaching the boundaries of the Cujubim Sustainable Development Reserve, which until now had been the final frontier protecting isolados who lived in the Jutaí headwaters and their tributaries Mutum, Bóia and Curuena.

In 2017, internationally 'viral' news reported about a supposed 'massacre' committed by prospectors against the isolados of the Jandiatuba River, an evident consequence of the deactivation of the Surveillance Base located on the river. With the deactivation or destructuring of the Vale do Javari FPE Surveillance Bases located on the rivers Ituí, Quixito and Curuçá, invasions by ornamental fish smugglers, loggers, hunters and fisher-

men have increased in the interior of the TI, including in areas of villagers and isolados.

In the southern region of the TI, whose limits are relatively close to the interstate boundaries of Acre with the cities of Ipixuna (AM) and Eirunapé (AM), the advance of cattle ranching activity has been getting closer to the 'dry line' of demarcation. In some areas they have crossed that line, as is the case with an area in the vicinity of Ipixuna.

There is another risk factor for the lives of isolados in the Javari Valley: the inefficiency of some policies related to health issues in the indigenous villages. One example is the lack of efficient planning for implementing protective and preventative health measures in regions which are demonstrably inhabited by isolated and contacted peoples. There should be continued medical care at these sites so that

outbreaks of prevalent illnesses can be identified and curbed in the shortest time possible. This is the case with malaria. The contact with the Korubo which happened in 2014 was due to successive deaths of Korubo leaders caused by malaria, when they were still isolated.

The current political context in Brazil is a real danger to the lives of groups living in voluntary isolation, especially in regions where pressure from the so-called 'economic expansion fronts' has intensified. The signs from the Brazilian government are of backtracking on all achievements relating to the rights of indigenous peoples and environmental issues in the country. If, in this scenario, indigenous people who have for decades interacted with national society are suffering, then such territorial pressures represent complete extinction for isolated groups.

³ Regatões were regional merchants who travelled long distances along the rivers of the region.

CONFLICT, MEDIATION AND KINSHIP: MATISFUNAI-KORUBO RELATIONS IN THE JAVARI VALLEY

The 2019 expedition which resulted in the contact of the Korubo is another chapter in the Matis-Funai-Korubo history, involving approaches, departures, conflict, cooperation, antagonism and kinship. In order to understand the present relations of these peoples, one must know their history.

BEATRIZ DE ALMEIDA MATOS anthropologist (Postgraduate Anthropology Program, Universidade Federal do Pará)

In March 2019, Funai's General Coordination of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indians (CGIIRC) organised an expedition to establish contact¹ with a Korubo group living on the banks of the Coari River in the Vale do Javari TI. It was named the "Expedition for protection and monitoring of the situation of the isolated indigenous Korubo of the Coari River", and its objectives, according to the agency, were to

1 The notions of 'isolation' or 'contact' have been widely criticised and discussed among both public policymakers as well as anthropologists and there isn't space here to resume these discussions. To aid communication in this text, I will use the term 'contact' to refer specifically to the process which triggers the constant peaceful relations of a particular indigenous group with Funai, and I will use the expressions 'isolation' or 'isolado' to refer to a particular indigenous group which has not established such relations with the official indigenist agency.

"protect the physical integrity of the isolated indigenous Korubo of the Coari River and the Matis people (...) promoting the dissolution of tension between the two groups", as well as meeting "the demand by the Korubo group contacted by the Matis in 2015 to see their kin who remain isolated" (Funai, 2019).

At the time of writing (May 2019) it is too early to assess the results of the expedition. Information published by the CGIIRC, at present the only source available, says that the Korubo contacted on the occasion (34 people) were in good health (only one man was diagnosed with malaria and was treated) and were immunised according to the "National Indigenous Immunisation Program". There were emotional scenes when Korubo men who took part in the expedition were reunited with the Coari group from which they had been separated in 2015 (Funai, 2019).

The expedition is another chapter in the Matis-Funai-Korubo history in the Javari Valley. Knowing this history, of approaches, departures, conflict, cooperation, antagonism and kinship, is essential for analysing how relationships in this triangulation are given today. The proposal of thinking of the relations of the Matis, the Korubo and the Funai as a group wishes to draw attention to the fact that, in the current context of the Javari Valley, they are deeply interwoven, and mediate each other: the Funai – Matis relationship involves the relationship that Funai and Matis have with the Korubo; the Korubo-Matis relationship is often mediated by Funai; the Funai-Korubo

2 A small team from the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health (Sesai) was also part of the expedition and performed the medical procedures required in these cases. (Funai, 2019).

image Recently contacted Korubo are reunited with their isolated relatives, Vale do Javari TI, Amazonas. relationship has for many years been mediated by the Matis.

Approaches and Departures: a Brief History of Matis-Funai-Korubo Relations

The Matis say they have lived on the dry land areas (igarapé headwaters) between the right bank of the upper Ituí, the upper Coari (tributary of the Ituí) and middle and upper Rio Branco (tributary of Itaquaí). The large *Abu Maë* clearing was located in this region, an important reference for many events in Matis history. In walks through this territory, at various times, the Matis returned to *Abu Maë* to build successive malocas, and many of their ancestors were born there (Matos, 2015).

In the mid-1970s, following the initiation of contact with Funai, which resulted in the death of nearly two thirds of their population, the Matis began to settle in villages near the banks of the Ituí River. With the aim of attracting the Matis, Funai set up the Ituí Indigenous Attraction Post (PIA) in 1974, on the river of the same name, above the mouth of the Novo de Cima River. According to the publication Povos Indígenas no Brasil, Aconteceu Especial 14, from 21st of December 1976, when they reached the PIA for the first time, the Matis began to make regular visits, demanding

clothes, metal tools, pans and dogs (CEDI, 1983: 85). The epidemic which followed the establishing of relations with non-indigenous people, mediated by the indigenist agency, were determinant factors in the displacement of the axis of territorial occupation to the downstream banks of the Ituí. The villages of Aurélio, founded in 1998, and Beija

Flor, in 2005, were until 2010 the home of all the Matis.

Between 2010 and 2012, the Matis left the villages of Aurélio and Beija-Flor and moved again to the banks of the rivers Coari and Branco. The constitution of three new villages (two on the left bank of the Branco River and one on the left bank of the Coari River) were clearly an action of repossession of territories which they consider to belong to their older occupation. This move brought them closer to the places where their older relatives were born and grew up, places to which there was an affectionate attachment and a memory of being good places to live. The abundance of prey and the natural beauty of the lands near the new villages were a reason for much joy for the Matis, which was clear to any visitor. The reoccupied territory also had an abundance of tatxic, a type of vine the Matis use to produce a bitter drink which is very important for their shamanic and body constitution practices (Matos, 2015).

However, the region of these new villages (between the rivers Coari and Branco) was unoccupied by the Matis for some decades, and became a vicinity of the current wandering area of the isolated Korubo groups, among them the recently contacted group of 2019.



It is important to highlight that according to Matis historical accounts, in around 1920 at a location near the new villages, some of their ancestors attacked a korumbo maloca and captured two girls. Large part of the current Matis population is descended from these two Korubo girls who grew up and became the wives of their captors.

War and kinship between the Matis and Korubo did not start with this episode. On the contrary, this seems to have been the last direct confrontation of several which happened during the beginning of the 20th century. After this episode, a more direct relationship between Matis and Korubo would happen at the end of the 20th century, with the active participation of the Matis in Funai's contact with another Korubo group, known as 'grupo da Maya'3, initiated in 1996 in the Quebrado igarapé, a tributary of the left bank of the lower Ituí. This group settled in a village close to the Javari Valley Ethnoenvironmental Protection Base (FPEVJ), at the confluence of the Ituí and Itaquaí, and has lived near that location ever since.

Given the proximity of the matis and korubo languages (both are from the north branch of the Pano family), the Matis where positioned by Funai as privileged interpreters between FPEVJ Base employees and the recently-contacted of the time. At the same time, this also made them important mediators of the Maya Korubo group in their relations with non-indigenous people. For these Korubo, the Matis became translators not only of Portuguese but various elements of this new world which they were getting to know, the world of the whites (Arisi, 2007).

> 3 Maya is the oldest woman in that group and has a leadership role within it.

image Aerial view of isolated Korubo houses, interfluve of the rivers Ituí and Itaquaí, Vale do Javari TI, Amazonas.

By the period of the reoccupation of the rivers Coari and Branco (2010-2012), the Matis already had a long history of interaction with the Korubo mediated by Funai. In this period, the Maya group was the only Korubo group contacted by the agency. Other Korubo monitored by the FPEVI (on the Coari River, on the Itaquaí River4 and on the Curuena River) remained in isolation.

In making this change, some Matis felt apprehensive about being closer to the isolated Korubo, while others were attracted by the idea, as they believed it possible that contact could be made peacefully by themselves, without the mediation of the agency. This is demonstrated in the video made years later, in August 2013, by a group of Matis men who in the absence of Funai held a meeting with an isolated Korubo group on the banks of the Coari.

But proximity with the isolados ended up causing conflict. On 5th December 2014, in a clearing near the open Matis village on the right bank of the Coari River, two Matis men were killed by isolated Korubo men. This tragedy put an end to the promise of a better life in plentiful lands full of the history of their ancestors, marking the beginning of a period of mourning and uprising. A few days after, on the 8th December 2014, all the Matis of the Todowak village (in Coari) moved temporarily to the Tawaya village (on the Branco River) with support from Funai.

> 4 In 2014, the 'Korubo do Itaquaí' were contacted by Funai after approaching a Kanamari village on the banks of this river (in two small groups, led by Visa, in September, and the other led by Pino, in October 2014). Through Funai's intervention, they went to live with the Korubo of the Maya group with whom it was found they shared close kinship ties (Visa and Pino are grandsons of Maya).



In October 2015, children from the Korubo group of Coari (that is, from the same group that killed the two Matis leaders in 2014) - who were wandering separately from their parents - were taken by Matis men to the Tawaya village on the Branco River. Soon after, the Matis located the adults and took them together with the children to a camp they built on the banks of the Branco River. As soon as Funai heard of the incident they intervened, together with the Sesai, taking control of the camp and immunising the recently contacted Korubo. Two weeks later, while on a walk the Matis found 10 Korubo people, also of the Coari group, and took them to the camp. This small group said that their relatives had suffered a severe retaliation from the Matis soon after the conflict of 2014, resulting in the deaths of many Korubo (Amorim, 2017). After consulting with the recently contacted, Funai staff decided to take them to live with the Maya group. This decision caused unrest and protests among the Matis. A consequence of tensions with Funai was the occupation of the site of the Javari Valley Regional Coordination, in Atalaia do Norte (in January 2016), which resulted in the exoneration of the coordinator at the time.

Currently, conversations have been reinitiated and some Matis have returned to work at the FPEVI Base. However, during the expedition to find the remaining Coari Korubo group in April 2019, Funai decided not to work with Matis translators, instead giving this position to people from contacted Korubo groups.

War, Kinship and Mediation

This brief history, though summarised and schematic, can already point to the complexity of the Matis-Funai-Korubo relations which we seek to address here. We saw that many Matis are descendents of the Korubo women captured during the 1920s when they were girls. Currently, the descendents of those girls consider themselves Matis, but also Korubo they see the Korubo as their kin. The possibility of this double identity for the descendents of captives is not only given among Matis, with their history of conflict with the Korubo, but is a common aspect of the wars of female capture which marked recent history in the entire

northern Pano area.⁵ Historical narratives collected among Matsés, Matis and Kulina-Pano tell of the recurrence of conflict between regional groups, at least between the middle of the 19th century until the second half of the 20th century, in which male enemies were killed and the women captured to become the wives of their captors (Matos, 2015, 2017; D'Ávila, 2018).

These wars were also a mechanism for forming kinship with other groups (and transforming kin into enemies). The foreign origin of captured women was not forgotten. Their descendents virtually had relatives among the enemy survivors (relatives of their mothers, the captured women). In other words, those descendents – whose patrilateral relatives were enemies of their matrilateral relatives – could find among the latter people considered their kin (especially cross-cousins, which in the region are equivalent to potential spouses⁶). As such, each conflict projected to the future, in a single movement, revenge and alliance between the groups (Matos, 2017).

These elements of relationships between the region's groups help us when reflecting on what happens when current Matis see themselves as descendents of the captured Korubo girls. From their point of view, they have relatives among the Korubo and, as such, potential spouses, even among those in isolation. We could say that this identification is contextu-

al, in the sense of being triggered when they wish to reaffirm or materialise such kinship (for example, when they wish to marry Korubo women). At times this elicits erroneous interpretations by non-indians, such as the interpretation that when identifying as relatives of the Korubo, the Matis are using this identification purely as a means to gain advantages in the relationship. But it is a properly indigenous form of conceiving of kinship as a performative and relational process, which differs greatly from the non-indigenous notion of genealogical kinship given by birth.

There is another crucial aspect of the constitution of kinship between these groups which differs from that of the non-indigenous. The Korubo, in addition to being relatives, are also preferential enemies of the Matis, precisely because of their history of war and especially because of the recent conflict. Contrary to what is common sense in non-indigenous culture, among these peoples kinship and war are not incompatible. What is more: one engenders the other and vice-versa.

But times have changed and coexistence with non-indigenous people and their institutions means that there is no political space for groups to freely pursue war and revenge between themselves. There is also an agreement which Funai seeks to establish among 'contacted' indigneous people for them not to approach the isolados, even peacefully, to not expose them to the life-threatening risk of contracting diseases for which they do not yet possess immunity. For these reasons, the Matis have long demanded of Funai that contact be made with the isolated Korubo and, furthermore, that they lead and be in control of the process. As affirmed by the Matis, in making

contact with the Korubo together with Funai, they could pacify the anger of the isolados and get them 'accustomed' to the new mode of life without war. As such, the Matis could consolidate their kinship with the Korubo and in that relationship take on the position of bearers of a new social technology, the way of life together with non-indigenous people. The Matis frequently declared their desire to teach the Korubo to coexist with non-indigenous peoples and their technologies as well as a way of life they consider best, the current Matis way of life⁸ (Matos, 2015).

In the peace imposed by the whites, kinship can no longer give rise to war, nor can war to kinship. If the obvious relationship to be recovered with the Korubo would be that of 'brothers-in-law', through the marriage between members of both groups, the Matis now seek to create other bonds, demonstrating their desire to resume the process of kinship, "teaching", "taming", "accustoming" the Korubo. Bearing these facts in mind, one can understand the profound dissatisfaction of the Matis in being left out of interactions between Funai and the recently contacted Korubo.

At the same time, the Korubo contacted in 2014, 2015 and 2019 suffered many losses, due as much to the diseases and attacks from non-indigenous people as to retaliation from the Matis (in case of the Korubo of Coari). We still have little information about the conception of the Korubo regarding these contacts. We only have access to what the Korubo think and say through information from Protection Front staff which hasn't yet been widely pub-

8 The term used by the Matis for 'contact' is *impacta*, which can be translated as: 'to bring down'. In the sense discussed here, 'to bring down' the Korubo is to bring them down stream, which symbolises their current way of life in coexistence with non-indigenous people and their institutions (Matos, 2015).

lished.⁹ According to this information, the participation of the Matis in the expedition of 2019 was felt as a threat by the Korubo contacted in 2015. As such, the Front has concluded that the task of mediation between itself and the Korubo, which was carried out by the Matis, cannot be resumed at this time, preferring the contacted Korubo as mediators between the recently-contacted and the Front.

We see, therefore, that one of the main challenges for indigenist policy focused on isolated peoples is to promote and ensure their autonomy and political self-determination and at the same time ensure their physical safety. In aiming to protect the isolados from diseases or confrontations which result in death, Funai imposes itself as mediator between them and other indigenous and non-indigenous groups. This imposed mediation hurts the autonomy of those peoples, at the same time as, very often, guaranteeing their physical protection. This contradiction is difficult (not to say impossible) to solve, but must be the object of reflection when we think of public policy for isolated peoples.

⁵ The groups currently known to speak the northern Pano languages are the Matsés, the Matis, the Kulina-Pano and the Korubo, and possibly other isolated groups in the Javari Valley.

⁶ Among the northern Pano, preferential marriage is between cross-cousins, that is, from the masculine standpoint, with the daughters of maternal uncles or paternal aunts. For more details on the marriage preferences of these groups, see: Erikson (1996) and Matos (2014, 2017).

⁷ To be more precise, war and kinship relations engender the different groups by differentiating enemies and kin contextually (Matos, 2017).

THREATENED BY CONTAGION: THE PRECARTZATION OF LIFE IN THE JAVARI VALLEY

The precariousness of healthcare assistance and the strong pressure from oil and gas exploration threatens the lives of the peoples of the Vale do Javari Indigenous Land, the country's biggest concentration of isolados

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Ramifications Of The Precarity Of Indigenous Healthcare In The Javari Valley

After a day and a half of travel in the Vale do Javari Indigenous Land we saw two canoes standing on the right side of the Itaquaí River. We followed on towards the village of Massapê, an area of recent occupation by the Kanamari, a people who speak the Katukina language and occupy the rivers Itaquaí, Javari, Juruá and Jutaí. The next day, we received the news of the death of a Kanamari child, only seven months old, who was on one of the boats we crossed the day before. During several months the child was interned in several hospitals Manaus, Tabatinga and Atalaia. Its last breath was on the path to the Bananeira village. The life of this child slips away and, as well as the pain, it becomes part of the statistics of deaths registered by the Special Indigenous Sanitary District of Vale do Javari (Dsei-Javari). In 2018, 36 deaths were registered, 12 of them being Kanamari (Dsei-Javari).

The reality of other peoples who live on the Vale do Javari Indigenous Land, such as the Korubo, Kulina-Pano, Marubo, Matis, Matsés

(or Mayoruna) and Tyohom-Dyapa, is no different. Many leave their villages in search of treatment for diseases of medium and high complexity, such as tuberculosis and hepatitis, and wait several days for exams, results and assessments by doctors in the cities of Atalaia do Norte, Benjamin Constant and Tabatinga. In most cases, during the wait, their case worsens and the lack of prospects leads many to return home, increasing the risk of contamination of those on the Indigenous Land. In the Dsei-Javari technical reports, many deaths are justified as "choosing not to receive treatment", however, indigenous people in the Javari Valley do wish to have access to adequate treatment to cure illnesses which affect them. The treatment of viral hepatitis can last over six months, as can the treatment of tuberculosis, requiring special care which considers the sociocultural context of the affected peoples.

In 2015, a member of the Marubo indigenous people walked for three days carrying another Marubo, with hepatitis D, on his back to do medical exams. This path, which takes the Marubo of the villages of Alto Curuçá to Cruzeiro do Sul, is also an area of occupation of the Arrojo River isolados. It takes the Matsés of Alto Jaquirana around 15 days to reach Atalaia do Norte to find medical assistance, with a high probability of conditions worsening before reaching the hospital. These daily episodes reveal the high degree of precarity of healthcare assistance in the Vale do Javari TI, which becomes an aggravating factor in a territory with the highest concentration of isolated peoples in the country.

On this Indigenous Land alone there are 16 references of groups in voluntary isolation (nine confirmed by Funai) which may be exposed to the contagion of various types of disease, either through the presence of invaders on their territories, or by the absence of medical treatment which can eradicate the infectious diseases which affect the indigenous population, as is the case with the contacted peoples of the Javari Valley. Currently, Brazil has no health contingency plans for contact situations with isolated peoples and epidemic outbreaks in recently contacted groups. This is what worries the indigenous leadership of Javari Valley, such as Raimundo Mean, of the Matsés people:

The precarity of indigenous healthcare services also affects the isolados with whom we share our territory, because we know that often they can be in our field and we, with our contagious diseases, which remain in the field, can contaminate [them].

Malnutrition and infant mortality, hepatitis A, B, C and Delta, microfilariae and other infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis and malaria, are constant in the lives of the people of the Javari Valley. Risk of contagion becomes ever greater with the precarity of indigenous healthcare, a strong trend which emerged soon after the beginning of the government of Jair Bolsonaro. The indigenous peoples in the Javari Valley, and in the entire country, have rejected attempts to abolish the Sesai and municipalise indigenous healthcare. In January 2019, Health Minister Luiz Henrique Mandetta announced that changes would be made to indigenous health. The end of the Mais Médicos Program and cuts to resources destined to DESIs have already been made throughout the country. In April, Mandetta had to back down from the idea of terminating the Sesai after intense protests. But we don't know what is yet to come...

The account by Manoel Chorimpa, of the Marubo leadership of Alto Curuçá, reinforces the gravity of the health situation in Javari Valley and the importance of policies which strengthen the care subsystem present today in Indigenous Lands:

The Javari Valley is a region which, as well as having diseases like diarrhoea and serious cases of child malnutrition, still hasn't managed to eradicate contagious diseases such as malaria and hepatitis. These are diseases which should have been blocked in the past, but have irresponsibly spread all over the Valley. Hundreds of indigenous people paid for it with their lives. Mistakes which nobody checks, so they grow, because nobody stops to think about how to eradicate these diseases. Currently, many patients are still abandoned without receiving proper care. A carrier of hepatitis continues to put others at risk of transmission, just as somebody who is contaminated by tuberculosis. We are very far from reaching quality healthcare. We will be further still if they municipalise indigenous health, which will increase the risk of propagation of all the contagious diseases which have already caused many deaths in 2019.

Healthcare and infrastructure need to be urgently improved in the ten Dsei-Javari base stations (Massapê, Tawaya, São Luís, Boa Vista, Vida nova, São Sebastião, Maronal, Trinta e Um, Nova Esperança and Lobo) – as well as the working conditions of nursing technicians and the Indigenous Health Agents (AIS) responsible for providing care to 59 villages and 6,263 people (Dsei/Sesai, 2017). The worsening of medical assistance (lack of professionals, drugs, precarious facilities) in the villages of the Kanamari, Kulina-Pano, Matis, Marubo, Matsés and recently contacted groups may encourage the displacement of indigenous groups to nearby cities, putting not only those groups at risk but also the isolados with whom they share the territory. Furthermore, it is worth remembering that hospitals in those municipalities do not have the conditions to provide quality healthcare to a non-indige-















nous population, let alone to the 6,000 indigenous people of the Javari Valley.

The Mourning Of The Kanamari: Without Song, Without Ramy And Without Paint

The Kanamari are in mourning. "Without song, without ramy¹ and without paint", says the chief of the Massapê Dianym village, expressing the recurrent moment of sadness. marked by constant safeguards, due to successive deaths. The following day, news of the death of a seven-month-old child further shook the village, extending the period of mourning. There is a lack of basic supplies and drugs for medical assistance. The large number of people with flu, added to the precariousness of the facilities and equipment, such as the broken power generator, makes it impossible to perform basic tasks such as nebulising newborns with breathing difficulties. In March 2019, 11 cases of microfilaria were registered among the Kanamari alone.²

Adelson Kora, director of the Kanamari Association of Javari Valley (Akavaja), regrets the death of seven Kanamari between January and May 2019. His people are tired of burying their relatives. Everyone is haunted by the speeches of the current president Jair Bolsonaro which reach the Kanamari villages.

- 1 A drink used in rituals (ayahuasca).
- 2 This data was obtained through reports from the Kanamari, because, according to indigenous leaders, the Dsei-Javari has not yet officially presented data on deaths occurring in the TI in 2019.

They imagine that if the attempts to municipalise indigenous healthcare come to pass, healthcare in the Javari Valley will worsen, and the vulnerability of isolated groups with whom they share territories will increase, such as the "isolados of Igarapé São José". There are frequent reports of sightings of traces of this group, which demonstrates their proximity and risk of contagion of diseases, mainly malaria.

The Bananeira village, two and a half hours from the Massapê village, was also in mourning, as it is where the family of the deceased Kanamari child lives. When we reached the village, the first speech was by the child's father, in memory of his daughter, which was followed by a lament from the chief Arabonã Kanamari whose song brought sad melodies for the losses families have sustained. Arabonã said he had lost sons and a brother to hepatitis and profoundly regretted not being able to save their lives through the manipulation of Kanamari remedies - he felt helpless before the difficulty of curing the diseases of non-indigenous people. In the Bananeira village, the clinical condition of residents is also serious: there are many cases of flu and respiratory problems in children and the elderly. There was one single nursing technician to see 225 inhabitants and, once again, the generator did not work, preventing the nebulisation which could ease the breathing difficulties of large part of the Kanamari who had contracted flu at that time.

What Is Bad Can Get Worse: Other Forms Of Contamination

There are other forms of contamination which could affect the health of indigenous peoples and the environmental integrity of the Javari Valley if oil prospecting and exploration comes to the region. The oil industry's interest in the Javari Valley began in 1930 with oil and gas prospection activity by the National Department of Mineral Production (DNPM), which intensified in the 1970s and 1980s with Petrobrás in Brazil and other companies in Peru. In the Vale do Javari TI, oil prospection activity was especially felt by inhabitants of the rivers Jaquirana, Curuçá, Itaquaí, Jutaí and Jandiatuba. The innumerable deaths and negative impact on the life of the people are present today in the memory of the elders, mainly of the Matsés, who live along the Javari/Jaquirana River basin, on both sides of the Brazil-Peru border.

The Matsés of the upper Jaquirana River, on the Brazilian side, have not forgotten the deaths of dozens of people, in the 1970s, due to explosions carried out by Petrobras in the region and the diseases contracted after contact with company staff who began to circulate on Matsés territory, opening *picadas* [by-roads] and digging wells to survey seismic data. There were also various conflicts between Petrobras staff and the indigenous peoples of the rivers Itaquaí, Jandiatuba and Jutaí.

According to Rodrigo Octavio (2017), Petrobrás activity in the Javari Valley was interrupted in 1984 and the region remained free from oil exploration during the 1990s and early 2000s. Between 2007 and 2012, the National Petroleum Agency (ANP) resumed studies in the area and, in 2012, seismic prospecting activity was carried out by Georadar, disregarding indigenist and environmental law and with no prior consultation of the affected peoples. In 2013, the company's activity was suspended in areas close to the Vale do Javari TI. In November of the same year, the 12th Round of Oil and Gas Bidding took place in regions very close to the Vale do Javari TI, organised by the ANP.³

Despite the serious episodes surrounding oil exploration activity in the Vale do Javari TI, the pressure on indigenous territories continues. Oil industry interest in areas such as the

3 See Rodrigo Octavio (2017: 394) for more information on the 12th Oil and Gas Bidding Round and the controversial auction which took place in 2013 despite enormous opposition from indigenist organisations and indigenous people in Brazil.

image from left to right: Zefinha and Cacique Dyanin Kanamari (Massapê village), Vale do Javari TI leadership; Manoel Chorimpa Marubo (Maronal village), Vale do Javari TI leadership; Paulo Kenampa Marubo (Maronal village), president of Univaja; Cacique Arabonã (Bananeira village), Vale do Javari TI leadership; Marcos Dunu Mayoruna (São Meireles village), Vale do Javari TI leadership; Elic Nacua Mayuruna (village 31), Vale do Javari TI leadership; Raimundo Mean Mayuruna (Soles village), Vale do Javari TI leadership.

