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- To secure justice for minority or majority groups suffering discrimination, by investigating their situation and publicising the facts as widely as possible, to educate and alert public opinion throughout the world.
- To help prevent, through publicity about violations of human rights, such problems from developing into dangerous and destructive conflicts which, when polarised, are very difficult to resolve; and
- To foster, by its research findings, international understanding of the factors which create prejudiced treatment and group tensions, thus helping to promote the growth of a world conscience regarding human rights.

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The Amerindians of South America

By Andrew Gray

Andrew Gray studied social anthropology at Edinburgh and Oxford. He spent two years with the Amarakaeri of southeastern Peru between 1979 and 1981 and subsequently presented his doctoral thesis "The Amarakaeri: an ethnographic description of a Harakmbut people" in 1983. He has written various articles on Amarakaeri social structure, shamanism and history, as well as articles on Southeast Asia and development issues. Since 1983 he has been working in the Documentation and Research Department of IWGIA. The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, based in Copenhagen, is an independent international organization which documents, publicizes and campaigns against the oppression of indigenous peoples.

This report is dedicated to the memory of the author’s Amarakaeri friend JQC who was shot by colonists near the River Pukiri, Peru, on 15 March 1987.

The cover photograph of an Ache Indian mother and child at Tuparenda, Paraguay, is by Luke Holland of Survival.

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CONTENTS

United Nations Draft Declaration of Principles for Indigenous Rights 3
Map 4
Introduction 5
The Amerindians of South America 6
The colonial heritage – International factors 10
The colonial heritage – The Nation-State 14
Amerindian resistance 20
Conclusion 24
Footnotes 25
THE UNITED NATIONS

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world;

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from any fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in the principles of the United Nations and in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

NOW, THEREFORE,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

proclaims

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of the world at large.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, juridical or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national authority for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution and by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and by the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interest.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.
1. Indigenous nations and peoples have, in common with all humanity, the right to life, and to freedom from oppression, discrimination and aggression.

2. All indigenous nations and peoples have the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they have the right to whatever degree of autonomy or self-government they choose. This includes the right to freely determine their political status, freely pursue their own economic, social, religious and cultural development, and determine their own membership and/or citizenship, without external interference.

3. No State shall assert any jurisdiction over an indigenous nation or people, or its territory, except in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the nation or people concerned.

4. Indigenous nations and peoples are entitled to the permanent control and enjoyment of their aboriginal ancestral-historical territories. This includes surface and subsurface rights, inland and coastal waters, renewable and non-renewable resources, and the economies based on these resources.

5. Rights to share and use land, subject to the underlying and inalienable title of the indigenous nation or people, may be granted by their free and informed consent, as evidence in a valid treaty or agreement.

6. Discovery, conquest, settlement on a theory of terra nullius and unilateral legislation are never legitimate bases for States to claim or retain the territories of indigenous nations or peoples.

7. In cases where lands taken in violation of these principles have already been settled, the indigenous nation or people concerned is entitled to immediate restitution, including compensation for the loss of use, without extinction of original title. Indigenous peoples' desire to regain possession and control of sacred sites must always be respected.

8. No State shall participate financially or militarily in the involuntary displacement of indigenous populations, or in the subsequent economic exploitation or military use of their territory.

9. The laws and customs of indigenous nations and peoples must be recognized by States' legislative, administrative and judicial institutions and, in case of conflicts with State laws, shall take precedence.

10. No State shall deny an indigenous nation, community, or people residing within its borders the right to participate in the life of the State in whatever manner and to whatever degree they may choose. This includes the right to participate in other forms of collective actions and expression.

11. Indigenous nations and peoples continue to own and control their material culture, including archaeological, historical and sacred sites, artifacts, designs, knowledge, and works of art. They have the right to regain items of major cultural significance and, in all cases, to the return of the human remains of their ancestors for burial in accordance with their traditions.

12. Indigenous nations and peoples have the right to be educated and conduct business with States in their own languages, and to establish their own educational institutions.

13. No technical, scientific or social investigations, including archeological excavations, shall take place in relation to indigenous nations or peoples, or their lands, without their prior authorization, and their continuing ownership and control.

14. The religious practices of indigenous nations and peoples shall be fully respected and protected by the laws of States and by international law. Indigenous nations and peoples shall always enjoy unrestricted access to, and enjoyment of sacred sites in accordance with their own laws and customs, including the right of privacy.

15. Indigenous nations and peoples are subjects of international law.

16. Treaties and other agreements freely made with indigenous nations or peoples shall be recognized and applied in the same manner and according to the same international laws and principles as treaties and agreements entered into with other States.

17. Disputes regarding the jurisdiction, territories and institutions of an indigenous nation or people are a proper concern of international law, and must be resolved by mutual agreement or valid treaty.

18. Indigenous nations and peoples may engage in self-defense against State actions in conflict with their right to self-determination.

19. Indigenous nations and peoples have the right freely to travel, and to maintain economic, social, cultural and religious relations with each other across State borders.

20. In addition to these rights, indigenous nations and peoples are entitled to the enjoyment of all the human rights and fundamental freedoms enumerated in the International Bill of Rights and other United Nations instruments. In no circumstances shall they be subjected to adverse discrimination.
List of indigenous peoples shown on the map

Venezuela
1 Wayuu (Guajiro)
2 Yukpa
3 Paujanos
4 Barí
5 Warao
6 Karinás
7 Piaroa
8 Pemon
9 Akwayo
10 Panare
11 Ye'cuana
12 Yanomami
13 Paez
14 Guanbiano
15 Cuna
16 Emberá
17 Wayuú (Guajiro)
18 Guahibo (Cuiva)

Colombia
13 Paez
14 Guanbiano
15 Cuna
16 Emberá
17 Guahibo (Guasa)

Ecuador
18 Quichua
19 Shuar
20 Warani
21 Cofán
22 Secoya
23 Siona
24 Zaparo
25 Oñoto
26 Ecuador
27 Cayapa

Perú
28 Aguaraná
29 Quechua
30 Aymara
31 Huambisa
32 Harakmbut
33 Ashaninka (Campa)
34 Yanesha
35 Amarakasi
36 Shipibo

Bolivia
37 Chiriguanos
38 Aymara
39 Toromona
40 Jora
41 Chimanes
42 Mopos
43 Movima
44 Chiquitano
45 Guaraí
46 Mato
47 Ayoreo

Chile
48 Aymara
49 Mapuche
50 Yamana
51 Gavospar

Argentina
52 Kollas
53 Tobias
54 Mato
55 Guaraní
56 Mapuche
57 Tehuelches
58 Selk'nam
59 Chiriguano
60 Mocovi
61 Mbya Guaraní
62 Onu

Brazil
63 Toba-Maskoy
64 Ayoreo
65 Mato
66 Mbyá
67 Aché
68 Ayá-Chiripá
70 Yanomami
71 Cinta Larga
72 Xavante
73 Patxo-Ha-Ha-Hae
74 Kaingang
75 Arawá
76 Parakana
77 Karo
78 Tukano
79 Warin-Aroari
80 Nambikwara
81 Xokleng
82 Guaraní
83 Surinam
84 Suruí
85 Guvoy
86 Tukano
87 Baniwa
88 Makú
89 Karajá
90 Tubaoso
91 Aruú
92 Zord
93 Tapirapé

French Guiana
94 Arawak
95 Galibi
96 Palikur
97 Emerillon
98 Gwamí
99 Wayana
100 Akawáo
101 Patamona
102 Aresku Makusi
103 Wailwai
104 Trio
105 Wayana
106 Akunyo
107 Arawak
108 Garã
When in 1728 Ajuricaba (the leader of the Manau nation from the Rio Negro) leapt, still chinned, into the Rio Pará near the Brazilian city of Belem, he symbolized the historical choice of Amerindiens facing colonization: death or servitude. Murder, disease and captivity have decimated the aboriginal nations of South America since the first European invasion 500 years ago; many other indigenous peoples throughout the world have shared their fate, sometimes on a similar scale.

Most Amerindian nations in South America have experienced the loss of as many as nine-tenths of their populations within the first 50 years of their contact with colonizing agents. The total indigenous death-toll surpasses the 20 million inhabitants who are estimated to have lived in the highland and lowland regions prior to the invasion.1 The deaths still continue: in Peru alone, 5000 indigenous have been killed since 1982 in clashes between the Armed Forces and the Maoist guerrilla organization known as Sendero Luminoso. Meanwhile, in the southeastern lowland forest, more than 60 Nahua have died from infectious diseases after only two years of contact, and recent reports express fear for the future survival of the 300 remaining members of the group.2

The indigenous nations of South America have resisted genocide and ethnicocide throughout their history. North of the Nahua, in 1742, Juan Santos Atahualpa brought together Yanese (Amuesha), Andean and Ge residents to retake a lost home since 1835 in the upsurge of a movement known as the Union of Indigenous Nations. The concept is fully recognized when discussing North American Indians (even those who have not signed treaties) and is now being commonly used throughout the world. For this reason the word nation is used interchangeably with tribe, people, community, community group, indigenous people, etc., to describe the group. The common definition of nation is a 'large number of people of mainly common descent, language, history, etc., usually inhabiting a territory bounded by defined limits and forming a society under one government'. For indigenous nations, the sense of government here refers to principles of government rather than its apparatus. This contrast distinguishes an indigenous nation from a nation-state.

Tying together the principle of self-determination, natural resources and indigenous nations, the first principle of the 1962 UN resolution relating to permanent sovereignty over natural resources makes the Amerindian position clear: ‘the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources must be exercised in the interest of their national development and of the well-being of the people of the State concerned.’ Over the last ten years the semantics of indigenous politics has changed. Concepts such as ‘ethnic-plurality’, ‘self-representation’, ‘usufruct rights to the land’ and the ‘loss of traditional indigenous life’ have been superceded. Now the issues are ‘nationhood’, ‘self-determination’, ‘inalienable territorial rights’ and the ‘refomulation’ or even ‘recycling’ of traditional indigenous life. These are not examples of using different words to mean the same thing. They refer to a complete change in the orientation of indigenous rights at an international level and in the recognition that indigenous nations should control their destiny.

The succeeding section provides a historical, territorial and socio-cultural background to the Amerindiens. The rights of indigenous peoples do not exist in a vacuum. They have become articulated through a history of colonization and are centred around control over resources, preservation of life and socio-cultural self-development. South America has a complex patchwork of ecosystems and cultures and it is beyond the scope of this Report to do little more than draw out the main features. However, unless we understand that its indigenous peoples conceive of their colonial history as one of development and resistance, we will not grasp the significance of the rise of indigenous movements in the last 10 years. Similarly the ecological balance throughout the continent is facing severe threats which affect the livelihood of indigenous and non-indigenous people alike and we have to question the still prevalent misconception that the natural resources of the area are abundant.

The question as to how many ‘traditional’ indigenous peoples still live in South America is a political one. There are no objective criteria for defining what is or is not traditional. Most Amerindiens no longer wear their national costumes except for ceremonial occasions and the spatial designs of communities have changed over the years. However, traditional ideas, political structures, economic pursuits and traditional notions of identity are resilient. Many Indians live in towns but still retain their national identity

This theme of self-determination underlies this Report. In a South American context this means that indigenous nations should themselves be able to decide how they want to live and develop their economic, social, cultural and political institutions. How each nation practises self-determination will vary according to the prevailing conditions and its own choice: the political struggle in which indigenous peoples are engaged is dedicated to enabling them to make that choice. This Report sets out the factors which prevent the Amerindiens from exercising their right to self-determination. The consequence of colonization which has had both genocidal and ethnocide consequences. The UN Convention of Genocide of 1946 states that the crime covers the destruction in whole or in part of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group; ethnocide is the destruction of the socio-cultural identity of a group. In the specific UN definition of genocide, intent by responsible rulers, public officials and private individuals is a prerequisite for the commission of the crime. When applying the term in South America, the UN definition of genocide, intent by responsible rulers, public officials and private individuals is a prerequisite for the commission of the crime.
and community affiliation. One does not have to wear feathers to be a traditional Amerindian and national identity formed by culture, society, language and community is as strong as ever.

The two following sections look at the problems facing indigenous peoples of South America from both international and national perspectives. Multinationals, the Church and international interests all have a stake in the future of indigenous peoples which is, more often than not, opposed to their right to self-determination. The national surveys are set out in a format that enables quick comparisons and highlights the major characteristics of indigenous affairs in each South American country. Many changes have taken place since the last MRG Report on the Amerindians was published 10 years ago. The world recession has brought into sharp relief the stranglehold grip of international interests over the States of South America who often seek to transfer their predicament onto the less privileged sectors of society, particularly indigenous peoples. The dire consequences which have arisen from the exploitation of their natural resources and labour have reinforced indigenous nations' determination to defend their territorial and other rights. This defence is the indigenous resistance movement which is gradually transcending community and national boundaries while gaining in scope and effectiveness.

The fourth part of the Report looks in detail at this resistance by indigenous peoples of South America. In a recent International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) publication about a lowland indigenous people in Peru, the present writer described the reaction of a community to the threats facing them as alternating between resignation and resistance. This response is one which can be found throughout the continent and further afield. The histories and accounts of indigenous peoples facing colonialism are too often couched in terms of their resignation and helplessness in the face of adversity. While recognizing the sense of dejection which Amerindian groups undoubtedly feel when confronting threats to their homes and lives, this Report reflects the changes which have been at the indigenous world in the last 15 years. The proliferation of leaders and organizations is trying to draw the Amerindians as a whole out of their sense of being overwhelmed, and bring to form their long history of resistance and success against colonization.

The Report ends with suggestions as to the way in which indigenous peoples in South America can gain the support they need to achieve their aspirations. To understand this and to find practical solutions to the problems facing indigenous peoples we should listen to what they themselves have to say. Any 'solution' will have to be placed within the framework of their fundamental rights. In order to show these more clearly, a Declaration of Principles of Indigenous Rights, formulated by indigenous representatives and lawyers at Geneva in 1985, is set out at the beginning of this Report.

In spite of changes, the dangers threatening the Amerindians have altered very little over the last decade. A recent mission to Brazil by IWGIA lead René Fuerst concluded, after ten years absence from the country, that the threats facing the Indians there are as serious as ever. The urgency is still there, but what has recently changed is that indigenous peoples are now spearheading their own struggle. They no longer want to be represented by non-indigenous 'experts' speaking on their behalf, but want to represent themselves while welcoming outside support.

Mario Juruna, the first Indian to become a Federal Parliamentary Representative and lawyer at Geneva in 1985, is set out at the beginning of this Report.

The first Amerindians to receive the brunt of the invasion were the Tupi nations from the coasts of what is now Brazil. Initial sporadic and friendly relations between the Indians and Portuguese led to the establishment of 12 colonies, authorized by the Portuguese King João III. The colonists were eager to exploit trade in wood and sugar and their pursuits soon brought them into headlong conflict with the Indians. The death and slavery which almost wiped out the Tupi provided a pattern which was to be repeated regularly over the next 500 years. Labour shortages made the colonists seek indigenous slaves which caused resentment and hatred from the Indians who carried out wars of resistance throughout the century. A complicating factor was the appearance of rival colonial powers - France and the Netherlands - who fought Portuguese hegemony over the area. Each power gained support for its claims by exploiting the hostilities already existing between Indian groups. As from 1560 onwards, Spain and Portugal - the principal colonial powers - were to fight for their claims by exploiting the hostilities already existing between Indian groups.

Within two years of contact the Indians were dying of dysentery and influenza which were later followed by smallpox and the plague. The Jesuit missionaries tried to bring Indians into missions known as reductions. Epidemics swept through these settlements, killing hundreds of thousands of Indians in only a few decades.

Over the first 150 years of Portuguese colonization in Brazil the following scenario was often re-enacted. The shortage of labour and eagerness to seek out and exploit new resources drew colonists inland into the savannas inhabited by the Gê-speaking peoples and the rain forests of the Pará and Amazon. Whether they were setting up plantations, cattle ranching, forestry or mining, the colonists received constant resistance from indigenous peoples of the region who were quite clear as to their fate. Caught between genocide from colonists such as the Bandeirante Indian hunters of Sao Paulo and ethnocide from Jesuits continually seeking more recruits for the reductions, thousands, like Ajudicaba, preferred death on their own terms.

Meanwhile the Portuguese State looked on, offering only feeble attempts to stop the apocalyptic destruction of the indigenous Amerindians.

