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INTERIM REPORT

Amazonia Symposium
University of Wisconsin, Madison

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Theodore Macdonald, Jr.
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INTERIM REPORT

Amazonia Symposium
University of Wisconsin, Madison

The following is an interim report on the international symposium, "Amazonia: Extinction or Survival?--The Impact of National Development on the Native People of Lowland Tropical South America," which was held during the period of 18-23 April, 1978, at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Partial support for this symposium was provided in the form of a grant from the United States Agency for International Development--Project Number 598-6587322. The organizing committee is very grateful for this generous support. As stipulated in the grant agreement, the final report will be in the form of a book documenting the proceedings of the symposium. This book will be published by the University of Wisconsin Press during 1979. Among other items, a summary of that book is included in this report.

Rationale for the Symposium

In 1492, just prior to the first European landfall in the Americas, the aboriginal population of Amazonia was approximately 8 million. Today there are only about 500,000 people living in Amazonia, many of whom are non-Indian colonists. Exploitation and systematic decimation of indigenous Amazonia, however, is not a new phenomenon. Beginning with European exploration and slaving raids of the sixteenth century, extending through the Rubber Boom at the turn of the twentieth century, and continuing until the present time, numerous accounts document a tragic history. Euro-Americans murdered and enslaved Native Americans while simultaneously precipitating startling depopulation through the introduction of epidemic disease into virgin populations. Nevertheless, native people, their society, and their culture survived this depopulation, and today many still exist as healthy, well-adapted populations.

However, left to its own devices, non-Indian society may very quickly and finally finish the process it started in the fifteenth century. And it may wantonly destroy the Amazonian ecosystem as well. To illustrate, in Brazil one North American entrepreneur recently cleared 250,000 acres of forest in order to test new agricultural techniques. Thousands of other people are clearing forest for similar purposes. Most agricultural and ecological experts predict that such "experiments" are doomed to failure. Meanwhile, whenever such experiments take place, indigenous people are usually uprooted and relocated in less desirable locations.

In southern Venezuela and northern Brazil recent mineral exploration has brought mining concerns into the area. Right behind them, roads are being constructed to supply the mines and transport the extracts. In 1977, when one of these new highways provided a vector for epidemic disease, sixty-seven Indians living in an American Evangelical mission site died of measles. Roads have also served to carve up Indian reservations such as the Xingu reserve in Brazil.

Likewise, petroleum deposits have occasioned three major pipelines running from the Amazon to the Pacific coasts of Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. The pipelines are paralleled by access roads which, in addition to providing vectors for transmitting disease, serve as avenues for displaced Andean populations who are currently colonizing Amazonia at a rate which has never occurred before. Brazil's well-known Trans-Amazon highway, ostensibly constructed to siphon off excess population from Brazil's impoverished northeast, has carved its way deep into Brazilian Amazonia. Many observers have questioned the motives and wisdom of such colonization schemes. The opinion of an agricultural economist, Ernest Feder, is typical when he writes that "there is by and large no need for large-scale transfers of peasants to outlying areas in order to provide them with land resources...as a general rule proposals for increased colonization are designed to bypass the land tenure problems posed by latifundismo."

The tragic irony of colonization is that, as it displaces indigenous people and introduces new diseases, it is not providing a livable, long-term livelihood and existence for the colonists. By and large the land-use systems which they introduce are totally inappropriate for Amazonian soils.

Consequently a pattern has developed: land utilized for agriculture by colonists quickly becomes incapable of intensive cultivation, colonists expand further into the interior, the depleted land is then converted to extensive pasture land, and ranching is undertaken largely by absentee large land owners or companies who have little long-term interest in the area. Regarding this pattern, Shelton Davis has recently written that "a German ecologist noted that he observed a single cattle company with a team of 1,000 men at work in the Amazon, cutting down the forest and indiscriminately ruining the land. If land clearance continued on this scale, the ecologist predicted, around 1990 there would be a 'series of ecological crises' throughout the Amazon region of Brazil." These crises will have enormous national economic as well as local human impact. Much of the Amazon could become savannah land which would be totally incapable of intensive production or of supporting the population which the Amazonian nations hope to settle in the area. Thus, roads are built and Indians are displaced by colonists who are then displaced by large land owners. These entrepreneurs, in turn, are experimenting with land-use techniques, particularly cattle raising, which may turn the Amazon into an ecological and economic wasteland. Fosberg, a botanist from the Smithsonian Institute, sums up the feeling of most experts when he

writes: "It is doubtful if anywhere in the humid tropics grazing on a large scale could have evolved as an indigenous cultural pattern, as traits which seriously degrade the habitat are non-adaptive and would be selected against." Native Amazons already know this, but few people are willing to listen to them.

While this brief review of the Amazonian situation does not consider the various national and local differences in policies and activities, it nonetheless represents a general pattern (A comprehensive bibliography relating to contemporary Amazonia will be included in the forthcoming volume. In the meantime, interested individuals might want to look at two highly readable and informative books: Amazon Jungle: Green Hell to Red Desert, by R.J.A. Goodland and H.S. Irwin, and Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil, by Shelton H. Davis.). Moreover, the general feeling among all observers is that this process is presently accelerating at such a rate that many Amazonian groups are threatened with absolute extinction. Those who survive displacement and disease will have no alternative other than to sell their labor to those large land owners who are displacing them. As pawns in a complex economic experiment, native people whose lives and livelihoods now provide a secure and healthy existence will have to abandon that existence and step onto the insecure lowest rung of the national economic ladder. And given their respective governments' present attitude toward Indian educational and technical capabilities, it is unlikely that they will ever get the opportunity to step above that lowest rung. It is this urgent present condition and ominous future which prompted the symposium.

Aim of the Symposium

The symposium was organized to achieve three basic goals:

1) To provide participants (and, later, readers of the Proceedings) with broad exposure to the nature and extent of the destruction, cultural and personal, existing in contemporary Amazonia. This was to be done through a series of papers which would balance general theoretical discussions with specialized reports on particular local problems. All of the major countries with Amazonian territory were to be included.

2) To illustrate existing or potential alternatives based on reports by those who have had intensive experience and research interest in specific areas or with specific problems. Towards this end the organizing committee selected major fields where problems existed and where solutions, or at least improved conditions, might be possible. These were: a) colonization, land tenure, and land-use patterns (seen as a single interwoven set), b) Indian health problems, c) Indian education, and d) Indian legislation, civil liberties, and other legal problems.

3) To formulate some suggestions or resolutions for future human rights work in Amazonia. Time for airing comments was to be

allowed during each day of the symposium. The final day of the symposium was set aside for an open unstructured session. At this time the participants would develop a statement, or series of statements, concerning the non-natives' role and responsibility with regard to the human rights of Native Americans. By contrast to the tightly organized schedule of the first four days, the final day of the symposium was left purposely unstructured, with the single exception of selecting a highly skilled moderator, Richard N. Adams. Beyond this, however, it was felt that the previous days' experiences and the participants themselves should generate the pattern of activities for the final resolution-producing day.

It should be stressed that these meetings were not conceived to be a strategy session where anthropologists and other sympathetic individuals could decide what they as a group could do in the face of some absent or distant agents of destructive social change (e.g. multinational corporations, international development agencies, etc.). Such meetings had already occurred, and they had produced little change in policies. For the Madison symposium, all of these agents of change were personally invited in the hopes that such a heterogeneous gathering could initiate, through education and discussion, productive interchange of ideas and goals. Consequently, invitees included the principal development agencies (Ford Foundation, Inter-American Foundation, United States Agency for International Development); missionary groups (S.I.L., New Tribes Missions, and numerous others); and all U.S.-based corporations who, either directly or through their local subsidiaries, were actively working in the area. With regard to business and industry involved in Amazonian development, the organizing committee compiled a very large list from which over one hundred were selected and asked to send representatives. While we did not expect, nor could we have expected, uncritical or passive acceptance of one another's ideas and beliefs within such a heterogeneous gathering, the organizers felt that only by talking with one another rather than about one another could the various agencies and individuals begin to implement policies and design individual development schemes with an eye towards minimizing the current threat to indigenous life, livelihood, and culture.

It was in this respect that attendance was most disappointing. Over two hundred people travelled to Madison from throughout the United States, Latin America, and Europe. These included anthropologists, development officials, government workers, Native Americans, students, South American embassy officials, United Nations officials, and human rights workers from various organizations (see enclosed participants list which, incidentally, only includes those participants who took time to fill out an information sheet). However, not one of the large or small industries or companies active in Latin American economics sent a representative. If their blatant lack of concern for human rights were not so potentially destructive, their replies to our invitations would have appeared quite comical; everyone had board of directors meetings during the period of the symposium! Consequently the symposium was largely a meeting of sympathetic

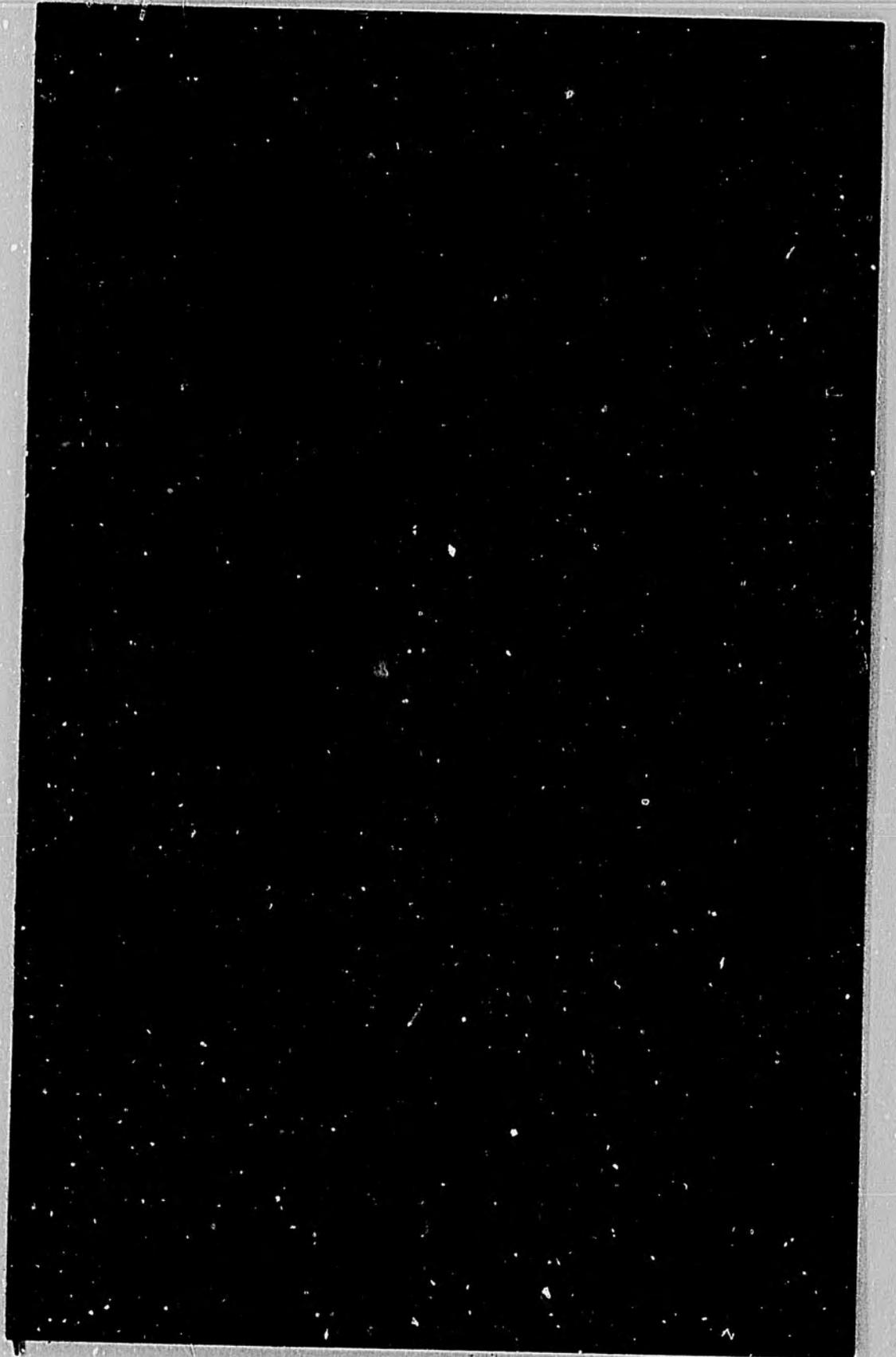
individuals, although they could hardly be said to have been of one mind.

In selecting and inviting the principal participants, various agencies and foundations provided generous and relatively unrestricted financial support. This allowed the organizing committee absolute freedom to select and invite whomever they felt would provide a balanced and representative group of participants.

The Symposium

The meetings began on Tuesday evening, 18 April, 1978, and lasted until Saturday evening, 23 April, 1978. The following copy of the program lists all of the major lectures and other activities:

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Final Day: General Meeting and Resolutions

Beginning at nine o'clock on Saturday morning and lasting until about five o'clock in the afternoon, the symposium participants attended a meeting moderated by Richard N. Adams. The resolutions adopted during that day are included below. It will be noted that they reflect the mood and sentiments of the symposium as it evolved for several days. The general feeling was that the principal role and responsibility of non-natives lay in actively supporting indigenous efforts at self-determination and condemning whatever acts, directly or indirectly, inhibit such efforts.

Subsequent Events and Developments From the Symposium

The Proceedings

The proceedings of the Amazonia Symposium were not published and distributed immediately after the event. This would have violated the copyright principles followed by the University of Wisconsin Press which has agreed to publish the translated and edited proceedings as a bound volume (Pre-publication expenses for this book have been aided by a grant from USAID--Project Number 598-6587322.). During the late spring of 1978, immediately following the symposium, the organizers and members of the Ibero-American Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin reached an agreement with the University of Wisconsin Press whereby the press would initiate a series of Latin American studies selected by the Ibero-American Studies Program. The first of these will be the proceedings of the Amazonia Symposium.