Jaquirana region, near the Batã igarapé, is still a threat to biodiversity and the life of indigenous peoples. The Jaquirana River basin, the main feeder of the Javari, is divided by the border between Brazil and Peru and spans the territories of the Matsés, whose total population surpasses 4,000 people, and includes isolated groups. In Brazil, there are records of a group known as the "Bata River isolados" and in Peru, on the other side of the Jaquirana River, the Matsés also report the presence of isolated groups. It is likely the same people, living on both sides of the border.

The Struggle Of The Matsés Against Oil **Exploration**

The Matsés in Brazil and Peru, politically coordinated through their leadership and organisations such as the Mayurana General Organisation (OGM) and the Matsés Native Community, have struggled against the resumption of oil exploration on their territories. Elic Nacua Mayurana, resident in Village 31 (high Jaquirana, Vale do Javari TI) reaffirms the position of his kin against any attempt of exploration on Matsés territory:

That's how I will die, since I do not want to die of contamination by oil, I will die killing those who invaded our territory.

In Peru, exploration of oil and gas lots which directly affect the Matsés has already begun.4 In 2007, the Pacific Stratus Energy company gained contractual exploration rights of lots 135 and 137, whose areas overlap with the Matsés Native Community, the Matsés National Reserve and the proposed Yavari-Tapiche Indigenous Reserve (intended for the protection of isolated peoples) and are adjacent to the Vale do Javari TI in Brazil.

Since 2009, the Matsés have been holding binational meetings with one of the main topics being the oil exploration of the region of the Jaquirana River basin. Thanks to the struggle of the Matsés on both sides of the border, the contract for lot 137 was terminated. However. prospection activity on lot 135 continues, putting at risk the entire Matsés population and the isolated groups living there.

Raimundo Mean, a Matsés from the Soles village (Vale do Javari TI), says that with support from civil society organisations in Brazil such as Univaja (Union of the Indigenous Peoples of the Javari Valley), the OGM (Mayuruna General Organisation), CTI (Center for Indigenist Action) and federal institutions, such as Funai and Itamaraty, the Matsés were able to interrupt the operations of Pacific Stratus Energy in lot 137.

It was a huge struggle for the Matsés to paralyse prospection activity on lot 137, but another lot is still active and the worry that

> 4 On the other side of the border, in the Peruvian Amazon, the situation was worse still. According to the CTI Bulletin (2016), between 2006 and 2011 large extensions of the biome were conceded to oil companies by the Peruvian government. In 2008, the entire extension of the rivers Jaquirana and Javari, the Matsés people's traditional area of occupation, was parceled for oil and gas sector companies, such as Pacific Stratus Energy S.A, a subsidiary of the Canadian multinational Pacific Exploration and Production.

the Matsés from both sides have now, from the Peruvian side and the Brazilian side, is that today the process has stopped, but whenever they want to auction again they can and will do it. So, that's why the Matsés ask for the lots to be annulled, lots 135 and 137 which are superimposed on the Matsés Native Community in Peru, and very close to the boundaries of the Vale do Javari TI, in the Jaquirana region.

Raimundo Mean says that, if lots 135 and 137 are not definitively extinct and the possibility of exploration is made effective, the enterprise could cause conflicts between the Matsés and the isolated groups living in the region:

Even though the isolados are escaping, they would be exterminated by the diseases brought by the workers. And the isolados would feel threatened by us, Matsés. They would think we are to blame for the diseases and would come to avenge the deaths they suffered. They would think that the deaths were the result of a spell from the Matsés and would come to avenge the deaths of their relatives. There would be a war between isolados and Matsés. We don't want that to happen.

On several occasions, the Matsés submitted a request for the definitive cancellation of lots 135 and 137 to the relevant agencies in Peru and Brazil. In September 2018, they took a leadership committee of the Matsés Native Community and the Vale do Javari TI to Lima and share their grave concerns with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture of Peru. They went to the Petroleum Agency of Peru (Perupetro) and presented their claims to the president, who said that "without oil, there is no development." As such, there was no guarantee for the Matsés

that lots 135 and 137, located in the Jaquirana River basin, would be annulled.

Permanent Threat

In 2019, threats to the territorial rights of indigenous peoples intensified. Indigenous Lands such as the Vale do Javari TI are the preferential target of a government which classifies these territories on the basis of the profit which can be obtained through exploration, and is not interested in protecting indigenous peoples and their ways of life. The current president's speeches have caused enormous apprehension among the indigenous peoples of the Javari Valley, who demand the extinction of the gas and oil lots to end the chance of exploration on their territories or adjacent areas. However, president Jair Bolsonaro continues in the opposite direction...

The younger Matsés, such as Raimundo Mean, are very worried about oil exploration in the Javari Valley:

Our fear is that we get to the point where there is an armed conflict. We are fighting for this not to happen and we ask the Brazilian and Peruvian governments to not let this happen, because it is without exploration that we've resisted so far, we want that protection. We are resisting. That's why the Matsés people are determined to fight the threats to our territory: we will face them all! If we must die, that's how we will die. For my son, for my life, for the earth, for the food that the earth gives us. That is how the Matsés see the oil question.

He also speaks of his concern about the spiritual consequences arising from the impact of oil exploration, which could harm people's health and the quality of rivers, in view of the possibility of the rivers being contam- $_{\mbox{\scriptsize $\frac{1}{2}$}}$ inated with hydrocarbons and the risk of accidents which would be highly noxious to the environment and the indigenous population.

The spiritual to us is the river. To us Matsés, everything which exists is alive and has an owner. The river has an owner. The lakes and trees too. If there is a spillage and contamination, there will be no more life. What the elders say is that if that happens, the rivers and valleys will dry up and that is our biggest concern.

Marco Dunu Mayuruna, from the village of São Meireles, in Alto Jaquirana, explains:

We believe in a being which exists underground and that all the riches which exist there are for balancing nature. That's why, to us, this resource cannot be interfered with, it has a reason for being there.

The Matsés, like the other peoples of the Vale do Javari TI, reject any oil exploration interest in the region of the Jaquirana River and are certain that on both sides of the border the non-annulment of lots 135 and 137 will be fatal, with immeasurable damage to the life of isolated peoples: from escapes and territorial conflict to complete extinction.

> image Matsés from the Lobo village, Vale do Javari TI, Amazonas.



PROTECTION AT RISK

Increasing pressure on the Vale do Javari TI and its surrounding areas has impacted the region's indigenous peoples and threatened the survival of the isolados

CONRADO R. OCTAVIO geographer, Centre for Indigenist Action (CTI) HILTON S. NASCIMENTO ecologist, Centre for Indigenist Action (CTI)

The Vale do Javari TI is home to the most significant known set of isolated indigenous peoples/ groups on the same Indigenous Land in Brazil. It forms part of a corridor of already-created and proposed protected areas in the Brazil-Peru border region which comprises the largest concentration of peoples in isolation in the world. It consists of an extensive area of forests which shelters an enormous diversity of peoples, landscapes, species and interests. The complex context of the region continues to be a challenge for policies of protection of isolated and recently contacted indigenous peoples.

Track Record Of Exploration

From the end of the 19th century until the completion of the land regularization process of the Vale do Javari TI in the early 2000s, the region was under intense exploration, which led to profound changes in pre-existing indigenous life, occupation and networks. The characteristics and dynamics of non-indigenous occupation and presence were closely tied to exploration, following regional economic trends, changes and oscillations throughout the period.

In general terms, rubber exploitation was the main economic activity from the end of the 19th century until the first decades of the 20th. Its decline was accompanied by the grad-

ual prominence of logging, which consolidated as the region's main economic activity from the mid-20th century. In the years 1970-1980, the Vale do Javari TI was also impacted by the military dictatorship's attempt to construct the Perimetral Norte highway, and exploratory oil and gas activity by Petrobrás. From the 1980s onwards, the illegal drug trade also became a significant economic force in the region - a force whose presence, influence and impact have grown in recent years.

It is important to highlight that the rise to prominence of one particular activity did not necessarily imply the substitution of another; and that, even in those cases, the processes did not occur immediately and homogeneously. The residual trade of rubber up to the early 1980s and the intertwined relations between the chains of production of the logging and illegal drug trade are examples of this. Another point to be highlighted is that some activities with significant impact on the lives and territories of the indigenous peoples of the Javari Valley remained associated to the main drivers of the regional economy throughout the entire period, notably the commercial exploitation of fish stocks and game meat.

Post-Demarcation

The demarcation of the Vale do Javari TI was a turning point for the indigenous peoples of the region. At the political level, the struggle for demarcation led to the cooling of tensions from past conflicts and the establishment of alliances between the peoples, whose institutional expression was the construction of the Indigenous Council of the Javari Valley (Civaja), the main indigenous organisation of Javari Valley - a role played today by the Union of Indigenous Peoples of Javari Valley (Univaja). The process of demarcation also involved agreements which led to the formation of villages in strategic areas sensitive to invasions – as a form of protection. This was $\frac{4}{5}$ the case, for example, with the villages of Lago do Tambaqui, Santo Eusébio, Caxias (of the Kanamari people) and Lago Grande (of the Matsés people), in middle Javari; Flores and Fruta Pão, in low Curuçá; and Soles, in Jaquirana (these last three) also of the Matsés people).

Specifically regarding the protection of isolated indigenous peoples, the process of contact between Funai and a Korubo group (known as the 'grupo da Mayá') in 1996 set off permanent actions of the agency with this people, also aimed at the location and monitoring of other indigenous peoples in isolation in the region, under the coordination of the then Department of Isolated Indians – currently the General Coordination of Recently Contacted and Isolated Indians. To this end, the Vale do Javari Contact Front was created, which from 2000 onwards became the Vale do Javari Ethno-environmental Protection Front.

Successive projects in technical cooperation between the CTI and Funai, executed from 1998,¹ contributed towards the construction of the FPEVJ/Funai bases, enabling them to be equipped and to train and hire personnel as well as services and specialised technical assistance in different areas, providing logistical and operational conditions for locating and monitoring activity of isolados. In addition, dialogue with indigenous communities and organisations, and their participation in protection policies were strengthened.

In contrast with previous decades, the 2000s saw illegal logging in the Vale do Javari TI practically cease. Commercial exploitation

1 The last of these, Proteção
Etnoambiental de Povos Indígenas
Isolados e de Recente Contato na
Amazônia, is in final stages. More
information is available in the Isolated
Peoples in Amazonia Bulletin (https://isa.to/2KCdrVM) and the link https://isa.
to/2KCuw1K.

of fish and game stock also underwent a significant reduction, especially in the Itaquaí and Ituí basins, where Funaí began to control entry and carry out permanent monitoring activity from the FPEVJ base in the confluence of the two rivers. The creation of the Jandiatuba base in 2007 was also essential for guaranteeing the territorial integrity of the area inhabited exclusively by isolados. Its deactivation, a few years later in 2012, was followed by the entry of garimpeiros to this part of the TI.

The area comprised of middle Javari and low and middle Curuçá River remained the most vulnerable, in view of the absence of effective action on behalf of state agencies and the fact that the borders of the Indigenous Land coincide with the international border with Peru, in the case of middle Javari (which is also the portion of the TI closest to the city). The creation of the Curuçá Base by Funai, in 2013, long demanded by the indigenous peoples of the region, brought with it expectations that the situation would be reversed, but its functioning has been precarious and hampered by the complex web of relations and interests in the porous area of the border. Another area which remained vulnerable and without any significant action by the state until very recently was the upper Jataí, where the recently contacted Tyohom-Dyapa, the Kanamari and isolados live - difficult logistical access and the fact that the Javari River basin is not understood have contributed to the historical marginalization of this region and its peoples.

In recent years, however, the territorial protection and gains achieved by the indigenous peoples of the Javari Valley since the 1990s has quickly deteriorated, following the dismantling of rights and public policies which is a mark of the country's current situation. Invasions for predatory and illegal exploitation of natural resources have intensified even in areas with Funai bases, frequently accompanied by threats and even attacks on

indigenous people, staff and members of institutions working in the region. Indigenous leaders, civil society organizations and international bodies have been alerting to the risks for peoples in isolation, which are immense.²

Some Of The Current Pressures Faced By The Javari Valley Isolados³

Commercial Fishing and Hunting Invasions by fishermen and hunters have increased in all quadrants of the Vale do Javari TI and per-

haps constitute the main current threat to the isolados: in middle Javari, low and middle Curuçá, low and middle Itaquaí, low and middle Ituí River, Quixito River, upper Jutaí River, Juruazinho and also in headwater areas towards the southern limits of the Indigenous Land, starting from the riverine communities of the Juruá River, the Mawatek TI and the cities of Eirunepé, Guajará and Ipixuna. Some areas give cause for greater concern due to the confirmed presence of isolados: Quixito River and tributaries of middle Javari and lower Curuçá and middle Ituí River; upper Jutaí

2 See Relatório sobre a situação de direitos humanos dos povos em isolamento voluntário e contato inicial no Brasil, prepared by COIAB and CTI and sent to CIDH on the occasion of a thematic hearing held on 23rd October 2017, in the city of Montevideo, during the IACHR's 165th Period of Sessions.

3 The information presented comes from an as yet unpublished study by the CTI, prepared under the framework of the project *Proteção Etnoambiental de Povos Indígenas Isolados e de Recente Contato na Amazônia.*

image Seizure of game meat, turtles and fish during a Funai inspection.



River, its headwaters and Juruazinho River, igarapé Mawatek and upper Jutaí River; Curuena River; Ituquaí and Branco rivers. The situation in areas with unconfirmed records are no less worrying.

Studies carried out in 2013-2014 on the triple border estimated that 278 tonnes of game meat are traded per year in the cities of Benjamin Constant, Tabatinga, Letícia and Caballococha.⁴ Although the study did not include fishing nor did it allow for the quantification of game sourced specifically from Javari, the data obtained indicates the region's importance for this illegal trade: Brazil accounts for 78% of all the biomass of meat traded on the triple border (equivalent to 169 tonnes per year) with the city of Benjamin Constant as the main centre of trade.

Prospecting, or Garimpo

Gold prospecting is another grave focus of pressure on the Vale do Javari TI, concentrated in the Jandiatuba and Jutaí basins where dredgers and ferries have been operating for at least twenty years. In areas surrounding the Vale do Javari TI, in these basins, activity has submitted various riverine communities



to acts of violence and the environmental degradation of their territories since at least the 1990s (Rapozo et al, 2017; Radaelli, 2018). Reports that a possible massacre of isolados took place in 2017 in the interior of the Vale do Javari TI, near the Jandiatuba River, raised the alarm on the expansion of the activity in the region. Although the alleged massacre was not confirmed after a Funai-led expedition and investigations led by the MPF and Federal Police, the finding that garimpeiros are freely operating in the region with the largest number of *confirmed records of isolados* within the Vale do Javari TI is in itself extremely serious.

The pressure has increased. In the upper Jutaí River, the Kanamari and Tyohom-Dyapa of the Jarinal village have been harassed by garimpeiros to allow them entry into the Vale do Javari TI and to use ferries in an area with a confirmed presence of isolados. Harassment has also been verified in the Cujubim Sustainable Development Reserve, which borders the TI giving access to upper Jutaí and the Curuena River, an area also inhabited by

5 For more information regarding this case, see https://isa.to/2KC7Bnt.

image Garimpo dredge in the Vale do Iavari TI.

isolados. The SDR has suffered the impact of prospection for years, especially in the rivers Boia, Mutum and Jutaí.

A survey by the CTI in November 2018 (in press) states that the mining titles granted (prospection mining and research authorisation) and mineral interests (mining prospecting requests and research requests) in areas surrounding the Vale do Javari TI and the rivers Jutaí, Jandiatuba, Itacoaí, Quixito and Solimões and tributaries total

an area of 248,407.48 hectares, part of it close to the borders of the Indigenous Land.

<u>Illegal Drug Trade</u>

Cocaine trafficking has been present on the triple border since at least the 1980s. It is possibly the main economic force in the region, interfacing with various other activities such as logging, prospection, fishing (especially aimed at export) and a variety of trades and services (Rapozo, 2017), as well as exerting influence over local and regional politics and agents of public power.

Although the triple border is historically one of the main routes of entry of cocaine into Colombia and Peru, for Brazil, in recent years, the region has also become an area of cultivation and refining. As well as the innumerous forms of social impact, the growing of coca for the production of cocaine paste (pasta base) in the area comprising the middle course of the Javari River and low Peruvian Amazonas has caused an increase in deforestation in areas bordering the Vale do Javari TI. Monitoring carried out by the National Commission for Development and Life Without Drugs of Peru (Devida) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (Undoc) identified a 14% increase in the coca planted area in Peru between 2016 and 2017. In the low Peruvian

Amazonas, the increase was 41% in that period. This region now accounts for 4% of the total area of coca crops in Peru.

In this context, the search for new routes for cocaine trafficking could involve a path through the Vale do Javari TI and through isolado territories, as is currently the case in Acre and has occurred in past decades in Javari. The increase in violence and the involvement of indigenous youth with the drug trade is also a cause for concern.

Other Pressures and Threats

In addition to the activity mentioned above, pressures on the Vale do Javari TI are constituted by: logging (especially in Peru), the expansion of agricultural activity in the Juruá Valley, oil and gas exploration (which slowed down in the second half of the 2010s) and religious proselytism. These pressures are added to the chronic problem of indigenous healthcare, in a persistent situation of epidemic outbreaks of viral hepatitis, malaria, tuberculosis and other infectious diseases.

Dismantling And Challenges

Undoubtedly an important factor in worsening the situation of territorial protection is the weakening and precaritizing of Funai. Successive budget cuts, a deficit of human resources, staff evasion, political pressure

6 For more information, see www. trabalhoindigenista.org.br and also Nascimento (2006, 2011); CTI (2013, in press); Comunidad Nativa Matsés (2009, 2012); Coutinho (2013, 2014); Organização Geral Mayuruna & Comunidad Nativa Matsés (2011, 2012 and 2013); Rodrigo Octavio (2015, 2017); Univaja (2013).

7 For more information, see CTI (2004, 2011); CTI & ISA (2011); Coutinho (2008); Nascimento & Erikson (2006) and also the article which addresses the subject in this publication.

and interference from ruralist and evangelical lobby groups have impacted the agency as a whole, with evident repercussions in the region. As pointed out previously, this process is part of a broader picture of dismantling of public policy and rights, a result of the strength and space which sectors notably opposed to indigenous rights have gained, above all in the executive power of the current national context.

On the other hand, transformations in the dynamics of post-demarcation indigenous territories and neighbouring/sharing territorial relations between various peoples have brought about new challenges for policies protecting indigenous isolados. The conflict and contact of recent years8 between indigenous isolados, 'contatados', and Funai, as well as the presence of isolados in proximity of villages are striking examples of these transformations and challenges. Far from being isolated events circumscribed to particular peoples and sectors of the Vale do Javari TI, there is a consensual understanding between indigenous peoples and organisations, civil society organisations and state agents about the potential risk that similar situations will continue to occur in the Vale do Javari and other regions.

These events make evident the need to intensify and improve mechanisms and spaces of dialogue and broad indigenous participation in the state's policies of protection and

8 As, for example, conflict between indigenous Korubo in isolation and the Kanamari on the Curuena River in 2012; between another isolated Korubo group and the Matis in the Coari River in 2014; contacts with Korubo groups in 2014 on the Itaquaí River and in 2015 on the Branco River; process of contact currently underway between Funai, the Korubo of recent contact and an isolated group of the same people in the Coari River basin.



promotion of the rights of isolated and recently contacted indigenous peoples. Given that the discourse and actions of the current government are going in the opposite direction to this need, there is no other option than to strengthen the initiatives and networks which the indigenous peoples, their organisations and allies have developed in the last years, so as to secure the conditions of resistance to the dismantling in progress.

image Isolado houses in the interfluve of rivers Boia and Curuena, Vale do Javari TI, Amazonas.

"THEY ARE PEOPLE WHO HAVE ALWAYS DEFENDED THE EARTH, WHO PROTECT WHAT IS IMPORTANT IN LIFE

VALE DO JAVARI ETHNO-

The Vale do Javari Ethno-environmental Protection Front ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION FRONT (FPE) fosters dialogue with the seven contacted peoples to strengthen protection of the isolados. Funai operates in

> the region with four surveillance bases - the three under jurisdiction of the Vale do Javari FPE are located on the rivers Ituí, Quixito and Jandiatuba. Working together with partner institutions, environmental monitoring agencies, the army, federal and military police, Funai staff and hired indigenous collaborators, they share between them expeditions, overflights, monitoring of satellite imagery and actions for the protection of the territory. The Vale do Javari FPE is coordinated by Gustavo Sena de Sousa.

> The Javari Valley is a very large and very rich territory of difficult access - it is no coincidence that it concentrates the largest number of records of isolated Indians, possibly on the planet. These peoples are great warriors: they have died in defense of their territory and are surviving in defense of it. There are various peoples with different cultures. A very great diversity shares this territory. There are the Kanamari, Katukina people, with various rituals, chants, dances, games [brincadeiras]... A very happy people, which suffer from great social vulnerability, due to this relationship with the city. So they, just as all peoples in general, end up suffering the consequences: death, suicide, child mortality, diseases... In the Javari Valley there is a lot of malaria, an outbreak of hepatitis.

> There are the Marubo, a people who were contacted over 100 years ago, well organised and politicised. The Mayoruna (Matsés) - another warrior people of the Javari Valley. They were also contacted many years ago, from the time of the expansion of Peru, with the caucheiros, and later with the loggers. They had other relationships within the Javari Valley itself, with the Marubo. There are the Kulina, a very small people, survivors of these interethnic relations, of conflict and tensions. The Matis, survivors, punished hard by the contact, but are there today: they are a very strong people, resistant, with strong features of traditional culture. The Korubo, with all this history of conflict and tension, survivors, resistant, also helped protect the Javari and demarcate the land.

> The Tyohom-Dyapa, Katukina people close to the Kanamari, were somewhat forgotten due to their isolation. Along with them are the isolated people proper. All play a very large role in protecting this territory - they have fought, died, survived and today are reinventing themselves to continue surviving. The isolados

editor's note Edited account based on an interview given to Victoria Franco, ISA journalist.

are an example of other possible ways of living, even more so today with the issues affecting the world, climate change, environmental pressure. The indigenous struggle, together with the environmental cause, is the reference of the resistance. These are people who have always defended the earth, protected what is important for life, who are about living from what the earth itself can give us.

All these peoples, in general, are nomads, gatherers, farmers, so they need a very large territory to move around, make fields, collect and hunt. After contact, they become sedentary, but even a village has a very high demand on the territory. As the years pass, the prey moves further away, which requires the group to change. Sometimes there won't be enough straw to make houses... Another necessity for managing their territory. The isolados also need to hunt and fish.

Access to the Javari Valley is totally fluvial. Or by air, by helicopter. There are some landing strips for small planes, but they're used very little. These are regions of difficult access and under extreme pressures. All these pressures generate huge tension among the indigenous peoples, mainly the isolados, because they are warriors, territorialists, they need their territory to survive. Our task is precisely to prevent the invasion of their lands, in order to avoid a possible conflict. When their territory is invaded, isolated indigenous peoples run the risk of contracting a disease or entering a direct conflict. The invaders can retaliate, killing them. So this relationship requires a lot of care and a strong dialogue with the non-indigenous environment about respecting the territory of the isolados.

The presence of isolated Indians makes it important to protect the territory. Currently, Funai only operates through a physical presence for protection of the territory in Indigenous Lands where isolated indigenous peoples are present. Recently, we made an expedition to the Quixito River, due to pressure from hunters, to monitor isolated Indians whom we had been monitoring from overflights. We actually found evidence of hunters in the region. There were also expeditions to find records which have not been confirmed – in Arrojo, Batã, Jaquirana, Flecheira – in order to find traces which could give us more consistency about the presence of the Indians, as well as the reports heard about encounters with the contacted peoples who live around them.

It is all very tense and intense, because these peoples have already fought a lot for their territory. So people want to be very careful in relation to them, monitoring them from afar. We went to verify a claim about a death among the Kanamari of the Curuena River, and they told us about their isolated relatives, their characteristics, the bracelets they use, the characteristic haircut of the Korubo. They also kill using the *borduna*. Two were able to escape the encounter and the Korubo took two children from the village with them, so the Kanamari demanded that we, at that moment, try to find traces to verify if the children were still alive, if they could be found.

We undertook an expedition on the Curuena River, in this tense situation. We went into the forest to try to find traces. We did a 20km walk in a day and we passed by four of their *tapiris*. They were very similar to the tapiris that we monitored among the Korubo of the Itaquaí River. So we could have some evidence that this group is possibly Korubo. We also heard stories from the Korubo about the "Mayá group", which would have crossed the Itaquaí River and would be liv-

ing today in the region. Based on analysis of satellite images and reports, we're able to visualise the movement of this people throughout the years.

We feel a certain tension, yes. There's a bird we always pay attention to, because its song indicates a presence. It might either be reporting our presence there or reporting the presence of isolados who may be close to us. Generally, it is a warning to leave the area. We found the *tapiris*, confirming the presence of those peoples, food leftovers, remains of fires... On some occasions we found arrows they had left behind, baskets, straw mats... Wherever they walk, they leave these camps. On a locating job, you find footprints, breakages, when you're walking in the forest. When it is a site of a really strong occupation, you find more marked paths. They throw down *patuá*. Sometimes they have tools, which they end up getting from the relationship they have with their environment.

The history of contact of the Indians is always like this: the territory was invaded, there were several fronts of expansion, of wood, rubber, some peoples made contact and reinvented themselves in the world. Others were made extinct and others fought and survived, retreating to the headwaters of the rivers, so they are survivors. To me, they are fleeing Indians. But it was especially after the 'disintrusion' of the territory that there were more reports of sightings of Indians in the surroundings of the villages of contacted peoples. With the exposure of the isolated Indians on the bank, you have this movement of other peoples and health teams who don't always have that understanding of their vulnerability, so they would trade things, and give things to the Indians until they began to have epidemiological outbreaks in the forest, with diseases they were unable to treat.

Threats to Javari continue to grow. In recent years we've had attacks, which were reported in the press, of invaders of the Ituí-Itaquaí Base, which is under pressure from fishermen and hunters. These invaders gain ground because of the fragility of the state, and they feel entitled to attack our staff. They shot firearms against our teams, staff and indigenous collaborators. It's time to increase security within those bases and continue monitoring activity with the support of partner organisations.



RECORDS OF ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN ACRE

- Confirmed
- Under study
- Capital
- Cities of reference
- Conservation Units
- Forest Concessions (Peru)
- Indigenous Lands
- Isolado Reserve Area (CPI/Acre 2009)
- ---- Byroad
- ······ Planned Highway (Peru)
- International Border



INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN VOLUNTARY ISOLATION ON THE BRAZIL-PERU BORDER: TERRITORIAL DYNAMICS AND THREATS

Projects for the opening of highways and byroads, logging, invasions for illegal hunting and fishing, drug trafficking and non-authorised entry of non-indigenous people are some of the threats to indigenous peoples living in the cross-border region between Acre, Ucayali and Madre de dios, where there is a significant presence of isolated groups.

