

Jean Pierre Chaumeil

BETWEEN ZOO AND SLAVERY:

The Yagua of Eastern Peru in their present situation



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Jean Pierre Chaumeil

Copenhagen July 1984

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Jean Pierre Chaumeil, the French anthropologist, has spent many years living with, and writing on, the Yagua people of Peru. His publications include Historia y migraciones yagua de finales del siglo XVII hasta nuestros dias. (1981), Voir, savior, pouvior: le chamanisme chez les Yagua du Nord-Est péruvien (1983). He has written several articles on Yagua in collaboration with J.Fraysse-Chaumeil. He is currently working on the evolution and change of South American shamanism at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris.

Author's Note

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Translated from the French by Sheila Aikman

Maps and diagrams by Jørgen Ulrich

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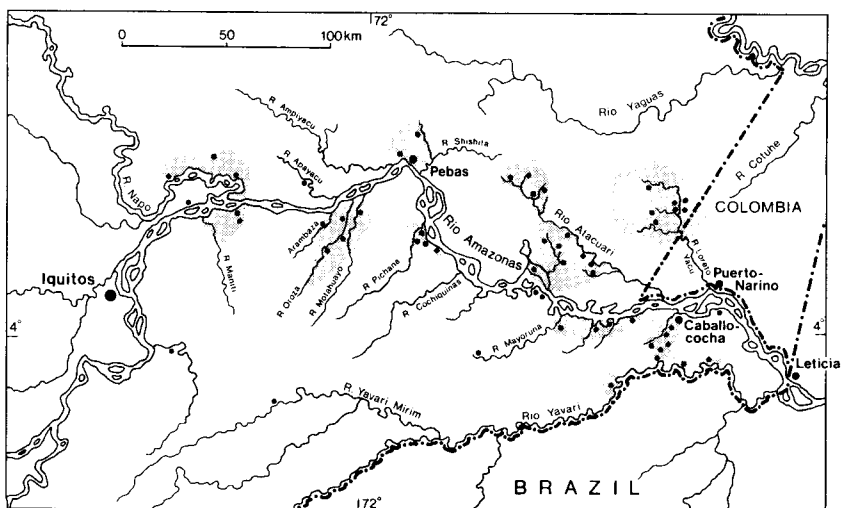
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MAP 1

Distribution of Yagua communities
in Peru (1971 - 1978)



BETWEEN ZOO AND SLAVERY: THE YAGUA OF EASTERN PERU IN THEIR PRESENT SITUATION

Chaumeil, J.P.

Introduction

The purpose of this document is to provide as complete a picture as possible of the current situation of the Yagua by integrating all the sets of constraints to which they are victims. After more than three centuries, and with particular intensity in the last decades, the Yagua are suffering the consequences of the white colonisation of their territory, three centuries of dependence and oppression and of submission to an invader who is striving to reject and destroy them. That presence, particularly felt at the time of the economic "boom" and the frontier wars, is becoming intensified today with the new politics of the "conquest of the Amazon" and the colonisation of frontiers (the concept of "living frontiers")¹⁾. In the face of the resurgence of violence and oppression, which is taking place today, and after the secular exploitation of men by work in lumbering, skin trade and rubber extraction, the systematic abduction of Yagua girls for the mestizo market and the deportation of groups living near tourist lodges, it has become urgent to present a document commenting on and analysing their present situation.

+ + + + +

The Yagua form a society of hunters and swidden agriculturalists totalling about 3300 people scattered through the heart of the humid Amazonian forests in the East of Peru. The Amazon represents the central axis of their territory which extends north to the Rio Putumayo (the frontier with Colombia) and south to the Rio Yavari (the frontier with Brazil), covering an area of approximately 70.000 km² (cf. map 1).

1) see Gasché, J., "La región del Bajo Amazonas y zonas fronterizas", Shupihui 20, 1981: 517-527.

The Yagua live in a dispersed habitat consisting of about sixty local groups whose numerical importance varies from 10 to 180 individuals¹⁾. From an ethnic point of view, the geographical area occupied is far from homogenous; it is populated by a mosaic of small societies belonging to diverse linguistic families and mestizos who constitute the numerical majority. The principal ethnic neighbours are to the east, the Ticuna; to the North West, groups of Huitoto speakers established half a century ago on the river Ampiyacu and its affluents as far as the Putumayo; to the West, the Orejón, belonging to the western Tucano family, and finally to the South, the Panoan-speaking Matsès. The Yagua maintained equally close relations with the groups of the Tupi language who, with the exception of some interbred Cocama families, have disappeared from the region or have become extinct. By the astonishing herding together of population which characterised the work of the Jesuits during the XVII-XVIIIth centuries, these groups established multifarious contacts between each other and were mutually influenced by numerous cultural traits.

People of distant Carib origins, the Yagua are considered today as the last representatives of the linguistic family Pebá-Yagua and speak, in spite of notable dialectal variants, the same language - their most important defining characteristic. The term Yagua by which they are known locally was very likely ascribed to them by the first Spaniards or perhaps, before, by members of the Tupi language group; in fact, the Yagua call themselves nihamwo: "the people".

