



MAP SHOWING THE 8 AREAS VISITED IN BRAZIL.  
JANUARY—MARCH 1971

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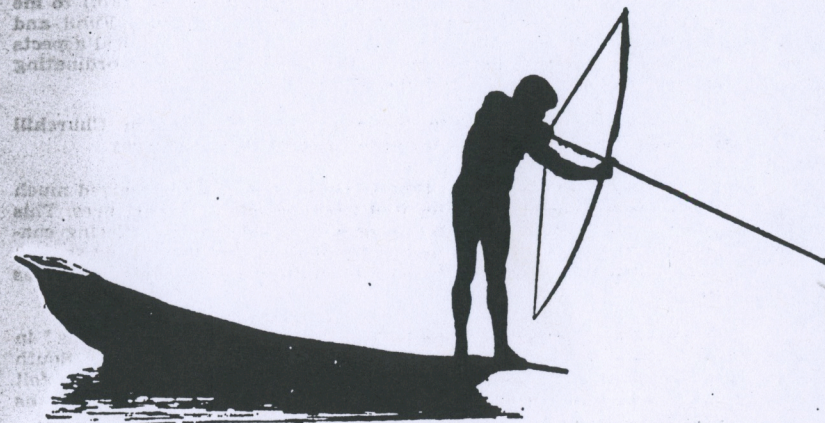
REPORT OF A VISIT TO

# THE INDIANS OF BRAZIL

ON BEHALF OF

## THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES FUND/ SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL

JANUARY—MARCH, 1971



By ROBIN HANBURY-TENISON



## INTRODUCTION

The Primitive Peoples Fund came into existence during the summer of 1969 following widespread international concern over the fate of primitive peoples and cultures.

It was registered as a Charity in November, 1969.

Although based in London, the Fund was soon in contact with other groups throughout the world interested in the same subject. Relations were established with these during 1969 and 1970 and the Fund was registered in the U.S.A.

Publicity given to the disbanding of the Indian Protection Service of Brazil and newspaper reports of atrocities, combined with talk of genocide, aroused public opinion. It was therefore appropriate that the first major project undertaken by the Fund should be in Brazil.

During the summer of 1970 a Medical Mission of the International Committee of the Red Cross undertook a "survey of the conditions of existence and health of the indigenous populations in a number of different regions of Brazil."

Following the successful completion of this mission, in which three European doctors and a Swiss ethnologist took part, an invitation was extended by the Brazilian Foreign Ministry (and delivered by the Brazilian Embassy in London on November 13th, 1970) to me as Chairman of the Executive of the Primitive Peoples Fund and my wife to make a similar visit and report on the non-medical aspects of the situation and in particular the possibilities of co-ordinating international aid for the Indians of Brazil.

I was also fortunate in being awarded a Winston Churchill Memorial Trust Fellowship towards the cost of the journey.

At the end of November, 1970, I visited Geneva and received much invaluable information on the Red Cross mission's experiences. This provided me with the foundation of a workable route, differing considerably from the one they had undertaken in that it included several areas which they had not visited and omitted others considered less vital.

There are estimated to be between 50,000 and 80,000 Indians\* in Brazil ranging from some highly acculturated groups in the South of the country to completely isolated groups in Amazonas. I felt that it was important to see examples of both extremes as well as those between and the route was planned accordingly.

This route was agreed by the Brazilian Government and arrangements for our internal travel were made by the Presidency, the Ministry of the Interior and the Fundacao Nacional do Indio.

\* Reference is made to the question of the definition of an Indian in the General Conclusions on p.23

In the preparation of this report, before, during and since the 10 weeks spent in Brazil, I have had discussions with some 150 people with expert knowledge of the situation. This included writing to some 40 anthropologists and others who had published material on the Indians of Brazil or had worked among them, asking for their views. As a result I received a vast amount of advice and information as well as a broad selection of opinions on the causes and possible cures of the ills affecting the Indians. There was overwhelming agreement on two main points. Firstly that an extremely serious situation exists regarding the survival of the indigenous peoples of Brazil and that if nothing is done they will soon become virtually extinct; and secondly that whatever means are adopted for helping them, change must be brought about as slowly as possible in order to minimise the inevitable shock which such change has upon them.

Unfortunately, due to commercial pressures connected with the expanding economy of Brazil, the development of the interior, road programmes and the resettlement of the overcrowded populations of the coastal areas, the best interests of the Indians are often neglected. Too often their fate is decided on economic rather than humanitarian criteria and even FUNAI, the successor to the Indian Protection Service, operating under the Ministry of the Interior, has to formulate its policies in accordance with that Ministry's overall concern for development rather than being able to concentrate on what is best for the Indians.

This report is an examination of some of the main areas in which controlled work with the Indians is being undertaken and thus provides a basis for comparing methods and results.

I have attempted to draw my conclusions from a cross-section of the views of the many different people I have consulted as well as from my own observations. These include European, American and Brazilian anthropologists, doctors, nurses, missionaries (both Roman Catholic and Protestant), officials of FUNAI, linguists and the Indians themselves.

However, I wish to emphasise that the opinions and recommendations in this report are my own alone.

My wife and I would like to express our sincere thanks and appreciation for all their kindness and help to the following Brazilian Government Departments and individuals. Although some of them must have been very wearied by the problems and hard work we caused them, their typically Brazilian good humour and hospitality never failed them and we were always treated with the utmost courtesy and generosity:

The Brazilian Foreign Ministry.

H.E. the Brazilian Ambassador and his staff in London.

The Ministry of the Interior.

The Fundacao Nacional do Indio and its employees both in Brasilia and in the field.

The Brazilian Air Force and in particular the five pilots who at one time or another flew us.

We would also like to thank the many Brazilian and foreign anthropologists, doctors, missionaries and others working with and for the Indians who generously gave up their time to talk to us and upon whose hospitality we often imposed ourselves.

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# **REPORT OF A VISIT TO THE INDIANS OF BRAZIL ON BEHALF OF THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES FUND/ SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL**

January-March, 1971

After preliminary visits to Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Brasilia, eight main areas were visited in Brazil.

These were:

Xingu	Aripuana
Bananal	Southern Para and Northern Golas
Southern Mato Grosso	Tumucumaque
Northern Mato Grosso	Roraima

In the following report each area will be dealt with separately in the form of a brief description of each tribe or village visited, the help they are receiving and the problems they are facing.

At the end of the report come the General Conclusions with suggestions of forms in which direct aid (whether Brazilian or International) might be usefully employed.

A rough system of coding has been used to further summarize the relative conditions of the groups visited. This is explained below.

Against each tribe, village or group visited during the report, the following information is added:

1. Name of tribe or sub-group (if generally known as such).
2. Name of village (if different from name of tribe or group).
3. Approximate number of inhabitants of village or members of group.
4. Area of Reserve, if known, in Hectares (1 Hectare equals 2.47 acres).
5. Date or dates on which visited.
6. Classification.

## **Classification of Tribes visited**

It must be emphasised that this classification is based on brief visits to a selection of the Indian tribes of Brazil. It is not an anthropological classification and is useful only as a guide to this report. However, an overall survey of this sort can be more useful in some respects than detailed inspections of individual tribes.

		Conditions				
		1	2	3	4	5
Stage of Integration	A					
	B					
	C					
	D					
	E					

Conditions: 1, very good; 2, good; 3, fair; 4, poor; 5, very poor.  
Stage of Integration: A isolated; B intermittent contact; C permanent contact (FUNAI/missionary); D permanent contact (general population); E integrated.

## **Tribes (including separate villages or groups of the same tribe).**

Yawalapiti	C1	Terena/Buriti	E4	Cinta Larga A ?
Waura	B1	Kaiwa	E3	Gorotire C 2
Kuikuro	B2	Kadiweu/S.Joao	D3	K.K.K. C 3
Kamayura	C1	Kadiweu/Bodoquena	D4	Kraho D 3
Txikao	C2	Terena/Limao Verde	E2	Gaviao C 5
Trumai	C2	Bororo	C4	Tirio C 1
Kayabi	C1	Paresi	D5	"/Paimeru B 2
Suya	B2	Nambiquara/S.Azul	C4	Ingerico D 3
Juruna	B1	"Mamainde/Fifano	C5	Waika A & B 2
Txukarramai	B2	"Mamainde/Cpt. Pedro	C5	
Karaja/S.Isabel	D4	"Tauande/Faustino	D5	
Karaja/Fontoura	C5			

## **PREPARATIONS AND PRELIMINARY VISITS IN BRAZIL**

The first ten days in Brazil were spent in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Brasilia. During this time preparations were made for the journey in the interior and necessary supplies purchased.