JOSÉ FRANKNEILE DE MELO SILVA Geoprocessing/ CPI-Acre

MARIA LUIZA PENEDO OCHOA Public Policy Program and Regional Articulation/CPI-Acre

A significant portion of the state of Acre is comprised of protected areas, Indigenous Lands (TIs) and Conservation Units (UCs), located along the border strip between Brazil and Peru.

12 Indigenous Lands and a National Park, spread among the municipalities of Santa Rosa do Puru, Feijó, Jordão, Marechal Thaumaturgo, Assis Brasil and Sena Madureira, are occupied by different contacted and recently contacted indigenous peoples, as well as groups in voluntary isolation who live in these areas permanently or seasonally. According to the Envira Ethno-environmental Protection Front of Funai, the isolated groups of Acre are estimated at between 600 to 1,000 people.

In addition to the protected areas on the Acre border, the Peruvian departments of Ucayali and Madre de Dios form a vast group of areas intended for maintaining the physical and cultural integrity of indigenous peoples in voluntary isolation. There are four Territorial Reserves (Murunahua, Mashco-Piro, Isconahua and Madre de Dios), the Alto Purús National Park, the Purús Communal Reserve, the Sierra del Divisor Reserve Zone (ZEE/AC, 2006), interspersed with over 30 Native Communities of various peoples such as the Ashaninka, Jaminawa, Amawaka, Huni Kuĩ (Kaxinawá), Madijá and Yine (IBC-SICNA, 2009).

Despite being separated by international borders, these areas form a complex binational mosaic, comprised of an intricate web of indigenous territories and traditional communities, and is characterised by the various dynamics and relations among its inhabitants, who are responsible for the protection and maintenance of one of the most socio-biodiverse regions in the world. It is in this binational region that economic fronts and external interests have been causing considerable socio-environmental impact in the name of 'regional and economic growth'. Under bilateral agreements, innumerable enterprises of the Brazilian and Peruvian governments threaten the indigenous peoples and their territories along the border, especially those living in voluntary isolation.

The Isolados and Territorial Pressures on the Border of Acre, Ucayali and Madre de Dios

The main threats in this transborder region come from projects for opening highways and byroads, logging, invasions for illegal fishing and hunting, drug trafficking and the unauthorised entry of non-indigenous people to indigenous territories. There is additional pressure from dozens of 'Permanent Production



Forests' and lots intended for oil and gas prospection and exploration conceded by the Peruvian government to large local and multinational oil companies.

According to Aquino (2012), as a result of these pressures, especially since 2006, the isolated peoples living on the Peruvian territory

> 1 According to the National System of Environmental Information [Sistema Nacional de Información Ambiental -SINIA], of the Peruvian government's Ministry of Environment, Forests of Permanent Production are areas of primary forest available for exploitation by companies or individuals, via a resolution of the Ministry of Agriculture. Available at: https://isa.to/2KJ7WVc.

image Isolado clearing and houses in the Kampa e Isolados do Envira TI. Acre.

were forced to move to the protected areas in Acre, intensifying their presence in rivers such as the Envira, which is the location of the Alto Tarauacá, Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira and Riozinho do Alto Envira TIs - these last two inhabited by the Ashaninka and Madijá. This is also the case with the headwaters of the rivers Jordão and Humaitá, location of the Kaxinawá do Rio Jordão and Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá TIs respectively, both of the Huni Kuĩ people.

In the first decade of the 21st century, cases of sightings, traces and looting by isolated peoples have increased in the villages of these TIs. This has also been noticed by non-indigenous residents of the area. There have additionally been confrontations between the different isolated groups. These factors do not only cause a reordering of territories, that is, a redefining of their areas of use and movement, but also culminate in contact itself, as was recorded in

June 2014 by the Envira Ethno-environmental Protection Front (FPEE) at Simpatia village in the Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI.

According to the FPEE, the contacted indigenous people, known as the 'people of igarapé Xinane', migrated from Peru to the Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI to escape the illegal loggers who were invading their territories, as well as being threatened by the presence of drug traffickers in search of routes leading into Brazil. With help from Jaminawa interpreters, reports from a recently contacted group who said they had suffered violence at the headwaters of the Envira River confirmed this hypothesis.

The region's scenario of threats and pressure has gradually increased with the road infrastructure projects proposed by the Peruvian government. The project for a road interlinking the municipalities of Puerto Esperanza and Iñapari, triggered by the Estrada do Pacífico (connected with the Interoceânica Sul on the Brazilian side), was proposed by a congressman from the Fuerza Popular parliamentary group and a priest of the Catholic church. The impact of this highway would be significant on both sides of the border, as it would cross through territories shared by or reserved for isolated indigenous groups. The proposal was presented in 2016 to the Peruvian Congress, with the justification for its construction based on "public need" and "in the national interest". However, it was shelved by Congress after strong opposition from various civil society institutions and the Peruvian state, as it would directly affect protected areas (CPI-Acre, 2016).

According to Appling and Salisbury (2012), the 273km highway would cross through 36km of Native Communities, 14km of the Alto Purús Communal Reserve, 105km of the Alto Purús National Park, 24km of the Madre de Dios Territorial Reserve and 57km of Forest Concessions, as well as 16km of other territorial

units. Almost 100 watercourses, among them rivers and igarapés, would be cut by its route, crossing international borders and affecting areas close to the headwaters of the Acre River and Mamoadate TIs, the River Acre Ecological Station and the Chandless State Park in Acre. The road would not only benefit illegal logging as it would affect isolated groups, known as Mashco-Piro, who move between both sides of the international border and occupy forests in the headwaters of the rivers Madre de Dios. Tahuamanu, Los Amigos and Las Piedras, as well as the binational rivers Iaco, Chandless, Envira and Juruá (Aquino, 2012).

The leadership of the Manchineri and Jaminawa people, of the Mamoadate TI, through which the Iaco River flows, have been monitoring the pressures and movements of these isolated groups. Between 2015 and 2016, during workshops held by the Pro-Indian Commission of Acre (CPI-Acre), the leadership of the TI prepared a Monitoring and Surveillance Plan, with actions focused on the follow-up of the advance of logger byroads at the border and surrounding their land, as well as strategies for integrated management, seeking to involve their non-indigenous neighbours, especially the residents of the Resex Chico Mendes, in order to raise awareness about the common problems they face in the region. A large amount of information was gathered during the workshops and monitoring and, periodically, the Manchineri leadership organise excursions to locations where the Mashco-Piro often go by, to find out whether there have been invasions of the TI.

The Manchineri and Jaminawa have long observed the impact on the movements of the Mashco-Piro groups who cross the TI during the summer in the direction of the headwaters of the Chandless River, on the limits of the Chandless State Park with the Alto Purús State Park, in Peru. Traces left by the group have increased in recent years and their $\frac{\infty}{2}$ camps (tapiris) indicate a significant number of isolados moving to the Chandless. In the months of August and September 2017, for example, the Manchineri identified traces and signs of isolado camps during an expedition. In January 2018, two Manchineri also found trails and broken branches at a location they consider to be a hunting area used by the Mashco-Piro (Manchineri, 2018).

In 2016, in the Mamoadate TI, the Manchineri and Jaminawa formed an alliance with the guest Peruvian indigenous organisations: the Aidesp² Ucayali Regional Organisation (ORAU), the Native Federation Río Madre de Dios y Afluentes (Fenamad) and the Platform of Indigenous Organisations for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples in Voluntary Isolation and Initial Contact. The purpose of this alliance was to strengthen the defense of isolated indigenous peoples and their territories on the border.

Another situation which is compromised by the opening of a highway is the Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá TI, which on the south borders the Alto Tarauacá, Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira and Kulina do Rio Envira TIs. The Humaitá River, a tributary of the Muru River, flows through the entire TI and its headwaters are located in the region which borders the Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI, inhabited by an isolated group known locally as the "brabos do Humaitá".

The aforementioned highway, with an extension of 42km, was completed by the Acre State Department of Highways, Waterways

2 The Interethnic Association of Development of the Peruvian Jungle [Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana] is an organization that includes 109 regional decentralized organizations, located in the north, center and south of the Peruvian Amazon. It works for the defense and rights of 64 indigenous peoples of Peru.

and Infrastructure (Deracre), in 2011. It was formerly a *varadouro* between the municipality of Jordão and the old site of the Novo Porto rubber mill, located on the Muru River, relatively close to the limits of the Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá TI. The road was opened by the municipal council and the state government without the proper environmental impact assessments (EIA-RIMA) and without consulting the local communities. The construction caused direct and indirect impact to the Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá, Kaxinawá do Seringal Independência, Alto Tarauacá TIs and their borders – areas with a significant presence of isolated peoples.

The Huni Kuĩ of the Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá TI have known the isolados for years and have been building their own initiatives to avoid contact and possible conflicts, not only within the TI but also with the non-indigenous people of the area. Since 2009, through workshops for raising awareness and providing information about the isolados (organised by CPI-Acre in partnership with indigenous organisations³ and the FPEE) the Huni Ku leadership have defined strategic actions for the protection of isolated groups in the region.

Among the main measures adopted, with some already in force, are: i) 'Monitoring House' built with the objective of reducing the presence of isolados in the villages, located near the headwaters of the Humaitá River, where there are clearings and tools left by the teams who visit periodically; ii) Due training and support for the Huni Kuĩ to carry out monitoring; iii) Workshops to raise awareness for the residents of the Muru River and Iboiaçu

area; iv) A third of the TI extension (approximately 40,000 hectares) intended for the exclusive use of isolated indigenous people living in the region of the Humaitá River headwaters.

In 2014, the issue of the Iordão-Novo Porto highway was heard by the 6th Chamber of Coordination and Review of the Federal Public Ministry (Indigenous Populations and Traditional Communities) in Brasilia. The indigenous leadership of the Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá and Kaxinawá do Rio Jordão TIs were present. In Rio Branco, Acre, the MPF summoned the state and federal bodies4 together with civil society to discuss the impacts and point out the weaknesses in actions for the control and restriction of use of areas for isolados. The alignment and exchanges resulting from these meetings helped support the elaboration of the EIA-RIMA. However, this process is now paralysed.

Along the Acre border with the Peruvian departments of Madre de Dios and Ucayali, the threats to protected areas are of varying scale (social, political and economic) and could be further aggravated with the current political situation in Brazil, marked by reversals in socio-environmental and indigenist policies built over more than 20 years. As such, the need for indigenous leaders and their communities to work together in the defense of their territories and indigenous peoples in voluntary isolation is stronger. The socio-environmental initiatives of these peoples are visible and defiant, if one observes their preoccupation and care with environmental conservation and territorial integrity. To this one

4 Federal bodies: Funai, Ibama, ICMBio, Serviço de Patrimônio da União. State bodies: Deracre, Instituto de Terras do Acre (ITERACRE), SEMAAC, Assessoria Especial para Assuntos Indígenas (AEAI). Municipal body: Municipal Council of Jordão. Civil Society Organisations: CPI-Acre.

must add their coordination with Peruvian indigenous partners and their organisations for strengthening policies for the protection of isolated peoples in conjunction with relevant bodies and civil society in Brazil and Peru.

³ Association of the Kaxinawá People of the Humaitá River (ASPIRH), the Association of Indigenous Culture of the Humaitá River (ACIH) and the Organisation of Indigenous Peoples of the Tarauacá River (OPITAR).

"WE NEED TO PROTECT THEM SO THEY CAN LIVE THEIR LIVES IN PEACE!

base of the Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá

TI. Acre.

We work on the connection with isolados and we are worried about the environmental question and the global warming of this planet. I want to share my direct knowledge of the forest.

MANOEL JOCEMIR DE PAULA SABÓIA

Hunikui leader and coordinator of the Isolados Protection Front surveillance

Our Indigenous Land is 127 thousand hectares, where 700 Hunikui people live.

We share our land with isolados, the Nawakui ["other people"].

Nawakui, a name given by indigenous peoples from the time of my grandparents, my great grandparents. It is a natural thing... They always lived here with us, sharing the land.

Hunikui People have lived through four different times: the time of running, the time of captivity, the time of the maloca, and the time of our government. Today, our concern is to work for the protection of the forest, of our families and other isolated peoples. I did overflights with Funai and located the place where the isolados live. Now it's time to work for their protection, and ours too. The recent threats to us and to the brabos come from the invasions by illegal hunters near our land and the Jordão-Novo Porto highway, built in an area very close to the limits of the TI; we are being directly and indirectly affected. We are also being threatened by oil and gas exploration interests in nearby areas, in Peru.

We are very worried about what is happening today in the country. I want to talk about this to the parliamentarians, the legislative power, for them to recognise our rights in Brazil. It is the law. The forest without the Indian is worthless! The social life of Brazil needs to be connected with the cultural life of the indigenous peoples. What would be the way forward for taking care of our land? I asked my students: What would our dream be? To keep the forest standing! Live with the forest. Does the legislative power worry about that? Are the whites worried about that?

The world of today is very different. In the Western world, we suffer from the impact and threats of highways, invaders, illegal hunters, prospectors... it is different to the life of the isolados today. So, leave the Indian in his corner! Leave the Indian in peace! Before, the Indian didn't have diseases, didn't have this other political knowledge. The Nawakui live like that, they are on the border, in the maloca. And we, Hunikui, are living differently to them. We are in the time of our government, in the time of knowledge, the time of technology.

We decided to reserve a piece of our land just for the isolados, so they could live there peacefully. It was a decision of the Hunikui people, to solve the problem of the isolados looting the homes of the Hunikui and riverine families who live in the TI surroundings. We don't speak directly to the isolados,

but we communicate through signs, through spirituality. That image Manoel Jocemir de Paula Sabóia.

is what I want to speak about, about what is important to us Kaxinawa indigenous people, called Hunikui, real people. I have led this work with isolados for a long time. Together with all the people, my families, my villages, we made a project to build a surveillance protection base in the Taraya igarapé.

There on the division of our territory with the area of the isolados, between

There, on the division of our territory with the area of the isolados, between the rivers Muru and Iboiaçu, we built the Gift and Surveillance House, with support from Funai and the CPI-AC, to protect and monitor the isolados, and control the entrance of invaders and threats which happen here in Acre. Our biggest concern is to minimise the looting from the isolados, and that's why we started to leave hoes, machetes, axes, pans and bananas for them. We also made a clearing so they don't come close to our villages. Knowing that the things they seek are there, they go there and then return to their village. And we do too, we only go there to do our job and then we return to our village. The existence of that house allows us to monitor the isolados and also control and surveil the Indigenous Land. So, the Gift and Surveillance House is very important to us.

The decision we made is working out, it improved our relationship with the isolados. Now they walk in our villages, but they don't interfere with anybody and don't take things from the Hunikui families anymore. The looting decreased and so did the prejudice of the non-indigenous people living in the surroundings. We raised awareness about the presence of isolados. Each to his own. Each in their own place. But looking after each other, talking to each other, not personally, but spiritually connected.

It is our dream to work like that with the isolados. Us, without interfering with them, and them, without interfering with us. But we are spiritually connected. We here talk with the isolados through spirituality, through communication with nature, with the birds – it's another way.

The school is one of the partners in this project of protecting the isolados. It is a space for us to think about territorial and environmental management of our land and the issue of global warming. We have a lot of didactic material and the students do interviews and surveys about our culture and our history, the past, present and future. The school is a source for the protagonism of peoples. I don't work alone, I work with a class! It is the voice of the communities, the voice of the forest, the voice of the indigenous peoples. We work with films and also publish-

ing, with our partners.

GOVERNO FEDERAL

MINISTÉRIO DA JUSTIÇA DAÇÃO NACIONAL DO INDIO

FRRA PROTEGIDA

What do I say to the planet? What do I ask from the planet? What can I offer the isolados? I'm going to help in the area of protection, monitoring and control with the relevant bodies, like Funai. We need to protect them, so they can live their lives in peace. Live in the forest and use the forest wisely.



"WE ARE LEADING FIGURES IN THIS COUNTRY BECAUSE WE PROTECT THE FOREST

I'm Hunikui of Humaitá Indigenous Land, of the village of São ADELSOM DE PAULA PAULINO Vicente, I want to talk as an indigenous student about the isolados. I want to talk about the work here on our territory sharing with the Nawakui. We, indigenous people, are their mouth-

Student in the village of São Vicente, Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá TI, Acre.

piece, because they cannot communicate and inform the whites what they prefer and what they don't want. They are suffering the impact of forest exploitation and the destruction of the planet. We work with video and photography so that Brazilian society will recognise us, we, the peoples of the forest.

We communicate mentally, spiritually with the isolados. We also communicate through gestures and through certain objects we leave in the Gift and Surveillance House. They will take those objects and they will meditate. They will know that we left it for them and meant well. We hope they understand that it is so they don't leave their malocas and go to other places where they might be bothered by other people. We treat them with a lot of affection, with politeness. And you can see that by the way we work in the Gift House.

We are the leading figures in this country, because we protect the forest. We have didactic materials made for indigenous schools and for non-indigenous people, but there's still some way before it reaches the executive or legislative powers. Our voice needs to reach them so they can know and give value to the indigenous peoples and their future generations. We have the right to exclusive land use.

image Students in the village of São Vicente, Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá TI. Acre.

editor's note Edited accounts from an interview with Manoel Jocemir de Paula Sabóia and his student Adelsom de Paula Paulino in the village of São Vicente, Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá TI.



ON THE FDGE OF EXISTENCE: THE PEOPLE OF XINANE¹

The violence perpetrated against the Pano people who inhabit the border between Brazil (Acre) and Peru for over a century caused these groups to seek refuge in areas of difficult access. The massacres and forced isolation produces transformations, as well as the destructuring of a socio-political system which integrated them and was essential for their social reproduction. In recent years, the intensification of pressure from loggers, drug traffickers and hunters in their territories, and the need to find conditions allowing for their physical and social reproduction led the Xinane people to seek contact.

LAURA PÉREZ GIL Postgraduate Program in Anthropology (Federal University of Paraná)

In June 2014, three indigenous men, belonging to a group which had until then lived in voluntary isolation, appeared on a beach in front of the village of Simpatia, in the Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI (Acre, Brasil). The

> 1 The data and reflections presented here were produced during a consultation developed for the Ethnoenvironmental Protection of Isolated and **Recently Contacted Indigenous Peoples** in Amazonia project, carried out by the CTI in technical cooperation with Funai. Much of the information presented here was provided by the FPEE team, to whom I am grateful for their generosity and welcome during the month I stayed at the Xinane Base and the time spent in Feijó, Rio Branco and Brasilia.

videos2 capturing the moment went viral on the internet. The protagonists are three young men of slim build, strong and healthy, showing plenty of self-confidence. In one of the scenes, an ashaninka leadership representative, in a gesture of cordiality, crosses the river to hand them some bananas while continuously repeating the phrase xara³ ('good', 'beautiful'). In another, the youngsters, already in the village, search the houses and pick up objects, such as clothes, shotguns and machetes, while Funai staff try to avoid being approached and repeat the work 'katawe' ('leave'). In a third scene, the young men, on the other side of the wire which surrounds Simpatia, blow between their hands and sing. The moments featured in these videos are only a small part of a sequence of events which began long before and would continue after.

Among other things, there are two important features in these videos. The first is that contact happened by the initiative of the young Xinane. Contrary to the hidden thefts of other occasions, they do it here in broad daylight. On the previous day they had appeared further upstream, in front of the Xinane Base, which at the time was deactivated. FPE Envira staff, whose presence had been requested by the Ashaninka before the abundance of evidence of the presence of isolados, arrived at the base and upon sighting the 'isolados' decided to return to Simpatia to avoid contact. Once contact with Funai was made, the youngsters returned to the forest to call the rest of the

- 2 The videos were recorded in an improvised fashion with mobile phones. Two are available at: https://isa.to/2KI24Ma and https://isa.to/31vtESC.
- 3 I follow the spelling proposed by the linguist Livia de Camargo Silva Tavares de Souza who studies the language of the Xinane people in collaboration with the FPEE.

families, who arrived at the base during the following months.

The second point is the important role played by the Ashaninka in the whole process. As a recently-contacted woman explained to me, they came out of the forest because the Ashaninka looked for them and offered them food, saving xara, xara. With the aim of ending the insecurity generated by the presence of isolados on the territory on which they live, they sought to foster contact. It is important to stress that what we call 'contact' is not exclusively a process in which relations are established between 'isolados' and non-indigenous people, but a process in which various indigenous participants have an important role, mainly the Ashaninka, Jaminawa and Shanenawa in the context of the Brazil-Peru border.

To understand the motivations which led to the young Xinanes' approach that day we should consider the circumstances of the region and, equally, the conditions created by the invasion of Brazilians and Peruvians over the course of more than a century. Accounts of the Xinane people and evidence collected by the FPEE team attest to the intensification of pressure on the Peruvian side of the border due to the illegal presence of loggers, drug traffickers and hunters. The violence they inflicted is reflected eloquently in the scars which various group members bear on their bodies, produced by gunshots from non-indigenous people during fortuitous encounters in the forest, or as a reprisal for stealing. This is,



however, just another episode within the context of the invasion of indigenous territories by various waves of expansion and exploitation since the start of the rubber boom.

The presence of indigenous groups in voluntary isolation in the region has been registered by Funai since the beginning of the 1980s, when there were clashes between isolados and the Ashaninka. This led to an initiative by José Carlos dos Reis Meirelles: the creation of the Envira River Attraction Front, today the Envira Ethno-environmental Protection Front. The objective of the Front was not to contact isolated Indians but to protect and monitor them, and avoid confrontations with other indigenous peoples. In addition to the Xinane people, the FPEE recorded evidence of other pano-speaking isolated peoples, the arawak and awará. The presence of the Xinane people on the Envira River became evident from 2006, but the current FPEE team considers according to reports collected from the indigenous people and re-analysis of their own data - that the group was present in the region long before, which is consistent with existing historical and ethnographic information.

The Xinane people are part of a group of peoples classified as Yaminawa (Erikson, 1992) or Pano do Purus (Townsley, 1994) who, at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, inhabited the contiguous region of the headwaters of the rivers Juruá, Tarauacá, Envira and Purus, and formed an integrated socio-political system. Studies on Yaminawa, Sharanawa, Nawa, Mastanawa, etc., groups show that the rubber boom triggered a large displacement, resulting in the current dispersed and fragmented configuration. As the territories were being occupied for the exploitation of rubber and seringa trees, the populations who lived there were either used as slave labour or massacred. Those who attempted to avoid contact sought refuge in areas of difficult access, such as the territory



occupied by the Xinane people until recently. The indigenous population was decimated partly by the so-called correrias, which aimed to enslave and make reprisals, and partly by the incidence of diseases.

The demographic drop and violent pressure on the indigenous territories and their inhabitants since the end of the 19th century had a great impact on the socio-political dynamics of the peoples of that region (Aquino e Piedrafita Iglesias, 1996; Calavia, 1995; Townsley, 1994). If, on the one hand, extremely fragmented and decimated peoples needed to create alliances between each other, on the other, ten-

> image Previous page: Fernando Kampa in contact with the isolated Xinane, Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI, Acre; above: Dwellings of the Xinane River isolados, Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI. Acre.

sions caused by epidemics, often attributed to witchcraft, also caused conflict which further fragmented the groups.

Regarding their relationship with whites, this group of pano peoples maintained an ambivalent attitude. On occasions they would totally reject relationships with non-indigenous people and were, for a long time known as 'savages' (Calavia, 1995; Townsley, 1994). Other times they would show a great fascination for the objects of whites, especially tools made of metal. This ambiguity is reflected in the dynamics of contact processes. The fact they established relations in a given moment does not equal a definitive situation. There is plenty of news of groups who decided to return to live in the forest, often after conflict, and to remain isolated after having lived some time among non-indigenous people.

This seems to have been the case with the Xinane people according to reports collected by Funai staff: the elders speak of working, in the past, in a *seringal* grove where the village of Simpatia is today. After a time of coexistence, the non-indigenous 'bosses' killed some of them, and so they decided to return to the forest. Some non-pano words used by the Xinane people in the first moments of contact in 2014 recall this context: 'maria' to refer to women; 'cupixawa' to refer to houses; 'pataro' to refer to bosses.

There are records of cases in which a part of the families were in direct contact with non-indigenous people, while the other part remained in the forest, at a distance. The families which decided to come out of 'isolation' continued to maintain contact with their 'elusive' relatives. This still current practice is reported by Rolando (2018) in relation to a recently contacted family, probably split years ago from the group of Xinane families. The contacted family occasionally goes to the forest to visit their 'isolated' relatives.

This segmentation between 'meek' [mansos] and 'angry'/'elusive' [bravos/arredios] is interpreted by Calavia as "a more or less conscious strategy against the whites, which aims to filter their power, admitting manufactured goods and avoiding epidemics and control (1995: 186). In this sense, neither contact nor isolation seem to be absolute and irreversible situations. The fascination for objects is set against the fear of global violence of non-indigenous and pathogenic agents, which together seem to be the reasons for this back-and-forth. It is interesting that the Xinane people, having

established peaceful contact⁴ with the FPEE, 'appropriated' it, showing their dissatisfaction when members perform activities with other peoples. The members of the team are called, through no choice of their own, *pataro*, an alteration of '*patrão*' [boss], a term which, in my view, stems from the attributed role of providers of goods more than any connotation of labour exploitation which the term carries.

As a consequence of the rubber boom, the region of the headwaters of the rivers Juruá, Tarauacá, Envira and Purus became an area of refuge for those groups who managed to stay away, or who after a period of contact fled back to the forest. However, between 1935 and 1965 many of them gradually established contact with national societies: the Jaminawa do Iaco in the 1950s (Calavia, 1995) and a decade later the Yaminawa do Juruá e do Mapuya (Pérez Gil, 2011); the Sharanawa no Purus had contact with non-indigenous people from the 1930s and during the following two decades other pano of Purus stabilised their relations with non-indigenous people (Déléage, 2006; Schultz e Chiara, 1955).

Recently, two pano groups which were in isolation made contact via very similar processes in Peru: after a confrontation with loggers, they decided to call their families to contact the *nawa* (whites, foreigners, enemies). One of these groups is known as Yora or Nawa who, at the time of contact in 1984, was locat-

4 The relationship with the FPEE team is not exempt from tensions, as both parties do not share the same idea of what its role should be, but its peaceful character is evident to the recently contacted. Also, the success of its procedures for health-care assistance, which avoided the lethal consequences of diseases for which their immune system is not prepared, contributed to the positive image the Xinane people have of their new life in proximity of the base.

ed in the Mishagua and Manu rivers (Feather, 2010). The other group, contacted in the upper Mapuya River in 1995, is known as Txitonawa (Carid Naveira, 2007; Pérez Gil, 2006). It should be mentioned that, based on the data collected during the consultation (Pérez Gil, 2018), it would be plausible to consider that the families known as the Txitonawa in Peru and those which make up the Xinane people are related.