With the rising costs of high-quality specialized academic publications, most university presses are hesitant to publish paperbound editions of their books until the sales from a clothbound edition are sufficient to cover initial publication expenses. However, the editor of the Amazonia proceedings, Theodore Macdonald, argued that the publication of an expensive, clothbound edition would severely limit a potentially broad readership. Likewise, an expensive, hardbound book would virtually prohibit the book's adoption for university-level class use. So the editor and the director of the Ibero-American Studies Program negotiated with the press, and we now think that we have an acceptable compromise. The first edition will consist of 1,000 clothbound volumes (priced at approximately \$20 apiece) and 1,500 paperbound volumes (priced at approximately \$8 apiece).

At this moment, all except three of the papers have been received, translated (when necessary), edited, and re-submitted to authors for subsequent revision when necessary. On or about 1 April, 1979, the editor will take the manuscript to the press offices in order to negotiate a publication date. We are anticipating that the book will be available for sale in early January, 1980. AID will be advised as soon as the final date is established. For such multi-authored, translated volumes, this is considered to be very

rapid publication time. Symposia often take years to finally reach print. However, the editor, the various authors, and other interested individuals feel that the urgency of the problem warrants speedy and preferential treatment. In advance of publication we have included a Table of Contents followed by brief synopses of each contribution (see enclosed attachment).

Additional Outcomes of the Symposium

As stated in the Aims, the goal of the symposium was to influence change. It is hoped that the above-mentioned volume, which is entitled National Development and Native People in the Amazon Basin: Proceedings of the Symposia Amazonia: Extinction or Survival?; Madison, Wisconsin; 22-23 April, 1977, and 18-23 April, 1978, will provide readers, particularly activists and policy-makers, with a series of varied viewpoints and ideas on the situation in contemporary Amazonia, and a set of potential guidelines for future consideration of any activities which affect native people in Amazonia.

Other sources of information have also been a direct offshoot of the symposium. Enclosed are copies of published comments on the symposium (newspaper articles and several other short reports have not been included). It will be noted that some of the comments are somewhat critical of various aspects of the symposium. This, we feel, is a positive response. Re-evaluation, re-assessment of goals and ideas, self-criticism, and concerns over motivation are essential matters for anyone who attempts to influence the course of social change. Controversy indicates an alert and concerned group of advocates.

Several other, not insignificant, activities have also been generated through information and personal contacts occasioned by the symposium. Three of these are worthy of mention.

Jonathan Schwartz from Brown University attended the Amazonia Symposium. Upon returning to Providence, he began to organize a brief radio program on the Amazonian situation which would be broadcast on the university stations at Brown University and Boston University. However, utilizing written material, authorized segments of taped lectures, and subsequent interviews with participants, he finally produced a one-hour long broadcast which was then accepted by National Educational Radio and distributed to stations throughout the United States.

More importantly, the symposium took place just prior to informal US House of Representatives' questioning into the impact of US-based multi-national corporations in Amazonia. Susan Wallerstein, a member of Representative Michael Harrington's staff (the Harrington Committee conducted the hearings), attended the symposium, gathered copious notes, and interviewed a number of participants. All North American participants signed a petition which was sent to the Harrington Committee. During the summer, Shelton H. Davis and R.J.A. Goodland were invited to speak to the

committee. As yet there has been no decision as to whether the matter will pass into formal investigation. Nevertheless, a number of symposium participants have expressed their desire to act as witnesses if such hearings finally materialize.

Also, three of the major human rights organizations actively working in South America sent representatives to the symposium. Although they knew of each other's work, they had never been able to sit down and coordinate their activities. The symposium provided that opportunity and, at the moment, the Copenhagen-based International Work Group For Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) and London-based Survival International have begun to establish a close alliance. In the near future, Boston-based Cultural Survival, Inc., expects to establish closer ties with both groups.

It is in this area of newly activated networks of experts and activists that the symposium will probably have its most far-reaching effects. The organizers did not assume that the symposium itself would end the tragic human situation in Amazonia. Any meeting of unincorporated individuals cannot expect to immediately convert its hopes into reality simply by adopting resolutions. Such decisions must be followed by action. However, as anthropologists, we realize that ritual gatherings such as symposia often help to generate subsequent action as a result of the information which is informally as well as formally exchanged. Likewise, strong personal networks are often established during such meetings and frequently persist long after the meeting has ended. This was the case with the Amazonia Symposium; most of the people who attended shared similar ideas and experiences but only a few had ever met each other, let alone act cooperatively with one another. In this sense the symposium produced effects which will last far into the future.

The initial organization and publicity for the symposium produced a large number of detailed responses. People related their experiences, expressed their support, and named others with similar interest and expertise. The organizing committee now has a list of individuals, many of whom have spent years in Amazonia, who can pinpoint problems, provide background information and historical perspective, make recommendations, and evaluate proposals for human rights and development work. These individuals, as well as those who were able to attend the symposium, are an experienced, articulate, and dedicated resource pool which can be dipped into for any future work.

During the final day of the symposium, a motion was put forth which would give permanent form to this latent network. The symposium organizing committee was asked to help form an Amazonia Survival Group. During the summer of 1978 a letter was circulated to all those who attended the symposium (see attachments). Since then we have received numerous sympathetic responses. The network is about to take form. However, the organizing committee and many of those who responded to the letter felt that the Amazonia Survival Group should not become an autonomous entity. The risks of potential disintegration or overlap with existing groups would not only be unproductive, but perhaps counterproductive. We think

that this latent energy, concern, and expertise can best be utilized by annexing the Amazonia group to some existing human rights organization. At present, Theodore Macdonald and David Maybury-Lewis are attempting to link the Amazonia Survival Group with Cultural Survival, Inc., a Harvard-based organization concerned with the plight of endangered minorities. If these efforts are successful, the networks established by the Amazonia Symposium will become an effective and well-established information and consultant pool. And, in the United States, Cultural Survival, Inc., will become an unparalleled reservoir of current information concerning Amazonian problems. The Amazonia Symposium organizing committee is very grateful to AID, particularly to Ms. Roma Knee of the Latin American and Caribbean Bureau who actively supported and personally handled the symposium-related grant.

National Development and Native People in the Amazon Basin
Proceedings of the Symposia Amazonia: Extinction or Survival?
University of Wisconsin, Madison
22-23 April 1977 and 18-23 April 1978

Edited by
Theodore Macdonald, Jr.

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National Development and Native People in the Amazon Basin
Proceedings of the Symposia Amazonia: Extinction or Survival?
University of Wisconsin, Madison
22-23 April 1977 and 18-23 April 1978

Edited by
Theodore Macdonald, Jr.

(Estimated ms length: 500 typed pages, double-spaced, ample margins)

A. Forward (Richard N. Adams, University of Texas, Austin)

Adams concisely and critically reviews the theme of the symposium and, equally important, addresses the problem of ideological and methodological conflict which characterizes those non-Indians concerned with the plight of Native Americans in Amazonia. This Forward, in effect, is a major contribution to the volume.

B. Introduction (Theodore Macdonald, Jr., University of Wisconsin, Madison)

The Introduction is divided into three parts. Part One broadly reviews the situation of native peoples in the Amazon. Beginning with a brief discussion of the cataclysmic depopulation which followed the introduction of western epidemic disease and continuing into a discussion of the Rubber Boom and its impact on Amazonia, the paper then details the contemporary situation, and explains why this epoch is particularly critical and therefore warrants immediate consideration and action. Part Two reviews the organization, aims, and outcome of the Amazonia Symposium. Part Three outlines the organization of the book and discusses the papers. Briefly, the book is divided into two major parts: 1) general approaches to the indigenous situation in Amazonia, and 2) particular problems in specific locations

PART I: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. Man and Nature: Coming to Terms With the Future
(Howard S. Irwin, New York Botanical Gardens)

Irwin, co-author (with R.J.A. Goodland) of the widely read book, Amazon Jungle: Green Hell to Red Desert, begins his paper with an overview of the need for general ecosystem conservation and then reviews some current ecological concerns. He then focuses on the current, ecologically disastrous, development programs underway in Brazil (e.g. the Trans-Amazon Highway). He finally returns to the larger ecological issue and urges ethical rather than economic decisions on the part of those currently developing Amazonia.

2. Progress and Perspective: Moral and Political Issues in Development
(David Maybury-Lewis, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University)

Maybury-Lewis, who has been involved with Brazilian native people for over twenty years, expands on the humanitarian concerns urged by Irwin. He considers the general problem of small societies threatened by larger ones. While urging non-natives to be concerned with such problems, he then considers why one should take such problems seriously. He rejects 1) the argument that anthropologists are concerned only with preserving pristine research "laboratories," and 2) the often-stated "need" to maintain such populations in order to preserve cultural and genetic variability. Then, like Irwin, he proposes an ethical argument: small societies must be preserved because, to do otherwise, would be to accept genocide.

3. Self-Determination: Rhetoric or Reality?
(Stephan Corry, Survival International, London)

Corry's essay goes beyond simple survival and focuses on self-determination--indigenous control over their lives and livelihoods. Rejecting both integration and isolation, Corry states that Indians must have "as much control as possible" over their own destiny. He then focuses on this generalization, citing examples of independent indigenous efforts at self-determination as well as the work of indigenist groups, such as Survival International, which attempts to aid efforts at self-determination. In doing so, he demonstrates that while self-determination is easy to define, it is difficult to implement. And it is not simply a matter of opposition from the dominant society. He asks so-called "indigenist" groups and individuals to seriously consider their motivations and methods.

4. Indigenous Self-Determination: An Experience in Applied Anthropology and a Plan For Future Work
(Miguel Chase-Sardi and Marilyn Rehnfeldt, Consejo Indigena and Proyecto Marandú, Paraguay)

Chase-Sardi and Rehnfeldt, both of whom were briefly jailed by the Paraguayan government for their efforts to improve the situation of indigenous people, describe the development and organizational structure of a project supported by what Corry calls indigenists (actively sympathetic non-Indians). Their goal is to institutionalize self-determination. The authors describe Paraguay as a dual society--Indian and non-Indian. Although the two systems are sharply contrastive, they are intimately intertwined. Indian society is dependent upon the national society which, they write, totally determines indigenous patterns and processes of change and adaptation. The described program is aimed at defining and destroying this dependency through a large pan-Indian program.

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5. Colonization and National Reality

(Rafael Masinkias, Shuar Federation, Sucuá, Ecuador)

As a complement to Chase-Sardi and Rehnfeldt's paper, Masinkias, a Shuar Indian, discusses self-determination as seen and directed by Native Americans. Concentrating on recent Ecuadorian colonization legislation, the paper outlines the Shuars' views on their rights, their relationship with the national society, and their concept of indigenous self-determination. This short paper concludes with a series of recommendations and declarations drawn up by the Shuar Federation. They are directed toward new Ecuadorian legislation which could considerably and negatively alter the Shuar territory.

6. Legal, Economic, and Cultural Factors Affecting Indigenous Populations in Venezuela

(Simi6n Jim6nez Tur6n, Ye6uana people, Venezuela)

Jim6nez provides a detailed review of the history of indigenous legislation and national policies in Venezuela. Concentrating on the period after 1950, he gives a native's impression of the effects of educational policies and changing economic conditions. He then considers the effect of education and economics upon various Indian people, ranging from isolated groups to those who are in daily contact with national Venezuelan society. The paper illustrates that the situation of Indians frequently results from Venezuela's efforts to escape national problems simply by encroaching on indigenous territory.

7. The Integration of the Indigenous Peoples of the Territory of Roraima, Northern Brazil

(Ernest G. Migliazza, Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland)

Migliazza discusses a pattern of contact which is common in Amazonia. After a general review of the Roraima region, he discusses five mechanisms of integration. These are: 1) land development whereby whites develop Indian land, claim it as their own and, when legal disputes arise, Indians are chastized for "delaying progress;" 2) protective agency manipulation in which Indians are treated like children in an effort to mold them into western social forms; 3) socio-political and psychological pressures whereby debt servitude and public ridicule diminish indigenous self-esteem and convert Indians into a cheap labor supply; 4) manipulation of local customs such as group labor and post-labor drinking in order to obtain a cheap labor supply; and finally 5) population displacement which destroys local unity.

8. A Model of Contact Situations: The Apinay6 Case

(Roberto da Matta, Museo Nacional, Brazil)

Da Matta describes and analyzes a situation similar to that discussed by Migliazza. However da Matta focuses on the Indian. Rather than stressing outside forces, he asks what it costs--economically, socially, and psychologically--to be and remain as an Indian in contemporary Brazil. The pressures to give up "Indian-ness" and become a white Brazilian are shown to be strong. And, as such, continuing to be an Indian requires a strong reaction to such pressures.

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9. The Struggle of Amazonian Peoples: From Ecological Restitution to Class Restitution
(Fernando Rojas N., Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, Colombia)

Rojas presents a Marxist critique of human rights concerns in Amazonia and suggests an alternative approach. He argues that by focusing on 1) solely the situation of the Indians, 2) their fate in the face of ecological destruction, and 3) development programs as the source of destruction, the symposium and most human rights work in Amazonia avoid critical questions. He asks us to 1) look at the protagonists rather than the victims and 2) consider Amazonia within a larger political field. By isolating indigenous people from other oppressed people, one masks the larger political and economic forces which are affecting their situation.