The Spanish on the Pacific Coast matched their Portuguese rivals in cruelty and hypocrisy. Although the first European to witness Inca rule was the Portuguese, Aleixo Garcia from The Cibao, in 1542, it was the invasion of Pizarro and Almagro in 1532 which led to the murder of the Inca Atahualpa and a victorious and speedy
conquest of what is now Spanish-speaking South America. The Spaniards did not bother with establishing trading relations, but proceeded to milk the Andean area for its mineral wealth. In spite of Indian resistance which came mainly from the Cuzco region and lasted 30 years or more, the Spaniards established their control through urban settlements and indirect rural control through the encomienda system in less than 15 years. Spain then imposed upon Peru the accumulation of gold and silver bullion. Rather than enslave the indigenous population, Viceroy Toledo (1569-81) organized a system of forced labour, Indian tax and the settling of communities into huge aggregates called reductions. The extent of the dramatic decline of the indigenous population at the time of the invasion is largely a question of guesswork. Mörner's recent book estimates a decline from 9 million Andean people in 1532 to 700,000 in 1625. A primary factor in this decline was disease which was spread both deliberately and naturally. Disease continues to be a major killer of indigenous people in South America.

The effect of contact had severe consequences for the whole region. More and more land fell into the hands of a few colonists as Indians died from disease and inhuman conditions in the mines. Spanish rule extended throughout South America in the form of urban settlement centres interspersed with less populated areas. This pattern of colonial rule continued until the middle of the 18th century. By 1750, the continent was under Iberian control, but there were still many areas removed from European influence. In particular the lowland forests of Peru had fewer missionaries and colonists than Brazil because of several successful resistance movements, notably in the Ayacucho region and in the whole of the Cuzco province. Franciscans and Dominicans were working in the lowlands, the Jesuits continued to dominate the missionary scene. Their reductions throughout South America were economically lucrative and socio-politically powerful. By the end of the 17th century, for example, 100,000 Guaraní Indians were living in Jesuit reductions and working for them. This threatened the State and colonists' control of both the natural and human resources of the lowlands. Eventually Portugal expelled the Jesuits in 1759 and Spain followed in 1767. From 1759, the new French Bourbon dynasty, which was now on the Spanish throne, began to rationalize the whole Peruvian colonial system as a means of combating British hegemony over the region. Trade was liberalized and increased, a French model of intendentes in control of provinces was introduced to raise revenue and a second Viceroyalty was established in Buenos Aires to facilitate communications with Europe. The new régime, although liberal, discriminated against American-born Criollos in favour of Peninsulares from Spain. This inequality sowed the seeds for the independence movement.

The Andean Indians had also been active at this time. Tupac Amaru in Cuzco and Tupac Katari in Puno fiercely resisted the forced sale of Indian merchandise and use of labour in the large farms of landowners. The movements had a solid indigenous following and contained messianic elements. The names Amaru and Katari refer to Quichua and Aymara respectively to the Inca who was driven underground in the form of a serpent and who will one day rise to free the Andes from colonial oppression. Although both uprisings were put down, and the leaders executed, they have given courage and inspirations to generations of Quichua and Aymara Indians seeking to end the injustices of colonial rule. Today in Peru and Bolivia there are several indigenous organizations which have taken their names from these resistance leaders of the 1770s.

However, the independence movements which engulfed Spanish America 40 years later came from different sources than the American-born Creoles. Confident after defeating the British near Buenos Aires in 1806 and armed with the current ideals of the liberal enlightenment, the Creoles rose against the Peninsulares who were weakened after Napoleon's occupation of Spain from 1810-14 and the subsequent restoration of the tyrannical Spanish King Ferdinand VII. A pincer movement closed in on Peru. Bolivar moved down from Venezuela through Colombia and Ecuador which were Argentine San Martín crossed the Andes and entered via Chile. By 1825, 17 Republics had been created.

The independence movement stemmed primarily from Argentina and Venezuela which were less constricted by the rigid Spanish trade monopolies in force in Peru. The growth of a bourgeois class, influenced by European libertarian ideals, provided ripe conditions for a bourgeois revolutionary struggle which did not however provide any emancipation for the indigenous peoples of the continent. Independence did not mean social revolution and the structure of Spanish colonial society remained. A stroke of misguided liberalism caused Bolivar to decree that every member of an Andean community could sell his own share of communal land holdings. The selling of communal land disposed many Indians from their territories and contributed to the rise of huge highland estates (haciendas). The Andean peasants who lost their lands began to seek an alternative life on the coast or in the jungles, initiating a process of migration which continues today. The new South American republics took advantage of the movement of people into the lowlands to encourage the formation of coffee plantations. The full exploitation of the western lowlands did not, however, take place until later in the century when it occurred with a vengeance.

Brazil, in contrast to the Spanish-speaking countries, did not gain republican status until 1889. Instead it was governed by the exiled Portuguese crown, who, in the form of Emperor Pedro I, proclaimed Brazil independent. Throughout the autocratic rule of Pedro I and his son Pedro II, the fazendeiros, who owned cotton and sugar plantations, and the cattle ranchers dominated economic and social life holding their power base on land stolen from the Indians. Apart from Venezuela, which led the initiative for South American independence, other northern countries, such as the Guianas were, like Brazil, less affected by the invaders. After the Dutch were expelled from Brazil in 1822, the Portuguese Indians they set up in captivity with the Indians and then setting up sugar plantations, a practice which was followed by the French and British in the same area. The introduction of slaves from Africa relieved the pressure on the local Indians to work in the plantations. Although they escaped mass destruction as in other parts of the continent, the Guianan Amerindians of the coast have been assimilated to a large degree, while the tribal groups of the forests, such as those of Venezuela, have lived largely under mission control over the last 100 years.

The 19th century saw the first wars between the new republics. The War of the Pacific was over nitrate resources disputed by Chile, Bolivia and Peru. Chile gained wealth by winning the war and later such veterans like the like the Guaraní Tacuarí who fought for countries which cared little for their existence. Meanwhile, Paraguay had lost most of its able-bodied men (mainly Guaranís) in the War of the Triple Alliance against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. Of the 120,000 Paraguayans who went to war in 1865, fewer than 20,000 returned. The nation had held off the Incas and the Spanish, but the quest for land for agricultural and pastoral estates led the republics to invade. The new Republics in South America were unable to uphold the liberal principles on which they had been founded, and power increasingly fell into the hands of personal leaders (caudillos) who frequently had their own armies. It was these armies which set about the destruction of the Mapuche in Chile and Argentina. The Mapuche, who were the last of the native peoples to be conquered, were attacked and killed until, with the advent of the repeating rifle, they were killed by the thousand and forced to surrender. Simultaneously, in Chile, the Mapuche were attacked, dispersed and then settled on reservations. These later became tied to large estates as a reservoir of labour. However, for all the genocidal attempts to destroy them, the Mapuche still exist and have formed organizations in both Chile and Argentina where they are fighting for their rights. The destruction of the indigenous peoples of Chile and Argentina was a war of extermination against the Mapuche. Meanwhile, the Araucanian people of Chile and Argentina were able to survive and continue their way of life. The destruction of the indigenous peoples of Chile and Argentina was a war of extermination against the Mapuche. The Araucanian people of Chile and Argentina were able to survive and continue their way of life.
The next indigenous areas to face devastation by invasion were the Upper Amazon regions of Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia along with the Venezuelan Orinoco basin. The most intense period of the rubber boom was in the early 1900s. The most Upper Amazon regions of Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and forest Indians were killed, enslaved and relocated by 'rubber barons' such as Arana, Fitzcarrald, Suarez and Vacca Diez. The rubber boom did to the Western Amazon what the Portuguese had done to the East and the Spanish to the Andes. The best demand for rubber, causing its price to rise rapidly. The resultant development of vulcanization in the 1870s led to an international rubber boom did to the Eastern Amazon what the Portuguese had done to the West and the Spanish to the Andes. Some of this has been developed by guerrilla organizations which reduced the number ofMapuche communities from 2066 to 92,000. The thin Amazonian soils (especially in the lowlands) are more fertile than the areas which receive no annual deposit of sediment. When in 1982-3 Sendero Luminoso tried to ban local markets in order to make the highland areas 'self-sufficient', it made many enemies within traditional communities whose whole livelihood rests on the exchange of produce. In 1986 the Peruvian government, on its side, began to relocate some communities from the emergency area of Ayacucho which has also seriously threatened the traditional highland vertical economy.

In contrast to the highlands, the lowlands have what can be termed a 'horizontal economy'. The fundamental distinction here is between varzea and terra firme. Várzea is the flood-plain of the Amazon and its major tributaries which, due to the rise and fall of the water level, receives nutrients from deposited sediment. The fertile soils on the broad flood-plains of the major rivers have, in the past, supported comparatively large populations. The more widespread terra firme is not subject to flooding and the soils are of a poorer quality than those of the varzea. The traditional inhabitants of terra firme lands are considered to have been more mobile, emphasizing hunting and fishing rather than horticultural production. Although Amazonia's 1,853,000 square miles can be strictly divided into 2% varzea and 98% terra firme, this gives a false impression. In reality each area of the rain forest has a variety of ecological niches where different crops grow and soils vary. For example, wherever rivers flow through the lowlands, there will be a broad area that is more fertile than the areas which receive no annual deposit of sediment. The indigenous groups of each region usually have a clear understanding of how to make full use of the potential in their territories. In this way, for example, many western Amazonian groups have several ecological zones around their communities which are sometimes connected by economic relationships of exchange or complementarity. (This could perhaps be seen as an example of the inter-relationship between poor soils and a limited range of resources in the highlands noted earlier.)

The ecological complexity of the tropical rain forest has certain characteristics which makes it particularly vulnerable to industrial exploitation. The thin Amazonian soils (especially in the terra firme zones) are susceptible to loss of fertility from too much solar radiation and high rainfall. The forest canopy shields the soil from these destructive elements and adds to its fertility by dropping leaves and branches which enable its reclamation. An enormous variety of species (several thousand per square mile in some areas) share out soil nutrients economically which adds to the overall 'ecological balance'. Where a large area of forest is cleared, soil regeneration becomes increasingly difficult. In a short time the forest disappears and along with it goes the livelihood of its indigenous inhabitants.

The Amerindians of South America are unanimous in their demand for the recognition of their territorial rights. Without understanding the relationship between indigenous peoples and their territories it is impossible to grasp the significance of this demand and how it relates to all other aspects of their culture and society. The largest geographical regions in South America are the Amazonian lowlands and the river basins of the rain forests of the Amazon and Orinoco river basins. The predominant feature of highland ecology is its vertical character. A fundamental distinction found all over the Andes is between the quichua zone and the puna zone. The quichua zone consists of lower mountain slopes with relatively fertile soils for growing maize and where most communities have their base. The puna zones are on the higher areas of the mountains where soils can provide potatoes and grazing for llama herding. Settlements are far more dispersed in these high regions.

In some areas these zones undergo modification – those nearer the lowlands have upland forest in the valleys, suitable for sugar plantations while, in other areas, the overall distinction between quichua and puna itself becomes less obvious as one or other has prominence. Much of highland socio-economy consists of the inter-relationship between these zones and has unequivocal cultural expression. The symbiotic exchange of produce, the interaction between land and water for providing fertility helps to maintain the complementarity between social groups in both zones. The traditional agrarian reform laws such as those in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, whereas in other cases non-violent indigenous organizations have been formed such as the Indian Regional Council of Caqueta (CNRC). This Colombian organization is based on defending and regaining traditional Indian reserved lands organized by their own councils. Political mobilization has spread from the lowlands, initiated by the Shuar Federation which was formed in 1964 as a defence against the constant infringements of indigenous rights by colonists. Indigenous self-organization has since spread extensively and there are several hundred bodies which represent communities and nations all over South America. Even though the problems facing indigenous peoples are as acute and critical as ever, the initiative for dealing with them is now firmly in the hands of indigenous peoples themselves. To understand this we should look more closely at Amerindian societies and cultures.

Indian Societies and Cultures

The Amerindians of South America are unanimous in their demand for the recognition of their territorial rights. Without understanding the relationship between indigenous peoples and
areas of both the forest, grasslands and savannas as colonists encroach further onto their traditional territories. The southern tip of South America contains a scattered archipelago comprising several indigenous groups who live from the land or the sea. Their coastal and inland resources.

Drawing out the major features of the societies and cultures of Amerindian South America is fraught with difficulties. There are hundreds of groups spread throughout the regions, each with distinct social formations and cultural traits which create a patchwork covering the whole continent. Nevertheless, there are common features which make the differences appear as variations on certain themes.

The fundamental basis of any indigenous society is the community. A community is defined by its members according to criteria which vary in emphasis throughout the continent. The following features are not intended as an anthropological analysis but as a general survey of some of the primary factors which make up the notion of community and society. Many of these factors have ideological expressions which help to contribute to the identity of the peoples concerned.

The question as to who constitutes an indigenous person can be approached from several starting points. According to the position taken by Robert Redfield, a group of recognized people who have their own language, community, territorial base and a national identity which is recognized by themselves. Not all indigenous peoples have all these features. Many Indians today live in cities and, although no longer living on their traditional territorial base have a strong indigenous identity. Others, still living in small towns in the countryside, have lost their identity as indigenous peoples. Individuals who no longer wish to be seen or treated as indigenous are beyond the scope of this Report which treats the term 'indigenous' ethnically and not racially. Indigenous identity is a practical, political and ideological phenomenon which is intimately connected to self-determination. A fundamental principle in South American identity is that of duality. Duality is a view of the world which sees people, society, the cosmos and/or other aspects of life as divided into two complementary parts. The harmony of the universe depends on a controlled inter-relationship between the halves.

For example, the predominant feature of Andean societies is the organization of the world into the dynamic inter-relation of dualities. Although the expression of these dualities varies in extent and intensity, they recur in a range of forms. Territorial dualism divides many highland communities into two halves - hanan (upper) and hurin (lower). Parallel with this distinction is that which we noted above of the upper puna ecological zone which contrasts with the lower quichua where economic exchange and the division of labour co-ordinates production.

Socially, duality appears with the aylu which is a basic unit of Andean society, based on kin relations and/or residence. The aylu is always defined in relation to a conceptualized opposing group. Similar social dualities have been noted in marriage rules and community ceremonies where varayokuna (leaders) come from different parts of the village.

Dualism is a primary feature of Andean religion linking together the spiritual world with that of humans and their environment. The principle of duality among the Andean peoples is kept in order by a 'unitary principle' which keeps the opposing elements of the duality in constant dynamic tension thereby enabling the world to continue. The unitary principle appears either as the exchange of elements between the opposing forces (such as economic exchange between ecological zones) or a third party which keeps the duality in order (such as the person of the Inca who personified the order of the universe by transcending its opposing forces). The duality of Andean society is crucial for understanding indigenous reactions to colonization through history. When the traditional order was disrupted by oppression and devastation of highland society, messianic movements frequently appeared, seeking a new unitary principle to restore the disrupted dualistic order. The ancient Incan moiety system as 'Israelitas' which is spreading through the Peruvian highlands is largely a response to the devastation being wreaked on the region by both Sendero Luminoso and the Peruvian Armed Forces.

In Colombia, the highland Paez and Guambiano Indians who speak the Chibcha language, have many of their communities on reserved lands (resguardos) which were first recognized in the days of Spanish rule. The main political unit has been the community council (cabildo) which endorses major decisions. This structure does not apply to all highland groups as some have not had their reserved lands recognized and others have had their lands taken from them. The Mapuche nation of Chile and Argentina held a continuous land-holding until the end of the last century when they were thrown off their lands and herded into reservations. Their communities were based on kin ties and residential criteria but were cross-cut by three specialist classes: ulmenes - shamans and lowland menche - skilled people, and conas - unskilled. In some areas this classification still exists.

Lowland South American nations present a more intricate patchwork than the highlands, consisting of over 500 different groups. Linguists consider that all lowland languages came originally from one parent language. The three largest language families in the region are Arawak (northwest Amazon and forest east of the Andes), Carib (Guiana and westwards) and Tupi-Guarani (Atlantic coast of Brazil and lower Amazon). Three smaller and more contained language groups are the Ge (central Brazil), Pano (central and southeast Peru) and Tacana (Bolivian lowlands). In between these language families there are many smaller groups who speak completely unrelated languages.

In terms of production and settlement there is a marked contrast between the highlands and lowlands. The highland peoples live on community sites where they have been settled for hundreds of years. Permanent communities are based on herding and an agricultural cycle based on crop rotation. The result is a community which is relatively stable but which loses members during times of crisis when there is a need to supplement subsistence activities. Lowland areas, on the other hand, have more mobile communities. Slash and burn agriculture is found throughout the region and works well with weak soils which need years for regeneration. Hunting and fishing replace herding as the principal work.