The historical circumstances reported are important for understanding the context of the Xinane people and the reasons which led them to make contact, as the isolation they lived in until 2014 was not only in relation to non-indigenous people. Pressure from non-indigenous occupation movements in the territory caused transformations, such as social fragmentation, increased displacement and the intensification of an interfluvial mode of life. Additionally, with massacres and interethnic contact in the region, the invasions provoked a demographic and sociological gap, impacting the wider socio-political system integrating all the pano peoples of the region, which operated through a continuous process of fission and fusion. Partly due to the large dispersion and partly the circumstances created from contact, the system was dismantled and emptied.

One of the more dramatic consequences of this sociological gap is reflected in kinship and implies a direct threat to the physical survival of the Xinane people. In 2014, the contacted Xinane group was comprised of 34 people. Currently, all existing marriages are between people who belong to categories of kinship

which, according to the rules of traditional marriage, cannot marry one another. The lack of relatives in adequate marriage categories is, in large measure, a consequence of the deaths and annihilation of the old intergroup system.

The situation is especially critical for young men, three of which, not surprisingly, were protagonists of the contact scenes referred to above. They insist they have nobody to marry within their group and made manifest, from the beginning, a desire to find wives among the different peoples who, through contact, they would come to meet.

'Contact' implies risks, as it involves establishing relations with one or more long feared and avoided enemy(s), but it is the opening to the outside which makes the existence of these peoples possible. It is a new universe, full of people, things, languages and possibilities of existence which young men especially set out to explore and grasp. The displacement to the municipality of Feijó, made unexpectedly and resolutely, derives from the same motivations which led them to make contact, that is, the opening to a world which offers the conditions for their social reproduction and which, from their perspective, implies an improvement compared to lived experiences in the forest: goods which maximise food production (shotguns, cartridges, engines, gas, axes, machetes, etc.); goods which move and stimulate internal affective relationships, because they are objects of intense desire (clothing, glasses, sandals, make up); and new opportunities for marital alliance for a group which took its possibilities to the limit.

THE 'WARY PEOPLE' OF THE MAMOADATE INDIGENOUS LAND

LUCAS ARTUR BRASIL MANCHINERI

Yine Hosha Hajene, 'wary people'

The Mamoadate TI has an extension of 313,646 hectares and is located in the municipality of Assis Brasil and Sena Madureira. The Manxineru (Yine) and Jaminawa peoples who live in the TI also share the area with isolados. We call them Yine Hosha Hajene, or 'wary people'. Why are they wary? Because they have decided not to believe in strangers.

For a long time indigenous peoples suffered from the mistaken names given to them by whites – which is from the time of contact with the colonisers of America. The priest, the missionary and the anthropologist bestowed on them the names they thought to be correct... In Brazil, they called our people Manchineri, and in Peru, Piro. They have nothing to do with our self-denomination. Our real name is Yine, in Peru as well as Brazil, as we are the same people. The same is happening with the Yine Hosha Hajene ('people who live in the forest').

> 1 Summarised edition of the Lucas text which was also edited and incorporated to the article "Yine Manxinerune Hosha Hajene e a territorialidade criada na Terra Indígena Mamoadate, Brasil - o poder das memórias", by Lucas Artur Brasil Manchineri, Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen and Maria Luiza Ochoa, to be published in Tipití – Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America.

image Manchineri and Jaminawa in a meeting with indigenous people from Peru, Betel village, Mamoadate TI, Acre. These isolados are known as Mascho-Piro, a name given to them by anthropologists. For us, Mascho-Piro means 'naked woman', so we, Manxineru/Yine who speak the same language as them, respect them and don't call them that.

The Yine Hosha Hajene occupy and use a part of the Mamoadate TI and also locations close to its borders, which are shared with the Manxineru/Yine in permanent and established contact in villages on both sides of the Brazil-Peru border. The Mamoadate TI provides various forest and river products which the wary relatives need to live and sustain their families and culture. Thus, our land is the source of their subsistence, as well as for us Manxineru/Yine. The movements of our wary relatives in the forest coincide with the productive cycles of the resources which the forest provides. In the rainy season they travel to high places, such as the river headwaters; in the summer they go to the middle and lower areas of the rivers and beaches. The waters of the rivers which flow through our territory, on the binational border, all originate in Peru and flow to Brazil.

The Manxineru/Yine people have total respect for the cultural practices and territory of the wary peoples. They move around the headwaters of the Yaco River and its tributaries, past the boundaries of the Mamoadate TI, reaching the Yine territories in Peru. The Manxineru of the village of Extrema began to notice their presence, having spotted their tapiris. The wary relatives also frequent the Chandless River and tributaries. The rivers Tahuamanu, Las Piedras and Alto Rio Madre de Dios, in Peru, were their territories before contact with western society.



Sharing our Territory With the Wary **Relatives**

In addition to the hundreds of Manxineru families who live on the Mamoadate TI, there are also the isolated Yine Hosha Hajena. We are very worried about the population increase on our land. Even so, when we made the Management Plan of our TI, we took the decision to divide our territory with the wary relatives, and so we wrote in the document:

We will respect the right of our Yine/ Manxineru Hosha Hajene (Mascho Piro) and Tsapanawa relatives to live in peace in the forest. In future, our recently contacted kin, the Xinane Tsapanawa, may be a source of knowledge for our Jaminawa people, as we speak the same language. We want to allow time for their adaptation, and strengthen their protection with Funai before seeking contact with them. We Manxineru always protect the integrity of our Yine/Manxineru Hosha Hajene relatives because they have knowledge from which we can learn. They preserve the medicinal, spiritual and food knowledge needed to live well in the forest. We will organise to call for more support

from the General Coordination of Isolated Indians in our task of protecting our Yine/ Manxineru Hosha Hajene and Tsapanawa relatives from the hands of drug traffickers, oil prospectors, miners and especially loggers. We decided to share a part of our land, above the Abismo igarapé, with our Yine/ Manxineru Hosha Hajene relatives.

We. Manxineru/Yine of the Mamoadate TI. are fighting for the right of our wary relatives to have a dignified life. Currently, our land is demarcated, which gives us safety, but we cannot live here only through our traditional knowledge as we are enclosed by limits created by the whites which previously didn't exist.

Current Correria and Threat to the Wary **Peoples**

Why are they coming close to our villages? Because their territory is threatened by loggers, drug traffickers, oil prospectors and the highway project which links the municipality of Iñapari and Puerto Esperanza on the Peruvian side, and also affects the Manxineru/ Yine people. We are surrounded by danger. Logging in Peru is very close to the isolated villages. With their territory occupied by invaders, prey, which is the preferential food of the 'wary peoples', is moving to other forests. As well as the lack of prey, the presence and persecution by invaders causes them to flee [correria] and migrate to places where they feel safe and protected. To ease their flight and escape from the invader, the isolated people split into several groups.

Today there are several risks to the survival of the wary people who live on the limit of our Mamoadate TI which borders Peru. These invaders interfere with their physical integrity, as they are very susceptible to diseases of the whites, such as flu and diarrhea. Any contact with infected people can lead to their extinction. In addition to the projects for economic exploitation of our territories, the isolados are threatened by the presence of missionaries, and groups of journalists and researchers.

The Fight for the Rights of the Wary Relatives and the Protagonism of the Maxineru/Yine

We seek partnerships with civil society organisations, Acre state organisations, indigenous movements and international organisations for the defense of the rights of isolated peoples, to guarantee their rights. We defend the rights of the wary relatives.

Lazaro Artur Brasil Manchineri said: "Since we Manxineru have been protecting our relatives for a long time now, why doesn't the government support our work?"

We have held workshops supported by CPI-Acre in the Mamoadate TI to create awareness about the importance of respecting the territories of the *Yine Hosha Hajene*. Exchanges were also organised between the Yine who live in Peru and us in Brazil. We always try to bring together Peruvian and Brazilian institutions with the indigenous leadership from both sides of the border to discuss the issue of protecting our wary relatives. In these meetings, we produce official documents with our

call to Brazilian and Peruvian authorities. We ask them to protect and respect the rights and territories of the wary relatives.

We went to meet the Monte Salvado Native Community, located in the upper Las Piedras River, in Madre de Dios, Peru. There are agents there who protect the isolated peoples, and they have a support base close to the village equipped with good communication, radio, telephone and internet. The Yine of Monte Salvado are the main protectors of the wary relatives in this region. These agents have information on the Yine Hosha Hajene and they told us a few things about the behaviour of the isolados.

In 2013, there was an approach over three days. They speak a language very similar to ours, of the Arawak family. From first contact, the isolados have communicated with the Yine of Peru in their own language. However, they will only respond to the people they are used to seeing. So when they see a person for the first time, they don't answer, they keep quiet the whole time and just whistle or mumble.

This time they asked for bananas, cane and manioc, as well as pieces of red cloth to tie around their heads. The Yine Hosha Hajene said they were under pressure from people who wanted to take the wood from the forest; they tried to exchange a child for a dog from the community; they said that in their movements they come and go over the same path – by the headwaters of the rivers Las Piedras, Tahuamanu and Acre. They said that they divide into three subgroups and in a given period of the year they meet. They left three arrows and an ouricuri straw basket in the community of Monte Salvado as a form of retribution.

The people of the subgroup which made contact in 2013 are mostly tall and thin: the men have straight black hair at shoulder

> image Isolado group in the Kampa e Isolados do Envira TI. Acre.

length, some have a beard and moustache, and they use a thick vine belt and vine bracelets tied at the joints of their arms and legs. Some have necklaces of jaguar or alligator teeth. Some of them were painted with urucum and another had his entire body painted with genipap. The women use the same belt as the men but use leaves to protect their intimate parts and do not cover their breasts. Some had a band painted with urucum at eye level and carried their children in slings. They also said that some people in the group were ill. After participating in the Monte Salvado meeting, we went to one of the abandoned camps of the wary relatives. They had left eight days ago. It was composed of 26 tapiris in a semi-circular

format, mostly made with ouricuri and jarina palm leaves. There was a fire in each tapiri.

Our wary relatives are being threatened in their traditional territories in Peru and Brazil by concessions to oil and logging companies and the opening of highways, not to mention the illegal drug trade, which makes communities extremely vulnerable. There is a great risk they will cease to exist in a short space of time. That's why we want to continue the exchanges with the Yine in Peru and the awareness workshops with the people who live on both sides of the border. We need to strengthen the work the Manxineru/Yine people have developed for the protection of our wary kin.



THE TSOLATED MASHCO PEOPLE IN BRAZIL AND THE CHALLENGES OF INTEGRATED PROTECTION ON THE PERU BORDER1

Systematic reports of the existence of isolated mashco in brazil began emerging between 1975 and 1976. We know today of their movements in the interior of the Mamoadate and Kampa e isolados do Rio Envira Indigenous Lands, and the Acre river ecological station and chandless state park Conservation Units. The presence of isolados in CUs poses new challenges to policies for the protection of these cross-border peoples.

MARTA FMÍLTA COFLHO Masters Student at the Department of Latin-American Studies, University of Brasília (UNB)

Western Amazonia, on the border between Brazil and Peru, is home to the Mashco or

> 1 This text is based on information obtained by the author during a consultancy for the production of 'Diagnosis of the Characterisation of Territorial Dynamics of the Isolated Mashco Indigenous Population on the Brazil-Peru Border', as part of the 'Ethnoenvironmental Protection of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indigenous Peoples in Amazonia' project, carried out by the CTI in technical cooperation with Funai.

image Chandless National Park, Acre.

Mashco-Piro² indigenous people, as they have been called during the long process of colonisation of this border region, centuries ago. Today, the literature considers them a people in 'voluntary isolation', characterised by their organisation into different groups and subgroups which move seasonally across a vast forest territory. During the Amazonian winter, they occupy the highlands and drylands of the headwaters. In the dry summer, they descend along the banks of the igarapés and rivers, crossing international borders (Clark, Michael & Beier, 2005; Huertas, 2015).

Known for being exceptional hunters, they speak a dialect of the Arawak language family, very close to the language of the Yine people, in Peru, as well as that of their relatives, the Manchineri, in Brazil. They are survivors of the correrias perpetrated against the Indians during the height of the rubber boom at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and took refuge in forest areas of difficult access where there was no rubber. Anthropologists believe that on the path to 'isolation', aspects of their social life suffered drastic transformations, such as the abandoning of agriculture and the use of hunting and gathering as a survival strategy (Gow, 2011; Huertas, 2002; Shepard, 1996 e 2017).

Currently, the Mashco territory is located on the watershed of the great rivers Juruá, Madre de Dios/Madeira, Purus and Ucavali, in a region composed of different categories of Protected Areas which constitute an impor-

> 2 This text uses the name Mashco, considering it is the term most commonly used by residents of the Alto Purus region (Michael & Beier, 2003: 150), in Peru, on the border with Brazil, and the way in which this indigenous population is historically called by the Jaminawa people in Brazil. However, in Peru, these groups are today officially denominated Mashco-Piro (provisional categorization).



tant mosaic for environmental conservation. and a corridor of indigenous territories where various isolated peoples live. It is for the most part on Peruvian soil, spanning a vast area of rivers and igarapés³.

In Brazil, there are records of the presence of the Mashco in the upper areas of the rivers Acre, Iaco, Chandless, Envira and Purus, near the border limits. Different Mashco groups and subgroups, coming from Peru, enter the Acre territory through the binational rivers Iaco (Mamoadate TI), Acre (Acre River Ecological

> 3 In Peru, the Mashco territory extends from the rivers Juruá and Envira, in the north, to the Madre de Dios River, in the south, and from the headwaters of the tributaries on the right of the Manu River, in the west, to the upper Tahuamanu, Las Piedras, Pariamanu, Chandless, Iaco and Acreo rivers, on the east (Huertas, 2015).

Station), Chandless (Chandless State Park) and Envira (Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TI). On the Brazilian side, displacement tends to happen during the Amazonian summer, when they descend the igarapés and rivers to collect forest products (Aquino & Meirelles, 2014).

Movement in Brazil

The first reports on the existence of these isolated populations began to emerge systematically in Brazil after the arrival of Funai in the upper Iaco River, and the installation of the Mamoadate Indigenous Post in the village of Extrema, between 1975 and 1976, which settled the Manchineri and Jaminawa indigenous people. At the time, the sertanista José Carlos dos Reis Meirelles observed that the isolados were called Masko by the Jaminawa, 📡 their 'traditional enemies', and had a relationship of conflict for decades. The processes of \\^\2 contact of the Jaminawa and Manchineri with whites pushed the Mashco to the less inhabited regions of the headwaters of the rivers Iaco, Envira, Chandless and Purus.

José Correia da Silva Tunumã, the great jaminawa chief and first interpreter in the contact of the 'Xinane people' in 2014, says that the Indians already knew the word *Masko* when they were 'isolados' to refer to the uncontacted group which wanders the headwaters of the Envira River:

We call them Masko. Mashco-Piro is in Peru. I don't know how they invented that, but ever since I remember it has been Masko. When I went over there, I didn't even bring up the subject and they told me to be careful, or the Masko would kill us. They already had this notion since the first time I spoke to them.

The possible routes, past and present, used by the Mashco are part of the collective imaginary of the Jaminawa and Manchineri communities of Alto Iaco, as their residents have shared territories and natural resources with these groups for a long time. Today, the elders of the Mamoadate TI say that according to their parents and grandparents, the Mashco would walk up to the Extrema village region.

Otávio Brasil Manchineri, former chief of Extrema, and his son, Lucas Artur Brasil Manchineri, a prominent leadership representative, believe in the existence of two distinct groups who use different routes in Alto Iaco, on the border with Peru. For Lucas, the difference between the two groups is the size of the trail of their individuals:

They go to where all the headwaters meet. And there are two groups, one with a large trail and one with a smaller trail. The year when the small trail goes, the large trail doesn't go. And the year the large trail goes, the small trail doesn't go. That is the difference and the alternation. I think they know when those with the big feet pass. So they don't go. Maybe they even have some kind of connection, and they do not meet.

Otávio and Lucas say that there are different groups which use (or don't use) iron and



metal tools. "The group that wanders the Chandless use machetes. The group that wanders the upper Iaco is a different group, they don't." They believe that the Yine. Manchineri and Mashco speak the same language because they are of the same people. Lucas suggests that the Manchineri should [use] their interpreters in a possible contact situation, and says they are approaching the villages in their wanderings, and reoccupying old territories. In the last two years, residents of Extrema have found traces they have left behind within a few kilometres of the community.

Increasing Evidence

In recent years, traces and sightings of the Mashco have increased in the areas today constituted by the Mamoadate and Kampa e Isolados do Rio Envira TIs. Between 2015 and 2016, three conflict situations were registered in the upper Envira involving the Mashco and the 'Xinane people', resulting in the death of a recently contacted indigenous person.

In the upper Acre, Chandless and Iaco rivers there is no imminent contact situation, but evidence indicates new forms of use and displacement and/or processes of territorial reoccupation. In 2014, a Mashco camp was found for the first time by ICMBio and Funai teams in an area close to the Acre River Ecological Station.

In 2015, a joint expedition between Funai the Acre Environment Secretariat (Sema-AC) confirmed the presence of the Mashco in the Chandless State Park, responding to an old demand by Funai to qualify information on the protected area managed by the government of the state of Acre.

In 2017, between June and September, different Funai expeditions identified Mashco presence in the upper stages of the Acre, Iaco and

'INVASION' OF THE XINANE BASE

In 1999, a group of around 50 mascho men emerged on the beach in front of the Funai Xinane Base. This event confirmed the presence of Mashco isolados in the upper Elvira, as well as raising questions about their territorial dynamics in the face of intense illegal logging on the Peruvian side of the border. The incident happened on the 26th of October and caused the team to immediately evacuate of the Base and go to the village of Sete Voltas, of the Ashaninka people. Days after, the traces found indicated it was a much larger group, of around 200 people, including men, women and children.

Chandless rivers. During a trip to the upper Acre, the Envira Ethno-environmental Protection Front found traces in the Cabeceira do Rio Acre TI, further downstream, and past the borders of the Acre River Ecological Station. There were also reports of uncommon sightings of isolados, with strong signs of them being Mashco, in the Alto Purus TI. In 2018, new traces were found in the upper Iaco and Envira rivers.

In recent years, Funai has been finding that the Mashco are increasingly occupying Brazilian territory. The local population and government technical staff agree with this observation, especially after the large amount of evidence recorded in 2017. Another change identified was an increase in the frequency of appearances during the Amazonian winter, months in which the Mashco traditionally occupy the highlands of the headwaters. Neighbouring communities

4 According to Funai information from 1986, the Jaminawa and Manchineri were already reporting the presence of isolated groups between the Jaco River and the headwaters of the Acre River. See https://isa.to/2KVfHYp.

image The village of Nova União, of the Manchineri people, Cabeceira do Rio Acre TI. Acre. also observed the interest of the Mashco in acquiring metal tools and grown foods, which had not been the case in previous decades.

It is possible that the alterations of their routes and periods of displacement are motivated by a search for more vital spaces and as a result of possible conflicts with indigenous populations with whom they share their territories.

Shared Management

Confirmation of isolated groups in two Conservation Units in Acre (River Acre Ecological Station and Chandless State Park) extends the debate on strategies for protecting Mashco territory, requiring the construction of shared management processes between federal and state government institutions for integrated monitoring of areas of isolado occupation and use.

In the upper Chandless there are reports of isolado presence since the beginning of the 20th century. Today, older residents, descendents of Peruvians who occupied the region during the rubber years, tell stories of encounters and places where traces used to be found. They also say that the Mashco are coming further downstream and reoccupying areas they hadn't frequented in over 20 years.

In September 2004, the Chandless State Park (PEC)⁵ was created. In its Management Plan, published in 2010, there is a recommendation for "an anthropological advisor to follow the activities outlined and implemented, ensuring the effective protection of territories and natural resources used traditionally in Park areas by groups of isolated Indians" (Acre, 2010).

5 The PEC has an area of 695,304 hectares, located in the municipalities of Manoel Urbano, Sena Madureira and Santa Rosa do Purus.

During the zoning of the PEC, the south area was considered an 'Intangible Zone', to guarantee the exclusive usufruct and territorial protection of the isolados. However, due to a lack of qualified information, it was established as a 'Primitive Zone': "where there is little human intervention, with species of flora and fauna and natural phenomena of great scientific value". Its Management Plan indicates that once the presence of isolados in the area is confirmed, zoning of the Conservation Unit must be reviewed, and the 'Primitive Zone' should be substituted and replaced with the 'Intangible Zone' (Acre, 2010).

In 2014, Funai and Sema-AC, supported by a Technical Cooperation Agreement, worked together to elaborate a project for the Ministry of the Environment's Protected Areas of Amazonia Project. Among its justifications was the lack of information of the forms of use and occupation of the Mashco in the area, which made it difficult to establish guidelines and strategies for its protection. The project, which lasted two years, aimed to strengthen relationships between the two governmental institutions, the indigenous people living in the surroundings (Mamoadate and Alto Purus TIs) and PEC residents (12 riverine families) to minimise conflict related to the use of natural resources and qualify information on areas where the displacement of isolated groups had been recorded.

In 2015, workshops were held with residents of both TIs and the CU to discuss and validate agreements on territorial management between indigenous and traditional peoples and government bodies. The partnership made possible experiments in monitoring the presence of isolados through analysis of heat sources, satellite images and previous information on territories of Mashco displacement on the Brazil-Peru border. Frequency, or recurrence, was observed as of 2010 in some regions of the PEC. The first Funai expedition also took place in 2015, which resulted in the

confirmation of records of isolados in the upper Chandless.

In August 2017, a new Funai and Sema-AC expedition, this time as part of the 'Ethnoenvironmental Protection of Isolated and Recently Contacted Indigenous People in Brazilian Amazonia' project, a technical cooperation between CTI and Funai, was carried out to qualify information on traces of a recent Mashco camp found by a Park resident.

Thus the strengthening of partnerships, agreements and understanding between PEC residents, indigenous populations from the surroundings and federal and state government is essential for monitoring the presence of isolated groups in the PEC. With their own dynamics of territorial use and occupation which crosses national and international borders, the Mashco way of life increasingly requires more integrated actions and strategies for the protection of their fundamental rights.

Cross-border Policies

Over the last two decades, Brazilian and Peruvian indigenous communities and organisations have been debating common problems and challenges and thinking together about the management and protection of their territories. Using spaces for dialogue with civil society and government bodies, they have discussed the impact of infrastructure projects and illegal extractivist activity, as well as the need for cross-border strategies which can safeguard the integrity of peoples who are unaware of national boundaries.

The Manchineri of Brazil and the Yine of Peru, neighbouring peoples of the Mashco, have shared information since 2005, and built an alliance policy for the protection of their isolated 'relatives'. This initiative is supported by non-governmental organisations in both

countries. To reduce pressure on the use of natural resources in the area used by the Mashco, villagers of the Mamoadate TI made an agreement to not cross the igarapé Abismo in the upper Iaco, on Brazilian territory. Manchineri and Yine leadership also alerted the government about the possible impact of a highway project intended to connect the Peruvian municipalities of Iñapari and Puerto Esperanza, 10km from the Brazilian border and cutting the Mashco territory in half. There are also discussions about the importance of both countries working together to control growing illicit activity at the border, such as the illegal drug trade.

In March 2014, the Brazilian and Peruvian governments signed a memorandum of understanding for Funai and the Ministry of Culture of Peru to cooperate in promoting the protection of isolated and recently contacted peoples on the Brazil-Peru border. The agreement was valid for two years and was a first step towards a dialogue between the two indigenist institutions. However, its effectuation depended on a binational work plan which was not completed. A series of contact situations with isolated groups in both countries required emergency action from the governments. The reduced teams in both countries, busy applying their own contingency plans, could not find ideal conditions for an integrated agenda.

Cooperation between Brazil and Peru – both to curb illegal activity as well as recognise the role of indigenous and traditional populations and their representative organisations in the building of protection policies – is today essential for guaranteeing the rights of isolated and recently contacted peoples in Amazonia. The survival of the Mashco depends on cross-border policies built with the participation of different actors working for the defense of their territories and way of life.

"THEY WERE SURVIVORS BEFORE AND THEY ARE SURVIVORS TODAY

William Iafuri is the coordinator of the Envira Ethno-environmental Protection Front, in Acre, which monitors the records of isolated peoples on the border with Peru, in the Envira River basin. There are 9 Indigenous Lands, 3 Conservation Units, 8 records of isolated indigenous groups and a recently contacted group under its jurisdiction.

What does the FPE Envira do? The main objective of the work of the Envira Front is to guarantee the isolated indigenous peoples the exercise of their freedom and traditional activities without the obligation of contact. The Xinane are the last settlement on the Envira River before Peru. We do this through a policy for territorial monitoring and protection. Monitoring is done by overflights. We have at least one overflight per year, with the purpose of verifying which places are inhabited, verifying population increase, if there are clearings, etc. And control of the territory, if there has been illicit entry, loggers, prospectors, etc.

Another type of monitoring is through expeditions, on the river or through the forest, to verify the traces of where those indigenous peoples are. This is done



mainly in places that are occupied seasonally. For example, in the summer, they occupy the headwaters of the rivers, so we know in the summer not to go there, only in winter. That's when we'll find traces, [and know] that they were there in the summer.

Territorial monitoring also happens through raising the awareness of the population in the surroundings of the Indigenous Lands. The Alto Tarauacá TI is the only one destined exclusively for isolated peoples. All others are shared with contacted indigenous people. So they are our first source of information.

We have two bases: Xinane and Douro. Where there is no base, the contacted indigenous people are our informants. We have meetings in those surrounding communities, explaining the no contact policy, creating awareness to avoid interethnic conflicts, making it clear that in any situation they can count on us. They are our partners in monitoring the isolated peoples.

What are the daily actions in each of these bases? There are two bases. The Douro base is located in the Alto Tarauacá TI. Its purpose is to repress illicit activity due to its proximity with the non-indigenous community of Jordão. These activities are recurrent: illegal hunting, fishing and logging. The main purpose of the bases is to stop illicit activity. We do operations with the PM (military police), with the army, to diminish the focus of illegality which exists on the Indigenous Land.

On the Xinane base, the main focus is monitoring healthcare assistance. Due to the recent contact of the Xinane people, their high epidemiological vulnerability makes this essential. Immunisation, issues around flu epidemics, all of that is a major concern.

But there are other issues also. The contact raised many questions for them. What is Funai? What is the city? Where does that engine come from? That canoe? These are very valid questions for them. They seek to comprehend western society. So, we work with exchanges. Some have been to the city, to Brasilia. The exchanges really facilitated their coexistence and learning about the surrounding society, about what exists in this giant environment that is the world...

How did the last FPE expeditions go? The last expeditions made by the FPE Envira were to the region of the Indigenous Lands of Kaxinawá do Rio Humaitá, Mamoadate, Alto Tarauacá and Campos Isolados do Rio Envira. We did an overflight which covered a part of the jurisdiction. We observed population growth in some of our records, which is good news. We reached that conclusion due to the increase in agriculture compared to previous years. But, unfortunately, we found a large number of illegals in the Alto Tarauacá TI.

editor's note Interview given to Clara Roman, ISA journalist.

image Village of an isolado group in the Kampa e Isolados do Envira TI. Acre.

