

Mark Münzel: **The Aché Indians :
Genocide in Paraguay**

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GENOCIDE IN PARAGUAY

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For the Secretariat of IWGIA

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Editors of the series

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The purpose of this article is to demonstrate how the basic human rights described in the United Nations Charter of Human Rights are denied to the Aché (Guayakí) Indians of Paraguay, not through indifference or neglect, but by a deliberate Government policy of genocide disguised as benevolence. I feel that only very exact and detailed information can fulfill this purpose.

AN OLD PROBLEM

"In 1903, Paraguayans shot several Achés¹⁾, and even cut one of the bodies into pieces and put him in a cage-trap as jaguar bait. MAYNTZMUSEN saw a settler pull out of his hunting bag the finger of an Aché and boast about it.... They had followed the traces of the Aché (in 1907), and they reached the Indians the very first evening of their journey.... They arrived at the camp of the Aché, slaughtered 7 women and children, and caught 7 small children. When leaving the next morning, they got into a dispute about the direction of their return. The captured children cried and lamented; their mothers, hidden in the forest, called for them. The manhunters felt threatened, although they had burnt all the bows and arrows left behind in the camp by the fleeing Achés. In his excitement and fear, Elijio Zarza, the (local) police chief, gave the order to cut the throats of all the children, so that their lamentations would not reveal to the Indians where the Paraguayans were. All his men except Rosario Mora obeyed. The latter brought to his home the little girl he had seized. But he was not allowed to keep her. She was brought up in the house of police sergeant Evangelista Hurtado in Jesús Trinidad."²⁾ This report by the Brazilian ethnologist BALDUS is neither the first nor the most cruel one concerning the inhuman treatment of the Aché over the centuries. Nor have the facts been hidden from the scientific public. In 1900, the German explorer Von Weickmann attacked an Aché camp, captured 4 boys and stole the things the terrified Indians had left behind when fleeing from him; these objects were

then transported to the Berlin Ethnographic Museum³⁾. An equally violent contact with the Aché was made by the ethnologist VELLARD, who describes "true manhunting" as "the only way of meeting them". He and his men approached in silence a camp of resting Achés, then rushed them. Despite Vellard's efforts to keep his manhunt relatively clean and human, he could not stop violence from occurring once he had entered. "Before the Aché could recover from their surprise, we were in the midst of them". Most of the Indians managed to escape, but two of them got caught in the fire of Vellard's men, who immediately seized one, a small boy, while the other, an adult, "groaned on the ground and did not survive more than some minutes.... As we could not take the corpse with us, I contented myself with measuring it. The little Aché boy looked at us with his astonished eyes, without a shout, without a tear, without a gesture of emotion in front of the dead; he obeyed our signs without saying a word."⁴⁾

Unlike the sedentary Guaraní Indians, their neighbours and linguistic relatives, the majority of the nomadic Aché never surrendered to the white man. Without being exactly aggressive, they attempted to defend their territory against incursions, and withdrew deeper into the forest when they could not resist. On the other hand, captive Achés once separated from their people, proved to be of extreme "tameness" and lack of aggressivity against their capturers, and the white Paraguayans⁵⁾ learnt to appreciate their aptitude for any kind of agricultural labour. The ethnologist CLASTRES notes the sharp contrast between the two kinds of relations the Aché know: "For an Aché tribe, there is no kind of relation to strangers other than hostility. The Whites, the Guaraní and even the other Aché, are all potential enemies. There is only one language for them, and that is violence. This is in astonishing contrast to the perceptible, constant effort to eliminate all violence from relations between comrades. The most extreme courtesy always prevails...the common will to understand each other, to speak with each other, to dissolve in the exchange of words all the aggression and grudges which inevitably arise during the daily life of the group.... Never do the adults strike each other, except for ritual reasons.... There are no impetuous gestures, no boxes on the ear from vexation, only the sobbing laments of the women and the totally inefficient grumbling of the men."⁶⁾

It seems that the captive Aché, once they realize that they have to stay among the Whites forever, decide it is wiser to use a non-aggressive approach, i.e. the softness for which they are liked.

As for myself, I have only known captive Achés, no free forest Indians; and all I can say is that I have never met any other people who are so "tame" and obedient. I also happened to meet Achés who had been captured just three days previously: they were desperately unhappy, but ready to do anything they were commanded to do. Thus war against the Aché, since colonial days, has served not only to conquer new territories, but also to obtain captives as a cheap and appreciated labour force. The hunting and selling of Achés became, and still is, an important branch of the economy in areas close to the lands of the "wild" Achés. "Two hunters penetrated into the forests of the Paraná. They killed an Aché 'male' and blessed a 'female', his wife, taking possession of her children, a little boy of ten years of age and a baby girl. The boy was sold to a wood cutter of the Paraná, the girl to a village family. These data we obtained from Kandégui, the Aché 'male', now an adult, 15 years after he was hunted: data confirmed by 'his master'.... (His sister), after having served as a slave for many years...was put in the street when advanced pregnancy made it impossible for her to perform her tasks. As a reward for years of slavery, she bore on her shoulders a shirt...almost too short to cover her nakedness. It can also be understood that when, after having given birth, she offered her services to another family, the latter insisted that she get rid of her daughter - a condition which she accepted in order that they should not both die of hunger. She gave her daughter to a family without children". This report appeared in 1957 in a Paraguayan pro-Government newspaper.⁷⁾ In 1959, the UPI published an article by the Paraguayan ethnologist O. Ferreiro telling how "slave dealers" hunt the Aché, and citing as one example "the successful manhunt of Pichín López, who brought back 40 Guayakí (Aché) in chains for public sale in the town of San Juan Nepomuceno."⁸⁾ In 1961, the Italo-Paraguayan zoologist dr. L. MIRAGLIA, who on his many research trips came to know the Paraguayan hinterland quite well, wrote: "In the villages near the Guayakí (Aché) area, there are slave traders who organize veritable manhunts for these aborigines. They catch a Guayakí (Aché) family by surprise, murder the parents, and carry off the children to sell them."⁹⁾ How these hunts are executed, we are told by ALBOSPINO, then head of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association, a semi-official organization that includes national figures interested in Indian questions: "With the 'mboca-ñuhá', a trap made of a firearm that is hidden in the woods and that fires automatically when the victim

passes; with poisoned meals; with 'señuelos' (Aché Indians captured during childhood and sent into the forest as adults, in order to attract their brethren)... They put on their trail Indian scouts from other tribes or dogs."¹⁰⁾ In 1960, the Paraguayan Indigenist Association declared that the Aché of the Villorica zone "are on their way to extinction, because of cruel persecution by the whites."¹¹⁾ The present President of this organization, General R. C. BEJARANO, a member of the political party that rules the country, counted in 1960, in the district of Tavaí alone, 22 Aché slaves; moreover, he obtained the names and ages of several Aché slave girls in other district who had been captured in "veritable raids".¹²⁾ In 1960, the best-known specialist on Aché ethnology, León CADOGAN, he too a member of the ruling party and then an official functionary in Indian affairs, counted 51 captive Achés in the Department of Guairá alone.¹³⁾ One must take into account that these figures represent only those slaves whose existence was officially admitted by their masters, when questioned by the official representatives of the Indian policy of the state. In 1965, the Paraguayan anthropologist CHASE SARDI again denounced in public the existence of slavery in Paraguay, citing concrete and documented cases of Aché Indians; some of these indications have been included in another article of his, published in English in 1972.¹⁴⁾

The ethnologist CLASTRES touches on the psychological background of this slavery when he tells us of the case of a large group of captured Achés who could escape because their hunters had put them into a cattle corral, with no one to guard them. "The ingenuousness of their logic made the Paraguayans treat the Indians like a herd of cattle." In another case, a slave master had recaptured some fugitives and was returning with them to his farm; as night fell, they made camp in the forest and the master lay down to sleep. "The master felt so profoundly convinced of his power over the Indians, and his disdain for them was so total (is one afraid of the vengeance of a dog or a bull?) that...he fell asleep immediately beside the fire, wrapped in his poncho, assured that things had returned to their normal order and that any precaution would be superfluous. He died because he could not imagine for one moment that the Aché were capable of assuming a human attitude and that the love of freedom was not totally alien to them."¹⁵⁾

THE ACHÉ 'INDIANS

The following notes on the Aché are not intended as an ethnographic monograph, but only to explain some aspects of the culture of these Indians that need to be known in order to understand what I shall say further on about their fate. As for the ethnography of the Aché, the reader may find details in the specialized literature.¹⁶⁾

The Aché of the hilly forest zones of the Paraguayan "Eastern Region" belong to the Tupí linguistic stock. They have no agriculture and are not sedentary, but the external limits of the hunting territory of each group are well bounded by tradition. Hunting is the central theme of Aché life. In the beginning of all things, according to an Aché myth, the Great Jaguar commanded man to hunt from then on. Woman was ordered to always eat the meat the hunters would give to her, and to get pregnant with the man who would bring her the best meat. The animals were ordered to fight with the hunters from then on, and to let themselves be killed by the hunters at the end of a fight. The animals and trees of the forest are, in a certain way, the ancestors of men, and one part of the human soul will re-integrate into the animals and trees of the forest after death - but only if men keep on hunting. There is a strong feeling of unity between men and the forest, and the Aché believe hunting to be the link that maintains this connection.

The necessities of hunting limit the size of the traditional Aché band to little more than from 40 to 60 persons. The hunting grounds of each band are divided into sub-zones, successively hunted in the course of a cycle of rotation, in order to permit the re-establishment of the ecological balance in one sub-zone, while the Aché are living and hunting in the others. Each band has its leader, normally a good hunter with a big family, for instance many brothers, to support him. There exist also certain social grades connected with power, and these again cannot be separated from hunting, since they are attained by fighting against certain animals; for instance, there is "The-man-who-was-bitten-by-a-snake". Such fights and wounds have not only a physical significance: they are considered as an exchange of words and ideas with the animal, e.g., the man bitten by a snake was "talked to" by it. The influence of these traditional chiefs must have been considerable, as we could still observe it clearly among Achés who had lived under Paraguayan control for many years.

The change to sedentary agriculture and integration into the Paraguayan political and social system must affect Aché society especially for two critical reasons: the fact that the whole of Aché culture is based on hunting, and the importance of the traditional chiefs, who are the main element of cohesion in Aché society.

Another important aspect of Aché life is their great respect for women. The chiefs, normally men between some 25 and 35 years of age, are often married to older women, and will not take important decisions without first consulting with their wives and mothers. A man may have two wives, but a woman as well may have two husbands. The favourable position of the women "appears in their general attitude which...often shows a tranquility, a self-assurance ... The relations between spouses are usually excellent, with mutual confidence and unconcealed affection."¹⁷⁾ Giving meat to the women is considered the main social obligation of the hunting man. Special care is devoted to pregnant women, who have a right to a greater quantity of meat. The soul of the child is believed to be formed by the meat the pregnant mother eats during a special ceremony, and the hunter who brings her this meat is godfather to the child. The name of the child denote the species of animal which its mother ate during this ceremony, expressing thus a mystical relation between the animal and the soul of the child. Changing an Aché's name would be tantamount to destroying this relation and depriving the soul of its connection with nature and of its after-life.

Several bands, totaling perhaps 200 persons, form a group united by a common feeling, linguistic uniformity, and peaceful relations. Between different groups, there exist not only linguistic but also remarkable cultural differences. For instance, of the 3 groups I met, one was cannibalistic before being "civilized", while the other two were not. The common all-Aché feeling is very weak, and has not prevented bloody battles between members of different groups.

Beginning in the colonial period, these Indians have been driven from their lands in wars which reduced both the size of their territory and that of their population. However, as the colonization of the Paraguayan interior proceeded rather slowly and did not reach its remotest parts until the 20th century, the Aché could for a long time always retire to still uncolonized zones. There have been some peaceful contacts as well, and a minority of the Aché has been integrated into Paraguayan rural society. The

Jesuits of the colonial period managed on their reductions to get some Achés to adopt a settled life, and maintained desultory but not hostile contacts with others. In the first half of the 20th century, Federico Mayntzhusen, a settler in the Alto Paraná Region, first captured some Achés and then gained their confidence, managing with their help to get into peaceful contacts with others. Becoming more confident because of these relations, several Aché bands left their forest in order to work for payment on the farms of Mayntzhusen and his neighbours: they are still remembered today in the triangle between Tavaí, Rio Pirapó, and Rio Nacunday, as the pathfinders and road builders through the forest, who thus laid the foundation of the present road system and made possible the penetration of that large area by western civilization. But once they had performed this service, Mayntzhusen could not prevent the Indians being taken as slaves by his neighbours. "Many were engaged in orange extract factories", he tells us, "others on cattle farms, and quite a few were displaced to the towns. I was told that a rather large group had been brought to the Argentine province of Entre-Ríos by a railway contractor, and that they were never heard of again... Every police commissioner who came to a region where Achés were living amongst Paraguayans felt entitled to sell them or give them as presents to his relatives. Most of the 25 Achés who were still staying with me were carried off by the authorities by means of false promises or threats."¹⁸) Quite recently, a similar experiment was carried out by a retired colonel named Cardoso, who managed to settle some 50 Achés peacefully on his land, close to the Guairá cataracts. But in January 1972, the Indians were accused by a neighbouring land owner of having stolen his cow. A group of soldiers was called to intervene against the "bandits", attacked them, and forced them to retire again into the forest. At least two Indian children were kidnapped during this raid; one of them is now living in Asunción.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Since the early 1950's, manhunts have been somewhat limited by the authorities. In 1950, an Office of Indian Protection was founded at Villarica, with the scientist León Cadogan at its head. Cadogan led a desperate struggle against the hunters of Aché, forcing the most important one to leave the country. He could not really put an end to persecutions, but he obliged the criminals to

be more careful. As a consequence of his patient efforts, several official decrees were issued in 1957 and 1958 with the aim of protecting the Aché. "By 1958, our people, from Asunción to Parana-ambu and from Anambái to Itapúa, knew for the first time in history that in the eyes of the law 'The Indians are as much human beings as the other inhabitants of the national territory.' (Circular of the Supreme Court of Justice, 9 Sept. 1957) And that the hunting and selling of Indian children are crimes to be punished according to the penal code (Resolution of the Ministry of the Interior, 13 June 1957)."¹⁹ In fact, the Paraguayan government was attempting to liquidate the remains of colonial treatment of the Indians, and at the same time struggling to open the Indian areas to commercial penetration. If the remotest parts of the country were to be opened to foreign investment and to international roads, as was the government's intention, the anachronism of slavery had to be eliminated in order to make the country exhibitable to foreign eyes.