Although there are records of peoples such as the Tupi and Guarani moving large distances, the mobility of the lowland peoples is usually within a territorial 'catchment' area. Traditionally the most mobile groups were hunters and gatherers such as the Colombian Cuiva while others lived for periods of years in more settled communities. A common feature in the Amazon region has been large communal houses (malocas) capable of holding several hundred people. They are constructed in the form of a central dance and ritual area surrounded by domestic hearths. The symbolism of the maloca reflects in many ways the order of the universe in microcosmic dimensions. Another form of Amazon settlement are homesteads dispersed along a river bank without any central point. The Brazilian Ge-speaking groups, however, have villages consisting of houses arranged in a circle or semi-circle around a central plaza area. This spatial formation, like the Amazonian malocas, reflects the cosmic order.

Community relations in lowland South America are defined largely by gender, age and common residence, and expressed through socially recognized relationships, e.g. kin terms, naming and membership of groups such as clans, lineages or moieties. The dynamics of the relationships within and between the human, animal and spirit worlds are based on the principle of reciprocity or exchange and the means of continuing this interaction over time. Marriage is fundamental among lowland peoples because it binds the community into a series of exchange relationships which stretch beyond the spouses. It provides spouses with access to partners-in-law providing the household with meat and gardens in return for rights to their wives and children. Marriage is also the means of distribution of meat within a community, whereby a man provides his in-laws or future in-laws with all or part of his catch.

Relations between communities are usually more distant and have more ritual expression. Frequently one community invites its neighbours to initiation rites, trading fairs and other ceremonial activities. These interconnections are some of the ways in which chains of communications pass from one group to another right across Amazonia. Exchange is also the mark of interaction between worlds known to human beings and the invisible spirit world. Shamanic techniques range from dreaming to the taking of hallucinogens or tobacco which enables practitioners to contact controlling spirits, negotiate access to natural resources and bargain for the health of
These broad similarities conceal large differences between regions within lowland South America. Unfortunately, only a few areas have been recorded in enough detail to trace general patterns. The peoples of the Guianas, for example, have certain features common to their societies – small and impermanent settlements, similar relationship terminologies, and a preference for marrying within the settlement. The northwest Amazon peoples have been recorded in enough detail to trace general patterns. The Guianas, for example, have certain features common to their societies – small and impermanent settlements, similar relationship terminologies, and a preference for marrying within the settlement. The consequences of encroachment on indigenous lands have severely disrupted traditional life in lowland South America. The removal of women to work as servants or cheap labour in towns severely affects community life while the destruction of the forest and the entry of industry has depleted much of the usual forest stock of game, leaving many communities with shortages. Apart from the threat to the resource base, indigenous peoples are finding that the influence of missionaries has spelt – for some groups – the end of the communal houses, dispersed households and traditional rituals as the Indians are gathered together in villages and undergo a 're-education' process. This is a cultural ethnocide which divests their world of its meaning.

Demographic data on indigenous peoples is notoriously difficult to interpret because so much depends on definitions and preconceptions used by those collecting and presenting the data. The following figures are those available on current evidence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Andean</th>
<th>Rainforest</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
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<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
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<td>100,000</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Fr. Guiana</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>17,360,000</td>
<td>822,500</td>
<td>18,492,500</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General estimates of other figures:

Uncontected – obviously impossible to say but there are probably only a few thousand uncontected indigenous peoples in South America at most. Between 10% and 25% of all indigenous peoples live in urban areas. The bulk of this figure comes from Peru where several million highlanders still retaining their Quichua identity live in Lima, many escaping from the violence in the Andes.

In Brazil about 10% of Indian land is recognized and that figure is reflected more or less throughout the continent although, in the highlands of Peru, more than 60% of communities were granted titles during the Agrarian reform.

The larger groups such as those in the Andean areas and the larger rainforest groups are increasing their population whereas the smaller groups, particularly those under 1000, are trying to stabilize their numbers and prevent them falling further. Some small groups, particularly those in Tierra del Fuego and smaller remnants of other groups such as the Araserti, Toyeri etc. in Peru, face extinction when the last few remaining survivors die.

The destruction of Amerindian life has been continuing for 500 years. Beginning with death by violence and disease, the contact relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous has invariably led to loss of lands, social forms and culture. This section has presented a background to the problems facing the indigenous South Americans which stem from one source – colonization. Even the State formation at independence from Spain and Portugal had no ameliorating effect on their conditions. Colonization is the deprivation of, and the refusal to recognize, the right to self-determination. For Amerindians this right is based on control of their own territories and the freedom to live their own lives in accordance with their traditions, desires and aspirations for development. Indigenous peoples of South America are still fighting colonialism in its various forms and an account of the international dimensions of this struggle follows.

**THE COLONIAL HERITAGE – INTERNATIONAL FACTORS**

**The World Political Economy**

The Amerindians of South America have been enmeshed in international colonial relations ever since the invasions of the 16th century. Centres of economic and political power have held an ever-expanding area in a dependency based on a craving for the resources of indigenous territories.

As the demands of the world market change, different resources assume predominant significance. Spain's major interest in Latin America was eventually silver mining. Between 1530 and 1660 nearly 17 million kg. were produced at the cost of many thousands of Indian lives. Brazil supplied Europe with gold from the Minas Gerais and sugar from the northeastern plantations. After the decimation of the local Indian population in the 17th century, there was a shortage of labour, so slaves were brought from Africa to work the plantations. This played a significant role in the subsequent ethnic formation of Guiana and Brazil.

Spain and Portugal were never able to utilize the wealth they had gained from the American colonies to develop their own European economies enough to break away from their dependent relationships with the Netherlands, France and Britain. Although they held a relatively small land base in the sugar plantations of Guiana, these three European powers controlled the international economy of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and vied for control over the world mercantile markets. Britain eventually gained predominance over the South American economy, in spite of having been defeated at the River Plate in Argentina in 1806-7. A long-standing political alliance with Portugal already gave Britain an economic hold over Brazil's exports and, after breaking the power of Napoleonic France in Europe, its position was pre-eminent. By making full use of an official neutrality, Britain captured most of the trading possibilities which appeared during the independence struggle of Spanish America. After independence there was an enormous increase in migrants from Europe to South America, many of whom took over Indian lands. This was made easier by Bolivar's land reforms in the highlands which opened up indigenous territories for individual acquisition. The result was the creation of large haciendas throughout the countryside, as colonists bought landholdings from poor Indian peasants.

The Republicans experienced an increase of economic activity until 1873. Expanding Western European markets broadened the world economy and created a continuous demand for basic resources. Peru built its economy on guano fertilizer while, to the east, Brazil and Argentina took over more Indian lands to develop their cattle exports. Brazil also considerably increased exports of cotton, sugar and coffee in the first decade of the 19th century, encroaching still further on Indian lands. All countries experienced the development of roads, railways, steamships, telegraphs and the founding of banks. Improved communication networks and increased export potential made hitherto inaccessible regions of the continent available for permanent exploitation. This not only enabled Britain to monopolize the valuable copper and nitrate mining in Chile but made possible the infrastructure necessary for the rubber boom. During the last years of the 19th century, Sterling was the main currency unit in the Amazon demonstrating British economic control over the rubber boom. In 1910, rubber constituted one third of Peru's exports. The end of the First World War along with the ending of the nitrate and rubber booms, however, marked the end of British economic supremacy in South America.

The political and economic history of Latin America's independent states in the 19th century was dominated by the dictatorial control of caudillos. They propped up their tenuous power bases with military backing and large foreign loans which were paid by exporting primary resources to industrialized countries. Foreign business frequently operated in enclaves whereby it extracted these resources directly, supporting any government prepared to allow
them access. The freedom granted to these foreign interests resulted in the 'blind eye' which governments turned to the genocidal abuses of indigenous peoples – particularly in the case of the rubber boom.

In the 20th century, changes in the world economy brought new political forces into view. By the 1890s the United States had sufficient industry to seek more power abroad, and by the 1920s United Fruit were operating in Venezuela and oil companies were looking for deposits in the Amazon. Between 1919 and 1929 US foreign investments in the Andean countries rose from $10 million to $316 million. Indeed, throughout the 1920s the regimes of South America borrowed on an unprecedented scale. Rapid industrialization attracted large numbers of colonists and indigenous peoples to the cities. Out of these masses emerged movements which were prepared to challenge the power of the oligarchies who backed the caudillos. The ideological background for these movements were in the 19th century humanitarian and positivist traditions. Among these ideas arose the concept of 'indigenism', particularly in Peru, where writers such as Gonzalez Prado and Mariategui advocated a nationalism which included the incorporation of indigenous social and philosophical ideals.

The world economic crisis in the 1930s almost brought international trade to a halt. A wave of populist and nationalist feeling swept the continent emerging as reforming governments in Brazil, Argentina, Chile and later in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru. These governments advocated import substitution, debt repudiation and income redistribution. The middle classes united with urban workers and industrialists to break the power of the landed and commercial elites who had been backed by foreign capital. Even in Colombia, Venezuela and Paraguay, where the movement was less strong, its presence was clearly felt from the 1940s onwards. In this climate the ideology of indigenism grew and became more acceptable. The forerunner of official indigenist institutes was the Indian Protection Service (SPI) which had been set up in Brazil in 1910. The Service’s task was to contact Indian groups and protect them until such time as they were ready for national integration.

The 1940s saw the first so-called indigenist institutes in South America, following a Mexican example. These were based in Peru and Venezuela and had a larger research orientation than the Brazilian SPI. The economic shift from foreign to domestic production did not relieve the plight of indigenous peoples. Where countries had resources ready for export (oil in the Amazon, tin or copper in Bolivia and Peru, and coffee in Brazil, for example) foreign interests continued to hold direct power. In those sectors where countries sought to develop their domestic economies, they still needed to exploit resources which lay in indigenous territories and so the governments encouraged 'internal colonialist' policies. 14

For the 20 years following World War II, South America saw a major industrial expansion in the wake of the post-war boom. However, foreign capital was still in demand. Despite import substitution, South America still had to buy capital goods. By the middle of the decade the dramatic growth in the industrial boom declined. Economic crises resulted in several countries and led to military dictatorships in Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. During this period international banks began to look for clients to whom they could lend money – a trend which increased in the 1970s after the rise in oil prices. The South American countries needed to prop up their continued industrial expansion with more capital and they took full advantage of these loans. To repay these loans while increasing domestic economic expansion, governments put an increasing pressure on indigenous peoples. In Brazil, foreign companies and international lending banks tightened control over the economic structure between 1964 and 1984 while pushing the colonizing frontier more completely into indigenous areas than ever before. Roads stretching across the Amazon basin forced over 25 Indian nations to be removed and suffer decimation from cattle raising promotion, deforestation, pastoralism, and exploitation. These policies increased invasions on Indian lands while powerful interests within the renamed state organ for Indigenous protection – the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) – worked to facilitate the government’s development plans. Other countries showed similar features. In Peru, the initial hopes of the progressive Velasco military government in the late 1960s were overturned by its successor, Moore Bermudez, who invited loans, foreign capital and business to develop mining and oil drilling throughout the lowlands. Similar developments were taking place in Ecuador and Colombia. The only country to strike oil in significant quantities has been Venezuela but, even here, the temptation to attract foreign loans has detracted from its benefits.

Currently the external debts of South American countries exceeds $250 million and the increasing crisis coupled with the world recession has seen a decline in military rule (Chile and Paraguay being the main exceptions). Dictators have stepped down and been replaced by democratic governments appealing to populist support. However, the military rarely completely let go of the reins and democracy has not shown any major improvements in the conditions of indigenous peoples. Land demarcation is either painfully slow or non-existent, and recession is leading to an increase in internal colonization of the jungle and pressure on resources in the highlands. The benefits of democracy have not yet reached the Amerindians. Although the process of indigenism has been gaining ground in official circles (particularly as a result of ratifying the International Labour Organization’s Convention 107 on Tribal and Indigenous Populations), indigenous peoples themselves have not been overenthusiastic about its results. In addition to Peru, Venezuela and Brazil, indigenist institutes have been in operation in Colombia (1967), Paraguay (1975) and Argentina (1983). However they, along with the Convention, are based on the paternalistic principles of protection and integration which are unacceptable to most indigenous peoples today.

The Amerindian response has been the formation of organizations based on self-determination and self-development. The earliest examples followed in the '60s and were followed by increasing numbers currently 250. This movement has been termed 'Indigenist' as opposed to 'Indigenist'. It could be said that whereas the populist movements of the first half of the century saw the rise of the military, the populist movements of the second half laid the conditions for Indigenism.

In order to demonstrate how international interests directly affect indigenous peoples there follow several cases taken from the World Bank’s work, multinational consortia and the business of international commercial elites. These studies are being discussed at present, but do not comprise a full list which would be beyond the confines of this Report.

Multinational Development Banks

Throughout the 20th century the political and economic influence of the United States has increased in South America. Apart from receiving on average 30-40% of each country’s exports, the US invests millions of dollars in development support through the US Agency for International Development – USAID (which is directly accountable to the State Department), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). While with one hand USAID supports many indigenous organizations, with its other hand it sponsors the multinational banks in projects which threaten indigenous peoples' very survival.

Pichis-Palcazú Special Project, Peru

In 1980 the Peruvian government under President Belaunde announced plans to invest $850 million to ‘conquer the jungle’ with colonization, roads and rural development. The plan was to settle 150,000 colonists from the poverty-stricken highlands and urban areas and raise lowland agricultural production. The main emphasis of the programme was to be the Pichis and Palcazú valleys, areas territory of the indigenous Yanesha and Ashaninka nations. Over the last six years, the IDB, USAID and the World Bank has divided the two valleys into five areas. The fears about the project have been that roads and rural development would bring in more colonists than the area could manage and that, as a result, the Yanesha and Ashaninka peoples would suffer loss of land, sickness and usurpation of their economic base in the area. 55

USAID countered criticism by ensuring the titling of community lands in the Palcazú valley and an extended social programme. The results of this have yet to be seen. The IDB’s attempts at a similar scheme for compensating the 8000 Ashaninka of the Pichis valley do not appear to be successful. Even though the project has arranged for 21 communities to receive titles, the areas are not large enough and the Ashaninka complain of poor training schemes, the encouragement of cultural changes and an unnecessary emphasis on cattle raising promotion. Although there have been attempts to ‘cushion the shock’ of development in the Pichis-Palcazú project, the fundamental principle of ‘self-determination’ of indigenous peoples’ control over projects which affect them, is not apparent.

The Northwest Region Integral Development Programme – Polonoroeste, Brazil

The Polonoroeste project is a $1.5 billion programme designed to pave 1500 km. of road in the west central Amazon of Brazil. The idea has been a
continuation of the disastrous road building schemes of the 1970s known as the 'Transamazonia Highway' which resulted in the deaths, relocation and disintegration of Indian nations right across the Amazon region. With a major financing body for Polonoroeste has been the World Bank which has provided funds for the programme to the tune of nearly $500 million. Since 1983 up to 500,000 migrants have moved into the area onto unsuitable land which has resulted in failed crops and frequent indebtedness to local landowners. The deforestation in Rondonia has been more rapid than elsewhere in the Amazon and there has been considerable devastation of the area, resulting in the relocation and disintegration of 40 different indigenous groups. Reduced subsistence, epidemics and invasions of their lands by colonists have caused innumerable problems for the Ureu-wau-wau, Nambikwara and the Gaviões. 16

In February 1985, the World Bank temporarily held up payments on its loan to the Polonoroeste project because of the constant international protest. The Brazilian government responded by demarcating an area for the recently contacted Ureu-wau-wau, full legal titles for the Nambikwara and a demarcated area for the Tubarão-Latundé. In addition, at great cost, the government removed invaders from the Gavião reserve of Lourdes in April 1985. However, notwithstanding these positive steps there are still many problems. These include: the lack of vigilante posts to warn if Indian territories are being invaded which exposes many groups to danger; incursions from lumber companies, especially in Roosevelt, Zoró and Aripuana areas; land acquisition by companies; conflict between logging and shrimping projects resulting from Polonoroeste affected areas of Juina, Cayabí-Apiacá, Lourdes, Tubarão-Latundé and the Ureu-wau-wau; unprocessed land claims of Aripuana, Salamá and Zoró; environmental and health protection.

In addition to the problems in the Polonoroeste region, the government is still trying to get multilateral Bank loans to pave Highway 364 from Porto Velho in Rondonia to the Rio Branco in neighbouring Acre (also known as the Acre extension). The World Bank has already funded a planning study and is prepared to offer some money for demarcation of indigenous lands in the Acre area. However, in the light of the disasters which have beset their neighbour's in Rondonia with the Polonoroeste, the indigenous communities in Acre and the rubber tapper communities have come together to oppose this development scheme.