What are the main threats to these people? There are various threats: interethnic conflict, confrontations with invaders and contact itself. Contact without Funai monitoring can cause huge populational losses. Those peoples have high epidemiological vulnerability. Contact without the presence of the state for immunisation and control can be fatal for isolated peoples.

To sum it up, the great threat is the weakening of Funai, as it needs more resources to carry out monitoring and control. This weakening causes illicit activity to expand within the TIs, because there is less territorial protection. This lack of protection means more invaders entering the TI and the meeting of those invaders with isolated peoples can cause a genocide.

What is their history of contact? After Funai's reformulation and the implementation of the no-contact policy, in Acre, there was only one contact, in 2014. Those people today live in the area of the Xinane Base. They are survivors. High epidemiological vulnerability means that those recently contacted suffer constantly from respiratory crises and are affected by several diseases. The health issue is paramount. They really are survivors.

About contacts before these groups, I wouldn't know, but the recently contacted indigenous people talked of some of their experiences during the time before official contact, in the border territories between Brazil and Peru. They told of encounters with Peruvians, loggers, persecution and the death of relatives. The also told of interethnic conflicts and various other pressures there. In my understanding, they were survivors before and they are survivors today.

How important is the restriction of use? These indigenous people are autonomous, they live exclusively from their lands. Without protection there would be invasions, conflict and possibly extermination of the population. Indigenous Lands also practice environmental conservation, outside of the TIs deforestation is 11 times higher.

What is the relationship between contacted peoples and isolados like? In all other TIs where there are records of isolated peoples there are other peoples.

They have a relationship with those peoples. Those relationships were conflictual in the past. We work with the Kaxinawá in Humaitá, getting the estab-

lished contacted peoples to become aware and also carry out territorial monitoring of the area of the isolados sharing the territory. The established contacted peoples know to protect the peoples in isolation, they protect them.



image Dwelling of an isolado group on the Envira River. Acre.

THE ISOLATED PEOPLES OF THE MADRE DE DIOS REGION, ON THE PERU-BRAZIL BORDER

New highways, large infrastructure projects and the expansion of the agricultural, logging and mining frontiers have only increased pressure on the territories of isolated peoples. Without effective policy for their protection, the next decade could become the 'decade of genocide'.

GLENN H. SHEPARD JR. Emílio Goeldi Museum of Pará LUIS FELIPE TORRES Doctoral Candidate, National Museum/UFRI

The Amazonian border between Brazil and Peru is home to the largest diversity of isolated indigenous peoples in the world. The isolated and recently contacted indigenous peoples of this region are: the Matsigenka, Nanti and Mashco-Piro of the Arawak language family; the Chitonahua, Isconahua, Korubo, Matsés, Murunahua, Nahua and Txapanawa of the Pano language family (or Xinane peoples), and other groups such as the 'archers' [flecheiros] of Javari Valley and the 'isolados of Humaitá River', in Acre, of which little is known. They live in remote areas distributed throughout approximately 2,800 linear kilometres of border, spanning territories in the states of Amazonas and Acre on the Brazilian side and the departments of Loreto, Ucayali and Madre de Dios on the Peruvian side. Of the ten territories identified or reserved for isolated peoples in Peru, seven are along this political border (CTI, 2016).

Despite the imaginary political line dividing Brazil and Peru not being of any sig-

nificance to the isolated peoples who move between the existing territories in both countries without noticing its existence, contrasts between the legislation and indigenist policies of each country produces a concrete impact on the lives and well being of the isolados. On the Brazilian side, since 1987, Funai developed a differentiated policy for isolated peoples which, inverting the logic of 'agents of contact' and 'fronts of attraction' of previous times, uses information gathered over decades and the practical experience of veteran sertanistas to identify, demarcate, control and protect the territory of isolated peoples. This resulted in a significant effort, over three decades, focused on monitoring and protecting isolated peoples on previously demarcated Indigenous Lands, and the demarcation, extension or restriction of new TIs for isolated peoples with the aim of preventing invasions from fishermen, loggers and other external agents.

On the Peruvian side of the border there was, until recently, a legal void regarding the situation of isolated indigenous peoples, which resulted in disastrous cases of contact such as with the Nahua (or Yora) people. As a result of oil exploration activity by Shell in the headwaters of the Mishagua River (near the Manu National Park) and the concomitant advance of illegal loggers during the 1980s, the Nahua were subjected to a chaotic and violent process of contact, causing the death of around half of their population between 1984 and 1990, mainly due to contagion of respiratory diseases through contact with non-indigenous people (Shepard et al., 2010).

In that time, the indigenous peoples of Peruvian Amazonia had access to a differentiated land policy via the so-called 'Law of Native Communities', from 1974 to 1978, which titled communities individually (but not contiguous indigenous territories) m through the formation of a legal democratic association. It is obvious that, in the case of Ξ

isolated peoples, there was no possibility of them gathering to form a directing committee with a president, vice-president and treasurer, and claiming and proving the territory occupied by their community to the federal government. In 1990, taking advantage of a gap in the 'Law of Native Communities' related to the protection of the rights of isolated peoples. in view of the tragic consequences of contact with the Nahua and driven by the Centro para el Desarrollo del Indígena Amazónico (Centre for the Development of the Amazonian Indian - CEDIA), the Peruvian government created the first reserve for isolated peoples near the Manu National Park, where the Nahua and other isolated and recently contacted peoples live, called Reserva a Favor de los Pueblos Indígenas Aislados y de Contacto Inicial Kuqapakori-Nahua-Nanti.

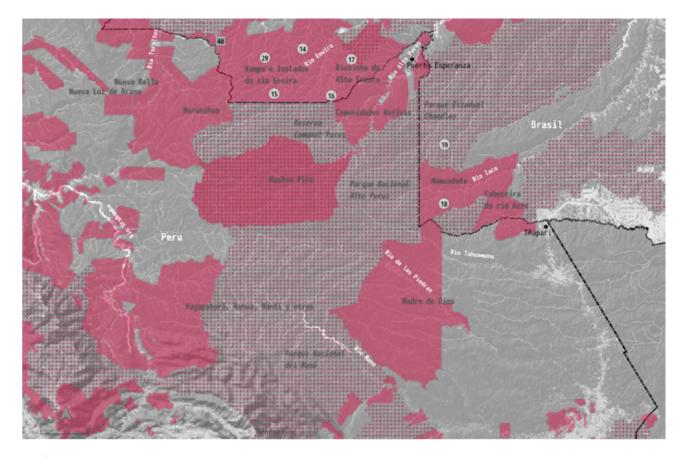
With this precedent set, indigenous organisations and civil society partners advocated the creation of four more reserves for isolated peoples. In 1998, the Murunahua, Mashco-Piro and Isconahua reserves were created in the department of Ucayali, and in 2002 the Madre de Dios Territorial Reserve for the Mashco-Piro was created in the department of Madre de Dios. Despite this progress, part of the traditional territories of the isolated peoples in Peru had no official recognition, and government efforts to protect even formally recognised territories were almost nil.

As such, various indigenous groups continued to experience tragic and fatal situations of contact through the 1990s and 2000s. The Chitonahua people, related to the Nahua in Peru, and the Txapanawa (or Xinane people), in Acre, suffered the decimation of around 50% of their population, mainly through respiratory infections due to contact with Peruvian loggers in 1997 in the Inuya River (bordering Acre). In 2002, a team lead by the Polish explorer Jacek Palkiewicz, seeking the legendary Amazonian Inca ruins of 'Paititi' or 'El Dorado'

entered the Manu National Park territory and infected isolated Matsigenka communities on the Mameria River with respiratory diseases. This caused the exodus of a large part of the population to the Huacaria Native Community in the Manu Park Cultural Zone in search of medical assistance. In 2007, a team of filmmakers who were doing research for the television program of the English adventurers Mark Anstice and Oliver Steed visited isolated Matsigenka communities in the headwater areas of the Manu National Park. It seems that this visit led to an outbreak of respiratory diseases which led to some deaths and the integration of the population into the settled Matsigenka in the communities of Yomibato and Tayakome (Shepard, 2003, 2011 and Shepard et al. 2010).

To try to remedy the almost total negligence on behalf of the Peruvian state regarding the protection of indigenous peoples since the end of the 1990s, some indigenous federations started their own programs for protecting isolated peoples, creating an important platform for international awareness on the subject and promoting concrete protection actions. The Native Federation of Madre de Dios (Fenamad1), for example, with its own resources, set up protection posts for the isolated Mashco-Piro in Madre de Dios. Even then, the existence of isolated indigenous peoples in the region was denied by groups linked to the oil, mining and logging sectors in Peru, who claimed it was an 'invention by anthropologists'. The 'Law of Protection of Indigenous Peoples in Isolation and Initial Contact' (Law 28736) was only passed in 2006, but was a huge step towards recognising the obligations

1 See in this volume the essay by Julio Cusurichi Palacios, president of the Native Federation of the Madre de Dios River and Tributaries.





REGION OF OCCUPATION OF ISOLATED MASHCO GROUPS

- Confirmed
- Under study
- Cities of reference
- Deforestation
- Conservation Units
- Indigenous Lands
- International Border

of the Peruvian government to effectively protecting the rights of those peoples. Supported by the framework of this law, the Institute of Development of Andean, Amazonian and Afroperuvian Peoples (Indepa) made, from 2007, the protection of isolated peoples one of its responsibilities. In practice however, its actions were very limited.

It took until 2013 for the Ministry of Culture of Peru to create the Directorate of Indigenous People in Isolation and Initial Contact (DACI), with a small team and limited budget, to take on the responsibility of the field implementation of territorial protection of isolated peoples, giving continuity to policies initiated by indigenous organisations. There was plenty of dialogue between DACI and the indigenist policies and methods of Funai's then Department of Isolados, carrying out joint activities, especially between 2014 and 2015 (Shepard, 2017).

One of the greatest challenges faced by the DACI since its creation has been the situation of the Mashco-Piro isolados, who move between Peru and Brazil, and whose presence seems to be greater in the department of Madre de Dios, Peru. A nomadic group, speakers of a language close to the Yine or Piro, was known in the region many decades ago, but until the end of the 1990s had low visibility. From the second half of the 1990s the group began emerging more frequently and aggressively in neighbouring communities (Shepard et al., 2010).

In 2011, before the creation of DACI, a Mashco-Piro archer in the region of Madre de Dios killed Nicolas Shaco Flores, a Matsigenka who maintained a dialogue and exchange relationship with the group for a number of years (Shepard, 2012). The news went round the world online, provoking sensationalist



headlines paired with high quality photos of a small Mashco-Piro group, taken by the ornithologist Diego Coritjo in the presence of Shaco Flores a few days before his tragic death.

After this incident, the presence of the Mashco-Piro intensified quickly and dramatically, putting strong demand on the recently created DACI (Shepard, 2016). Between 2013 and 2014, the Mashco-Piro were frequently sighted on the banks of the Madre de Dios River asking for clothing, food and tools from tourist and logger boats passing by. Evangelical missionaries approached the Mashco-Piro on many occasions to deliver clothing. Through 2014 and 2015 the Mascho-Piro invaded the community of Shipetiari, on the Madre de Dios River, taking food and tools and threatening villagers with arrows. In May 2015 a young Matsigenka was killed by them.

In 2013, another large Mashco-Piro group was filmed approaching the community of Monte Salvado, of the Yine people on the Las Piedras River, asking for food, rope and tools. It is an often repeated scene, even today. The critical moment came in December 2014. when the community of Monte Salvado had to be evacuated. The majority of its residents had left during the Christmas holidays and returned to find the village had been looted and all chickens and dogs killed with arrows.

The popular perception of isolados as 'uncontacted' peoples, or 'relics of the Stone Age' hamper an accurate understanding of the historical situation of each population, their history of violence, isolation and attempts of exchange with other populations in their surroundings. The little information gathered on the Mashco-Piro suggest that they are hunter-gatherers, almost totally nomadic, with no permanent villages, fields or houses. The

> image Mashco-Piro on the Madre de Dios River aboard a boat of protection agents of the Ministry of Culture, Peru

Mashco-Piro speak a language which is very close to the language spoken by the Yine (or Piro) in Peru, as well as the Manchineri in Brazil. The Yine and Manchineri sow fields, belong to the Arawak language family and are considered the 'civilising' cultural group of pre-Columbian Amazonia and the diffusers of agriculture. It is evident that the condition of hunter-gatherer is a very recent adaptation among the Mashco-Piro, probably a result of the well-documented massacres perpetrated by rubber-tappers during the 'rubber age' of the last decade of the 19th century in the rivers Manu and Las Piedras - among them, the Peruvian 'rubber king' Carlos Fermin Fitzcarrald. From this historical perspective, the Mashco-Piro were probably survivors who fled their villages into the forest, abandoning agriculture and more sedentary habits and becoming nomadic hunters.

Similar accounts have been collected by MacQuarrie (1991), Shepard (2003) and Feather (2010) on the isolation of the Nahua people, who fled the violence at the headwaters of the Purus River during the 'rubber fever'. Isolation should thus be understood not as a primordial condition but a choice, a survival strategy in extreme situations which can evolve over time (Shepard, 2016).

DACI official policy, based on Funai's policy, is to not initiate contact with isolated peoples and reserve contact only for when it is the initiative of the isolados themselves or in emergency situations, i.e. when the isolados are at greater risk without direct government intervention. DACI in Peru had to make an intervention of this kind with a Mashco-Piro group in Alto Madre de Dios in 2015. Yine indigenous agents, together with DACI anthropologists and a medical team initiated dialogue with a small Mashco-Piro group, which had been emerging frequently near the com- $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$ munities of Shipietari and Diamante. They from the communities and avoid confrontation. The DACI team has regular exchanges with this group, collecting data on its composition and offering medical assistance where necessary. The medical team also runs regular vaccination campaigns in communities in the surroundings of the Mashco-Piro territory, to create a sort of 'epidemiological wall' and minimise the chances of contagion. Even so, there is a regular flow of foreign tourists in the region visiting the Manu National Park, and creating risk of indirect contact by flu or even measles.

Despite these efforts, in 2018 a tragedy occurred when a Yine elder from the community of Diamante was shot and killed by a Mashco-Piro arrow during a fishing expedition near the Pusanga River, on the other side of the Madre de Dios River. The growing wave of incidents of contact and conflict with previously distant, nomadic and barely visible peoples began in 2010, the same period as the paving of the Interoceanic highway (previously Transamazonian) between Peru and Brazil. The territory east of the Madre de Dios Reserve was divided into logging concessions by the Peruvian government. This action, associated with the territorial organisation of the paving of the Interoceanic highway, continued despite studies, carried out for the creation of the reserve in the 1990s, showing clear evidence of the presence of the Mashco-Piro on those territories. The process of extending the Madre de Dios Reserve, which takes into account the abundant evidence of the presence of the Mashco-Piro outside of its boundaries, has been stagnant since 2016 through intervention by logging sector interests.

The Peruvian government has made progress in the process of recognising five other Reserves for isolated indigenous peoples in the border region with Brazil, many of which have been called for by indigenous organisations for over 20 years. Currently, the isolated

peoples of the Javari-Mirim, Javari-Tapiche, Serra do Divisor Ocidental and Isconahua Reserves have been officially recognised, but the official demarcation of their respective territories has not been effectuated. However, the creation of the Napo-Tigre Reserve on the border with Ecuador has now taken over a decade due to interference from groups with oil interests in the area. In turn, indigenous organisations such as Aidesep have been calling for the necessary recognition of a binational territory called the 'Pano – Arawak Territorial Corridor' between the borders of Madre de Dios and Acre.

The number of locations with evidence of isolated peoples and the frequency of sometimes violent incidents with neighbouring populations have intensified significantly during the last decade. The veteran sertanista José Carlos Meirelles has called it 'The Decade of Contact' (Shepard, 2017), a period which demands serious political attention, adequate resources, effective strategies and close collaboration between the Peruvian and Brazilian governments to ensure the protection of isolated peoples on both sides of the border. The success of the emergency contact carried out by Funai in 2014 with the Xinane people, with no casualties to infectious diseases, is evidence of the high competence and experience of the team. DACI interventions in Peru with the Mashco-Piro people to avoid escalating conflicts with neighbouring communities are also proof of the success of this proactive policy when taken in time.

However, the weakening of Funai in Brazil in recent years through budget cuts, the weakness of the Ministry of Culture in Peru, attempts to dismantle indigenous territorial rights by various economic interests and the increase in territorial invasions brought on by

image Mashco-Piro group near the
Monte Salvado village, Peru.

a climate of impunity has made these interventions more fragile and created new threats to the survival of isolated peoples. The current scenario, of new highways, large infrastructure projects and expansion of the agricultural, logging and mining frontiers has only increased pressure on the territories of isolated peoples. Without territorial recognition, the strengthening of policies of protection, the adaptation of strategies, resources and public will, the next decade could become the 'Decade of Genocide' for isolated peoples.



"FOR THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN ISOLATION ON THE PERU-BRAZIL BORDER

The Native Federation of the Madre de Dios River and Tributaries JULIO CUSURICHI PALACIOS (Fenamad) was founded by indigenous communities in 1982, native of the Shipibo people and with the aim of defending their rights and promoting the well- President of the Native Federation being of the indigenous peoples of Madre de Dios (Peru), in the of the Madre de Dios River and region bordering the state of Acre (Brazil). We represent 7 peo- Tributaries ples and 36 communities native to the region. One of the main

demands of Fenamad is the defense of the territorial rights of indigenous peoples in voluntary isolation. Within this struggle, the federation has a special role in the case of the Mascho-Piro people, due to the complexity as well as the urgency for taking effective measures to protect their rights.

The Mascho-Piro, belonging to the Arawak linguistic family, live in a geographic area which includes part of the regions of Madre de Dios, Ucayali, Cusco (Peru) and the state of Acre (Brazil). The Peruvian authorities estimate that this group is formed of over 750 people, in a territory which occupies the middle and upper basins of the rivers Manu, Los Amigos, Pariamanu, Las Piedras, Tahuamanu, Acre, Yaco, Chandless, Purús, Curanja, Envira and Juruá. Its territory is superimposed on a set of areas protected by different administrative categories in both countries, which fail to guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples in isolation or consider the full extension of the territory that is actually occupied by this population. The crossborder character of the Mascho-Piro urgently requires strategies and action at the binational level for the protection of their rights.

Fenamad began acting on the border between Madre de Dios and Acre in response to the illegal mahogany boom which plagued the region for over a decade from the end of the 1990s. The reasons behind the creation of the Madre de Dios Territorial Reserve included coordination between Fenamad and Funai to define the cross-border character of the Mascho-Piro and pressuring the states to work together for their protection.

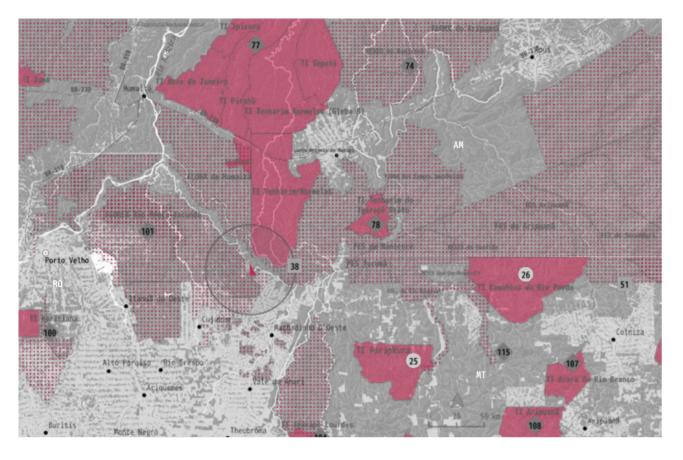
From 2011, Fenamad began the construction of new spaces for coordination with other actors in Acre, including indigenous organisations and governmental and civil society bodies. Particularly, through close coordination with the Pro-Indian Commission (CPI) of Acre, joint actions were advanced and an interinstitutional platform was set up to monitor border threats and promote the sharing of information. Additionally, the basis for an organic process of crossborder dialogue and collaboration between the Yine and the Manchineru was consolidated, focusing on common problems, with an emphasis on the protection of the Mascho-Piro.

From these experiences, Fenamad has developed joint work proposals for the states of Peru and Brazil, aimed at the implementation of protective measures in the border area of Madre de Dios-Acre. According to Fenamed, the area between the rivers Iaco (Brazil) and Las Piedras (Peru) should be considered a priority area for strategies of protection of the Mascho Piro in isolation. The binational protection system is located on the Acre River and its base of operations includes two control posts, one on each bank of the basin, managed by the relevant public institutions, the Ministry of Culture (MINCU-Peru) and Funai (Brazil), with the participation of indigenous organisations. Fenamad presented this proposal at the Territorial Protection and Control and Regional Health Plan for Indigenous Peoples in Isolation and Initial Contact international meeting, organised by the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO) in Puerto Maldonado, with representatives from MINCU, Funai and other representatives from the Brazilian and Peruvian governments present.

However, in addition to the processes of coordination between relevant bodies of the states and civil society to strengthen existing systems of protection, the core of the issue must be addressed: the recognition of rights to the integral territory of cross-border peoples, as is the case of the Mascho-Piro. This subject has been addressed by indigenous organisations in their demands for the defense of territorial integrity based on internationally established legal frameworks.

Since 2012, the Interethnic Association of Development of the Peruvian Jungle (Aidesap) and its regional organisations, including Fenamad, have called for the recognition on behalf of the Peruvian and Brazilian states of the protection of indigenous rights of what we call Pano Arawak and Others Territorial Corridor of Indigenous Peoples in Isolation and Initial Contact. It is a continuous area of mega-biodiverse tropical forest on the Peru-Brazil border, with an extension surpassing 80,000km2, comprising territories of various indigenous peoples in isolation and initial contact. The starting point of the proposal is the recognition on behalf of the Peruvian and Brazilian authorities of the 'existence' of this Territorial Corridor for the adequate protection of these peoples.



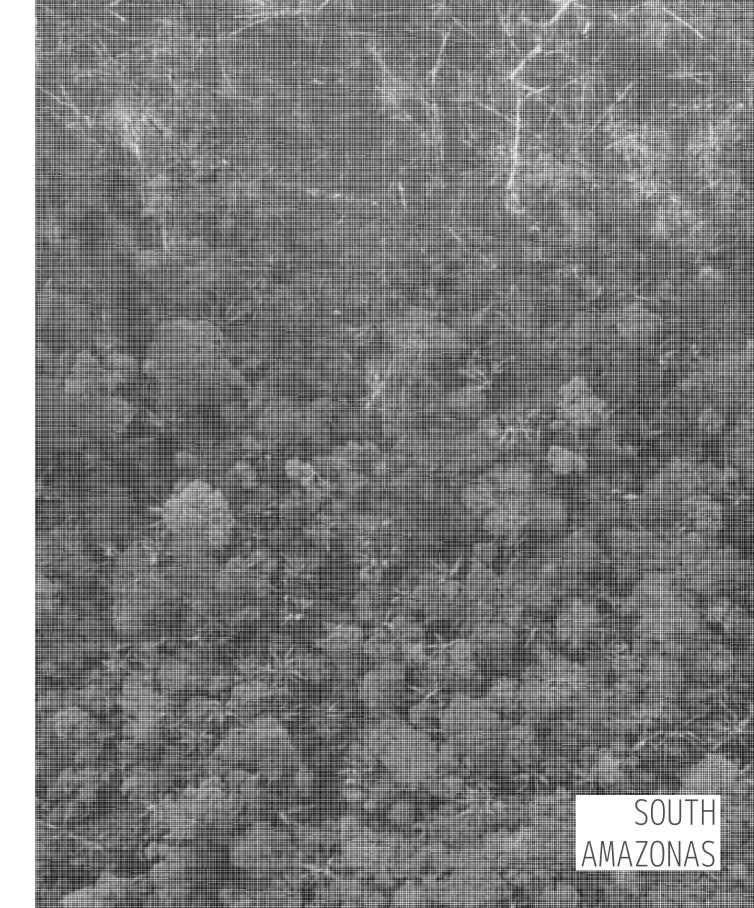


ISOLATED KAGWAHIVA IN SOUTH AMAZONIA

- Confirmed
- Under stud
- ◆ Information
- Deforestation
- Conservation Units
- Indigenous Lands
- Planned Hydroelectric Plant (HPP)
- Area of HPP direct impact
- ⊙ Capital
- Cities of reference
- Highways







THE MAN WHO SPOKE SINGING: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRESENCE OF KAGWAHIVA INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN ISOLATION IN THE MADETRA RIVER BASTN¹

We want our land, where we walk. Where our past has walked. Margarida Tenharim

KAREN SHIRATORI Post-doctoral Fellow in Anthropology at the University of São Paulo

> 1 In addition to the trip made in August 2018 with the film crew of the television series 'Memória Perigosa' and to conduct ISA interviews about the isolated peoples of the region, this text is the result of the diagnosis I made in order to survey, systematise and qualify records of the presence of Kagwahiva peoples in isolation in the region of the Madeira River basin, under the project "Ethno-Environmental Protection of Isolated and Recently Contact Indigenous Peoples in the Brazilian Amazon", promoted by the CTI in partnership with CGIIRC-Funai. I thank Gabriel Bertolin for his careful reading and for ceding data obtained in his own fieldwork conducted in 2014 at the Marmelos TI. In this text, I retrieve excerpts from interviews with Maria Kururuí, now deceased, Manuel Duca Tenharim and Dorian Tenharim. I also thank Otaciano Tenharim and Mauro dela Bandeira for reading this article, any mistakes are my own responsibility.

image Cari and his wife in Humaitá, Amazonas.

Cari Tenharim, one of the elders of this people, passed away at the end of May of 2019. His precise age was unknown and, according to estimations made by his relatives, had certainly exceeded a hundred years. They spoke of the elder, weaving comments about his impressive longevity and said that he had seen and lived it all. Men and women who today are grandfathers and grandmothers remember that when they were children, or young, Cari was already old, very old. He saw other times, before the arrival of the whites. A life which knew no territorial borders, farms or garimpos, nor the diseases which plagued several Kagwahiva groups, drastically reducing them to the point of near extermination. Cari saw traders and rubber tappers arrive, the opening of highways - the Estanho and Transamazônica, which cut through their lands - and with them the arrival of labourers and prospectors eager for the region's metals.

Almost a year ago, I was with a team of filmmakers at Cari's house to shoot an episode of a documentary series on the crimes committed against various indigenous peoples during the years of the military dictatorship. His health at the time was already wavering, so conversations were interrupted as Cari could only briefly sustain his reasoning, and with great difficulty. His breathing was shallow and his speech unclear: he could not talk, however much he wanted to. Every scant word was accompanied with a heavy silence and a few tears. Fearing we were being pushy and disturbing him, we gave up on pursuing our questions. However, when we went to interview his nephew, Cari suddenly began to sing, and one song followed another uninterrupted. It was through singing that Cari was able to recover his memory and express what speech would not allow him.