The colonial history of the Yagua is a series of almost uninterrupted intrusions into their territory by unscrupulous people thirsty for wealth. Even if the Pebá-Yagua maintained some sporadic contacts with the Whites through the XVIIth century, their systematic evangelisation did not really start

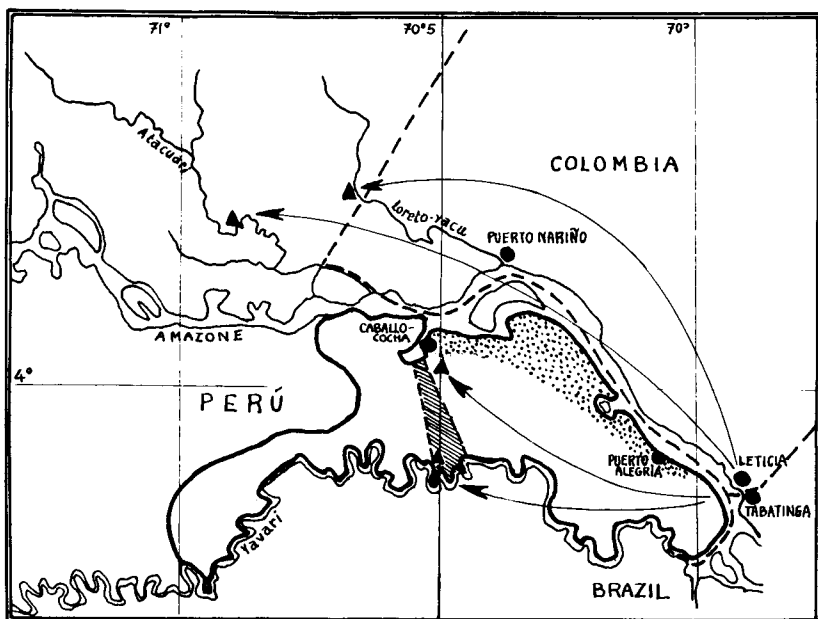
1) The appendix has a list of the 26 Yagua communities officially recognised by the Office of "Campesino and native Communities".







till the end of the century with the foundation of the first Jesuit missions on the middle Amazon. Up to 1768, the date of their expulsion, the Jesuits tried to "settle" the largest number of indigenous people possible by means of systematic work in the mission-villages. In the case of the Yagua, the attempts more or less failed. First illness, then conflict between groups and the irritability of certain missionaries induced the Peba-Yagua to flight, rebellion or assassination. The relatively ephemeral success of some missions is explained above all by the insecure climate of the times: the Portugese armies, warring against the Spanish crown, pillaged the missions and enslaved the population. Certain hounded groups found momentary refuge in the missions which had been spared and received general nurture and protection, then left once the danger had passed. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the mission Indians fell under the influence of the first colonists. Other missionaries strove to restore life to the old institutions but soon rubber fever broke out. Its extraction reached a peak between 1880-1914, the darkest period in the history of the peoples of Peru. The extraction of rubber and the "Indian hunts" multiplied over the whole of Yagua territory, obliging the latter to hide in the least accessible areas. Once the rubber fever died out the lumber industry and the trade of skins and furs prompted a prodigious flight. Under the hard hand of the colonists, the Yagua were forced again to emigrate to new territories. By 1950 it is estimated that only 10% of the Yagua had escaped the colonists control (Hartweg, R. and Flornoy, B., 1954: 151).

Today, the influence of western civilisation is felt more than ever. The process of acculturation that started many centuries ago is accelerating dangerously. The new government policy gives priority to its objective of the "conquest of the Amazon" with the establishment of private industries and the opening of an important route network. Multi-sectoral meetings are held to decide on a frontier policy

MAP 2

Part of the planned Microregional Delevopment
Yavari/Caballo-cocha (1982 - 1985)



-  Frontier development project
-  Tourist development project (Pto. Alegria/Caballo-cocha)
-  Colonisation project (Sta. Teresa nueva/Palo seco)
-  Colombian tourism in relation with Yagua communities
-  Yagua community
-  Mestizo town

and the shape to give to new micro-regional development projects. Thus, for the region that interests us, a vast new plan of colonisation will be launched during the years 1982-85¹⁾ and will touch all sectors of the regional economy (cf. map 2). Profoundly disoriented and subjected once again to extraneous history, will the Yagua know how to find the means to keep abreast of or adapt to new types of constraints? However, though the Yagua are threatened culturally, their population is increasing as attested by the effectual rise in numbers in several communities over a period of ten years. This is due in part to vaccination campaigns, but above all to the perceptible increase in births among the sedentary groups.

Thus, as a measure of understanding and analysing the present situation of the Yagua, and the mechanisms of dependence that it engenders, it is necessary to present an account of types of relationships that they maintain with the dominant society and the problems which these raise with respect to their socio-economic outlook and the maintenance of their own identity. This examination ought also to permit the evaluation of the viability of support programmes and their modes of application (derived as much from national bodies as international) intended to promote suitable aid for the Yagua communities of the Peruvian forests. On this subject, we must not forget the setbacks of numerous earlier attempts at micro-regional development where the Yagua themselves have suffered the cost.

1) Plan de desarrollo microrregional eje Yavari-Caballo-cocha.
Organismo Regional de Desarrollo de Loreto, Iquitos, Julio de 1981 49pp.

Economic contacts: the patron system

"The Yagua is the cheapest labour in Loreto"

This old saying on the lips of the mestizos on the banks of the Amazon, tells its own tale of the image of the Yagua and the relationship between the two societies. As was mentioned in the introduction, the patron figure ¹⁾ imposed itself upon the Yagua scene from the end of the XVIIIth century (after the expulsion of the Jesuits) by a game of simple substitution which consisted of replacing missionary authority by one nurtured by the legacy of the abandoned missions. Since then the colonists have not stopped strengthening and extending their power over the indigenous population in one part of the Amazon or another. Today, 80 to 90% of Yagua families are subject to the patron system, be it by unpaid debts (the most numerous cases) or by tacit accord (some Yagua have been able to turn antagonisms between rival colonists to their advantage, while others, less numerous, look again to the protective presence of the colonists as their ancestors not long ago turned to the missionaries). However, this debt is not only limited to the economic domain; more often it involves a dependence much more profound: ideological, even physical, as we will see later.

Without going into too many details, there are several types of patron. The smallest operate directly or through intermediaries working for diverse private or nationalised companies. Others, more powerful, are directly associated with big racketeers, themselves in the pay of multi-national

1) Term locally used to refer to colonists who exploit the majority of the indigenous labour in accordance with the system of "habilitación". This system consists of crediting each worker with a determined quantity of goods overpriced in relation to their current value which must be paid off later by their work, often leading to a lifelong exploitation in terms of fraudulent dealings on the part of the colonists. These days, this system is very strong; and forms the base of the forest economy in the east of Peru.



