

IWGIA Document

Mark Münzel:

**The Aché:
Genocide Continues in Paraguay**

17

Mark Münzel

THE ACHÉ:
GENOCIDE CONTINUES IN PARAGUAY

Copenhagen 1974

Mark Münzel is working at the Museum for Ethnography of the City of Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany. He carried out fieldwork in Paraguay from 1971 to 1972. He is the author of IWGIA DOCUMENT no. 11: The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay.

This report has been written especially for the IWGIA DOCUMENT Series.

The views expressed in IWGIA DOCUMENTS are those of the authors, and not necessarily those of the organization.

Copenhagen, August 1974

For the Secretariat of IWGIA

Peter S. Aaby Helge Kleivan Stefano Varese

Editors of the series

IWGIA - International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs- is a nonpolitical and nonreligious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries.

IWGIA DOCUMENTS can be obtained through subscription or can be purchased separately. The subscription fee for the 2nd series of Documents (no. 11-17) for individuals is US \$ 6.00 or the equivalent in other currencies. The subscription fee for institutions is US \$ 10.00 or the equivalent in other currencies. Please, make your check or international money order payable to:

The Secretariat of IWGIA
Frederiksholms Kanal 4 A,
DK-1220 Copenhagen K,
Denmark.

The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay (IWGIA Document 11) documented the extermination of the Aché in Paraguay up to September 1972. At that time, a public scandal broke out in Paraguay over the Indian situation. The Authorities promised an inquiry, one man was arrested, and there was hope of a change. But today this genocide is still going on. The promised inquiry has never been realized; the man arrested has been released and is out manhunting again.

THE PEAK OF THE ICEBERG

The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay was written with the purpose of summarizing all available data on a specific case of genocide. For that purpose, I cited first-hand accounts and identified eye-witnesses. The following facts were established:

A. The Aché of the forests of Eastern Paraguay had been systematically hunted down by armed raiding parties. I cited 10 proven cases of such raids between 1968 and 1971, in the course of which at least 37 Indians were killed, at least 23 Indian children kidnapped, and at least 20 other Indians either murdered or kidnapped.¹⁾ These 80 victims, of course, represent but the peak of the iceberg, as most crimes of this kind are never documented.

B. Aché children kidnapped in the course of these raids had been sold or kept as "criados", a euphemistic term for Indian children brought up as slaves.

C. The Paraguayan military authorities had set up an Aché reservation, to which Indians were brought by force. On this reservation, some Aché died due to the deliberate withholding of food and medicine. Others, mainly children, were sold or given away. From October 1970 to June 1972, at least 164 Aché either disappeared from the reservation or were killed by manhunters stationed there. Furthermore, 95 others were kidnapped.²⁾ Again this is just the peak of the iceberg.

Referring to these facts compiled in my article, the anthropologist Father Meliá (Executive Secretary of the Mission Department

of the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference) commented that they did "not yet include all the crimes and violence committed against the Aché-Guayaki". According to him, about two thirds of the Indians who have passed through the reservation between the end of 1970 and the beginning of 1973 have disappeared.³⁾

At least 3 Northern Aché bands have disappeared between 1968 and 1972; their members were either killed or kidnapped on private or official hunts. Estimating the average population of a band at about 200 persons⁴⁾, this might mean the killing or kidnapping of some 600 persons.

But the entire Aché case may just be the peak of an iceberg. Other Indians, too, seem to be threatened in Paraguay. Unfortunately, little information is available about these natives, as they live mostly in the west Paraguayan Chaco, a region less densely inhabited and thus less observed. Tourists and scientists are shown certain Indian settlements, but have few means of knowing what happens 200 km away. The revolt of the Nivaklé Indians against white settlers in 1962, for instance, was not revealed publicly until 1964.⁵⁾

The Ayoreo Indians in the northwest corner of Paraguay resemble the Aché in their refusal to surrender immediately to white domination. "In 1946, we heard reliable reports that the authorities of the Chaco Military Territory awarded a reduction of obligatory military service to any soldier who killed a Moro (Ayoreo). The Uruguayan journalist Borche photographed the severed head of an Indian in the hands of the murderer himself, and published it in the Uruguayan press."⁶⁾ Although today no such directly genocidal regulation exists, as late as 1972 I heard in Paraguay tales of military parties against the Ayoreo with the aim of killing the men and taking the women to the barracks. I was not able to check the truth of these stories. In 1972, the Paraguayan Roman Catholic Church stated its concern about the "real persecution" of which this tribe is the victim. A spokesman stated that in one case at the beginning of 1972, more than 10 Ayoreo had been killed and others captured.⁷⁾

The Tomarxa, some 1000 "hostile" Indians west of the upper Paraguay River, are accused of "misdeeds and murders" in the area, but the occasional attacks of these "marauders" are, according to the Paraguayan anthropologist Chase Sardi, "cases of vengeance taken on the Paraguayans for wrongs committed... (The Tomarxa) are in a state of permanent hostile defence."⁸⁾ In the same situation are some 500 Manjuy, "in an attitude of hostile defence against the

national society."⁹⁾ These are the tribes whom we suspect to be the victims of acts of genocide probably more direct and brutal than those directed against the Aché.

PROTESTS

In June and July of 1972, the protest of the Paraguayan Roman Catholic Church against the massacre of Indians in Paraguay was followed by further protests from Paraguayan intellectuals, among them several scientists specializing in Indian questions. These protests led to the removal of one of the executors of the official Aché policy, Mr. Jesús de Pereira.¹⁰⁾ The critics were appeased.

Since the beginning of 1973, new protests have been heard in Paraguay from people who fear that the Indian situation has not really changed.

In January 1973, a theater company in Asunción staged a play called "The History of One More Death", dealing with the situation of the Indians of Paraguay, "continually approaching destruction and extermination."¹¹⁾

On 30 January 1973, the Paraguayan scientist León Cadogan, a retired official of the Paraguayan Indian Administration, considered the foremost specialist on Aché culture and language, wrote a letter to the editor of a British newspaper which had published an article of mine on the genocide of the Aché. While rectifying a minor error of translation that had slipped into my article, Cadogan implied agreement with its substance, including some severe criticism of the Paraguayan Indian Administration.¹²⁾

On 4 February 1973, the Paraguayan anthropologist Chase Sardi, co-editor of the Paraguayan anthropological review Suplemento Antropológico, and also co-editor of the most distinguished Paraguayan news weekly Diálogo, published in Argentina a prudent but intelligible denouncement of the persecution of the Indians of Paraguay. "The Indians cannot indict, conduct a case, or testify. And if they could in theory, would they understand the complex character of our sophisticated legal system?" Chase referred to the case of the Aché as "one of the most horrible crimes of genocide committed on our continent."¹³⁾

In February 1973, the Anthropological Studies Center of the Catholic University of Asunción published a book about the Aché "agony", including an eye-witness account of a manhunt organized by the official reservation. "By tearing the Aché out of the forest, pulling him out of the ecological conditions in which he has lived

up to now, one breaks down his biological and cultural equilibrium, thus...forcing him towards death."¹⁴⁾

In February and March of 1973, this book was reviewed favourably in the Paraguayan press, which did not fail to mention that it contained documentary evidence of the fact of genocide, "of which those responsible may or may not be aware."¹⁵⁾

On 20 May 1973, the daily newspaper La Tribuna published a letter to the editor by the anthropologist Father Meliá demanding that an International Commission be invited to Paraguay to investigate "the principal forms of ethnocide and genocide which the Aché-Guayaki have endured in recent years: concretely, the massacres organized in the Department of Guairá and in the regions of Curuguaty, Laurel, and Itakyry; the kidnapping of children and giving and selling them to strangers; and deaths on the reservation, as well as the condition of those who have survived."³⁾

On 25 July 1973, in a letter to the German concern Farbwerke Hoechst, whose Paraguayan branch manager has been accused of implication in the Aché problem, Meliá again denounced "the almost total genocide of the Aché-Guayakí, which shows many signs of a planned action." A similar letter was written to this firm by the Archbishop of Asunción, Msr. Rolón.