But at the same time, commercial penetration was bound to render the situation of the Indians more difficult. Since 1958, and especially since 1968, their situation has indeed become worse. This coincides with the foundation of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense (which meant that Indian affairs were put under military control, as a part of the general transfer of power from civilians to the military) and with the subsequent retirement of Cadogan in 1966, but there are also deeper reasons. Paraguay has in recent years experienced a slight economic boom. The "international road" through eastern Paraguay, from Asunción to Puerto Presidente Stroessner, was completed in 1965; the additional road from Coronel Oviedo to the Guairá cataracts, which cuts the forests of the northern Aché into two parts, was completed in 1968. Land prices are rising in the areas which have become more accessible through the improved system of communications, as well as the price of forest products (timber, palmito, mate tea), and especially that of cattle, which means that more land is reserved for horned cattle, and less for the Indians. Commercial penetration means, from the Aché point of view, that the forest, the indispensable basis for their hunting life, is cut down or at least crossed by roads that frighten away the game. There have been slight Indian efforts at resisting, especially attacks on wood cutters who were destroying trees that bore bee hives: honey is very important in the Aché diet. But more frequently, the Achés try to adapt to the new situation: If they neither

wish to die from hunger on their reduced huntings grounds nor enter the bondage of working for Paraguayan masters, their only way out is to steal food from the Paraguayans. This is the reason for the frequent, but normally non-violent, raids on white men's cattle and fields. The Achés also steal iron implements in order to compensate for their loss of territory by the intensification of subsistence technology. Those who live on the Indian frontier are thus confirmed in their hatred of the injurious "Guajakí" ("rabiate rats", the Paraguayan name for the Aché).¹⁾ "The new invaders of the forest: wood cutters, palmito collectors and land owners, want to have the forest 'clean'; they are bothered by the presence of the ancient owners of the forest," explains Father MELIA, Executive Secretary of the Mission Department of the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference, superior of a Jesuit community at Asunción and President of the Centre of Anthropological Studies of the Catholic University of Asunción; and he adds, stressing that the problem is to a great extent an economic one: "Sometimes they say that it is the settlers who commit these killings; that colonization is underway and that it is necessary to integrate everybody into the progress of the nation. This is false. It was not the settlers who carried out the massacre, but rural workers: rural workers from big estancias. The Aché do not interfere with small farmers, but with big landowners."²⁾

EXTERMINATION

As we shall see, recent developments have split the Aché into "wild" forest hunters and "tame" agriculturists. In the following, I shall first consider the forest Aché, and then the agriculturists.

A. THE EXTERMINATION OF THE FOREST ACHÉ

Most sources agree that manhunts for Achés have increased in volume and in violence during recent years. In 1968, J. A. BORGOGNON, a member of the armed forces and of the ruling political party, then Vice-Director of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense, wrote that the Aché were close to extinction, due to repressive actions that follow any of their efforts to resist the occupation of their lands.²¹⁾ In December 1971, the reporter J. MEZA of abc color, an important newspaper in Asunción, wrote of "murders of fathers and mothers as the only way of seiz-

ing Aché children, who are then sold and brought up as servants." "They even tell of prizes for those who manage to kill the Indians." The Paraguayan anthropologist CHASE SARDI confirmed this, in an interview in the same newspaper in 1972: "They are hunted; they are pursued like animals. The parents are killed and the children sold.... and there is no family of which a child has not been murdered."²²⁾ I was told by Paraguayan country people that the price of Aché children is falling, due to the great supply; it is said to be presently at about the equivalent of 5 dollars for an Aché girl of around 5 years of age. Mr. Luís E. Peña G., Research Affiliate in Zoology of the Peabody Museum, Yale University, who recently travelled through the interior of eastern Paraguay on an entomological field trip, was offered an Aché child (at a higher price). On his return to Asunción, he denounced this incident to the President of the Asunción Military Tribunal, who asked the Director of the Native Affairs Department how this was possible. As far as I know, the Director has taken no steps to investigate this solidly documented case of traffic in human beings.

Nor have any steps been taken in other cases, when violations of the most elementary rights of Indians have been formally denounced. I have been informed of the following cases²³⁾:

1. In September or October of 1968, employees of the "La Gollondrina" estancia (between Itakyry and Yhú, in the Department of Caaguazú) undertook an expedition to kill Achés. They were directed by the foreman of the estancia, who declared that he had orders (apparently from the owners of the estancia, the Retamozo Melgarejo family, to liquidate the savages. They killed seven, many or all of them old men, women and children, since the stronger men could escape by running. They captured a girl of about six years of age, whom they brought to the estancia to keep as a servant. The imprisonment of the little girl, and the declarations of the killers, immediately after this action took place, were witnessed by Mr. Roque Jacinto Lovera, who was working with the Grupo Telefónico de la ANDE en el Alto Paraná. He advised Mr. Gumersindo Myala Aquino, a respected Paraguayan intellectual and delegate of the Ministry of Public Works and Communications to the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense. This functionary, in turn, informed the Director of the Native Affairs Department, and also, in a letter dated "Asunción, 2 January 1969," the Minister of Public Works and Communications, General Marcial Samaniego. The latter sent a copy of this denouncement to the Minister of

Defense, General Leodegar Cabello, on 3 January 1969. The Ministry of Defense and its Native Affairs Department were therefore fully and formally informed. Nevertheless, no measures were taken either against the killers or in defense of the captured girl.

2. (Several raids) On the "San Blés" estancia (north of Itakyry), also the property of the Retamozo Melgarejo family, Father Meliá found "a stock of bows, arrows, cords, and other objects seized violently from the Aché during successive expeditions"; two or three captured Aché children were living on this farm.²⁴⁾

3. On 7 January 1970, Father Meliá saw in Itakyry, in the Department of Alto Paraná, two girls captured about 1967 by a band of killers directed by Mr. Jorge Enciso, a well known hunter of Achés from Laurel in the same Department, and a relative, perhaps a brother of Mr. Marcial Enciso, the foreman of the "Naranjito" estancia, owned by Mr. Parini, of the town of Coronel Oviedo. I have often heard Mr. Parini named as a big seller of Achés. The girls seen by Father Meliá are Magdalena, some four years old when captured, sold to Guillermo Colmán, a shop owner at Itakyry; and Margarita, about six, sold to the Samudio family, likewise shop owners at Itakyry. A boy of perhaps 12 years of age was captured during the same expedition, first kept in the house of the leader of the raid, Jorge Enciso, in Laurel, and later passed on to a brother of Mr. Enciso, who used him as a servant in his "Bar-Pensión La Guaireña" in Hernandarias, in the Department of Alto Paraná, where Father Meliá saw him.

3a. The Director of the Native Affairs Department, Colonel Infanzón, mentions in a newspaper interview an Aché girl who was separated from her parents and given to a married couple of Japanese immigrants. In Colonel Infanzón's opinion, she was "better cared for than her own parents could have guaranteed. In this sense we want to stress that we have the report of a countryside parson who has asked us that we leave her with her new parents, in view of her present state." This statement is a remarkable example of the colonial mentality still rampant among some Paraguayans, who always suppose that Aché parents are unable to give their children a decent education. This girl may be the one mentioned above under the name of "Margarita".²⁵⁾

4. In August 1971, on the "Naranjito" estancia, owned by Mr. Parini, who is reputed to be an Aché slave dealer, two cows were found killed by Aché arrows. According to Colonel Infanzón and to information obtained by Father Meliá in the area, it is probable that the arrows had been put there after the death of the cows in

order to blame the Aché for something perhaps done by the very employees of the estancia. The owner, Mr. Parini, appealed to the 5th Military Division of Curuguaty, asking for help against, as he put it, continued theft of cattle by the Aché. The 5th Division appealed to the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense. The Director of the Department, Colonel Infanzón, visited Mr. Parini between 20 and 22 August, as is well known in Asunción and as he himself told my wife before and after this visit. He was accompanied by his cousin, Mr. Vicente Durá Campos, an employee of his Department. I do not know what was discussed or decided during this meeting. But it is certain that almost immediately after it, a killing raid against the Aché was undertaken from the estancia of Mr. Parini.

This raid was organized towards the end of August 1971, by Parini's foreman Marcial Enciso, who contracted for the purpose some specialists in killing Achés, paying them with money from the funds of the estancia. Among these were his relative Jorge Enciso, who had been the leader of the above-mentioned raid no. 3; Arcadio González, alias "Teyú"; and Salvador Garcete - all from Laurel. There may have been others. The killing took place close to Silvacué on state land in "Zona F" between Naranjito, Laurel, Contrabando-cué, Cadete-cué and the Curuguaty-Saltos del Guaira road. It was carried out with "machete" knives, as proudly described by the killers themselves. There were between 12 and 20 killed, some of them most probably the mothers of kidnapped children. At least five small children were captured alive. One, a girl of some six years of age, was later purchased by José Dolores Pereira of Laurel, alias "Vovó", who called her "Magdalena", and in whose house Father Meliá saw her in January 1972. A boy of about four years of age was bought or received as a gift by Siverio Pereira of Laurel, but he died a few weeks after his capture. A boy perhaps 8 years old was kept by his kidnapper, Salvador Garcete, in Laurel, where he died of smallpox in November 1971, and where Father Meliá saw his grave in January 1972. More details could certainly be obtained in Laurel or Naranjito.

Around November 1971, in the same area, a palmito collector who had penetrated into the forest was shot to death by an Aché arrow, probably as revenge for the preceding raid. This action of the Aché led the Paraguayans of the region to talk very seriously of another "revenge" raid against the Indians. Serious preparations were being made at the beginning of January 1972.

Detailed reports on the August raid and concerning the danger of a new raid were made by persons known to be reliable. One was made by a missionary of the "New Tribes Mission" at Itakyry, to the Native Affairs Department. Another report was made in September or October of 1971 by Father Nicolão Dacunha of the Verbum Divinum Order, the parish priest of Pikiry, near Hernandarias. Information on this raid and the preparations for another raid was also gathered by Father Meliá, who on 13 March 1972, in my presence, informed the President of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association, General Ramón César Bejarano, who took down the names of those responsible and other details. Father Meliá also published news of the massacre in a monthly magazine, as well as an Asunción daily newspaper.²⁶⁾ In June 1972, the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference studied an extensive report on the Indian problem, which mentioned this massacre. The conference made public its concern about this case. "Those who carry out the massacres are strictu sensu civilians, commanded by estancia owners in the area." "The image of this country abroad will deteriorate when these facts become known, as they certainly will be."²⁷⁾ In August 1972, one of the two big Asunción newspapers published an interview with Father Meliá, who referred to the same massacre. "These are facts well known in the area, where there is, moreover, a resident police commissioner who certainly cannot fail to be aware of crimes of such an amplitude. Personally, I know of several persons, among them a priest, who have verbally denounced these facts to the Native Affairs Department.... The case is aggravated by the fact that at least one of them (the killers who can be identified) led a killing action in 1966/67, in which two girls and a boy were captured, as well: the girls are in Itakyry and the boy in Hernandarias. Beginning with these children who have been given or sold...one can investigate who brought them, from where, and under what circumstances. I think that what has been fatal for the Aché Indians and will still be in the near future, is the fact that the authors of these crimes have not been brought to justice in the courts. The impunity with which they kill Achés is the principal cause of the genocide of the recent period.... There are witnesses in the area who have heard about this "adventure"; and although it would be difficult to make them testify in court, I think that this possibility must be taken into consideration. Among the rural workers and other people of this locality, there are persons of sound conscience who know perfectly well that what has been done to the

Aché is an atrocity. But in the first place, there are the children; this is the proof."²⁸⁾

Nevertheless, neither the Native Affairs Department nor the Indigenist Association took steps either to prevent another massacre, or to prosecute those responsible for this one. In this case, one cannot even cite the "powerful political relations" of the persons implicated, since Mr. Parini belongs to the political weak opposition party. It is true that the President of Paraguay, having received a memorandum about the crime, immediately gave orders to the Director of the Native Affairs Department to investigate in the area of the massacre, and that the Director in fact travelled to this region²⁹⁾, but no further concrete measures followed, not even an investigation.

5. (Several raids) On 7 January 1970, Father Meliá also saw a captive Aché, apparently captured during another raid, in the house of a certain Mr. Zenón in Itakyry. Likewise, a girl of about 14 years of age called Selva, also captured, was seen in the house of Mr. Soría in Itakyry. In 1971, she became pregnant, for which she was expelled from the house; Father Meliá has been informed that she is now trying to earn her living in Hernandarias. In Curupaity, in the Department of Caaguazú, Father Meliá saw another captive Aché, a boy about 16 years old, said to be a champion football player.

6. In 1970, Father Meliá learned in Itakyry that another raid had been organized. The killers kidnapped 3 children, all of whom died afterwards.

7. In about June of 1970, on the Río Itaimbey, approximately 47 to 52 kilometers up river from Puerto Santa Teresa, several Indians were killed in a raid, according to the claims of a palmito collector and Indian hunter who says he killed several Indians before he was wounded.³⁰⁾

8. In February 1972, close to San Joaquín, my wife and I were told by several people of an Aché hunt in the area southeast of Itakyry. We were not able to gather any concrete or detailed evidence, but I believe that an inquiry commission sent to the area could easily gain this information. The massacre seems to have taken place about the middle of 1971. Various children of slain Aché parents were then deported. The kidnapers are said to have declared that the only reason why they did not take even more children was that they were not able to carry off more at one time, and that they were forced to leave several children with their

dead parents, but that they would return to the forest later on to seize them.

9. In November 1971, Mr. M. J. de Pereira, whom I shall discuss below, had tried to get into contact with Achés in the region of Campo Bella Vista in the Department of Caaguazú, between Curuguaty and San Joaquín, but had failed because the Indians concerned had fled after a massacre. As he said, "Parini is now working over there." This account was confirmed by three "tame" Achés who had been with him and had listened to conversations between Mr. Pereira and local wood cutters.

The Achés had shot an arrow at a wood cutter around August, wounding him between the legs. A revenge raid was organized at the beginning of September (i.e., shortly after the meeting between Parini and Colonel Infanzón). Some eight Achés were killed; several children were kidnapped and sold. Pereira affirmed to me that he had informed Colonel Infanzón, the competent authority, about this raid.

Nevertheless, no measures have been taken against the killers or to aid the kidnapped children.

10. The hilly forest region between Caaguazú and San Joaquín in the Department of Caaguazú was once traditionally inhabited by Achés who appeared, for instance, at Tayaó, in the same Department, in 1965.³¹⁾ In 1970, a working group of the UN-FAO and the Paraguayan Ministry of Agriculture Project on Forest and Forest Industries Development, including Donald Wood, the field supervisor of the Forest Inventory Section of the project, and Daniel Nolan, a Peace Corps volunteer attached to this section, found traces of an Aché band (a band usually numbers at least some 20 persons) in the same area, close to Guajaqui-cuá, some 20 kilometers west of the Caaguazú-Yhü road.

Today, informants are unanimous that there are no more Achés in this area. This I learned at Guajaqui-cuá. As this forest zone is surrounded on all sides by the land of Paraguayan settlers and cattle breeders, with no way of escape for the Achés, they cannot have fled, but have most probably been exterminated between 1970 and 1971.

In June 1972, in a souvenir shop at Capiatá, close to Asunción, I was offered some typical Aché objects. The owner of the shop told me that they have been taken from "wild" Achés of the area mentioned above.

In July, the Director of the Native Affairs Department de-

clared that there were no concrete indications of massacres of Indians in Paraguay, and that he had received the first unconfirmed details only eight days previously.³²⁾ General Bejarano, President of the Indigenist Association of Paraguay, described massacres as "problems" that were "normal in any part of the world".³³⁾ As for the number of dead, Clemens von Thuemen, a German entrepreneur in Paraguay and a supporter of the government policy, who considers himself a specialist on Indian questions, declared that this point was not important: "The fundamental point is not to know how many have died, but how many survive...if they had been left in the forest, they would have died anyway."³⁴⁾

B. THE REDUCTION OF THE "TAME" ACHE

The officially recommended solution of this "problem" does not include the limitation of the massacres by means of legal pressure, but the installation of a "reservation" to which the Aché, who are a "problem" elsewhere, may be deported.