Patron, with his indigenous labourers in
the background (River Oroza, 1982)

firms. Few, in fact, work on their own behalf and the great majority between them form links in the long chain of "habilitados" and "sub-habilitados"¹⁾ (San Roman, J. 1975: 129, 166).

With the first type, which is the less frequent, the "contract" may be of a permanent nature where the patron has "his indians" gathered around his house or isolated in the headwaters of river tributaries which he controls. He considers them as his property and enjoys an absolute authority over them, utilizing the right to "rent" or sell them if need be to other colonists (see for example Flornoy, B., 1955: 50, 212). This is the oldest and harshest form of patronage. Two other forms of "contracts" are prevalent today; one where the patron visits his "people" in accordance with his needs (the regatón - itinerant tradesman - often practices this form of contract), the other where indigenous people offer their services to him for some months per year and for a particular job such as lumbering, clearance, or hunting, etc.

With the second type of patron the conditions of contract are fixed by the "big business" employers (public or private sector); the terms are left free for the intermediary patron to arrange on condition that the merchandise (rice, wood, jute, etc.) is delivered in the specified quantity and on time. The intermediary's work consists most often of buying the raw products from indigenous suppliers, at a big profit margin, and seeing to their storage and transportation to the warehouses in the towns.

Up till now, the Yagua have been most often involved in lumber work which has remained the most remunerative occupation over many years of regional activity. Excellent hunters, they were equally involved in the barbarous trade of skins and furs before it was severely regulated by legal means.

Today, independent of "debts" contracted with the colon-

1) Term used to refer to the paymasters or small bosses.

ists, the riverine Yagua engage more and more frequently in short term salaried work: seasonal gathering of rice on the beaches of the Amazon, production of jute for sale to the agrarian banks¹⁾, preparation and maintenance of pastures for livestock, plaiting of palms (roofing) and the production of construction posts. Furthermore, still masters in the manufacture of hammocks and nets for portage, the Yagua nowadays make them their principal object of exchange with the mestizos, who in turn supply the tourist centres.

Meanwhile, some years ago, the price of "shiringa" rubber (hevea) brought about a considerable rush on the international market, leading to the re-opening of old "shiringales" (rubber working areas). As mentioned above, the great era of rubber exploitation (1880-1914) was particularly deadly for the Yagua, victims among others of the extortions of the "Casa Arana" (Chaumeil, J.P., 1981: 63-71). After the era, the rubber was exploited sporadically with a new intensification from 1940 -50²⁾ and a third nowadays. In 1904, along the length of the river Yacarité where today we find the Yagua community of Pancho cocha, there were eleven rubber working areas totaling 136 "trails"³⁾ (Fuentes, H. 1908: 81-83). In 1948, there were twenty-two and in 1981, it is reckoned, there were forty-five, each comprising of two to three "trails", the majority in the hands of the mestizos, the others being exploited by the Yagua in the service of a patron in Caballo-

-
- 1) For example, the community of Pancho cocha on the river Yacarité sold eleven bales of second category jute (that is 534 kg. for the sum of 13.884 soles) to the Agrarian Bank of Caballo-cocha in 1978.
 - 2) "The creation of the Corporación Peruana del Amazonas, and above all the "rubber settlement" by the Rubber Reserve Company, an agency for the United States government, in 1942, gave new impetus to its exploitation, but, none-the-less, its production was poor" (San Roman, J., 1975: 171).
 - 3) Working area - the unit of exploitation comprises 100 to 150 rubber trees connected by a path "estrada" or "trail".



Working with rubber on the Atacuari river
(El Sol, 1981)

cocha according to the old system of "habilitación". The rubber would be sold to the Agrarian Bank of Caballo-cocha at between 1000 and 1500 soles a kilo (1982) and in this way its exploitation became more lucrative than that of wood. However, the massive implantation of "shiringeros" along the water-courses created new tensions with the Yagua who saw the boundaries of their communal territory violated and their land invaded (as in the case of Pancho cocha).

But the big economic "boom" of the last ten years is without doubt the spectacular development of the coca trade, "the white gold", which has daily witnessed the amassing of great fortunes as much in Iquitos¹⁾ as in the region of Leticia where it is estimated that 90% of the population is implicated to a greater or lesser extent in this type of business (Seiler-Baldinger, A., 1983: 29). According to official sources, the area of land given over to the cultivation of coca increased (for the region of Tingo Maria) from 1894 hectares in 1974 to 67.000 hectares in 1980 and the percentage of peasant producers from 14% to 80% for the same period (cited in Villanueva, C., 1980: 490). Some estimates indicate that more than 40% of the regional Amazon economy rests fundamentally on narcotic trafficking (Rumrill, R., 1982: 140). Caballo-cocha which knew the rubber fever at the beginning of the century, has become an active commercial centre for the "pasta"; some Yagua are occupied as "correo" (a guide and ferrier of drugs), putting to use their intimate knowledge of the forest which is now crisscrossed with clandestine routes in the direction of the frontiers with Colombia and Brazil. It is interesting to note in this respect that the Yagua formerly both cultivated and used coca (Castelnau, F.de, 1851, t. 5, p.19; Marcoy, P., 1869, t.2, p. 264; Powlison, P., 1977, p. 56) but they abandoned its cultivation more than half a

1) Read for example Rumrill, R. "La Amazonia Desnuda (1). Iquitos: entre el oro negro y el oro blanco", El Diario of the 26/7/82, Lima: 12 and 17.

century ago for reasons unknown today. By a curious turnabout of circumstances, and strongly encouraged by the patrons themselves recently converted into small traffickers, the Yagua are again trying to grow it in their slash-and-burn fields "to try it out, that's all"¹⁾. There can be no doubt that if the experience is conclusive, the patrons will be quick to establish their control over the indigenous production, in the name of unpaid debts or other reasons, equally improper.