After much discussion our route was agreed with FUNAI, the Ministry of the Interior and the Brazilian Air Force and a timetable was worked out. An Air Force Beechcraft (C45) was appointed to transport us from one area to another and to certain local airstrips. It was agreed that further local travel would be by small charter aeroplane, jeep, canoe, horse or on foot as conditions demanded.

Visits were made to Indian museums and departments of anthropology and meetings held with anthropologists, doctors and past and present employees of FUNAI and experts on Indian affairs.

A long meeting took place with the President of FUNAI and the Minister of the Interior at which the integration policy regarding the Indian was fully discussed. Meetings were also held in the Foreign Ministry regarding the international aspects of the situation.

Press interviews were not given.

In Brasilia Professor Edson Ramalho Junior, a FUNAI employee, was appointed to accompany us throughout our journey.

## **CASA DOS INDIOS**

In Rio de Janeiro we visited the FUNAI Casa dos Indios on the Ilha do Governador. This is a small hospital/rest home for Indians of all ages. Although only one small terrace house with a backyard, as many as 80 Indians have been at times accommodated there. The normal number is, however, nearer 30.

The majority of the patients we saw were children suffering from broken limbs, bone TB (causing hunchbacks), blindness, mental retardation, etc. If they were orphans or had no known family to return to, they were brought up in the home and educated there. Evidence of some remarkable success stories in this direction was produced.

There were also adult patients; confused and injured Indians rescued from the city and others brought in from their tribes for treatment and due to be returned when cured; there was one very old woman dying of cancer.

We were most impressed by the high standard of hygiene and cleanliness and particularly by the cheerful atmosphere maintained under very crowded and difficult conditions. This was entirely due to the strength of personality and dedication of the administrator, a Brazilian woman of Indian descent.



## SECTION 1

### Xingu

The Xingu National Park consists of an area of 22,500 sq. kms. in which live approximately 1,500 Indians from 15 tribes.

It is broadly divided into two areas—the Southern half administered from Posto Leonardo and containing the eleven Upper Xingu tribes, and the Northern half administered from Diauarum and inhabited by four other tribes.

### POSTO LEONARDO

**Administration.** Six FUNAI employees administer both Posto Leonardo and Diauarum. These are Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas, their nephew Agnello Villas Boas, two nurses (Mrs. Orlando Villas Boas and her sister) and Capt. Hausen, the pilot. At each post there is also an Indian responsible for administration who receives a small wage. Both these Indians who, in addition to their other work, operate the radio link between the posts, are men of outstanding calibre.

**Medical Assistance.** There is a well-equipped clinic and dispensary and further assistance is provided by a doctor and nurses sent by the Sao Paulo School of Medicine for two-month tours of duty.

### Facilities.

- 1 light aircraft. 3/4 seats, very old but serviceable.
- 1 jeep.
- Radio.
- 1 ancient motor launch.
- 2 outboard motors and canoes.

There is a small airstrip beside each Indian village and regular medical inspections are made.

### TRIBES VISITED

- 1. Yawalapiti (60). 23rd and 24th January. C 1.

Ten minutes from Posto Leonardo by jeep.

The first Upper Xingu tribe visited. There was a good atmosphere and the people were healthy, fit and cheerful. We later attended ritual dancing and flute-playing.

- 2. Waurá (115). 24th January. B 1.

Ten minutes' flight from Posto Leonardo.

Famous for their pottery which they trade with other tribes in the region. Both large pots used in the preparation of manioc and smaller zoomorphic bowls were being made. We found an excellent atmosphere of prosperity and contentment in the village with almost no sign of outside influence. The chief, who is also the most skilled potter, was an impressive and confident figure.

- 3. Kuikuro (150). 25th January. B 2.

Fifteen minutes' flight.

A large village on the edge of open savannah country rich in game. Deer were seen during the flight.

More nervous and excited than others, partly due to the presence of two very sick men in the village, whom we flew back for medical attention. A lot of children and young babies.

- 4. Kamayura (130). 52th and 26th January. C 1.

Twenty minutes by jeep.

Had recently rebuilt their village close to the very large lake which provides the fish requirements of this tribe. We found these people the most confident and well adjusted of all those we visited and with a particularly active culture.

- 5. Txikao (58). 24th and 27th January. C 2.

Ten minutes' walk from the post.

This tribe is in a different position from the others in the area as it was rescued from very unsatisfactory contact with a mining camp only a few years ago and brought into the Park. From being on the point of extinction, it was encouraging to learn that the tribe has now begun to increase again rapidly, there being 19 children born to the 25 adults recently.

The atmosphere was less relaxed in this village, there being an aggressiveness and suspicion lacking in the others. Most of the tribe wore clothes except when taking part in ritual dances.

- 6. Trumai (26). 23rd to 27th January. C 2.

Most of the very few remnants of this strange and gentle people live in two huts at Posto Leonardo, where their conditions are good.

We also flew low over the Kalapalo (120) and Matipu (25) villages en route to the Kuikuro and met members of these tribes as well as some Aweti who came to the post.

With the exception of the Txikao, most of the members of the above tribes wear no clothes. This is through choice as most have clothes available against severe mosquito attacks or for use during cold, rain, etc. Many wear decorated feather arm bands and leg bindings and much use is made of Urucu, a red body paint extracted from a fruit, and Genipapo, a black dye.

Through contact with each other over a long period, the tribes of the Upper Xingu have developed similar customs and beliefs and a common way of life. Although each tribe still speaks its own language and preserves many of its own myths and individual characteristics, they are often regarded as one nation or federation.

The villages we visited were broadly similar in their layout, consisting of five or more large palm thatched communal huts set in a circle around a wide beaten earth area with a smaller men's hut in the centre. Inside the huts each family has its hammocks grouped around its own fire.

**Food.** The main diet of all these tribes was as follows:

**Fish.** Caught in the rivers and lagoons and fairly abundant.

**Game.** Mostly monkey and certain birds. Fairly scarce close to the villages and necessitating hunting journeys of several days' duration. Bows and arrows are still widely used although each village has at least one .22 rifle.

**Manioc and Maize.** Grown in small clearings close to the villages. "Slash and burn" agriculture means that these have to be moved fairly frequently.

**Fruit.** Varieties of wild fruit and nuts, edible plants and roots and honey gathered in the surrounding jungle play an important part.

This diet is supplemented when necessary with rice provided by the post.



During January 28th and 29th we travelled by boat down the Xingu River from Posto Leonardo to Diauarum, a distance of some 150 kms. No Indians were seen until we were close to Diauarum. This part of the Park, though visited by Indians of the Upper Xingu on hunting parties, contains no permanent settlements. It consists of dense jungle with no open areas.

There is a Brazilian Air Force jungle training camp some way below Posto Leonardo and in from the river bank, but there is little or no contact with either the post or the Indians.

#### DIAUARUM

Administration and Medical Assistance are the same as Posto Leonardo, due to the radio link and airstrip. There is usually a nurse and Claudio Villas Boas spends much of his time there.

#### Facilities.

Radio.

2 outboard motors and several canoes.

#### TRIBES VISITED.

1. Kayabi (230). 29th January and 1st February. C 1.

We visited two Kayabi villages on the Xingu River, one South and one North of Diauarum.

These people were in intermittent contact with prospectors and rubber gatherers for many years and suffered greatly in the past before moving into the safety of the Park. They are more acculturated than the other tribes. Both villages were well provided with crops and food, growing a surplus which they send to the post. Chickens are kept and fruit trees grown in and around the villages. The houses are a mixture of traditional communal dwellings and "caboclo" type huts.

2. Suya (125). 30th January. B 2.

One hour by canoe up the Suya Missu River.

Only contacted in 1960/61, many Suya died at that time from disease. They are now in a healthy state and once again on the increase. Recently 40 Beico de Pau, the remnants of a related group from the Upper Tapajos river, were brought to the Suya village and have integrated into the tribe. The village is only two hours away from Diauarum on foot and while we were there a group from the tribe came and stayed at the post and danced for several nights to celebrate Claudio Villas Boas's return.

3. Juruna (60). 7th February. B 1.

Five hours by boat from Diauarum down the Xingu and up the Manitsaua Missu River.

This was a temporary village to which the tribe had moved in order to be further away from the main Xingu river where they felt there was a danger of being contacted by outsiders as a result of the new road. This move had been made spontaneously and without encouragement from the Park administration. We felt it was significant in indicating the Indians' own fear and mistrust of the effect of the BR-80 which had recently reached the East bank of the Xingu some 30-40 kms. downstream.

After suffering continual reductions in their numbers over the last 200 years since they were first contacted, both at the hands of settlers and other Indian tribes, the Juruna, who once numbered over 3,000, are at last on the increase again. Conditions were satisfactory, if rather crowded, in the temporary village and considerable work was in hand in the preparation of the new village.