I. The Foundation of the Reservation

A well-known hunter and seller of Achés in the 1950's was Manuel de Jesús Pereira, a junior partner of Pichín López, the biggest manhunter in the area.³⁵⁾ In 1959, a band of Aché whose hunting possibilities had been reduced to much to permit the continuation of their free existence, and who were suffering strong pressure from the manhunters surrounding them, surrendered to Pereira at Torrín, Arroyo Morotí, close to Avaí, in the District of San Juan Nepomuceno.³⁶⁾ This was at the time when the authorities had taken some measures against the slave hunters, one of whom, Pichín López, the senior partner of Jesús Pereira, had been forced to leave the country. Afraid of legal prosecution, Jesús Pereira did not dare sell his new Indians, but used them instead as a cheap labour force on his farm at Torrín. The story he told the authorities was that the Indians had sought his protection because they loved him. In fact, they had chosen him mainly because he is unable to have children, which meant more tranquillity for their wives and daughters than with other slave owners. He said he would protect them, if only he received financial aid. The authorities, although well aware of his real character, accepted this story - at first, because they hoped that by integrating him into the official hierarchy, they could control his farm, which otherwise threatened to become a nucleus of the sale of Achés. Later on, some of the officials may have attempted to collaborate with Je-

sús Pereira for financial profit. Pereira was nominated as a functionary of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense, and his farm transformed into a "reservation" called " 'General Marcial Samaniego' Guajakí (Aché) Indian Assistance and Nationalization Post No. 1", later changed to "Camp Blessed Roque González of the Holy Cross", and finally ending up as "National Guayakí Colony".

Jesús Pereira's first administrative act was to plunder the goods of his wards in order to sell them as tourist souvenirs. "When I visited the camp for the first time," CADOGAN remembers, "on the occasion of the arrival of the Achés, they were all wearing their weapons, ornaments, etc., in full; but when I returned for the second time all this had disappeared... the total value of the objects had gone into the purse of Pereira."³⁷⁾

It is important to know the character of this Jesús Pereira, who was officially presented as the solution of the Aché problem. The French ethnologist CLASTRES, who lived on his "reservation" for 9 months in 1962 and 1963, gives a vivid description of him: "The days passed peacefully, especially when the Paraguayan chief disappeared. His absences sometimes extended for weeks on end, which he devoted to endless bouts of drunkenness in the villages of the area. When he returned, almost unable to keep himself on the saddle, he would explode in a fury impossible to understand, pulling out his gun and firing it in all directions, and shouting vague threats in Guaraní (the language of rural Paraguay): "From his new power he drew direct advantages, not the least of which was access to the young girls of the tribe.... If the salary he received was modest, the quantity of food - flour, grease, sugar, and powdered milk - sent for the Indians from Asunción, was, on the other hand, rather important. The Achés certainly received part of it, but the rest was diverted by the white chief, who sold it, for his exclusive profit, to the farmers of the region."³⁸⁾ In 1960, CADOGAN officially recommended the dismissal of Jesús Pereira. "This suggestion was not accepted," he remembers, "and as he found himself free of all control and discipline, it is logical that he began to feel very powerful, becoming the absolute ruler and master of the unhappy Achés."³⁷⁾ In 1965, the Paraguayan anthropologist CHASE SARDI wrote that Jesús Pereira "is at liberty only conditionally, because with the stock of his pistol he broke the skull of an 80-year-old man, Don Eustaquio Brizuela, as recorded in the trial records of the court of the first in-

stance of the Secretaría of Benítez."³⁹⁾ On 30 November 1971, I myself heard Pereira (whom I had seen some hours before completely drunk) boast that he had shot down a man: "I am a great killer!" I then saw the victim, still alive but crippled for the rest of his life. According to those who had witnessed the incident just two hours previously, Jesús Pereira had come on horseback to the victim's door, asked him to come out, stretched out his hand as if to greet him, and then, at the moment when the victim was standing below his horse and going to take his extended hand, he had pulled out his gun and started shooting. When someone tried to alert the police, the agent hid behind the police station in order not to be involved in the case, because he was afraid of Jesús Pereira. Some days later, a military tribunal at Asunción started an investigation, but stopped it again before any witnesses, except Jesús Pereira himself, had been heard. As the prosecutor of the tribunal, Captain Flores, explained to me, they had preferred not to continue, since Jesús Pereira was considered too important a man in Indian affairs. On his return from Asunción, Jesús Pereira boasted that this was proof that he was free to kill anybody he wanted. In January 1972, he raped a 10-year-old girl and then threatened her father with death if he dared to denounce the crime; so much was he feared, that the girl's family finally left the area.

As I have mentioned above, captive Achés are used to capture their brethren who are still free. I have in another article explained the various reasons why this is possible.⁴⁰⁾ Jesús Pereira has told his Indians that the way for them to become like white men is to go and hunt more Aché just as the Whites do: "Many Aché you will catch, a white man you will be!" Inducing the Aché to do this is facilitated by the fact that the Aché are split up into many small groups, often at war with each other and with almost no common "tribal" feeling. One of the Reservation Indians active in manhunting told me that they tied the hands of those who tried to resist behind their backs. One of those captured told me that he was drawn "a long way" over the soil with a rope, while he was resisting capture with his hands and feet, trying to grip the soil.

Thus, in June 1962, the Reservation numbered at least 100 Achés, probably 110⁴¹⁾, at least 60 of whom had been brought there by direct violence.⁴²⁾ In July 1968, only 68 Indians were left.⁴³⁾ This demographic reduction becomes more spectacular if we take

into account that the Aché are a very fertile people, and that their custom of infanticide has been abolished on the Reservation. "When I arrived at Arroyo Moroti," CLASTRES remembers, "there were about 100. I left them one year later; no more than 75 were left. The others had died of diseases, had been eaten by TB, lacking care, lacking everything."⁴⁴⁾ "Can we admit," CADOGAN, then a Native Affairs official, asked in 1965, "that a country like ours... passively allows the last remnants of the most primitive and most interesting tribe of this race (i.e., of the Tupí Indians; CADOGAN is referring to the Reservation Aché) to perish because of the lack of a little bit of Christian charity?"⁴⁵⁾ CADOGAN lost his official functions, partly because he had published this sentence. CHASE SARDI, in 1965, pointed out the "absolute lack of any type of preventive medicine" on the Aché Reservation.³⁸⁾ Officially, in 1968, the absence of "medical and sanitary assistance" was admitted as one of the reasons for the catastrophe.⁴⁶⁾ Evidence discussed in another article⁴⁷⁾ shows that the often-cited biological shock of the first contact with the microbes of the white man cannot be the main reason for the disappearance of so many Indians. Many of them had been in contact with Whites before, having been captured by the Paraguayans and having escaped again, before finally coming to the Reservation. Besides the greatest reduction of population took place not when the Reservation was first established, but later on.

The main reasons for the reduction of the Aché population seem to me to be HUNGER, caused not by the lack, but by the non-distribution, of food; and the SELLING or giving away of Reservation Indians to outsiders. Hunger should not have been inevitable, since the Reservation from its establishment has had a considerable food production of its own and has also received outside aid. In 1959, a Commission for Aid to Guayakí (Aché) Aborigines was founded; dissolved in 1961, it was re-constituted in 1963.⁴⁸⁾ As for the the production of the Reservation itself, we have the testimony of BORGOGNON, then Vice-Director of the Department of Indigenous Affairs, based on the official figures of this Department: In August 1967, "20,000 kilos of maize corn; 120,000 kilos of manioc; 880 kilos of rice; 500 kilos of peanuts, potatoes, pumpkins and beans" were produced, in addition to pig and chicken raising.⁴⁹⁾ Nevertheless, there was hunger, as the Indians themselves assured me. Nutritional problems as a reason for the demographic catastrophe are also cited by the Paraguayan doctor and ex-President of the Indigenist Association of Paraguay,

Dr. AREVOLO PARIS, known to be a supporter of the Government Aché policy, and by the Argentine ethnographer TOMASINI. These two specialists do not speak openly of hunger, but they do mention the lack of vitamins and other substances normally contained in meat - while officially, the Reservation receives a special subsidy for meat for the Indians. The reduction of nutrition compared with that available in the previous life of the Aché in the forest, TOMASINI writes, "could have diminished the organic defenses which the aborigines could have used to neutralize the effect of certain diseases." 50)

II. The Sale of Humans

The sale of human beings is still carried on; this can be confirmed by those who get into close contact with the Reservation Indians. It is also a more or less well-known business in the area. In the following, I shall point out in detail some of the facts I observed, and which are easily observable by anyone else, which seem to confirm this suspicion.

1. There is an obvious numeric disproportion between the male and female inhabitants of the Reservation - observable, however only among persons above the age of about five years. On the contrary this difference does not appear among children below about 5 years of age. The most obvious explanation is not a biological miracle among the Aché race, but the disappearance of small girls just at the age when people in the area most like to buy them: when they are no longer babies (i.e. no longer difficult to keep, feed etc.), but not yet old enough to be rebellious. In the following I shall reproduce several recent statistics from a period after the arrival of a new group in 1970, before 1972; these figures, not always extremely exact, obtained at different moments under different conditions by different persons, do not always correspond to each other in their exact details, but they are unanimous as far as the general tendency is regarded: there seems to be an unnatural break at the age of about 5 years.

census:	a	b	c
adult men:	38	40	
adult women:	23	18	
boys over 5:	20	20	
girls over 5:	8	9	
males over 5:	58	60	59

females over 5: 31 27 32

boys under 5: 6 7 4

girls under 5: 7 7 11

Census a: Statistics I was shown at the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense, from 1971.

Census b: "Censo de la Colonia Nacional Guajaki", undertaken by Luis Albospino on 7 December 1970; the designation more or less corresponding to "under 5" is "lactantes". This word probably includes some children whom in western civilization we would not consider as babies, up to the age of 2 or 3 years. It is not quite exact to call them "children under 5", but I have included the "lactantes" here, as they are the most similar rubric in Albospino's statistics.

Census c: My own census, taken in November 1971; the blanks are explained by the fact that I have to check my notes again and do not want to publish data not yet completely confirmed.

2. In a "weeping song" which I recorded on tape in March 1972, the perhaps 30-year-old Aché woman Kanechirigi complains that she does not know what has happened to her daughters, who are now living "in the houses of mighty Paraguayans". She also sings that many Aché daughters are now living in the house of Mrs. Pereira at the former site of the Reservation, where Mrs. Pereira stayed when her husband moved the Reservation over to a new site in 1968.⁵¹⁾

According to statements made to me by Reservation Indians, one of the girls thus separated from her family and now perhaps living with Mrs. Pereira, is Brikúgi (Nimia Pereira), some 15 years old, daughter of Jakúgi (Pablo Pereira) and his wife Brikúgi (Lorenza Pereira)^{X)} Of course the Indians cannot know if this girl still lives at the old place or if she has been sold in the meantime.

Note: In order to permit easy identification, the names of the Reservation Achés are given in the following way: first the native name; then, in parenthesis, the name bestowed on the Indian by Mr. Jesus Pereira. This "civilized" name always includes the surname "Pereira", following the Paraguayan slaveholders' custom of contending legally that the slaves are their "children".

3. Among the names of missing boys given to me by the Indians, I shall mention one about whose case I have received concrete details from the mouths of several different informants:

Krajági, son of Kimirági (Felipa Pereira) and one of her two husbands, either Jyvukúgi Kramági (Juan Carlos Pereira) or Kybwyrági (Angel Pereira). This boy was born around 1955 or 1957. He was taken away by Jesús Pereira, who gave him to people in uniforms who took him off on a truck. This was considered as a disciplinary measure against one of the two possible fathers, Jyvukúgi Kramági (Juan Carlos), the chief of a band in revolt.⁵²⁾

4. A young man about 16 years of age, Kanégi (Carlino Pereira), was living on the Reservation when we visited it from September to November 1971.⁵³⁾ When we returned to the Reservation in February 1972, he had disappeared, as can be confirmed by Messrs. Ian Hutchinson and Donald Wood, of the UN-FAO and Paraguayan Ministry of Agriculture Project on Forest and Forest Industries Development, who were accompanying us. Mr. Wood asked Jesús Pereira what had happened to this Indian. Pereira replied that he had fled from the Reservation, thus admitting Kanégi's disappearance, but explaining it in his own way. But all the Indians I questioned about this case, including Kanégi's young wife Kanedarági Pikýgi (Angela Pereira), stated that Kanégi had been deported by the Director of the Native Affairs Department, Colonel Tristán Infanzón, who had expressed his intention of selling Kanégi to some Paraguayan. This must have happened during the time we were away from the Reservation, between 5 December 1971 and 5 February 1972. Kanégi did not again appear on the Reservation before we departed on 12 March 1972.

When we again returned to the Reservation on 24 April 1972, we found Kanégi there, in a very critical state of health. As witnessed by Mr. Donald Wood and two members of the American Peace Corps, Messrs. David Griggs and Daniel Nolan, who had accompanied us, Kanégi had been seriously wounded by a bullet in the leg. The Indians told us that Kanégi had run away from the Paraguayan people he had been forced to work for, and had returned to his wife after a flight of several days and nights.

5. In 1971, we observed that Kandepukúgi, an Aché of about 35 years of age, seemed to suffer from TB; he often spat blood. This was considered by Jesús Pereira as a proof of the Indian's "wildness". Due to his illness, he was physically unable to work

hard, and this was considered by Jesús Pereira as a rebellious attitude.

On 17 September 1971, Kandepukúgi had a dispute with a man enjoying the confidence of Jesús Pereira. On 21 September, I left the Reservation early in the morning, and returned by noon, which was earlier than I was expected back. On my way back to the Reservation, I met Kandepukúgi following a Paraguayan settler of the area who was leaving the Reservation. I asked the Paraguayan where they were going. He replied that he was taking Kandepukúgi away to his farm at Noguero-cué, because this was a very wild Indian who did not want to work, and who needed to be separated from his people and to be educated by a strong hand. I asked Kandepukúgi what he thought about this, but he was unable to answer, obviously due to emotion. When I met my wife, who had remained at the Reservation that morning, she told me that Kandepukúgi had come to our hut and stretched out on the soil before our door; he had obviously been calling for help.

Some hours later, I met Jesús Pereira. Pretending to know nothing, I asked him where Kandepukúgi was. He answered evasively. I told him I should like to work with that Indian since he was a very good informant on mythology. Jesús Pereira tried to convince me of the contrary. But one day later, Kandepukúgi again appeared on the Reservation.

6. In November 1971, we took an Aché girl of about 11 years of age to Asunción, for what we thought would be a short trip lasting three days. By accident, we had to stay longer, and were unable to send the girl back at once. We explained our problem to the Director of the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense, Colonel Infanzón, expressing our concern that a stay of more than two weeks in the city might alienate her from her native environment. His answer: "There is an easy way to help the girl! Just the other day, General Cabello (the Minister of Defense) again asked me to give him an Aché girl."

Summary: We can cite several concrete cases which could serve as a basis for questioning the Indians concerned, which would be possible even without knowing the Aché language, as many of the Reservation Indians speak the Guaraní tongue of the Paraguayans. The truth of these cases could be checked by such an inquiry. These cases can serve as evidence that children of the Aché Reservation, especially girls, and in some cases also adults, are being

"given away" or sold, and thus separated from their families and fellows against their wills. There is every indication that this is still going on.