In August 1973, the best-known Paraguayan writer, Augusto Roa Bastos, who lives in Argentina, there published a passionate denouncement of the genocide of the Aché. "The most deadly and invisible means of annihilation are, above all, cutting off the Indian from his natural environment, the forest; the violent rupture of his customs; his cultural disintegration...; the antagonism created, and deliberately accentuated by the capturers, between the already 'tamed' prisoners and the still free savages. This is the hot-bed of the most horrible virus, the cheapest weapon, the infallible formula for mass extinction."¹⁶⁾

In September 1973, the Paraguayan anthropologist Chase Sardi, on a trip to Europe, granted an interview to a German radio station: "According to all serious versions received, the reservation Aché are real prisoners in a concentration camp. Even in this year of 1973, those who try to flee are pursued with weapons."¹⁷⁾

On 16 January 1974, in a letter to the Paraguayan Minister of Defence, Chase protested against what he called "a wholesale conspiracy against our ethnical minorities", citing detailed examples.

The reason for these protests is the fear that this genocide may continue.

THE PRIVATE MANHUNTERS

Although by August 1972 the names of several manhunters who had undertaken private killing raids against the Aché were known to the Paraguayan authorities¹⁸⁾, no actions have been taken against any of them.

There are clear indications that these manhunts have not ceased. In September 1973, Antonio Oddone Sarubbi, the Police Chief of the Department of Alto Paraná, where most of the killing had taken place, from 1968 to 1972, told the press that there are people "who kill them (the Aché) safely without nausea."¹⁹⁾

Free Aché were "detected" on 30 August 1973 in the Department of Alto Paraná, according to Paraguayan press reports. One report gives the account of the man who "found them - or captured them, as you prefer", at a place called Soó-i, some 80 kilometers from the Paraná River. He first met two Aché "I fired a shot into the air, with a rifle. When they noticed us, the Guayakí (Aché) started running away... I again shot into the air. Then they stood still, threw down their bows and arrows, and raised their hands." Some moments after this surrender, 7 more Aché "came out of the forest". They were brought to a nearby hut, where the Paraguayans obtained from them the information that a larger group was still in the forest. They returned there, found a band of Aché whose size is not given, and took them all with them. The reporter, some days later, saw only three Aché, no indication being given of what had happened to the others. The careful reader cannot avoid the impression that they may have been sold. This report does not speak openly of violence, but hints at it through its obvious gaps.²⁰⁾

In 1974, the New York Times, in a report from Paraguay, quoted a North American missionary there as saying that it was still not certain whether an Aché "can walk up to a Paraguayan and not be shot at - which still happens around here."²¹⁾

On 16 January 1974, in his letter to the Paraguayan Minister of Defence, the Paraguayan anthropologist Chase Sardi mentions that life in the forests is by now very dangerous for the Aché, since "groups of hunters, wood cutters and palmito collectors conduct real punitive raids against them."

ACHÉ SLAVES

The 1974 New York Times report confirms the continuing existence of Aché slavery in Paraguay: "Examples of slavery abound even today in eastern Paraguay, and occasionally here in the capital." The North American missionary quoted said: "It's still a sign of status around here to own your own Aché... Many Paraguayans consider them the fiercest Indians in the country, and I guess for some of them it's like having a tiger at home to show off to friends."

The US Department of State has released the results of an inquiry into the Aché problem, carried out primarily by the US Embassy in Paraguay. Although this official information, released in answer to critics in the US House of Representatives who feared a possible implication of the US in the case of the Aché, is obviously influenced by an effort not to disturb good relations between the United States and Paraguay, it admits, somewhat reluctantly, that "young Indians had been pressed into work by ranchers for little more than subsistence" : a prudent way of avoiding the term "slavery".²²⁾ Of the Aché "found or captured" in 1973, the Paraguayan press report mentioned above tells that they "obey any sign of the hand" : another description of slavery.

In January and February of 1973, a German army officer visited the Aché region of Paraguay as a tourist. In the Curuguaty area he found a settlement where six Aché children were living with white settlers; their parents had disappeared. Two of the children had just arrived; the German tourist found it obvious that they had been bought by the settlers from manhunters. Another Aché child, some 3 to 5 years of age, was seen by the same traveller in the house of a Japanese family.

Groups of between 10 and 50 Indians each have left the reservation ever since 1972, and are now serving as slave labour at various places. In a letter from Paraguay, dated 31 July 1973²³⁾, I am told "Some 15 Guayakí (Aché) are working at the Empatado - Cecilio Báez military post. Lidia is there, too." Lidia was, until 1972, a kind of official reservation prostitute for visitors.

In his letter of 16 January 1974 to the Paraguayan Minister of Defence, Chase Sardi writes: "Some 15 or more kilometers from Yhú, is Kurusú, the estancia of Mr. Manuel Cáceres. There were brought... some 30 Aché-Guayakí, plus several children removed from their parents and relatives, among whom could be identified: Tomasa, 13 years old; Emilio, 7; Reina, 10; and Miguel, 5, easy to identify because of a big burnscar on his buttocks²⁴⁾... The man in charge of

the estancia categorically refuses to return these children to their parents, who live on the Colonia Nacional Guayakí (the Aché reservation). The adults are forced to work for no more payment than their food. I could also confirm that some Aché Indians of special physical strength, loyal to their master, serve as guards of the other Indians, keeping them from returning to the reservation."

This document also mentions the case of an employee of the Paraguayan Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, "who is dedicated to the prostitution of Guayakí (Aché) women, and to the sale of some of them. The neighbours, full of fear and in secret, told us that three of these: Lila, Juanita, and Lucía, were sold to persons who came from Asunción to take them back. I am enclosing a photograph of Lila and Juanita." In another case, a man of the town of Cecilio Báez took with him from the reservation a boy of about 10 years of age. "His mother, Elena, whose indigenous name is Pichugui, weeps continuously because her son is absent." But the man who carried off this child "refuses to return him, on the pretext that he is giving him a Christian education."²⁴⁾

THE RESERVATION

As a consequence of the public attention focused on the Aché reservation, it was in 1972 entrusted to the North American mission "To the New Tribes", the manifest opposite of the previous administrator, Mr. Jesús de Pereira. While Pereira could not be imagined without his pistol, the missionaries talk of love. Pereira had been engaged in prostitution and the sexual perversion of Indian children, but the missionaries are rather puritanical. Unlike Pereira, who was a drunkard, the missionaries do not touch alcohol. A letter written by a visitor to the reservation on 18 September 1972 states that "the Indians are all fine and becoming more and more healthy with each passing week. One 'New Tribes' missionary family lives on the reservation, and several others work there frequently on health, construction and what-not."²³⁾ The letter from Chase to the Minister of Defense states: "The medical attention furnished by the missionaries is very good, and a nurse is permanently stationed with them."

But while the material standard of the reservation Indians has risen, their spiritual situation is questionable. The "New Tribes" missionaries differ from most other Christian missions working among American Indians in their greater aggressivity towards primitive cultures. As Chase puts it, and most anthropologists will agree, they "systematically oppose the few remaining customs and ceremonies,

which they regard as pagan. They confuse the essential principles of Christianity, which, as we understand it, are above every culture and have universal value, with the particular values of western culture, and teach the latter as though they were the former."²⁵⁾ Moreover, it seems that in the special case of the Aché reservation, the missionaries are dominated by an almost racist feeling of superiority.

A report at the end of 1973, signed by Mr. Jack Stolz,²⁶⁾ the chief missionary at the reservation, is significant. It shows the photograph of an Aché woman and states that she has a "monkeyish expression", due, the author believes, to her traditional style of life. Another photograph shows an Aché being given milk in a dish by a white woman, "as if he was a little animal". The report shows that the missionary, after spending more than a year with the Aché, has not yet learned their language and does not intend to ever learn it²⁷⁾, although it is not a very difficult language, and good textbooks already exist for learning it, and although these missionaries have been trained as linguists for the purpose of learning the language of "their" Indians. Another example of the disrespect shown to the identity of the Aché is the surname "Guayakí" given to them all on the reservation: a contemptuous Paraguayan word originally meaning "wild rat".