Caazapá Regional Development Project, Paraguay

This World Bank funded project is situated in the southeast of Paraguay in the departments of Guairá and Caazapá as well as parts of Itapua and Alto Parana. In spite of 20 years of funding projects in Paraguay, the World Bank has provided nothing for the indigenous communities affected. The Caazapá, at its inception 3 years ago, was to be something different. The Paraguayan authorities were to be funded to make a study of the Mbyá Guaraní people in the project area. In spite of this, no studies have been carried out and the project has gone ahead. Cast in a similar mould to Polonoroeste, the Caazapá Regional Development Project is accompanied by infrastructural development, settling new migrants and opening up the area for business, particularly lumber companies which are creating an enormous deforestation problem. The project area is 381,600 ha. and stands to affect at least 4 Mbyá communities. One already under threat is that of Castor-Cué-Pacurí, part of whose lands were parcelled out into allotments in 1984.

Multinational Enterprise

Multinational companies operate throughout South America and it is only possible here to provide some examples from among the most well-documented cases. Whereas the Multilateral Development Banks tend to make enormous loans for infrastructure, the companies specialize in extractive, agricultural, pastoral or energy concerns. The studies presented below look at each of these in turn.

Extractive

There are severe repercussions for indigenous peoples from mining companies working on the Gran Carajás project in Brazil. The core of the $62 billion project, based in Brazil's eastern Amazon, is an enormous deposit of iron ore which has been exploited by various companies including US Steel and the Brazilian State-owned Companhia Vale do Rio Doce. In 1982 the European Economic Community granted the project a $600 million loan to gain cheap iron for Europe's beleaguered steel industry. In addition to the iron mining, the Gran Carajás has an enormous number of related projects: a 900 km. railway to transport the iron ore to the sea at São Luis, a group of large dams on the Tocantins river, road construction and mining for other minerals in the region. An estimated 5000 Indian people are affected by the Gran Carajás project - The Parakana, Gavião, Apinaye, Amanaye and Asurini, to name only a few. 17

The Amazon has been providing oil for multinational companies since the 1970s when Texaco Gulf started producing in the Putumayo district of Colombia. By 1968-9 the Orito field had 47 wells and a pipeline to the Pacific. Similar events were taking place in Ecuador at the same time where a pipeline was in operation by 1972. 18 In Peru during the late 1960s and early 1970s concessions were being handed out to foreign oil companies despite Perupero being the nationalized body. By 1974, 28 foreign companies held 16 blocks for oil exploitation in the Amazon while Petropetru held exploration in blocks 18 and 20. By the mid 1980s over 8000 Indian people living in the affected indigenous peoples throughout the Amazon by opening up paths, encouraging colonists and bringing in diseases. 19 In addition, the explosions from the testing sites cause much disruption to the forest fauna on which many groups rely for their hunting. At present, over half the Peruvian Amazon is divided into 50 areas or lots controlled by Texaco in the north and Shell in the south.

Agriculture

Ecuador is currently the centre of widespread exploitation of the African palm. In the Napo province, 20,000 ha. of rainforest have been destroyed to grow palms and future plans intend to devastate another 200,000 ha. Apart from the unsuitability of African palm for Amazonian soils, in order to combat weed growth, companies are using herbicides which have severely polluted the local rivers and streams. Two main companies are working in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Palmeras del Ecuador has backing from France, Belgium and Luxembourg, and Palmoriente is supported by Belgium, Britain and West Germany. Ecuador provides about half the investment in both companies. Although both companies have stated that the land they are cultivating is not from the Amazon are affected by palm projects. They are mainly Quichua, Waorani, Siona and Secoya. These nations are currently facing invasions by colonists while the government does nothing to help – on the contrary, indigenous land has already been handed over to the companies by the government which refuses to recognize previously granted titles. If the present plan goes ahead, over 50 communities in the Ecuadorian Amazon will face invasion and possible eviction by the African Palm companies. 19

Colombia, Peru and Bolivia have become centres for another multinational enterprise - the production of cocaine. Traditionally the indigenous peoples of these countries produced sufficient amounts of coca leaves for their general and ceremonial needs. In recent years, however, factories for transforming the coca leaf into cocaine have become a standard feature of the remote areas of the lowland rainforests. Coca is big business and, although not officially legal, has been tacitly accepted by the governments of these countries. Indeed, 80% of Bolivia’s income, since the fall in the price of tin, comes from cocaine production. Coca is grown in areas of the Amazon that were not exploited either by the rubber boom, the oil boom or the rubber tappers from the Amazon are affected by palm projects. They are mainly Quichua, Waorani, Siona and Secoya. These nations are currently facing invasions by colonists while the government does nothing to help – on the contrary, indigenous land has already been handed over to the companies by the government which refuses to recognize previously granted titles. If the present plan goes ahead, over 50 communities in the Ecuadorian Amazon will face invasion and possible eviction by the African Palm companies. 19

Cattle Ranching

By the 1970s, 600,000 people had moved into the Mato Grosso region of Brazil to exploit cattle. The government decided that they should promote meat production and even sliced a part of reserved lands of the Xingu Park peoples to build Highway BR-080 for transporting cattle. Other groups severely hit by the cattle boom were the Xavante, Karajá and Tapirapé nations. Multinational corporations were eager to exploit the 'cow rush' and before long the cattle ranching areas had increased. The Jari Forestry and Ranching Company of Daniel Ludwig, the Italian firm Liguigas and Volkswagen all held areas of between 50,000 and 250,000 acres. The largest interests were US companies such as King Ranch, Deltec and the Canadian company Bracson, which in the late 1970s controlled about 30% of Brazil's beef market. These cattle ranches are today dominated by the insatiable demand of McDonalds Hamburger and Burger King for meat which currently constitutes the greatest deforestation threat in the Amazon region of Brazil.
Between 1978 and 1982 the Peruvian department of Madre de Dios had 750,000 acres taken over by a company called Central American Services. Backed with money from the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza and the notorious Banco Ambrosini in Italy, the company almost succeeded in destroying the department's Brazil nut economy and started its scheme to introduce 240,000 head of cattle over the next 20 years. The project threatened the ecosystem of the Madre de Dios and the land and hunting rights of the indigenous Amarakaeri and other nations living in the region. Fortunately, permission from the government was not forthcoming, but this is not to say that the scheme or the company will not reappear in a new guise.

The hold of the international economy over indigenous peoples in South America can be seen, in these examples, to have many legal and illegal ways. Frequently the debts owed by States to powerful economic countries and international institutions puts pressure on them to pay off the interest by cutting down on progressive policies. As a consequence States try to raise their export potential to pay off their debts by increasing the exploitation of their economic resources. To do this they need the technical support of those same powerful interests to whom they are indebted. The result is that multilateral banks and international companies are made welcome and the rights of indigenous nations affected are ignored. Thirdly, in true enclave situations, such as the cocaine trade, the extraction of resources takes place avoiding official channels. However, in all three cases, foreign exploitation of national resources and the consequent threats on the lives and lands of indigenous peoples can only take place with government consent and with the consent of the international interests involved.

An interesting area of further study on this subject would be an overall comparison of government, multinational and internal capital investment in projects affecting indigenous peoples in South America. This would, however, be difficult because many multinationals operate in the guise of national private enterprises and so-called nationalized industries are often in the hands of international concerns. What would be of greatest significance here would be not so much the investment percentage but the inter-relationships between the different interest groups.

The Church

The Christian Church in South America consists of several multinational institutions which, with the agreement of most governments, take their proselytizing to indigenous communities.

There is no doubt that in many parts of South America the Church is working in favour of indigenous peoples. In Brazil, for example, the Indigent Missionary Council (CIMI), and in Peru, the Amazonian Centre of Anthropology and Applied Practice (CAAAP) publish and actively help indigenous peoples. Furthermore, in many isolated parts of the highland and lowland regions individual missionaries work to support Indian communities. However, beyond these positive aspects of missionary work, the Church is still, essentially, a group of proselytizing institutions. Missions, orders and missions have not only operated between Catholic orders which are mainly from Europe and the Protestant sects which come mainly from the United States. The rivalry of Catholic and Protestant reaches right down into indigenous communities and can cause division and confusion from their conflicting approaches to life.

Indigenous reaction to missionaries varies. Some disregard their traditional beliefs and take on the trappings of Christianity, others ignore mission work altogether. Most, however, adopt new features from the other religion and their own beliefs and incorporate them to varying degrees. Sometimes this takes the form, as among the Hallelujah cults of Guyana, the messianic movements of Northern America, and in other cases, such as of the Amarakaeri in southeastern Peru, they explain Christian ideas within their own cosmology without changing their traditional religion to a marked extent.

Catholic missionaries work on a congregational basis where they attract Indians to come and live on mission stations which are rather like small versions of the Jesuit reductions of the 16th and 17th centuries. The priests are intermediaries between God and the congregation and are therefore in a position to hold both economic and spiritual power. Economic power is concentrated in the missions which are usually modeled on Iberian farming communities containing feudalistic elements. Farming, forestry and especially cattle raising are the staples of the mission. Produce is either sold through the priests or under their supervision. The mission usually runs a shop which raises further income and, in some cases, provides the means of control over the cultural and political organisations of the indigenous members of the mission.21 Education in Catholic missions has traditionally been designed to bring children together and away from the influence of their parents and culture into a boarding school where they would be prohibited from speaking in their own languages and schooled in Spanish and Portuguese. In Brazil, until comparatively recently, Latin was taught in some Salesian mission schools with the intention of showing the work that indigenous peoples are capable of understanding the 'international language'.

Catholic missions have been ethnocidal institutions because of the way in which they disregard traditional indigenous economic and political organization. In many parts of South America, priests have prohibited or ridiculed rituals, the building of malocas and ignored marriage rules when arranging unions. Bringing indigenous peoples together into artificial communities many times larger than traditional settlements invariably leads as problems to tensions build up into conflicts.

Recently, however, there has been a change in Catholic missionary work in some areas of South America, and this has led to more progressive ideas about education. Missionaries, influenced by liberation theology, have studied anthropology and moved out into the communities, arguing that until Indian peoples have their basic rights recognized and live free from exploitation, they will not be able to see the benefits of Christianity.

Protestant missions have made it their practice to work in communities either individually or in pairs. Unlike the Catholics, fundamentalist Protestantism is based on a more individualistic theology where each person has to be saved from eternal damnation by baptism into the Church. The conditions of life are not too important as long as no one commits sin. By 'sin' the Protestants mean traditional religions which are 'demons worship' and Marxism.

Two of the best-equipped Protestant organizations are the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the New Tribes Mission (NTM). These institutions provide substantial back-up for their field workers who are in constant radio contact and have air communication with the mission base.

Summer Institute of Linguistics

The Summer Institute of Linguistics presents itself, not as a missionary organization, but as a linguistic and cultural institution. SIL and the Wycliffe Bible Translators are two connected halves of a dual identity. SIL is the scientific and linguistic part and the WBT does the missionary work. Both are practised in the same areas of the world. These institutions provide substantial back-up for their field workers.

The New Tribes Mission is a fundamentalist Protestant mission organization based in Florida, USA. Like SIL, it is a world-wide organization with missionaries in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay. Also like SIL, the NTM has received finance from especially cattle raising are the staples of the mission. Produce is either sold through the priests or under their supervision. The mission usually runs a shop which raises further income and, in some cases, provides the means of control over the cultural and political organisation of the indigenous members of the mission. Education in Catholic missions has traditionally been designed to bring children together and away from the influence of their parents and culture into a boarding school where they would be prohibited from speaking in their own languages and schooled in Spanish and Portuguese. In Brazil, until comparatively recently, Latin was taught in some Salesian mission schools with the intention of showing the work that indigenous peoples are capable of understanding the 'international language'.

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USAID and private donations (in all $10 million a year). The approach of NTM has several similarities with SIL. The missionaries live in indigenous communities where they learn the language and translate the Bible before full proselytizing begins. However, hymns singing and talking about God takes place from first contact and efforts are made to turn the community away from its traditional religion which is treated as 'devil worship'. Much of NTM's work has been criticized for its ethnocidal effects and some critics have gone further, accusing them of serving the interests of US intelligence agencies. In 1979 the Venezuelan government ordered an investigation into the work of NTM during which accusations came from the military, anthropologists, Catholics and intellectuals. The government took no action and NTM continued to work in Venezuela from their base at Tamatama on the upper Orinoco. In 1983, disturbing reports were published of NTM's activities in the Chaco area of Paraguay and Bolivia. There missionaries have been trying to contact those Ayoreo Indians still in the bush and settle them in specially created mission communities. After tracking down the isolated groups of Ayoreo from light aircraft, armed missionary Indians bring them to the mission. The effects of contact by the NTM has led to Ayoreo dying from diseases and trauma from culture shock. Reports from Survival International in January 1987 show that Indian hunts are still taking place.

World Vision

World Vision is another Protestant missionary organization. Unlike SIL and NTM its main activities are in the realm of development where it aims to alleviate the most poverty-stricken individuals in society. Founded in 1950 in the United States, World Vision receives donations from business and individuals. In northern Europe, its sister organization World Vision North America has been centred in Ecuador where it has replaced SIL as the major Protestant organization. World Vision entered Ecuador in 1973 but its work increased during 1979 and it eventually obtained the government support which SIL had previously received. WV's projects deal with literacy and community development, but its most controversial programme is that of adoption. When WV workers enter communities they select poor children for sponsorship by wealthy people in other countries. The problem with this scheme is that societies which run on communal lines can be severely disrupted when particular families become better off than the others. This divisiveness is further exacerbated with support reaching mainly, if not only, adherents to Protestantism. The result has been some cases of conflict within communities between Catholics and Protestants and calls by indigenous organizations for WV's expulsion.

Economic and religious intervention in Amerindian societies can take two forms. The anti-indigenous form destroys life, land and culture, whereas the more fashionable approach now is the indigenist way which softens the blows of heavy-handed integration. However the end result is the same - the initiative for change and self-development is taken out of the hands of indigenous peoples who are paternalistically guided by the right path.

The effects of multinational economics and religion on indigenous peoples, however, is mediated nationally and locally by means of the nation-state. The political strategy of indigenous peoples starts with the country in which they live and their relationship to government. The next section deals with this subject.

Venezuela

Area and population

352,143 square miles - 15 million people

Indigenous nations

There are about 150,000 indigenous peoples in Venezuela who are divided into about 30 language groups. About one-third of the indigenous population live in the southern half of the country on affluents of the Amazon and Orinoco and the other two-thirds are divided between Zulia State and the eastern lake of Lake Maracaibo in the northwest and the Delta of the Orinoco river.

Country and government

Venezuela is divided into 20 States and 2 territories. Each State is autonomous with its own assembly. The central government operates under the democratic constitution of 1958. Venezuela's GNp per capita is about $4,500, its major product being oil. The United States receives 40% of its exports and provides 45% of its imports.

Indigenous legislation

During the Spanish colonial regime, the encomienda system controlled the Indian workforce returning them to their traditional religion which is treated as 'devil worship'. Much of NTM's work has been criticized for its ethnocidal effects and some critics have gone further, accusing them of serving the interests of US intelligence agencies. In 1979 the Venezuelan government ordered an investigation into the work of NTM during which accusations came from the military, anthropologists, Catholics and intellectuals. The government took no action and NTM continued to work in Venezuela from their base at Tamatama on the upper Orinoco. In 1983, disturbing reports were published of NTM's activities in the Chaco area of Paraguay and Bolivia. There missionaries have been trying to contact those Ayoreo Indians still in the bush and settle them in specially created mission communities. After tracking down the isolated groups of Ayoreo from light aircraft, armed missionary Indians bring them to the mission. The effects of contact by the NTM has led to Ayoreo dying from diseases and trauma from culture shock. Reports from Survival International in January 1987 show that Indian hunts are still taking place.

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The Colonial Heritage - The Nation-State

During this Report indigenous peoples are frequently referred to as 'nations'. Nation in this context refers to a people of common descent, language and history who usually inhabit a territory bounded by defined limits and form a society under one system of government. The nation-state is a political apparatus which nominally draws together the nation or nations and their individual members into one entity. However, the relationship between the State and the nation varies considerably. In South America there is an enormous disjunction between the indigenous nations of the continent and its constituent nation-states. This is because the State does not represent the interests of most of its nations - on the contrary, they are, more often than not, subsumed within a fictitious model of State-nationalism based on a European or North American precedent.

The following survey of the States of South America is designed to show the relationship between each country and its indigenous nations. Each example will cover general information, the legal position of indigenous peoples and the major problems facing them. This section does not deal with indigenous organizations which are the subject of the following chapter.
company cancelled plans for trips to the Yanomami but the Venezuelan government is still interested in promoting the idea. Throughout Venezuela, the work of the New Tribes Mission has received much criticism. Although in some communities they have sown their seeds in fertile ground, the ethnocidal results of their work are being constantly attacked by indigenous organizations.