Mr. Jesús Pereira must be considered as one of those mainly responsible for this situation, but in at least one case we found evidence of the implication of the Director of the Native Affairs Department, Colonel Infanzón. Responsible as well are those who have access to the Reservation and could easily check the size of its population. Here again we must mention Colonel Infanzón, who visits the Reservation frequently; and Dr. Rufino Arévalo Paris, an Asunción physician and ex-President of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association, also a member of the "Guayaki (Aché) Indian Aid Commission": Dr. Arévalo Paris is officially concerned with the demographic situation on the Reservation, by delegation from the Native Affairs Department and from the Guayaki Indian Aid Commission, and with keeping up to date the list of all its inhabitants. Responsible to a lesser degree is Mr. Milan Zeman, President of the Guayaki Indian Aid Commission, who collects in his office documents concerning the population of the Reservation, and especially, the list of all its inhabitants. He can at least be accused of a total failure in his supervisory task.

III. The Reservation at Present

The following account describes the Reservation as my wife and I experienced it during our stay in 1971 and 1972. Changes which have occurred since April 1972 are not taken into account, but will be described in a following chapter.

The shortage of women, created by the situation described in the preceding chapter, is still greater because the administrator concentrates some of the girls in his own house. Of the five girls between around 6 and 12 years of age, four live in the house of that somewhat sexually abnormal Jesús Pereira, who is over 65 years of age—supposedly because they are orphans. This is true of three of them, but they could easily find foster parents among other members of their families. Besides, it is only female orphans who live in this house, while there are many more male ones on the Reservation. As of February 1972, three adult girls also live in Jesús Pereira's house.

All these girls are accessible not only to Jesús Pereira, but also to friends of his who visit the Reservation; as such visitors the Indians cite the previously mentioned Messrs. Infanzón and

Arévalo Paris. I was myself offered first an adult girl (the offer being made in a disguised way by Mr. Infanzón, and more directly by Jesús Pereira); then, as I showed no interest, I was offered an immature girl of 11.

One must expect that this premature sexual coercion will cause in at least some of these girls a distaste for normal marital life. The normal family life of the Aché is also being disturbed by interference in their marriage affairs. We observed one case where the administrator took into his house a young girl just married: her name is Chachúgi (Antonia Pereira); her husband is Japégi (Lorenzo "Nonichógi" Pereira). In another case, the administrator deliberately forced a husband to give up his wife temporarily in order to have her at his disposal; this woman is Torági (Lucia Conchita Pereira); her husband is Kvevégi Chachúgi (Máximo Pereira). In still another case, the interference of Jesús Pereira at least endangered the unity of a couple whose wife he used for his purposes: Beipuradarégi (Julia Pereira), the wife of Baipúgi Jawági (Lucio Pereira). Jesús Pereira's more or less official concubine, Krejakujági (Rita Pereira), about 20 years of age, would like to marry Bywági (Fausto Pereira), but is without hope of realizing this ambition.

In other cases, captured Aché wives were taken away from their husbands and given to those Aché who had already lived on the Reservation for some time and who had won Jesús Pereira's confidence by participating in the hunt for their brethren. As there is a lack of women on the Reservation, this policy is one of the factors used by Jesús Pereira to induce the Reservation Indians to participate in his manhunting expeditions. Such forced couples are: Kybwyrági (Angel Pereira) and his wife Baivyrawachúgi (Julia Pereira); Kajamirígi (Marcelino "Machení" Pereira) and his wife Krypúrági; Airági (Locadio "Nogaio" Pereira) and his wife Jéugmai Brévigma. Jéugmai Brévigma, captured towards the end of 1970, died in early 1971; after her death, Airági took the captured Torági (Lucia Conchita Pereira), who later on managed to return to her also captive husband Kvevégi Chachúgi (Máximo Pereira), before Jesús Pereira separated her again from him. Not to make this paper a sentimental novel, but just in order to illustrate the climate on this Reservation and the daily violation of Human Rights, I should like to describe in a bit more detail the case of this couple: Shortly after their capture, a child of theirs died from hunger. According to the custom of the Aché, they wanted to bury him in the forest according to their rites, but the administrator inter-

ferred and obliged them to bury him close to the house and in the Christian way. This meant that according to the Aché religion, the spirit of the child stayed close to the house and constituted a danger that would be especially grave if the mother had sexual intercourse. So the couple abstained from sexual relations, waiting for an occasion when they could fulfill the necessary rites which were forbidden by the administrator. The fact that the woman was obliged to have intercourse with other men constituted not only a marital problem for this couple, but also a religious one, and a serious danger from the spirit. Despite strong pressure, she always returned to her real husband after a while, but I do not know how long she will be able to maintain this attitude. Other forced couples are: Bikúgi (Santiago Pereira) and Bywâgi; Kanégi (Carlino Pereira, whose disappearance from the Reservation I have mentioned above) and his wife Kanedarégi Pikýgi (Angela Pereira); Baipúgi Jawági (Lúcio Pereira) and Beipuradarégi (Julia Pereira). It is significant that in the last two of these forced alliances, the administrator interfered again when an element of love appeared in them. I have already mentioned his interference in the case of Baipúgi and Baipuradarégi. In the case of Kanégi and Kanedarégi, the husband was deported from the Reservation and the wife was then given to Ramón Pereira, an Aché enjoying the confidence of Jesús Pereira; on 6 February 1972, we observed that this woman took refuge in the house inhabited by her brother, who tried to defend her; she was finally raped in public and then taken away by force by Ramón and his friends.

One can easily imagine the climate created by the destruction of so many families. Women are a reward for faithfulness to the authorities, which also means that one of the most positive aspects of Aché culture, a profound respect for women, is destroyed.

The management of the Reservation is generally carried out in a subtle way, pitting the Achés against each other and profiting from the very strong rivalries which exist between the different sub-groups. But direct violence also takes place in order to subdue them.

One method of oppression is the separation of families, as in the case of the "rebellious" father whose son was deported. In the case of Kandepukúgi, the administrator mistakenly thought that this man was rebellious. Physical violence also exists, but

during our presence we did not witness much of it, perhaps because these things are not shown to witnesses. Once, some Paraguayan neighbours complained about Kandepukúgi: in an effort to establish relations with them, he had asked a pregnant Paraguayan woman if she would like him to get her some meat. Giving meat to a pregnant woman is an Aché custom which establishes a god-father-relationship to the future child. As he spoke Aché, the woman did not understand; to make himself understood, he touched her stomach. This was interpreted as an approach never permitted to an Indian. To punish him, Jesús Pereira punched him brutally in the genital organs several times, then kicked the same parts until Kandepukúgi fell to the ground. Jesús Pereira continued this treatment until the Indian lost consciousness. I was not present personally, but the scene was vividly described to me by several Indian witnesses: it took place on 20 October 1971. As Jesús Pereira himself told us, he had also sometimes been forced to use the "cepo", better known from Brazilian slavery times under the name of "tronco", a wooden prison that does not permit the victim to lie down or stand up, forcing him to remain seated in an uncomfortable position with his ankles pressed by the wood. Jesús Pereira cited the case of a young woman, Tejúgi (Pascuala Pereira), who according to him had left the Reservation several times in order to "molest" young Paraguayan men in the vicinity. He put her in the "cepo" from morning to evening, exposing her to the full light of the sun.

An element of psychological importance is the brutal destruction of the cultural inheritance of these Indians. This is not the place to discuss whether primitive cultures should be preserved or modernized. What is taken place in the case of the Aché is not modernization, but the destruction of the identity and even the self-respect of the Achés as human beings. I recorded on tape many songs lamenting the end of the Aché, in which the singer regards himself as no longer an Aché and not even a human being, but as half dead. The destruction of identity is achieved in the following ways:

1. Jesús Pereira told us that it was necessary, in order to "civilize" the Aché, to break the power of their chiefs, who were always the most rebellious among them. In fact, the above mentioned Kandepukúgi is a chief, as is Jyvukúgi Kramági (Juan Carlos Pereira),⁵⁴ mentioned above as one of the fathers of a deported boy. When more captured Aché were brought to the Reservation in March 1972, Jesús Pereira showed me an obviously discon-

tented prisoner, saying that this was the wild one, a kind of chief of the newcomers, and that he would have to be careful with him.

2. Without regard to the hunting habits of the Aché, the Reservation has been situated in an area where hunting is very difficult. Often, they are not allowed to go hunting. The result is a complete disorientation, as admiration for the great hunter was the main basis of the cultural values of these people.

3. One of the most important details in the world view of the Aché is the giving of names: the name one has is intimately related to one's soul. The Reservation Indians are forced to give up their names. New, Christian names are imposed on them by the administration; and even these the Achés are not allowed to choose themselves. Because of the name-soul connection in their beliefs, they now think they are losing their souls.

4. The Achés are prevented from celebrating their traditional feasts. Their traditional music is being eradicated.

5. They are forced to change their hair style.

6. The men are forced to take out the "betá", a lip ornament which is to them the sign of a real man. Many songs complain that now, without the "betá", the Aché men have been transformed into women and children.

7. The Achés are urged to give up their own language and to speak Guaraní instead. This pressure has up to the present only succeeded among some younger people.

8. The Achés are being convinced that it is a shame to be an Aché. They are told that the only way to escape from this shame is to become a hunter of Indians like Jesús Pereira.

The destruction of Aché identity has already been noted by the internationally well-known Paraguayan anthropologist and linguist León Cadogan, by the Argentine scientists Vivante and Gancedo, by the Bishop of Oviedo, Msr. Pechilo, and by Father Meliá.⁵⁵⁾ The French ethnologist CLASTRES describes a song he recorded on the Reservation: "Every strophe, psalmodied on a sound of deep sadness and nausea, ended in a lamentation that was then prolonged by the delicate melancholy of the flute. He sang that day of the end of the Aché and of his despair in realizing that it was all over: 'The Aché, when they were real Aché, ...they hunted the animals with bow and arrow...And now, the Aché are no more Aché. Woe!'"⁵⁶⁾

The destruction of traditions could be more easily understood if it were accompanied by an effort at modernization. This is not

the case. There is an external occidentalization, which causes unnecessary psychological torture, as in the enforced change of hair style, but there is no profound instruction. The little progress observable: a very rudimentary knowledge of the Guaraní idiom of the Paraguayan hinterland, the construction of primitive wood huts, a knowledge of very primitive agriculture; is not the work of the Reservation, but is based on instruction which some of the Reservation Indians had received before arrival: many of them had been captives of Paraguayans for some time, had then escaped, and finally arrived at the Reservation. Most of this progress is so rudimentary that it takes only a very small effort to acquire; in fact, those who came to the Reservation in 1970 have already attained the level of those who arrived in 1962 and 1959 (except for the knowledge of Guaraní). After this initial jump, acquired without instruction through the imitation of whites, development begins to stagnate.

Although there is one school only 11 kilometers from the Reservation, and since 1972 another school only 5 kilometers away, no Reservation child is sent to school. The Aché are fully accustomed to walking; there is also a small truck on the Reservation that could be used to transport the children to school, or donkeys could be purchased for this purpose. None of the Reservation Indians knows how to write; one or two are able to count up to 20, but they are unable to do any arithmetic operation; and two or three know more or less how to handle small coins. Not one speaks or understands Spanish. Once I thought of teaching a boy, to whom I felt grateful and whom I considered especially intelligent, to write. He told me that he would like to learn, but that Jesús Pereira had told them writing was not good for them.

The health situation is illustrated by the case of Kanégi (Carlino Pereira) mentioned above, and witnessed by the persons named there: Although Kanégi was in a very critical state of health, with a bullet in his leg and the wound in an advanced stage of infection, no one had thought of transporting him to some place where he could be operated on - although such a place is just 15 kilometers away, and there is on the Reservation a motor vehicle with driver and fuel.

Comparing the children who were born and have grown up on the Reservation with those who were born in liberty and who arrived there recently, in 1970 or 1972, one can observe an obvious

difference in average strength. Also, we saw and took pictures of the Indians who arrived in March 1972: they were remarkably stronger and healthier than their relatives of the same band who were captured in 1970 and who have been living on the Reservation for more than a year.

Officially, the Reservation is under the supervision of Dr. Rufino Arévalo París, who is said to visit it regularly. During the five months of our stay there, we only saw him once: he came to the Reservation in the evening, accompanied by relatives and friends, organized a big supper with chicken taken from the Indians, and then went to bed; the next morning, he made a short trip "to see ill people", but also to show the village to his guests, and then left that same morning. There is also a project for sending a medical assistant to the Reservation, but this has not yet materialized after two years of planning. The man suggested for the job - who even now visits the Reservation from time to time, since he is a friend of Jesús Pereira - shows very little interest in the health of the Indians.

Concerning the clothing of the Indians, a Paraguayan visitor to the Reservation told a reporter in August 1972: "We can divide the Aché (of the Reservation) into three main groups. One group is rather well dressed, another one wears only worn-out clothes, and the third one goes practically naked. It is remarkable that the group that goes well dressed is the one that lives in the house of Mr. Pereira: these are all young women, practically servants." The anthropologist CHASE SARDI adds, explaining the importance of good clothes: "It is true that they have lived for centuries without clothes and almost without houses; but now they do not live in their natural surroundings where they could move more freely, their nourishment is no longer based on meat and honey, and at night they can no longer use the big fireplaces where they were protected from the cold."⁵⁷⁾

The nutrition situation is further illustrated by an article in the Asunción newspaper abc color, according to which the Reservation Indians have "sometimes even meat"⁵⁸⁾ - although a regular subsidy for meat is given, which could provide meat everyday.⁴⁸⁾ Visiting the latrines on the Reservation, one can easily observe that many of the Indians suffer from diarrhea. The previously mentioned visitor to the Reservation, in his statement to a reporter in August 1972, also said that "what impressed me most was the

lack of food necessary for the subsistence of the Aché, and also the lack of clothes."⁵⁷⁾ In July 1972, it was finally admitted by those in charge that the nutrition problem is serious.⁵⁹⁾

The future of the Reservation will be influenced by the fact that its 4500 hectares are no longer intact, as Paraguayans are illegally occupying parts of this territory. At any rate, it has been situated on soil of such poor quality that it has but "little agricultural value. The forests of the Reservation have a limited potential." As for the water on the Reservation, one can foresee that its quantity and quality "will possible turn out to be of no use to the necessities of the inhabitants of the Guayakí Colony," as explained in the section "Soil and Use of the Land" of the UN-FAO and Paraguayan Ministry of Agriculture Project for Forest and Forest Industries Development, written in 1971 by Ing. Miguel A. Rico, FAO Soil Expert, and based on fieldwork in the area and exhaustive interpretation of aerial photographs.