With the occupation of Kagwahiva lands by non-indigenous peoples and their noisy



machines, many of their relatives fled in fear. They sought out refuge in places far from the invaders who coerced them into labour in exchange for nothing or a meagre commodity, who abducted their children, raped their women, let them catch their diseases without offering help. During this time, many of the Kagwahiva spread through the forests, determined to leave the conflict behind, and also their own. Cari's chants, in consonance with the accounts of the other Tenharim, make evident that the memory of the departure of those today called 'isolados', is very much alive: such as Anã, Cari's sister, known as Cunha'uwa by the younger generations; Kaidjuwa and his family; Kwandudjuwa, head of the Taravé clan, to name just a few from the main groups mentioned.

The memory of the countless deaths which occurred during contact with non-indigenous people during Cari's youth is linked, in his songs, to a current fear of a new extermination of those who went to live in the forests, away from the other Kagwahiva - those who 'were left behind', in the expression of an important Tenharim female leader.

The old man sang the fear of dangers to which his relatives are ever more exposed, and the longing inflicted by the decision to live in isolation. A passage of one of the songs was translated by his nephews:

The whites are closing in, chasing the Kagwahiva who are far.

They depend on people to defend them.

If the loggers kill our relatives, they will disappear.

More and more, the loggers threaten the Kagwahiva.

I knew those people in the forest.

Reports of the presence of Kagwahiva groups in isolation are abundant, and are a common subject in conversations about fishing trips, hunts and expeditions to more distant areas from the villages, during which footprints, remains of bonfires, camps or other more unequivocal signs are found, such as 😤

the sounds of voices and sightings of the indigenous people themselves. The text which follows consists of a brief presentation of some historical and anthropological elements about the Tenharim, the Diahui and the Parintintin. focusing on their formulations of notions of contact and isolation. My intention, in this sense, is to introduce parts of interviews with different leaders about their relatives in isolation, as well as the risks and pressures to which they are currently subjected.

The Tenharim are a Kagwahiva group, speakers of a tupi-guarani language, which inhabit the region of the middle course of the Madeira River, in the south of the state of Amazonas, and the region of the upper Madeira River and Machado River, in Rondônia. The term Kagwahiva means 'we' or 'us' and is applied equally to the Karipun, Uru-eu-wau-wau (Jupaú), Amondawa, Juma, Diahui, Parintintin and Tenharim. In addition to these groups, there is evidence of Kagwahiva groups in isolation in the states of Rondônia, Mato Grosso and Amazonas. Given the context of intense agropastoral and mining exploitation, added to the continuous threat from drug traffickers, grileiros, loggers and, more recently, hydroelectric enterprises, these people live under intense territorial pressure, vulnerable to the advances of non-indigenous invaders and infrastructure projects.

For years, signs of the presence of isolated indigenous groups have been found in the region of the Madeira River, particularly in the areas of the headwaters of the rivers Marmelos and Preto, its tributary, and in proximity of the Jatuarana igarapé, by indigenous and non-indigenous people, as well as members of Ibama's Prevfogo brigade. Recently however, the proliferation of traces, especially in areas of Brazil nut trees and river headwaters, point to a gradual reapproaching of isolated groups towards areas frequented by the other Kagwahiva. Furthermore, the significant increase is a result, in the view of the indigenous peoples of the region, of growing pressure from invaders on the territories of occupation of the isolados, not all of which are located within the boundaries of demarcated Indigenous Lands.

As the Tenharim explain, traces are found closer every time to areas of daily circulation and use. In some periods of the year, signs such as broken branches, footsteps, whistles and unusual movements in the forest are noticed even in the vicinity of the villages. Reports of sightings have equally become more common during hunting, fishing and nut collecting expeditions, which tell of footsteps on beaches, arrows stuck in the ground, remains of fires and food and tapiris built for shelter.

On one of the trips down the Marmelos River, Dorian Tenharim says that he heard and saw a fire built by the indigenous people. He said to the isolated 'relatives': koro pió | 'come here'. But there was no reply. On that trip, he and Kwahã, a deceased former Tenharim leader, also found traces and realised they weren't far from the isolados. They decided to leave uxi fruits for the relatives, who collected them to eat. Dorian observed that they also used jiukura, a type of salt made from the leaf of certain palms which is produced by the Tenharim.

Giving visibility to the existence of groups in isolation is a political demand of the Kagwahiva people. They seek more effective instruments to ensure their rights are respected in the face of large and growing threats to their survival and the integrity of their territories, given the dizzying rise in territorial pressure in the southern region of Amazonas and north of Rondônia. The region is known for concentrating, in recent years, some of the highest rates of deforestation and environmental degradation in Amazonia, and for being in the sights of mining interests and high impact enterprises.

This demand became urgent, as indicated by a recommendation of the Federal Attorney's Office of Rondônia and the Federal Public Ministry published in a note on the 28th June 2018² to Ibama and Funai. The note recommends the non-issue of a previous licence for the installation and operation of the future HPP Tabajara in the municipality of Machadinho d'Oeste (RO), in view of indications of the presence of more than one population in isolation in the area of impact of the enterprise. According to the document: "MPF and MPRO stress in the recommendation that isolated Indians are groups which need their wandering territory to be in ecological balance and protected from external factors to guarantee self-sufficiency and avoid diseases exogenous to their immune system. The bodies indicate a risk of genocide if the isolated Indians do not have the necessary protection of their territory" (emphasis mine).

The Kagwahiva peoples possess in common a dynamic of intense displacements - between areas of fields (rich in the Oenocarpos disticus palm trees), palhais and forest - and the use of large extensions of territories, marked by the seasonality of their rituals. In addition, these people share a similar history of contact with non-natives. This was given its most intense and sustained form with the arrival of the landlords and seringalistas, but, mainly, with the advances in the last decades of the 20th century of the exploitation and development front, such as the building of the Transamazônica highway in the 1970s. As such, memories of the groups which would today be in isolation are recent, to the point that family ties and the names of each of those who 'went away' are remembered by the elders.

This is why the expression 'in isolation' or 'isolados' used to refer to 'uncontacted' indigenous groups is constantly questioned by the

Tenharim. This category does not sound adequate to them for speaking of their relatives whose names are vividly recalled, as well as the period in which they left and their reasons. Fitting with this conceptual questioning, the existence of relatives who live scattered in the forest is not reduced to passive traces of varied interpretations; on the contrary, the signs are considered to be uncontested confirmation of their current presence.

The memory of relatives who went to live far away, in isolation - according to the category used by the state to identify the condition of these indigenous groups - is vividly remembered by the elders. One of the people who left was Anã, sister of Cari, of the Tenharim group which today lives in the Indigenous Land of Igarapé Preto. Although relatives have attempted to dissuade her, the death of her firstborn son, murdered by a local tradesman, caused her to leave definitively with her children and a small group. She is considered a warrior woman for knowing how to hunt with a bow and arrow, which is why she is called Cunha'uwa, woman with bow. She also knows how to sing, a characteristically male skill among the Tenharim. In the words of a woman of the Trakuá village of the Marmelos Indigenous Lands:

Cunha'uwa also lives there. She is a woman, she has a bow which she uses for hunting. She is like a man. Our grandfather who lives in Igarapé Preto (Cari) passed this on to us. She sings and uses arrows to kill, hunt, that's why she is like a man. There are a lot of people with her, men and women. But she goes ahead. Over in the region of the Marmelos headwaters. In the summer, they cross the river. They don't build villages, just tapiris. They might have a field, but nobody knows. Everything is spread out. They spend three days somewhere and then they leave.

In circumstances similar to those of Anã's family's exit, during the time of the arrival of the first traders and rubber tappers, the Kwandudjuwa (Taravé clan) group left. What follows is the report of a Tenharim leader of the Mafuí village of the Marmelos Indigenous Land.

In the time of the arrival of the traders, of first contact, diseases appeared and a lot of people died. In that period, a first group of 4 or 5 people left. Two or three couples. There was a cacique who commanded his group, his name was Kwandudjuwaga. We always kept him alive. [...] Kwandudjuwaga is from the Taravé clan. It is a very strong family, famous, our origin. It didn't end there. We know our relative is here. As there was a very large epidemic, they thought 'our people are getting ill, are dying'. They didn't know why so many were dying. For that reason, a group left, 4 or 5 people, and one of them was [from the clan] Tavaré. I am Tavaré. We know that our people exist, they are there. They are certainly at the border of our reserve. They are up here. It is true that our people exist.

After Kwandudjuwa's group, a group from the Mutum clan lead by its chief Boaga left. In the words of a female leader from the Mafuí village: "our relatives, to us, are still alive. The same thing happened to him (the same story as Kwandudjuwa). 'As you are going to stay, I will call you those who were left behind'. So we are the ones who were left behind, and he is at the front, up in Igarapé Preto. He left with a group which went with him". She continues:

> image Duca Tenharim, cacique from the Boa Vista village, Tenharim Marmelos TI, Amazonas.

Boaga was one of the caciques who commanded almost the entire Tenharim people. He also took his group there, with his sons. He's over there. It was many years ago. His group left before Cunha'uwa's group. He left with his family but for the same reasons, the white man's war. The white man killed three of his sons and his wife. Then he didn't want to live where he was living anymore. So he said: 'I am going to stay away now, and you are going to stay here".

The Kãkão group, virtually exterminated by flu during contact, lived in a region called Tenondé'hu, which today is Igarapé Preto. The remaining members of this group still live in the Igarapé Preto TI, about whom Izac Tenharim says:

My wife's family is Kãkão. They are another Kaqwahiva. Like Karipuna. They speak the same language as us. The Amondawa also speak the same language. The Kãkão are from Igarapé Preto.

As such, negative contact with non-natives, who brought them disease, epidemics and death, acts of physical violence and spoliation of their natural resources, resulted in a first movement of groups who distanced themselves definitively. According to Maria Kururuí, an elderly woman from the Mafuí village, during this period a lot of traders and rubber-tappers entered the region from the mouth of the Marmelos River, and their diseases ravaged the indigenous communities. Some of them left for the south of the Indigenous Land. When recalling the relatives with whom she no longer has contact, the old lady named one of the family groups which had departed to the southern region of the TI and was led by Mandaredjiua who, in the past, had contact with her parents and grandparents. According to Kururuí, Mandaredjiua was

an old cacique of the Taravé clan who left in the company of his wife Boredjiua, his sons Uriaynha and Iridji, and his sister Tugwara'vi. Before leaving, the Mandaredjiua group sang a song which was about missing the departed relatives.

The cacique Manoel Duca observed that the relatives' separation was during the time the seringalistas entered the region surrounding the Marmelos River. According to his account, a master named Garcia had spread the Indians everywhere to extract rubber and collect nuts in the region The violence used had dispersed part of the group, which had even fled to the region of Igarapé Preto.

Contact with the Tenharim of Igarapé Preto also occurred with the arrival of mineral extractivist companies, such as the Paranapanema group. The mass presence of labourers caused a drastic reduction of the Tenharim in this region, and the dispersion of the Kagwahiva groups along the channel of the Roosevelt River. In the 1960s, cassiterite, from which tin is extracted, attracted a large wave of prospectors to Rondônia. The entry of non-indigenous peoples was facilitated by the opening of highways BR-364 and BR-230, the Transamazônica.

More recently, in 2016, Luceno, the son of Domiceno Tenharim, departed without leaving a trace or sign in the forest. He left out of disgust at the reality faced by his people, but mainly due to a deep sadness at having seen his father be unjustly accused of a crime he did not commit. For Domiceno, the absence of signs, despite search expeditions made in recent years, are proof that his son could be living with isolated relatives:

[...] My son left. It's been three years, more or less. We will resist, to protect this river, because many relatives went in that direction. The Karipuna were also from the river Preto, and then they left. Just as my son left and we didn't find anything. We have the hope of finding him together with our family who left [isolated groups]. They found him. As we have groups here, on the Kanindé'hu side and the Tenondé'hu, he could be with them.

Remembering and talking about their relatives makes the Tenharim emotional. Soon their voices break and their eyes become watery with the force the memories bring with them. But the sadness is not only from yearning, as fear of the extermination of their rela-

> tives who live in the forests has become a constant preoccupation with the evident increase of invasions of their territories. In Cari Tehharim's singing, the old man made a final appeal, saying that the garimpeiros, the fences of the farms and their gunmen, the loggers and hydroelectric plants are surrounding his relatives, who have nowhere to run.

The disappearance of Luceno Tenharim is also a cause of anguish. He is believed to be living with his relatives in the more



distant forests. In addition to him, the remnants of various Kagwahiva groups in refuge are never forgotten in the accounts of their relatives.

For the Tenharim, protecting the territories inhabited by the isolated Kagwahiva is urgent, as they are in areas coveted by different economic groups whose political force is deadly.

ACCOUNTS

Pedro Peruano Parintintin

"Yes, we heard that there were isolated Indians in these parts. They wander, crossing the Marmelos and Preto rivers. They wander from here to there. They've seen them, walking, breaking things. They are our relatives, they speak our language, they live out there. They are our old relatives who were left over there. My grandfather Cari says that there are relatives over here. Everybody was scared when the highway [Transamazônica] was built. Everybody scattered. Even we were scared when we saw the machines. When we heard the noise of the machinery, everyone scattered, we only met again a few days later. Children ran into the forest. And so with the isolated Indians. Nobody saw. We split up. Everybody ran. Some ran and never

came back. They showed us bread, I didn't know it. We caught measles, chickenpox, mumps, we caught everything. I don't know how many people died. We also caught guariba [whooping cough]. Nobody helped us. At that time the shamen had already died as

> image Macedo Tenharim and his wife, Kampinhu'hu village, Tenharim Marmelos TI, Amazonas.

well. The white man said: 'nobody will interfere with you. We will give you things!'. We were suspicious. They gave us food and over time we got used to it.

Macedo Tenharim

"In every corner we find his trail. There are isolated Indians. That's why we always say about the dam, they are there. You can't build it! You can't build it because of them! We explain that to the people, to the company. We have isolated relatives there. And if they build it? They will cover them with water and they will all die. That's why we're worried about it. We are worried about them, and about us too. It's what I'm telling you. If they build the dam, we will die. The water will cover us, won't it? That's what I'm talking about. The things in the forest, there are peccaries, fish, deer, agouti. It will cover everything with water. There are all kinds of fruit. That's why we're worried.

Felipe Tenharim

"We are absolutely certain of their existence. They frequent the region of the headwaters, from the region of the Diahui to the region of Igarapé Preto. They wander that region in search of food. At this time of the ebb they don't stay in the centre of the forest much, they go to where there's more water, in the igara-



pés. They are small groups. One group decided to stay there. It is their custom. They are also Kagwahiva. They are different to us. In the past, meetings were more frequent. The groups would meet until they decided to no longer have contact with anybody, even with us. They have their own world, their own social organisation. It's not like us. They are cautious group, they don't make noise. They know they are surrounded by indigenous and non-indigenous groups who are in the middle of this territory.

Izac Tenharim

"These isolated Indians are running around because everything's been destroyed. They stay on the island [which is preserved]. In the summer, the indigenous people walk a lot, because it's shallow. In the winter, they stay on land because there's a lot of igapó. We who are in the day-today of the forest, we know where they go and where the isolated Indians are, because we see where they go by. When we see the difference with our walking, just by looking we know they aren't people from here, it's our isolated people.

Duca Tenharim

"They spread out in the time of the seringalistas. That's when this group, which today is isolated, and the other group from Igarapé Preto came out. The father of the late Geraldo, who was the father of Plínio from Igarapé Preto, who was a cacique, called them Ipoari. He left and went there to take care of his people. My mother was from there, but she married my father who was from here in Itinguihu, or Marmelos in the language of the seringueiro. They, the isolated Indians, are around here or behind the Igarapé Preto. They stay mostly between the Preto River (Iunui) and the Maici River where the forest is higher. They come to fish all year, in summer they go to the river. They stay in the deeper forest, where the whites don't go. They flee from the loggers. In the time of our great-grandparents, there was

conflict with the seringueiros and that was when the Indians spread. The people of Igarapé Preto were only 4, most of them died from contact with the seringueiros and the mining company. There are a lot of people there now.

Sebastião Diahui

"With the Tabajara hydroelectric plant it gets complicated. Then there's flu, yellow fever and other diseases. And they start dying. Whoever goes over there always finds traces. They see us and nobody sees them. They came right here, to my uncle Pedro's nut tree orchard, and spilled coffee. They see us. They don't interfere with anybody. We see their traces. Once we were breaking open brazil nuts and we heard a call. They're walking all the time. We also used to walk all the time. We didn't have a fixed place. They come and go. Their demarcated area is where they got tired.

Ioão Bosco Tenharim

"With these big government projects, like the Tabajara HPP, we get very worried. We are worried, because they don't have contact with anybody, and contact is very bad for the Indian. Until today, the Tenharim people, we have not recovered. It happened when the Transamazônica opened, and it happened with the first contact with the riverine people. So, it's bad.

I'm certain of it. It's true that our relatives live up there, we've said it before. From the start we've always said that. They are walking the boundaries of our land, near the whites, because our land borders Mato Grosso and Rondônia. As the farms are all around, they push the isolados here. They're in the middle. They say that there are a lot of farmers. They're scared, because they kill. To take the land, saying the land is theirs. The people from the Tabajara Hydroelectric Plant say that it's in the heads of the Indians, that we don't $_{\odot}$ know. They say that a lot in the reports. So we need to be very strong.

They certainly circulate between the headwaters of the Marmelos and the Preto. Further down from here is the Branco River. They're in this middle here. There's certainly a lot of garimpo around there, a lot of people say that. If today there are two farmers on the borders, tomorrow there'll be five. And so it goes. I want to go there, to the limits of the land, the problem comes from there. We need to stop the war there on the limit, we can't let it enter our land. We need to block the border, because it's dangerous if it reaches here. We need to start going there because there are isolated Indians. For monitoring.

Margarida Tenharim

"It's just those three groups. We always talk about our group; we talk about them the whole time. We say: "don't do anything bad because suddenly Boaga will be there". He's around and he doesn't like this mess. Everything has to be good, he doesn't like problems. That's why to this day his name is respected. He always gave a lot of advice: "You need to watch the territory. My spirit will always be close

to you, to give you strength. If you leave this place, you will have no future. Your future is here. Each has their own future. So you'll pass it on from generation to generation". That was the message he left us. We will not forget. People ask: "Is it true that the Tenharim use all of that territory?". Of course we used it and still use it. Contact reduced us a lot. This was full of people. Today it's just these few because of the contact, the epidemic. So, we Tenharim, we were just worried about our territory. What did we do? We made a clearing, and came back after a year. When you went back there would be lots of corn, yam, pineapple, papaya. After the new clearing, there wouldn't be much. So further away there would be more, and we'd go to find it for the mbotawa [celebration] and bring it back. We would walk all over the territory, there were a lot of villages. That's why we have land. Many lost their land. We won't get used to a different land, because our spirit won't get used to it. We want our land, where we walk. Where our past walked. We know our land. We don't want other people's land. That's how we think and that's how we are.

"CONTACT COULD CAUSE THE EXTERMINATION OF AN ENTIRE COMMUNITY

The Madeira Ethno-Environmental Protection Front merged with the Purus Protection Front in 2014. Since then, the Madeira-Purus FPE, coordinated by **Daniel Cangussu**, monitors 9 records of isolated peoples in a territory which extends through all the south of Amazonas, bordering the east of Acre and north of Mato Grosso.

What is the area of activity of the Madeira-Purus FPE? The constituency of the Madeira/Purus FPE covers the entire south of the state of Amazonas and includes three interfluves, the middle Juruá/Purus, middle Madeira/Purus and the interfluve between the Madeira and Roosevelt rivers. This extensive territory is the result of the fusion of two FPEs, originally the Madeira FPE and the Purus FPE. It is a rather complex ethnographic context. From the Purus to the Juruá there are records of the isolated Arawá. [They are] indigenous groups which have quite a restricted geographical distribution. On both banks of the Madeira there are Tupi Kagwahiva records.

At Juruá-Purus, we work with a recently contacted indigenous group who are the Suruwaha, with a population of 154 people, and with the Hi-Merimã, an isolated indigenous people. We believe that, judging from their traces, the Hi-Merimã, are a group of approximately 100 people, maybe more. They are a people with a lot of territorial mobility. It is a big challenge to monitor a people with this characteristic.

In Madeira, we don't have any confirmed records. We have a restricted use area, which is in the Madeira-Purus interfluve, in the Jacareúba/Katawixi TI. There are many areas of fields and *Campinaranas* (Amazonian Caatinga) among the areas of brazil nut and babaçu trees. We found strong signs in the region. Signs which are decisive evidence of the presence of isolated peoples, especially in the past. With the crisis of resources (financial, human and logistical) we have not been able to follow up the expeditions to this sector. But the Indians are there. Things just require organisation for the FPE to once again find fresh clues and definitively confirm this record. I hope this happens soon.

We believe the groups in the vicinity of the Roosevelt River, which is also strongly related to Kagwahiva records, are historically tied to the Tenharim,

Djahui and Parintintin. We've been doing work there in part-lournalist.

Djahui and Parintintin. We've been doing work there in part-lournalist.



Preto Indigenous Lands, to organise location expeditions. For technical/administrative purposes, the records are unconfirmed. It is interesting because there are other ways of interpreting the traces. The Tenharim, for example, believe that the presence of these isolados is real. They know the history of their relatives and they can tell you in detail where and how the dissent occurred. They always talk of finding signs of their relatives in the forests and river beaches of the region. It is a big factor of mobilisation and social importance for these people.

What is the work like in this region? The context is complicated, because a large part of the territories are natural fields and *campinaranas*. Amazonian fields are difficult to monitor, because they don't possess enough botanical material that favours more permanent traces. There is also a discontinuity of land-scape. The forest ravines disappear when you get to the fields. I think there must be a lot of mobility in the fields and more of an establishment in the more domesticated forests, which have more resources. These contexts require very specific localisation methodologies.

What are the main threats? Deforestation rates in the region are alarming. This can be easily verified in the satellite images. But there are other pressures. Landgrabbing, illegal mining and the prospect of yet another hydroelectric power plant, the Tabajara. They're planning to build it a few kilometres away from the Marmelos River, where the greatest concentration of forests is – which are adequate environments for the isolados to be established. In an environment with

these characteristics (large areas of fields and a few forests) the forest has special importance. In this case, the forests are concentrated in the headwaters of the Marmelos, which is a suitable location for occupation by the isolated indigenous people.

image Entrance of the Hi-Merimã TI, at the mouth of the River Aripuanã, Amazonas.

And in the case of the Hi-Merimã? They are quite different contexts of territorial pressures. Currently, there is no pressure on the Hi-Merimã territory from loggers or garimpeiros and, to the extent of our knowledge, there are no projects for installing large enterprises in the surroundings. The main issue is that the Hi-Merimã are very numerous and use not only the demarcated TI, but a much larger area. Hi-Merimã mobility reaches the areas of the Resex Médio Purus, part of the surrounding Indigenous Lands and unclaimed areas. Monitoring and protecting all that territory is a huge challenge.

Joint actions are also carried out in the surrounding areas, where some of the territorial aspects of the Hi-Merimã are clarified. There are a lot of curious or scared people who need to be enlightened. A large part of the TIs surrounding the Hi-Merimã territory are the permanent homes of proselytizing evangelical missionaries and that may be the greatest challenge. These missionaries want to contact and evangelise the isolated indigenous people.

At the end of 2018, a missionary entered through the southern part of the Hi-Merimã TI and accessed some of the camps. I know the camps were vacant, because we had been there three months earlier on an expedition. The missionary groups are very well organised and funded. It is a great risk for the isolados. It is a context of much antagonism, but also conviction. They are absolutely certain that they need to bring the word of their God to the isolados. I am certain that they will never desist. On the other hand, I think the indigenous people just want us to leave them in peace. Our duty is to make their choice be respected.

What is the main risk of contact with the missionaries? The FPE keeps tight control of the health of its staff and collaborators. For every entry into the field for direct action with the Suruwaha or in expeditions through the Hi-Merimã territory there are health checks made on the team members to make sure we are not vectors of diseases. That isn't something a missionary worries about. We know that some of them, in a not too distant past, have carried out expeditions through Hi-Merimã territory. Some have been intercepted by FPE coordinators.

There are reports from indigenous people of the surrounding areas who have participated in expeditions with the missionaries who say that there were people with flu on those walks. People with fever. So if there is an encounter in a situation like that, it could completely exterminate the community. The long period of isolation has stopped the immune systems of these peoples from efficiently responding to common pathogens among people, which in this context would create an epidemic risk with results as severe as all the other pressures to which the isolated indigenous peoples of Brazil are subjected to.

And what are the pressures on the other records of isolados? Pressures are the same for the Jacareúba/Katawixi records as they are for the Marmelos: illegal hunting, hydroelectric plants, intensive logging, land-grabbing, etc. The invasion of Amazonia via Rondônia, which reaches up to the municipality of . Lábrea (Amazonas) is a very intense phenomenon. The great floodplain of the



Purus River, which can reach dozens of kilometres at some points, seems to prevent the continuation of the Transamazônica through Arawá territory. These territories are therefore safe from pressures associated to intense deforestation, land-grabbing and everything that comes with the advance of Brazil's disorganised infrastructure.

Are there any records of contact with the Hi-Merimã? The term 'isolated' is an administrative category. These relations are a lot more dynamic and complex than what this name suggests. There are reports of Hi-Merimã women living in Paumari villages in 1930. There are various reports of encounters between the Hi-Merimã and sorbeiros in the mid-20th century. It was very common for the Hi-Merimã to visit the camps of the sorbeiros. They also shared various cultural features with the Jamamadi and Banawa. Anthropological data leads us to believe that the Jamamadi, Hi-Merimã and Banawa groups are probably a gathering of remnant peoples of several much smaller groups, living in a more dispersed configuration and with great mobility through the Juruá/Purus interfluve. After the conflicts and massacres initiated by the bosses of the region there was a retreat by one or more groups. The Hi-Merimã decided to remain isolated. They are hunter-gatherers, they don't grow anything at all. Some believe they underwent a process known as 'agricultural regression', in other words, they lost the practice of agriculture. I particularly don't think so. I think the Hi-Merimã, like other Arawá peoples, descend from hunter-gatherer people. But that is a long story.

And the Kagwahiva people? The Kagwahiva have a living memory of the episodes which tie them to the peoples who went into isolation in the headwaters of the Marmelos River and its surroundings. The opening of the Transamazônica and the installation of the Paranapanema company were episodes marked by the demo-

image Above: dwelling of the Suruwaha people in the Zuruahã TI, Amazonas; next page: basket and pestle of the Hi-Merimã isolados.



graphic reduction of these peoples and by the dissent of these groups. This has been reported by them. Some portions of the Kagwahiva have remained isolated. The reports and the investigation carried out revealed that some of these episodes are very recent. It is even possible to identify the family relationship between some of the members present in the villages of the Transamazônica and the isolated groups.