Colombia

Area and population
456,535 square miles – 15 million people

Indigenous nations
There are about 300,000 indigenous peoples in Colombia comprising more than 60 different nations. They live in a marked variety of ecological zones ranging from the southwestern Andean areas to the coastal and Amazonian rainforests and the plains of the northeast.

Country and government
Colombia consists of departments, having abolished its State structure in 1886. The central government has been a democracy since 1958 with liberal and conservative parties in power. Colombia’s per capita GNP is $1,180. Its major product is coffee which constitutes 50% of its exports. The largest trading partner is the United States, followed by Japan and West Germany.

Indigenous legislation
Colombia shares several features of its indigenous legislation with Venezuela. In the southwest Andean region, resguardos (reserves) are still in existence from colonial times, although much indigenous territory has been stolen and is held in private hands. Many communities are fighting to retain their lands and regain what has been encroached.

The 1890 Indian Statute Law 89 recognized indigenous communities and legalized an agreement to place all non-Catholics under missionary supervision. Law 72 of 1892 set up mission territories which established a theocratic regime in indigenous areas. After a further agreement in 1939, these- missionary areas of Colombia became mission land.

The Division of Indigenous Affairs (DAI) was set up under the Ministry of Government in 1960 to recognize Indian communities. Its work has been mainly in the Cauca valley and the northern Sierra Nevada. The DAI has had an inspection service, advisory body and eight commissions on indigenous affairs. In 1992 the National Development Programme for Indigenous Populations (PRODEIN) was established to promote the protection and integration of indigenous peoples of Colombia (as stipulated in ILO Convention 107). The effect of the DAI on indigenous rights has, however, been minimal.

Law 209 of 1961 set up the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform (INCORA). INCORA’s responsibility is to create reserve lands for indigenous groups. Government sources say that 34 reserves and 13 resguardos were created between 1966 and 1985. However, many of these take the form of parcels of land which families have to buy. The hardship with which these can be met as well as the pressures from non-Indian landowners have limited INCORA’s successes.

Indigenous affairs
The Cauca region of the south west is the mountainous home of 200,000 Chibcha-speaking Paez and Guambiano Indians. Since the 19th century their lands have been stolen for making coffee plantations to the extent that by 1970, 50% of the area was held by non-Indians. In 1985, the National Revolution of the farmers (CRIC) has had success in regaining lost lands by means of peaceful reoccupation. In 1984 an occupation at the farm of Lopez Adentro resulted in an eviction of the Indians, but they continue to live outside their resguardo and demand recognition of their claim.

Mass protests by the Indians at events in Lopez Adentro led to militarization of the area by the government. The indigenous communities of the southwest are particularly hard hit by attempts from the armed forces to move them from their lands, as happened at La Trampa and Finca San Andres. In 1986 the government cease-fire agreement with the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) – a pro-Moscow guerrilla organization – has led to attacks on indigenous communities such as happened in Torné in Popayan during October 1985. In these cases both the government and guerrillas are collaborating with landowners against Indian land rights. Indian leaders are being singled out for attack in this war and recently over 100 were killed. In response some Indians have formed the Indian guerrilla group Comando Quintin Lame.

North of the mountains of Cauca lie the coastal rainforests stretching up to Panama. Here groups such as the Cuna and Embera have managed to resist this campaign in spite of constant threats of land invasion from colonists and oil companies. However, reserved lands of the Cuna community of Arqua have been reduced from 10,000 to 2000 ha.19 To the east, on the border with Venezuela, the Wayuu (Guajiro) have had 50,000 ha. of their land granted to CARBOCOL mining company and the Colombian Tourist Corporation. The presence of multinational mining companies in their territory not only takes land but spreads pollution throughout the area.

On the eastern plains, there was a cattle boom in the 1960s after the period of civil strife known as ‘La Violencia’. Several hundred thousand cattle were moved into the area encouraged by the land titles from INCORA. The indigenous Guahibo-speaking peoples were the most hard hit. 16 Guahibo were killed at La Rubiera in 1967 and until 1971 there was fighting between Indians and colonists in the Planes area.20 Whereas some of the labourers in the area have farms up to 70,000 ha. in size, total Indian land amounts to 14,000 ha. Even this land is not secure while invasions and occupation by colonists continue. The Guahibos have, since 1975, been demanding from the government a reserved area for their 34 communities of the eastern plains.

In the eastern rainforests, further south, the indigenous nations of the Amazonian and Guayanas face similar problems as the Indians of the coastal rainforest. Ethnocidal practices by missionaries coupled with threats of land invasion by colonists will not be stopped until the Indian’s land rights are recognized.

Ecuador

Area and population
300,000 square miles – 9.3 million

Indigenous nations
The majority of the nearly 3 million indigenous peoples of Ecuador live in the highlands. These Quichua-speaking groups are the most numerous inhabitants of the eastern Amazon comprising about 30,000 persons. The Shuar are another large Amazonian group (20,000). The remaining 15,000 lowland Indians belong to five smaller nations – Wranari, Cofan, Secoyas, Siona and Zaparos. The coastal region contains three small nations with a population of 6500.

Country and government
Ecuador has 20 provinces which are largely divided into mountains and plains. The central government has followed a democratic pattern since 1979, after a decade of largely military dictatorships. Ecuador’s GNP per capita is about $1,000. Its major exports are oil (61%), coffee (12%), cocoa (12%) and bananas (10%). The United States receives the majority of Ecuador’s exports and provides most of its imports.

Indigenous legislation
There is no legislation in Ecuador which singles out the indigenous communities as having any rights of its own. In 1964 an Agrarian Reform Law was passed which was designed to modernize the whole of Ecuador’s agriculture. Forced labour (huasiupuno) was abolished and inefficient haciendas were expropriated. There was little effect on the inequality of land distribution, however, and in 1973 a second law was introduced. The Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization (IERAC) was given the power to grant land titles to both Indians and colonists. Although IERAC has helped to reduce the number of haciendas, the titling process has been slow. In addition the Institute has encouraged colonization into the Amazon by providing new settlers with infrastructural support for instalation. IERAC has set up 129 individual title communities for some Shuar and Quichua communities and for very small reserve lands to the smaller northern lowland groups. However, the emphasis is still on individual title which indigenous peoples reject because of its disintegrative effect on community life.

In 1985, after the Pope made a statement in Ecuador calling for the respect of all peoples, the government of Leon Febres Cordero set up the DNPI (the National Office of Indigenous Peoples) to ‘defend Indian People, create appropriate legislation and initiate programmes and projects for Indian organization and development’. However, most indigenous peoples of Ecuador have dismissed this as a cosmetic exercise which has had the effect of dividing the Indian people because it does not work with the established organizations.

Indigenous affairs
In spite of the work of IERAC and the Agrarian Reform, the economic inequalities of the highland areas of Ecuador remain and many Indian communities lack basic communal titles to their lands. Since the 19th century the government has progressively taken communal land for the profit of their own. Indigenous communities now exist in the poorer regions and have to purchase titles at exorbitant prices from the government. Groups such as the Otavala have managed this by developing their artisan work, but they are an exception. Shortage of land in the highlands has increased inequalities of the highland areas of Ecuador remain and many Indian communities lack basic communal titles to their lands. Since the 19th century the government has progressively taken communal land for the profit of their own. Indigenous communities now exist in the poorer regions and have to purchase titles at exorbitant prices from the government. 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built throughout the region and—in conjunction with the Agrarian Reform—colonists from the highlands and coast were encouraged to escape from their poverty by moving to the forest. Between 10% and 15% of the Ecuadorian Amazon was destroyed during the oil boom—particularly lands of the Quichua, Waorani, Cofán Siona and Secoya in the north. Even though oil exploitation affects Indian communities, the major current threat is to their traditional exploitation of the African Palm—discussed in the previous Section.

Colonization is a serious threat to the future of the lowland Indians of Ecuador. Colonists currently outnumber indigenous inhabitants of the region by three to one and continue to gain titles to land for their ranching, lumber and agricultural production. The Shuar who, in 1964, were the first lowland indigenous nation in South America to form their own organization, have been suffering the effects of colonization since the 1950s. They are also facing serious problems from the destructive effects of cattle-ranching which the government is encouraging them to promote. Violence has erupted between the Shuar and the colonists and this pattern has been repeated all over the Amazon. In September 1985, fighting broke out between Waorani Indians and invading colonists during which a colonist was killed and several indigenous people injured. Much of the violence in the lowland stems from a government habit of legally recognizing indigenous rights to land and then declaring it 'empty' and available for colonization.

Peru

Area and population
496,093 square miles – 18 million

Indigenous nations

The Quichua and Aymara peoples of the highlands of Peru constitute about 30% of the country's population, making around 9 million in all. These people live mainly in the highlands but also in the large coastal towns, particularly the capital, Lima. The Peruvian Amazon contains about 60 nations with an indigenous population of around 100,000.

Country and government

Peru contains 25 departments operating under a democratic constitution which came into effect in 1980. Previously the government had shifted between military dictatorships and democracy. Peru's GNP per capita is about $2200. Agriculture and service industries comprise 80% of its production, its largest export is copper (44%). The USA receives 34% of Peru's exports and provides 38% of its imports.

Indigenous legislation

The radical military dictatorship of Velasco in 1968 implemented a wide-ranging Agrarian Reform (DL17716) for the highlands, based on the breaking down of the hacienda system, and established co-operatives. By limiting private holdings to 35 ha. the 'peasant community' became the basic politico-economic unit in the highlands with co-operatives organized either by their workers or by the community as a whole. The reform was not backed up with infrastructural support and non-cooperative members soon became a new rural poverty group. Changes in government, the breaking up of the co-operatives and the closing of the pro-Indian government-run SINAMOS (National System for Social Mobilization) destroyed most of the reform's benefits.

A parallel law for the Amazonian communities (DL20653) was passed in 1974 which began surveying, inscription and titling of native communities. The reform is still officially under way, although de jure or de facto. However, in 1978 the law was repealed by DL22175, allowing forestry and agribusiness up to 200,000 ha. of forest lands with extensions. In addition the law limits territorial ownership by excluding all forest land suitable for commercial exploitation (up to 90% of some indigenous areas). These areas continued to be divided among the communities. There was a period in the 1970s when some communities received titles, but after the 1978 legislation the process slowed down and only very few have received recognition of their rights since then. There is no government agency to assist the indigenous peoples (there is an unofficially run organization, MINSINAM). In addition, the Amazonian provinces of Loreto, Huánuco, Ucayali, Maynas and San Juan have been declared illegal. Indians suspected of sympathizing with Sendero have been tortured and imprisoned (in 1986 a mass killing of over 110 inmates took place at a Lima jail). For its part, Sendero's economic and political ideology has destroyed traditional exchange patterns and indigenous leadership in the highland areas. Many Indians are turning to the Israelitas messianic movement as the only way out of a situation where communities are massacred, relocated and destroyed. There has been no noticeable improvement of the situation in the highlands under President Alan Garcia (Sendero is still fighting to spread to Puno, the Callejón de Huaylas and the central lowlands). The lowland Amazonian rainforests of Peru are currently the scene of massive economic development on several fronts. Agricultural companies working with sugar and palm oil have large concessions in the lowlands as have cattle ranchers. About all, forestry businesses which control over 3 million ha. of the northern and central jungle. Colonization has been increasing, particularly in the north, where large numbers of people have invaded Aguaruna and Huambisa territory. The Pichis-Palcazú project, mentioned in the previous Section, has attracted many colonists into the central lowlands. Gold mining in the southern part of the Madre de Dios has brought an unprecedented influx of colonists which has severely affected the indigenous Harakmbut peoples. On 15 March 1987 an Amerindian youth from the Madre de Dios was shot by colonists, following a similar incident in the northern area of Loreto. In the Alto Marañón, the Aguaruna currently face an influx of gold prospectors as the government has taken control of permit areas in their territory. In general the Garcia government is striving to ensure that his APRA party controls all of the administrative dealing with indigenous peoples and there is growing evidence that the party is moving to control community politics throughout the jungle region as much as possible. On the other hand, they are still supporting the Sendero movement.

Bolivia

Area and population
424,160 square miles – 7 million people

Indigenous nations

The indigenous Quichua and Aymara-speaking peoples make up the majority of Bolivia's population consisting of 3 million and 1 million persons respectively. The lowland Indians are divided into around 30 nations (150,000 people in all). They range from the rainforests of the Beni to the eastern Chaco.

Country and government

Bolivia is divided into 9 departments under a central government which still frequently between dictatorships and democracy. Bolivia's GNP per capita is about $1400. The current democratic government of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement led the 1952 revolution (MN R is a populist party similar in some ways to APRA in Peru). Bolivia's GNP is the lowest in South America ($486). Agriculture and tin mining are the backbone of Bolivia's economy, although unofficially these have been surpassed by cocaine. Bolivia's largest trading partner is the USA.

Indigenous legislation

The 1952 revolution, which brought the MN R into power, initiated an Agrarian Reform in 1953 which completely changed the face of the highlands. Prior to the reform 6% of Bolivian landowners held 92% of the land, Indians had to provide free labour for rights to smallholdings and exploitation was rife. The Reform broke up the haciendas among the families working on the land and provided them with titles to land. Between 1955 and 1965 6 million ha. were distributed to 170,000 families. The major problem with the Reform was the insistence on individual title to land which led to the eviction of large numbers of people. Communities in the lowlands are now trying to ensure that they obtain communal titles under the reform.

Lowland peoples in Bolivia are covered by various decrees and legal recommendations which guarantee respect, lands and cultural freedom. However these are rarely put into practice. Some groups such as the Chiriguanos have certain titles to their land from before, and as a result of, the Agrarian reform.

There are three bodies in Bolivia which concern themselves with indigenous peoples in addition to their other duties. The Agrarian Reform, the Ministry of Peasant Affairs and the Peasant Unions. This alliance spearheaded the first 12 years of the reform. Since 1979, the union Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB) has been independent of State control. Almost all indigenous peoples in the Bolivian highlands belong to the union while in the lowlands it is a growing movement. This is a reaction to strong missionary control, particularly the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which has an official status in the Bolivian lowlands.
Indigenous affairs

The highland peoples of Bolivia have been the subject of attacks by the military several times over the last 15 years. At Tolata near Cochambamba, 1000 peasants were killed and 300 wounded in January 1974 during a demonstration against rising prices. In December 1979 at Huairas, near Lake Titicaca, 50 peasants were killed when demonstrating against a 25% devaluation of the Bolivian peso. At the same time more than 50 other peasants were killed in similar demonstrations in other parts of the country. According to a statement by an indigenous organization, in the highlands of Bolivia out of every 4 Indians, 3 are illiterate and out of every 5 Indians, 4 are sick. Facilities and social welfare do not reach the peasant farmers and they are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their traditional economic system. Further over, on the Mamore river, the Mojos and Movima face similar threats.

The enormous development process in the eastern department of Santa Cruz has been going on for over 30 years, where US loans to Bolivia were invested in the colonization of the area for growing sugarcane. The local Chiriguano, Chiquitanos and Guarawos provide most of the labour for the plantations under terrible conditions of gross exploitation. South of the Paraguayan border lies the Chaco area which is the home of the Matakos and Ayoreos. The former have to contend with mestizo merchants who regularly cheat them out of their produce. The Ayoreos are largely under the control of the New Tribes Mission which recently has been carrying out a programme of 'Indian hunts' there and over the border in Paraguay. In other parts of the lowlands the Catholic Church and the Summer Institute of Linguistics vie for control. Sill has been working officially with the Bolivian government and has several bi-lingual projects in the lowlands funded by USAID.

A major colonization area is the Beni which suffers from cattle ranching and projects directed by the National Colonization Institute (INC). The Chimanes of the area have lived with colonization for three centuries but they are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their traditional economic system. Further over, on the Mamore river, the Mojos and Movima face similar threats.

Indigenous nations

In the north of Chile live about 15,000 Aymara people. The largest group are the Mapuche who number about 1 million and live in the region from Santiago south to the beginning of the archipelago. Further south, in Tierra del Fuego, live the remaining sea and land nomads while in the Pacific Chile controls Easter Island’s 1200 Polynesian inhabitants.

Country and government

Chile is divided into 13 regions under a central government. The Marxist coalition of Salvador Allende was ousted in 1973 by the armed forces headed by Pinochet ending many years of democratic rule in Chile and replacing them with an exceptionally repressive dictatorship. Chile’s GNP is $1,437 and its major export is copper (45%). The USA and West Germany receive most of Chile’s exports and 30% of its imports come from the USA.