So, as we are beginning to see, the system of patronage works essentially to the detriment of the indigenous societies; it has similarly spread to the very core of those societies with the appearance of indigenous "little patrons", a type of overseer in the pay of colonists, recruited from those bilingual individuals most disposed towards them and the most influential in their group. This definition of "little patron" or "patroncillo" fits well with that of indigenous leader (curaca), the group's intermediary and spokesman vis-a-vis the outside world. It is not surprising then to find a quasi-systematic correspondance between the two types of people (this is the case with, among others, Sarko of Loreto-yacu and Julian of Atacuari). This system is characterised by the complete handing over of the "habilitación"²⁾ to the "patroncillo" - and not to each worker - who ensures the redistribution by means of the society's internal criteria. This intermediary form of local patron is essential for the colonist since it offers him the security of a submissive labour force and a good market without having to interfere directly in indigenous affairs. In order to reinforce the permanence of his enterprise, the patron will establish (by means of the relationship "compadrazgo" or "comaternidad") fictitious ties of kinship with the patroncillo, ties extremely valuable for the Yagua and which perhaps can be seen to ---

1) see, however, the experiences on the river Napo cited in Rumrill, R., "Narcos enseñan a Indígenas como preparar la pasta básica", El Diario of 19/2/82, p.8.

2) Payment in the form of clothing, food and tools.

correspond as a western version of an old indigenous system of exchange ritual. The "compadrazgo" is of great interest because it not only ties two men together by a system of obligations, but also their descendents, permitting the patron to perpetuate his hold over several generations. To the material dependence ("habilitación", debts) it then adds a spiritual dependence (compadrazgo)¹⁾; both of these play a crucial role in a new form of exploitation which is the entry of young Yagua girls into the mestizo market.

The "muchacha" phenomenon

Up till now we have looked at the system of patronage; the interplay of economic transactions resting on the tapping of male labour (as seen with lumber, rubber, skins and daily or seasonal work). For reasons which we now ought to examine, the centre of interest has quickly changed from men to women in the last ten years. Up until 1975, the men left and the women stayed, today it is the reverse. Why? In the first place, the market for "muchachas" (servants) is in a crisis; one only has to consider the increasing number of notices saying "se necesita muchacha" (servant or help wanted) that one comes across in the windows of Limenian or provincial houses. If it is true that the great majority of girls employed as servants are of indigenous origin, then they come mostly from the Sierra to the coastal area where the demand is greatest. But now many highland girls are refusing to serve as domestics because they are engaged in small-time work as itinerants selling food or clothes. Besides, and this constitutes without doubt the determining factor, the demand is considerably increasing as a Peruvian middle class develops which is very greedy for the privileges of the well-to-do, and where the servant, in the same way as a car or a fridge, is

1) The Yagua submit to the system of patronage adopting their master's surname as a sign of appurtenance and changing it every time they change their patron. This is independent of the traditional onomastic system.

an overt sign of success. "Everybody wants a muchacha now", as people said in Caballo-Cocha, the modest main town of Ramón Castillo District, where the majority of the population have seen their incomes escalate thanks to coca trafficking.

The policy of educating the indigenous groups has contributed, for a large part, to the development of this phenomenon. Before education centres were established in the heart of communities, only a few bilingual Yagua worked in a permanent fashion within the system of patronage; less than 5% of women understood Spanish rendering their exploitation difficult¹⁾. Today, nearly three quarters of children of both sexes under 15 years of age are bilingual. In other respects, it is very often the mestizo teachers who are bringing about the recruitment of "muchachas" from within Yagua villages in order to help their women (in cooking and washing) and to look after their children. Others are encouraging certain of their pupils to go into the service of their relations in town and giving them access to the mestizo world in the name of "so-called" progress.

But there are also conjectural reasons for the growing recruitment of Yagua girls into mestizo service. The new market spirit which the public powers are trying to inject into the regional economy to make it more dynamic (commercialism on a big scale, opening of axes of communication, "integral" projects of development and colonisation of frontiers, political investment of foreign capital etc.) requires greater profit and continuous production from the colonists. Now, in this new climate of liberal economics, the Yagua don't serve their purpose any more: "They are no longer viable", say the colonists, "they work when they want and what's more,

1) "30% of the men and more or less 40% of the children are bilingual while only 5% of the women speak Spanish. Another 5% of the children speak only Spanish, perhaps due to the fact that 10% of marriages have been with people of other groups". (Ribeiro, D.; Wise, M.R., 1978, p. 191).

they don't pay their 'debts' so we take their daughters!"¹⁾. The recent refusal of Yagua to pay their "debts" owes much to the action of SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social) between the years 1972 and 1978. Nevertheless, in the patrons' records more than half the fathers of families are listed as "debtors", the debts sometimes mounting to several millions of soles! Where the patrons do not employ some judicial means of recouping such sums that are all absolutely illegal (see d'Ans, A.M., 1982: 220) they do not hesitate to use new compensatory methods instead: substituting the inability to earn with exploitation of the female work force.

According to R. Smith reporting on the Amuesha of the central Selva (1975, p. 44) the promise of a salary, however miserable (from 3000 to 5000 soles in the majority of cases at the beginning of 1982) has certainly been an additional factor in the departure of Yagua girls little accustomed till then to dealing with money.

In practice, the recruitment is very simple since the relationship of "compadrazgo" gives the godfather rights over his godchildren. Through a series of hollow promises (money, schooling, fine clothes, etc.) the godfather succeeds in cajoling the parents and persuading them it is a good thing to clear their "debts" all by assuring a so-called future for their daughters. In reality, it amounts to no more than the kidnapping and trafficking of women under the guise of "compadrazgo" to serve the interests of the bourgeois class. This situation is far from unique to the Yagua, it is common throughout the whole of Peru but varies in intensity according to the areas and the ethnic groups. In the majority of cases it is an outrage to human dignity and a flagrant violation of the rights of man.