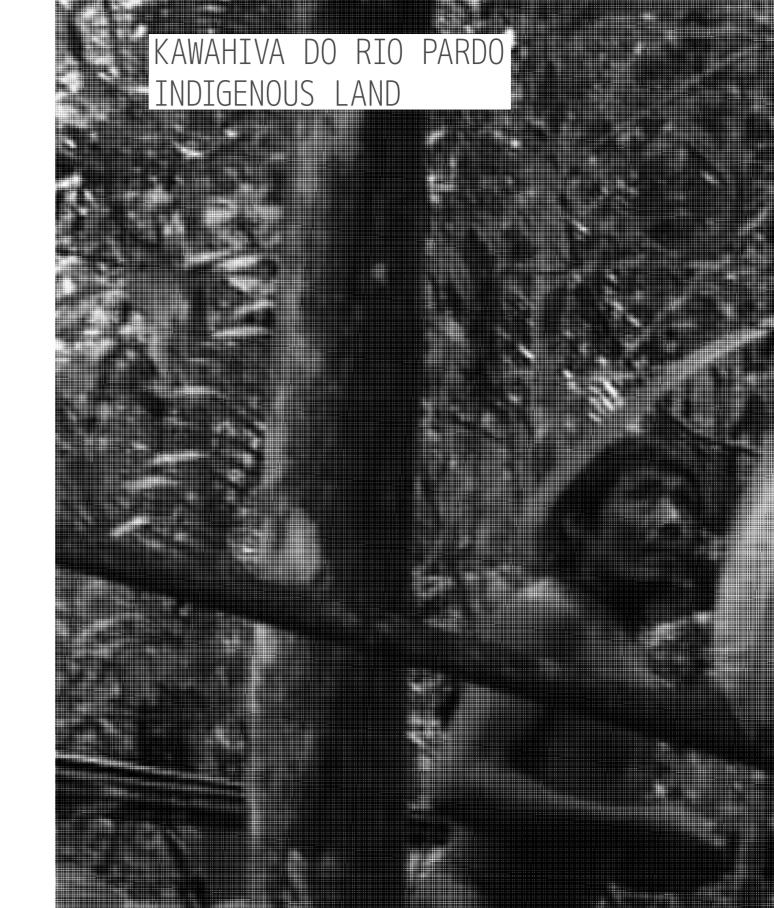
What is the structure of the Madeira-Purus FPE? The FPE is located in the municipality of Lábrea, on the banks of the Purus River. We have a local office and a floating one (from which we plan fluvial logistics). We have three protection bases: The Suruwaha Base, installed on the Hahabiri River, which has the function of protecting access to the main Suruwaha territory; the Canuaru Base, installed in the south of the Hi-Merimã TI; and the Piranha Base, which protects the northeast and southeast of the Hi-Merimã territory. We also have two smaller, more advanced bases: a small post built inside the territory of the Suruwaha which is used occasionally to shelter FPE and Sesai staff during health actions, and the Jeruã Base, which is used only in the rainy season for regulating the access of the riverine people to the Resex Médio Purus to the south of the Hi-Merimã territory. We have a boat, the Kadango, and speed boats and canoes, which we use for all our fluvial logistics.

Has the Front faced difficulties carrying out its expeditions? The monitoring of the Hi-Merimã is simple as they are a numerous population living on a preserved territory. The traces left are only theirs. Walking a little further in, we find the first traces. By walking a little more, we can map the varadouros (paths the indigenous people use through the forest) and the camps and we can obtain the necessary information to plan protective measures for their territory. So it is very easy. In just two weeks of walks you can scour a whole sector of the territory and make the necessary records. Expeditions to locate the Kagwahiva are more complicated, as the territory is vast and heterogenous. Also, leaving Lábrea to monitor the Marmelos River is a long journey, and the FPE has little resources. I think we are still an FPE specialised in Arawá traces which is learning to see and interpret Kagwahiva traces. We would need to have an operational base in Madeira, with equipment, personnel, contracts, a constant flow of people. A very active structure, so people could focus on that ethnographic context.

Why did the Madeira FPE close? A difficult decision. I followed part of the coordination. It's all a very delicate situation of a lot of pressure on Funai and its employees. We're always racking our brains to strengthen the CGIIRC and find a better conformation for the constituencies of the FPEs. At the time it was believed that the Purus FPE team could take on the demand and we could then use the Madeira FPE positions of trust to leverage other demands which were more of an emergency. I supported the idea. I was quite involved in the project, which gave me many happy moments and friends. Working together with the Tupi and their forests, fields and *palhais* was one of the most incredible things Funai has given me. But today we cannot respond to the demand. We lack resources, personnel and contracts. Our stock of creative ideas is also dwindling in the midst of such a complicated scenario which seems never ending.

What is the relationship between the contacted indigenous peoples and the isolados like? Each case is different. The Suruwaha, for example, are not friends with the Hi-Merimã. They remember episodes of violence and death, of stealing from fields. A mix of fear and anger. They never get close to the traces. I think the feeling is reciprocal judging from the traces. The Hi-Merimã avoid getting close to Suruwaha territory. But the Jamamadi, they have a much closer relationship with the Hi-Merimã. They recognise themselves in the material culture of the isolados.

There is a certain standard discourse among people of the surroundings, which seek evidence of a supposed indigence of the Hi-Merimã. They ask me to make contact with the isolados or at least to take them *manivas* (crushed leaves used for cooking). They believe that the Hi-Merimã need assistance from the Sesai, schools, medicine and the industrialised goods of white people. The hunter-gatherer habit is seen by the people of the surroundings as a risk to the food security of the isolados. What we have done is to include members from these communities in our expeditions and let them draw their own conclusions from the traces. The camps of the isolados, full of *moquéns* (grills for cooking meat or fish), dozens of bones of peccaries and tapirs and large workshops for processing wild potatoes and palm fruits offer different points of reference for assessing a supposed Hi-Merimã indigence.



THE ISOLATED KAGWAHIVA RESIST THE ENCLOSURE OF DEFORESTATION IN MATO GROSSO

In permanent flight and under the constant threat of extermination, kagwahiva survivors continue to resist in rio Pardo, securing an island of forest conservation in the midst of the advance of land pressure.

VICTORIA FRANCO ISA journalist

The less careful observer might not notice the small straw house diluted in the forest scene. Pigs, curassow, agouti, macuco, tinamou once sighted through the cracks of the hut, become the hunter's prey. From their hiding place, known as a 'tocaia', the isolated group doesn't immediately advance on the animals, but begins by imitating them and attracting them little by little. The remains of Brazil nuts, honey and fruit collected by the indigenous people are left in the surroundings.

As they are a nomadic people, the scenes described soon disappear and reconfigure in other parts of the forest. The Kagwahiva's stay will leave marks in the forest, which will later be read by staff from the Madeirinha-Juruena Ethno-environmental Protection Front/ Funai. On the edge of streams, for example, their presence can be detected if one is to find pieces of timbó in the water, a poisonous vine which is whipped in the river to bring to the surface fish that will go on the fire. Seeing these traces, the Front team will return from its expedition to the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo Indigenous Land (TI), in Mato Grosso, with the information which ensures the protection of the area: the presence of isolados in the region.

The TI has an extension of around 412.000 hectares and was declared a permanent possession of the Kagwahiva group by the Ministry of Justice in 2016, after over 15 years of fighting for its recognition. Initially interdicted in 2001, the area had been on Funai's radar since 1999, when a group of loggers detected the presence of isolados and a protection front was installed in the area. The use restriction, which lasted three years and was renewed in 2004, permitted anthropological studies in the region, needed to ensure the physical and cultural reproduction of the Kagwahiva indigenous people, as stated in the 1988 Federal Constitution.

In the process of identifying the land, the FPE records surveyed confirmed the permanent habitation of the Kagwahiva on the territory for at least 70 years. The Detailed Identification and Delimitation Report of the TI, coordinated by anthropologist Gilberto Azanha, was approved in 2007 and submitted a caracterisation and land survey, which, over the course of the demarcation process, signified the removal of non-indigenous occupants from the land.

The approval did not please the loggers and other invaders, whose concentrated presence across the northeast of Mato Grosso, east of Rondônia and south of Amazonas has caused the region to be named 'the arc of deforestation', registering high rates of forest degradation and conflict. By 2017 there were at least 6.5 million trees felled inside the Indigenous Land, according to monitoring by ISA, based on Prodes/Inpe data. "If Funai didn't have a base there, there certainly wouldn't be any standing forest left. Because there is huge political power there, on account of the wood.

> image Previous page: Kawahiva do Rio Pardo Indigenous isolado in the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo TI, Mato Grosso; next page: aerial view of the permanent Funai base in the Kawahiya do Rio Pardo TI. Mato Grosso.



It is the only thing saving this TI", says Jair Candor, a staff member for over 20 years and the Madeirinha-Juruena FPE coordinator, with jurisdiction over the Kawahiva of Rio Pardo TI.

The threats to the area are historical: in the 1980s, with the opening of the MT-206, known as the 'production highway', the territory of the isolados became more vulnerable to illegal exploitation linked to logging, garimpo, agribusiness and grilagem. For safety, the indigenous peoples abandoned their fields and went to live in a more remote region, in the foothills of the Serra Morena (or Grande), between the rivers Guariba and Aripuanã, in the municipality of Colniza, north Mato Grosso. Since then, they always stay in temporary camps and live exclusively from gathering, fishing and hunting small animals and birds.

In the anthropological literature, the Rio Pardo isolados are classified as part of a collective of Kagwahiva peoples, of which the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, Karipuna, Parintintin, Tenharim,

Diahói, Juma, Kawahibí do Madeirinha and Kayabi are also part. According to Azanha's report, the first references to these groups date from 1750, in the upper region of the Juruena River, next to the Apiaká. Initially unknown to the expansion fronts, from the 1930s onwards the area directly entered the sights of different waves of economic exploitation: caucheiros, seringueiros [rubber tappers], 'gateiros' [animal skin hunters], garimpeiros [mining prospectors], copaibeiros [copaiba oil extractors] and loggers reached the Gauriba River via the Madeira channel, from the Amazonas.

Speakers of the Kagwahiva language, the almost 30 indigenous people who live in the region are the last survivors of their population. Despite the intense pressure they have been suffering since past decades, Funai has indications that the group is still able to keep three generations of descendents alive - ∞ grandparents, parents and grandchildren. The deep knowledge they have over the territory,



unlike the invaders, is what has allowed them to survive until today. When they notice the FPE team approaching, they begin to cover the paths in the forest. "We read that sign as if it were a limit they are proposing to us: 'hey, you cannot pass. Your limit ends here and mine begins'. And we respect that," says Candor.

During 20 years of activity in the TI, Funai has made some attempts to approach the Kagwahiva, concerned about their possible extinction. In 2007, the year the identification report was approved, there were some approaches which Candor recalls: "the area was being invaded a lot, and we had almost no resources, no chance of breaking the invasions at that time. So we tried to make contact with the Indians. It was me, Rieli Franciscato

image Isolado Kagwahiva Tapiri, Kawahiva do Rio Pardo TI, Mato Grosso. [FPE Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau], and a [indigenous] Parintintin. We managed to find the isolados, but there was no agreement."

At that point, it was getting dark in the forest. The staff decided to camp and leave the site only the next day, in view of the Kagwahiva's decline. After a tense, long day of work, expectations of resting were scuppered. First, a Brazil nut husk flew across the camp and woke everybody up. Soon, another one. There followed an avalanche of branches, stones and everything that could reinforce the message. "They simply wanted us to leave. They could have shot us with arrows while we were sleeping, but no. The disturbance was so great, throwing those things, that we really had to pack up the camp and run away in the middle of the night," recalls Candor.

Candor, the coordinator of the Madeirinha-Juruena FPE understands that the Kagwahiva spared the expedition group, because they knew he wasn't a threat to their safety. The relationship between them and the sertanista was built through messages written in the forest. Even today, when he visits the territory he takes tools to leave in the forest, as gift offerings to the isolados. "That's how I communicate with them. As what we're doing is monitoring them – we see their traces, they see our traces, they know where our base is – and we are alert to the group's messages, I think contact must come from them, not from us", says Jair Candor.

The situation, however, is a time bomb: the farms in the surrounding areas enclose the Indigenous Land and make of the Kagwahiva an islanded people, resisting an invisible massacre which could happen at any time. In a text published by ISA, Elias Bigio, who worked for the CGIIRC/Funai, says that the approach by invaders, against all legal prohibitions, is surreptitious: 'to enter without being caught, they built bridges over the Guariba River, as well as a road going inland" (2017: 610).

In May 2019, Funai heightened operations in the area. With the end of the rains, the number of invaders multiplies and staff have double the work. After an armed attack on the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo TI Base in 2018, Funai now has permanent Military Police presence at the site, thanks to a judicial decision attempting to bar entry to the territory. Actions in partnership with Ibama and the Federal Police are also recurrently necessary, because despite the 'disintrusion' of non-indigenous people in the TI which happened at the end of 2018, some illegal occupants insist on remaining in the area which, due to good conditions for agribusiness, is known as the 'economic frontier'.

"The Kawahiva Land is not physically demarcated. The 'disintrusion' was carried out, but there are many who claim to be owners of farms inside. They go to Brasília every month to fight and argue that they want their lands

back. And sometimes they even confront me. It's not ok. But our methodology today is to not make contact, to try to hold off until the last degree, to see. If they really aren't running the risk of confrontation, then we can let them remain uncontacted", says Candor, in favour of Funai's no-contact policy.

Although there is a lot of forest in its surroundings, the region where the TI is located is gravely threatened by the advance of deforestation fronts. Even the Guariba-Roosevelt Extractivist Reserve, a protected area bordering the indigenous territory, has been emptied of the resources on which the rubber-tappers and nut collectors subsist. "The farms ended up coming inside the Resex itself, which today, if you didn't know it is a Resex, you would arrive there and think that it's just a farm area, that it was never a reserve. A lot of deforestation in that region," says Candor.

In the same way the limits of the Resex were challenged by Mato Grosso's land interests, the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo TI is also in danger. The demarcation process, not yet completed, is pending the signing of the homologation decree by the President. Together with the strengthening of Funai's local presence, the regularisation of the Indigenous Land will be vital to guaranteeing the survival of the Kawahiva refugee groups in the forests. It could be a matter of time before these green refuges dissolve into the grey highways and beaten red earth of agribusiness lands.



THE OTHER BANK OF THE ROOSEVELT RIVER

Pakyî and Tamandua are two survivors of the Piripkura people who live surrounded by farms and loggers in a protected area in the middle of the Amazon forest in the state of Mato Grosso.

EDITORIAL TEAM

For many years, Rita was considered to be the only survivor of the Piripkura people. The story of her survival of one of the many ethnocides which have marked the history of Brazil is described in the books from Cedi's Povos Indígenas no Brasil series, by indigenists of Operation Native Amazonia (Opan) (Cartagenes, R.; Lobato, J. C., 1985/86; 1991). However, a little over a decade ago, and thanks to the committed and persistent work of Jair Candor, coordinator of the Madeirinha FPE. Funai established contact with two other survivors from the group. Funai has been active in the region since the 1980s.

Although the first Ordinance for the Interdiction of the Piripkura TI¹, a recognised land with an approximate area of 242,000 hectares in the municipalities of Colniza and Rondolândia (Mato Grosso), is from 2008, records of isolated Piripkura in the region

> 1 The first Funai Ordinance is no. 1154/2008. Another 6 were later published, with the last one being Ordinance no. 1201/2018, still in force, Information from the Protected Areas Information System, Protected Areas Monitoring Program / ISA, June / 2019.

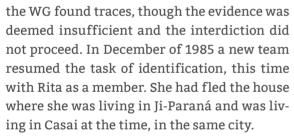
image Funai expedition in the Piripkura TI. Mato Grosso.

date from much earlier. According to Opan's 'Kawahib Project' team, in October 1984 the existence of an isolated indigenous group was detected between the rivers Branco and Madeirinha, tributaries of the Roosevelt River. called Piripkura by the Gavião people of the Lourdes igarapé. Reports stated that members of the group would occasionally approach the farmhouse in the area, even establishing intermittent contact with Rita, who resided at Fazenda Mudança. 'Cumpadre', a Piripkura elder, was one of the indigenous people who often visited her there.

Sitting in on those meetings allowed the Opan team to record the audio and write out a basic vocabulary of the language spoken by Rita. By sending these recordings to researchers at Campinas State University, it was possible to identify the tupi-guarani language family, of the Tupi branch. This group is part of a set of peoples generically called Kagwahiva or Kawahib, known for being warriors and farmers. These peoples would have been cornered and practically decimated due to the successive 'correrias' during the time of the expansion of rubber extraction in the region, and, from the end of the 1960s, found themselves surrounded by the advance of farms on their territory.

After repeatedly suffering abuse from the workers at Fazenda Mudança, Rita was taken to the city of Ji-Paraná, to the home of the manager of the farm. From then on, occasional contact with the other Piripkura ceased. In 1985, with still no concrete steps taken by Funai for the assessment of the situation of the Piripkura, the Project Kawahib/ Opan team, with the support of Dom Tomás Balduíno, carried out overflights in the region. This investigation provided the basis for Funai to propose the interdiction of the area, resulting in the formation of a Working Group for > the identification of the Piripkura area (Funai Ordinance no. 1938/1985). Once in the field, $\stackrel{\circ}{\sim}$





Although the last time she had walked through the traditional territory of her people was years ago, during an escape, Rita's memory of the territory remained intact. She preserved memories of the paths and locations of her people and became a key participant in the expedition for the recognition of their indigenous land. On the occasion, the team found a large number of Piripkira tapiris (camps) and some abandoned malocas. The expedition produced a detailed report which, once again, was sent to the 8th RD and the Funai Presidency. The urgent character of the area's delimitation was reiterated. In 1987, after four years living

away from her group, Rita married a karipuna and went to live among them.

Later, according to reports from the Project Kawahib/Opan team, two Piripkura, known as 'Tititi' and 'Curumim', who continuously established contact with a Funai attraction front, reported that their group totalled 15 people. During the time the area had no interdiction, the Boaventura mine was installed in an area adjacent to the one proposed for interdiction of the Piripkura land. In 1988, the then National Department of Mineral Production granted two mineral research permits inside the proposed area. Mining prospectors began to report encounters with indigenous people. A year later, there were indications of the presence of an additional two groups of iso-

> image Above: Tamandua a Pakyî, indigenous isolados in the Piripkura TI, Mato Grosso; next page: Pakyî, Tamandua and Jair Candor at the Funai Base in the Piripkura TI, Mato Grosso.



lated peoples in the region, which became a refuge area.

According to news circulated by the Indigenous Peoples Mission Council (Comin), in 2007, a year before the publication of the Ordinance for Restriction of Use of the Piripkura TI, two indigenous people made contact with residents of the Fazenda Mudança. One of them was ill and taken by Funai to Casai in Ji-Paraná to receive medical treatment. Diagnosed with gallstones, the Piripkura underwent surgery and was in recovery for a time. The two Piripkura, whose ages were estimated at 50 and 35, returned to the forest.

The Piripkura TI is, still today, a green refuge in the northeast of Mato Grosso. But instead of sheltering the various isolated groups who lived there decades ago, it is inhabited by the last two survivors of a massacre. The two Piripkura, whose names were known only recently, Pakyî and Tamandua, are struggling to stay alive, leading the way of life of a culture crossed by decades of violence and extermination.

Surrounded by illegal agriculture and logging, the Piripkura TI is suffered little deforestation, with only 1.7% of degradation, thanks to the presence of those indigenous people, and consequently Funai. However, this situation could be reverted: only 10km away, in the TI's surroundings, one fifth of the forest has been cleared. For forest conservation and the protection of the Piripkura to prosper, intense monitoring and control will be required, a task which Funai carries out in partnership with Ibama and the federal police.

In 2017, the impressive history of the resistance of this people against the violence perpetrated against them reached the screens with the film Piripkura. The documentary shows the expeditions of Jair Candor who has been with the Piripkura since 1989. Rita, the sister on of Pakyî and aunt of Tamandua, occasionally participates in the expeditions for locating $\stackrel{\infty}{=}$ traces left by her relatives, along with her husband Aripã Karipuna.

Throughout the decades, the FPE team and the isolated indigenous people have met sporadically. In 2016, something unprecedented happened: the two Piripkura went to the Funai base in search of fire. Since then, the frequency of appearance of the Piripkura at the Funai base has increased. Jair Candor says: "I was able to talk to the older one, and he told me that the biggest problem they are having is a difficulty feeding themselves. They are healthy, but one of them is a bit old and the rain has made fishing and hunting difficult. So that is one of the reasons for them coming to the base."

In 2018, the Piripkura faced yet another battle: the transfer of Tamandua to a hospital in São Paulo, after being diagnosed with a cerebral cyst. There were complications with the operation and he was moved to the ICU. His uncle also had health problems, with the diagnosis of an enlarged prostate. Accompanied by Rita throughout the entire process, the two responded well to treatment and finally returned to the forest. "Even after returning from São Paulo, we monitored them and saw that they were making good use of their reserve", says Candor.

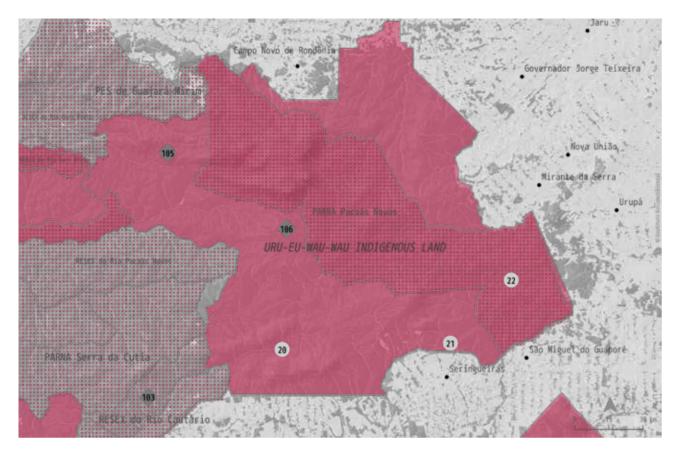
ACCOUNT

Jair Candor, Coordinator of the Madeirinha-Juruena FPE

"They've been coming to visit the base every 15 days, every week... We haven't been doing expeditions there, because we know that the Piripkura are just those two. We've monitored their area of occupation, the region where they hunt and fish... As they are nomads, they don't stay anywhere for very long. We monitor three points of occupation which they use often. The situation of the Piripkura TI is a bit complicated, because it's an interdicted area. There are farmers inside the TI even today, there was never a disintrusion. So, the law says that they cannot expand their grasslands, they cannot deforest... It's the law, isn't it? But they do it anyway. We made several excursions with Ibama, with the Federal Police, with notices and seizures, but it hasn't solved the problem. They continue, right? It's very easy for them to dodge those fines, not pay them, etc. They continue to disobey the law, but we're monitoring, we continue. We're also certain that deforestation has been growing inside the Piripkura TI's own interdiction.



editor's note An edited account based on an interview given to Victoria Franco, ISA journalist.



RECORDS OF ISOLATED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE URU-EU-WAU-WAU TI

- Confirmed
- ◆ Information
- Cities of reference
- Deforestation
- Conservation Units
- Indigenous Lands



IN THE SIGHTS OF 'PROGRESS': ISOLATED AND CONTACTED KAGWAHIVA GROUPS STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

In the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau Indigenous Land, where the Jupaú, Amondawa and Oro Win live, three confirmed isolated groups resist the invasions brought on by each new economic cycle in the region

CLARA ROMAN ISA journalist

In the south of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau Indigenous Land, the isolated group of the Cautário River used to climb the Serra de Uopianes. From the top of the mountain, at 600 metres of altitude, the isolados could see São Francisco do Guaporé, the nearest city, and watch the non-indigenous society which

surrounds them. A society with which they do not have, and do not wish to have any contact.

Rieli Franciscato, an experienced Brazilian sertanista and coordinator of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau Ethno-environmental Protection Front, frequently finds their traces high in this mountain. He is certain that it is a place visited by isolated indigenous people. "They know of everything that is around them. So, if they haven't made contact, it's because they do not wish to, and we must respect those wishes," he says.

The group of the Cautário region wanders the centre and south of the Indigenous Land, and is the largest of three isolated indigenous groups confirmed by Funai in the area. Very little is known of them. "We don't know what language they speak, or what language group they belong to." The more we know about them, the greater their distance from other peoples who live in the surroundings and from what is described in the literature," explains Rieli. As well as the three confirmed, there are two other records with information, i.e. which are still in need of field research and confirmation by Funai within the Indigneous Land.



image Previous page: Indigenous Uru-eu-wau-wau, Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, Rondônia; next page: environmental destruction on the limits of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, Rondônia.

According to Rieli, the Cautário group avoid exposing themselves. Reports of visual contact are very rare. "We can't tell if they are survivors of a previous contact, a massacre. Their strategy is to avoid confrontation," he says. Before the TI was homologated in 1991, says Rielim, the *seringueiros* [rubber tappers] were more concerned with the isolados of the north of the TI, of the kagwahiva language group, who would shoot arrows at anybody entering their area.

In the Etnodicéia Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau book. Mauro Leonel shows that, in 1976, Funai registered interactions between the indigenous people of Cautário and seringueiros who worked in the region, long before its demarcation. "The Indians also showed themselves in the *seringal* [rubber tree orchard] of Mrs. Miranda Cunha, on the Cautário River. Three seringueiros left them gifts, an axe and a machete on their trail. They received wild fruits in retribution. A surveyor from the Banco da Amazônia reported to Funai that other seringueiros destroyed 'jiquis' fish traps left by the Indians in Cautário (Leonel, 1995: 101).

The seringal is thought to have been opened in an area of indigenous occupation in 1943. According to reports, there had always been indigenous peoples in the region, "but they never got close to the shacks; for a long time no seringueiro was killed by Indians and no shacks were looted." Violent resistance only began when the seringueiros began to get too close to the headwaters of the rivers. There are also references to a constant indigenous presence in the Parati seringal: "On the 5th August of 1978, the head of the Guaporé PI, Luiz Henrique Dias Ferreira, once again informed Funai in a report about wandering Indians on the Cautário River. In the Parati seringal, they visited the Primeira Terra, Barração, Canindé and Esperança serinqueiro houses. All Indian actions were peaceful, even though they upturned extraction bowls and closed undesired roads with lianas and trees" (Leonel, 1995: 102).



According to Rieli Franciscato, the avoidance of confrontation is the reason these isolados didn't suffer persecution as much as in other cases. Even so, they live on constant alert of the presence of invaders on their lands. It is a constant flight situation.

Other records indicate groups which live in two different points of the Indigenous Land (rivers Muqui and Bananeiras). Both are Kagwahiva and are part of the same language group as the Jupuá (known as the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau) and the Amondawa, both contacted peoples who also live in the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI. Another people living on this TI is the Oro Win, speakers of the txapakura language. Rieli mainly monitors the Muqui River isolados. Rieli says that this group distanced itself a long time ago from the other currently contacted kagwahiva groups.