Indigenous legislation

Most of Chile’s indigenous legislation has been aimed at the majority Mapuche population. At the end of the 19th century the Mapuche were forced into reservations, situated near large farms, where they were made to work. By the 1930s 3000 separate reserves were made on 1.5% of Mapuche land even though Chile had two phases of Agrarian Reform (1928 and 1962) the Mapuche did not receive any benefit and in some cases individual selling of communal land was encouraged. Under Allende, however, 70,000 hectares were restored to indigenous communities and communal holdings were confirmed in Law 17.729.

These positive steps were completely undermined by the Pinochet regime which, in 1979, introduced Decree Law 2568 calling ‘for the division of the reserves and the liquidation of Indian communities’. According to this decree any individual who wishes to divide up a community can do so and in addition communal land can be mortgaged to outsiders with the permission of the Pinochet regime. Although there is no government agency for indigenous affairs, the National Institute for Agricultural Development (INDAP) which is part of the Ministry of Agriculture, has been responsible for dividing communal lands. In 1978 a group of Regional Mapuche Councils were formed by the government. These consist of Mapuches prepared to work with the government and arrange, among other things, credit facilities for development projects and sell confiscated debtors’ lands.

Although these laws have primarily affected the Mapuche, the other Indians in Chile – particularly the Aymara communities – face similar consequences from the dividing up of communal lands.

Indigenous affairs

The Mapuche people possess only 1.5% of the lands they had at the time of the Spanish invasion. Since the passing of Decree 2568 in 1979, the number of Mapuche communities has fallen from 2066 to 655. Similar problems to these and those outlined below face the northern Aymara nation.

As in so many parts of South America, the indigenous peoples of Chile are facing threats in their languages and their traditional religious practices are threatened. This is because of the constant police harassment of Mapuche communities where armed guards have disrupted aqullatun, a traditional religious ceremony. Mapuche leaders constantly face death threats and imprisonment. Paramilitary right-wing commando units have intimidated and murdered Mapuches while the government forces have attacked public meetings at least five times in 1984-5. During the same period more than 30 leaders were detained, exiled to different parts of Chile or deported. Since September 1986, there has been a severe escalation of the oppression of the Mapuche. Communities in Caunin have been placed under a state of siege with the inhabitants unable to come or go without government permission. It is nearly impossible to continue agricultural work and tensions are running high. At the same time several leaders of the Mapuche Indian organizations have been imprisoned without charge. Others have constantly to report their whereabouts to the police. A future threat for the Mapuche of Bio Bio is a hydro-electric project, financed by the IDB which will flood a considerable area of community lands.

In Tierra del Fuego live the survivors of several nations. The last 50 of the Yamana who live at Ukiuka, just north of Cape Horn and the Qawwaq who live on the Isla de Wellington remain in a critical condition. With no motorboats, their fishing is undercut by colonists and they suffer from appalling medical conditions with a nurse visiting the community of Eden once or twice a year. These nations of Tierra del Fuego are now making their final stand for survival.

Although not Amerindian, the Polynesians of Easter Island also feel the pressures of the Pinochet regime. All their lands have been taken over by the State and the “boss” of the Island is a Santiago appointed governor who receives all his instructions from central government. The Pinochet regime continues to refuse to recognize the council which consists of the heads of all 35 indigenous families on Easter Island.

Argentina

Area and population

292,135 square miles – 11.7 million people.

Indigenous nations

There are 16 indigenous nations in Argentina consisting of nearly 350,000 people. The majority live in the north of the country bordering Bolivia and Paraguay. These range from the Chiquitos speaking Kollas, the Ahebas and Matacos of the Chaco to the Guaranies of Misiones. Further south there are about 36,000 Mapuche, mainly in the province of Nequen and Tehuelches further south. There are also a few Selk’nam on Tierra del Fuego.

Country and government

From the military coup in 1946 until the election of Raúl Alfonsin in 1983, the regimes in Argentina were largely dictatorships or authoritarian in style. The country is a republic consisting of 22 provinces, a federal district and the southern National Territories. Argentina’s GNP is $1,666 and its largest exports are corn and beef. Brazil receives most of its exports, followed by the USA.

Indigenous legislation

After the Argentine military devastated the lands of the indigenous nations during the 19th century, several treaties were signed which have had little effect. Until 1983 the Indian had no legal status in Argentine law. A department of Indian Affairs under the Social Welfare Ministry worked on indigenous issues until most of its offices were closed in the late 1970s. The main criticisms of Argentine government policies have been that they try to break up community lands and that their development policies are paternalistic.

In 1984 a proposed law was discussed in the National Senate called ‘Indigenous Policy and Support to the Aboriginal Communities’. This law (No. 23.302) has in several respects been a step forward for the indigenous peoples of Argentina. Indian communities are now legally recognized, claims for restitution of stolen lands can be made and the right to bi-cultural education is included. A major problem is that its executive body (the Special Department for Indigenous Affairs) will receive only a minority and advisory indigenous input in major decisions. It remains to be seen how the law operates in practice.
Indigenous affairs

The Argentinian State has a current National Plan of Indigenist Policy which promotes indigenous community development, support for culture, lands and economic reactivation. In spite of its good intentions, like Law No. 23.302, the main drawback of the Plan is its paternalistic approach to indigenous peoples.

In the northern province of Jujuy the Kolla and Chiriguanos peoples face constant pressures of acculturation and also the threat of an influx of colonists from El Salvador. - A recent study indicates the area has been the target by a Kolla family to have their child registered with a Chiquiua name. This was refused because Quichua was not considered a ‘civilized’ language.

Colonists are the major problem among the Chaco peoples – the Toba, Mataco and Mocoví nations – where about 1500 colonists from Spain are moving into the drainage basins of the nearby Belen river. Sugar plantations use up much indigenous labour. In addition cotton and timber work provides one of the few possibilities for Indians to raise living standards above subsistence levels. Conditions in the labour market are not good and the workers are constantly in debt.

The province of Misiones is the centre of the Mbya Guarani who number approximately 1300. The two reserves of the Mbya illustrate the dangers of not having land titles recognized. The Social Welfare Ministry owned the land on which the reserves were situated and could remove the inhabitants at will. Hopefully this situation will change now that Law 23.302 has been passed. Other problems facing the Mbya Guarani are intruders moving onto their lands, inadequate health and education facilities, and mission control. 43

The Mapuche in Argentina have been divided from their relatives in Chile by an arbitrary national boundary. Both halves of this nation would like to have free access made available for crossing the Chile/Argentinian frontier. Although the Mapuche were driven out of their pampas homeland in the last century, they did not have reservations as in Chile. In spite of great pressures of acculturation, the Mapuche of Argentina are asserting their socio-cultural identity.

The eastern plains of Patagonia were once the homelands of the Tehuelche nation who were ruthlessly exterminated by Argentine military expeditions in 1863 and 1874. Nearly 100 survivors of these people live on a small reservation at Camushu Aike. On the Isla Grande of Tierra del Fuego live the Selk’nam – cousins of the Tehuelche – of whom only 35 remain. These people, once mercilessly hunted by the landowners and farmers of the area who paid one pound for each dead Indian, face extinction. The last of the Ousu (an elderly woman) has been reported dead several times in the last few years. However, reports from both Chile and Argentina confirmed that she died in 1986.

Paraguay

Area and population

157,042 square miles = 3½ million people

Indigenous nations

There are 17 indigenous nations in Paraguay. To the west of the country there are Guarani peoples whose language is still spoken by 85% of the Paraguayan population, while to the east live the Chaco peoples such as the Ayoreo, Mataco and Toba. The total population is probably as high as 80,000 with the majority living in the Chaco. Most of these once nomadic peoples have been forced to settle down in the forest.

Country and government

Since 1954 General Alfredo Stroessner has held dictatorial control of all major Paraguayan institutions in spite of a nominal parliament. The country has an eastern and western province divided into 14 and 5 departments respectively. Paraguay’s GNP is $1,194 with cotton and oil as its main exports. Argentina and West Germany are Paraguay’s largest trading partners.

Indigenous legislation

Many of the Indians in Paraguay gained citizenship from an 1848 decree. Land titling was handed over to some missions in 1907 in order to encourage them to settle the nomadic groups. Along with the 1963 Agrarian Statute, the Institute of Rural Welfare was charged with land distribution, and although the indigenous population gained some ’colonies’ these were not recognized as communities. The 1981 Law of Native Communities on the one hand legally recognizes indigenous communities and their rights to land, however it also allows Indians to be forcibly relocated and makes no provision to ensure the carrying out of the law. This has meant that in the majority of cases, even though the law has been invoked, no communities have been recognized and other important provisions (such as the removal of missions) have not been complied with. The same can be said of the labour law.

Indian affairs in Paraguay are controlled by the National Indigenous Institute (INDI) which is a department of the Ministry of Defence. In 1976 INDI was given responsibility for programmes which government, religious and private bodies have with the Indian population. This gives INDI a powerful position in indigenous affairs and has led to its being blamed for the inoperability of the 1981 Law of Native Communities. In November 1985 an Indigenous Affairs Department was created within the Ministry of Defence which will co-exist with INDI.

Indigenous affairs

The last 30 years have seen more indigenous lands stolen in Paraguay than at any time in its history. At present 75% of the Chaco Indians have no lands while 50% of the indigenous inhabitants of the eastern region have no titles. These landless Indians have to work on neighbouring farms or in shops where they receive lower salaries than non-Indians and suffer extremely poor conditions. When profits drop the landowners, such as the firm Carlos Casado (which owns a quarter of the Paraguayan Chaco), will simply evict any indigenous people living on the area it wishes to sell. Carlos Casado has recently been in litigation against the Makoy-Chaco Association, who lost their land to the firm.

The provision in the law for forced relocation has given the government the opportunity to evict whole communities from their settlements. A well-known example took place earlier, however, in 1980, when 700 Toba-Maskoy were forcibly evicted from their lands in the Chaco and carted in lorries to poorer areas. Evictions are becoming more commonplace and are becoming justified or excused by the authorities. Among the Mbya (relatives of the Argentinean group mentioned earlier) the Mennonite community of Bajua Guuzu which has lost 3000 ha. INDI is doing nothing to prevent this and has even been negotiating terms with the timber company. 3000 ha. of land of the Mbya Guarani is being handed over by INDI. In addition there is vast deforestation being carried out by the World Bank funded Cazapa Indian Indigenous Development Project in the eastern Chaco.

A recent account from a visit to Paraguay tells of the terrible conditions in which the Maskoy of Casado live (the same ones relocated in 1980). Sickness, disease and poverty face these people who live in overcrowded squalid conditions. The common demand from all Paraguayan indigenous groups is simple: ‘we want our land’. 44

Brazil

Area and population

3,286,000 square miles – 130 million people

Indigenous nations

There are 225 indigenous nations in Brazil, making a total of over 225,000 people. Ranging from rainforest, savannah and highland to coastal areas, these Indian peoples provide a vast spectrum of societies and cultures. The majority of Brazilian Indians live in the Amazon and central regions of the country in small communities, reserved lands or in one of the four national parks such as the Xingu which contains 14 groups. The majority of Brazilian Indians of Brazil vary from isolated peoples like the Yanomami or Cinta Larga of the rainforest to the more regularly contacted groups such as the central Xavante, the eastern Pataxo and the southern Kaingang.

Country and government

Brazil is a federal republic with 23 States and 3 federal territories. Since 1984 the president has been elected democratically ending 20 years of repressive military rule. Brazil’s GNP is $1,542, its major exports are coffee and iron ore. The USA is Brazil’s largest trading partner.

Indigenous legislation

After Brazil’s independence in 1822, a series of laws were introduced in the following decades freeing the Indians from slavery and placing them, first, under the tutelage of the central government (1831), and then the respective States (1849). In 1910 Decree 8.072 set up the Indian Protection Service (SPI) who, representing the Federal government, would protect Indians, respect their cultures and guarantee their lands. In 1916, the Brazilian Civil Code declared ‘forest dwellers’ to be ‘relatively incapable’ and granted them the same rights and protections as minors lacking capacity, under 16 years of age.

The 1967 Law 5.371 set up the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) which replaced the, by then, corrupt SPI. Two years later the new Federal Constitution recognized Indian usufruct rights to the land; however these would be owned by the State. In the Indian Statute of 1973 this was reaffirmed and FUNAI was given the task of preparing the legalization of land titles by investigation, delimitation and demarcation after which lands would be granted by Presidential Decree. The Indian Statute also granted the State rights of sub-surface resources on Indian lands. Two other harmful aspects of the Indian Statute are provisions to forcibly relocate Indians from their lands and to hand over to FUNAI the right to control indigenous resources and even lease land to third parties.
Since 1983 there have been two Presidential Decrees which have had adverse effects on the Brazilian Indians. Decree No. 88,188 (February 1983) changed the procedure for demarcating Indian lands. All proposals must now be submitted to an Inter-Ministerial Group consisting of interested parties who take into consideration the non-Indian invaders on indigenous lands. The second decree (No. 88,985, November 1983) opened all indigenous areas for mining, enabling the State to grant mining concessions on an individual and large scale basis at land prices. The second decree (No. 88,985, November 1983) has had 8 changes of Presidency in two years has decentralized its protection into the hands of interested lobby groups in each of five regional concessions even on demarcated lands. A development at indigenous lands. The second decree (No. 88.985, November 1983) changed the procedure for demarcating Indian lands. The first is the New Civil Code which plans to make Indians 'absolutely incapable' before the law so that instead of assisting them (as 'emancipate' the Indians, thereby removing their special status and claims to land. In one stroke the indigenous peoples of Brazil will find themselves stripped of their rights as Indians and as citizens.

Indigenous legislation

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Indigenous affairs

Of the 316 indigenous areas recognized by FUNAI, 68% are not demarcated which means that they are exposed to possible invasions. In 1983 a survey of Brazil showed that 50 conflicts had taken place affecting 45 Indian nations. The main causes were invading colonists, cattle ranching, mining, hydro-electric projects and highway construction. In addition, 173 new projects, 14 Indians have been murdered. Since Brazil’s economic 'miracle' began in 1968, an enormous attempt at economic expansion has led to repeated violations of indigenous rights. In 1970 the government announced its Programme of National Integration (PIN) for colonizing Amazonia by constructing two highways (Trans-Amazonia and Trans-Amazon). The intention to move 500,000 families from the overpopulated northeast failed (only 10,000 moved) but the effect on the Indian inhabitants of the areas concerned was devastating. FUNAI worked to attract these Indians into settlements to make way for the roads. The Arara, Parkana, Kreen Akarore and the Tsukahamae who have been few severely from the diseases and relocations of the roads. Other cases followed: the Northern Perimeter highway (BR-210) harmed the Yanoamuni, the Manaus-Caracaraí (BR-17) affected the Waimiri-Atroari and the Cuibá-Porto Velho highway (BR-174) is the most recent section of the Trans-Amazon. The Waimiri-Atroari, who lost over 1000 of their 3000 population as a result of BR-174, stand threatened by the Balbina dam in Amazonas State. They had already lost a third of their reserved lands by a 1981 decree. To the south the Xokleng, Kaingang and several other groups affected by the great Iguaçu project, the enormous Iguaçu and the Uruguay river basin projects. Other groups hard-hit by dams are the Asurini, Surui, Gavioe and Parakanã.

Mining is a serious threat to many indigenous peoples of Brazil, particularly in the Amazon where the Yanomami and the Tukano have recently suffered severe clashes with garimpeiros, small scale miners who are encouraged to enter Indian areas. In Yanomami territory, over the last two years, there have been invasions in the areas of Apiay and Ericono and an estimated 1000 prospectors are illegally occupying Indian land. Further south, the Tukano, Baniwa and Maku Indians have had several conflicts with prospectors throughout 1985. Twelve companies are seeking permits to work in the area, but some, with their own paramilitary forces, have already entered indigenous territories and in clashes during January 1986 several Tukano were killed. A 1986 publication has summarized the mining situation in Brazil as follows: 537 mining claims have been allowed for research in indigenous lands. In 1986 there were 7 hydro-electric projects threatening about 35 Indian areas with flooding and the relocation of their inhabitants. These projects are still being propped up by international loans. The Parakanã, who were relocated by the Transamazon highway, lost a quarter of their people through disease and relocation has led to the death of several Tukano. The Waimiri-Atroari, who lost over 1000 of their 3000 population as a result of BR-174, stand threatened by the Balbina dam in Amazonas State. They had already lost a third of their reserved lands by a 1981 decree. To the south the Xokleng, Kaingang and several other groups affected by the great Iguaçu project, the enormous Iguaçu and the Uruguay river basin projects. Other groups hard-hit by dams are the Asurini, Surui, Gavioe and Parakanã.

Indigenous legislation

The Amerindians of Surinam have never had any special legal status or government agency to deal with. There are no reservations, although missionaries have brought together groups, such as the Trio, into communities. Some villages have titles to land but all ownership rights belong to the State.