There were several Txukarranai at Diauarum discussing the new road and the possibility of moving the tribe to the South of it. Although agitated over this subject, the few families we saw were fit and healthy and when questioned gave good reports of conditions among the rest of the tribe which consists of over 280 members inside the Park and about the same number outside.

#### THE ROAD.

The Xavantina-Cachimbo road (BR-80) was originally planned to pass outside the Northern limit of the Park through open country. The new and more difficult route taking it through the centre of the Park is regarded as a serious threat to the very existence of the Park, the outstanding success of which depends on its insulation from outside influences. It is to be hoped that FUNAI will do everything in its power to combat the inevitable harmful effects of the road and use its influence to prevent such unnecessary and apparently illegal penetration of a protected area. If it became necessary to abandon the area North of the road, due to the undesirable effects of contact, then an equivalent area of land to the West or South of the Park should be added to the Park.

#### FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.

As it is at present constituted, the Park could carry an Indian population twice as large as the present one (1,500 approximately). It is estimated that there are about this number of still uncontacted Indians belonging to six or seven tribes in the immediate area of the Park. It is greatly to be hoped that as these tribes are contacted, it will be possible to extend the park to include their lands. As a last resort they should be persuaded to enter the Park and settle there where they would have the best chance of survival.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The Indians in the Xingu National Park were the healthiest in mind and body of those we saw in Brazil. As the rest of this report will show, there was much excellent work being done elsewhere in Brazil and some of the Indians we saw were receiving good care and attention from a variety of sources. However, the combination of a relatively isolated situation, preservation of cultural identity, economic assistance when necessary and adequate medical care had produced a situation where the shock of confrontation with Western civilisation was reduced. The Indians were better able to cope with their present problems and had a better chance of eventually adapting to the 20th century as useful citizens.

Further assistance is needed to consolidate this Park, define its limits and improve the facilities.

The Xingu is the only closed park in Brazil, which means that it is the only area in which Indians are safe from deliberate or accidental contact with undesirable representatives of Western civilization. This is due entirely to the Villas Boas brothers and the total dedication of their lives to this work over the last 25 years. Other similar areas have either been proposed or actually created in recent years with a view to their being run on the same lines.



Every effort should be made to implement the establishment and proper functioning of these parks and the creation of others before it is too late. It is much more difficult to remove settlers from land, even if it was sold to them illegally or is subsequently found to be occupied by Indians, than it is to define a National Park in which some of the remaining virgin areas of Brazil may be preserved and the Indians given a chance of survival.

## SECTION 2

### Bananal

The island of Bananal (22,000 sq. kms.) on the Araguaia River is an open reserve, sometimes also called the National Indian Park of Araguaia. There are about 800 Indians and 8,000 settlers on the island.

#### Santa Isabel do Morro

**Administration.** This is the base of the 7th Regional Delegation of FUNAI, from which the Karaja, Xerente, Kraho and Xavante tribes are administered. In spite of a considerable administration and clerical staff we encountered an alarming lack of information about numbers, conditions and the location of the Indians under their care. The FUNAI delegate estimated the number of Karaja on the island to be 1,500, while most authorities and the majority of his staff put the number at nearer 800. There was a lengthy argument on the subject. Several projects were discussed, including a cheese and butter factory, a fish processing plant and expansion of the existing FUNAI herd of cattle, but none of these will improve the conditions of the Indians.

**Medical Assistance.** A small modern hospital in the charge of a nurse. The resident doctor was away at the time of our visit. The hospital was clean and fairly well equipped but the equipment was little used and there were only four patients. These were all Indians and we were told that they were suffering from a broken arm, four broken ribs, stomach trouble and a very old woman with arthritis who had come to the hospital to die. We were also told that the Indians preferred to be treated in their villages rather than go to hospital and that serious cases were sent to Brasília or Belo Horizonte which accounted for the small number of patients.

**Indian Guards.** There is a detachment of Indian Guards on Bananal (9 at Sta Isabel and 7 at Fontoura). These are Indian youths from the Karaja, Xerente, Xavante and Kraho tribes, 84 of whom had been taken to Belo Horizonte and then returned to their tribes as a native police force. They are paid a small government salary, which in some cases represented the only outside income of a tribe. Their position is difficult and anomalous and it was hard to see what function they performed. Now unarmed and charged with maintaining law and order, they were not listened to by the non-Indian population, and inside the tribe more authority was vested in the tribal chiefs. They were also supposed to work on certain government sponsored development projects but we saw and heard no evidence that they ever in fact did this.

#### Villages (aldeias) visited.

##### 1. Karaja, Santa Isabel (240). 3rd February. D 4.

The two rows of mud and straw huts on brick bases, with a couple of brick huts in the middle, were separated from the administration building by a barbed wire fence. Escorted by the nine Indian guards who had met us at the narrow entrance to the village, we were made to "inspect" each of the thirty huts. As a result spontane-

ity was lacking and each visit had to be hurried. The interiors of the huts were dirty and dark and appeared uncomfortable and the Indians sullen and silent. Artifacts of quite a high standard, which are sold through FUNAI, were being produced in large numbers. Each hut had a simple frame for making belts on and outside several clay figurines, zoomorphic pots and even ash trays were drying in the sun.

Tribal dances had been arranged for our benefit, but the effect was spoiled by the small crowd of local farmers and cowboys who hooted and jeered throughout the performance. As a result the Indians themselves became embarrassed and the younger participants in particular were beginning to laugh at the whole performance.

##### 2. Karaja Fontoura (237). 4th February. C 3.

Three hours downstream from Sta. Isabel. 5 hours return.

The village is administered by a Seventh Day Adventist Mission with occasional visits by a FUNAI doctor or nurse from Sta. Isabel.

We found an extremely poor atmosphere and very dirty conditions both inside and outside the huts, which were of the same style as at Sta. Isabel. Barbed wire was again much in evidence and the scene resembled pictures of 19th century slave settlements. The difference from a previous visit made in 1958 before the "modern" huts had been built was very noticeable. Little work was being done and an atmosphere of lethargy prevailed. Health appeared poor and many of the huts contained malaria sufferers resting in hammocks. The only work we saw being done in the village was in the men's hut where the Indian guards were helping to make feather head-dresses and masks.

A deep well had been dug in the village but the missionary said that the Indians preferred to use water from the river. Tins and bottles were visible at the bottom of the well.

#### Conclusions.

The Indians we saw on Bananal were in a thoroughly depressed state due to their enforced settlement, the poverty of the soil and continuous contact with a competing and growing population of settlers. They are becoming increasingly dependent upon the limited material assistance given them and are in danger of losing their tribal skills and pride without anything replacing them.

This is an extreme case of an "open" reserve where Indians and settlers live in the closest proximity. The situation is further aggravated by the new and growing town of Sao Felix on the far bank of the river Araguaia. After the International Red Cross report drew attention to these problems it was announced that plans were "under study" to move the village of Santa Isabel to a better site. We saw and heard of no evidence to suggest that action on this was likely.



### SECTION 3

#### Southern Mato Grosso

We first visited the Headquarters of the 9th Regional Delegation of FUNAI at Campo Grande where the Delegate and his staff were able to give us concise and accurate information about numbers and conditions of the Indians under their charge.

#### Reserves visited.

1. Terena, Buriti (735). 2,000 Hectares. 8th February. E 4.

Assistance. FUNAI through missionaries; divided equally between Catholic and Protestant, the latter being at the FUNAI post.

The Indians were exceptionally articulate and very aware of the problems they face. There was a serious need for agricultural advisory and technical help to alleviate the depression and despair which, combined with the proximity of a small town, causes widespread drunkenness.

The post maintains a small herd of cows for its own use, but was unable to give much assistance to the Indians.

There was a lot of tuberculosis and colds and a serious shortage of medicines.

A road runs through the reserve and we saw some local traffic on this. We were told that this was illegal and created problems, but was impossible to stop.

2. Kaiwa, Guarani and Terena, Dourados (old name Francisco Orta) (approx. 1,900). 3,600 Hectares. 9th February. E 3.

Assistance. FUNAI employee at Post.

Medical. Modern Protestant missionary hospital on the edge of the reserve to which T.B. patients from a wide area are sent. FUNAI pays for treatment of some Indians. The main health problem was the after-care of T.B. patients.

On this reserve the Indians are separated into individual small-holdings farmed by one or more families. In spite of the very rich land, conditions are poor. Although fully acculturated, these Indians working for low wages but paying normal prices for food are left with no surplus for other necessities. Thus, having lost the art of making their own pottery, they now mostly cook in empty tins, being unable to afford pots and pans. The land is not fully exploited and there is a serious shortage of water. Further assistance is needed to make these people self-supporting.

Here, too, there is a public road bisecting the reserve and leading to undesirable exploitation, prostitution and drunkenness.