PART II: SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

A. LAND TENURE AND LAND USE

10. Invasion and Colonialism as a Form of Dependent Development: The Case of the Peruvian Amazon
(Stefano Varese, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia-- INAH, Mexico)

Varese, who worked for several years as a tropical forest specialist in the Peruvian agrarian reform agency, first sets up a set of working hypotheses which he and his co-workers developed during the early 1970s. Designed to integrate native people while also assuring a high degree of autonomy and self-determination, Varese's plan reflected the positive feelings of radical social change which took place during the presidency of General Juan Velasco Alvarado. These hopes, however, gradually diminished after 1975, as more conservative elements gained control of the government. At this time the government became progressively less concerned with social change, largely due to pressures from international lending agencies. But although the Indians' situation looks bleak, Varese concludes that such ethnic groups will become a major political force in Peru's future.

11. The Multinational Squeeze: The Mitsui Mining and Smelting Company, The International Monetary Fund, and the Amuesha of Central Peru
(Richard Chase Smith, Amuesha people, Peru)

Smith presents a detailed and focused study of the general processes described by Varese. A portion of Amuesha land, held in precarious tenure, becomes the concern of a Japanese mining company. Smith then asks how such a company can easily make claims to Peruvian soil and also violate a land agreement made between Peru and the Amuesha people. He then considers recent Peruvian economics, Japanese economy, and current international banking policies and their impact on Peru. He demonstrates that the Amuesha situation represents a microcosm for understanding certain aspects of the world economy. He concludes by stating that, as usual, the poor and the powerless are the ones who pay for Peru's indebtedness.

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12. Impact of Colonization on Bari Settlement Patterns and Social Life in Colombia and Venezuela
(Roberto Lizarralde, Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales, Universidad Central de Venezuela, and Stephen Beckerman, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University)

Lizarralde, working in Venezuela, and Beckerman, working in Colombia, present a detailed historical analysis of the gradual reduction of Bari territory and its impact on Bari life and society. Excellent maps elaborated by the senior author during thirty years of investigation illustrate a dramatic reduction in territory. This is followed by discussion of contemporary Bari culture and society after the territorial reduction.

13. Variables Affecting Land Requirements for Tropical Forest Horticulturalists: Some Policy Implications
(James Yost, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ecuador)

Yost, who has lived for four years as an anthropologist among the recently contacted Huarani people (eastern Ecuador) whose land is threatened by U.S. oil companies, begins by stating that advocates for Native Americans and the Native Americans themselves always say that land is essential for cultural and social survival. Yet he notes that people rarely attempt to analyze how much land a group might need. If one hopes to present demands for indigenous land rights, "hard data" (i.e. exact land size and justification for such amounts) are essential. This, he shows, is not easy. One must consider 1) the size of the population which will occupy the land (i.e. how many generations of future growth should be allowed), 2) the ability of the land to contribute to subsistence, and 3) how to determine what constitutes "adequate" supplies of wild food, fish, game, building supplies, and raw material for artifacts. He then considers such variables in an effort to determine the territorial needs of the Huarani people.

14. Resource Depletion and Territorial Requirements of the Shipibo of Peru
(John H. Bodley and Foley C. Benson, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University)

As if following the recommendations of Yost, Bodley and Benson provide a detailed analysis of resource and territorial needs among the Shipibo of eastern Peru. Noting that land requirements for subsistence, shifting horticulture are well documented, they write that "there has been little attention paid to the wild plants that are fully as important to the needs of local communities." So they focus on several essential semi-domesticated palms which are used by the Shipibo. First they list the plants' use and distribution, and they then demonstrate that existing Shipibo territory is inadequate and needs must be reconsidered.

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B. THE HEALTH CONSEQUENCES OF AMAZONIAN DEVELOPMENT

15. Factors Influencing the Health of Venezuelan Indian Groups:
A Preliminary Study
(Nelly Arvelo de Jimenez, Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas, Venezuela)

Arvelo begins by noting that native Amazonians who live farthest from western civilization are usually healthier than those living closer to non-Indian settlements. She then considers 1) the socio-cultural and bio-cultural factors which account for such a balanced man/nature relationship, and 2) how such factors contribute to general health and welfare. She then demonstrates how culture contact can destroy this balanced lifestyle. Arvelo ends with a list of recommendations which must be implemented if the physical security of native peoples is to be maintained.

16. The Health Consequences of Social Change: A Set of Postulates for Developing General Adaptation Theory
(George N. Appell, Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University)

In a theoretical paper, Appell indicates how social change can produce behavioral, psychological, and physiological impairment in a population. Such costs, he notes, are rarely taken into consideration. He then delineates a set of postulates which should influence and guide policy makers by allowing them to estimate the social costs of change and thereby design buffer mechanisms which minimize the pernicious effects of uncontrolled change.

17. Problems and Responses to Health and Health Care and Delivery in Eastern Ecuador: A Working Paper
(Norman E. Whitten, Jr., Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois, Urbana, and Dorothea S. Whitten, Sacha Runa Research Foundation)

Whitten and Whitten, who have been conducting research in eastern Ecuador for almost ten years, first discuss health and health care problems in eastern Ecuador. Here endemic disease, especially tuberculosis, is destructive to Canelos Quichua Indians living near the city of Puyo. The Whittens then discuss the recent work of the Sacha Runa Research Foundation, a project which utilizes the artistic skill of the Canelos Quichua to help them alleviate their health problems. The Foundation helps the Indians sell high quality ceramics. The profits are then deposited in the local hospital where they remain as a fund for financing medical aid for the entire ethnic group. The program is shown to 1) greatly improve overall health, 2) increase the Indians' sense of ethnic pride (thereby eliminating some of the stress mentioned by Appell above), and 3) help the Canelos gain more control over their destiny.

18. The Introduction of New Protein Sources Among Peruvian Amazon Indians
(Foley C. Benson, Department of Anthropology, Washington State University)

While the Whittens' paper indicates the positive effects of local control and self-determination, Benson illustrates the

problems of misdirected, paternalistic, albeit well-intentioned efforts by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is concerned with efforts to introduce new protein sources into Indian villages. Here SIL, without any preliminary research, introduced cattle, pigs, poultry, ducks, rabbits, and several other food sources. Yet despite protein scarcity, most attempts were failures. Food preferences and taboos, increased labor requirements, inadequate training, and several other problems are shown to influence the acceptance of new protein sources. Benson demonstrates that such matters must be considered and investigated before attempting to "help" people.

19. Health Planning Among the Aguaruna: Present Status and Future Needs

(Elois Ann Berlin, Medical Anthropology Program, University of California, Berkeley)

Berlin begins by describing the present health status of the Aguaruna, a relatively isolated population living in the north Peruvian tropical forest. Like Arvelo (Paper #15), Berlin notes that the Aguaruna are now relatively healthy but cautions that this situation could be changed radically when a planned oil pipeline is run through their territory. Berlin then indicates that before western medicine can be introduced to alleviate the imminent danger, practitioners should be familiar with Aguaruna concepts of illness and curing. Otherwise their efforts may be fruitless. The author then outlines the principal natural and supernatural categories of illness and curing, suggesting which western techniques might and might not be accepted. Berlin ends by recommending that health and social impact analyses precede development projects.

C. INDIAN LEGAL PROBLEMS

20. The Amuesha People's Struggle for Civil Rights and Liberties in Peru

(Ricardo Fray Potesta, Amuesha people, Peru)

Fray begins by outlining the nearly total absence of land tenure and civil rights among the Amuesha. He indicates how the government consistently favors non-Indian people. He then recounts his people's long struggle with the Franciscan missionaries to retain control over their land. The dispute continues despite agrarian reform legislation. He ends by stating the Amuesha's desire for locally-controlled education and health programs and asks for an end to exploitation.

21. Legal Problems of Indigenous People in Venezuela

(Rudolph Chance, Indigenous Leader, Venezuela)

Chance considers the Venezuelan Law of 1915, which gave missionaries the right to educate, protect, and "civilize" the native people. He then indicates how this situation has led to impotent feelings of dependency. He asks that this system be dismantled and replaced with indigenous self-determination.

22. Civil Rights and Land Tenure Among Indigenous Ecuadorian Populations
(Marcelo F. Naranjo, Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología, Ecuador)

Naranjo begins by reviewing laws which were designed to eliminate glaring land tenure problems. He then critically evaluates the programs which such legislation spawned. He demonstrates the futility of assuming that codified law and social action follow hand in hand, an assumption frequently made by U.S. observers and developers. Naranjo demonstrates how colonization, conceived initially as a minor aspect of agrarian reform, became dominant when redistribution of latifundio failed. Such colonization however conflicted with indigenous land grants. When such conflicts were adjudicated, Indians always lost their land. Naranjo ends with a series of recommendations which would guarantee legal rights rather than produce ineffective legislation.

23. The Colombian Amazon: A General Overview and Three Factors Directly Affecting Any Judicial Activity
(Fernando Umaña Pavolini, Centro de Investigaciones Pro Defensa de Interes Públicos, Colombia)

Umaña, currently involved in legal assistance work among Colombian Indians, considers the social and political conditions which are essential complements to legal assistance programs. In his overview he indicates that Colombia, unlike Brazil, has not yet initiated large-scale movement to the Amazon region. Any future plans, he argues, must consider the faunal and human inhabitants of the area. The remainder of the paper focuses on the Indian situation. Umaña states that the government is obliged to implement health, education, and legal assistance programs which encourage and aid efforts at self-determination. He indicates how his own project attempts such goals. He ends with a critique of government policies which allow foreign missions to assume paternalistic and total control over indigenous Amazonians.

24. Comments on the "Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere"
(Robert T. Coulter, Indian Law Resource Center, Washington, DC)

Coulter, one of those who helped to draft the Declaration which was passed by indigenous delegates at a Geneva Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas, stresses the fact that such documents as the International Declaration of Human Rights already contain covenants which can be implemented in support of indigenous people. He then discusses how a document such as the indigenous Declaration could become, like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an internationally recognized law which could override local laws. He urges the symposium members to support the indigenous Declaration.

25. Amnesty International's Approach to Problems of Human Rights and Its Possible Implementation in the Amazonian Lowlands (John F. McCament, Amnesty International)

McCament begins by describing the organization, structure, and functioning of Amnesty International. He then indicates Amnesty's current concern for the Amazonian situation and suggests how Amnesty International could intervene. He ends by naming a series of additional human rights organizations which could be drawn into the Amazonian situation.

D. EDUCATION IN AMAZONIA

26. The Effects of Mission Education on the Aguaruna of Eastern Peru

(Evaristo Nugkuaq, Aguaruna people, Peru)

Nugkuaq reviews his own educational experiences. In a village which included facilities sponsored by SIL and Jesuit missionaries, he experienced an education in which love of God and one's neighbor was stressed. Yet the missions were constantly fighting with each other. Mission education was limited only to primary schooling; there was neither encouragement nor support for higher education. Practical education and community development projects never permitted local decision-making or local control. Nugkuaq argues that such education was more destructive than helpful to the Aguaruna.

27. Education for Speakers of Minority Languages

(William Merrifield, Summer Institute of Linguistics)

SIL has undertaken a large part of indigenous education in Amazonia. They are often solely responsible for teaching and training of teachers. As North Americans and as Protestants, their presence has been severely criticized. Merrifield sets out to 1) clarify a number of misunderstandings with regard to the activities of SIL, 2) describe the program as it is conceived and as it functions, and 3) defend the evangelical aspect of such work by arguing that religious freedom includes the opportunity to choose new forms. And as such SIL and self-determination are not incompatible.

28. The Unintended Effects of Protestant Missions on Aboriginal Populations of the Gran Chaco

(Elmer S. Miller, Department of Anthropology, Temple University)

Miller takes a different view of Protestant missionary activity. As an ex-Mennonite missionary, he reviews the consequences, negative and positive, of mission activity. He describes how missionaries secularize indigenous world view. This, he notes, often leads to diminished self-confidence. He then demonstrates how missionary interaction patterns have led to a breakdown in traditional authority and family structure, produced inter-spouse and inter-generational conflicts, and even contributed to an overall population increase. Meanwhile, missionaries have not taught the skills which could permit Indians to adapt to national society. On the positive side, he notes that once the Indians are free of missionary influence, increased sense of group self-awareness could lead to strong ethnic pride and identity.

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29. New Developments in Ecuadorian Indian Education
(Carlos Moreno Maldonado, Ministerio de Educación, Ecuador)
Moreno insists on a higher degree of popular participation by "structurally marginal" segments of the population who usually receive decisions handed down by a ruling majority. This goal can be partially achieved, he writes, through non-formal education. He suggests that rural teachers should be drawn for their own community and then argues that they should encourage cooperative, group education rather than individual competitive schooling. He then details a set of general approaches and specific techniques which could aid in non-formal education.

30. Non-Formal Education Programs in the Bolivian Lowlands
(P. Xavier Albo, Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado, Bolivia)
Albo, in an essay concerning Bolivia, presents arguments and recommendations similar to those of Moreno. Albo first reviews the situation of indigenous people in lowland Bolivia. Then he presents an overview of official education programs. This is followed by a discussion of the role of SIL and, in greater detail, the experimental non-formal techniques associated with the Pope John XXIII Radio Schools and several other educational experiments. He ends with a list of suggestions for improving overall educational policy.

CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

AMAZONIA: EXTINCTION OR SURVIVAL? THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AMERICA, A SYMPOSIUM HELD AT MADISON, WISCONSIN, 18-23 APRIL 1978

This symposium, sponsored by the Ibero-American Studies Program and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Wisconsin, was the second of two to discuss the future of the Amazonian indigenous population. The first, held in 1977, concentrated on the Indians of the Brazilian Amazon, whereas this symposium dealt with the Indians of Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador. It was interesting for the present reporter to attend what was largely a gathering of anthropologists, and to see how many problems concerning conservation of the Amazon ecosystems are common to both biologists and anthropologists.