Indigenous affairs

In 1986 the situation in the interior of Surinam deteriorated. A protracted guerrilla war in which the indigenous peoples of the country have remained neutral has finally entered into their lives. Reports indicate that Indians are being forced from their villages by the government and guerrillas and that many are seeking refuge in neighbouring French Guiana which cannot handle the influx. The groups most affected are the Arawak, the Wayana, and the Caribs.

French Guiana

There are 4500 indigenous peoples in French Guiana. On the coast live Arawak, Galibi and Palikur while inland live the Emerillon, Oyampi and Wayana. Bush negroes also live in the interior.

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Guyana

Area and population

83,000 square miles – 7,900,000 people

Indigenous nations

The Coastal Amerindians in Guyana are mainly acculturated but in the interior are the Arawak-speaking Wapisiana and Carib-speaking Akawaio, Patamona, Arekuna Makusi and Waiwai. Because of Dutch (1620-1796) and British (1796-1966) policies no 'Bush Negro' societies developed in Guyana. There are about 45,000 Indians.

Country and government

Guyana is a US-backed 'authoritarian democracy'. With $697 GNP, its exports are bauxite and aluminium. The UK is its largest trading partner.

Indigenous legislation

The 19th century saw Guyanan Indians under missionary control although in 1910 several Amerindian territories gained reservation status with the ownership remaining in Crown hands. After the 1965 Independence Conference there was a recommendation to title all Indian lands. With several exceptions, the 1978 Amerindian (Amendment) Act allowed for individual, community and sub-district titling. However, titling is organized by the government and indigenous initiatives on land and education are not provided for legally. The Hinterland Department of the Ministry of Regional Development deals with Indian affairs.

Indigenous affairs

The major external problem of Guyana is the Venezuelan claim to its western half. This has led the government to organize a development programme in the area including mining indigenous areas in the North West District and dam construction on the Upper Mazaruni (where there are no Indian titles to land). Multinational mining companies are posing another threat to Indians in the interior of the country and many have sought refuge in Venezuela to avoid exploitation.

Surinam

Area and population

168,820 square miles – 400,000 people

Indigenous nations

Amerindians of Surinam are divided into coastal and interior Indians. The former groups are Arawak and Carib while the latter are the Trio, Wayana and Akawaio. The central part of Surinam contains communities of 'Bush Negroes' who are descendants of runaway slaves in the 18th century. There are about 8000 Amerindians.

Country and government

Since 1980 Surinam has been under military rule and in a state of emergency. Its GNP is $2,850 and its main products for export are minerals. The USA and the Netherlands are Surinam's main trading partners. Independence was recognized in 1975.

Indigenous legislation

The Amerindians of Surinam have never had any special legal status or government agency to deal with. There are no reservations, although missionaries have brought together groups, such as the Trio, into communities. Some villages have titles to land but all ownership rights belong to the State.

Indigenous affairs

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French Guiana

Area and population

32,252 square miles – 73,000 people

Indigenous nations

There are 4500 indigenous peoples in French Guiana. On the coast live Arawak, Galibi and Palikur while inland live the Emerillon, Oyampi and Wayana. Bush negroes also live in the interior.

Country and government

French Guiana is still a colony of France and is therefore administered by an appointed Commissioner. France controls the country's economy.

Indigenous legislation

Until 1968 the indigenous peoples of French Guiana were governed under the Inini Statute. According to this arrangement a Prefect and the Inini Council were the ultimate authority in the territory. Further west, the French 'Bush Negroes' were the worst hit of all Indian groups in French Guiana. Their lands were eventually demarcated in 1985 but they were granted only half of their claim. A future colonization project which is causing concern is the Calha Norte. If it goes ahead the whole border area of the Amazon will be opened up for colonization with roads and settlements. This will be the Brazilian government's final solution for the most populated Indian area in the country.
control. This 'Francization' changes inheritance, insists on education in French and forces the adoption of French Civil Law. Traditional land rights are not recognized.

Indigenous affairs
The ethnocidal effects of the 'Francization' law has severely threatened the indigenous peoples of French Guiana and the refusal to recognize land rights has exposed indigenous areas to invasion resulting in the Indians working as wage-labour. Another recent threat has been the enormous influx of Brazilian gold prospectors across the border into Indian lands. The greatest concern, is a project to bring 30 000 French settlers over to develop the country's mineral and timber resources. Not only will this seriously affect the Indian population but it will provide French Guiana with a dangerous parallel to the enormous settlement of French settlers over to develop the country's mineral and timber resources.

AMERICAN RESISTANCE
In March 1984, Txukarramae Indians from the Xingu river in Brazil held the director of the Xingu park and 5 other FUNAI employees hostage. They were demanding the demarcation of their lands which had been cut off from the main body of the park in 1971 by highway BR-80. At that time some of the Txukarramae decided to move into the park on the other side of the highway, thereby avoiding the desecration of its great totemic attributes. Txukarramae, led by their redhead chief, Robhi (Raoni), fought for their rights and in the ensuing years killed more than 13 farm workers from invading agricultural companies. When FUNAI consistently refused to honour promises for demarcation, the Txukarramae blocked BR-80 and took hostages. Eventually, after negotiations supported by Indian figures such as Mário Juruna, the Txukarramae received their land demarcation.

This case illustrates the powers of Indian resistance and the three main forms it can take. One indigenous strategy is to avoid conflict by moving to another area. Many of the migrations in South America stem from seeking another environment which is more hospitable. A second approach is to use the weapons of the invaders against them - whether forming an organization or else, as Juruna, entering Parliament. The third, and historically more frequent, solution is to resist with force. Since the invasion, millions of Amerindians have lost their lives in a struggle against oppression which has enabled their descendents to survive, and we should not perpetuate the false impression that the protagonists of Indian resistance have sat aside passively and awaited their fate.

Indigenous resistance begins in the communities because without territorial rights or socio-cultural attributes of Indian peoples become 'colonized' - that is, fall into the control of outside forces. Since the European invasion, indigenous communities throughout the continent have co-operated under powerful leaders and resisted the occupation of their territories.

In Amerindian societies politics and religion are intimately connected, with the shaman and politician overlapping in their responsibilities. Religious movements have frequently arisen throughout South America sharing the three reactions to oppression mentioned above. In the Andean regions, for example, from the Taqui Onquoy movement in the 16th century up to the Israelitas of today there is a striving among the indigenous highlanders for a 'messianic' means of avoiding the incomprehensible devastation of their traditional life. In the lowlands the Loma Santa movement (Holy Hill), like the 'Land without Evil' of the Guaraní, has provided the Bolivian Mojos with a future world apart from the evils of oppression. The syncretic aspects of these movements are also important because they show that, in order to deal with the presence of non-Indians in the world, the indigenous cult can make use of Christian imagery and thereby increase its power. Amerindian religious movements have used force also, such as when the messianic leader, Juan Santos Atahualpa, repulsed the Spanish army from the central Peruvian lowlands in 1742. This year, reports have been coming in of Israelitas attacking lowland Peruvian communities in their proselytizing fervour.

In spite of the strength and vigour of religion as a means of coping with oppression, the most common form of resistance in South America has been the indigenous political organization. Currently these provide a formidable means of championing indigenous rights and self-determination. Every country in South America has several different organizations which vary in their structures and strategies. Amerindian organization has a long history; there have been leaders, movements and organizations since the 16th century. Currently, however, indigenous organizations have taken on certain forms and characteristics which have enabled them, for the first time, to transcend national and State boundaries and challenge countries on their own terms.

In 1964, the Shuar nation of Ecuador formed a federation based on regional associations of Shuar communities. The invasions of colonists had, by 1959, left them outnumbered in their own territories and they realized that without a land base they could not exercise their right to self-determination. The Shuar have successfully repelled attempts by the Spanish and Ecuadorian State to take over their lands since the 16th century, and the Shuar Federation is the continuation of this resistance. Although the federation is not the first indigenous organization in South America, it has in many ways spearheaded the recent flowering of these movements. Today the Shuar Federation has 13 regional associations, 160 local centres, educational facilities, radio communications and air transport. With community titles negotiated from IERAC they have made a livelihood by raising cattle, despite difficulties. Over the last 20 years the Shuar Federation has suffered from problems which have faced other South American indigenous organizations. In 1969 its central office was burnt down by colonists and in the 1970s its leaders were jailed and tortured. Currently the Ecuadorian government is pursuing a policy of funding rival organizations to create splits within the indigenous movement and particularly the Shuar.

In 1971, the highlands of Colombia saw the founding of the Indigenous Regional Council of Cauca. Formed by 2000 Indians from 10 communities, CRIC immediately began a successful policy of recuperating stolen reservation lands. Where the government will not recognize the Indian rights, CRIC has organized non-violent occupation of lands and has recovered several thousand hectares. Although CRIC has won limited support from both the government and the Moscow-linked guerrilla organization FARC. CRIC is the latest in the long tradition of indigenous organizations in Colombia, particularly in this century. Two important Indian leaders in Colombia after 1910 were Quintín Lame and Gonzalo Sanchez. Lame was a catalyst in the Indian struggle for land and organization formulating an indigenous philosophy of resistance. Sanchez was an organizer, and through his work the Supreme Council of Indians was created in Natagaima in 1920.

Throughout the 1970s, indigenous organizations began to form throughout South America. By 1971 there were several indigenous Ay Moran organizations in Bolivia such as Mink'a and the Movimiento Tupac Katari. In 1973 four organizations produced the Manifesto of Tiwanaku demanding Indian politico-cultural liberation. This statement is one of the first 'Indianist' documents, dissociating itself from both the left and right and emphasizing Indian liberation.

The first South American Indian Parliament meeting took place in 1974 in Asunción, Paraguay, bringing together organizations from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Venezuela. The major demands which arose from this meeting were rights to land, education and free organization. The following year an Indian Council representing most of Paraguay's indigenous population met. 1977 saw the founding of the Peruvian Indian Movement (MIP) which was eventually replaced in 1980 by the Indian Movement Tupac Amaru (MITA). Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari were Peruvian and Bolivian leaders of Indian uprisings in the 18th century and America has been a source of inspiration to the leaders of modern Indianist organizations in these two countries. The Indianist movement has received most support from countries with the largest indigenous population (mainly the Andean regions).

In 1980 the Indian Council of South America (CISA) was formed in Ollantaytambo, Cusco, Peru. Although containing primarily highland Indians, the founding conference had participants from all over South America. Since 1980, CISA has been working to bring together indigenous organizations in the continent to co-ordinate political work and development policies.

Five years after the founding of the Shuar Federation in 1964, the Yaneshana nation of lowland Peru formed the Congress of Amuesha Communities. Over the next decade similar bodies sprang up throughout the other Andean countries. The Congress of Israelitas (Campa), Shipibo and Aguaruna-Huambisa. In 1979 these organizations formed a federation among themselves called 20
Co-ordinating Committee of Native Communities of the Peruvian Forest (COCCONASEP) which in 1980 became the Inter-ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Forest (AIDESEP). Since then AIDESEP has increased its member organizations to 13. Meanwhile, parallel developments have been taking place with the establishment of the National Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE), comprising four organizations and the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC) which contains both highland and lowland organizations among its members. Recently, two important indigenous organizations have developed: in Bolivia (the Central Organization of Indigenous Peoples and Communities of Eastern Bolivia – CIDOB) and, in Brazil, the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI).

In 1984 at a meeting in Peru, the Co-ordinadora of the Amazon Basin was born, containing the organizations of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. This international organization brings together those facing threats in the Amazon region – particularly those initiatives formulated by the co-ordinating body of Amazon governments. At several international meetings (especially the UN) the constitutive members of the Co-ordinadora have made their representations together. The Mapuche in Chile currently have several organizations working for their rights and against the oppression of the Pinochet government. Similarly in Argentina, Paraguay and Venezuela indigenous movements have appeared over the last few years developing national representation and international co-ordination. There are three fundamental issues facing any indigenous groups forming an organization which are particularly apparent in South America. First is the structure of the organization, the second is the nature of the leadership, and the third is its strategies for achieving its goals. The particular configuration of the organization and its ideology are all aspects of how these issues are treated.

Structure of the organization

Indigenous organizations vary in structure according to two criteria – their form of representation and the extent of their centralization or decentralization.

Levels of organization:

1. Community

The fundamental basis of indigenous organization is the community. Whether this is a concentrated group of houses, a dispersed settlement or a hunting and gathering band, the community and its territorial base provide the political support and bases for representation. Communities in South America depend both on traditional forms of organization and also more recently devised ‘official’ bodies necessary for State recognition. Although in practice most communities operate independently, they usually retain affiliation to larger federations of communities – the strength of the tie being related to the particular problems which the community faces.

2. Regional organizations

Federations of communities on a regional basis work for indigenous peoples in a particular area. Although some of these (such as the Shuar Federation) follow ethnic lines, others cross-cut indigenous national boundaries (in Peru, the Native Federation of the Madre de Dios, for example, contains several indigenous nations while the Ashaninka have two local organizations to represent them).

3. Inter-regional organizations

Organizations such as AIDESEP, CIDOB and CONFENIAE, mentioned above, are federations of regional organizations in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. The highlands of Peru have had MIP A, UNI in Brazil is a more decentralized organization. Made up of regional councils with direct access to community leaders, no national decision-making body can control or override the wishes of the communities. Although such a structure is the most difficult to organize, UNI has managed to develop against many odds. Most organizations in South America run on the basis of a central office, usually in a capital or large city staffed by indigenous administrators who either already live there or who are brought temporarily to the centre. There they keep contact with their communities of origin and try to form a small land base, striving to survive dreadful poverty without losing their cultural identity. Out of their experiences in the city, many indigenous peoples have gained abilities which are essential in their struggle for rights. Some have a higher education and others have worked with organized labour, thereby dealing with the non-indigenous world to a considerable degree. All indigenous organizations have some members, if not leaders, who live, or spend most of their time, in the city and it is usually the inter-relationship between the strengths of the urban and rural sectors of indigenous society that provide the impetus for its self-development.

The nature of indigenous leadership

There are three factors to be considered: the urban/rural divide, traditional and boundary leaders, and spheres of leadership outside the indigenous organizations.

Urban versus rural

Although the fight for indigenous land rights stems from a community base, not all indigenous peoples are rural. In Lima, hundreds of thousands of migrants have settled far from their highland homes in the pueblos jovenes. There they keep contact with their communities of origin and try to form a small land base, striving to survive dreadful poverty without losing their cultural identity. Out of their experiences in the city, many indigenous peoples have gained abilities which are essential in their struggle for rights. Some have a higher education and others have worked with organized labour, thereby dealing with the non-indigenous world to a considerable degree. All indigenous organizations have some members, if not leaders, who live, or spend most of their time, in the city and it is usually the inter-relationship between the strengths of the urban and rural sectors of indigenous society that provide the impetus for its self-development.

Boundary and community leadership

In traditional community life, leadership frequently takes two forms. Community leaders are recognized as persons with particular qualities such as the ability to take decisions, being an orator, good hunter or curer and someone who is prepared to accept responsibility for actions. Such a leader may not be ‘elected’ but directly represents or manifests the needs and desires of a group within the community or the community itself. The other basis for leadership is a person who knows both the community and the
outside world and can act as a go-between, connecting indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. The basis for this leadership is indirect representation. The contrast between direct and indirect or boundary leadership is a matter of degree, but it accounts for a contrast in leaders and forms of organizations in the indigenous movement. The broader the level of representation of an organization, the more likely that its leaders and administrative workers will not be spending most of their time in communities but will be dealing with politics from the town, and therefore acting as boundary leaders.

Organizations based in the city with boundary or indirect leadership are sometimes accused of not being representative. This is not necessarily so. To be representative is not merely a question of identity and culture as found in some non-indigenous societies, but is also an understanding of the needs, desires and aspirations of indigenous peoples, and presenting these in a form which is comprehensible to non-indigenous peoples. Because of the nature of South American Amerindian societies, any leadership or organization which becomes too authoritarian, autocratic and distant will rapidly lose support from those it seeks to represent.

Leadership outside organizations – Parliament and Party

In 1983 Mario Juruna became an indigenous celebrity when he was elected the first Indian member of the Brazilian Congress. His strident personality and forthright statements have made him controversial among indigenous and non-indigenous alike; however, his strength is that, for the first time, the Brazilian people are listening to an Indian leader and he is making sure they can hear. In November 1986 Brazilian elections took place again and Juruna lost his seat. In a disappointing result, the nine other Indian candidates for different parties (mainly those of the left) failed to enter Congress.