SOLVING THE PROBLEM

By 1966, no free Achés remained in the Caazapá-Guairá area where the Reservation was then situated. At the same time, the intensified internal colonization of the San Joaquín-Curuguaty area deprived the Achés living there of important parts of their territory, thus inciting them to resistance. Thus, while the Aché problem was solved near the Reservation, it increased elsewhere.³¹⁾

In 1966, Jesús Pereira and five "tame" Achés of the Reservation undertook an expedition to the new problem area, in order to localize the problem-creating bands of Achés. This enterprise was assisted by the Native Affairs Department, whose vice-director at that time, Mr. Borgognon, also took part in the expedition. Among the Aché participants, we must mention Kane-Krymbégi (Marcos Pereira) and Kybwyrági (Angel Pereira), two specialists in hunting their free brethren.⁶⁰⁾

In 1968, the Reservation was relocated in the problem area, on land whose poor soil has already been mentioned, in order to be closer to the Achés whose "attraction" was being planned.⁶¹⁾

On 10 October 1970, the Reservation Indians had a bloody encounter with a free band, in which Kane-Krymbégi (Marcos Pereira) was wounded by an arrow during the capture of an Aché woman, who was brought to the Reservation.⁶²⁾ The companions of the kidnaped woman fled, but were pursued by the Reservation Achés for

days through the forest. Several free Indians died during their flight. Finally, some of them were captured and transported to the Reservation on a military truck.⁶²⁾ Others were able to escape. Thus, many families were divided. The number of newcomers explicitly published was 36; but in fact, documented sources seem to indicate that their total number was about 47.⁶³⁾

The arrival of these Indians was widely publicized in the press. The Director of the Native Affairs Department visited the Reservation shortly thereafter.⁶⁴⁾ Earlier experience had shown the danger of demographic reduction and the necessity of medical assistance to those Indians who entered the Reservation. The need for nutritional help had already been stressed by Dr. Rufino Arévalo París, in 1971 President of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association. The need for medical help was now stressed by the Director of the Native Affairs Department. In a memorandum of 21 December 1970 from the well known Paraguayan enterprise "ALFA-Publicidad" to the Indigenist Association, the immediate necessity of furnishing "food, clothes, medical assistance, and housing" was stressed; this paper had been prepared at a session on 18 December 1970, attended by the Director of the Native Affairs Department and Dr. Arévalo París.⁶⁵⁾ Very shortly after the news of the arrival of these Indians on the Reservation was published, a very successful campaign was organized to collect aid for the Reservation.⁶⁶⁾ A newspaper describes the aid sent to the Reservation through the good offices of the Native Affairs Department and the association presided by Dr. Arévalo París: "An important shipment of medicine Gs. 30,000 worth of aid and the inscription of 18 persons to pay Gs. 1500 each every month; of these, one person has already advanced Gs. 18,000 and two have advanced Gs. 3,000 each; the inscription of at least seven more persons to pay Gs. 1,500 each every month, and a gift of Gs. 5,000."⁶⁷⁾ In fact, an awareness of the problem existed, as well as the means to solve it, at least as far as the heads of the Native Affairs Department and of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association were concerned. So that what actually happened cannot be considered as the result of irresponsibility only.

At the beginning of February 1971, the Bishop of Coronel Oviedo, Msr. Pechilo, to whose diocese the Reservation belongs, wrote a memorandum on the situation of the Reservation, which was sent to the President of the Paraguayan Republic. "The great majority of the inhabitants of the Reservation...were at the beginning of February 1971 in an apparently flu-harrassed and feverish sta-

Photographs taken on the Aché Reservator between
3 February 1971 and 27 May 1974.

From IWGIA Document No.11:

Mark Münzel: The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay.
Copenhagen 1973.

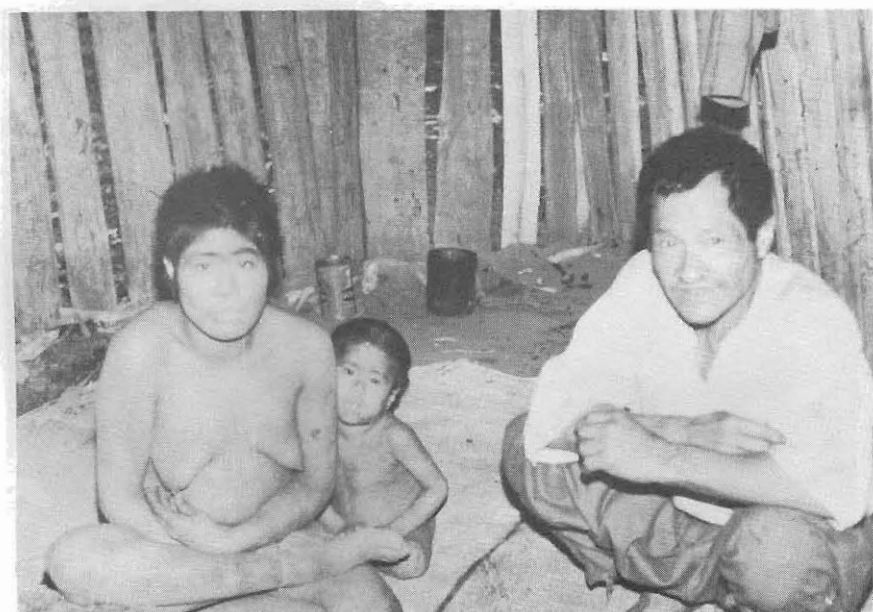


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New captives on the Aché Reservation, photographed on 3 February 1971.



New captives on the Aché Reservation, photographed on 3 February 1971. Six months later, these three persons had died.



A "tame" Aché man of the Reservation with a new captive and her child. This photograph was taken on 3 February 1971. The man had received the woman as a reward for his faithfulness to the administrator of the Reservation. Six months later, both woman and child had died.



Two captives photographed on the Aché Reservation in March 1972.



Photograph taken on the Aché Reservation on 8 May 1972. Note the small plate, which contains food for 8 persons.



Photograph taken on the Aché Reservation on 8 May 1972.



Photograph taken on the Aché Reservation on 8 May 1972.



Photograph taken on the Aché Reservation on 8 May 1972. On the right, the "tame" Aché Kanepukúgi (Rafael Pereira), who took an active part in the capture of the woman on the left.



Photograph taken on the Aché Reservation on 8 May 1972. Note the dying man in the background.



Victims of recent manhunts, photographed on the Aché Reservation on 27 May 1972.



Victim of a recent manhunt, photographed on the Aché Reservation on 27 May 1972. This man has glued bird feathers to his chest, a custom followed in cases of grave illness or when a man prepares himself to die.

te that had completely overcome them. The great majority of the individuals on the Reservation were in great psychological depression as well." The report continues, speaking of "deficient food" and mentioning certain diseased Indians who had not eaten anything for several days. "The bows and arrows of the Indians are locked up in the house of the non-commissioned officer in charge of the Reservation, which prevents them from going out freely to hunt. It seems that those who are in charge of the Reservation are themselves afraid that the Indians might flee, or even attack them. There are reasons to suspect that the subsidies and aid donated to the Aché Indians have not been well administered, and have not got to those for whom they were really intended."

In accordance with a recommendation included in this memorandum, a medical commission was sent to the Reservation at the end of February 1971. The mission stated that an influenza epidemic had killed 5 adults and caused the stillbirth of 3 babies, but the truth seems to be that over 20 persons had vanished.⁶⁸⁾ I was also told by Reservation Indians that several girls were taken away from them. We must suppose that about one half of the recently captured band was liquidated, partly by the conscious withholding of food and medicine.

In the first half of 1971, some "tame" Achés of the Reservation again went out manhunting, killing four free Achés, but capturing none.⁶⁹⁾ At this time, Kanepukúgi (Rafael Pereira) tried to escape from the Reservation. As the distance to his previous home was too great, he tried to survive alone in the forest close to the Reservation. Half dead, he was finally brought back by his sister, Torági (Lucita Conchita Pereira).

In September and October of 1971, my wife and I observed on the Reservation preparations for a new manhunting expedition. I recorded on tape the detailed plans of the "tame" Indians for kidnapping free Aché. The hunters were to use a small truck put at the disposal of the Reservation by the Ministry of Public Works and Communications, with a soldier as the driver. "We shall follow far the trail of the 'Guayakí'". The "tame" Aché call their "wild" brethren the contemptuous Paraguayan name "Guayakí". "First, we shall go far away by truck; then, far away from here, we'll descend to hunt the 'Guayakí', and we'll take them with us, seizing them by the arms. We'll fall upon them in the night, we'll extinguish their fires, we'll knock them down. The damned women who will not like to be deported by truck, we'll make them run along until they collapse on the soil. It will be necessary to brutally fracture

the arm of wild Krymbégi (the chief of the band these hunters were to capture), to make him come with us. Krymbégi will roar in pain; we'll have to strike him down with a machete. Krymbégi will roar in pain."⁷⁰)

The hunt was not successful. Another one was planned for December. As the driver had quarreled with Jesús Pereira, who does not know to drive, the latter asked me if I wanted to drive him and the hunters. He said I just had to take them to a certain place, from which they would enter the forest. For the return trip, they would certainly get a bigger truck for the transport of the prisoners, with another driver, from Colonel Infanzón, Director of the Native Affairs Department, who, according to Jesús Pereira, had offered his help in case more Indians were captured.

This hunt was postponed, but on 29 February 1972, Jesús Pereira, some "tame" Aché warriors, Jesús Pereira's Aché concubine, two other Aché girls, and a Paraguayan left the Reservation on another hunt. Their departure was observed by my wife and me. They first went on foot to Cecilio Báez, some 15 kilometers from the Reservation, from where there is a road to the area where the hunt was to be carried out, and spent the night there. The next morning, they took the Reservation's small truck and continued to a point approximately 100 kilometers in a straight line from the Reservation, on the road from Curuguaty to Saltos del Guairá. While the Paraguayans stayed close to the road, the "tame" Reservation Aché penetrated the forest north of the road, towards the hilly area called Ywyarovaná. They discovered the trail of a free Aché band. Then they returned to the road, and from there turned to the forest south of the road, starting from a military post called Santo Domingo. On 5 March 1972, the hunters reached a place called Silva-cué south of the road in the state land area called "Zona F". On 6 March, they captured a band of some 80 Achés at about 15 kilometers from Silva-cué. These had in the past months suffered considerable persecution at the hands of Paraguayans (see above under "The Extermination of the Forest Aché" No. 4): their hunting area had been reduced, and since they had fired an arrow at a soldier from Santo Domingo a short time before, they were already waiting for the final attack of the Whites. It seems that they had fatalistically decided to give up. The hunters first surrounded them in silence, and then suddenly appeared and frightened them with a lot of noise. The frightened forest Achés, some of whom had previously been captured temporarily by Paraguayans, knew the white man's gestures. They raised their hands as a sign of capitula-

tion and cried "Aniki japiti!" (Guaraní for "Do not shoot!"). One of them, nevertheless, did not drop his bow at once, and was immediately killed by the hunters, most probably by the "tame" Aché Kajawachúgi (Jacinto Pereira). The hunters first raped the young women, and then brought the entire band to Silva-cué, where they stayed approximately one day. A military truck transported both hunters and hunted back to the Reservation. As there was little room on the truck, the Achés had to stand very close to each other, so that those who got sick from fear and from the unaccustomed movement, vomited on the bodies of those next to them.

The details of this hunt have been related to me by the driver, by Jesús Pereira, and by the Achés. They have been confirmed by people who visited the area shortly afterwards.⁷¹⁾ It was impossible to conceal this hunt. For instance, when the truck with its load of Aché prisoners came near Curuguaty, it was passed by two local buses. The passengers and drivers were so fascinated by the spectacle that they interrupted their regular trajectory in order to follow the truck for a while. Officially, the arrival of 80 new Indians on the Reservation was announced in a very short newspaper article that spoke of the "incorporation" of new Achés.⁷²⁾

The truck transported the Achés close to the Reservation, where my wife and I could hear its engine on 8 March 1972. The Achés descended from the truck and marched into the Reservation, a spectacle which we filmed. The captured Achés marched in the middle, surrounded by the Achés of the Reservation with machetes, and by Mr. Jesús Pereira and his Paraguayan fellows. The prisoners were brought to a large hut approximately 75m² in size - a very small space for all of them to live in. My wife and I talked to them less than an hour after their arrival. Many were desperate because their capture had separated them from members of their family and friends, who had not been present at the moment of capture. Others hoped that now, among the Whites, they would again meet their children who had been kidnapped by Paraguayans during the past months. The "tame" Reservation Indians treated the prisoners kindly, with a certain resigned pity. The older Reservation women saluted the newcomers with the traditional Aché "weeping salute" that consists of a mixture of kind gestures, weeping and improvised singing. In these songs, people meeting after a long absence use to tell each other who had died in the meantime. In one of these greeting songs which I recorded on tape, a Reservation woman, instead of citing the names of the dead, tells a

prisoner that the Aché in general are dead now, since they will never again be free to live like Achés.

We were soon separated from the prisoners by the order of Jesús Pereira. But in the following days, we still managed to talk to them sometimes, and we were also informed about them by "tame" Achés. Thus we learnt that the prisoners were "angry" about being in the Reservation. They obviously felt the need of making their discontent known; although Jesús Pereira had told them that he personally would kill them all if but one of them talked to us, they came to our hut in secret to tell us about the way they had been captured. This desire to communicate, observed also by other visitors, is a curious aspect of the newcomers' attitude: it seems as if they thought that not all whites agreed with manhunting, and as if they perhaps hoped they could get help from those who did not.

At first, the prisoners were guarded in their hut by "tame" Achés armed with machetes, leaving the hut only in groups under escort to bathe in the creek or to satisfy their physical necessities. But from the second day on, vigilance gradually relaxed. Jesús Pereira had explained to them that the Reservation was surrounded by Paraguayan settlers who could easily find and kill anyone who tried to escape. Even if they managed to get far away, he would follow them until he found and killed them, with the help of the army and the air force. In any case, the prisoners' territory was now so far away that they could not hope to reach it, and the forest around the Reservation was too small and too poor in fauna to permit the survival of 80 hunters. So the newcomers became resigned, which made vigilance superfluous.

The new arrivals belonged to the same Aché sub-group as those captured in 1970. A few days after their capture, fraternization between those "tame" Indians who had been captured in 1970 and the newcomers could be observed, along with growing tension towards the other Aché sub-groups living on the Reservation. Among those of the former sub-group, two political tendencies could be observed. While one party began to think that they by no means should assist the military in another hunt, the others thought that the only way out of their desperate situation would be to bring in those of their sub-group that had remained free in the forest, in order to obtain a sufficient number on the Reservation for a revolt. The idea of returning to their old territory was not considered, since they all knew that it had been reduced too much to

permit the subsistence of the entire sub-group.

During the first days after their arrival, the newcomers showed evidence of declining health. While all of them except one or two had appeared in an excellent state of health when arriving, they now caught colds, and some of them seemed to have fevers.

The manhunters went out again, to catch the group they had seen the traces of close to Ywyrarovaná. On 1 April 1972, they descended from the truck that had brought them to Arroyo Guasú on the road from Curuguaty, and entered the forest. On 14 April they returned with 66 Aché prisoners: 26 men, 29 women, and 11 children. That same day, the captives were "pushed onto a truck like a flock of sheep," as MIRAGLIA observed⁷³⁾, and deported to the Reservation.