3. Kadiweu Reserve (425). 364,000 Hectares. 10th and 11th February

Difficult access by jeep over rough tracks through swamp, forest and grassland areas of Pantanal. There is an airstrip at Bodoquena, but it was not considered serviceable.

We visited both the villages in the reserve and the cattle station at Nallque,

- a. Sao Joao (Aldeia Tomasia) (207). 10th February. D 3.

Assistance. FUNAI occasional visits. No resident or medical help.

The village is comprised of small groups of huts scattered over a wide area. A few cattle and horses are reared and some crops of manioc and maize grown. Fine and strong looking people, but suffering from a lot of T.B. On our arrival some of the women and

girls put on "party" dresses and heavy applications of lipstick and one or two of the young men produced cowboy outfits and even an accordion in which to be photographed. Some pottery and palm-leaf fans being made, but little outside contact or chance of sales.

- b. Bodoquena (Campina) (218). 11th February. D 4.

Assistance. FUNAI. Resident untrained employee at the post. No facilities (radio had not worked for two years and airstrip unserviceable). Some medical help given by nearby Protestant missionary. The Indians were in a very depressed and demoralised state. Some traditional pottery was being made but there was no outlet for it. There was plenty of game in the area, but they were not permitted to use firearms and had lost the use of bows and arrows. As a result their small cultivated areas were being damaged by wild pig and deer. They also had no access to funds to buy fencing materials to keep out cattle. They said they ate meat at most once a month.

There was much disease, colds, T.B., and skin diseases, including one case of "fogo selvagem" (Penfigo Foliaceous) which had been treated in Campo Grande hospital and the patient, a woman, who badly needed after care, had been returned to her tribe.

We also visited the cattle station at Nallque, where a man employed by FUNAI looks after about 100 head of cattle. The Indians derive little or no benefit from this, as although a steer is very occasionally slaughtered and the meat shared out the more normal procedure is for the stock to be sold outside the reserve. The employee was afraid of the Indians and referred to them as stupid, lazy and potentially dangerous wild animals.

#### Conclusions.

The Kadiweu, the only Indians in South America to make thorough use of horses, resisted colonization longer than any other tribe in Southern Brazil. In the early part of this century they were conquered and a very great number were massacred in the process.

The large Kadiweu Reserve was granted to the Indians in perpetuity. About five years ago 341,000 Hectares were illegally let to settlers. As a result of a court case it was agreed that the settlers should remain but pay a rent to the Indians of 1 New Cruzero per Hectare (approx. 5p) per annum. This money is collected by FUNAI but practically none of it has ever been spent on schemes to help the Kadiweu. They are therefore left without either their land or the income therefrom or technical assistance.

4. Terena, Aquidauana (Lima Verde) (740). 4,000 Hectares. 12th February. E 2.

25 kilometers West of Aquidauana.

Assistance. FUNAI employee and school-teacher wife at post in the village.

These Indians were doing quite well. They have enough land and are farming it effectively. Although still facing many difficulties and not yet fully accepted by the local population, they appear to be approaching the same standard of living and therefore are less vulnerable. This, combined with contact over a long period and a strong and resilient pride in their cultural background, gives them the best chance of survival and eventual full integration.



# SECTION 1 Northern Mato Grosso

We visited the Headquarters of the 5th Regional Delegation of FUNAI at Cuiaba where there is a well-stocked shop selling Indian artifacts from the tribes in the region. The Delegate, a lieutenant, had no information available on the area and had visited only a few of the Indians in his region.

**Medical Assistance.** Thanks to the tireless work of a dedicated Brazilian nurse, assisted by two Peace Corps girls, medical help is given to Indians who can be brought to Cuiaba. In spite of this being far the most valuable service FUNAI performs in the area the small country hospital, 14 kms. outside Cuiaba, on a very rough and sometimes impassable road, is desperately short of funds and equipment. Our visit coincided with a serious measles epidemic among the Nambiquara groups along the Guapore river. In one group alone, the Sarare, it was estimated that half the tribe (25 out of 50) had died. The chances of the tribe surviving such a disaster were reduced by the fact that most deaths had been among the women and children. This was born out by our visit to the hospital, where we saw a number of very ill patients from this almost totally isolated group, of whom the majority were men who had lost their wives and children.

The hospital consists of two rough buildings and an isolation building some distance away. With a staff which never exceeds five, as many as seventy Indians from various tribes are cared for. Two cows are kept which provide milk for child T.B. recuperative cases but leave none over and there is a small vegetable garden in which recuperating Indians work.

## Tribes visited.

### 1. Bororo (Gomes Carneiro) (120). 15th February. C 4.

45 minutes flight to strip next to the post on the Sao Lourenco river. Half-hour walk to the village.

**Assistance.** Resident FUNAI employee at airstrip. No facilities and no apparent interest in the welfare of the Indians. He did not offer to accompany us to the village and we were subsequently informed that he had recently been re-instated after being suspended some years before. An American couple from the Summer Institute of Linguistics was living near the village.

The village consisted of twelve well-made huts in a circle, two of which had recently burned down. In spite of the rundown condition of the village and the poor health of several members of the group, we were impressed by the cheerful welcome we received due to the presence with us of one of the girl assistants from the hospital (an American Peace Corps worker who had spent some time there previously). A considerable number of good quality artifacts (feather head-dresses, necklaces, etc.) were being made and many of the children were decorated with these. Although this was said to be the strongest of the Bororo groups, food was short and they were badly in need of further assistance.

On leaving the village we met a hunting party returning with an anteater and an armadillo for which they had had to travel many miles.

From the 16th to the 19th February we travelled by road between Cuiaba and Vilhena, visiting Paresi and Nambiquara villages on the way.

### 2. Paresi (Rio Verde) (30). 16th February. D 5.

About 300 kms. N.W. of Cuiaba on the Cuiaba-Porto Velho road.

**Assistance.** Occasional medical supplies from Cuiaba and visits from the Catholic Mission at Diamantino.

There are about 460 Paresi in all living in about 17 villages which represent little more than family groups. The road has had a disastrous effect on the tribe which is fragmenting further and has come to depend on the road as a source of income to the exclusion of almost everything else. We passed six small groups sitting beside the road holding up rather badly made bows and arrows in the hope that a lorry, or one of the very rare cars, would stop and buy them.

There is a large Paresi reserve, but less than half the tribe lives in it and those have no resources or experience in how to profit from it.

At Rio Verde, which is one of the largest Paresi villages, the situation is particularly unsatisfactory. The village, inside the reserve which at this point borders the road for 100 kms., is on one side of the road. Exactly opposite it—200 metres away on the other side of the road—is a petrol station and lorry drivers' pull-in. As a result the Indians live by begging and trying to sell bows and arrows at the pumps and there is some prostitution. This was also the only place where we were told we must pay to take photographs.

One of the Indians had a little medical training and was entrusted with handing out medicines to some of the surrounding groups. He had run out of supplies but was afraid to hitch-hike to Cuiaba for more as he had heard about the measles epidemic. The dangers of infection from the road travellers were not understood.

We also visited another village where an evangelist missionary (American) had been for six years. He was leaving shortly to return to America and said that he was fed up with trying to teach the Indians, who did not want to learn and that the only way to achieve success would be to take the children away by force and educate them. The Protestant missionaries in this region have been severely criticised by anthropologists and others for contributing to the rapid deterioration which has taken place in recent years.

After the International Red Cross report it was announced that some members of the South American Indian Mission had been replaced, but we received information that they had returned.

Urgent assistance and agricultural aid programmes are needed if the situation is to be saved.

### 3. Nambiquara (Serra Azul) (70). 17th February. C 4.

About 450 kms. from Cuiaba towards Vilhena and 33 kms. N.E. of the road. Inside Nambiquara Reserve.

**Assistance.** Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The Nambiquara are very much more primitive than the Paresi and some have only fairly recently been contacted. Conditions were fairly bad in the village, but we were impressed by the equitable and clearly popular barter system which the linguist had evolved for trading soap, pots, knives, etc., for the varied products (necklaces, nose flutes, ear-rings, etc.) which the Indians made in considerable quantities. This had the advantage of assisting the Indians without inflicting the insecurity of charity on them, but some difficulty was being experienced in disposing of all the Indian artifacts. International outlets might be found for these. The American linguist, who



has been at the village for nearly six years and has built his own modern house in it, is respected by the Indians and is of some help to them, but trained medical assistance is badly needed.

4. **Nambiquara.** Mamainde (Fifano) (50). 18th February. C 5.  
About 50 kms. before Vilhena and 3 kms. West of the road.

**Assistance.** Summer Institute of Linguistics.

This group, which represents about half the remaining Mamainde, is in a desperate situation. All the land around the village has been sold to developers and the Indians have little land left to grow their crops on, while game (even small birds) is practically non-existent. Epidemics are frequent and without the assistance of the young English S.I.L. couple, whose resources are very limited it is likely that this group would have become extinct during the last few years.