Awapu, a leadership representative of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau people, shares stories of the contact which he heard from older relatives. "Before contact, everyone was united. But then, with the exchange of shots, separation began, because they [the isolados] thought that it was Indians killing Indians", he says. "That's why they moved away, they made a small group for themselves and stayed away. They didn't want to speak to us anymore, and we didn't want to approach them". Before contact, there were sporadic exchanges with the isolados, as their languages were very similar, according to Awapu. And then, they never met again.

"Before contact, the isolados and the Amondawa coexisted, and they had a stronger relationship. With the second rubber wave, the Amondawa felt trapped and left the region, so they went to the headwaters of the Branco River and only returned during the colonisa-

> image Boys at the Alta Lídia Indigenous Post, where from 1981 the Jupaú were contacted by Funai.

tion of Rondônia, at the time of contact", says Rieli. After contact, the emptying of the interior of the TI began. "Before, the malocas of the Amondawa used to be at the headwaters of the Cujubin River, sharing the territory with the group of isolados. After contact, they were moved to the north of the TI, as with the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau. Today, the space they occupy is very different to where the isolados are", savs Rieli.

In 1945, the Indian Protection Service reported on the records of various kagwahiva grupos at the headwaters of the rivers Marmelos, Maicy, Ipixuna and Machado. This area of occupation reached the region of Pacaás Novos, an area today occupied by the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau. At that time, the indigenous peoples were suffering the effects of the seringalista exploitation.

During the following decades, all the kagwahiva groups - Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, Parintintin, among others - were victims of massacres resulting from non-indigenous occupation, through violence as well as disease. But it was from the 1970s, with the National Integration Program (PIN) and subsequently in the 1980s, with the Polonoroeste, that the military government implemented an active policy of occupation in the area. Between 1970 and 1985, around 40,000 families received lots from Incra in Rondônia (Tübigen, 1987).

The projects were based on the opening of lots for agriculture in the middle of the Amazon forest, bringing poor labourers from the south and centre of the country. It was an attempt at agrarian reform without affecting the interests (or lands) of the great landowners. The problem was that the Amazon wasn't empty, but occupied by native peoples – as well as other forest labourers, such as seringueiros and extractivists. Massacred by centuries of invasions, indigenous peoples were decimated by these migratory fronts. Indigenous groups such as the Piripkura or the 'indio do buraco', 😤 of the Tanaru Indigenous Land, are survivors of the massacres registered in this period.

Awapu Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau tells of the frightening stories which reached him through his older relatives. "My father saw whites treading on the belly of a pregnant woman to get the child out", he says. "My grandmother's father says that an invader skinned an Indian, removed his whole skin with a knife and stretched it out on a stick to harden like an ox skin".

Along with the violence came the tearing down of the forest for agriculture. One only has to look at the maps of Rondônia: there is forest only in the Indigenous Lands and Conservation Units. Even so, the protected areas of Rondônia are among the most deforested of the Amazon.

The scenario worsened in 1981, when Incra improperly conceded 131 land titles in an area of Indigenous Land, known as the Projeto Burareiro, against Funai's view that indicated the area as part of a TI. Since then, it became an invasion front in the Indigenous Land, with satellite images showing noticeable open gaps in the forest. "The fact that a group of title bearers were there, even though the Indians stopped them from actually occupying the land, transformed the bearers into a type of shield for large interests who dispute the land, as will be seen. Every campaign run against the rights of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau has these title bearers in its epigraph". (Leonel, 1986: 7).

Rieli Franciscato on the Protection Trail

The history of Rondônia and its violent colonisation is meshed with the history of Rieli himself. He was born in Paraná and, still as a child, moved to Mato Grosso. In 1985 he moved to Rondônia. "Most of the people who came here came in search of land", he explains. The settlers often ended up in the middle of the forest, far from the cities and with few resources.

This was the case with Rieli, who acquired land close to the Rio Branco Indigenous Land. "It was a time of difficult access, and we ended up establishing a good relationship with the Indians there and others", he says. "The relationship became close, we helped each other, because it was a difficult area. We had a good relationship with them and the Funai people." This proximity was what, in 1988, caused Rieli to be called for a locating job in the area which would become the Massaco Indigenous Land. "I was called to get to know the region well and master the forest. That was when I adapted the trace-following issue."

The Massaco Indigenous Land was the first land demarcated without establishing contact with the indigenous group, respecting their isolation. "It was a systematic job of surveying, igarapé by igarapé, the entire area of the group's occupation", he says. Since then, Rieli has come to know many Indigenous Lands monitored by Funai – he worked with the contacted Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau and Amondawa on the Purus and Vale do Javari Fronts. In 2010, Rieli took over the Protection Front of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, where he remains to this day.

Threats and Traces

The greatest threats to the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau Indigenous Land are concentrated in the north region of the territory, which is constantly being invaded by grileiros. Data from Sirad, the Radar Deforestation Indicator System of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, produced by ISA, shows that in April of 2019 alone, 225 hectares were deforested. April is the first month of the dry period, which lasts until October, and is when the highest levels of deforestation occur. Forest clearings connected with the opening of small roads, which are for illegal *piqueamento* (division into lots) of the area could be observed.

There are also areas declared as private property in the National Rural Environmental Registry System (SICAR). The entries, which



are self-declared, have not yet been validated by the state, but are indicators of land-grabbing within the TI. Around 40% of the deforested total is in areas with a Rural Environmental Register (CAR). In all, there are at least 18,000 hectares being illegally occupied by non-indigenous people.

Between September and October 2018, Sirad identified 42 hotspots of deforestation in an area close to the Alto Jamari village, where families of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau people live. These areas total 692.34 hectares of clear cut forest. The deforested areas detected by ISA coincide with invader campsites pointed out by the indigenous people, located in an area overlapping the Indigenous Land and Pacaás Novos National Park (Parna).

The data identified by Sirad reinforces a trend observed in other TIs monitored by ISA: changes in the political scenario have had a direct impact on deforestation in the Amazon.

image Areas of deforestation in the surroundings of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, Rondônia.

Inpe had already detected high rates of deforestation in this TI. In 2017, it was one of the most deforested Indigenous Lands in the country, with a growth of approximately 16% compared to 2016. Deforestation continued to grow in 2018 and official Prodes data showed the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI as the 8th most devastated, with 937.15 deforested hectares in July 2018, a 41% increase in relation to 2017. Additionally, the surrounding area of the TI, a 20km band, has lost 70% of its forest cover.

Apart from being invaded by grileiros, the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI also suffers invasions by loggers and garimpeiros. In April of 2019, the Kanindé Ethno-environmental Defense Association, which has worked with the populations of the TI for decades, reported the arrival of 180 invaders in areas in proximity of villages on the Indigenous Land to the Federal Public Ministry. In addition to this new wave, the Kanindé estimate a total of 1,000 people illegally ocuppying the TI, consuming its resources and threatening the lives of the indigenous people living there. These invaders are especially a threat to the indigenous isolated



peoples of the rivers Muqui and Bananeiras, which lie further north in the TI.

After the complaint, still in April of 2019, Funai, Ibama, the Environmental Military Police, the Brazilian Army and the ICMBio carried out an operation to remove the invaders from the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI. Funai also discovered that grileiros were illegally selling invaded areas within the Indigenous Land.

In the south, where the Cautário isolados live, the situation is more peaceful. Rieli attributes this to the constant presence of Funai, throught the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau FPE, of which he is coordinator. "The presence of Funai here minimises the impact", he says. "In the north they lost control with the removal of the indigenous posts inside the Indigenous Land".

Rieli has the cooperation of the Federal Police based in Ji-Paraná. "There was a hunter who killed a tapir and had to pay a fine of R\$30,000. That hit his finances and resonated throughout the region, other hunters were scared of entering", he says.

The Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau FPE carries out around four expeditions a year. Some have more of a surveillance profile, and are in part-

nership with the police. "For example, there is a lot of nocturnal hunting. We go in three of four days after the full moon, which is when the hunters go in, and we set up the cabin to wait for the hunters to come out. It has reduced hunting", Rieli explains.

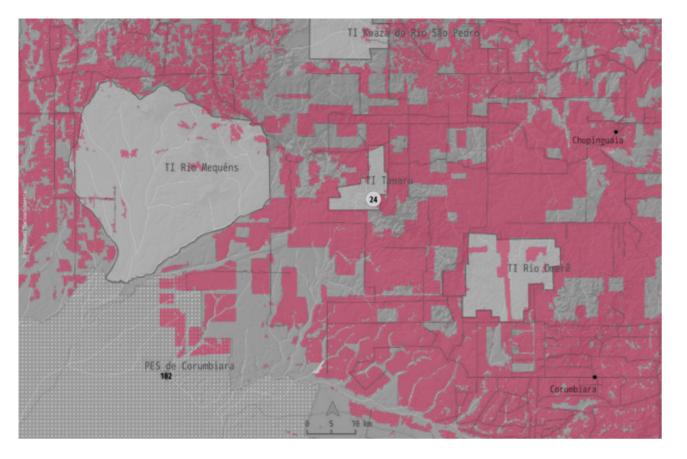
Other expeditions are in partnership with the Amondawa, a contacted indigenous people of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI, in search of signs of the isolados. "There is a lot of diversity in the traces we find, from a wandering area, a hunting ground, paths in the forest, fruit collecting, material for making artifacts", says Rieli.

These traces lead to areas where the isolados live. "We get closer until we reach a campsite that's been left behind, which gives us a lot of information; how they eat, what they eat, which fruit they consume". Based on these traces, Rieli can make guesses about these peoples. "So then we know they split into four groups and meet at certain times of the year, but live in different regions with different characteristics, even in how they collect honey, cut wood. Some of them burn their food residue, others leave it behind."

Rieli stresses that the purpose is to never establish contact, to avoid putting the isolados in a situation of surprise, so they don't feel threatened with the presence of FPE members. "You have to be very careful. When we see their profile, we back down", says Rieli. "We are thinking of a way of developing a form of communication with them, so they can associate our traces with people who treat them respectfully, to give them peace of mind when they see our traces", he says.

"I think we are not yet ready to receive the Indian in the midst of such a perverse society. Maybe one day in future we might be prepared to receive these peoples". Rieli's words are an invitation to reflect on the serious situation of the isolated and contacted kagwahiva peoples who live in the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau TI and on the responsibility of the Brazilian state to guarantee constitutional indigenous rights, especially the right of exclusive usufruct of their traditional territories.





TANARU INDIGENOUS LAND AND SURROUNDINGS

Confirmed

Information

Deforestation

Conservation Units

Indigenous Land

Highways

Cities of reference



ONE MAN AGAINST THE END OF A WORLD

The 'indio do buraco' is an emblematic case of the violence which indigenous peoples were subjected to over the centuries. The resistance of a single survivor, who decided to live far from non-indigenous populations, is what has ensured the continuity of a people on the verge of disappearing. Surrounded by the advance of deforestation, the Tanaru Indigenous Land is his home – among the last remains of the forests of western Rondônia.

VICTORIA FRANCO ISA Journalist

The camera is shaky, at first it is hard to focus the image. The high-pitched sound of an Amazonian bird is followed by the noise of an axe in the trees, which is heard repeatedly. At the centre of the green frame, zooming in, an Indian can be seen - the only survivor of an unknown people. For at least 20 years, he has lived alone on the Tanaru Indigenous Land (RO), the 'indio do buraco', given the name because he digs deep holes around his territory.

To prove his existence, despite the extreme violence to which he was submitted, the National Foundation of the Indian (Funai) published, in 2018, one and a half minutes of never previously seen footage, described above. The purpose behind its dissemination, according to Funai, was to keep the area in which he lives under protection. The legal interdiction of the territory was renewed in 2015 and lasts only another 10 years. After that, the fate of this individual, every one of whose relatives were exterminated, is under threat as much as the environmental integrity of the area, which is surrounded by farms.

The Tanaru TI is a refuge of 8,000 hectares in west Rondônia. Although it hasn't suffered too much deforestation over the years, its surroundings have been cleared of forests. The territory is still a green island, but with an uncertain fate. The neighbouring Omerê TI, in which some Kanoê and the last individuals of the Akuntsu people live, shows what could happen to Tanaru: years of deforestation robbed it of nearly 30% of its native forest.

Deforestation in Rondônia is directly linked to expansion fronts, which began to spread through the state and are irrigated with indigenous blood. Reports of massacres of native peoples began to circulate throughout the country in 1986, but the murders of this recent history of violence would have started in the previous decade, with the construction of a highway in the south of the state, intensifying greed for lands in the region. Stories of genocide reached the then Funai sertanista Marcelo Santos, who was at the location with film director Vincent Carelli to film signs of indigenous presence.

This became the film Corumbiara (2009), which documented 20 years of history on the colonisation front in Rondônia. In 1995, Santos and Carelli took journalists from the state of São Paulo to the area, at which time the audiovisual records of the isolados entered the pages of one of Brazil's biggest newspapers. At the time, farmers interested in the lands traditionally occupied by these peoples claimed that the images were a montage made by Funai.

With the final attack by invaders in the region, in 1995, the group which was probably already miniscule was reduced to just one person. The following year, Funai located traces of an unknown presence in the location. That was when the first judicial interdictions were placed on the territory occupied by the 'indio do buraco'.

"That Indian is living the most violent and unjust situation of them all in Rondônia. His people disappeared because of the violence and greed of the ranchers who occupied the south of the state over two decades ago. The difference in relation to other contacted groups is that this one has no possibility of surviving as a distinct ethnic group, as he is the sole survivor," wrote Marcelo Santos for ISA (Ricardo, 2000: 595).

The Guaporé Ethno-environmental Protection Front has monitored the occupation and protected the Tanaru Indigenous Land since the 1990s. The 'indio do buraco' never even exchanged a word with the staff from the Front, but that doesn't mean there is no established relationship between them. In an attempt to communicate that they are there to protect him, Funai staff often leave seeds and tools as gifts. He seems to understand the message: in situations when staff ran the risk of falling into his hunting traps, it was the shout of the 'indio do buraco' which saved them from danger.

The relationship between the staff and the 'indio do buraco' was threatened when, in 2006, Funai thought that it was time to es-

tablish contact. The attempt was frustrated and left one wounded. Since then, Funai has respected his choice of isolation and remains in the region, aware of any sign of a request for help that the 'indio do buraco' may give.



image Indigenous isolado in the Tanaru TI, Rondônia

"THE AREA WHERE THE INDIAN LIVES IS AN ISLAND

Surrounded by farms, the Tanaru Indigenous Land has been monitored and protected since the 1990s by Funai sertanista **Altair Algayer**, coordinator of the Ethno-environmental Protection Front Guaporé.

ETHNO-ENVIRONMENTAL
PROTECTION FRONT GUAPORÉ

Since the 1990s, the situation has changed a lot. Farmers deforested everything, forcing the Indian to move to a neighbouring farm. We had some serious clashes with the farmer there after the Indian

moved, but he accepted it in the end and understood the situation. After 2006, Funai took over. Previously, the interdictions were judicial and the area smaller. From 2006, the area was delimited with a use restriction. These are administrative actions which ban access to the area occupied by isolated indigenous people to guarantee their physical integrity. The five farms are respecting the delimitation. Four of them have areas registered with the notary as legal reserves and can no longer deforest.

The Indian's situation was really critical: the farmers were cutting down, deforesting, logging, everyone putting on a lot of pressure, because the farmers saw that they might lose their property, so they tried to take maximum advantage of it. At the same time, Funai couldn't follow it up and the Federal Court intervened and interdicted the area, creating legal forms of stopping this activity. A decision by the Federal Court had more legal support than an administrative decree by Funai. Once things calmed down in the area, Funai issued the administrative order and the Court process was suspended.

There was always a lot of conflict in the area. There was a sequence of attacks on those people. By 1996, one could say it was already a reduced population. I think they were, at most, 5 or 6 people. How they were killed nobody knows. But it was by interference in the occupation of indigenous people. Before that there must have been many other clashes. Looking back, those people reached that area four, five years before, according to the satellite images. In that region there were rumours that when the farms began opening, at the beginning of the 1980s, there was a constant presence of Indians on those lands. Many people saw it.

The Indians slowly began distancing themselves from the farms, but it's not known how the population reduction occurred. There is a history of poisoning, there was a lot of conflict. A lot of people were armed, because they had that concern with securing the area of the farms, which were enormous. There was a lot of grilagem, so it was normal for a farm to have teams of gunmen to avoid being invaded. If they saw a white man they would shoot, imagine if they saw an Indian... The violence in that region was very strong, and the

editor's note Interview given to Victoria Franco, ISA journalist consequences were many: deforestation, movement, contact, disease. All of this reduced the population until it was just one individual.

The colonisation of Corumbiara was imposed by politicians with particular interests. Today it is a very developed region with large farms. There are people who generate very large capital compared to the rest of the state of Rondônia. There was a lot of deforestation of fertile lands, which today are farms of 40 thousand, 60 thousand hectares. Others are smaller, with 8, 10 thousand hectares, but with massive production. Now there's mechanised production – soy, corn, and especially cattle, the biggest in the region.

The area where the Indian lives is an island. We couldn't interdict more than 8,000 hectares because they are islands of forest, those little squares that were left over. Now they are even paving the highways... The more the access routes are improved, the easier it is for people to get here. And where people gather, you know, right? They are paving a highway now – it's been tendered, the state government is finishing off the works – which will run 4 kilometers away from the boundary of the Tanaru TI. Land is a complicated issue. We have not yet been able to find a way of securing that territory in memory of those people, unfortunately. It was already difficult when they were alive, imagine now that they're dead.

As the Rio Omerê Indigenous Land is nearby, 100km from the entrance of the TI with use restriction, we have a base with a permanent team there. Since we work in Omerê, we always go by close to the Tanaru and see its limits and the movements in the surrounding areas. Every 15 days we go by there. Any alteration, deforestation, abnormal activity, vehicles with timber, we soon notice from the highway itself.

Every two months, three at most, we go on expeditions inland. We find many of his traces. The Indian is still very strong, even though we think he must be over 50 years old. We find honey, signs of cut trees and also his houses. He makes periodic constructions. Every year he moves once or twice.

He plants corn, papaya, potatoes and nuts in small fields which he still maintains. Once in a while he'll take the things we leave for him, a tool—axe, machete, pans—but he never accepts more intense contact. We have seen him many times. When he finds our traces, when we get close to where he lives, he ends up deciding to move, but not too far.

Our relationship was once more effective. It was at the beginning of the 2000s, in 2004, when he accepted more of an approach. We knew of his existence in 1996. It was one Indian, alone, he had been recently expelled from a village, where probably there were more people. It's what you see in the [Vincent] Carelli film. We had an encounter with him, he was in the forest, he had no farming activity. We tried to make contact, but it wasn't possible. So we started to leave things for him. We left seeds and products he could plant. He accepted, and began to make large, active fields.

He had two fields and two houses. Sometimes, when we went to one of them, we would find him. Ten, fifteen days later we would go again, and he was no longer there, he was in the other one. He wouldn't move the location of the house,



as he does today. One day, the team was in the forest, looking at the traces, and he was watching without any of us knowing. When the team moved in the direction of his trap, he warned us. He shouted, warning the team not to fall in the trap. Another time, I went to his field, and he, in the forest, hit the trees, giving a sign that he was nearby – but he did not approach me. I wait-

ed and waited, he didn't arrive... I left the field. He went and took the things I had left for him. The next day I went there in the morning and he hadn't slept there. He had slept in another house, 500 meters away. He didn't abandon the field. Fifteen days later I returned and he was in that house again.

So we had a really strong relationship. It broke when Funai decided that it was time to make contact, and that was when he fired an arrow at a member of the team, in 2005. I wasn't in the Front at that time. He nearly killed the boy, because the arrow struck his chest. That broke our relationship. So once again he was without a field, moving from one place to another.

Now we've ruled out contact, because that decision is not an option for Funai, thinking they will save something. I don't believe in it, because that guy has been alone for over 20 years. And we would have to force a situation which he doesn't want. There is no advantage to it.

I think it's very difficult that he would want to socialise with another ethnicity, as much as it might be a relative from another group. He won't be able to, because he's been alone for so long. We have the example of an awa guajá Indian who lived alone for only 10 years, and, after finding his son and relatives of his own people, had enormous difficulty in socialising in the village. He is always alone, isolated. So it'll be the same thing: I think he'll stay by himself and have his difficulties surviving in there. I think he's thinking of this much more than we are, thinking of how he's going to deal with the situation, because he'll need to hunt, to find food. We think that maybe at that point he will ask for help and I hope we're there closeby to help him at the end of his life.



LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABA Associação Brasileira de Antropologia Deracre Departamento Estadual de Estradas de Rodagem, Hidrovias e Infraestrutura do Acre ACIH Associação de Cultura Indígena do Rio Humaitá Devida Comissão Nacional para o Desenvolvimento e Vida sem Drogas do Peru ACWA Associação Comunitária Waimiri Atroari DNPM Departamento Nacional de Produção Mineral AEAI Assessoria Especial para Assuntos Indígenas Dsei Distrito Sanitário Especial Indígena AID Área de Influência Direta EIA Estudos de Impacto Ambiental Aidesep Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana EPE Empresa de Pesquisa Energética AIS Agente Indígena de Saúde FAB Força Aérea Brasileira Fapesp Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado Akavaja Associação Kanamari do Vale do Javari de São Paulo ANP Agência Nacional do Petróleo Fenamad Federación Nativa del Río Madre de Dios ASPIRH **Associação do Povo Kaxinawá do** y Afluentes Rio Humaitá FPE Frente de Proteção Etnoambiental BAPE Base de Proteção FPEAG Frente de Proteção Etnoambiental Awá Guajá CAR Cadastro Ambiental Rural FPEC Frente de Proteção Etnoambiental CBDL Comissão Brasileira de Demarcação de Limite Cuminapanema Cedi Centro Ecumênico de Documentação e FPEE Frente de Proteção Etnoambiental Envira Informação FPEVJ Frente de Proteção Etnoambiental Cedia Centro de Desarrollo del Indígena Amazónica Vale do Javari CIDH Comissão Interamericana de Funai Fundação Nacional do Índio **Direitos Humanos** Funasa Fundação Nacional de Saúde Cimi Conselho Indigenista Missionário GT Grupo de Trabalho Civaja Conselho Indígena do Vale do Javari HAY Hutukara Associação Yanomami (GII Coordenadoria Geral de Índios Isolados Ibama **Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos** CGIIRC Coordenação Geral de Índios Isolados e Recursos Naturais Renováveis Recente Contato ICMBio Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da CNV Comissão Nacional da Verdade Biodiversidade Coiab Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Incra Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Amazônia Brasileira Reforma Agrária CPI-Acre Comissão Pró Índio do Acre Indepa Instituto de Desenvolvimento dos Povos CTI Centro de Trabalho Indigenista Andinos, Amazônicos e Afroperuanos Daci Dirección de Pueblos Indígenas en Inpe Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais Aislamiento y Contacto Inicial

ISA Instituto Socioambiental

Iteracre Instituto de Terras do Acre MincuPeru Ministério da Cultura do Peru MJ Ministério da Justica MPF Ministério Público Federal MS Ministério da Saúde NDC Contribuição Nacionalmente Determinada OGM Organização Geral Mayuruna OIT Organização Internacional do Trabalho ONG Organização Não Governamental Opan Operação Amazônia Nativa Opitar Organização dos Povos Indígenas do Rio Tarauacá Orau Organización Regional Aidesp Ucayali Oscip Organização da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Público OTCA Organização do Tratado de Cooperação Amazônica PAC Planos de Aceleramento do Crescimento PBA Plano Básico Ambiental PCH Pequena Central Hidrelétrica Perupetro Agência de Petróleo do Peru PES Parque Estadual PIA Posto Indígena de Atração PIN Programa de Integração Nacional PM Polícia Militar Prodes Programa de Cálculo do Desflorestamento da Amazônia PWA Programa de Apoio aos Waimiri Atroari RCID Relatório Circunstanciado de Identificação RDS Rede de Desenvolvimento Sustentável Rebio Reserva Biológica

Resex Reserva Extrativista

Rima Relatórios de Impacto Ambiental SasiSUS Subsistema de Atenção à Saúde Indígena SemaAC Secretaria de Estado de Maio Ambiente do Acre Sesai Secretaria Especial de Saúde Indígena Sicar Sistema Nacional de Cadastro Ambiental Rural Sigef Sistema de Gestão Fundiária SIL Summer Institute of Linguistics Sinia Sistema Nacional de Información Ambiental Sirad **Sistema de Indicação por Radar de** Desmatamento SPI **Servico de Proteção ao Índio** SPIIRC Sistema de Proteção aos Índios Isolados e de Recente Contato II Terra Indígena UC Unidade de Conservação UFM Unevangelized Fields Mission UFMG Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais UHE Usina Hidrelétrica Undoc Oficina das Nações Unidas contra a Droga e o Delito Unifesp Universidade Federal de São Paulo Univaja União dos Povos Indígenas do Vale do Javari borduna an instrument for hunting and defense made of hard wood. Although there are variations according to each people, it usually has an elongated and cylindrical form.

correria/as refers to the process of escaping and migrating to less accessible areas during the violent colonisation of Brazil. The murder and violence to which indigenous people were subjected during this violent expansion and greed for resources is known in some regions as 'correrias'.

garimpo predominantly small-scale and illegal mineral extraction, carried out by garimpeiros. Garimpo is one of the main historical conflicts in indigenous territories in Amazonia.

grileiro a person who appropriates a large extension of public or third party land for commercial purposes, falsifying documents to prove their possession.

igarapé regional name for narrow waterways which can be navigated by canoe.

maloca collective or family construction typical of indigenous villages.

patuá a popular palm of Amazonian origin.

posseiro an individual with no possession who occupies public or third party land to live from it and sustain his or her family.

seringalista The person acting as owner of the rubber plantations, sometimes by agreement and concession of the state, others not always legally.

seringueiro, balateiro, caucheiro and sorbeiro a typical character of the region of rubber plantations who extracts latex and makes possible its transformation into natural rubber. As exploitation fronts occupied Amazonia, the Brazilian state played a major role in moving Brazilians from the northeast to remote parts of Amazonia, including indigenous territories. Due to the nature of their activity, they usually settle in family houses far from urban and rural centres, which favours dependency on a seringalista or middlemen. There are different species which can be used to this end, with the character specification corresponding to the species, some of them are: Manilkara bidentata, Couma utilis and Castilla ulei, beyond Hevea brasiliensis, which comes to be the most known.

sertanista In the 20th century, a person who, in the advance of the occupation fronts in the North and West (mostly in Amazonia) had the task of mediating contact between isolated or uncontested indigenous populations and the actions of colonisation by the state.

tapiris temporary shelter which can be quickly built, whose format and construction technique may vary, and is usually covered with straw. Often used during hunts, fishing or trips through the forest.

TI Terra Indígena: Indigenous Land or Indigenous Territory

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