1) It is possible that today we are witnessing a shift from patronal labour by the Yagua towards a labour force from the lowest strata of mestizo society which is better adapted to the competitive system.

YAGUA GIRLS WORKING AS SERVANTS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF PERU

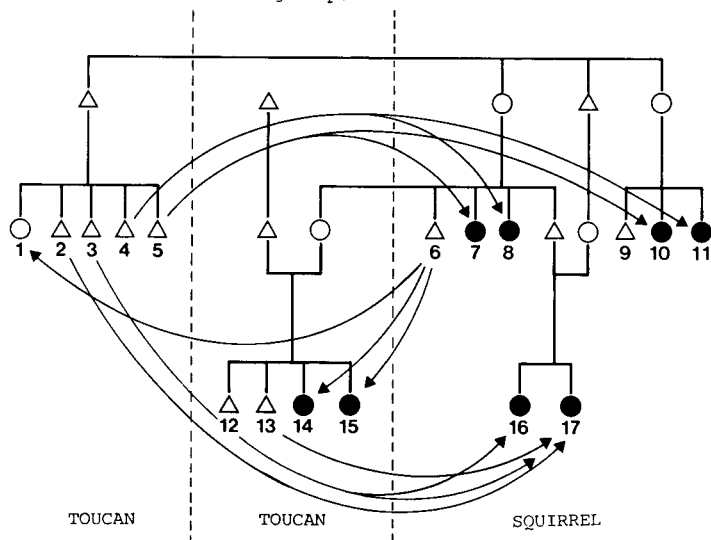
Family	No.	Name	Place of Work	Working since	Employer
<hr/>					
Prohaño					
Ríos	7	Yolanda	Iquitos	1971	? (1)
	10	Margarita	Nauta	1979	Charpentier family
	8	Berta	Iquitos	1979	G. Melendez
	11	Ema	Leticia	1974	?
	16	Bertilía	Lima	1978	Casa Noriega
<hr/>					
Babilonia					
Prohaño	14	Marta	Petropolis/ Iquitos	1975	Surmira family
	15	Yolanda	Caballo-cocha	1981	Malaberry family
<hr/>					
Gómez					
Noriega	1	Mercilia	Caballo-cocha	1981	J.Lopez family
<hr/>					

1) Note that certain father(s) do not know where their daughter(s) work.

Over and above the devaluated jobs that fall upon them (cooking, washing, looking after children), the great majority of Yagua muchachas are neither salaried nor schooled; they are most often kept in seclusion in the patron's house. They can be seen at Caballo-cocha, sitting impassively at the window, hiding themselves from the approach of passers-by then reappearing once they have gone. In the proximity of their new "adopted family" they learn to reject their origins and cut off ties with their community completely. With the appearance of a racist awareness in the minds of the young Yagua servants there is a new form of ethnocide beginning, more especially tragic as the Yagua woman has up till now been the least acculturated element of the society, the guardian along with the old people of the traditional skills of their group and the maintainers of the language.

In other respects, the successive departure of young Yagua women of marriagable age, which has reached dramatic proportions in certain communities, brings us back again to the question of the very existence of Yagua society in view of the spectacular rise in celibacy (see the example of the Amuesha cited in Smith, R., 1975, p. 47). Take the fairly representative case of the community of Eden de la frontera, on the river Marichín which consisted of 86 inhabitants in 1981. As the table below illustrates, eight girls (aged from 15 to 28 years) in fact worked as servants in different towns in Peru and Colombia (Leticia) with successive departures over ten years (1971-1981).

The number of celibate men is actually eight, a figure which corresponds exactly to that of their female partners. If we take into account the clan divisions¹⁾ (see diagram below), we have two celibate men of the squirrel clan for three girls of the toucan clan and six men of the toucan clan for five girls of the squirrel clan (Alva has just recently married outside of the group).



By virtue of the preferential rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, we have here two groups of couples who could theoretically practice the ideal alliance (see the table on the following page). Such unions could take place as there has been a tendency to repeat alliances between the same two clans over several generations.

1) The Yagua society is organised into partilineal, exogamous clans (*riria*) associated with names of animals or plants. We have revived the names of 15 among them. They were once strongly localised but today are found dispersed throughout the territory.

Potential alliances which have not materialised between the two clans (Eden de la Frontera)

No.	Name	Age	Clan
13	Leonardo Babilonia Prohano	19	toucan
12	Jorge Babilonia Prohano	20	toucan
3	Pedro Gómez Noriega	15	toucan
2	Augusto Gómez Noriega	19	toucan
5	Jovencio Gómez Noriega	21	toucan
4	Makario Gómez Noriega	22	toucan
9	Benito Prohano Ríos	18	squirrel
6	Cesar Prohano Ríos	22	squirrel
1	Mercilia Gómez Noriega 1)	20	toucan
14	Marta Babilonia Prohano	18	toucan
15	Yolanda Babilonia Prohano	17	toucan
7	Yolanda Prohano Ríos	27	squirrel
10	Margarita Prohano Ríos	24	squirrel
8	Berta Prohano Ríos	21	squirrel
11	Ema Prohano Ríos	28	squirrel
16	Bertilía Prohano Ríos	19	squirrel
17	Alva Prohano Ríos 2)	15	squirrel

- 1) going to have a child whose father is presumed to be Cesar Prohano Ríos (no.6) who is in fact doing military service in Iquitos.
- 2) has just married recently with a mestizo from the village of Marichín (situated at the mouth of the river of the same name).