5. **Nambiquara.** Mamainde (Capitao Pedro) (50). 18th February. C 5.

Eight kms. South of Fifano and 10 kms. in from the road.

**Assistance.** None. An American anthropologist and his wife were living in the village and giving what help and protection they could.

As at Fifano, these Indians are gravely threatened and are in imminent danger of being overrun by developers. In this case the actual land of the village as well as most of the surrounding territory belongs to a real estate company and is being actively settled. The settlers regard the Indians as a threat and would like to see the back of them. There is a "gleba" (settlement project) nearby at which families from urban areas are encouraged by the company owning the land to clear blocks of virgin jungle and grow crops. Within 3-4 years the soil is exhausted and more than four out of five of the families then sell up and return home.

Proposals have been put forward over the years for adequate reserves for these and other Nambiquara groups in this area but they have never been implemented and the real estate companies strengthen their hold daily on these acknowledged Indian lands. It has been recently suggested that all these groups (comprising about 500 Indians in all—some groups have not yet been contacted) should be moved to the Nambiquara reserve on the other side of the road, which already contains about 200 Indians. Unfortunately the land in the reserve is too poor to support this number of Indians and the groups concerned are mutually inimical and terrified of each other. The result of such a move would be the rapid death of most of the 700-odd Indians concerned.

6. **Nambiquara.** Tauande (Seringal do Faustinho) (26).  
20th February. D 5.

60 kms. North of Vilhena on the Porto Velho road.

A small group of Indians (we counted 26, including only one child) are kept in conditions closely resembling slavery by a local landowner. This situation was severely criticised in the Red Cross Report and we subsequently read reports in the Brazilian press indicating that at the time of our visit action had already been taken to prosecute the landowner and move the Indians. We saw no indication of any improvement.

**Conclusions.** The Indians in this area are going rapidly downhill towards extinction. Very little FUNAI aid reaches them and if nothing is done none will be needed as most of the Indians will be dead.

## SECTION 5.

### Aripuana.

A large Indian park called the Indian park of Aripuana was created in 1968 between the Roosevelt River in Rondonia and the Juruena River in Mato Grosso. There are several uncontacted groups in this area, the largest of which is probably the Cinta Larga. Recently members of this tribe have appeared on a couple of occasions at Vilhena and on the Vilhena-Porto Velho road. Indian villages were located from the air about 60 kms. East of the road and the "7 de Setembro" camp, a contact post with airstrip, was set up nearby by Sr. Francisco Meirelles, who is now Delegate for the region. Unfortunately both the camp and these villages are outside the area of the Aripuana Park. We were able to obtain a map of the area produced by a real estate company, which showed all the land up to the Roosevelt River marked off into "lots" which were for sale or already sold.

We flew over the "7 de Setembro" camp, but due to the airstrip being flooded we were unable to land. We then overflew two of the Indian villages around which we could see quite large crop plantations. The huts of the villages were the biggest we saw in Brazil and there were considerable numbers of Indians gathered around them. Sr. Apoena Meirelles, son of the above and director of the Park, accompanied us. He had made a brief visit to one of the villages (being made to take his clothes off before entering the village and only staying one hour) and had had many friendly contacts at the contact camp.

Flying round the area we could see some of the new developments within a very few kilometers of the Indian villages and clearly there is imminent danger of undesirable indiscriminate contact with resultant disease and exploitation of the Indians. Under the Brazilian Constitution, Indians have inalienable rights to the land they occupy and these should not be ignored because of an error in the original delineation of the Aripuana Park. Urgent measures should be taken to secure adequate land around these virtually uncontacted tribes. Attempts to move them to another area at this stage would be disastrous.

## SECTION 6.

### Southern Para and Northern Goias.

In Belem we visited the FUNAI Headquarters of the 2nd Regional Delegation, where the new Delegate had only taken over the day before our arrival. We outlined our route and arranged to deliver a radio to the FUNAI employee at one of the villages we proposed to visit.

**Medical Assistance.** We visited the "Casa dos Indios" in Belem, which is on the outskirts of the town. About twenty Indians were in residence, some quite ill and suffering from influenza and pneumonia and others merely using the house as a lodging. Facilities were minimal with no trained staff or equipment, although a nurse was said to visit occasionally.

**Tribes visited.**

1. **Gorotire** (100). 4th March. C 2.

About three hours flight from Belem with a stop to refuel at Conceicao do Araguaia.

**Assistance.** Resident Protestant Missionary whose wife is a trained nurse. Both are Brazilian. Also some visits from FUNAI and a Catholic mission.



Most of the tribe were away collecting Brazil nuts in the surrounding jungle. The village was quite clean and conditions seemed good. Thanks to their isolated position and lack of contact with outsiders, this tribe is in a reasonably strong state and with continued support and protection should survive.

2. Kuben-Kran-Kegn (300). 4th and 5th March. C 3.

20 minutes flight from Gorotire.

Like the Gorotire, this is another fairly isolated Cayapo group. Possibly due to some visits by groups of tourists which we understood had taken place the year before, we found the atmosphere less friendly than elsewhere.

**Assistance.** A resident FUNAI employee and resident American Protestant mission, both providing medical help. The Catholic mission was no longer resident, but made periodic visits.

Pigs had been introduced to the village. Although these provided a potentially valuable source of protein, they did not contribute to the general hygiene, tended to break into the houses and it was said that the Indians usually suffered from upset stomachs after eating them.

As with the Gorotire, most of the men were away gathering Brazil nuts and the FUNAI man had gone with them. The nuts, and also jaguar skins which they hunt for in June, are sold for them by FUNAI. There had been some difficulty in persuading them to go on the nut collecting expedition (which lasts two months) this year as they had not yet been paid for last year's jaguar skins.

3. Kraho (583). 320,000 Hectares. 5th and 6th March. D 3.

40 minutes flight from Carolina.

**Assistance.** Resident FUNAI employee and staff at the Kraholandia post which administers the whole reserve. Very limited medical supplies and no trained nurse. The main function of the post seemed to be to run the herd of cows which belongs to FUNAI and from which the Indians derive little or no benefit.

There are five villages in the reserve, which is not the original tribal land of the Kraho but was given to them at the beginning of this century by the then Goias State Government, the settlers being moved off. Numbers are slightly on the increase, having risen from 519 in 1963 to 583 in 1971, a rise of just over 1% per annum. However, the land is poor and the Kraho do not grow enough crops to feed themselves. As a result they go hungry at just the time when the next year's crops should be being planted and a peculiarly unsatisfactory situation results. Instead of working on the land, quite large numbers of the young men of the tribe make their way to the nearest road and hitch lifts to Brasilia, Sao Paulo or some other big city, where they are often able to persuade the governor or prefect of the town to give them some presents such as shirts and knives. They then return to the reserve and trade these goods with the local settlers and farmers for food.

There are also twenty-eight indigenous guards in the reserve, a third of the total number so far created. These represent the main financial income of the tribe, as they are paid 200 Crz N. per month (about £17), and as they are all Kraho boys this money is shared out among the village to which they are attached. However, there are disadvantages to the system in that the guards are not equally divided among the villages, causing jealousy.

It is regrettable that the post is on the extreme edge of the reserve, as this has the effect of attracting the Indians away from the centre and far side of the reserve, where the land is richer and there is more game, and tends to lead to undesirable contact. It would be better if the post were moved to the centre of the reserve and there seems no good reason why this should not be done.

A considerable threat is posed by the proposed route of the new Belem-Brasilia road, which is planned to run through the centre of the reserve.

It was only possible to visit one of the five villages, which lay about eight kilometres walk from the post. Conditions were fair and the village clean. A lot of the Indians had T.B. but were otherwise reasonably healthy. Meat of any sort was very seldom eaten, the main foods being rice, manioc and beans.

4. Gavião (Mae Maria) (35). 6th March. C 5.

30 kms. West of Sao Felix which is half an hour by boat from Maraba. Two kms. off the Maraba-Altamira road.

**Assistance.** Resident FUNAI employee at the post six kms. away. Medical assistance is provided by a male nurse with some training but very limited supplies of medicine.

These were the remnants of a recently contacted group who had been moved to the area about a year ago. Most of the men were away gathering Brazil nuts, but the women and children remaining in the two rough shelters in which they lived were an appalling sight. Every single one was suffering from what appeared to be whooping cough and all were sitting dejectedly with running noses coughing ceaselessly. When asked what they were suffering from, the FUNAI employee said "Nothing. It is the normal state for Indians to be in".

The nurse said that he visited the village every day by bicycle but could do little without proper supplies. He seemed anxious to do more.