The same day, the manhunters entered the forest south of the road, in search of the disorganized remains of the band captured in March. As these had lost all hope and found difficulties in continuing their life without the companionship of their captured friends and relatives (their band had suddenly been reduced by some 80%, not counting preceding massacres), we can assume that they offered but little resistance. On 14 April, one of the hunters returned with nine new "wild" captives: five men, two women, and two children, who seemed to have surrendered to him more or less peacefully.⁷⁴⁾ On 20 April, 11 more captives were brought to Arroyo Guazú: two men, two women, and seven children; and on 21 April, five more: three men and two women. A photograph has been published of these last two men, which shows them imploring the first white men they met not to kill them.⁷⁵⁾ The Asunción newspaper abc color has published an article about these captures, which among other things says: "It is feared that the means used to attract the Aché to the Reservation are not exactly the most adequate and human ones. There are reports of intimidation and threats, of the robbery of bows and arrows, and even of the robbery of children. 'I saw a truck full of Achés heading for the Reservation', said one informant. Another one remembered how he saw a Paraguayan woman seize the little son of an Aché woman: 'I had to intervene vigorously to prevent this kidnapping,' he said."⁷⁶⁾ The seizure of the bows and arrows of the new arrivals is confirmed by MIRAGLIA, who explain the reason: "Seizing the bow and arrows of a forest Aché has two aims: to make him inoffensive; and, by depriving him of the means of supplying himself with meat, to oblige him through hunger to come out of his forest."⁷⁷⁾

25 captives and their capturers now waited at Arroyo Guazú for transportation to the Reservation, remaining some days on the road. During this period they did not receive any official aid. Had local wood-cutters not provided them with whatever help they could: food and sheets - in spite of their own difficult material situation, caused by the fact that their wages had been delayed - the Aché would have had nothing to eat and nothing to lie on. The kidnappers had left the Reservation already ill with influenza, and now they immediately infected the captives, who up to then had been in an excellent state of health.⁷⁸⁾ There was no medicine. Finally the Aché at the head of the group of kidnappers went to Curuguaty on his own initiative, and there asked for help in the form of food and medical attention. The appearance of this rather exotic Indian in town excited public attention, and people began to ask why Indians were sick and hungry so close to a military compound with a relative important military hospital. This event finally convinced the authorities of the need to send a truck to the Indians camping on the road. The Aché were transported to Cecilio Báez, from which they proceeded to the Reservation on foot, arriving on 25 April 1972.

The scandal at Curuguaty also moved the authorities to send a doctor to the Reservation. According to the information from the local military authorities, some 60 Reservation Indians were "very ill". When my wife and I visited the Reservation for two hours, on 24 April, the Achés told us they were hungry, and asked us for food - a thing they had always been too proud to do until that moment. Some of the Achés openly exhibited a rebellious attitude toward Jesús Pereira - something they had not dared to do before. Although Jesús Pereira and his fellows took care not to let us talk too much with the Indians, we could still perceive the very tense atmosphere. There were more Paraguayans than usual on the Reservation: although they wore no uniforms, they seemed to us to be military personnel. We noted that they, as well as Jesús Pereira, were armed. The Indians informed us that all possible weapons: bows, arrows, machetes, and axes, had been taken away from them and were being kept in the house of Jesús Pereira. Around that house, a wooden fence had been built that reminded one of the palisades around the houses of pioneers in Western films.

On 26 April, one day after the arrival of the 25 prisoners at the Reservation, the new president of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association, General R. C. Bejarano, stated during a ceremony in honour of the "Day of the Indian" that Colonel Infanzón,

the Director of the Native Affairs Department, had been alarmed by news of an epidemic on the Aché Reservation, and was heading there urgently, in spite of the rain. Roads such as the one that leads to the Reservation are usually closed during rainy periods; if someone travels on them then, there must be a very serious reason. General Bejarano also mentioned the epidemic in a speech at a round-table discussion on the "Day of the Indian" at the Ministry of Defense. This epidemic was known of before, so it cannot have been the only reason for Colonel Infanzón's urgent trip; the danger of a revolt was most likely another factor.

A visitor to the Reservation in the middle of May 1972, observed some 25 new graves, about 20 of which seemed to contain adults, while five were of children: all dating from May. He photographed several half-dead persons, and saved various patients from death just by giving them water, which was all they needed urgently. He stated that all possible weapons of the Indians were still being kept in the administrator's house. During his stay, he was intercepted by a group of newly-arrived Aché, who by signs made him understand that they were there as captives at the hands of Jesús Pereira. There was no doctor on the Reservation.

On 26 May 1972, neighbours of the Reservation were awaked by the sound of shots. Questioned later on about this, Jesús Pereira said that some Indians had tried to "run away". A small military detachment was officially stationed at the Reservation from then on.⁷⁹⁾ On 30 May, Mr. Holt, one of the semi-official supporters of the Government policy toward the Aché, declared to the Paraguayan Indigenist Association that the Reservation now had 232 inhabitants: an official figure which meant that some 45 Reservation Achés had died during the previous three months.⁸⁰⁾ At the end of July, the number of recent graves on the Reservation was 60, and the number of survivors 202, which means the disappearance of some 75 Achés since March.⁸¹⁾ Another visitor stated in a newspaper interview that the weapons of the Indians were still being kept by Jesús Pereira. The anthropologist CHASE SARDI, on the basis of accounts he had recently heard, summed up: "The Achés of the Reservation are real prisoners in a concentration camp." And Father MELIA declared: "The Aché Reservation is an Aché graveyard."⁵⁷⁾

Summary: In March and April of 1972, about 171 "wild" Achés were captured and deported to the Aché Reservation, whose population thus rose to about 277. Only 202 were left at the end of July. The dead seem to belong mostly to the new arrivals. Their liquidation is due to the lack of food and medical attention. The Paraguayan Episcopal Conference, in a press communiqué on 29 June 1972, explains the high death figure by the fact that the new captives were brought to the Reservation in April, when an influenza epidemic was already raging there.²⁷⁾ Taking a large number of forest Indians there at this time, without providing for their health requirements, was indirect mass murder.

THOSE RESPONSIBLE

Of course Mr. M. de Jesús Pereira, the man in charge of the Reservation is directly responsible. But only for his administration of the Reservation, not for its defence against critics, nor for the hunting and selling of Aché that is going on even without his active participation.

Besides the Aché hunts organized from the Reservation, there are those mentioned above as massacres. It seems that the circle of those responsible is limited; while the population in general tolerates the massacres, it does not participate in them actively. The active organizers seem to be especially Mr. Parini from the town of Coronel Oviedo, and the Retamozo Melgarejo family; both own land in the Aché area.

These crimes would not be possible, however, without at least the tolerance of the Native Affairs Department. In fact Parini became more active after a meeting with the Director of this Department, Colonel Tristán Infanzón; and from this time on the attacks of Parini's killers contributed directly to the defeat of the spirit of resistance of the free Aché, who thus became more inclined to surrender to the Reservation Indians subordinated to the Native Affairs Department. Parini and Jesús Pereira, although different in their methods, have carried out the same policy of ridding the forest of the Aché. One must also note that it is well known that this manhunting is carried on, and that anyone travelling in the area can see the captured Achés. So the inactivity of the competent authorities, the Native Affairs Department, cannot be explained by the lack of information.

At the session cited in note 81), Colonel Infanzón spoke of his "philosophy" and that of his Department, citing as expressions

of the same way of thinking the works of certain Argentines who have founded an "Institute of the Science of Man" at Buenos Aires. It is interesting to take a look at these works, in order to understand the attitude of the man in charge of Paraguayan Indian Affairs. According to one of these works, the Aché were originally members of the white, perhaps even of the "Arian Nordic" race. Later they degenerated due to interbreeding with Indians and to the negative influence of their tropical surroundings. Still today, there are some Achés who are whiter than others. "The white Achés are far more intelligent than the brown Achés and, as opposed to the latter, they do not lie". The authors recommend following the example of South Africa in dealing with the Achés.⁸²⁾

On the other hand, it must be admitted that Colonel Infanzón, as a military man and an official of the Ministry of Defense, is dependent on his superiors, especially on the Minister of Defense, who has been officially notified at least of massacres Nos. 1 and 4 as listed above.

Dr. Rufino Arévalo Paris is officially to take care of the health situation of the Reservation delegated by the Native Affairs Department. As the President of the semi-official Paraguayan Indigenist Association, he was also responsible for the distribution or non-distribution of aid to the Reservation from November 1970 to January 1971: i.e., at the time of mass dying. This scientist has proved in his publications that he is fully aware of the health and nutrition problems faced by the Reservation Indians. His actions can therefore not be explained by ignorance.

The "Indian Aid Commission" was founded after the capture of 1970, and transformed into the "Guayaki (Aché) Indian Aid Commission", CAIG, in February 1972. Since January 1971, this organization has organized the collection and distribution of aid "for the Guayaki", and is also occupied with press campaigns in favour of the Reservation.⁶⁴⁾ The formal leaders of the Commission are supposed to be honest, which gives the Reservation they support a more honest appearance; many people in Paraguay would not give money "to the Indians", were it not upon the recommendation of these members of the Commission. The CAIG was intended from its very start to impress public opinion. Its founding was prepared by a publicity firm. I quote from this firm's memorandum: "Full publicity will be regularly given to donations, with mention of the full names of the donors and of the kind and amount of their gift. ... To those who give more than GS 25.000, we

shall give, besides the Honour Parchment they will have a right to be distinguished by: press, radio or television publicity."⁸³⁾ As the President of the Commission, who is the managing director of the "Hoechst del Paraguay" company, put it in a conversation with me, his enterprise is following a "Scientific plan" of being mentioned in the Asunción newspapers at least once every week - and being mentioned in connection with exotic Indians is a special occasion. So perhaps one of the ends of the CAIG is the mutual exchange of publicity: The Indians make the companies better known, and the companies give positive publicity to the Indians. The members of the CAIG are:

The President of the Commission, Mr. Milan Zeman, the managing director of the Paraguayan company "Hoechst del Paraguay".

Its Vice-President, Mr. Clemens von Thuemen, the German managing director of the Paraguayan plastic industry "4 PPPP".

The Treasurer, Mr. Thomas Holt, the American managing director of the Paraguayan branch of the "Bank of America".

Colonel Tristán Infanzón, the director of the Native Affairs Department.

Mr. Vicente Durá Campos, a cousin of Colonel Infanzón and an employee of his Department, concerned with questions of press and television publicity, who has made two television programs publicizing the Reservation.

Dr. Arévalo Paris, mentioned above.

General Ramón César Bejarano, the President of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association.

A guest of honour when in Asunción is Mr. Manuel de Jesús Pereira.

According to a paper edited by the CAIG in August 1971, the financial aid already assured for 1971 was GS 1.752.000. In July 1972, Mr. von Thuemen announced that GS 2.840.000 had already been raised for 1972. "The army furnishes 50 rations of food daily, from Caritas we receive 2 tons of food a month, the Sugar Center gives sugar, some oil factories give oil, and commercial enterprises contribute implements. The banks of Asunción donate cash."⁸⁴⁾ More important is the moral aspect. For instance, after the capture of the 80 Indians in March 1972, no one dared to publish the news of the capture right away for fear of criticism from Asunción intellectuals; it seems also that the two large Asunción newspapers were reluctant to publish the note passed to them by Mr. Durá, as it seemed contradictory. They already suspected that these Indians had actually been captured, instead of having come volun-

tarily. A delegation composed of the three foreign members of the CAIG went to the Reservation, and it was only after they gave their word that everything was all right on the Reservation that at least one newspaper published the official note, one month after the capture and with special mention of this visit.⁷²⁾ When the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference declared its concern about the situation of the Aché, the CAIG started another press campaign, inviting reporters to its sessions and using all the prestige of its members to defend the Reservation.⁸⁵⁾ When in December 1971, Pereira was temporarily accused of having attacked a neighbour, this was considered by CAIG as a very unfortunate accident. When the investigation was suspended, Jesús Pereira was received heartily by the CAIG at its session of 28 December 1971. He was accompanied by an Aché Indian, who was impressed by the reception his master was accorded; the Indians were thus told how strongly Jesús Pereira was supported by important people in Asunción. On the same occasion, a gift of fuel to the Reservation was organized, which made possible the manhunt in 1972.

In several cases, the CAIG has been notified of violations of the rights of the Aché but has taken no measures. Father Meliá informed the Commission of the content of the abovementioned memorandum of February 1971 from the Bishop of Coronel Oviedo in which he also said: "Our present preoccupation is that the situation of 1965 might be repeated, when some 50 persons died in a few days." No reaction came from the CAIG, although the newspaper La Tribune on 11 February 1972 confirmed that an epidemic was taking place. It was not until this memorandum reached the President of the Republic that measures to save the dying Achés were taken. In January 1972, father Meliá handed to the CAIG and to the Native Affairs Department the FAO report on the soil of the Reservation, which shows that the Indians living on that soil will have a rather gloomy future. In his reply, Colonel Infanzón alleged that the specialists who made the report, were ignorant. In 1971 the anthropologist Chase Sardi presented a paper to the symposium on inter-ethnic friction in South America organized by the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Berne in Barbados. In this paper, first published in 1972 but earlier circulated in Asunción in manuscript form, Mr. Chase S. warns that the arrival of new bands on the Reservation "would produce a grave problem for the Indian Aid Commission, for it would not have the material or technical resources to shoulder this responsibility ... The arrival of new bands would cause a disequilibrium"⁸⁶⁾ - but CAIG

continued its support of manhunts which would bring more bands to the Reservation. In February 1972, Mr. Chase S. presented a paper to the CAIG urging it to organize a study of the Reservation by community development specialists instead of supporting something which most CAIG members had not even seen.⁸⁷⁾ I, myself have presented to the CAIG exhaustive documentation on what was happening on the Reservation. In November 1971, I orally informed its President, Mr. Zeman, that the food supposedly sent to the Indians was not reaching them. In December 1971, I informed him that Jesús Pereira had undertaken a manhunt and was planning another one in the near future. I urged Mr. Zeman either to prevent the hunt (e.g. by not paying for the fuel) or, if there was really no way of preventing it, at least to prepare the Reservation for the arrival of new Indians (e.g. by sending food and medicines). On 23 December 1971, I presented to Mr. Zeman a detailed report on what I had seen in the Reservation (see "The Reservation at Present", which is mainly based on the report I gave him); discussing this report with him on 28 December, I informed him that I owned tapes which supported my allegations. In January 1972 my wife handed another detailed report to the German Ambassador, asking him to make its contents known to von Thuemen, the German vice-president of the CAIG.

After the completion of the March 1972 manhunt, I informed Mr. Zeman on 16 March 1972 that the new arrivals showed already signs of an epidemic, and that urgent help in the form of food, medicine and medical assistance was necessary to prevent a catastrophe. I also informed him that Jesús Pereira was preparing another raid, and I urged him either to prevent this or, at least to organize food and medical assistance for those still to be brought to the Reservation. On 13 March I had informed General Bejarano, the President of the Paraguayan Indigenist Association of Paraguay and a member of the CAIG. But he, too, did nothing to prevent another raid by Jesús Pereira or to assist those captured and starving, although the political structure of Paraguay gives a general a certain opportunity to interfere, especially when he is at the same time a member of the Government party, and when the man in whose business he interferes is an officer junior to himself, such as Colonel Infanzón. The indirect mass murder described above was organized although the CAIG and especially its president, Mr. Zeman, were fully aware of what it meant.

A WAY OUT?