Sample of the post cards on the Yagua

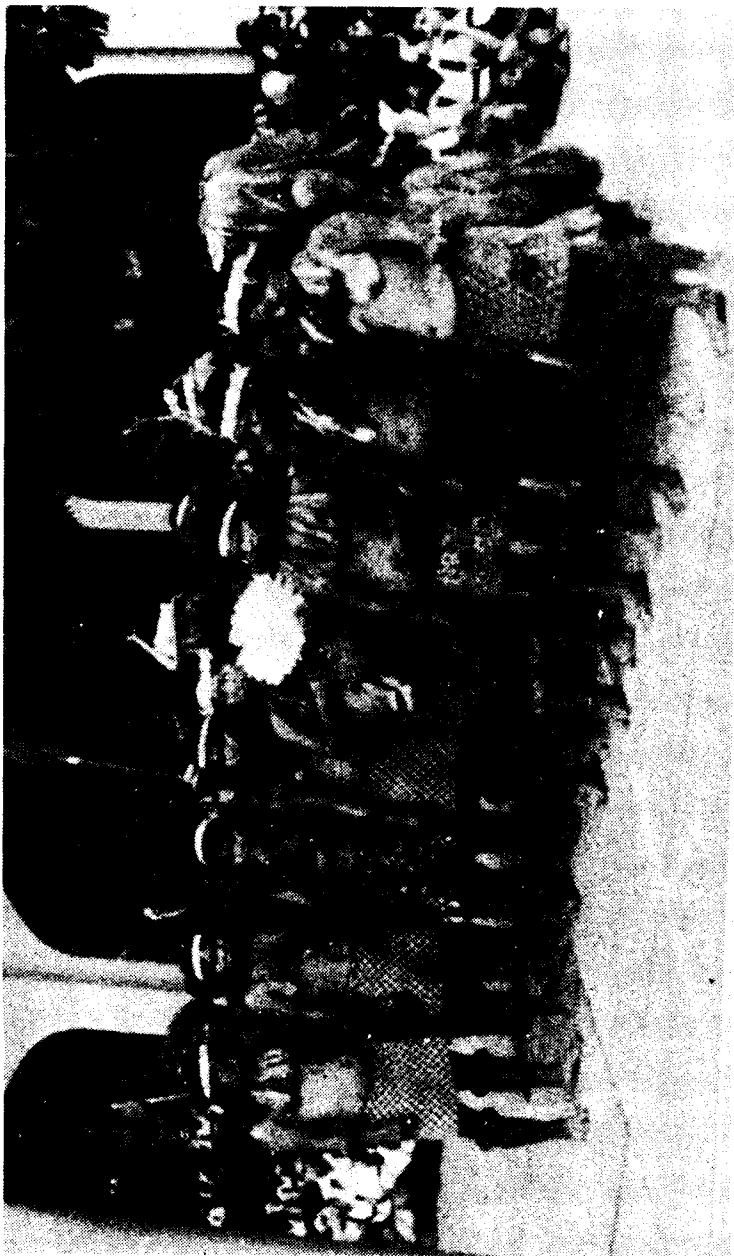
However, for want of the female partner, none of these alliances have actually taken place in the present generation.

This situation can be found in several Yagua communities though with differing acuteness. If the demand continues (and nothing for the moment suggests anything to the contrary), a certain number of Yagua communities will no longer be in a position to reproduce biologically. At the moment, the rise in the number of celibate males is having dramatic repercussions in a society based on the family unit as the smallest socio-economic group where celibacy is incompatible with an economy based on the sexual division of labour and complementarity of work. We don't need statistics to realise that young Yagua men are enrolling in the army in greater numbers than ever before. The idleness of those who remain surely predisposes them to be already potential victims of new patronage? But another scourge threatens the Yagua with an intensity completely new in recent years: tourism.

The Zoo "In the last two decades some native groups have been confronted with a new form of penetration by the dominant groups: tourism, with a zeal for looking for new forms of wealth and delighting in the exotic, the tourist companies are responsible for moving native groups to their lodges with the object of showing or exhibiting their way of life, though it be deformed and manipulated, to draw in a big clientele. This produces a loss of identity and autonomy for the natives and leads to an acceleration in their acculturation". (Baca, A., 1981, p.1).

Unknown to the greater public up to the last two decades, the Yagua appear today on all the tourist brochures as one of the principal regional curiosities (see the illustration on p.29). Numerous postcards are devoted to them and show them in the most untypical positions (photo opp. page). The tourist lodges display bad copies of their artesian work but which are nevertheless bought by the many thousands of tourists¹⁾ who

1) Tourism is also developing in the interior, originating particularly from the coast. According to the statistics from the tourist records, in 1980, 59% of the gross flow of national tourism was to Iquitos (cited in Baca, A., 1981:28).



Exhibition of a group of Yagua in Iquitos in
June 1980 (CETA archives, Iquitos)

each year visit the "famous hunters of the blow-pipe" in their traditional habitat, although actually displaced by several hundreds of kilometres. To the sound of pipes and tambourines the Yagua exhibit themselves for a few dollars in the ceremonial dress that they quickly weave together. Unfortunately, this spectacle is not new: before, in 1947, the Yagua of Pervas were taken by their patron to Iquitos to be paraded at the agricultural show (Szyszlo, V., de, 1950:26). This type of exhibition is still perpetuated today as photo (opp.page) proves.

Of all the ethnic groups in the Peruvian lowlands, (an estimated population of around 220.000 people - cf. Uriate, L., 1976: 11 ff.), the Yagua are the most affected by tourism. The six tourist enterprises active in the Iquitos district in 1981 (cf. table below and map 3) all maintain relations with Yagua groups through a verbal work agreement based most often on relationships of "compadrazgo" (Baca, A., 1981: 25-27). According to Baca (op. cit. p. 10), 900 indigenous people worked with these enterprises in 1981 and a little less than half of them, some 414 (80 families) were Yagua. The current Yagua population is calculated at around 3,300 people, that is to say nearly 15% of Yagua depend entirely on tourism for their livelihood. If one includes the 80-90% of families subjected to the patron system, we have to submit to the cruel evidence that today less than 5% of the Yagua are free of all economic dependence.