The disdain of the "New Tribes" missionaries for the Indian culture of the Aché may be the explanation why it was this very group of missionaries which was called to the reservation by the authorities. On several occasions, spokesmen of the Paraguayan Government have stressed that they do not want to preserve the Indian cultures actually surviving in Paraguay, but on the contrary are in favour of "assimilation to our customs".²⁸⁾

Possibly the meaning of these words is that it is intended to transform the surviving Indians into rural workers. Those Aché who are serving as slave labour may be on their way towards this goal. Those still on the reservation are in a different situation, but one which will probably change, as the land left to them is not sufficient to maintain the economic autonomy they possessed in the forests. No effective protection is exercised over the 4500 hectares theoretically reserved for these Indians. We must remember that even if the reservation boundaries were still intact, its soil is of such poor quality that it will not suffice in the future²⁹⁾, especially if more Indians are attracted to the reservation, which is precisely the aim of the Paraguayan Administration and the missionaries. A letter dated 26 July 1973²³⁾ states: "At present a real invasion of the land theoretically ceded to the reservation is taking

place. Before the foundation of the reservation, there were some ten families of settlers on this land. But in recent years around 100 families have come, of which about 30 in recent months. As you see, the reservation itself is in danger, and the Guayakí (Achê) will soon have to seek employment as rural labourers in the (white men's) fields, as they are already beginning to do."

It seems irresponsible to attract more Indians to an ever-shrinking reservation. But the main goal of the missionaries seems to be precisely this.

MANHUNTS FROM THE RESERVATION ?

On 1 October 1972, the "Guayakí Indian Aid Commission", a group of business men responsible for the finances of the reservation published a note in the newspaper La Tribuna, stating inter alia:

"Attracted by the conditions of security and prosperity on the Reservation, its Indian population presently amounts to 250. The new inhabitants will be integrated, as well as another group of the same size which will arrive soon. ... infrastructure necessary to settle 300 to 400 persons..."

The Achê still in the forest refuse all contacts with civilized people, even with Achê from the reservation. It was therefore impossible for the reservation administration to know whether a group of forest Achê had decided to "arrive soon". Nevertheless, they seem to have been certain that a forest group would soon arrive, which I can only explain as the intention of organizing a well-prepared manhunt, aimed at an Achê group of between 50 and 150 persons.

On 12 January 1973, the Paraguayan scientist Cadogan wrote to me, based on information from the missionaries, that there were "five different Achê dialects being spoken among those presently being tamed on the ex-Pereira reservation."

But in June 1972, a maximum of four different Achê dialects were being spoken on the reservation. Cadogan's note thus indicates that another Achê band may have been captured.

From then on, things got hot on the reservation. The preceding year, the capture of a large group of Achê and their deportation to the reservation had led to the development of a rebellious spirit: first to passive resistance and then to open revolt with the aim of escaping. It seems that now the new captives also did not submit.

On 10 January 1973, a letter sent to me from Paraguay²³) related:

"Many Achê have already returned from the reservation to the forest. According to the administrator, only some 50 persons are still staying on the reservation. The new (captives) have all left. It seems that they are now in the forest close to Tayaó."

And on 15 January 1973 I was told:

"Only some 20 Indians are left on the reservation."

In February 1973, the German army officer mentioned above visited the reservation. He found a practically deserted camp. The only Indians there were a group of 15 or 20, obviously just arrived, in a desperate state of mind, just sitting around passively and staring at the ground. As one of the North Americans working on the reservation told him, these Indians had been brought in by a manhunter, Mr. Jesús de Pereira, who had caught a whole band, killed the leader in order to break down the spirit of resistance of the Indians, and then divided the band up: some for sale, some for himself, and some for the reservation.

Those who fled from the reservation attempted either to reconstruct their old way of life or to seek refuge with well-meaning Paraguayans. In a letter of 9 February 1973, someone who had discovered a place in the forest where a Paraguayan rancher gave shelter to escaped Indians, told me²³): "I met them in a state of considerable freedom; making their bows and arrows again, and going out to the forest every day. Some of them were ill, but not too seriously. ... Some (others) are working for Paraguayans in the vicinity of the reservation, but the remainder are wandering irregularly through the forest, are dead, or have disappeared. For even those who have returned to the forest seem unable to reconstruct their old way of life."

In his letter to the editor of La Tribuna, the anthropologist Meliá asks those who defend the reservation: "Can you tell us where those captured in April 1972 are now? Take the photographs of those captured in November and December of 1970, take the photographs of those captured in March and April of 1972, and ask the survivors where their former comrades are now. Some returned to the forest - in worse condition than they left it - when in January 1973 they abandoned the reservation en masse. ... But many others, and this I have documented by personal investigations, have died. 'Mano' : 'He has died', will be the answer. 'Where?' 'On the reservation.' "

In his letter to the German firm Farbwerke Hoechst, Meliá states: "According to reliable information, some 200 persons have disappeared from the Aché reservation in little more than one year." He is here referring to the period from March 1972 to June 1973; from September 1972 to June 1973 some 120 Aché disappeared³⁰). "How many of these persons have died, how many have been dispersed across (white men's) fields as rural workers, and how many have returned to the forest, could only be determined by an investigation."

On 2 April 1973, it was indicated that more Aché had "arrived" at the reservation (been captured and deported there?) from the Itakyry region. At that time, nobody was allowed to visit the reservation, nor was it possible to obtain any information about what was really taking place there: "a real secrecy has been created about what is going on".²³⁾

Was this secrecy created in order to conceal the usual many deaths after new captures? I do not know, but there are signs that hunger was a problem on the reservation after the "arrival" of new Indians. "There was a Guayakí (Aché) who, in order to be able to buy something to eat, sold his son to some settlers for 80 Gs (approximately DM 2)." ²³⁾ Hunger is also mentioned in a letter written by the Paraguayan rancher Mr. Arnaldo Acosta Kant to Mr. Nérido Rios, at that time assistant to the administrator of the reservation, on 1 May 1973. This letter also gives a glimpse of the slaveholder mentality still existent in Paraguay, providing what is practically a receipt for the payment of slave labour. A group of reservation Aché had been "given" to Mr. Acosta Kant, and now the chief missionary of the reservation wanted them back.

"Yesterday Mr. Santiago (Jack) Stolz, administrator of the Colonia Guayakí (Aché reservation) was here. ... He threatened to report me because I had that group of Guayakies (Aché) you had gathered for me. I explained to him that I had them on your request, and only to prevent them from being used as slaves... I was struck by the fear that this man (Jack Stolz) inspires in these Indians: When they noticed he was there (to return them to the reservation), they started to run away into the forest. The women wept, telling me they did not want to return to the camp (Aché reservation) because there they were given no food... The administrator claimed payment for the work the Guayakí (Aché) had done cleaning up around their houses, and I gave him the sum of 2500 Gs., as proved by the enclosed receipt..." The receipt, given at Cecilio Báez on 30 April 1973, is "for labour performed by a group of Guayakis". According to Mr. Stolz, he wanted the money only in order to pay it to the Indians later on.

Obviously, the missionaries again succeeded, by whatever means, in "attracting" a considerable number of Indians to their place between March and May of 1973. In May and June of 1973, the reservation again numbered 110 Aché inhabitants, and was again open to certain visitors.³¹⁾ In his letter to Farbwerke Hoechst, Meliá states that by the beginning of June 1973 "the cultural destruction of the group (of Aché on the reservation) is advanced, and their state of

health has got worse."

On 18 July 1973, a letter²³⁾ indicated the number of Aché on the reservation as 100: a new decrease due to escape, deaths, or the selling of Indians - we do not know. On 23 August 1973, a visitor counted less than 25 Aché on the reservation, the grotesque situation then being that the "Indian" reservation had more North American than Indian inhabitants, as the missionaries with their families totalled some 30 persons.³²⁾

The pastor tried to bring his sheep back home again. It is difficult to know what means he used for this. The letter of 18 July 1973 states:

"The 'New Tribes' missionaries are now hunting (by motor vehicle) for Guayakí (Aché) in the region of Igatimi, in order to re-integrate them onto the reservation."