The symposium consisted of 26 formal papers, a panel discussion, and a workshop to produce the resolutions indicated below. Although the programme was largely anthropological, it began with an interesting paper on the 'ecological impact of new land-use patterns in the Amazon' by botanist Howard S. Irwin. Dr Irwin took a global view and pointed to the clear need for drastic changes in life-style, politics, and attitudes, in the developed world—a theme that was to recur many times throughout the symposium. Speakers frequently discussed the role of multinational corporations and the resource demands for western life-styles in the destruction of the Amazonian environment and its native peoples. Richard Chase Smith, who has lived for many years amongst the Amuesha people in Peru, described vividly his cultural shock and horror at current world trends in two frightening papers on the effect of education and of multinational corporations on the tribe with which he lives.

The papers ranged from very specific case-studies of small details to broad overviews. They were grouped into sections entitled Colonization and Agriculture, Health and Education, and Law. Dramatic details were given of the shrinkage in tribal areas and numbers in several papers, as for example in the Bari in Venezuela and Colombia by Roberto Lizarealde & Stephen Beckerman, and in the Yanomamo by Ernesto Migliazza.

An interesting parallel between biology and anthropology was seen in the discussion of the minimum critical size of indigenous areas and of biological reserves. Useful positive data for employment with the authorities was provided in the paper by John Bodley, who discussed the palm resources of the Shipibo of Peru. Bodley had studied all the uses of palms by the Shipibo, had mapped and estimated the palm resources of the entire 14 sq. km of the Shipibo reservation, and had concluded that this was not enough territory to furnish even the palms required by the tribe on a sustained basis, calculating that a 28-sq-km reservation, or double the present area, would be needed to provide a continuation of sufficient material of palms. James Yost, in a paper on the agricultural land requirements of the Waurani Indians, pointed out how the local variation and diversity of the forest made some areas better than others for this group of Indians—which greatly increased the area necessary for an adequate reserve.

This topic was taken up again from the biological point-of-view, in the panel discussion, when the minimum critical size of biological reserves in the Amazon forest was discussed in some detail. The consequence of the division of Amazonia into small areas of intact forest was debated, as 'development' is leaving the intact areas as small islands separated by farms, highways, new lakes, mines, etc. This is bound to have severe effects on the ecosystems, and there is a need to impress biological facts on the planners of conservation.

A noted absence at the symposium was representatives from industrial companies, who were invited but declined the invitation to attend and to debate the issues, but an interesting aspect was the presence of Indian representatives from both North and South America. Various Indian representatives forcefully expressed the dangers of an overly patronizing viewpoint by anthropologists—a subject which led to interesting discussions, which in turn served to point out the severe division among westerners interested in Indians. Much dissention exists between anthropologists, missionaries, government officials, aid organizations, etc., and this does not help the survival of either the Indians or the natural environment.

The main symposium was accompanied by a 'mini-symposium', organized by Professor Hugh H. Iltis, of the Department of Botany, University of Wisconsin, which was entitled 'Extinction is Forever' and consisted of lectures on the Amazon environment from a biological point of view by Howard S. Irwin and Ghilleen T. Prance. Irwin pointed out forcefully many of the problems facing Amazonia today. He updated information given in the book which he co-authored with Robert Goodland entitled *Amazon Jungle: Green Hell to Red Desert?* Prance followed with some suggestions on the biological principles that should govern conservation policies and outlined the Brazilian forestry department's National Park Program based on the location of Pleistocene forest refuges. The mini-symposium ended with a joint panel discussion with the anthropologists. Panellists included Amazonia Geographers Dr Hildgard O'Reilly Sternberg and William Denevan, which added to the broad coverage of topics discussed.

The overall conclusion of the symposium was that much can be done in *North America* to save the Amazon forest, because much of the destruction is being carried out with foreign capital. The time when life-styles will be forced to change is drawing closer, and it is untenable for one country, the United States, to continue consuming annually 40% of the world's output of natural resources. We left this symposium sobered, and challenged to continue working for change in the current growth-orientated economy and population growth. The ultimate solution to the problem of the Amazon ecosystems can only be a reduction in world-wide population and a move towards a sustained-yield economy based increasingly on renewable resources.

The last day of the symposium was a discussion session to prepare resolutions. At this session the symposium ratified the Declaration of Barbados II, and the Declaration of Principles for the Defence of the Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere that had been made in Geneva in 1977. A resolution was also passed condemning the Upper Mazaruni Hydroelectric project because it constitutes an act of ethnocide and ecocide against the Akawaio Nation of Guyana. Other resolutions were one recognizing the right of native groups to decide upon and obtain the kind of education which they need, and another recognizing their right to maintain a strong, viable standard of health.

The North American participants in the symposium signed the following resolution:

'Be it resolved that, in view of the significance to the world as a whole of the Amazonian ecosystem and the native populations therein, we strongly recommend that the U.S. House of Representatives' Sub-committee on International Development initiate investigations on the subject as soon as possible.'

GHILLEAN T. PRANCE, *Vice-President*
Director of Botanical Research
The New York Botanical Garden
Bronx, N.Y. 10458, U.S.A.

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N. Chagnon

Yanomamo archer

Write!

A second symposium on "Amazonia: Extinction or Survival" was held in April at the University of Wisconsin to consider the threat to the Amazonian ecosystem and to the native populations living there. Representatives of Native American groups from North and South America met with anthropologists, missionaries, government officials, and representatives of international organizations to discuss development in Amazonia and to consider ways of protecting the interests of its inhabitants. The processes of development in this vast region which spreads over nine separate nations of South America, and which is the object of large business interests from all over the world, are very complex. Therefore, most reports focused on particular solutions for particular groups. However, the symposium did ratify the Declaration of Barbados II and the Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere (Geneva, 1977). A resolution was also passed condemning the Upper Marazuni Hydro electric project because it constitutes an act of ethnocide and ecocide against the Akawaio Nation in Guyana.

It was learned that the U. S. House Sub-Committee on International Development is considering opening investigations into U. S. involvement in Amazonian development. Cultural Survival strongly supports this action and encourages readers to write to the committee asking that this investigation be undertaken immediately. Ecological and social destruction are occurring at so rapid a pace that a delay of even one year may be too late to save anything of Amazonia.

Please write: HOUSE SUB-COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, HOUSE ANNEX J, ROOM 703, WASHINGTON, DC 20009.

Paraguayan Indians Bid for Self-Determination

A Paraguayan Indian once observed that there have existed only three options for Indian relations with whites: "To flee from the white, to kill him, or to remain near him and become his servant." As whites increase their population and spread their culture and economy into even the most remote regions of Paraguay options one and two—flight and war—become impossible. Thus, forced into contact with missionaries and entrepreneurs, acting as the crest of white civilization, the Indians enter the national culture and economy from a position of ignorance and weakness. Decimated by disease, discouraged from practicing their cultural traditions, and deprived of community lands and means of livelihood, the Indians follow the all-too-familiar path towards poverty, despair, and cultural annihilation. They become laborers for plantation or factories owned by whites who are usually insensitive to Indian needs and problems.

To prevent this so-called inevitable consequence of development, the Asociacion de Parcialidades Indigenas (API), previously Project Marandu, was formed to create a system of Indian self-determination and self-management. Initially directed by whites who then turned control over to trained Indian leadership, the project is attempting two specific goals:

The first is to establish the "Integrated Information Centers Program" to insure that the significant elements of Indian cultures are reaffirmed, conserved, and disseminated. Through a feedback mechanism or recording-practicing-recording of cultural practices and events, the project hopes to counteract the negative effects which missionaries and whites have on Indians' identity and tradition and to create an atmosphere where Indian cultural practices can once again flourish.

The second program is for reorganizing the community bases around their own interests and expectations. Primarily a political program, it will aim at strengthening Indian communities through collective participation and active leadership with the goal of gradually regaining Indian control of land, financing, technology, training, health, and human resources.

Despite such setbacks as temporary imprisonment of non-Indian project directors (See Newsletters Vol. 1 No. 1 and Vol. 2 No. 1), API continues. There is hope, at least, for Indian self-determination in South America.

Excerpted from a report presented to the University of Wisconsin symposium, "Amazonia: Extinction or Survival," by Miguel Chase-Sardi and Marilyn Rehnfeldt, April 1977.

Cultural Survival welcomes reports from readers on the problems and successes of the guest of indigenous peoples for survival.

An Amazonia Symposium: Mixed Perspectives

Gloria Huerta
Hope Shand

Gloria Huerta is a researcher for the Indian Law Resource Center. Hope Shand works for the Anthropological Resource Center. Both attended the conference and prepared this report.

This report presents issues regarding native people in the Amazon basin. Future Journal articles will detail events in Paraguay and Bolivia.

The Conference

The second symposium on Amazonia: *Extinction or Survival* took place at the University of Wisconsin at Madison on April 18-22. The purpose was to discuss the impact of recent development projects on the people living in the Amazon Basin of South America. The symposium was sponsored by the University's Ibero-American Studies Program and the Department of Anthropology.

Interest in this critical area has increased with the urgency of its problems. The indigenous population of the Amazon Basin, estimated to have been approximately 700,000 in 1962, has declined to less than half that number today. When subsistence patterns are interrupted and lands are taken away, communities are left without a means of survival. People have been subjected to epidemics brought by alien intruders against which they have no natural immunity. For example, the wide-spread incidence of river blindness has been attributed to deforestation resulting from construction of the Amazon highway network. Those few indigenous people who survive physical extermination must face cultural extermination, doomed to no other choice but to integrate into the national economy at the lowest possible level.

The symposium was designed to bring together nonnatives who are involved in the Amazon. The aim of the conference was to formulate a statement which would outline the problem as well as define the role and responsibility of nonnatives in reference to the Amazon destruction. There were repre-

sentatives from Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, the United States and Europe, including a small number of natives of the Americas. The heterogeneous group of experts included anthropologists, ecologists, economists, lawyers, health personnel, sociologists, educators and missionaries. The participants were overwhelmingly from the United States.

Conference participants represented views far beyond themselves; they were representative of separate populations. It is precisely these different points of view which will be coming into conflict. Because the feature speakers represented organizations and institutions that have played and will play major roles in the development or lack of development in the Amazon Basin, it is important that there be a public record of the tone of their remarks. (Due to time constraints at the writing of this report not all presentations are summarized here.) Papers on colonization, health and education, and law were presented during the first three days of the conference; resolutions were adopted on the final day.

The Reports

In his introduction to the symposium Richard Adams, past president of the American Anthropology Association from the University of Texas at Austin, said that development in the Amazon is inevitable. He said that all that can be hoped for is that development will occur humanely. He spoke of the importance of the anthropologists' work, commenting that their greatest hindrance was caused by some anthropologists who have been spreading rumors and making false accusations about CIA involvement, etc. He made it clear that in his opinion multinationals and government policy were not the problem.

Speaking on the ecological impact of new land-use patterns, Howard Irwin (New York Botanical Gardens) pointed out that very little is known about the Amazon. Referring to a previously popular plan to move the poor into the jungle and make them farmers, he said that few people can support them-

selves through agriculture in the jungle since forest lands are not as suitable for this purpose as previously assumed. Allowing himself to go beyond the realm of the scientific, he emphatically stressed consideration for the Amazon peoples, stating that a price for the rape of one's own daughter cannot even be considered.

Stefano Varese (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico) reiterated that the idea of using the forests for agriculture, which originated in the Spanish-Roman thought brought by the colonizers, is not a sound one. One-crop agriculture will render the forests useless; forests will become savannahs. He also spoke of the importance of the Indian people as a deciding factor in any development plan. He brought to light the difference between Peruvian Amazonian peoples and other Amazonian peoples. At present, the Peruvian Amazonians have reached a point of equilibrium so that extinction is not a danger. In the process they have acquired a certain degree of acculturation. In an attempt to catch a glimpse of the future, Varese listed the negative factors at play such as the government's self-declared "rights": the right of easement across native-held lands reserved by the state; the right to withhold compensation for lands taken; and the right to exploit resources. At the same time, Varese feels that the numerical strength of "linguistically ethnic" people—those who still speak their native language—is a plus. Varese estimates that there are 200,000 in the jungle and 30 million in Latin America.

Multinational corporations and native peoples was the topic of Richard Chase Smith (Centro de Investigacion y Promocion Amazonica, Peru). He documented his grim picture with an example of a mining company's actions in a specific community rich in minerals. The corporation moved in without a contract, did some testing and disappeared. There was official silence. The speculation is that the company will return, set up its mining equipment, and phase out the native people while refusing to compensate them. By offering some analysis of the international economic system in a specific case, Smith pointed out that the situation of the Amuesha people is related to global development strategies, the policies of multinational corporations, and the activities of international lending institutions.

John Bodley (Department of Anthropology, Washington State University) gave a presentation on the resource depletion and territorial requirements of the Shipibo of Peru. Following a detailed, technical study which compared the resources on land designated for the Shipibo to the rate of use as dictated by custom, it was determined that the people would need twice as much land to continue their

traditional lifestyle. Bodley pointed out that this type of well-documented study can be useful to governments in formulation of land use policy.

Nelly Arvelo Jimenez (IVIC—Scientific Venezuelan Institute) had much to say on the problems of indigenous health and health care. She painted a wholistic picture, outlining the many factors that affect health. Generally, native people are self-sufficient when living in their traditional manner in ecological balance. The Christian missions create false villages; as people begin to abandon some of their activities and customs, their dependence on the missions increases. When the people see that they cannot survive, they migrate to cities where they experience both mental and economic deterioration which leads to health deterioration. The disruption of self-sufficiency leads to genocide. When studying groups of people at different levels of acculturation, Jimenez found the healthiest to be the most traditional, "ecosystem" people. Jimenez defines "ecosystem" people as those at one with their environment. One of the reasons, she feels, is that mothers nurse their children for three years, passing on to the child antibodies as well as nutrients. The children have an immunity against parasites in the area. The natural diet is balanced year-long as hunting, fishing and gathering complement each other. Jimenez stressed the necessity the "biospheric" people, whom she defines as those who plunder nature, understand that their form of life affect not only them but also ecosystem peoples. Therefore, transnationals, which produce for "biospheric" peoples, affect developing countries as well as developed ones. Based on her wholistic approach, she urged that the United Nations should consider the elimination of cultural extermination of utmost importance.