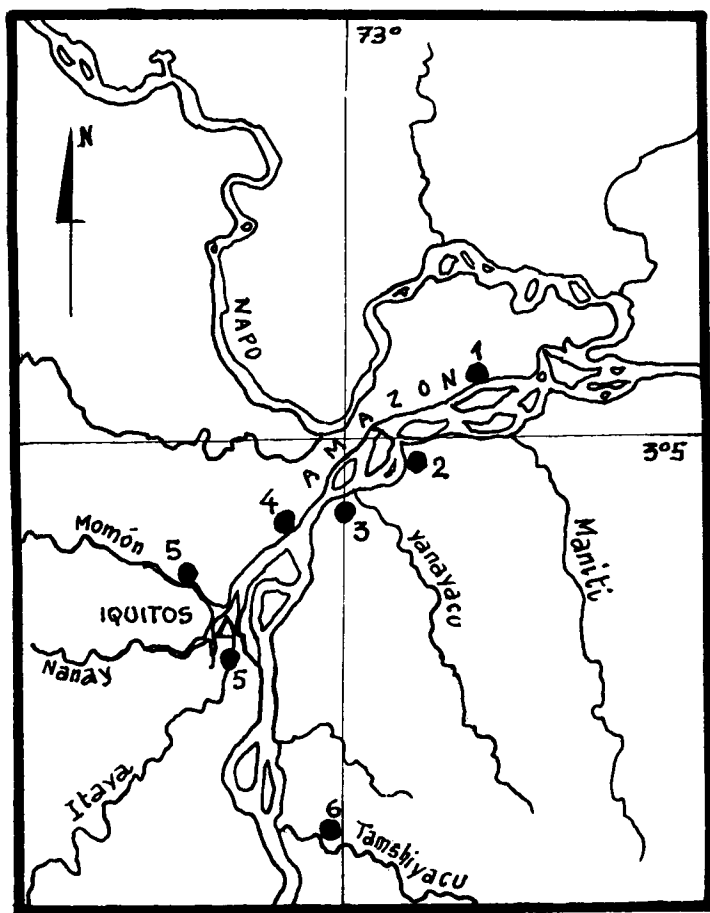
On the colombian side of the border, our data on tourism is exiguous. However, it can't be ignored that many Letician agencies organise trips into Peruvian territory, on the Loreto-yacu (San José), the Atacuari (El Sol) and the Yavari (Pobre Alegre) for example. Several Yagua families from Loreto-yacu have even been transplanted in the environs of Leticia (Seiler-Baldinger, A., 1980: 247: "In the late sixties, 7 Yagua families from the upper Loreto-yacu were 'hired' to establish themselves near Leticia, where they could, and still can, be easily visited by hurried tourists, like animals in a zoo").

TOURIST ENTERPRISES	REGION	DATE	INDIGENOUS GROUPS DEPENDENTS	AREA OF ORIGIN	REMUNERATION	SERVICES
EXPLORAMA LODGE	Yanamono River	1966	YAGUA from "Las meras" (about 120 people)	Yanamono River	18,000-20,000 soles monthly per family 1)	medical attention transport facilities.
JUNGLE AMAZON INN S. A.	Amazon	1978	YAGUA from "Catalán" and "Santa Rosa" (about 30 people)	Vainilla and Orosa Rivers	400 soles for each man's performance, 300/woman, 100/child	occasional transport.
AMAZON LODGE SAFARIS	Yanayacu River	1964	YAGUA from "Catalán" and "Santa Rosa" (about 55 people)	as above	18,000-20,000 soles monthly per family	sanitary aid transport facilities.
			YAGUA from "Urco Mirano" (around 140 people)	Napo River	4,000 soles per community performance	
PASEOS AMAZONICOS AMBASSADOR S. A.	Sinchicuy River	1975	YAGUA from "Basilio" (about 25 people)	Basilio River	6,000 soles monthly for the chief, 3,000/adults, 1,500/children	insufficient food aid (fish, rice, beans...).
			JIVARO (about 10 people)			
AMAZON CAMP TOURIST SERVICE S.R.LTDA.	Manón and Itaya Rivers	1969-1978	YAGUA (about 40 p.)	Rivers Cochinas & Maniti	13,500-15,000 soles monthly per family	
			BORA from "San Andres" (about 60 p.)	Ampiyacu River		
			BORA from "Brillo Nuevo" (about 220 p.)	ibid.		
			HUITOTO from "Pucaurillo" (about 200 p.)	ibid.		
TAMSHIYACU LODGE S.A.	Tamshiya-cu River	1980	YAGUA from "Catalán" and "Santa Rosa" (about 10 people)	Vainilla and Orosa Rivers	13,500-15,000 soles monthly per family	promises of medical aid and transport facilities.

1) The minimum living wage was 34,000 soles per month for the region in 1981.

After A. Baca. 1981

Map 3



Distribution of tourist enterprises around Iquitos. (after A. Baca, ORDELORETO 1981)

- 1) Explorama Lodge
- 2) Jungle Amazon Inn
- 3) Amazon Lodge
- 4) Paseos Amazónicos Ambassador
- 5) Amazon Camp
- 6) Tamshiyacu Lodge

The spectacular development of tourism among the Yagua is explained by a combination of several factors: firstly by their exotic dress consisting of skirts of palm fibre and the maintenance of certain practices such as hunting with blow-pipes and the making of curare¹⁾, by their relative demographic importance compared with that of their neighbours, by the extreme ease of access to their communities (half of the Yagua live near the banks of the Amazon; (cf. appendix "distribution of the population") and finally by secular exploitation and their role as victims of the colonists who sometimes act as intermediaries between them and the tourist agency administrators.