The previously mentioned report of the chief missionary, Mr. Jack Stolz, gives, of course, another picture. His story strangely resembles the stories the old manhunter Jesús de Pereira had always told when trying to hide his real tactics: that he had gone into the forest with some Aché from the reservation who wanted to "help" their still free brethren in the woods, and with their assistance had "convinced" the forest Aché to come to the reservation. In the case of Pereira, detailed evidence has been collected proving that the "convincing" of the forest Aché consisted in brutal force: there are eye-witness accounts of scientists and tape-recorded depositions by Aché³³⁾. In the case of the missionary, we have only his own account.

According to this North American missionary, on 16 and 17 September 1973 a band of 46 Aché Indians was brought to the reservation on a truck, "by the decision of God" and with the help of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense and of local police authorities, from the region of Laurel, Department of Alto Paraná. These Indians, according to Mr. Stolz, had been convinced by reservation Aché to leave the forest, because they had been told "what life was like on the reservation, and that we wanted to help them."

As an ethnologist who has studied the Aché culture and mentality, I must remark that the reservation Aché who had accompanied the missionary in order to "convince" forest Aché, belonged to Aché bands of a distant zone³⁴⁾, enemies of the forest Aché in question. It is hard to understand why the missionary did not take with him reservation Indians of a band less hostile to those Indians he wanted to "attract", unless he planned, in reality, not to "convince" the forest Aché, but to capture them. It is very astounding to anyone who knows a little about the Aché that a band of forest Aché should

have been so easy to convince to give up their forest life, especially by enemies.

A photograph accompanying the missionary's report is the subject of the following comment: "How far from the faces of these girls is longing for what they left behind, the forest." This photograph shows the arrival of Aché girls at the reservation, descending from the truck. It is true that there are laughing faces on the photograph, but looking closer, you see that those laughing are not those who have just arrived: on the contrary, they have serious, perhaps even tragic faces.

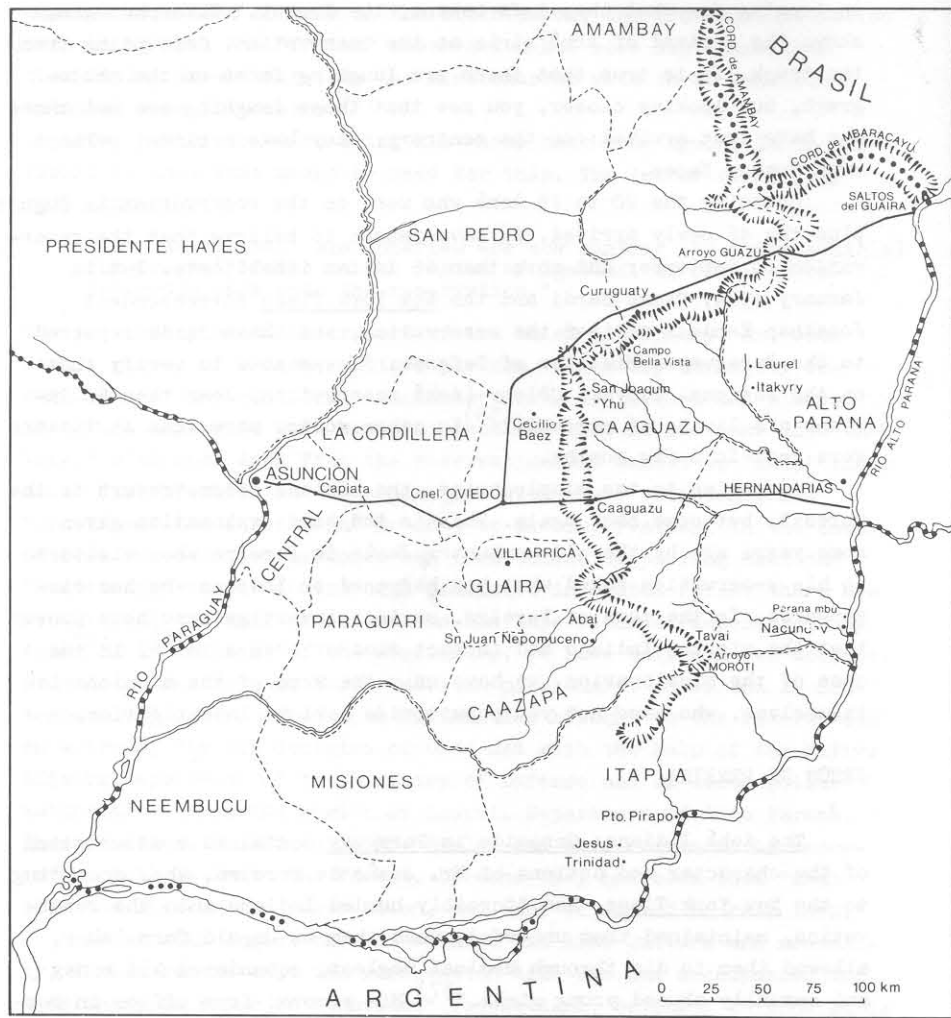
Counting the 20 to 25 Aché who were on the reservation in August, plus the 46 newly arrived, we have reason to believe that the reservation in September had more than 65 Indian inhabitants. But in January 1974, Chase Sardi and the New York Times correspondent Jonathan Kandell visited the reservation, and Chase Sardi reported to the Paraguayan Minister of Defense: "I was able to verify that on the National Guayakí Colony (Aché reservation) less than 50 Indians are living at present."³⁵ In other words, more than 15 Indians were lost in a few months.

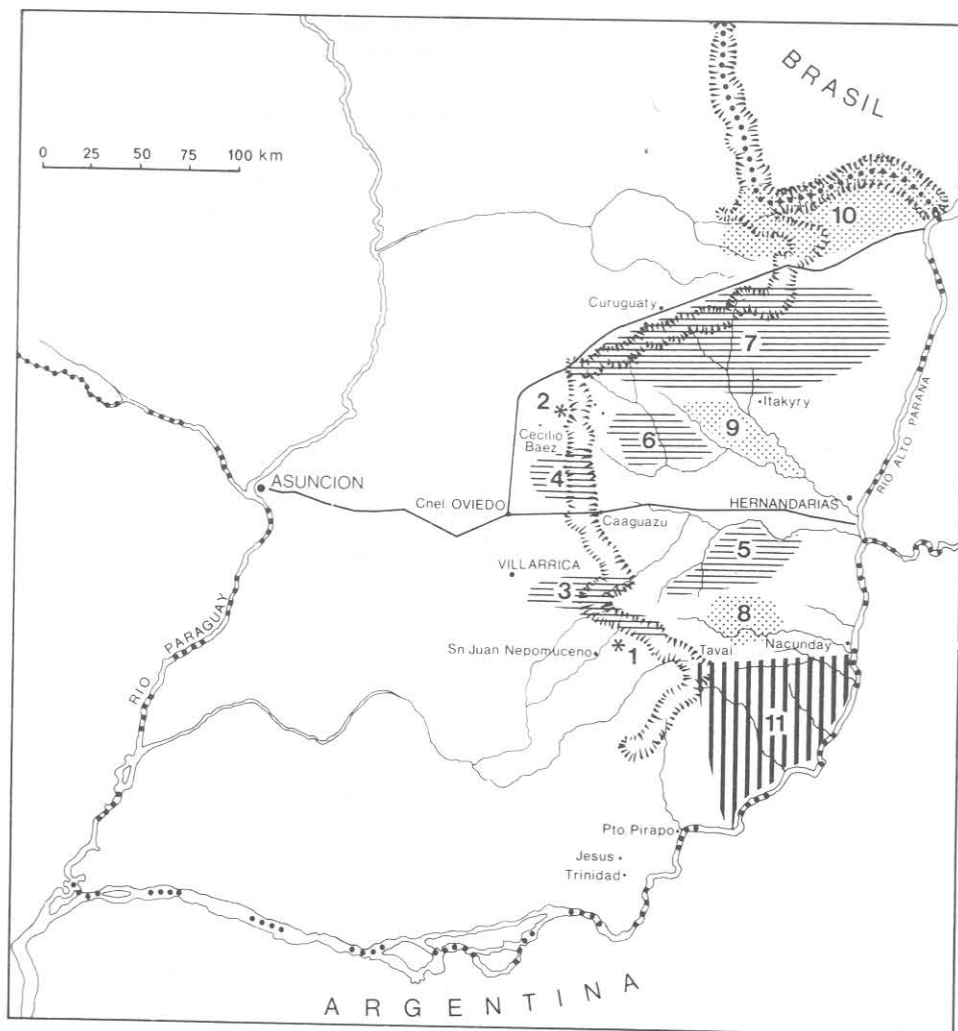
According to the missionaries, the Indians often "return to the forest", but come back again. This is the same explanation given some years ago by the old manhunter Jesús de Pereira when visitors to his reservation asked what had happened to Indians who had disappeared. In the case of Pereira, serious investigations have proven that the missing Indians had in fact died or been sold³⁶; in the case of the missionaries, we have only the word of the missionaries themselves, who have not yet permitted a serious investigation.