Carlos Moreno (Minister of Education, Ecuador) spoke about developments in Ecuadorian Indian education. Indicative of their efforts is the translation to Quechua of their human rights declaration, the national anthem and the constitution.



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William Merrifield (Summer Institute of Linguistics) said his group tries to increase the number of Indian groups in education. Their focus is the Bible and their goal is its translation. When questioned on sources of funding for his organization, he said that the money came from friends and family. Another question was immediately fired at him in disbelief, asking incredulously how such sources could afford airplanes, runways—in essence—airports. Hesitantly, Merrifield answered that for special projects SIL had received money from the United States Agency for International Development (U.S.AID).

Evaristo Nugkuag (Aguaruna from Peru) was well-qualified to speak on the effects of missionary education on the Aguaruna. He is an Aguaruna who was taught by the SIL and also observed the activities of the Jesuits in his village. He said that the education was inadequate because it only included a primary education with no provision, help, interest or encouragement for a higher education. He seriously questions the basic teaching of the two Christian groups: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Apparently the two groups, constantly in serious conflict with each other, were not good examples of their basic teaching. The missionaries brought in projects to help the people, or so they said. The people were not educated or trained in the running of the mission businesses or projects so did not profit in that experience. All in all, Nugkuag said people were traumatized by their missionary education.

Norman Whitten (Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois) criticized health clinics in his discussion on "Problems and Responses to Health and Health Care and Delivery in Eastern Ecuador." The clinics are almost inaccessible as many people must walk hours to get to them. When they do arrive they are sometimes denied treatment or medication because they do not have any money. Whitten suggests indigenous paramedical systems.

Marcelo Naranjo (Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois) spoke on "Native Peoples and Legal Problems in Eastern Ecuador: Land Tenure and Civil Liberties." He touched on the fact that only a small percentage of people have large land holdings yet most people work in agriculture. In 1971 an agrarian reform law was enacted because of peasant, union and leftist pressure and a commission was formed to carry it out. While none of those groups were represented on the commission, there were, however, many land-owners. Since the reform law and the commission there has been no change. Ownership of private property is supported if consistent with national policy; i.e., the state can use land for colonization. References to unused land in the east, where native people live, assume that no

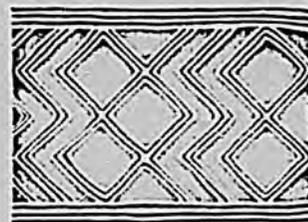
one lives there.

The people living in collectives must follow prescribed chain of command. At the top of the chain little is known of local problems. A judge said it is better to give the forests to white settlers, who will exploit the land in better fashion, than the indigenous people, who live like animals. A lawyer wrote and submitted a report to the proper authorities; nothing was accomplished. The law on collectives mentions the improvement of education and the improvement of the mental and intellectual state. Naranjo's suggestions are: 1) provide lawyers to work with the people (like doctors); 2) train indigenous leaders; 3) develop programs to increase agricultural productivity; 4) institute bilingual education; 5) provide better financial credit; and 6) provide social security benefits (especially medical help, with emphasis on native medicine).

Fernando Umama (Propublicos, Colombia) spoke on capitalist penetration, pointing to the financing of the highways by World Bank, Export-Import Bank, and U.S. AID. Industries have destroyed almost all of some native reserved lands. Landowners use the law to oppress the people. Umama called the mayors, the police and the judge enemies of the people. Propublicos was formed to protect peoples' lands but has had to devote itself to getting people out of jail. Umama suggests 1) a strengthening of native self-determination, and 2) assistance in educating more native teachers in their languages.

Robert T. Coulter (Director, Indian Law Resource Center) discussed the Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere. This document had been unanimously adopted by the indigenous delegates to the International Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas in Geneva last year. His presentation pointed out the need to establish national responsibility for controlling the activities of multinational corporations and also brought to the attention of the symposium the fact that there are existing declarations and covenants on human rights which should be examined and evaluated to determine their applicability to the problems of the Amazon region.

Ricardo Potesta (Amuesha from Peru) said his people have no previous citizen recognition; they have no civil rights. They do not presently own their natural resources. They are allowed only poor land. They are not supported in their rights to land; authorities support only the colonialists. Potesta would like to see better education and training; the education system, based on a foreign value system, should be changed to reflect indigenous values; the people need health facilities; and the people



should not continue to be economically exploited. Why, he asks, are foreign organizations rather than the government, helping with, for example, sanitation facilities? His people fought from 1965-1974 until an agriculture reform law passed. From 1974-1978 they expected a change due to the law, but all is the same. Franciscan missions have been ruinous. There are very few people left. The missions were exploiting the people even after the law passed. The people are presently suing the mission for their lands.

Rudolph Chance (Indigenous leader, Venezuela) stated that the 1915 law of missions provided for the civilization and protection of the Indians. He believes this system of dependence must be dismantled.

On the last day of the conference, resolutions were discussed and adopted. Those resolutions follow this article. The first resolution urges international recognition, support and ratification of the Declaration of Barbados II, and the Declaration of Principles mentioned above by Coulter.

Conclusion

The Amazonia conference brought together a wide range of participants and observers and allowed for an exchange of information among individuals concerned with the situations of indigenous peoples in the Amazon Basin region. The participation of a small number of representatives from native communities and organizations provided a most important perspective.

The presentations and discussions focused on many specific cases of destruction among the peoples of the Amazon Basin and the land which they inhabit, the process of development and the many forms which it takes. The situations of these peoples vary widely, as do the perceptions of the individuals who approach externally, attempting to analyze and alleviate the tragic conditions of native populations.

In the literature generated by the symposium committee prior to the symposium, it was stated that development was inevitable and all that the participants could do would be to attempt to alleviate the devastating effects, aiming for a "humane" development. Some participants informally wondered if this symposium was held to support the humane development concept. Many believed the assumption of inevitable development should be challenged. Adams, in his introduction to the symposium, considered it necessary to say that multinationals and government policy are not the villains in this drama but many experts have voiced the opposite viewpoint: multinationals and government policy are the decision-making powers responsible. Why was this assumption made prior to the conference when the purported purpose of the symposium was to issue a statement defining the problem after the meeting and discussion took place?

Financial supporters of the Amazonian symposium included Ford Foundation, Inter-American Foundation, Tinker Foundation, U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S. AID). Are these not the very institutions which are responsible for directing and defining the development process which has taken place in this area? Did not the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) name the USAID as one of their funding sources? Did not Nugkuag refer to his people being "traumatized" by the SIL's actions? Realistically how are the problems of native peoples perceived, and who is it that defines those problems?

Perhaps one of the most important things about the conference is catching a glimpse of how others see the United States. It is common knowledge that the U.S. population consumes more than its share of world resources. As resources are becoming more and more scarce, multinationals are extending further into the last remaining virgin areas to obtain an even larger share of resources.

Jimenez spoke of the biospheric people—those people who plunder nature. Is the U.S. implicated in that process which results in the decimation of the native people, their lives, their lands, their cultures? As American multinationals stand to gain great financial advantage and U.S. citizens are able to maintain the standard of living to which they are accustomed, can they be both "producer" and "regulator?"

RESOLUTIONS

Resolution I

The symposium calls upon international recognition, support and ratification of:

- 1) Declaration of Barbados II
- 2) Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere as accepted by the International Non-Governmental Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas, Geneva, 1977.

The symposium calls upon all governmental and nongovernmental entities to immediately implement these principles.

The symposium having considered a series of reports from Amazonia wishes to call specific attention to Principles 2, 10, and 11 of the Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

Indigenous groups not meeting the requirements of nationhood as specified in Principle 1 of the Declaration of Principles are particularly vulnerable to the disruptive effects of contact with Western Civilization.

The symposium demands that each Nation State claiming domain over these indigenous groups and their territories realize and accept its responsibilities to respect and defend the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination, territorial integrity, and cultural integrity.

The symposium affirms the positive duty of each Nation State to apply Principles 10 and 11 of the Declaration of Principles to the conduct and activity of multinational corporations operating within that Nation State's claimed domain.

The symposium affirms the positive duty of each Nation State to apply Principles 10 and 11 of the Declaration of Principles to the conduct and activity of multinational corporations which effect people living outside that Nation State's claimed domain.

The symposium affirms the positive duty of each Nation State to apply Principles 10 and 11 of the Declaration of Principles to the conduct and activity of multinational corporations chartered, registered, or selling stock or other financial instruments within that Nation State's jurisdiction.

Resolution II

The symposium recognizes the right of native groups to decide upon and obtain the kind of education that they need.

Resolution III

Be it resolved that this symposium recognizes the right of the native peoples of Amazonia to maintain a strong viable standard of health, as determined by them; and supports their freedom to obtain health services from appropriate sources with-

out risk to native economy, cultural and social integrity, or native cosmology.

Resolution IV

We condemn the Upper Mazaruni hydroelectric project, the implementation of which would constitute an act of ethnocide and ecocide against the Akawaio Nation whose homeland would be flooded by it and whose integrity would be destroyed. We call upon the Guyanese government to adopt one of the alternative sites already recommended by international bodies.

We urge all governments, consortiums and business enterprises to recognize the irrevocable social and ecological damage which would result from this project, and to refuse any form of aid or participation.

We give our support to the great majority of Akawaio who have repeatedly stated that they do not wish their lands to be flooded, to be invaded by others, or to be forced to abandon those rights and privileges over their lands which they have possessed from time immemorial.

Resolution V

The symposium opposes projects for the settlement of white colonists from racist African countries in the lowlands of Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay because they are against the interests of the local populations; and it further opposes such colonization wherever it would threaten existing local populations.

Resolution VI

Whereas the native peoples and cultures of Amazonia are under threat of imminent destruction, and

Whereas an increasing number of individuals both within and outside anthropology are alarmed by the prospect of such genocide and ethnocide, be it resolved

That the organizing committee of this conference investigate the feasibility of establishing an Amazonia Survival Council to take all appropriate actions for gaining the support of national anthropological associations, other scientific bodies, national governments, and public and private international organizations in the task of halting the destructive process.



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Identity And Commitment

Some Notes On A Symposium Of Anthropologists

The first night of the conference we were shown a movie; it was called AGUIRRE, THE WRATH OF GOD, and it was a movie made by Germans about Spanish conquistadores in Peru. It was a good movie — a movie about conquest, about the mentality of the men and women who transplanted themselves (and Europe) to this continent.

The story concerns an expedition of Spanish noblemen, soldiers and Indian slaves who find themselves stranded on the shores of a large river in South America. A group of forty is sent downstream in an attempt to find relief. The movie is the haunting, dream-like story of this mission, which is immediately soured by greed and mutiny, fatigue, fear and the lust of conquest. The film progresses in the way of the mission — drifting downstream in a hazy fog of history and jungle, the features of desperate men fired by an empty wrath, by a wish to control.

Where did these men come from? What created such powerful, insane drives?

These are the large questions that loom over this continent. And what of the peoples who greeted them? Who were they? In this film they are faceless figures in grass skirts who shot deadly poison Jarts, picking off Aguirre's men, one by one. They are also slaves who attempt to please their captors, occasionally speaking with profound dignity about the lives they once led. The movie points to a profound difference, but it is hazy, lost in the acuteness of the anguish of the terror.

The final shot is of Aguirre himself, the chief mutineer and the film's namesake standing alone on a barge as the camera zooms around and around, Aguirre isolated in his own madness, unbudging and undampened, drifting toward destruction.

In this movie it is the continent which swallows these men — they drive deeper and deeper into America's depth and the land, the jungle, the continent overwhelms them; it defeats them.

Will this land continue to do this? Will this continent brace itself and overwhelm the insanity? Will it defeat it? These are good questions; good questions for this conference in Madison, Wisconsin; good questions for our lives

It would be unfair to make the movie AGUIRRE into a metaphor for this conference of anthropologists held in Wisconsin this past April. I keep thinking of the final shot of Aguirre himself, lost in his own isolation, his own internal monologues. It reminds me of the last day, a Saturday, when everyone was very tired and somewhat overwhelmed and we were to meet and design and agree upon some kind of resolution that would show to whomever might be listening that someone didn't agree.

It had been a symposium which attempted to explore the very likely destruction faced by Native peoples of the Amazon River Basin of South America. It was a gathering primarily of professional anthropologists, organized by a group at the University of Wisconsin. Several of us at NOTES had been invited and since our travelling group VOICES FROM THE EARTH was in the area, we decided to drop by.

The situation of the Native peoples in the Amazon River Basin is just another reflection of a condition that you will find up and down the American continent, a condition that you will find anywhere where people who have a sense of belonging to the land (rather than owning the land) come face to face with concerns which view the land as an exploitable resource.

It is an overwhelming condition — overwhelming in its scope, in its destructive capacity, overwhelming in the way that it has taken over and destroyed not only land and resources, but the very minds and memory of men, disconnecting us.

I keep seeing Aguirre on his final days — alone, disconnected, a wanderer in search of fortune; carrying within himself goals and realities, dreams of self-aggrandizement, unable to see, and in my mind's eye the feeling transfers itself to that room on the final day of the conference in Madison because there was there also a sense of disconnection, an indeterminate drifting, and a wish somewhere inside — a desperate wish — to have it all make sense, to deny futility.



The conference had been tightly organized, and yet had seemed to go toward no end. There had been an expectation, it seemed, that the group of people gathered there somehow would come up with solutions, could somehow begin to approach this overwhelming problem faced by the Amazon Indian peoples and that out of this conference could come out some sort of cohesive answer.