Although Brazil has the largest mobilization of Indian leaders attempting to win parliamentary seats, the shift to democracy throughout South America has increased the numbers of candidates. Argentina and Peru have had several indigenous candidates in recent parliamentary elections. Bolivia was the first country to bring two indigenous leaders to the Parliament in 1980 when Julio Tumiri and Constantino Lima from the organization called MITKA succeeded in gaining seats with their parties taking 2.5% of the total vote. Indianist parties have been a phenomenon of Peru and Bolivia in recent years (currently there are 11 Indianist parties in Bolivia). In the Bolivian elections of 1986 the Revolutionary Movement of National Liberation Tupac Katari gained two seats with an overall Indianist increased vote share to nearly 2.8%.

Indian leaders as individuals, such as Juruna, and as members of Indian organizations, such as in Bolivia, are increasing in numbers with the return of electoral systems in South America and will probably remain a feature of indigenous politics for the immediate future.

Strategies of resistance

Indigenous resistance in South America is primarily non-violent. Violence takes place from time to time when communities are under direct attack and fight to defend themselves. In Colombia the Indian guerrilla movement Quinrin Lame acts as a defence force to protect resguardos under attack by the government and FARC. Non-violent strategies for indigenous organizations take several forms. Some, following the strict Indianist line, will not collaborate with non-indigenous organizations – even forming their own political parties when standing for Parliament. Others will either decide to work with the State apparatus to secure better conditions or else join with opposition parties, unions or liberation movements to make their demands heard more clearly.

These choices lie at the heart of strategies facing indigenous resistance in South America today. Some organizations believe that Indian identity must fight, untouched by the non-indigenous world, while others consider that indigenous peoples can never gain their rights unless they are prepared to ally themselves with other oppressed sectors of the national society.

Indianism

The Indianist strategy is a struggle for liberation stemming from Indians, by Indians and for Indians. According to one of its main exponents, Indian politics appeared at the first moment of colonization and will continue until Indian peoples achieve total liberation. In the last ten years, Indianist philosophy has developed into at least three different lines of thought. The earliest line saw the communal values of highland Indian life as compatible with left-wing politics and therefore allied itself to the left (1977–1980). The second line dissociated itself from both right and leftist policies and set up an independent Indianist line based on the creation of Indianist parties such as the Movimiento Indio Tupak Katari Apaza in Bolivia. The Indianists of Peru and Bolivia have made considerable use in their philosophy of Tawantinsuyu (the sociopolitical and social structure on which the Inca State was based). This trend was dominant between 1980 and 1983 and still continues in both countries.

The third line of Indianism is that currently existing in CISA. According to the Co-ordinator of the organization, CISA does not reflect just the Tawantinsuyu manifestation of Indianism, but sees the movement as being culturally relative. Indian identity emerges as consciousness from within a nation of people. According to this line, therefore, Indianism differs according to culture and has fixed alignment to the non-Indian political spectrum. The first line sees alliance with the left as acceptable, the second allies with no one, while the third, the centralist position, will use whatever means possible to promote the demands of Indian peoples, within a more flexible model.

Syndicalism

Whereas indigenous peoples in South America have co-operated with peasant movements and Indianist philosophy has emerged over the years with the peasant unions, particularly in the Andean countries of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile where most of the rural population are organized syndically.

The rural union movements of the Andes developed in the 1950s along with a political mobilization of the people, both indigenous and mestizo. Although non-indigenous members of rural unions frequently have louder voices in the organization, indigenous peoples have established a broad participation through local syndicates which incorporate traditional highland community structures into the union. Unfortunately this is rarely reflected in the higher echelons of union structure where indigenous issues are subsumed within the class struggle and mestizos are largely in control.

Relations between indigenous organizations and unions vary according to ideology and historical conditions. In Colombia, for example, CRIC had close ties to the National Peasant Association (ANUC) during the 1970s; however, this connection broke up because the dominant faction of ANUC saw the Indian struggle as subordinate to the peasant movement.

In Peru the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CCP) grew up during the 1950s out of a movement by community peasants to regain their stolen lands. During the military régime of Velasco the government set up the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA). Both these unions have strong indigenous links in the highlands and have at several periods attended informal talks with indigenous organizations in Peru. However, as in Colombia, the sectors of the union closest to political parties dismiss the idea that indigenous peasants have certain political rights over and above their membership of the workforce.

Bolivian unions have had a close relationship with indigenous peoples since their formation in the 1950s. During MNR’s first 12 years in power (1952–1964) the Bolivian peasant union were controlled by the party in power. Under the subsequent military governments, the National Peasant Confederation kept its independence on the National Federation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia (CNTCB) under State control. In 1979 an independent union – the Solo Sindicalist – Confederation of Bolivian Peasant Workers (CSUTCB) joined the Centre of Bolivian Workers (COB) as the only peasant union with free representation in Bolivia. One of the reasons for the splits in the Indianist MITKA movement is the desire of both their members to have a union which its members are prepared to co-operate with the CSUTCB/COB.

The relationship between unions and indigenous organizations in Ecuador is more formalized in that both CONFINAE and CONACNIE are affiliated to the peasant union ECURUNARI (one of the three such unions in Ecuador). In Chile, one of the two
main indigenous Mapuche organizations AD-MAPU is officially entitled 'the Union Association of Small Agriculturalists and Artisans, AD-MAPU'.

Indigenous organizations have, on the whole, a closer relationship with peasant unions than with any other popular sector. The main issue which arises in indigenous/union relations is to what extent the existence of indigenous struggle is compatible. Ethnic identity and class are independent variables which can, but need not, work in conflict. Where the two are complementary or parallel, a means for combatting social injustice appears, but where there is tyranny of one over the other, nothing will be resolved and the exploiters will continue to hold sway. 65

The women's movement

Indigenous women from South America have begun to put forward their perspectives on their struggle in recent years. In the highlands of Peru and Bolivia several women's organizations have been established and in Chile and Ecuador indigenous organizations have become influential. Indigenous women's writings cover two different perspectives - the position of women in traditional society and the extent to which their rights and freedoms are denied, and the effect of colonization and how the exploitative relations in non-indigenous society have been imposed upon indigenous women. Latin women's role in indigenous society is their own viewpoint. This is because men dominate the channels of communication with the outside and it is extremely difficult to know how women really see their roles. A view which is sometimes expressed is that, broadly speaking, indigenous women have more equality with men in traditional society than in the industrialized world, despite some constrictions on their freedom as individuals.

The main emphasis is to define the relationship between colonization and the exploitation of women. A publication by the Organization Aymaran Women of Kollasuyu (Bolivia) (OMAK) explains how traditionally men and women made decisions together, had the same rights and together formed the community. The imposition of inequality between men and women by colonization has provided the incorrect analysis that liberation is a male struggle. In order to bring the 'community' together again, women must fight for their own complementary liberation. 66

The problems facing women in La Paz are similar to indigenous women throughout South America. In the markets, women street vendors try to sell their wares to scrape a living while suffering discrimination and insults from those who claim to be their superiors. Women, including Indian women, form the servant population in all parts of the continent. They frequently receive little or no salary and have to work long hours. Other women are forced through poverty into work as seamstresses for very low wages and live in miserable conditions.

There are other Aymara women's organizations. The Woman's Promotion Centre Gregoria Apaza is working with migrant Aymara women and uses radio discussions to reach the maximum population in all parts of the continent. They have been an ever greater presence of indigenous Amerindians at the Human Rights Commission and the United Nations.

The major international platform for the human rights of South American Indian peoples has been the United Nations Human Rights Commission and the International Labour Organization. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS) has contributed to this process and studied cases of violations of indigenous rights in South America, although they are still a minority within their profession. The Marandu project, started in 1972, was designed to promote the self-determination of the indigenous peoples of Paraguay. It was primarily an information project (marandu means 'information' in Guaraní). Despite its closure in 1975 and the arrest of its leaders, the project continued and has left a legacy in the indigenous organizations in Paraguay. The major indigenous organization in Paraguay is the AD-MAPU, which is officially recognized by the United Nations.

In Peru, Brazil and Venezuela, groups of anthropologists adhering to the principles of the Declaration of Barbados, have formed organizations in support of indigenous peoples' rights. 67 In the field, too, there are individuals and groups who are dedicating their lives to the indigenous struggle. A well-known example is the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami National Park (CCPY) in Brazil. This organization is currently working an extremely effective health programme among the Yanomami of Roraima while campaigning for the creation of a national park. 68

South American Indian rights had its first international support organization in 1972 when the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) was founded after reports of gross violations of human rights were disclosed at the Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart. Since then IWGIA has been publishing regularly on South American issues, campaigning and supporting small-scale organizational and self-development projects in the continent.

Following IWGIA's example several other organizations have joined in the support of indigenous peoples' rights to land and self-determination. From Britain, Survival International, the longest-established Anti-Slavery Society and CIMRA, from West Germany, the Society for Endangered Peoples and from the Netherlands, the Workgroup for Indigenous Peoples have all worked to promote indigenous rights. In the United States the support organization Cultural Survival channels aid money to South American Indian organizations and regularly publishes on indigenous issues.

International bodies and human rights instruments

The major international platform for the human rights of South American indigenous peoples has been at the United Nations Human Rights Commission and the International Labour Organization. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS) has contributed to this process and studied cases of violations of indigenous rights in South America, particularly in Colombia, Paraguay and Brazil. But all these bodies could make more use of their potentially important influence in the Americas.

Since 1977, when South American Indians were represented at the NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, there has been an ever greater presence of indigenous Amerindians at the UN in Geneva. This is particularly the case at the Working Group on Indigenous Populations usually held at the end of July. The Working Group was established by the UN Human Rights Commission under its Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in Geneva in 1982. Its mandate is to review developments in the situation of human rights among indigenous peoples all over the world and to establish a Declaration of Principles of Indigenous Rights which will eventually become a Convention. To date over 11 principles have been agreed, all with a substantial input by indigenous peoples. Many of the statements and comments on the system by indigenous peoples have now been published by IWGIA.

The International Labour Organization's Convention 107 on indigenous and tribal peoples was of 1957 is currently under revision. As the only currently recognized international standard, the Convention has been used to test the Brazilian government
on the Yanomami human rights violations. However the integrationist perspective of the Convention is unacceptable to indigenous peoples and it is hoped that the revised Convention will come out unequivocally in favour of their rights to self-determination, territorial resources and control over their own development. Only then will it become an effective instrument.

CONCLUSION

On 15 March 1987, a 16 year old Amarakaeri youth was shot in the head by a colonist on the River Pukiri, Madre de Dios, Peru. As on most Sundays, the Amarakaeri had been relaxing and playing football among themselves and with some local colonists who had come over to talk. Because so many colonists and their workers live illegally on Amarakaeri land, tensions are never far from the surface. An argument broke out, there were scuffles and the colonists retreated. Later that evening the boy went upriver to a small store to buy cigarettes. As he entered he was shot and died instantly.

This is not an isolated incident in Peru, or South America. Killings take place every day. The killing could well have happened in Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Surinam or Paraguay. Sometimes the deaths result from direct oppression by the authorities; sometimes they arise from conflicts between colonists and indigenous peoples; sometimes they are products of poor conditions and neglect. In the face of the threats and dangers facing so many of the Amerindians of South America, there is a temptation for people to offer proposals and recommendations as to how the situation can be improved. Although meant well, any suggestions which by-pass the wishes and considerations of indigenous peoples mean little because they ignore their fundamental right to self-determination.

These non-indigenous proposals follow two lines of thought: integrationist or protectionist. The integrationist position, held by liberal governments, concerned individuals and some organizations, considers that the decimation of the indigenous peoples of South America has arisen from a series of unfortunate accidents. The causes and reasons behind the problems are largely the result of mismanagement by governments and powerful interests. Indigenous peoples will eventually become integrated into the nation States of which they are a part and so this must be done as fairly and painlessly as possible, taking their wishes into account as long as these don’t appear too disruptive. Indians are, by and large, overwhelmed by their situation and it remains up to the authorities and experts to guide them to a peaceful and more just future.

According to the protectionist position, the indigenous question arises from too much contact between traditional cultures and industrialized societies. Indigenous peoples should be protected and allowed to do what they like within the confines of their territories. They should be encouraged to live within their communities and outsiders should not be allowed access as the result of pressure from outside. Once the populations have been dislodged and their lands deserted, and the trend must work together to seek a solution, taking into account indigenous views as long as they don’t question the principles of the position. If this Report were to produce ‘practical solutions’ or recommendations, the net result would be a modified version of the two positions set out above. It does not intend to do this. It is impossible to make generalizations as to what future indigenous peoples themselves should have, without knowing what they want. Local, regional, national and international demands of indigenous peoples vary and it is up to those intending to seek remedies for their problems to talk and listen to them first.

There are, however, in South America many unnecessary threats facing indigenous peoples. For example, some colonization projects need not take place in areas where there are indigenous peoples. They have no objection to people migrating and living in areas which are genuinely not inhabited previously, but they do object to losing their ancestral lands to colonists, and also losing their few opportunities to make a living as well as their access to local markets and commodities.

The tension and conflicts which arise between colonists and indigenous peoples cannot be seen outside the structural problems in South America. Political economies and the global economy which contributes to the poverty in almost all sectors of society. In Brazil, for example, poor colonists are given a virtually free rein to attack and invade Indian lands. This is not the fault of the poor but of those who have the power to change the conditions which allow poverty and exploitation to continue. There is an urgent need for more detailed studies on the causes of poverty, exploitation and discrimination connecting regional, national and international levels. By understanding the conditions which indigenous peoples are sharing with other disadvantaged sectors of society it should be possible for indigenous peoples to exercise their right to self-determination without hindrance or threat. From this perspective the indigenous struggle will involve alliance with other oppressed peoples of South America to fight for their basic rights as human beings.

In addition to the common problems facing the oppressed, indigenous peoples have problems which particularly affect them as colonized nations. The intimate connection between indigenous society, culture and territory has been mentioned throughout this Report and it is this particular combination which moulds the right of self-determination. There is no doubt that indigenous peoples of the Americas are going through that alternation between resignation and resistance mentioned in the introduction. The efforts of indigenous peoples themselves to combat the threats which face them has been a fundamental part of their history and something which provides inspiration today. The only way to make a positive step towards improving their lot is to support them in combating their own uncertainties. This means taking their resistance and their right to self-determination seriously.

The rise of indigenous organizations has been, without doubt, the most significant development during the last ten years. No one pretends that Indian organizations represent all of the Amerindian peoples, but they are trying to reflect the needs of those facing threats to the survival of their lives and cultures. Indigenous peoples need not the old style of paternalistic backing but a different kind of support which reflects their self-determination and respects their ways and desires to form their own future. The theme of this Report has been self-determination, which the present writer believes to be the only real path for the recognition of the human rights of indigenous peoples. It does not make their struggle an inevitable road to success, but it does give it a meaning and sense of continuity which is fundamental to their own future.

It is impossible to say that the situation of the South American indigenous nations has improved since the last MRG Report. For every gain – representatives in Parliament, new organizations, self-development projects – there are losses – killings of indigenous leaders, rapid loss of territories and discrimination. Because of the determined resolution of Indians all over the continent, they have continued to hold out against overwhelming odds – and this in itself is a victory. From the patio to the Parliament and to the United Nations, Indian organizations in the Americas and all over the world are speaking out for themselves and for each other. The need for others to speak on their behalf has almost disappeared. A clear demonstration of this has been the work by indigenous peoples to set up standards which should provide the basis for their rights. At the beginning of this Report the Declaration of Principles, which is presented as a preface, was formulated by indigenous peoples themselves at the United Nations in 1985. It is still only an outline and needs further thought (particularly Article 18 which, in a Brazilian context, would remove the obligation by the State to protect Indian communities from colonists). Nevertheless, the declaration as published is an immediate indication of the sort of framework which would have to be taken into consideration by any national or international body trying to remedy the problems facing the Amerindians of South America.

To recognize that indigenous nations should have the right to control their affairs does not mean that non-indigenous peoples can do nothing to support them. All it means is that indigenous peoples must have the right to lead their own struggle and to find support from the rest of the world. In practice, this means that indigenous affairs should receive a much higher profile in the media and also in the priorities of influential sectors of society: churches, trade unions, parliament, development organizations, and political parties. Individuals can play their part by bringing indigenous peoples’ problems to the attention of these bodies. Public awareness of indigenous affairs must be sharpened and put to work. The future for these nations is not secure – indeed the same threats hang over them now as throughout colonial history.
The future of indigenous peoples is bound up with many aspects of other societies: like other people, they seek a better environment, social justice and respect for humanity. This Report has tried to show that the factors preventing them from exercising their fundamental rights — the self-interest of nation States and the constraints of the global political economy — are the same as those preventing them from exercising their rights.

FOOTNOTES

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Meeting in Brazil

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