JESÚS DE PEREIRA

The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay contained a description of the character and actions of Mr. Jesús de Pereira, who, according to the New York Times, had "forcibly herded Indians into the reservation, maintained them underfed, used them as unpaid farm labor, allowed them to die through medical neglect, squandered aid money and sexually abused young girls."³⁷ His removal from office in September of 1972 was a source of hope.

He was however removed only from the official reservation, not from the general Aché scene. After some days in prison, he was released, and permitted to settle farther to the north at a place called Yryvu-kua, between the Kapi'ivary, Corrientes and Jejuí-Guazú Rivers³⁸. He was also permitted to attempt to reconstruct his old





EASTERN PARAGUAY

The references to the Aché have been placed on this map by the author of the present work. (See "Explanation of Map", pp. 66-67, in IWGIA Document No. 11).

Aché camp, now no longer the official reservation. In a letter of 10 January 1973, I was told²³⁾ of those Aché who had escaped from the official reservation to the forest: "The administrator (of the official reservation, a North American) says that Pereira will catch them again." And on 15 January 1973: "Pereira has now got a tractor and much land. By and by he intends to get back all the Indians; then the slavery will begin again."

I quoted above a letter of 9 February 1973 telling of a group of Aché who had found refuge with a well-meaning Paraguayan rancher. This letter also states: "Once a truck arrived. Some of the Indians went out to meet it to say hello, in their very typical way of being communicative. But their new Paraguayan master just told them: " 'Take care, it might be Pereira!', and all of them ran away to hide like rats." In fact, this letter further relates the efforts of Pereira to take these Indians back.

A letter²³⁾ of 31 July 1973 says: "Pereira is often invited into the military compound of Curuguaty, although there is a warrant out for his arrest."

On 16 January 1974, in his letter to the Paraguayan Minister of Defense, the anthropologist Chase Sardi affirmed that Pereira was ruling over some 50 Aché, and that he was engaged in "constantly repeated incursions into the forest with the purpose of enslaving other Aché-Guayakí groups. I am informed that this new crime of Pereira's has been reported to the Ministry of Defence, with no result."

CONCLUSION: THE ACHÉ TODAY

The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay stressed the important role of a public relations policy in the case of the Aché: those responsible for the genocide were much occupied with window-dressing. Looking at the present situation, we find a somewhat similar picture. Visitors are taken to the official reservation, where in January 1974 "there appeared to be no malnutrition or serious health problems"³⁹⁾. There is no doubt that on the reservation things have considerably improved for the Aché, as far as their material standard is concerned. This is true although the methods used to "attract" Indians to the reservation are questionable, and although they show an obvious tendency to leave the reservation again as soon as this is possible.

But the reservation Aché are a privileged minority. Most Aché live outside the reservation, and this will hardly change, as the

space left for the Indians inside the reservation is more and more limited. In January 1974, the camp of the old manhunter Jesús Pereira alone had more inhabitants than the reservation, not to mention other sites of slave labour. The preceding pages of this report furnish indications of the slavery of some 110 Aché outside the reservation, and it must be supposed that this is just the peak of the iceberg.

Moreover, those Aché still living in the forest are still the victims of manhunts.

The role of the official reservation in this context is of special interest. Obviously, the missionaries ruling it are either not able or not willing to keep all the Indians "attracted" there. The consequence is that some of the once "wild" Indians, "tamed" by the relatively mild missionaries, but unwilling or unable to stay on the reservation, leave it to seek employment as rural labourers. In other words, the reservation has acquired the function of a transitional "taming" camp: the proud and "wild" Indians of the forest would not be immediately willing to work on the white men's fields; but they are willing once they have passed the reservation, because they see no other solution, or because they are so instructed by the missionaries. That the reservation has become a taming camp may not be the original intention of the missionaries, but it is certainly the consequence of their work.

On the other hand, some of the newly "attracted" Indians remain unwilling to work for the white man. These return to the forest, a desperate and courageous act, as there they are pursued by manhunters. In the forest, they join free bands of Aché⁴⁰⁾, with the consequence that the diseases of the white man, contracted on the reservation, are carried to the forest Indians⁴¹⁾. While on the reservation the missionaries may be able to limit the consequences of these diseases, to which the Aché are very susceptible, but the forest Indians have no source of medical aid. The result is death in the forest, and the final weakening of the spirit of resistance of the Indians. In this sense too, the reservation has become a taming camp.

WHAT WAS THE USE ?

The genocide of the Aché has provoked international attention. Several international organizations have devoted much effort to this case, in order to stop the extermination. Was this of any use?

It certainly was. It is true that improvement in the Aché situation has only been very slight: less than 50 Indians were some-

what better off, at least materially, by the beginning of 1974. But we must remember that in 1972 the Paraguayan authorities showed the obvious intention of getting rid of all the Aché, and even of extending this policy to other Indian groups in Paraguay. Today, there are still Aché alive, and no major genocidal action seems to have been initiated against other tribes. This is a success.

On the other hand, it is also obvious that much is still left to do. If international attention is turned from the Aché, there is no guarantee left for them, nor for other Indians. Those who were responsible for major genocidal actions from 1968 to 1972: those who gave orders and money to Mr. Pereira, then administrator of the reservation, and those who organized private manhunts, are still on the scene, with all their power to do harm to the Indians. Manhunts, slavery, and killing are still going on.

INTERNATIONAL HELP

Several persons and organizations outside Paraguay have helped the Aché by making public protests, on the basis of the voluminous documentation available. For example:

On 5 September 1972, the International Congress of Americanists in Rome (an assembly of scientists specializing in American Indian problems). (42)

Since September 1972, the French ethnologist Dr. Pierre Clastres, a specialist on Aché culture, in press, radio, and television interviews, backed in these efforts by the ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. (43)

On 2 November 1972, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva (an organization having consultative status with the UN, UNESCO and the Council of Europe), in a letter to the President of Paraguay.

On 22 January 1973, the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights (a British organization having consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council), in a letter to the Permanent Representative of Paraguay to the UN.

In February 1973, IWGIA, in letters to the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Foreign Ministers, urging them to present the case at the UN.

On 16 February 1973, Mark Münzel, in a press conference in Copenhagen organized by IWGIA.

In March 1973, 95 members of the Danish Parliament, in a letter to the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, urging him to bring the Aché case up at the UN.

On 29 March 1973, the Anti-Slavery Society again, in the UN Commission on Human Rights.

On 4 June 1973, the Department of Ethnology of the University of Berne, Switzerland, in an open letter to the Paraguayan Government.

From March to July of 1973, several West German sections of Amnesty International, in letters to the Paraguayan Embassy and in a protest to the President of Paraguay on the occasion of his visit to West Germany in July.

On 12 October 1973, Rep. Charles B. Rangel of New York, in the US House of Representatives.

On 30 October 1973, Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota, in the US Senate.

On 8 January 1974, spokesmen of US Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious organizations: The National Catholic Council, the National Council of Churches, and the Anti-Diffamation League, in an interview granted to them by the Paraguayan Ambassador.

On 1 March 1974, the International League for the Rights of Man in New York (an organization having consultative status with the UN), in a protest to the UN Secretary General and to the Organization of American States.