For us, even though we had been invited, it had seemed a foreign kind of process, something removed from us. It had been a conference primarily of anthropologists. Anthropology is one of those social sciences that depends on an extractive mode of research in order to produce its work. We are suspicious of anthropologists; we have reason to be. It is our experience that most anthropology concerns an individual who goes into a community, learns, prepares his materials, establishes his thesis, writes his books, publishes them in another system — one altogether different from the one he has just learned from and studies — makes a reputation on the strength of such work, can then teach, continue to travel, continue to publish. The anthropologist does that as a career, as an identity, as a way of life. He is enhanced by that process, while the people that he studies are at best unaffected, usually somewhat disrupted, having given often the very heart of their perception of themselves and their world. This is extractive to us. In no small measure, a rip-off. Anthropology serves that function for the anthropologists and for the so-called "body of knowledge" that Western education systems of higher learning seem to cherish so much. Overall, as far as we can tell, it does nobody in the communities any good.

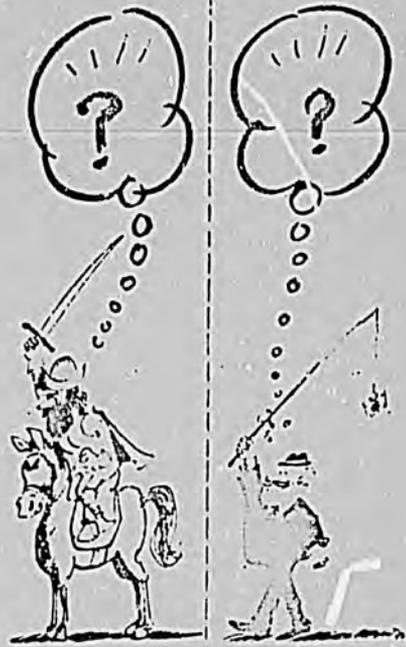
Of course, this is only to ascertain the value of anthropology as a profession. It is not to say that there are no anthropologists who do not also happen to be good human beings. There are many examples where anthropologists have manifested a sense of responsibility and friendship to those they have studied with and have actually risked danger and endured oppression in order to help.

The same thing is true of individual people in any field — whether they be economic developers, educators and even, in some cases, Christian missionaries.

The point is not to dehumanize people as individuals so much as to understand where they fit in an over-all historical process — the process that has become known as Western Civilization. After all, even among Aguirre's conquistador men could be found who had warmth and kindness in their hearts — men who cared.

The condition of the Native peoples of the Amazon River Basin is one that concerns us. We view it as another reflection of a condition that we find ourselves reporting, over and over again in these pages.

Nellie Arvelo-Jimenez, a Venezuelan, and an example of the kind of anthropologist whose work we respect, stated the case most clearly during the course of the



conference. "The real conflict," she said, "is between biospheric peoples and eco-system peoples. Native people are by definition eco-system people, people who derive their life support from their immediate environment. Western industrial man is a biospheric being — one deriving sustenance from anywhere in the world that he can devise an extractive mechanism."



There had been much confusion at this conference. Many different kinds of people had been invited. There were representatives of government development agencies; there were anthropologists of various persuasions; there were representatives from missionary organizations; there were Indians.

The assumption had been that if you got all these people talking to one another, that somehow, a less destructive path to industrial development would be found — one that in some way would guarantee survival to the tribal cultures.

It didn't happen. It didn't happen because it couldn't happen. The conflict between biospheric and ecosystem peoples is a real one. It is inevitable that one or the other will prevail and it is our way of understanding things that the biospheric way, which is the way of Western Industrial Civilization, has a built-in contradiction to the finiteness of the Natural World. At AKWESASNE NOTES we start with that assumption — with the understanding that it won't last. It is an assumption which is borne out by spiritual prophecy and common sense as well as scientific projection. We further assume that the processes which are only now penetrating and disrupting Native communities in more remote areas such as those of the Amazon River Basin have already taken their toll in our own lives.

But at this conference, it was the assumption that the triumph of industrial development was inevitable, and that the difference between us (the obviously biospheric and Westernized peoples at this conference) and them (the eco-system Native peoples of Amazonia) was that we were some sort of benign beneficiaries of their destruction, and this obligated us to find ways of bringing them along as painlessly as possible.



omically, on a world-wide scale, it is intensifying its thrust toward a global corporate monopoly. Culturally, it is constantly displacing our connection to the real world, losing us in a wonderland of gimmicks.

Once, people had a circle and within that circle was contained their culture. People grew up with a certainty of identity, and that identity was based on their sense of obligation — your connection and purpose in life was for the well-being of the total people.

These same sentiments still persist within Western Culture but they are no longer whole. Now they are thought of as mere personal qualities — a person is said to be "altruistic" — the motivation for his good actions seemingly coming out of a vacuum, divorced from positive self-interest, from the immediate collective sense that to serve the People is, in a very real way, to serve yourself. This is the disconnection that we have suffered in our own lives, and which was so evident here. Even our concerns we must import: even our good will we must export. The result is that we extract the meanings of our own immediate lives, only to feed them into a sort of charitable humaneness to be deposited 2,000 miles away, in situations so removed from the vicinity of our own origins that we cannot grasp the meaning of our own problems.

Another man, a Marxist-Leninist from Colombia, also attacked the whole notion, calling it a bourgeois delusion. The tribal cultures are not worth saving anyway, he said. After all, they have had habits too.

"There is no such thing as a "pristine" tribal culture left, anyway," someone else expounded. "The question is, how do we make assimilation more humane?"

"It isn't a matter of preserving pristine cultures," Nellie Arvelo Jimenez continually reminded people. "It is a matter of confronting which way we face and who do we work for within this process. What is our own position?"

Some could answer. Richard Chase Smith, for instance, who works among the Amuesha, is a man who has shifted his anthropological eye to face the West, rather than the tribal cultures. His own identity is thus strengthened and molded by a sense of personal involvement, a sense of commitment — in other words, a love bond. "I come to America," he said, "and I become more worried. There is such luxury here, and such craziness."

In the movie AGUIRRE, there was a woman whose husband was callously executed by Aguirre's mutineers. At one point, during a skirmish with some local Indians, she begins to walk into the forest. She is not killed, but rather we see her fade away into the bush — an individual human consciousness totally burned out by the madness of her culture. It is a powerful, although fleeting moment in the film, and one wonders briefly whether she is going to her death, or to her only salvation.

On the last day, the drifting, fragmented feeling of the conference was truly painful. During a break one of the organizers was so frustrated that she/he put up some posters around the room — presumably "educational" posters. They were called HOW TO SPOIL A CONFERENCE, and admonished people (as if they were children) for "speaking too much," or objecting too much," etc.. No one was amused.

Finally, during the course of the day, several resolutions were passed, among them the Declaration of Barbados II and the Declaration of Principles for the Protection of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere which was adopted by the Indian Nations represented last September in Geneva. That may help.



At this conference the over-riding sense was that the tribal peoples of the Amazon River Basin need help. No one can argue with that — but the hidden implication merits focusing. The assumption is that we don't need help ourselves. And yet our own fragmentation seems so clear at times, and so painful. The process of colonization, the way of our disconnection — it runs in a continuum. What we gain in material goods from the exploitation of someone else's circle we pay for with the further fragmentation of our own identity.

I remember when the Amuesha from Peru got up to speak. It was obvious right away that he was different. He was not a professional. He had the look of a person who had come to represent his people and who here was out of his element. Short, and with a tight cap over his head, he told about his people's problems. He spoke about the loss of land, about how the missionaries had taken it upon themselves to split up and sell land that had previously been held in common.

The Amuesha's words were simple and direct. Speaking for his people, he spoke for himself. Selfishness and selflessness combined. There was no need for altruism.

It was difficult to ascertain the identity of many of the people at this conference — whom did they serve? Altruism — that is, the wish to help someone who is removed from your own life — after all, what is that? Where is the connection? What is the motive? For one thing, it has no real direction, no immediate self-reflection. And it paves the way for skepticism; it is easy to attack.

At this conference a very perceptive and very cynical man could get up and coin a phrase that must have had gut-wrenching reverberations for everyone present. The phrase was "the fetterism of the oppressed," and it referred to the perception that a branch is growing within professional anthropology that makes a specialty of the study (in a duly concerned and down-to-earth tone) of those tribal cultures about to be shattered — and that even within that sort of concern a personal reputation could be built — with the social scientist, as usual, the only surviving beneficiary of the extractive process.

And no one responded. No one felt the need, or the strength of character, to confront this perception.



I said at the beginning of this narrative that it would be unfair to make the movie AGUIRRE into a metaphor for this conference of anthropologists held last April in Madison. That is, in fact, true.

There was no self-doubt in Aguirre. He was absolutely unshakable in the manifest destiny of his quest. That is, finally, what killed him. That people have begun to wonder, even through self-doubt, through painful, is at least an avenue to change, to a possible commitment.

How do we fit in the process? Whom do we serve? What truly motivates us? What land do we belong to? Who pays our way and what do they stand for? These are questions that may lead to some clarity. And without clarity, regardless of motivation, as this conference proved, no one can be helped — neither the children of tribal Amazonia, nor our own. The time when we can no longer disassociate ourselves, when we no longer have a choice about the course of action we must chart for our life, the time when our own well-being, our own happiness is identified with a truly humane way of viewing the world — that time has come. And, when we have, as individuals, come to recognize that fact, then we may be said to have commitment, a renewed identity. This is where helpful alliances may become possible. This is where trust begins.

— Escudillo

Immediately

4/11/78 bw

CONTACT: Ted Macdonald (608) 263-2298

FUTURE OF RAIN FOREST IN AMAZON BASIN TO BE DISCUSSED

MADISON--First came the roads, built by large international companies to clear the way for oil drilling and mining. Then the settlers, displaced from their native mountain regions by wealthy landowners, began to move in. When enough trees are cleared from the forest, the highland refugees intend to make their fortunes raising cattle.

The scenario could be the story of the American West, but it is not. Instead, the time is the present, the place, the Amazon Basin of South America. It will be the subject of a symposium April 18-22 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Prof. Ted Macdonald, a visiting member of the anthropology department, thinks the current method of developing the rain forest will lead to serious problems for South American governments and the United States. He says tactics which corporations such as Volkswagen have been using to mow down inconvenient trees also effect natives who live in the forest.

"The indigenous populations are really the only people who know how to exploit the tropical environment successfully," he says. "But when the companies and settlers come in, these native groups get pushed out along with the trees into areas that are foreign to their ways of life."

Macdonald says the tropical rain forest replenishes itself, working like a percolator to filter nutrients from the trees down.

- more -

"It's not like American prairie or other temperate climates," he says. "The rain forest gets nutrients not from the soil but from its own decayed matter on the forest floor. Remove the trees and you remove the fertility."

He says ranches and farms established on improperly cleared land will lose money. The U.S. has loaned large sums to several South American governments which are depending in part on revenue from new ranches in the Amazon basin to repay their international debts. Macdonald thinks Washington should pay close attention to the clearing of the jungle in its own self-interest.

"It isn't a simple matter of development vs. ecology," he says. "The whole question deserves very careful study from all sides. From the look of it I think it will develop into an international issue."

Macdonald is organizing the interdisciplinary symposium April 18-22.

The Washington-based Anthropological Resource Center has convinced the House of Representatives that the Amazon situation warrants investigation. Macdonald expects a member of the House Subcommittee on International Development to attend symposium sessions.

The lectures and discussions, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, Inter-America Foundation, Tinker Foundation, U.S. Agency for International Development and UW-Madison will be held at the State Historical Society. The public is invited to attend all morning lectures.

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The following consists of resolutions approved during the symposium Amazonia: Extinction or Survival? The Impact of National Development on the Native Peoples of Tropical South America which took place at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 18-22, 1978.

Resolutions: pp. 1-3

Appendices: pp. 4-7

Declaration of Barbados II

Declaration of Principles
for the Defense of Indigenous
Nations and Peoples of the
Western Hemisphere

RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION I:

The symposium calls upon international recognition, support and ratification of:

- 1) Declaration of Barbados II
- 2) Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere as accepted by the International Non-Governmental Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas, Geneva, 1977.

The symposium calls upon all governmental and non-governmental entities to immediately implement these principles.

The symposium having considered a series of reports from Amazonia wishes to call specific attention to Principles 2, 10, and 11 of the Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

Indigenous groups not meeting the requirements of nationhood as specified in Principle I of the Declaration of Principles are particularly vulnerable to the disruptive effects of contact with Western Civilization.

The symposium demands that each Nation State claiming domain over these indigenous groups and their territories realize and accept its responsibilities to respect and defend the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination, territorial integrity, and cultural integrity.

The symposium affirms the positive duty of each Nation State to apply Principles 10 and 11 of the Declaration of Principles to the conduct and activity of multi-national corporations operating within that Nation State's claimed domain.

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The symposium affirms the positive duty of each Nation State to apply Principles 10 and 11 of the Declaration of Principles to the conduct and activity of multi-national corporations chartered, registered, or selling stock or other financial instruments within that Nation State's jurisdiction.

RESOLUTION II:

The symposium recognizes the right of native groups to decide upon and obtain the kind of education that they need.

RESOLUTION III:

Be it resolved that this symposium recognize the right of the native peoples of Amazonia to maintain a strong viable standard of health, as determined by them; and supports their freedom to obtain health services from appropriate sources without risk to native economy, cultural and social integrity, or native cosmology.

RESOLUTION IV:

We condemn the Upper Mazaruni hydro-electric project, the implementation of which would constitute an act of ethnocide and ecocide against the Akawaio Nation whose homeland would be flooded by it and whose integrity would be destroyed. We call upon the Guyanese government to adopt one of the alternative sites already recommended by international bodies.