After the beginning of 1972, the Aché situation turned into a public scandal. From January on, and especially from March, my wife and I spoke openly of what we had seen on the "Reservation", as we realized that it was useless to continue informing the competent authorities about things they certainly already knew but were not prepared to change. On 31 May and 2 June, I gave public lectures on the Aché problem, which caused a newspaper controversy on the question. The Paraguayan anthropologists CHASE SARDI, MELIÁ and MIRAGLIA entered the discussion with very courageous contributions, denouncing the genocide in public.⁸⁸⁾ The Roman Catholic Church of Paraguay stated its concern and made public that it had informed the Holy See.²⁷⁾ Two opposition deputies raised the question in Parliament.⁸⁹⁾ The efforts of the CAIG members Zeman and von Thuemen and of the Native Affairs Director Colonel Infanzón to save the situation by another press campaign in favour of Jesús Pereira and the Reservation, made them objects of ridicule.⁹⁰⁾

In July, the Secretary of the German Embassy visited the anthropologists Meliá and Cadogan, insinuating that there was no use to raise a scandal against those members of the CAIG who were connected with Germany. On 28 August, Meliá was invited to a session of the CAIG where Colonel Infanzón implored him not to continue the "bad campaign against the Reservation and the CAIG", which had, as he put it, the negative consequence that no more money "for the Indians" was being contributed by the public. But these anthropologists showed no inclination to cease their revelations.

Thus, at the beginning of September 1972, Jesús Pereira was relieved of his functions. Obviously, public pressure has had its effects, perhaps because it touched the financial interests of the CAIG. It must also be remembered that while one of the main objectives of the CAIG had been positive publicity for those enterprises whose managing directors were members, quite the contrary was now the result. On the other hand, one must also understand that Jesús Pereira had fulfilled some major tasks: he had "solved" the Aché problem in a large area by deporting its inhabitants to the Reservation and had still prevented the population of the Reservation from becoming too large, and that now he was becoming superfluous or even prejudicial to the final goal of eliminating the problem as quickly and as quietly as possible. His authority

had not been sufficient to prevent the Indians from trying to run away or even to revolt; the presence of soldiers on the Reservation was a concrete and eloquent proof of his own inadequacy. In fact, he had suddenly to face the task of controlling more Indians than ever before and, moreover, it seemed that the new arrivals were relatively more united and more willing to defend themselves than the other bands had been. This was probably too much for a man as old as Jesús Pereira. One possible solution would have been the liquidation of the Indians by open violence; but this was now difficult, as public attention was now focused on the camp. So the dismissal of Jesús Pereira was one way out of urgent problems. It will perhaps also serve to calm the scandal, and thus avert public attention.

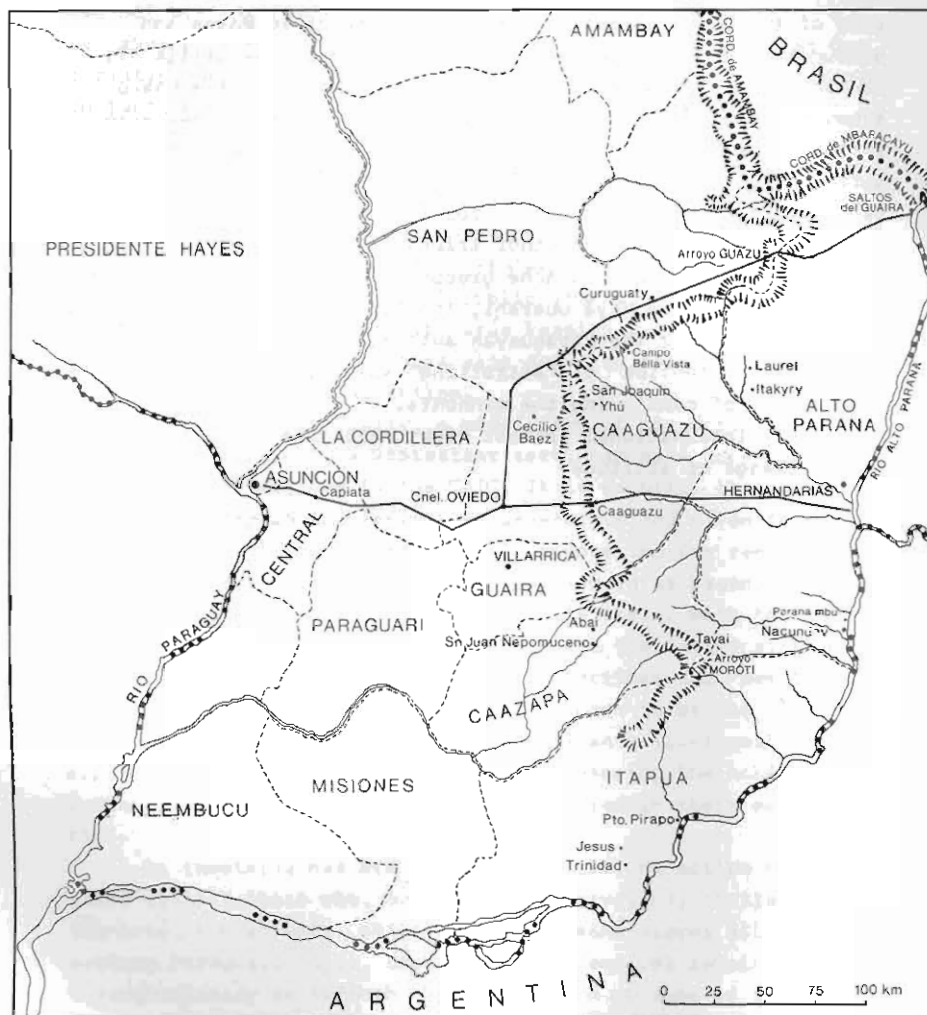
Some weeks previously, a missionary of the North American "New Tribes Mission", a Protestant sect, had been accepted on the Reservation as well as in the CAIG. It is doubtful that missionaries "who regard the Indians as degenerate and given to dealings with the devil," who "systematically oppose the few remaining tribal customs and ceremonies, which they regard as pagan," who "confuse the essential principles of Christianity... with the particular values of western culture, and teach the latter as though they were the former," as CHASE SARDI describes the "New Tribes Mission"⁹¹) - that these missionaries, known to be the most fanatical of those working among South American natives, will fulfill all the necessary requirements for guaranteeing the Aché a happy future. But at least they are not interested in their extermination.

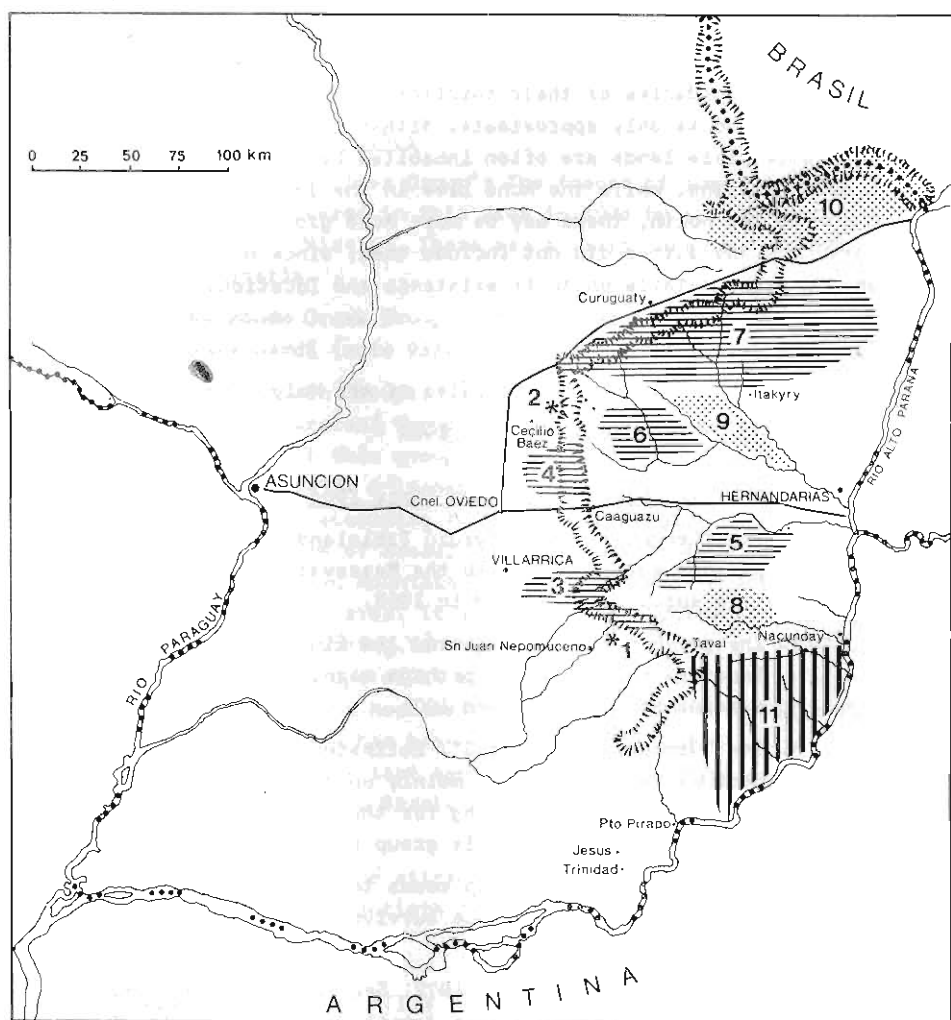
So something has been achieved. Still, no action has been taken against those who, outside the Reservation, continue to hunt the Aché like animals. Still, there are Aché slaves all over eastern Paraguay. Still, countless Aché families remain separated through slavery or through the deportation of some of them to the Reservation. Still, the Reservation is located on such ungenerous soil that one can foresee its bitter end. And still, on about 10 September 1972, an Aché family was found dead at approximately an eight hours' walk from the Reservation; apparently they had attempted to flee. Moreover, there is no real guarantee that Jesús Pereira will never return, or that none of his kind will take his place, as long as those who supported him and made possible his actions are still deciding the fate of the Reservation.

They may decide not only the fate of the Aché but also that of other Paraguayan Indians. When the Roman Catholic Church of Pa-

Paraguay showed its concern for the Aché, it also mentioned the case of the Moro Indians, citing a massacre of 10 Moros and denouncing the "real persecution" this tribe is the victim of. In fact, the situation of the perhaps 2500 Moros in the Chaco shows certain parallels to the Aché case. But one can see even further: the CAIG considers the policy which it, along with the Native Affairs Department applies to the Achés as "of experimental character" and as the basis for the elaboration of a "general plan to be applied to the other tribes."⁹²) Thus, the experience of concentrating the various Aché groups in one Reservation will be repeated on the Avá Mbyá Guarani, totaling at least 2200 persons. It seems also that the Paraguayan authorities have still not abandoned their intention of "attracting" more Achés to the Reservation: i.e., of continuing the manhunts.

Only international protest might make them continue in their recent change of attitude.





EASTERN PARAGUAY

The references to the Aché have been placed on this map by the author of the present work.

Note the chain of hills running from north to south: the traditional Aché stronghold. Note also the two new roads from Coronel Oviedo to the east and to the northeast, crossing the chain.

EXPLANATION OF MAP (p.65)

Because of the scarcity of detailed and serious information on the Aché, the boundaries of their territories shown on this map must be understood as only approximate. Within these boundaries, the more accessible lands are often inhabited by Paraguayans or Guaraní Indians, while the Aché live in the less accessible parts.

To the north, there may be more Aché groups than indicated here, but the author did not include them, since he does not have any concrete details on their existence and location.

The Aché Reservation

1. Camp Blessed Roque González of the Holy Cross, 1959-1968.
2. Guayakí National Colony, 1968 -

Aché Groups Which have Disappeared Since 1960

3. The "Group of the Yvytyruzú Tableland". At least 60 persons were deported to the Reservation in 1962. No free survivors remained in 1968.
4. The group north of Caaguazú. Its final remnants, at least some 20 persons, perhaps more, seem to have been exterminated in 1970 and 1971.
5. The "Group of Yacare-cuá". Estimated by Cadogan at 150 persons in 1959, living mainly on a state reserve. Detailed information is lacking for the period since 1959. Today, it seems that this group has disappeared.
6. Zone where an Aché group seems to have disappeared during the last five years. Some survivors may have withdrawn to zone 9.
7. Main Massacre Zone 1968-1972. See massacres Nos. 1-9 above, where more or less detailed information is given on the killing or enslavement of 44 Aché in this zone; it is certain that the total number is much higher. Moreover, some 152 Achés were displaced from this zone to the Reservation. Asunción newspapers speak of bands, each consisting of hundreds of persons, in this area. Chase Sardi estimated in 1971 that three different bands were living here: one of unknown size, one of around 80 persons, and one total-

ling perhaps 100 persons (note 93).

No Achés seem to remain in this area since the most recent manhunt, launched from the Reservation in April 1972.

Present Groups of Free Achés

8. The "Monday River Group". The traces of some 40 Achés were discovered in this area in 1970 by a FAO Forest Inventory Mission. There may be even more, but we have no details.
9. The Hondo Creek Group. Estimated at "at least 40" by Chase Sardi (note 93).
10. The Northern Groups:
The "Ywyrarovaná Group" in the western part of this area. 66 Achés of this group were displaced to the Reservation in April 1972. A larger group still remains here: some 80 or 100, according to the Native Affairs Director, who accuses them of assaults in the area (note 59).
The Mbaracayú Mountain Group in the eastern and northern part of this area. It seems that the Native Affairs Director was referring to them when he spoke, in July 1972, of "another group, of at least 400 Aché," who should be brought to the Reservation in the near future (note 59).
As their area has been greatly penetrated in recent years, it is possible that some or all of them have retired to the north, into Brazil or Amambay Mountains.
11. Zone of the Aché attracted by Mayntzhusen in the first half of the twentieth century. No free Aché remain here today.

ESTIMATES OF TOTAL POPULATION

We have no information on the number of Aché slaves living among Paraguayans, outside the Reservation. The estimates of the number of Achés still free in the forests are but approximate and completely unchecked. CHASE SARDI (1972: 193) estimates about 310 free Achés, but recent manhunts have proved that his figures are much too low. The Asunción newspaper abc-color (19 April 1972, p.30) calculates 990 persons for both the Reservation and the free Aché

together, based on data from the Native Affairs Department. Since the Reservation had some 277 inhabitants in April 1972, this would mean a total of around 700 free Aché. The number of Aché now on the Reservation, since the catastrophe of April-July 1972, is officially given as 202.