Several other organizations, such as the British Survival International and the Dutch WIZA, protested indirectly by publishing material on the plight of the Aché. Remarkably, North American aboriginal groups have shown special concern for this problem; the North American Indian newspapers Akwesasne Notes and Indígena have devoted some space to it⁴⁴). Two associations of Greenlanders in Denmark, "The Association of Greenlanders" and "The Council of Young Greenlanders", urged the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs to put the case of the Aché Indians before the UN.

PUBLICATIONS

The international press has devoted some space to the Aché problem, especially since the press conference organized by IWGIA in Copenhagen in February 1973. Unfortunately, the attention of the press has not been continuous; continuous international attention is what the Aché need most, as a protection against genocidal intentions still prevailing in Paraguay.

Most of the material was based on IWGIA Document 11. But some publications also provided their own research, and are therefore of special interest as independent sources:

The Washington Post, 17 December 1972, p. B3: "A Small Tribe's Plight", by Hugh O'Shaughnessy, from Asunción. "A short distance from where Paraguay and Brazil have agreed to cooperate in building one of the world's most massive hydroelectric power plants, a small tribe of aboriginal Indians...are dying out from disease and despair in conditions of semi-slavery." The Forest Aché "are threatened not only by the kidnap parties but also by continuing massacres."

The Observer, 25 March 1973, p. 8: "Hunted Indian Girls Sold as Slaves for \$ 5", by Neal Ascherson. The Aché "are being systematically hunted by armed raiding parties. When caught, the parents are

often shot. The children, principally the females, are being sold as slaves, often for sexual purposes."

Akwasasne Notes, Early Winter 1973 (vol. 5, no. 6), p. 26-27: "The Aché Indians", "The road into Aché territory has much to do with the needs of American interests. Just a short distance away, Paraguay and Brazil have agreed to build one of the world's most massive hydro-electric power plants - shades of James Bay! ... It would not seem unfair to infer that the Paraguayan military vehicles accompanying Aché hunts are of American manufacture. Widespread military facilities, airstrips and roads leading to them, pushed through inhabited as well as virgin territory once populated by Achés, have been made available to the United States."

The New York Times, 21 January 1974, pp. 1, 8: "Slavery Just One Threat Facing Paraguay Tribe", by Jonathan Kandell, from Asunción. "In the jungles of eastern Paraguay a small Stone Age hunting tribe of Indians is facing a losing battle to preserve a primitive culture and way of life from the onslaught of the white man."

Information, Copenhagen, 17/18 February 1973, p. 2: "De civiliseredes barbari mod de vilde i Paraguay", by Alfred Hopkins, Dispatch News Service International, from Asunción.

OFFICIAL REACTIONS

The first official Paraguayan reactions to the accusations of genocide produced the argument that the Indians were not killed intentionally, but that their deaths were the price of progress. "With the construction of roads and other installations, their hunting and fishing grounds have been restricted, and they have penetrated the houses of farmers in search of victuals, which to their way of thinking is no robbery. And this is the way the conflicts arose," said the Director of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense in 1972.⁴⁵⁾ "With roads extending like tentacles throughout the forest..., the hunting territory of the Guayakí (Aché) Indians is being restricted every day. The forest animals are disappearing, and the fight for survival between the white man and the Indian becomes cruel and many times deadly, usually to the Indian," declared CAIG, a group of businessmen in charge of the reservation's finances, in 1972.⁴⁶⁾

"In the Department of Alto Paraná, where the Guayakí (Aché) lived, large-scale development projects have been in the process of implementation for the last 5 years, for which it is planned to invest US \$ 3000,000,000. ... It is true that on the reservation a great number of Guayakí (Aché) die, but this is because they are unable to accustom themselves to the new way of life. ... If on the reservation 80 persons live in a 75m² hut, this is due to the fact that the Guayakí are afraid of living dispersed," explained the Paraguayan Ambassador to Japan, Mr. Desiderio Enciso.⁴⁷⁾

After the IWGIA press conference in Copenhagen in February 1973, Mr. Bernardo Saldivar, secretary at the Paraguayan Embassy in Copenhagen, replied by letters to the editors of Danish newspapers: "The number of Paraguayan Indians," he wrote, "is being continuously reduced, due to natural death or to voluntary integration into the population, but never through pursuit or the deprivation of the land of the Indians. ... To establish mutual protection, the authorities established a very huge reserve ... The Indians cannot stand living in a restricted area; some of them escape, while others turn apathetic and become easily susceptible to disease."⁴⁸⁾

A private supporter of the official policy, Mr. Jaques Marie de Mahieu, who collaborates with CAIG, has expressed the official view in its clearest terms: the nomadic hunters "must lose, among other reasons because the sedentary population tends to increase, while the nomadic remains invariable... In a war of this kind, there are never laws, and the fighters are never very tender."⁴⁹⁾

The common point of all these explanations is that crimes are admitted. Since March 1973, on the contrary, the Paraguayan authorities have turned to denying the crimes. They have now stated that all the accusations were based on a libel campaign of mine; although I had not been the only nor the first person to publish facts about the genocide of the Aché, my IWGIA publication had obtained the largest repercussion in the press. In March 1973, the Paraguayan Ministry of Defense published an official communiqué entitled "The Truth About the Münzel Couple". This Communiqué, intended as an answer to international protests, contained practically nothing on the Aché problem, but consisted mainly of personal diffamations of my wife and myself. In the same month, the Ministry of Defense held a press conference at which an official spokesman "appealed to the healthy conscience of the journalists" (that is, warned them) to no longer publish "the diffamations disseminated internationally by the Münzel couple about the systematic extermination of the Indians in Paraguay". Colonel Infanzón, the Director of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defence, said that in spite of the critics "we shall go on fighting and working, because we do not want to leave unfinished the work which we have started".⁵⁰⁾

In addition to the Paraguayan military authorities, a group of business men, CAIG, had shared responsibility for the reservation⁵¹⁾. The German firm Farbwerke Hoechst, whose Paraguayan branch manager had been President of CAIG, started a campaign in Germany in defense of the official Aché policy. This company also attempted to convince me that I would risk serious legal consequences if I continued to

maintain my accusations.

Several foreign governments were asked by persons in their countries to raise the Aché case at the UN, or to send a protest to the Paraguayan Government. As a result, the following governments informed themselves about the case of the Aché, and expressed their opinions on it.

The Danish Foreign Minister declared that the Paraguayan laws for the protection of Indians "are obviously not respected", as he had learned through information from the Danish Embassy in Paraguay. He wrote that he had asked the Danish Ambassador to tell the Paraguayan Government of the concern prevailing in Denmark about this problem.⁵²⁾

The Norwegian Foreign Minister wrote: "Information received by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Norwegian sources in Latin America, gives on several points the same picture as the report from the German Anthropologist Mark Münzel. Consequently, there is reason to consider the situation of the Guayakí (Aché) Indians with anxiety." He informed that Norwegian diplomats would back an initiative in favour of the Aché in the UN Commission on Human Rights.⁵³⁾

The US Department of State took a much more cautious stand, not openly condemning its Paraguayan ally. But it stated that "although the treatment of the Aché Indians is basically an internal matter, we have inquired and expressed our concern to Paraguayan officials both in Washington and Asunción. ... There does seem to have been a serious problem concerning the Aché Indians". But, the Department of State adds, "this situation has now changed," and "we do not believe that there has been a planned or conscient effort on the part of the Government of Paraguay to exterminate...the Aché."²²⁾

The West German Foreign Minister was the only one who denied violence, in which a West German firm had been implicated. Based on information from the German Ambassador to Paraguay, the Foreign Ministry stated that "the Paraguayan Government takes seriously its task of sedentarizing and civilizing the Indians."⁵⁴⁾

APPENDIX

In Paraguay the discussion about the genocide goes on, as does the genocide. Recently, the Paraguayan authorities have suddenly admitted that the Indians are victimized in Paraguay.