An area of land had been cleared next to the shelters and good first-year crops of bananas and maize were growing but the atmosphere of total despair and degeneration was very depressing. The arrival of the jeep (only the third time it had been seen there) caused no stir and even the children continued to sit staring into space. We agree with the Red Cross that these Indians were in the worst state of any we saw.

Opposite the post, placed most inappropriately on the road, was another settlement of Gavião, which had been there much longer, but they were all away.

Altamira.

On 8th March we visited the FUNAI pacification base at Altamira. Here 57 FUNAI employees (many more than we encountered in the whole of the rest of Brazil) are working in connection with the Trans-Amazonica road programme. The colonel in charge said that he regarded it as a military operation to pacify and resettle the Indians of the area before the road gangs reached them. In spite of the very large amounts of money and numbers of personnel involved, little had been achieved. Only three groups of Indians had been contacted; one small Cayapo group, thought to have run away some years ago from their post on the Jaraucu River and now being returned there; another small group thought to be Arara; and finally,



over 100 kms. South of Altamira and well away from the route of the road, the "sertanista" Cotrim has made a most interesting first contact with an unknown probably Tupi tribe.

Although it is clearly necessary for FUNAI to assist in preventing clashes between Indians and roadworkers taking place, it would seem that some of the money and human resources would be better employed caring for the tribes already in need of help. Experts could then be flown in to specific areas if trouble arose.

## SECTION 7.

### Tumucumaque.

The Tumucumaque Park was created in 1968. It consists of 25,000 square kilometres in the extreme North of the state of Para on the border with Surinam. There are about 300 Indians from three tribes, being 222 Tirio, the predominant group, 64 Kaxuyana, and a very small group of 13 Ewarhoyana-Kahyawa. There is also some fluctuation across the international border.

**Administration.** The park is administered by a Roman Catholic (Franciscan) Mission based in Brazil but with a college in Germany. Currently the park is run by German priests but Brazilian priests are being trained. There are also three Brazilian nuns there. FUNAI is supposed to contribute medicines and other supplies but has not done so during the last year.

**Medical assistance.** A well-stocked dispensary entirely supplied by the missionaries is run by a Brazilian volunteer male nurse who also undertakes dental work and minor operations.

**Facilities.** Two Unimogs and a lot of agricultural equipment. Radio. One outboard motor and canoe.

### Villages visited.

#### 1. Tirio (150). 10th and 11th March. C 1.

The main village, known simply as Tirio, lies just across the river from the airstrip. It consists of a mixture of types of houses with the missionaries' quarters, stores, church, etc., forming part of the village. Padre Cyrille Hass, the priest in charge, does an excellent job of training the Indians in many crafts and the land is intensively cultivated. A herd of cows has been started and milk is produced. Much of the area is open grassland and although the soil is poor further cattle could be raised.

The Indian population is increasing at about 5% per annum, and health was good.

We also visited a small village fifteen minutes walk away from the plantations. Here conditions were noticeably poorer and dirtier and the Indians more suspicious. We learnt that this small group had recently come across the border from Surinam, where the Indians are administered by a Protestant mission. They had been warned to have nothing to do with the Catholics. It is a pity that this rivalry should exist, as it does in so many places in the Amazon region.

#### 2. Palmeru (40). 10th March. B 2.

We visited this small village about 30 kms. from Tirio, where Protasio Frikel, a well-known anthropologist and previous administrator of the park, lived.

He was very concerned about proposals which had been put forward to develop tourism in the park and certainly the good general condition of the Indians can largely be accounted for by their isolation and the lack of interference they have been subjected to.

He also mentioned an uncontacted group (possibly Akurio) which had been seen several times recently by Indians from Palmeru. They were not apparently hostile but had made no approaches and did not steal metal tools when the opportunity arose. He therefore considered it better to leave them alone.

## SECTION 8.

### Roraima.

The Federal Territory of Roraima, consisting of 230,000 square kilometres, has a population of 47,000 of which over 25% is Indian. It therefore has far and away the highest proportion of Indians of any region of Brazil.

The majority are Makuxi, Wapixana and a few minor groups, which are in permanent contact and going through various phases of integration. The remainder, some 4,000 in all and made up mostly of Waika (Yanomamo), with a few Maiongong and Atroari, are either totally isolated or in intermittent contact with missionaries or others. Assistance. Various bodies give assistance in one form or another to the Indians. They may be broken down as follows.

### Federal.

1. FUNAI runs a large farm 50 kms. North of Boa Vista at Sao Marcos, but although some Indians live on the land, none are employed and they derive very little benefit from it. FUNAI is also supposed to represent Indians in legal disputes over Land Rights.

2. The Education Department maintains 55 schools in primarily Indian villages and provides certain equipment.

3. The Department of Health visits about 50 Indian villages during the year, with a mobile medical and dental team.

### Religious.

1. The Consolata Mission (Roman Catholic), of Turin, Italy, and Boa Vista, runs a small hospital and post with the Makuxi on the Rio Surumu. Various other villages are also visited. They also run a permanent post with the Waika at Catrimani. They have an aeroplane for use in the interior towards which FUNAI pays 1,500 Cruzeros (£125) a month.

2. Baptist Mid-Missions. Medical and social assistance, religious training and linguistic studies among the Makuxi and Wapixana.

3. Unevangelised Field Missions. Work with the Makuxi and Wapixana and have maintained three posts with the Waika (Yanomamo) for the last ten years. Particular emphasis on linguistic studies.

4. Assemblies of God Mission. Some work with the Makuxi, Wapixana and Ingarico.

5. Missionary Aviation Fellowship. Maintain a modern aeroplane to assist the missionaries working in the interior.

It may be seen from the above that most of the assistance given to the Indians in Roraima comes from missionaries, as is also the case in much of the rest of the Amazon region of Brazil.



#### Tribes visited.

Due to lack of available transport—the FAR Beechcraft returned from Boa Vista—it was not possible to visit many areas. Instead an opportunity arose to climb Mt. Roraima and this occupied the 14th to 17th March.

##### 1. Ingurico (Serra do Sol) (100). 17th March. D S.

45 minutes flight from Boa Vista.

Assistance. Resident Brazilian missionary. Assemblies of God.

Mud and wattle houses in two rows set on a rise in a valley surrounded by high mountains. The most beautiful setting of any village visited in Brazil.

The village was clean and health fairly good although T.B. was increasing. The Indians were suspicious of strangers but the missionary was popular and seemed to be doing good work. He said that the main problem faced by the group was the difficulty of transporting the crops they grew to market in order to sell them and thereby supplement their income. There is no road to the village and in this case, where the Indians are so developed and desire contact with the outside world, it would be an advantage for them to have it. It would be necessary, however, to ensure that their land was protected once such a road was opened.

These Indians produce some good quality basket work and ornaments and an outlet might also be found for these.

##### 2. Waika Yanomamo (Rio Uruicaa) (50). 18th March.

One hour flight N.W. of Boa Vista.

Due to heavy rain and low cloud it was only just possible to land briefly at the short and steep airstrip near the Venezuelan border. On the way we overflew the Waika village on the Rio Uruicaa and were able to see the large traditional round communal hut and a few small ones in a curve of the river. There was not time to walk to the village but a couple of members of the tribe were at the strip and the prospector there knew the village well. This is the only group of Waika in Brazil in regular contact with civilization (in this case represented by diamond miners). They appear to be suffering no ill effects as yet and desire further contact and assistance. This would seem to be an ideal opportunity for FUNAI to install a medical and perhaps educational post, from which valuable experience would be gained against the day when further groups of this very large tribe come into contact.

#### Conclusions.

Dividing the Indians of Roraima into those on the path towards integration and those still isolated, the first group are in great need of technical, medical and educational assistance. The second group are under no great pressure yet but this does not mean that they should be neglected until the damage is done. The Waika are the largest unacculturated tribe in Brazil and, as there are rather more of them over the border in Venezuela, probably the largest in the whole of South America. An international reserve taking in both sides of the frontier would be an ideal solution. In Africa game reserves which straddle the boundaries of independent countries have proved very successful so that, although this idea may be unfamiliar in a South American context, it should be seriously considered.

On March 19th the mission ended, Brazil being left on the commercial flight from Boa Vista to Georgetown and thence to the U.K.

#### DEFINITION OF AN INDIAN

Before giving the conclusions and recommendations a brief comment should be made on whether the evidence suggests that the depopulation of Indians has in general come about through actual physical extinction or through assimilation.

Much has been written on the question of what constitutes an Indian in Brazil. For further study of this subject reference should be made to the publications of Darcy Ribeiro (in particular *Os Índios e a Civilização*, 1970) and *Índios do Brasil* by J. C. Melatti (December 1970). Many Brazilians have a greater or lesser element of Indian blood in their veins but this report deals with those groups of individuals who consider themselves Indian and are considered Indian by the surrounding population.