We urge all governments, consortiums and business enterprises to recognize the irrevocable social and ecological damage which would result from this project, and to refuse any form of aid or participation.

We give our support to the great majority of Akawaio who have repeatedly stated that they do not wish their lands to be flooded, to be invaded by others, or to be forced to abandon those rights and privileges over their lands which they have possessed from time immemorial.

RESOLUTION V:

The symposium opposes projects for the settlement of white colonists from racist African countries in the lowlands of Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay because they are against the interests of the local populations; and it further opposes such colonization wherever it would threaten existing local populations.

RESOLUTION VI:

Whereas the native peoples and cultures of Amazonia are under threat of imminent destruction, and

Whereas an increasing number of individuals both within and outside anthropology are alarmed by the prospect of such genocide and ethnocide, be it resolved

That the organizing committee of this conference investigate the feasibility of establishing an Amazonia Survival Council to take all appropriate actions for gaining the support of national anthropological associations, other scientific bodies, national governments, and public and private international organizations in the task of halting the destructive process.

The following petition was circulated and signed by North American participants in the symposium:

"Be it resolved that in view of the significance to the world as a whole of the Amazonian eco-system and the native populations therein, we strongly recommend that the House Sub-Committee on International Development initiate investigations on the subject as soon as possible."

The petition is to be sent to:

House Sub-Committee on International Development
House Annex J, Room 703
Washington, D.C. 20009

It was also recommended that those agreeing with the above petition send individual letters to the House Sub-Committee on International Development.

Madison, Wisconsin
April 22, 1978

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DECLARATION OF BARBADOS II

In America, as Indians, we are subjected to a two-faced domination: physical domination and cultural domination.

Physical domination reveals itself primarily in the rape of the land. This rape started with the outset of the European invasion and continues today. Along with the land, our natural resources have been destroyed: the forests, the waters, the minerals, the oil. The land that is left to us has been divided through internal and international borders. Our people have been isolated and divided, and there have been attempts to create confrontations among our peoples.

The physical domination is also an economic domination. We are exploited when we work for the non-Indians who pay us less than what our work produced. We are also exploited in trade, because we are paid poorly for what we produce (the harvests, the arts and crafts, etc.) and what is sold to us is very expensive. This domination is not only local or national, but international. The huge transnational corporations are seeking the land, the resources, the labor force, as well as our produce, and they rely on the powerful and privileged of the non-Indian society to carry this out. The physical domination relies on force and violence that are used against our peoples.

Cultural domination can be considered complete when Western culture, or the culture of the oppressor, has been instilled into the mind of the Indian, as the only One; and promoted as the highest level of development. Whereas, our very own culture is not really a culture, but only a stage - a low stage of backwardness which must be "overcome." The result of this is the division of the individuals that make up our people, primarily through the systems of education. Cultural domination does not allow the expression of our culture, or disinterprets it, and degenerates its expressions.

Cultural domination is carried out through:

Indian Policy - which includes the process of intergration or deculturalization through the various national and international institutions, religious missionaries, etc.

The Official Education System - which basically teaches White supremacy, and the make-believe inferiority of ourselves, thus preparing us to be more easily exploited.

Mass Communication Media - which serve as the mediums for the dissemination of the most important methods of disinterpreting the resistance that Indian peoples have put forth against cultural domination.

As a result of this overall state of domination our people are divided because we live under three different conditions. 1) The groups that have remained relatively isolated and have preserved their own cultural modes. 2) Groups that preserve a great part of their culture, but are directly oppressed by the Capitalist system of economic dependency. 3) That sector of the population that has been de-Indianized through the forces of integration and have lost their cultural modes in exchange for limited economic advantages.

For the first ones the immediate problem is to survive as a group. For this, it is necessary that their land areas be guaranteed. The second group is physically and economically oppressed, and before anything else they need to regain control of their resources. The last group has as an immediate task, the liberation of itself from cultural domination to which it is subject, and to rescue its very being, its own culture.

In conclusion, the problem of our people is summarized as follows.

1) A situation of cultural and physical oppression which ranges from subjugation on the part of a small White, or Criollo (mixed-blood) minority, to the danger of extinction in countries where Indians constitute a low percentage of the population.

2) The Indo-American people are divided internally because of the actions of: policies of integration, education, developmentalism, Western religious systems, the system of economic categories, and the borders of national states.

In light of the situation of our people today, and with the purpose of drawing the first line of guidance for their struggle towards liberation, the following great objective is put forth: To reach a unity amongst the Indian population considering that in order to reach this unity the basic element is a historical and territorial placement of our relationship with the social structures and the regimes of the national states - and to identify what extent our participation with these structures is total or limited. Thus, through this unity -

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DECLARATION OF BARBADOS II, CONTINUED

recapture the historical process and attempt to bring to an end this chapter of colonization. In order to reach this objective, the following strategies are set forth:

A. We need our own genuine political organization that gives itself to the cause of a movement for liberation.

B. We need a clear and consistent ideology that can be grasped by the whole population.

C. A method of work is necessary - that could be used in order to mobilize a great number of the population.

D. An element of convergence is necessary, that would persist from the onset to the end of the liberation process.

E. It is necessary to maintain and reinforce the means of internal communication, our languages, and at the same time to create a means of communication amongst the peoples of different languages, while also maintaining basic cultural structures, especially those related with the groups own education.

F. It is necessary to take into account and define on the local level the support forces that can exist on an international level.

The elements that can be utilized in order to carry out the above named strategies are, among others, the following:

A. As for the political organization, it can begin through traditional organization as well as from a new modern type organization.

B. The ideology must be formulated from a stand point of historical analysis.

C. The method of work can begin through the study of history in order to identify and explain the situation of oppression.

D. The element of convergence must be the very culture itself, basically in order to create the consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group, and the Indo-american people.

Barbados; July 28, 1977

Declaration of Principles

for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere

The following Declaration appeared in the appendix of the Legal Commission report.

Preamble:

Having considered the problems relating to the activities of the United Nations for the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and related international covenants have the individual as their primary concern, and

Recognizing that individuals are the foundation of cultures, societies, and nations, and

Whereas, it is a fundamental right of any individual to practice and perpetuate the cultures, societies and nations into which they are born, and

Recognizing that conditions are imposed upon peoples that suppress, deny, or destroy the cultures, societies, or nations in which they believe or of which they are members,

Be it affirmed, that:

1. Recognition of Indigenous Nations

Indigenous peoples shall be accorded recognition as nations, and proper subjects of international law, provided the people concerned desire to be recognized as a nation and meet the fundamental requirements of nationhood, namely:

- a. Having a permanent population
- b. Having a defined territory
- c. Having a government
- d. Having the ability to enter into relations with other states.

2. Subjects of International Law

Indigenous groups not meeting the requirements of nationhood are hereby declared to be subjects of international law, and are entitled to the protection of this Declaration, provided they are identifiable groups having bonds of language, heritage, tradition, or other common identity.

3. Guarantee of Rights

No indigenous nation or group shall be deemed to have fewer rights or lesser status for the sole reason that the nation or group has not entered into recorded treaties or agreements with any state.

4. Accordance of Independence

Indigenous nations or groups shall be accorded such degree of independence as they may desire in accordance with international law.

5. Treaties and Agreements

Treaties and other agreements entered into by indigenous nations or groups with other states, whether denominated as treaties or otherwise, shall be recognized and applied in the same manner and according to the same international laws and principles as the treaties and agreements entered into by other states.

6. Abrogation of Treaties and Other Rights

Treaties and agreements made with indigenous nations or groups shall not be subject to unilateral abrogation. In no event may the municipal law of any state serve as a defense to the failure to adhere to and perform the terms of treaties and agreements made with indigenous nations or groups. Nor shall any state refuse to recognize and adhere to treaties or other agreements due to changed circumstances where the change in circumstances has been substantially caused by the state asserting that such change has occurred.

7. Jurisdiction

No state shall assert or claim or exercise any right of jurisdiction over any indigenous nation or group or the territory of such indigenous nation or group unless pursuant to a valid treaty or other agreement freely made with the lawful representatives of the indigenous nation or group concerned. All actions on the part of any state which derogate from the indigenous nation's or group's right to exercise self-determination shall be the proper concern of existing international bodies.

8. Claims to Territory

No state shall claim or retain, by right of discovery or otherwise, the territories of an indigenous nation or group, except such lands as may have been lawfully acquired by valid treaty or other cession freely made.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, CONTINUED

9. Settlement of Disputes

All states in the western hemisphere shall establish through negotiation or other means a procedure for the binding settlement of disputes, claims or other matters relating to indigenous nations or groups. Such procedures shall be fundamentally fair and consistent with international law. All procedures presently in existence which do not have the endorsement of the indigenous nations or groups concerned shall be ended, and new procedures shall be instituted consistent with this Declaration.

10. National and Cultural Integrity

It shall be unlawful for any state to take or permit any action or course of conduct with respect to an indigenous nation or group which will directly or indirectly result in the destruction or disintegration of such indigenous nation or group or otherwise threaten the national or cultural integrity of such nation or group, including, but not limited to, the imposition and support of illegitimate governments and the introduction of any religion to indigenous peoples by non-indigenous missionaries.

11. Environmental Protection

It shall be unlawful for any state to take or permit any action or course of conduct with respect to the territories of an indigenous nation or group which will directly or indirectly result in the destruction or deterioration of an indigenous nation or group through the effects of pollution of earth, air, or water, or which in any way damages, displaces or destroys any natural resource or other resources under the dominion of or vital to the livelihood of an indigenous nation or group.

12. Indigenous Membership

No state through legislation, regulation, or other means, shall take any action that interferes with the sovereign power of an indigenous nation or group to determine its own membership.

13. Conclusion

All of the rights and obligations declared herein shall be in addition to all rights and obligations existing under international law.

Geneva, 1977

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST

Peter Aaby,
Institut for Etnologi og Antropologi,
Kobenhavns Universitet,
Federikshoms Kanal 4,
1220 Kobenhavn K
Denmark

Kathleen Acosta,
224 E. 6th Street,
N. Vancouver, BC V7L 1P5
Canada

Richard N. Adams,
Dept of Anthropolgy,
University of Texas, Austin,
Austin, TX 78712

Xavier Albo,
C.I.P.C.A.
Casilla 5854,
La Paz, Bolivia

Robert D. Anderson,
South American Mission,
5217 S. Military Trail,
PO Box 769,
Lake Worth, FL 33460
U.S.A.

George N. Appell,
Borneo Research Council,
Phillips, Maine, 04966
U.S.A.

Sue Appert,
226 Randolph St. Apt. 304 W,
Madison, WI
U.S.A.

Nelly Arvelo-Jimenez,
Instituto Venezolano de
Investigaciones Cientificas,
Dpt de Antropología,
Apartado 1827,
Caracas, Venezuela

Richard J. Auchter,
6501 Inner Drive,
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Jose Barreiro,
c/o Akwasasne Notes,
Mohawk Nation,
via Rooseveltown,
New York 13683
U.S.A.

Ellen B. Basso,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of Arizona,
Tucson AZ 85721
U.S.A.

Stephen Beckerman,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of California,
Berkeley, CA 94720
U.S.A.

Ned Benner,
Inter-American Foundation,
1515 Wilson Blvd.,
Rosslyn, VA 22209

Foley Benson,
Dept of Anthropology,
Washington State University,
Pullman, WA 99163

Brent Berlin,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of California, Berkeley,
Berkeley, CA 94720
U.S.A.

Elois Berlin,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of California, Berkeley,
Berkeley, CA 94720
U.S.A.

Howard Berman,
Faculty of Law and Jurisprudence,
John Lord O'Brian Hall,
SUNYAB Amherst Campus
Buffalo, NY 14260

Judith A. Bevis,
Cultural Survival, Inc.,
11 Divinity Ave.,
Cambridge, MA 02138
U.S.A.

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST, cont'd

2.

John H. Bodley,
Dept of Anthropology,
Washington State University,
Pullman, WA 99163
U.S.A.

Eduardo Bohorquez
1119 Sherman Ave., #3,
Madison, WI
U.S.A.

Phil Borynes,
5748 S. Black Stone,
Chicago, IL 60637
U.S.A.

John Bowman
5324 Brody Drive,
Madison, WI
U.S.A.

Wayne G. Bragg,
Dept of Soc. & Anthro.,
Wheaton College,
Wheaton, IL 60187
U.S.A.

Tico Braun,
930-A Eagle Heights,
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Barbara Brown,
2122 Rowley Ave.,
Madison WI 53705
U.S.A.

Joanna Burkhardt,
420 W. Wilson Street,
Madison WI 53703
U.S.A.

Bruce Bushey,
EIA Ford Foundation,
320 E. 43rd St.,
New York, NY 10017
U.S.A.

James O. Buswell,
Dept of Soc. & Anthro.,
Wheaton College,
Wheaton IL 60187
U.S.A.

Audrey Butt-Colson,
Dept of Ethnology & Prehistory,
Parks Road,
OXFORD, U.K.

Alan Campbell,
University of Edinburgh,
Dept of Social Anthropology,
George Square,
Edinburgh, Scotland

Gonzalo Castillo Cardenas,
Apdo. Aereo 14-650,
Bogotá, Colombia

Rudolph Chance,
San Martin de Turumban,
Cuyuni, c/o Alfredo Castro,
M.A.R.N.R.
Dept de Hidrologia,
Tumeremo, Estado Bolivar
Venezuela

Alberto Chirif,
Santa Isabel 180,
Lima 18,
Peru

Mary Ellen Conaway,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of South Florida,
Tampa, FL 33620
U.S.A.

Rodrigo Contreras,
512 de Lauzanne,
Aylmer, Quebec
Canada

Donald B. Cooper,
Dept of History,
Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio 43210
U.S.A.