On 22 April 1974, the Asunción daily newspaper La Tribuna published a note of the Paraguayan Ministry of Defense asserting that "in our country there exists no genocide in the full sense of the word, nor racial discrimination" (my underlining). The interesting thing about this astonishing statement is that by its reservation - "in the full sense of the word" - it admits implicitly that at least there exists something like genocide in a wider sense of the word, whatever this may be. On 28 April, the same paper reported that it received a letter to the editor from the Department of Missions of the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference, signed by its President, Msgr. Alejo Ovelar, Bishop of the Paraguayan Chaco Region. The letter opposed itself to the Ministry of Defense note and stressed that on the contrary there really exists genocide in the full sense of the word in Paraguay. "Our Secretariat has in its possession a documentation about cases of massacres, cases which, moreover, have been partly published in your paper."

On 8 May 1974, the Paraguayan Minister of Defence, General Marcial Samaniego, called a conference in order to produce a declaration that there is no genocide "as defined by the United Nations General Assembly". In a speech during the conference, the Minister made it very clear that he only referred to this declaration, not excluding that there is genocide in Paraguay in a sense wider than that defined by the United Nations declarations. He first cited the UN genocide convention, mentioning the 5 main points of its definition of genocide: 1. Killing of the members of the group, 2. hurting the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group, 3. intentional submission of the members of the group to conditions which must lead to its total or partial physical destruction, 4. impede new births within the group, 5. bring children of the group to another group by force. But then, the Minister did not, as one could have expected, proceed to deny that the crimes just mentioned were being committed towards Indians in Paraguay. He only made the point that, if they were happening, this did not come out of the intention of destroying the group. "Although there are victims and victimizer, there is not the third element necessary to establish the crime of genocide, that is 'intent'. Therefore, as there is no 'intent', one cannot speak of 'genocide' " (my underlining, quoted from the Asunción daily newspaper abc color

of 9 May 1974).

Again, this statement was opposed by the Department of Missions of the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference which in a letter to the editor dated 8 May 1974 stressed that there was a real genocide in the full sense of the word. "The Department of Missions of the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference: has denounced and denounces, based upon concrete data which have been duly investigated, the existence of cases of genocide; has received information about other cases, with data which have been only partly studied and must be more fully investigated; desires that there be a large investigation, especially about the situation of certain indigenous groups of Paraguay who are especially threatened in their ethnic survival..."

We must emphasize two main points from this discussion:

1. The dispute is no longer about whether or not there are Indian groups being destroyed in Paraguay, but only about whether or not these destructions can be juridically defined as "genocide".
2. The discussion now refers clearly not only to the Aché, but to other Indian groups as well.

Meanwhile, the situation of the Aché seems to become more and more critical. A new Aché sub-group was discovered early this year in the Amambay Department, a zone where the existence of Aché had been unknown before. It seems that the inevitable will follow: Already in July, a manhunt was being prepared against this group, without the Paraguayan authorities taking any action against the planned crime, this despite warnings about what was going on, at least by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers of Brussels, who sent an emergency appeal to the President of Paraguay in July, 1974.

NOTES

- 1) Cf. MÜNZEL 1973: 14-19. In case no. 8, our informants referred to at least 7 dead and 3 captured, although some better informed persons spoke of 20 dead and 5 captured.
- 2) From October 1970 until June 1972, at least 259 free Aché were captured or killed, which should have brought the total reservation population up to at least 366 Aché; but according to an official source, there were only 202 in June 1972. Figures based on MÜNZEL 1973: 36-56, MELIA-MIRAGLIA-MÜNZEL 1973: 49-50, and an article published by CAIG (a private group participating officially in the administration of the reservation, cf. MÜNZEL 1973: 57-60) in the Asunción daily newspaper *La Tribuna*, 1 Oct. 1972, p. 12. According to this article, the number of Aché who had "come" to the reservation at the end of 1970 was 80 (and not 47, as I had supposed before). In fact, it seems that one group of 36 was captured, plus another of 11 (making a total of 47), plus another of some 33. Cf. also CHASE 1972: 199: 36 Aché came to the reservation on 30 November 1970; "others who had remained behind arrived subsequently."
- 3) *La Tribuna*, Asunción, 20 May 1973, p.16.
- 4) Several important differences exist between the Northern Aché (more or less to the north of the Caaguazú-Iguazú line) and other Aché. One is the larger size of the Northern Aché bands. On the basis of what was known about other Aché more to the south, it was believed that an Aché band would not include more than some 60 persons. This led to underestimations of the number of Northern Aché. But since there has been more contact with the Northern Aché, it has become evident that all previous estimates were erroneous. In 1968, the newspapers informed about the discovery, in the forests of the Curuguaty region, of "bands of more than 500", and of armed clashes between groups of Aché warriors numbering more than 100 each, and Whites. Cf. *abc color*, Asunción, 30 May 1968. Between 1970 and 1972, a band of Aché was brought to the reservation in several batches: 80 (1970, cf. note 2) + 80 (March 1972, cf. MÜNZEL 1973: 50) + 25 (14 to 21 April 1972, cf. MÜNZEL 1973: 53). Moreover, at least 20 members of this band had been killed, and at least 10 kidnapped during private raids in August and November 1971 (MÜNZEL 1973: 16, 19). 5 others had been killed by manhunts from the reservation (MÜNZEL 1973: 49, 51). This makes a total of some 220 persons, for a band already reduced by continuous manhunts.
- 5) LOEWEN 1964.
- 6) CHASE 1972: 176.
- 7) *La Tribuna*, Asunción, 30 June 1972, p. 5 ; *abc color*, Asunción, 30 June 1972, p. 10.
- 8) CHASE 1972: 178f.
- 9) *Ibid.*: 182
- 10) Cf. MÜNZEL 1973: 61-62.
- 11) Quoted from a programme of the Tiempoovillo Theater Company, "Tiempoovillo presenta: Historia de una Muerte Más", Asunción, January 1973.
- 12) Partly published in *Peace News* no. 1909, London, 16 February 1973, p. 2.
- 13) CHASE 1973.
- 14) MIRAGLIA 1973 in MELIA-MIRAGLIA-MÜNZEL 1973: 57.
- 15) MELIA-MIRAGLIA-MÜNZEL 1973, commented in *La Tribuna*, Asunción, 11 February 1973, p. 14. Another comment in: *abc color*, Asunción, 13 March 1973.
- 16) ROA BASTOS 1973: 8.

- 17) Broadcast by the Hessischer Rundfunk on 5 October 1973, 1st program, between 9 and 10 PM.
- 18) The names were mentioned in public by members of the audience at a conference I held at the Catholic University of Asunción, on 30 May 1972; and in a report of the Indian Affairs Secretary of the Paraguayan Roman Catholic Episcopal Conference, first sent to the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense, and on 29 June 1972 released to the public. Part of the facts of this report were published in MELIA-MIRAGLIA-MÜNZEL 1973: 40-41. The Director of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense admitted to knowing the names of several suspected manhunters, in a press interview published in La Tribuna, Asunción, 2 July 1972, p. 13.
- 19) Aquí, Asunción, 21 September 1973 (año III, no. 139), p. 11.
- 20) Aquí, Asunción, 21 September 1973 (año III, no. 139), pp. 10-11; abc color, Asunción, 7 September 1973, p. 28.
- 21) 21 January 1974, pp. 1, 8.
- 22) Letter of Mr. Jack B. Kubisch, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, US Department of State, to Mr. Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, House of Representatives, written in Washington on 26 October 1973.
- 23) I have received several notes from persons in Paraguay (mainly countryside people in the Aché area) observing the evolution on the spot. As proof, I can show these notes, for instance to a person investigating the Aché case, but for obvious reasons I cannot reveal the writers' names to a greater public. Translating parts of these notes, I have omitted other parts in order to make them less compromising for the writers.
- 24) Obviously this letter refers to children whom, in 1971 and 1972, I had found living with their parents and relatives on the reservation.
- 25) CHASE 1972: 207. He refers especially to the missionaries among the Maká Indians, but also, in a wider sense, to the general policy of the "New Tribes" Mission.
- 26) I have a photocopy of this report, entitled "Una Experiencia Entre los Guayakies".
- 27) The way Aché names are spelled in this report shows an ignorance of the Aché phonetic system (although the phonetics are usually the first thing these missionaries are trained to learn, when beginning an Indian language). Page 2: The missionary speaks with the Aché Indians, but through an interpreter (one of the reservation Aché knowing the Paraguayan Guaraní). This cannot be explained by the fact that the Aché belong to a group whose dialect could differ from that of the reservation, as the reservation Aché, according to the report, are able to speak with other Aché without an interpreter.
At one place in the report, the missionary asks himself what an Aché might think about the Whites; he adds that we shall perhaps know this, once the Indian has learned "our idiom", as if the idea of the missionary learning the Indian's idiom was totally out of question.
- 28) General Piñeiro, Sub-Secretary of the Paraguayan Ministry of Defence, in a press conference at Asunción, on 14 March 1973, as reported in abc color, Asunción, 15 March 1973, p. 8.
Colonel Infanzón, Director of the Native Affairs Department, as quoted in The New York Times, cf. note 12.
- 29) MEMORANDUM 1972: 35
- 30) As some 80 had disappeared by September 1972. Cf. MÜNZEL 1973: 54-56.
- 31) As stated in letters to me (cf. note 23) and in the letter of Meliá to Farbwerke Hoechst mentioned in the text.