In 1957 Ribeiro divided the 143 Indian groups up as follows:

Isolated	33
Intermittent contact	27
Permanent contact	45
Integrated	38

and stated that 87 groups had become extinct since the beginning of the century, reducing the population from about half a million to about 80,000. In spite of small successes in some quarters, the decrease has continued and the population is now estimated to be nearer to 50,000.

Melatti (1970) states "There are two ways in which an Indian society disappears: through the assimilation of its members into Brazilian society and by the death of its members. In the first instance, the indigenous society disappears but the individuals which comprise it survive as members of Brazilian society; in the second instance, both the society and the individuals disappear. The second instance occurs much more frequently than the first." This is due to disease and the failure of those coming into contact with the Indians to understand their needs and the problems involved.

Depopulation of this second sort is now in general in other countries a thing of the past and has been cured largely as a result of changes in policy by the countries concerned. The populations of Australian aborigines, New Guinea highlanders, Southern African Bushmen and other groups that are or were until very recently leading a life as isolated as that of many Brazilian Indians, are not now in decline, but are holding their own or increasing in numbers. Of course, in other countries many very serious social problems remain, but notice should be taken of the fact that the depopulation problem has in many cases been solved.

Numbers in the remaining tribes are so greatly reduced that their survival will only be secured by the provision of massive medical aid, rigorous protection and careful study of their needs. Any attempt to speed up the process of integration or to allow indiscriminate contact will, according to past experience and all available evidence and informed opinion, lead not only to the destruction of their society, special knowledge and culture, but also to the physical annihilation of most of them.



## AREA CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

These Conclusions represent a brief summary of the major factors affecting each area and the immediate action recommended.

The "Suggested Direct Aid" is the result of questions to many of those working in the field as to what their most immediate needs were. These needs might be met by the Brazilian Government or International Aid could be used in this way.

Although some of the items needed are quite small and cheap, the benefit they represent might mean the difference between survival and extermination of a particular group. It is hoped that in this way, and with the agreement of the Brazilian Government, the Primitive Peoples Fund will be able to help in directing specific aid from foundations and firms as well as schools and other groups and individuals.

Clearly the list could be very much longer and those working with the Indians in whatever capacity are encouraged to make their specific needs known.

Medical aid is urgently needed in each region, in the form of medicines and doctors and nurses willing to work in remote areas. Two grants of financial aid for this purpose have already been made by the Primitive Peoples Fund to the Xingu National Park.

The Casa dos Indios in Rio de Janeiro and the Indian hospital (Chacara Ambulatorio) near Cuiaba are both doing excellent work with next to no resources. Aid of any sort, from medical supplies to new premises, would help to maintain their invaluable service.

Further study is needed into the problems affecting the Indians and practical methods of lessening shock and assisting gradual integration. Institutes should be established in Amerindian areas with a brief to develop special educational programmes compatible with the Indians' needs and culture. In these a reciprocal exchange of expertise could take place which would go some way to preserving and recording the oral knowledge and information of the Indian on many subjects. It is imperative, however, that such institutes should be motivated by a desire to respect and protect the Indians' own culture rather than to impose an alien one. At the same time, if multi-disciplinary studies were undertaken using the best international expertise, invaluable information on the environment of the region and its inhabitants' adaptation to it could be gathered. This would directly benefit the development of the rest of the interior.

At the end of the General Conclusions there is a list of examples of what sums ranging from £5 to £10,000 would provide in the way of direct aid.

### 1. XINGU.

The Xingu National Park, without any doubt the greatest and most successful Brazilian experiment in the context of Indian affairs, is about to be cut by a road, the BR-80.

In spite of the vehement protests of Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas and other experts on the subject, as well as much critical comment in the Brazilian press, nothing has been done to prevent this. Instead, the very existence of the park has been attacked as being "prejudicial to the security and development of the country." The same detractor goes on to say that "the Indian, the slum-dweller, the marginal and the hippy are equal and can never remain isolated in their habitat." (Estado de S. Paulo, 7 and 8 April, 1971).

Finally, the President of FUNAI has himself joined the attack, declaring that the Indians put on their clothes as soon as the "tourists" leave and the whole controversy is a plot to get the Nobel Peace Prize for the Villas Boas brothers (O Estado de S. Paulo 4/71). Far from this being the case, visitors are actively discouraged from entering the Park, the Indians are free to wear clothes or not, and the fact that the Nobel Peace Prize nomination has received virtually unanimous support from anthropologists throughout the world would indicate that the Park is not a "false experiment."

It must again be repeated that the Indians in Xingu were in the best state of all those seen in Brazil. The park should be extended.

#### Suggested direct aid:

New aeroplane, new boat and motors.

Aerial survey to define limits of park and possible extensions.

Establishment of Indian Environmental Institute.

### 2. BANANAL.

The Karaja tribe would appear to be going downhill due to the restrictions imposed upon them, the pressure from settlers, enforced settlement and disease. These conditions are aggravated by the proximity of Sao Felix, the airport at Santa Isabel and the periodic visits of tourists. The aid given to them at present is, as in many cases, more beneficial to those administering the assistance and the organisation responsible than to the Indians themselves. For instance, FUNAI runs a large herd of cattle on land belonging to the Indians, but they neither eat the meat, receive the money from sales nor work with the herd as employees.

The Indians should be given the opportunity to play a greater part in running their own affairs rather than imposing "industrial" projects from outside. The Karaja are excellent fishermen and their exclusive right to fish certain areas should be guaranteed as well as the provision of outlets for the sale of fish. A fish processing "factory" in which they might be employed is not appropriate at this stage.

#### Suggested direct aid:

Improved outlets for sale of artifacts.

The "Indian Hospital" should be made to function effectively as a real centre for the Indians of the whole of central Brazil. An aeroplane and radio would be needed. This could be a major project on an international basis, as has already been suggested by the International Red Cross.

### 3. SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO.

Throughout the whole of this region the Indians are acculturated to a level more or less on a par with the surrounding population. However, they suffer through being discriminated against as Indians and through not having access to the same opportunities as their "Brazilian" neighbours. Until this situation changes, they should be given full medical care and generous technical assistance so as to be helped to make full use of their lands. In most cases the reserves would be adequate to support them if they had adequate machinery and resources to exploit them fully.

In the case of the Kadiweu, the rent paid for the leased land inside the reserve should be applied for their welfare and to providing them with cattle, horses and fencing materials.



**Suggested direct aid :**

- Tractors and funds to operate them.
- Agricultural advisers.
- Legal representation to establish Land Rights.
- Water pumps.

**4. NORTHERN MATO GROSSO.**

All the Indians seen in this region are in a state of shock from the rapid development of the area. It is vital to their survival that where reserves exist the Indians in them should be given active encouragement to make use of them and develop agricultural techniques.

The prime necessity is to introduce meat into the diet to replace the waning supply of game. Although there are considerable difficulties in the way of this, some success has been had with chickens and further experiments should be conducted to include ducks, guinea fowl, cattle and perhaps goats, etc. Another possible form of assistance might be the stocking of fish ponds such as have been introduced successfully into underdeveloped areas in other parts of the world.

Where reserves do not exist they should be created on the lands currently or previously occupied by the group concerned and if necessary settlers should be compensated and moved elsewhere.

Greatly improved medical aid is vital and a flying doctor service should be set up.

**Suggested direct aid :**

- Agricultural advisers.
- Improved outlets for the sale of artifacts.
- Flying doctor service.
- Survey and delineation of new Nambiquara reserves.

**5. ARIPUANA.**

Great danger from uncontrolled contact faces the Cinta Larga tribe and other uncontacted groups in the region of the Roosevelt River. The area of the Aripuana Park should be extended to include the territory occupied by the "7 de Setembro" Camp and the Indian villages nearby. If necessary, those who have bought land in this area should be compensated.

Action should be taken to define the limits of the Park so that they are known to the local population. Gradual efforts should be made to contact further groups inside the Park, build airstrips and supply regular medical assistance.

**Suggested direct aid :**

- An aeroplane.
- Radios.

**6. SOUTHERN PARA AND NORTHERN GOIAS.**

The groups visited were, with the notable exception of the Gaviao, in a reasonable state. This was due to their relative isolation and lack of pressure from outside sources. The biggest danger here is the likelihood of roads penetrating their reserves and bringing uncontrolled contact. Any roads planned should be routed around the reserves and access to the post or villages should be prohibited.

In the case of the Gorotire and Kuben-Kran-Kegn FUNAI and of missionary help should be encouraged and payment for produce sold through FUNAI should be prompt and fair.

The Kraho should be encouraged to rear more cattle and the offspring of the FUNAI herd should be given to them and not sold off the reserve.