NOTES

- 1) These Indians call themselves Aché, but are often also called Guayaki, which is a contemptuous name from the Guaraní language, meaning most probably "rabid rats" (CLASTRES 1968: 52). In this paper, I have used the name Aché. In order not to confound the reader, I have used this name even in translated quotations where the original reads "Guayaki".
- 2) BALDUS 1972: 468
- 3) BALDUS 1972: 467; WEICKMANN 1928: 28, 144-49.
- 4) VELLARD 1933: 317, 316, 324.
- 5) I use the term "Whites" as it is often used in Paraguay: for the non-Indian inhabitants of the country. In fact, these "Whites" are often mestizos of rather dark skin colour, often darker than the Aché Indians, who are often called "white Indians", because of the relatively fair skin of many of them.
- 6) CLASTRES 1972: 233/34.
- 7) Patria, Asunción, 31.7.1957, section "Antena".
- 8) Quoted in CHASE SARDI 1972: 195.
- 9) MIRAGLIA 1961: 84; CHASE SARDI 1972: 195.
- 10) ALBOSPINO 1960: 6.
- 11) La Tribuna, Asunción, 12.2.1960.
- 12) BEJARANO 1960: 1-2; CHASE SARDI 1972: 195.
- 13) CADOGAN 1960: 26; CHASE SARDI 1972: 195.
- 14) CHASE SARDI 1965, 1972.
- 15) CLASTRES 1972: 72, 68.
- 16) See especially: BALDUS, 1972; CADOGAN 1968; CLASTRES 1972; MIRAGLIA 1961; SUSNIK 1960, 1961, 1962; VELLARD 1939.
- 17) CLASTRES 1968: 22.
- 18) Quoted in BALDUS 1972:475.
- 19) CADOGAN 1967: 272. See also BEJARANO 1965: 41.
- 20) Interview published in La Tribuna, 13.8.72. p.12, "El Trágico Problema del Guayaki".
- 21) BORGOGNON 1968: 360.
- 22) 16.12.1970, p.13; 17.12.1970, p.32; 14.3.1971, p.7.
- 23) One can assume that a raid in which Aché children are captured is always combined with a massacre, as the Aché usually resist the kidnapping of their children.
- 24) Extract from the personal notes Father Meliá put at my disposition. He also repeated this account in public; see the article in La Tribuna mentioned in note 20).
- 25) La Tribuna, 2.7.1972, p.13, "Todo Esto se Debe Nada más que a las Fábulas".
- 26) MELLÁ 1970, 1970a.
- 27) La Tribuna, 30.6.1972, p.5, "La CEP Estudia Informe Sobre Masacre de Indios"; abc color, 30.5.1972, p. 10, "Año de Reflexion Eclesial o del Pueblo de Dios' Preparan Obispos".
- 28) Interview mentioned in note 20).
- 29) This incident was mentioned briefly in the articles cited in note 27).
- 30) His declarations were witnessed and his wound photographed by Mr. David B. Griggs, Peace Corps Volunteer attached to the Inventory Section of the UN-FAO and Paraguayan Ministry of Agriculture Project on Forest and Forest Industries Development, on 3 September 1970, according to a letter written to me by Mr. Griggs.
- 31) CADOGAN 1968a: 141; La Tribuna, Asunción, 29.10.1963.
- 32) La Tribuna, Asunción 2.7.1972, p. 13, "Todo Esto se Debe Nada más que a las Fábulas".
- 33) La Tribuna, Asunción 2.7.1972, p.13, "Guayakies: su Situación, sus Problemas Actuales".

- 34) *ibid.*
- 35) As is well known in the San Juan Nepomuceno area. See also publications which confirm that Jesús Pereira had hunted and owned Aché servants: MIRAGLIA 1959: 103; CADOGAN 1962: 33; CLASTRES 1972: 73; MÜNDEL ms.
- 36) A detailed description of these events is in CADOGAN 1962: 33; see also MÜNDEL ms., which contains a detailed description of the founding of the Reservation from the mouth of an Aché.
- 37) Letter to the Director, La Tribuna, Asunción 28.8.72, p.10, "Sobre la Masacre de los Indios Guayakies".
- 38) CLASTRES 1972: 189, 78.
- 39) CHASE SARDI 1965.
- 40) MÜNDEL 1972.
- 41) The demographic indications are usually approximative. "Approximately 100": MANRIQUE CASTAÑEDA 1966: 65; "some 100": CLASTRES 1972; 110 (this figure obviously refers to the moment of highest population, i.e. 1962): "Problema indígena en la Región Oriental. Informe preparado por el Centro de Estudios Socio-Religiosos, V Subsecretariado de Acción Social y Asistencia, Conferencia Episcopal Paraguaya CEP 1965", based on figures presented by: "Consulta realizada al Ordinario de Villarica, Datos del Centro de Estudios Socio-Religiosos de la CEP, Informe del Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas del Ministerio de Defensa" (this document is included in CHASE SARDI ms.).
- 42) 60 is the number indicated by MANRIQUE CASTAÑEDA 1966: 65, for the "Yvytyruzú band"; the lower figure indicated by MIRAGLIA can be explained by the fact that this band arrived at the Reservation in two sections; MIRAGLIA gives the number of the first one. That the Reservation Indians, except those who arrived first, were captured, is not recognized officially. MIRAGLIA and SAGUIER NEGRETE are the only ones who have expressed it openly and to a large public. They were in contact with the captured group very shortly after their capture and were thus able to find out the truth, whereas later on the Indians were obliged to tell visitors that they came voluntarily; their pride also prevents them from admitting that they were captured. See MIRAGLIA 1969: 134; MIRAGLIA y SAGUIER NEGRETE 1969: 140. The Roman Catholic nun Sister Felisa Lorente, S.t.j., who visited the Reservation in 1968, also affirms that its inhabitants "are brought there by active force" and that some of them "flee away again to their tribe if they are left free to, preferring their wild life" (LLORENTE 1970: 232). CADOGAN, who, as a retired functionary, cannot speak out too openly, nevertheless analyzes an Aché song recorded on the Reservation and containing a complaint about the situation, and then questions the free will of those who came to the Reservation (CADOGAN 1971: 12/13). See also MÜNDEL ms., with the detailed description of a capture. Exact details on the history of the Reservation, including the captures, and an eyewitness account of a recent manhunt organized from the Reservation, are contained in MIRAGLIA 1972.
- 43) LLORENTE 1970: 232; this figure seems to be based on information from Jesús P., it seems to be official.
- 44) CLASTRES 1972: 347.
- 45) CADOGAN 1965.
- 46) Inspection Commission ordered by the President of the Republic, presided over by Mr. Peralta Arellano, Secretary

- General of the President's Office (La Tribuna, Asunción, 28.5.1968 and CHASE SARDI 1972: 199).
- 47) MELIA y MÜNZEL ms.
- 48) CADOGAN 1963. In 1959, immediately after the arrival of the first Aché band at Jesús Pereira's farm, a bank account in his name was opened at Villarica, supposed to be used for buying meat and clothes. Also in 1959, Jesus P. was donated a monthly sum for buying meat, which he still receives. According to information furnished by Mr. Milan Zeman, President of the present Guayaki Indian Commission, Jesús P. receives now GS. 10.000 monthly; according to information from the region of San Joaquín, where I stayed on the present Reservation in 1971 and 1972 the price of a donkey (which the Aché like very much to eat) is normally Gs. 500, - but people would sell one to Mr. Jesús P. at the price of Gs.350 -; thus at the higher price he could buy 20 donkeys a month, or at the lower price, some 28 donkeys a month. Also since 1959, the Reservation has received what corresponds to daily rations and sufficient clothes for 20 soldiers. Also in 1959, the Ministry of Defense, as well as the local bishop and Caritas del Paraguay began giving financial assistance. Caritas gave regular aid until 1963 (CHASE SARDI 1965; BORGOGNON 1968: 359, "aportes no continuados de Caritas del Paraguay").
- 49) BORGOGNON 1967: 10.
- 50) AREVOLO PARIS: La Tribuna, Asunción, 22.2.1971, "Microbios del Blanco Diezman a los Guayakies", including an interview with A.P.; TOMASINI 1969: 91.
- 51) I possess the tape with this song. I could furnish a translation, which could perhaps be checked by Mr. Pierre Clastres, French specialist on Aché ethnology, or by Mr. León Cadogan, Asunción, author of an Aché dictionary.
- 52) One of the witnesses who told me these facts was the other possible father, Kybwyrági (Angel Pereira), whose respectability as a witness in general can be confirmed by the members of the FAO Mission directed by engineer Ian Hutchinson. This Indian collaborated with the Mission in 1971 in identifying trees.
- 53) His existence can also be confirmed by members of the FAO Mission, by whom Kanégi was employed for several weeks as a machetero.
- 54) On the chiefdom of Jyukúgi, see CLASTRES 1972: 62-63, 102-106.
- 55) CADOGAN 1971: 12-13: "A people which, now that its miserable remnants have been obliged to 'integrate into civilized life', is deprived of.... what it considers its dearest possession, its own identity. ... What has happened on the human level merits the designation of tragedy." VIVANTE and GANCEDO 1968: 40. Msr. PECHILO in a memorandum presented to the Papal Nuncio in February 1971. MELIA in the interview cited in note 20), and in another interview in the Asunción newspaper La Tribuna, 2.7.1972, p.13, "Melía: Los Indios Están en Estado de Cautiverio", where he says that "the Aché colony is aware of its destruction. Their bows and arrows are being confiscated, and through the prostitution of their women the family has been torn to pieces."
- 56) CLASTRES 1972: 348.
- 57) See the newspaper article cited in note 20).
- 58) 16.12.1970, p.13.
- 59) La Tribuna, 15.7.1972, p.8, "Alimentación: Preocupación Fundamental para la CAIG".

- 60) CARITAS.1966: p.3. Cf. Marcos Pereira's description of a bloody encounter, in which he and others captured a forest Aché woman (abc color, Asunción, 5.12.1970, p. 28).
- 61) ICH 1970: 9: "and also the desire to utilize the camp as a center of attraction for the forest groups brought about the recent transfer of the survivors (of the Reservation) to a more northerly location. The authors are known to be very close to the Paraguayan Indian Affairs authorities. Also, by one of these authors: RIVERO 1970: 3, paragraph 13: "It is the purpose of the Paraguayan authorities to utilize the camp of Cerro Moroti to attract and confine those bands that are not yet controlled".
- 62) abc color, Asunción, 5.12. 1970, p. 28. Colonel Tristán Infanzón told me that they were transported on a truck. He stated that he himself was present when the truck arrived. The remainder is based on depositions from the mouths of Achés, which I recorded on tape. It is to these statements that CADOGAN refers in his letter mentioned in note 37): "I have heard several of the accounts recorded by him on tape. They are terrible accounts of human beings who have been hunted in a bestial way." See also a brief mention of this hunt in MIRAGLIA 1972: 67.
- 63) Official number: abc color, Asunción, 4.12.1970, 5.12.1970. But CHASE SARDI, based "on the latest reports from the Native Affairs Department of the Ministry of Defense, on data from its Director, Colonel Tristán Infanzón, from the medical doctor of the Indian Aid Commission, Dr. Rufino Arévalo Paris, from the Director of the Guajaki National Colony, Sergeant Manuel de Jesús Pereira, from the Guajaki Indians themselves living in that colony" (1972:193), adds that "others who had remained behind arrived subsequently." (p.199) In fact, according to a "Census of Forest Aché Aborigine Families arrived at the Guayaki National Colony of San Joaquin, 28 November 1970", which I obtained from the Native Affairs Department, and also according to an oral statement by the Director of this Department, the total number was 47. This number seems to be confirmed by other figures: comparing the number of 68 indicated above (note 43) for July 1968, with the number officially indicated for December 1970 (i.e. immediately after the arrival of the new group), there is an increase of at least 52 persons. For the official number of all the inhabitants of the Reservation in December 1970, see: abc color, Asunción, 5.12.1970, p. 28 ("more than 120 inhabitants"), and abc color, Asunción, 15.12.1970, p.30 ("some 126 Aché"). That there were not much more than 60 inhabitants on the Reservation before the newcomers arrived, is confirmed by RIVERO, who left the Reservation few days before: " a total of some 60 individuals ... (in) November 1970" (1970: 3, paragraph 12).
- 64) See the following newspaper articles: abc color, Asunción, 5.12. 1970, p. 29; 4.12.; 7.12.; 9.12.; 12.12.; 13.12.; 14.12.; 15.12.; 16.12.; 17.12.; 18.12.; 21.12. 1970; 3.1. 1971; 5.1.; 8.1.; 9.1.; 12.1.; 30.1. 1971.
- 65) For Dr. Arévalo Paris on the food problem, see the article mentioned in note 50). For the Director of the Native Affairs Department, see abc color, Asunción, 4.12.1970. I own photocopies of the memorandum and of the "acta" of this session.
- 66) See the "acta" and the memorandum mentioned in note 65); the "Acta no. 1" of the "Comisión de Ayuda al Indígena", Asunción 12.1. 1971; the articles in abc color mentioned

- in note 64).
- 67) See the "Acta No. 1" mentioned in note 66) and abc color, Asunción 9.12.1970; 12.1.1971; 27.2.1971; La Tribuna, Asunción, 5.3.1971.
- 68) For the official account, see: abc color, Asunción, 21.2.1971, p. 22; 8.3.1971. According to my own census, the Reservation had 106 inhabitants in November 1971, which means a reduction of some 20 persons or even more, compared with the official figures for December 1970 (note 63). Among those who had come to the Reservation at the end of 1970, most probably 47 or even more (note 63), only 26 now remained, according to my census; This, added to the fact that some children were born in the meantime, points towards the disappearance of over 20 persons. Asking the Reservation Indians for the names of those who had been buried on the Reservation since December 1970, I obtained an incomplete list of 18 names, almost all of them adults; I was told that a great number of children had died too, including newborn babies.
- 69) This account, which I recorded on tape, was given to me by Aché. I was told the names of three of the victims: Bechépegma, Tópúragmai, Chembetáragma. They said they had killed them by striking them with heavy Aché bows. This account is better explained in MÜNDEL 1972: 18.
- 70) Among them MIRAGLIA, 1972: 68.
- 71) La Tribuna, Asunción, 5.4. 1972.
- 72) 1972a. This is my main source, besides MIRAGLIA 1972, for the captures of April 1972.
- 73) For a photograph of the manhunter with his prey, see MIRAGLIA 1972: 70.
- 74) MIRAGLIA 1972: 71.
- 75) 10.5.1972.
- 76) 1972a.
- 77) MIRAGLIA 1972a.
- 78) The presence of "a group of soldiers" on the Reservation has been admitted by C. von Thuemen, one of the semi-official supporters of the Government Aché policy. See the article mentioned in note 33).
- 79) There had been 106 Aché on the Reservation in February 1972. The captures of March and April brought in some $80+66+25 = 171$ more, which makes a total of some 277 inhabitants in March-April 1972.
- 80) The number of 202 inhabitants on the Reservation was admitted by the Director of the Natives Affairs Department, Colonel Infanzón, on 28 August 1972, at a session of the "CAIG".
- 81) ICH 1970: 8, 3, 22. RIVERO 1970: 3,4.
- 82) Letter from ALFA-Publicidad to Asociación Indigenista del Paraguay, Asunción, 21.12.1970. I possess a photocopy of this letter.
- 83) "Comisión de Ayuda al Indígena". I possess a copy of this paper. La Tribuna, see also the article mentioned in note 33).
- 84) See the articles mentioned in notes 33) and 59).
- 85) 1972: 200.
- 86) I possess a photocopy of this paper.
- 87) See note 20); MELIA's interview quoted in note 55); CHASE SARDI 1972a; MIRAGLIA 1972a.
- 88) These deputies were Dr. Celauro and Dra. de Lara Castro, of the Radical Liberal Party.
- 89) See the articles mentioned in notes 33) and 59); and La Tribuna, Asunción, 4.6.1972, p.10; "Sobre el Problema del Indigenismo en el País".

- 91) CHASE SARDI 1972: 207. He refers especially to the missionaries among the Maká Indians. The present "New Tribes" missionary among the Maká, Mr. Coole, is now also a member of the CAIG and thus engaged in the Aché question.
- 92) According to the paper dated Asunción, August 1971, mentioned in note 84).
- 93) Interview with Chase Sardi, in: Justo MEZA: "Raza en Exterminio", Guía de Radio y TV, IX, 94: 18-19, Asunción, April 1971.

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