- 32) As stated by Chase Sardi in an affidavit before a German notary public on 11 September 1973, and according to him observed by Mr. Sylvain Julienne, photographer of the Sygma firm, Paris.
- 33) Cf. MÜNZEL 1973
- 34) According to the report mentioned in note 26, where the names of the Aché in question, obviously persons I had known on the Aché reservation, are given.
- 35) In his letter of 16 January 1974, p. 8.
- 36) Cf. MÜNZEL 1973 and MELIA-MÜNZEL in MELIA-MIRAGLIA-MÜNZEL 1973: 45-48.
- 37) 21 January 1974, p. 8.
- 38) According to letters mentioned in note 23, and to the letter of Chase Sardi to the Minister of Defense mentioned in note 35, p. 10.
- 39) According to the North American journalist Jonathan Kandell in The New York Times, 21 January 1974, p. 8.
- 40) The boy seen in the photographs published in the article in Aquí (cf. notes 19, 20), as just having come out of the forest, is actually one I knew on the reservation, in 1972. abc color (cf. note 20) says that the Indians in question have probably lived on the reservation previously.
- 41) The missionary report (cf. note 26) and photocopies I own of medical reports about the state of health of two Aché just out of the forest (written at the Hospital Bautista, Asunción, 18 October 1973), shows that the Aché in question seem to have come out of the forest with typical "white man's diseases" already contracted.
- 42) In a Resolution, published in ATTI: LXI. The anthropologist Miraglia reported at this congress his eye-witness experiences of a manhunt directed against Aché Indians from the official reservation. His report (published in ATTI: 23-29) contained a clear denouncement of the Paraguayan Aché policy. Nevertheless, and for obvious reasons (Miraglia lives in Paraguay), he preferred not to join the Protest Resolution, which could have been interpreted as an act of hostility against the Paraguayan authorities. He expressed his dissent to the Resolution in a letter to the Direction of the Congress obviously written for Paraguayan eyes (in Spanish, although Miraglia's mother tongue is Italian, and the letter was theoretically addressed to Italians), but in which he did not fail to draw attention to his earlier denouncements.
- 43) Clastres had just published a book on the Aché, including descriptions of their sufferings in the early 1960's: CLASTRES 1972.
- 44) Akwesasne Notes, vol. 5, no. 5, Early Autumn 1973, p. 26.
Akwesasne Notes, vol. 5, no. 6, Early Winter 1973, pp. 26-27.
Indígena, spring 1974, p. 2.
- 45) La Tribuna, Asunción, 2 July 1972, p. 13.
- 46) Ibid. 1 October 1972, p. 12.
- 47) Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, 2 December 1972, 2nd evening edition, p. 10.
- 48) Politiken, København, 20 February 1973, p. 8.
Ekstra-Bladet, København, 20 February 1973, p. 20.
- 49) La Tribuna, Asunción, 15 April 1973, p. 18. The letter was written in 1972.
- 50) Patria, Asunción, 17 March 1973, p. 5.
- 51) Cf. MÜNZEL 1973: 57-60.
- 52) R.I., Journal Nr. 28.C.28.f/33, written at Copenhagen on 14 September 1973.
- 53) Letter to IWGIA of 8 March 1973.
- 54) Several declarations sent to me and other persons who had turned to German government offices. Cf. Darmstädter Tagblatt, Darmstadt (Germany), 23 July 1973: "Von Gewalt keine Rede".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ATTI del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanistici, Roma-
Genova 1972. vol. 1, Genova 1973.

CHASE Sardi, Miguel

1972 The Present Situation of the Indians in Paraguay. in:
The Situation of the Indians in South America,
World Council of Churches ed., Geneva. pp. 173-217

1973 Indios, Antropólogos, Misioneros y Explotadores. in:
La Opinión, 4 February 1973, pp. 6-7, Buenos Aires.
Dutch translation: Indianen, antropologen, missionarissen
en uitbuiters in Paraguay. in: WIZA-Bulletin, nr. 18,
maart 1973, pp. 32-39, Dronrijp.
German version: Indianer, Anthropologen, Missionare und
Ausbeuter in Paraguay. in: pogrom, nr. 18, 4 Jg. 1973,
pp. 2-9, Hamburg.

CLASTRES, Pierre

1972 Chronique des indiens Guayaki, Paris

LOEWEN, Jacob A.

1964 Research Report on the Question of Settling Lengua and
Chulupí Indians in the Paraguayan Chaco, Mennonite Central
Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania.

MELIA, Bartomeu - MIRAGLIA, Iuigi - MÜNZEI, Mark & Christine

1973 La agonía de los Aché-Guayakí - historia y cantos, Asunción.

MELIA, Bartomeu - MÜNZEI, Christine

1973 Ratones y Jaguares - Reconstrucción de un genocidio a la
manera de los Aché-Guayakí del Paraguay Oriental, in:
Meliá-Miraglia-Münzel, pp. 7-53.

MEMORANDUM preparado por el personal técnico del Proyecto de Desar-
rollo Forestal y de Industrias Forestales de la FAO y del
Ministerio Paraguayo de Agricultura y Ganadería, 12-I-1972,
based upon Los suelos y capacidad de uso de las tierras,
mapa elaborado por la sección Suelo y Uso de la Tierra del
Proyecto, Hoja 3, octubre 1971.

MÜNZEL, Mark

1973 The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay, IWGIA Document 11,
Copenhagen.

ROA BASTOS, Augusto

1973 Un pueblo que canta su muerte, in: Crisis, 4 agosto 1973,
pp. 4-9, Buenos Aires.

The previous reports in this series are:

- No. 1 Declaration of Barbados
- No. 2 Karl Eric Knutsson: Report from Eritrea
- No. 3 A. Barrie Pittock: Aboriginal Land Rights
- No. 4 Rupert R. Moser: The Situation of the Adivasis of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas, Bihar, India
- No. 5 John H. Bodley: Tribal Survival in the Amazon: The Campa Case
- No. 6 René Fuerst: Bibliography of the Indigenous Problem and Policy of the Brazilian Amazon Region (1957-1972)
- No. 7 Bernard Arcand: The Urgent Situation of the Cuiwa Indians of Colombia
- No. 8 Stefano Varese: The Forest Indians in the Present Political Situation of Peru
- No. 9 Walter Coppens: The Anatomy of a Land Invasion Scheme in Yekuana Territory, Venezuela
- No. 10 Henning Siverts: Tribal Survival in the Alto Marañon: The Aguaruna Case
- No. 11 Mark Münzel: The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay
- No. 12 Nelly Arvelo Jiménez: The Dynamics of the Ye'cuana ("Maquiritare") Political System: Stability and Crisis
- No. 13 Carmen Junqueira: The Brazilian Indigenous Problem and Policy: The Example of the Xingu National Park
- No. 14 Douglas Sanders: Native People in Areas of Internal National Expansion: Indians and Inuit in Canada
- No. 15 Alicia Barabas and Miguel Bartolomé: Hydraulic Development and Ethnocide: The Mazatec and Chinantec People of Oaxaca, Mexico
- No. 16 Richard Chase Smith: The Amuesha People of Central Peru: Their Struggle to Survive