Elizabeth H. Cornellson,
2801 Monroe St., 3W
Madison, WI 53711

Stephen Corry,
Survival International,
36 Craven Street,
London WC2N 5NG
England

41

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST, cont'd

Robert T. Coulter,
Indian Law Resource Center,
1101 Vermont Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005
U.S.A.

John Craite,
430 Doty Street,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Philip Crosier,
907-B Eagle Heights,
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Christine Dare,
Flat 2, Halewood House,
St. Veronica's School, Wood Road,
Halewood, Liverpool L26 0TA
England

Shelton Davis,
Anthropology Resource Center,
PO Box 90
Cambridge, MA 02138
U.S.A.

Sarah H. Dennard,
309 N. Franklin Street,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Charlotte Dennett,
c/o KRALES,
PO Box 326, Village Station,
New York City, New York 10014

Marlene Dobkin De Rios,
Department of Anthropology,
California State University,
Fullerton, CA 92634
U.S.A.

James Dow,
Dept of Soc. & Anthro.,
Oakland University,
Rochester, MI 48063
U.S.A.

J. Peter Ekstrom,
Dept of Anthropology,
Southwestern at Memphis,
2000 North Parkway,
Memphis, TN 38112
U.S.A.

Pamela I. Erickson,
4242 Ridge Lea Rd.,
Buffalo, NY 14004
U.S.A.

Ann Fairchild,
437 W. Johnson Street.,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Barbara Forest,
909 Spaight Street, Apt. #3,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Bernie Gellner,
415 W. Gilman Street, Apt. 514,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

John Gonger,
St. Joseph's Prep College,
Edgerton, WI 53534
U.S.A.

Mariguy Gonzalez-Tarbes,
Qta Montuna, Calle El Parque,
Urb. El Parque
Carrizal, Edo Miranda
Venezuela

Omar Gonzalez,
Dept of Anthropology,
Washington University,
St. Louis, MO 63130
U.S.A.

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST, cont'd

Kenneth R. Good,
10 East Langhorne Ave.,
Havertown, PA 19083
U.S.A.

Michael S. Goodman,
8934 N. Lake Dr.,
Milwaukee, WI 53217
U.S.A.

Rosalind Gow,
204-G Eagle Heights,
Madison WI 53205
U.S.A.

Joseph Grasmick,
269 Whitney Place, Upper
Buffalo, NY 14201
U.S.A.

Sidney Greenfield,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, WI
U.S.A.

Pedrinho A. Guareschi,
Av Bento Goncalves 4714
90.000 Porto Alegre RS
Brasil

Judith Gunn
2 Langdon Street, Apt. 44,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Mary Harter,
1217 Rutledge Street
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Philip Hazelton,
1207 B Centennial St.,
Whitehorse, Yukon
Canada

Daniel Heyduk,
Dept of Anthropology,
Bates College,
Lewiston, ME 04240
U.S.A.

Lynn Hirschkind,
114 S. Orchard Street,
Madison, WI 53715
U.S.A.

Carine Howard,
5827 S. Blackstone Ave.,
Chicago IL 60637,
U.S.A.

Gloria Huerta,
Indian Law Resource Center,
1101 Vermont Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005
U.S.A.

Stephen Hugh-Jones,
Dept of Anthropology,
King's College,
Cambridge, England

Hugh H. Iltis,
Dept of Botany
UW-Madison,
Madison, WI 53706

Howard S. Irwin,
New York Botanical Garden,
Southern Blvd and 200 BX
New York, NY 10458

Simeon Jimenez,
Federación Indígena del Territorio
Federal Amazonas,
Avenida La Guardia,
Puerto Ayacucho, T.F.A.
Venezuela

Paul Jones,
Box 1727,
Brown University,
Providence, RI 02912
U.S.A.

Melinda Kanner,
6633 Century Ave., Apt. #3
Middleton, WI
U.S.A.

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST cont'd

Margaret Kaufman,
3009 Howard Drive,
Madison, WI
U.S.A.

Pita Kelekna,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of New Mexico,
Albuquerque, NM 97131
U.S.A.

Jay Kingham,
Pharmaceutical Manu. Assoc.,
1155 15th St. NW
Washington, DC 20005
U.S.A.

Harriet Klein,
Dept of Anthropology,
Montclair State College
Montclair, NJ 07043
U.S.A.

Helge Kleivan,
IWIGIA
Frederiksholms Kanal 4A,
DK 1220 Copenhagen K
Denmark

Chuck Kleymeyer
568 Gately Terrace,
Madison WI 53711
U.S.A.

Roma D. Knee,
A.I.D.,
Latin American Planning,
Room 3253NS,
Washington, DC 20523
U.S.A.

Elsa Ann Kurth,
621 N. Francis Street,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Walter Lane,
Box 51, Educ. Building,
UW-Madison,
Madison, WI 53706
U.S.A.

E. Jean Langdon,
Cedar Crest College,
Allentown, PA 18104
U.S.A.

Kathryn Larson,
2400 Seminole Hwy.,
Madison, WI 53711
U.S.A.

Donald Lathrap,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of Illinois,
Urbana, IL 61801
U.S.A.

Mr. David Lee,
508-G Eagle Heights,
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Roberto Lizarralde,
Instituto de Investigaciones,
Facultad de Ciencias Económicas
y Sociales,
Universidad Central de Venezuela,
Caracas 105, Venezuela

Barbara M. Lodewich,
9 N. Hancock Stree, #6,
Madison WI
U.S.A.

Raquel M. Lopes,
Rural Soc. Dept.,
Sociology Building,
University of Missouri,
Columbia, MO 65201
U.S.A.

James W. Lorrick,
Box 3010,
Duke University Medical Center,
Durham, NC 27706
U.S.A.

Pedro Luis Lozada,
148 W. Gorham,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST, cont'd

6.

Theodore Macdonald, Jr.,
Dept. of Anthropology,
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, WI 53706
U.S.A.

Angus MacIntyre,
Division of Environmental Studies,
University of California,
Davis, CA 95616
U.S.A.

David and Pia Maybury-Lewis,
Dept. of Anthropology,
Harvard University,
Cambridge, MA 02138
U.S.A.

John McCament,
Representative from Amnesty International
Graduate School of International Studies,
University of Denver,
Denver, CO 80208
U.S.A.

Carol McLain,
222 N. Pinckney St.,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

William Merrifield,
Summer Institute of Linguistics,
7500 W. Camp Wisdom Road,
Dallas, TX 75236
U.S.A.

Ernest C. Migliazza,
Dept. of Anthropology,
University of Maryland,
College Park, MD 20742
U.S.A.

John Mohawk,
c/o Akwesasne Notes,
Mohawk Nation,
via Rooseveltown, NY 13683
U.S.A.

Tom Moore,
42 Perry Street,
New York City,
New York 10014
U.S.A.

Alain Moreau,
Rua Jacarezinho 147,
01456 Sao Paulo,
Brasil

Carlos Moreno Maldonado,
Ciudadela Georgina,
Manzana 2, Casa 1,
Riobamba, Ecuador

Nancy C. Morey,
140 So. Yorktown,
Macomb, IL 61455
U.S.A.

Robert Morey,
140 S. Yorktown,
Macomb, IL 61455
U.S.A.

Mike Myers,
c/o Akwesasne Notes,
Mohawk Nation,
via Rooseveltown
New York 13683
U.S.A.

Marcelo Naranjo,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of Illinois,
Urbana, IL 61801
U.S.A.

Linda Nathan,
217 N. Livingston Street,
Madison, WI
U.S.A.

Robert Negrin,
217 N. Livingston Street,
Madison, WI
U.S.A.

Jane Neumann,
150 Langdon Street, Apt. 3#
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

45

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST, cont'd

Euaristo Nugkuag,
c/o Alberto Chirif,
Santa Isabel 180,
Lima 18
Peru

Magaly Ojeda,
2120 University Ave., #202
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Daniel Parr,
2133 Center Street,
Madison, WI 53704
U.S.A.

Richard W. Patch,
State Univ. of NY-Buffalo,
Dept of Anthro., Ridge Lea Campus,
Amherst, NY 14226
U.S.A.

Hector Perez,
2355 Allied Drive, #150,
Madison, WI 53711
U.S.A.

Mary Lee Plumb,
Dept of Botany,
UW-Madison,
Madison, WI 53706
U.S.A.

Alberto Poletto,
Ministerio Relaciones Exteriores,
Casa Amarilla,
Ofic. de Cooperación Amazonica,
Caracas, Venezuela

Ricardo Fray Potesta,
c/o Alberto Chirif,
Santa Isabel 180,
Lima 18,
Peru

Ghilleen Prance,
The New York Botanical Garden,
Bronx, NY 10458
U.S.A.

George Primov,
Dept of Sociology,
University of Missouri,
Columbia MO 65211
U.S.A.

Fred Rattunde,
1243 E. Dayton,
Madison WI 53703
U.S.A.

Mr. Paul Rem,
1326 1/2 Vilas,
Madison WI 53706
U.S.A.

Julia Becker Richards,
107-D Eagle Heights,
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Mike Richards,
107-D Eagle Heights,
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Marjory Rinaldo-Lee,
508-G Eagle Heights,
Madison, WI 53705
U.S.A.

Fernando Rojas,
P.O. 51154
Bogota, D.E.
Colombia

Carolyn A. Rose-Avila,
4024 Decatur Ave.,
Kensington, Maryland 20795
U.S.A.

Angela Ross,
1732 Hartsdale Road,
Baltimore, Maryland 21239
U.S.A.

Giovanni Saffirio,
1321 Otis Street, SE
Washington, DC 20017
U.S.A.

Eduardo Santana,
305 N. Francis Street, #304 W,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Joanne Scheder,
2819 N. 67th Street,
Milwaukee, WI 53210
U.S.A.

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST, cont'd

8.

Mary Scheible,
247 Langdon St., Apt. C,
Madison WI 53703
U.S.A.

Frans J. Schuurman
Geographical Institute,
Berg & Dalseweg 122,
Nymegen Netherlands

Jonathan Schwartz,
c/o 170 Collins Road,
Newton, (Boston) MA 02168
U.S.A.

Steve Schwartzman,
1327 Northshore Street,
Chicago, IL 60626
U.S.A.

Karl H. Schwerin,
Dept of Anthropology,
Univ. of New Mexico,
Albuquerque, NM 87131
U.S.A.

Jody Seitz,
140 W. Gilman Street,
Madison, WI 53703
U.S.A.

Antoinette Sevensma,
11304 125th Street,
Edmonton, Alberta T5M 0M7
Canada

Horacio Sevilla-Borja,
Embassy of Ecuador,
2535 15th St. NW
Washington DC 20009
U.S.A.

Hope Shand,
Anthropology Research Project,
2121 Decatur Place, NW
Washington, DC 20015
U.S.A.

Catherine Shinnars,
217 S. Orchard Street,
Madison, WI 53715
U.S.A.

Phillip Sidoff,
Milwaukee Public Museum
800 W. Wells St.,
Anthropology Department,
Milwaukee, WI
U.S.A.

Alfonso de Silva,
UNESCO
7, Place de Fontenoy,
75700 Paris
France

Roger Simmons,
5912 Poso Court,
Bakerfield, CA 93309
U.S.A.

Margo L. Smith,
315 Marengo Ave.,
Forest Park, IL 60130
U.S.A.

Richard Chase Smith,
Apartado 12,
Oxapama, Peru

Robert J. Smith,
Dept of Anthropology,
Univ. of Kansas,
Lawrence, KS 66045
U.S.A.

Allen Sonaf Frank,
2220 Piedmont Ave.,
Berkeley, CA 94720
U.S.A.

Louisa Stark,
Dept of Anthropology,
UW-Madison,
Madison, WI 53706
U.S.A.

Henry S. Sterling
Geography Dept.
418 Science Hall
UW-Madison,
Madison, WI 53706
U.S.A.

Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg,
Dept of Geography,
University of California,
Berkeley, CA 94720
U.S.A.

PARTICIPANTS MAILING LIST, cont'd

9.

Harold Tarkow,
4116 Paunack Ave.,
Madison WI
U.S.A.

Michael Taussig,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
U.S.A.

David J. Thomas,
Box 1684 Station B,
Vanderbilt University,
Nashville, TN 37235
U.S.A.

Terrence S. Turner,
Dept of Anthropology,
University of Chicago,
Chicago IL 60637
U.S.A.

Fernando Umana,
Calle 68, # 5-43,
Bogota, Colombia

Stefano Varese,
INAH. H. Colegio Militar 219,
Colonia Reforma,
Oaxaca, Oax. México

Silvia Vidal-Gonzalez,
7026 Vernon Ave.,
University City,
St. Louis, MO 63130
U.S.A.

William Vickers,
Dept of Anthropology,
Tuskegee Institute,
Tuskegee, AL 36088
U.S.A.

Susan Wallerstein,
Subcommittee on International Dev.,
House of Representatives,
Annex 1, Room 703,
Washington, DC 20515
U.S.A.

Timothy M. Walsh,
County Trunk T.
Columbus, WI 53925
U.S.A.

Gerald Weiss,
Dept of Anthropology,
Florida Atlantic University,
Boca Raton, FL 33432
U.S.A.

Stuart White
Casilla 144
Quillabamba,
Cusco, Peru

Dorothea Whitten,
Sacha Runa Research Foundation,
507 Harding Dr.,
Urbana, IL 61801
U.S.A.

Norman Whitten
Dept of Anthropology,
University of Illinois,
Urbana, IL 61801
U.S.A.

Carl Widmer,
Elbert Covell College,
University of the Pacific,
Stockton, CA 95211
U.S.A.

Jim Yost,
717 Bennett,
Colorado Springs, CO 80909
U.S.A.

J. Colby Zily,
c/o KRALES,
PO Box 326, Village Station,
New York, NY 10014
U.S.A.

48