The Gaviao should receive instant care and attention, a grant of land with secure title well away from the main road and resident medical assistance.

**Suggested direct aid :**

- Outlets for the sale of artifacts.
- Legal work to establish Land Rights.
- Cattle and horses.
- Agricultural advisers.

**7. TUMUCUMAQUE.**

Thanks to the Franciscan mission which receives no help from FUNAI, the Indians are in a good state. In particular, interesting and successful agricultural work is being done which could be of value to others attempting to grow crops in jungle areas. The Indians are closely involved in this work and benefitting from it as well as learning new techniques.

Ideas to promote tourism in the region should be resisted as their presence would be detrimental to the Indians.

An unfortunate situation exists with respect to the conflict between this mission and the American Protestant one on the other side of the frontier in Surinam, but it seems unlikely that anything can be done about this.

**Suggested direct aid :**

Almost any piece of machinery would be put to good use by the versatile Padre Cyrille Haas.

Agricultural adviser, who might learn as much as he taught.

**8. RORAIMA.**

It is a pity that this territory, which contains the largest proportion of Indians of anywhere in Brazil, should be almost completely neglected by FUNAI. Some good work is being done by the missionaries but they cannot easily involve themselves in such matters as Land Rights.

A National Park of Yanomamo has been proposed but as both Catholic and Protestant missionaries are at present working with the Walka and in order to avoid a similar situation of rivalry between these as exists with the Tirio, it would be advisable that this should be run by a non-denominational body. The position is further complicated by the existence of large numbers of Walka on both sides of the frontier with Venezuela.

There is strong need for a major assistance programme for the Makuxi, Wapixana and other acculturated groups North of Boa Vista who are already second-class citizens and are in danger of becoming slaves.

**Suggested direct aid :**

- Educational materials.
- Teachers.
- Outlets for the sale of artifacts.
- Technical assistance in the creation of a Yanomamo Park.



## EXAMPLES OF DIRECT AID

In order to provide guidelines for those wishing to make gifts or finance projects which will directly assist the Indians, a short list of some examples with approximate costs follows.

A sum of £5 will buy 2 axes or 5 machetes, 30 doses of penicillin or 8 measles vaccinations.

£25 will provide an outlet for the sale of artifacts or buy educational materials for a small school.

£100 will buy 2 water pumps or 1 two-way radio.

£500 will buy 2 outboard motors or finance a voluntary agricultural adviser or social worker.

£1,000 will buy 1 tractor or provide legal aid.

£5,000 will buy 1 aeroplane or finance the survey of a reserve.

£10,000 will establish a flying doctor service or provide for the demarcation of a reserve and the setting up of an environmental institute.

## NOTE

As has been mentioned, this mission followed six months after the Red Cross Mission of 1970. Their report was sent to the Brazilian Government in November, 1970, and published on February 23rd, 1971, while we were still in Brazil. On publication General Bandeira de Mello, the President of FUNAI, was quoted in the Brazilian Press as saying that all the recommendations had already been dealt with a long time before and the report just "rained on wet ground"—a Brazilian expression meaning it was a waste of time.\*

It is to be hoped that the official FUNAI attitude to this report will not be the same as, during this mission, which covered much of the same ground as that of the Red Cross, we saw no evidence of any of their recommendations having been taken. Elsewhere our findings tallied closely with those of the Red Cross and if anything conditions appeared to have deteriorated as many FUNAI employees in the field complained that they had not received their salaries for periods of up to nine months and almost everyone we spoke to agreed on the desperately urgent situation and the lack of adequate help, encouragement or resources.

More recently still,\* the General has attacked the Xingu National Park, indicating that it is a sham and using another time-honoured Brazilian expression "para Inglês ver" ("for the English to see"). This is not so, as the many Brazilians and foreign doctors, scientists and anthropologists who have worked there will testify. Tourists are not and never have been permitted there.

\* (Estado do São Paulo 26-2-71 and 4-71).

## FINAL CONCLUSION

The whole question of the Indians of Brazil is a highly complicated and delicate one to which there is no easy solution. The Indians are scattered over a vast area, mostly in small groups, and their circumstances and needs vary greatly. Those visited during the preparation of this report were members of tribes comprising about half the Indians of Brazil and represented most of the situations affecting them.

There is no doubt at all that unless greatly increased aid, including international financial and technical assistance and advice, is brought to bear on the problem, few if any of the still uncontacted and recently contacted Indians of Brazil will survive the next ten years. It is essential that adequate new reserves should be created around them. Circumstances hardly ever justify moving Indians out of their traditional areas. In the vast majority of cases such movement is wholly disastrous in that it induces dissatisfaction, apathy and a loss of self-dependence and self-confidence which makes adaptation to the modern world even more difficult.

Those already being cared for in Xingu, Tumucumaque and elsewhere will only survive if their present isolation is guaranteed and no efforts are made to speed up the process of integration. At any moment epidemics or abuse could undo the good work being done. Existing parks and reserves should be strengthened and given proper assistance.

Those already acculturated to a greater degree and living in permanent contact with neighbouring urban or rural populations need constant support and assistance if they are to avoid becoming destitute minorities who are discriminated against and despised. Such help should be carefully regulated to avoid the employment of Indians under circumstances leading to legal bondage.

Notice should be taken of the ill-effect of rivalry between missionaries of different sects upon the Indians they are trying to serve. Experience in Africa suggests that only one sect should ever be allowed in each area. In a number of places a glaring contrast exists between the fine houses of the missionaries and the virtual slums in which the Indians live, although this was the exception rather than the rule. Care, however, should be taken to ensure that the financial and material aid intended for the Indians either goes into schemes controlled by the Indians themselves, if they are already acculturated, or, if they are not, that it goes to people who will respect their culture and apply the aid wisely.

Every effort should be made to avoid turning Indians into tourist attractions. On the grounds of health alone such contacts are exceedingly dangerous besides the obvious demoralizing effect.

There seemed to be an unsatisfactory ratio between the large number of FUNAI employees engaged in office administration and working on the trans-Amazonica road and the small number actually working with the Indians in the field. It is desirable that there should be Indian representation at all levels and that the administration of the parks should be largely in their own hands.

Assuming that the intention is not to eliminate the Indian population of Brazil (a final solution which might please certain Brazilian and foreign commercial concerns with a stake in developing the interior, but which would destroy the fine tradition Brazil has of attempting to apply the highest ideals to a very difficult human



problem) then urgent action must be taken now. Reference to the Indians as "ethnic cysts" and to a new Indian policy of "National Integration" leads one to fear that all these ideals, for which Brazil has been admired since the days of Rondon, are being abandoned.

Protection and isolation and the setting up of parks on the lines of Xingu is widely accepted as the system giving the Indians the best chance of adapting at their own speed to the modern world while at the same time preserving their pride, culture and skills. It is in the formation of these parks that specialist international knowledge and experience could most valuably be employed. Ecological studies and advice taken during the choice of areas to be isolated and the defining of the boundaries would not only ensure that the Indians were given the best possible protection, but would also be of positive help in the exploitation of the areas chosen for development. The needs of both are not incompatible as there is enough undeveloped land available, but great care is needed in the planning of roads in order to ensure that they do not pass through the parks.

Channelling development into the areas which are genuinely empty and form by far the greater part of the interior would avoid clashes between Indians and settlers and so help both sides. If at the same time sufficiently large areas are declared inviolate and reserved for the Indians, experience in other countries suggests that their survival would be achieved.

There should be no attempts at instant integration. All previous experiments along these lines in Brazil have failed and there is no reason to believe that they stand any better chance of success today. Moreover, due to their greatly reduced numbers, failure now means the virtual extermination of the Indians.

Although many are coming to regard the remaining primitive peoples of the world and their survival as an international problem, Brazil always has considered her Indians an internal affair. It is therefore very much to the credit of the Brazilian Government that foreign observers should be invited to travel freely throughout the country in order to report on the situation. It is much easier to be critical than to offer constructive suggestions and although there is much to criticize, the object of this report is to suggest ways in which the very real concern which exists outside Brazil over this particular problem may be put to good use.

One of the main reasons for this concern is that elsewhere in the world considerable success has been had in arresting the serious depopulation of primitive tribes. The evidence clearly shows that during this century the indigenous population of Brazil has dropped disastrously and only a really major effort, using the maximum resources and advice available, will reverse the trend before it is too late.

The Minister of the Interior, whose overall responsibility is the development of the vast hinterland of Brazil, extended every courtesy and facility to us. He made it very clear during our meeting that he is well aware of the significance of the indigenous inhabitants of these areas and the problems affecting their future.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the recommendations contained in this report will be accepted in the same spirit of co-operation as they are made and that the possibilities of implementing the suggestions regarding direct aid will be given serious consideration.