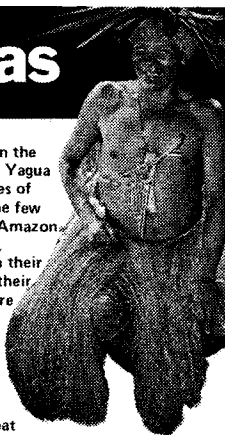
Of the six agencies operating in Iquitos (see page 26), four of them have started transplanting Yagua directly into their lodges while of the remaining two, one has lands adjoining those of a community (Yanomamo) and the other has set up camp in the centre of the same village (Urco mirañó). The transplantations have all been extremely infuriating for the indigenous people as A. Baca has shown (1981: 18): "The tourist enterprises moved the natives to areas on the tourist circuit without ensuring the necessary means of subsistence, such as agriculture, fishing, hunting, thus limiting the possibilities of being self-sufficient and consequently creating a badly balanced diet and forming a reliance on elaborated foodstuffs". Moreover, these displacements put titled groups in imminent danger because they run the risk of having their land titles dissolved for abandoning their territory, which would in this respect suit the politics of the present government perfectly (cf. pp.52/3).

In the absence of a properly legalised contract, relations between the agency managers/indigenous peoples are sanctioned by verbal work agreements (in the name of community,

1) curare is a resinous bitter substance from the plant of the genus Strychnos which paralyses the nervous system and which is used for hunting.

The Yaguas

EXPLORAMA LODGE is located in the middle of the only long-established Yagua Indian community within fifty miles of Iquitos. These Yaguas are one of the few remaining primitive peoples in the Amazon River Basin in their natural habitat, accessible to tourists. Yagua men in their full skirts of shredded palm fiber, their faces painted red with "achiote," are as colorful and photogenic as their women in brief red skirts and short fiber collars. They still use blowguns with poisoned darts for hunting their daily food. Their favorite recreation is dancing at fiestas at which they consume a great quantity of their fermented drink, masato. Their simple way of life has helped them to resist many of the changes that are affecting so many disappearing cultures of the Amazon Basin. Their "Cocamera," an ovaloid thatched common-house, fiestas, rich in legend, is used for their occasional



Publicity brochure (1981)

its chief or an intermediary patron) providing a minimal remuneration according to the number of "folkloric performances" (cf. table p.26). The monthly average of this payment was calculated at 18,000 soles in 1981, the equivalent of half the minimum living wage for the region. In addition, the frequent delays in repayment regularly give rise to protests from the indigenous people who are gradually abandoning their practice of agriculture and hunting for an entire dependance on tourism (the period when tourists are most numerous corresponds precisely with the time for clearing and burning).

We can see that in the field the Yagua are subject to terrible abuse from tourists¹⁾ and permanent blackmail from their employers:

"After breakfast, you will visit a nearby Yagua Village. The Yaguas are proficient hunters with blow-guns and a sharp-shooting demonstration can be easily arranged - and photographed - with cigarettes or trinkets as prizes. A strict no tipping rule is enforced."
Explorama Lodge: publicity brochure.

"I have seen how, in a tourist centre on the river Manatí, the "employers of the Yagua Indians make them exhibit themselves half-naked and let tourists offer the children cigarettes, alcohol, money etc.- human degradation in return for "cash".
 (Rumrill, R., 1973:83)

To use the expression of a tourist promoter in Iquitos: "The Yagua sell themselves well", and there is not any a pri-ori reason for this to cease more especially as the region Caballo-cocha/Puerto Alegria (cf. map 2) - least touched up to the present by Peruvian tourism - is becoming the focus of an intensive tourist development (see Plan of micro-regional development Yavari/Caballo-cocha, 1981). If one

1) cf. for example A. Seiler-Baldinger (1980: 247): "I happened to watch an amateur 8mm movie made by such a tourist in 1976; it showed a group of Yagua Indians from the middle course of the Atacuari river getting very drunk on sugarcane spirit offered to them by the tourists. In 1976, I visited these Indians.... They begged us for cigarettes, candy and alcohol".

has good reasons for being anxious about the socio-economic and cultural future of the Yagua with regard to the fundamental importance of tourism in the Peruvian economy, one is the more so after reading article XIII of the Treaty of Amazon Co-operation: "The contracted parties will co-operate to increase the trends of tourism, whether national or from other countries, in their respective parts of the Amazon without affecting the national will to protect the indigenous cultures and the natural resources" (cited in Medina, M.E. and Rumrill, R., 1981: 72). As we know, the policy of conquest by the Belaunde government no longer assures protection for indigenous cultures; so the development of tourism can do its worst....

Political contacts: the curacazgo system

The system of curacazgo (leadership) as it appears today, is, as we have said, intimately associated with the system of patronage. We have similarly shown that the alliance patron/curaca is generally sealed by ties of ritual kinship or "compadrazgo". We must note, nevertheless, that the curaca or current Yagua chief does not correspond necessarily with the figure of traditional chief¹⁾. In effect, after nearly two centuries, the political world of the Yagua is profoundly disturbed by the presence of colonists who do not hesitate to dismiss recalcitrant traditional chiefs and appoint someone better suited to their needs (on this subject see d'Ans, A.M., 1982: 199-200). In this way, individuals

1) It is interesting to see that there is not actually an indigenous term to qualify the personage: curaca comes from the Quechua. The expression hānujū watroōnti, "he-who-has-two-wives", by which a chief is sometimes referred, is not very significant to the extent that the practice of polygyny is fairly widespread among the Yagua. The only native term with connotations of a political hierarchy is rorehamwo, "master-of-the-maloca", that is to say, chief of a lineage or lineage segment, but the term has fallen into disuse today with the abandonment of the big communal house and splitting up of residential units.

find themselves "chief" one day, without any legitimacy (the status passes patrilineally among the Yagua, following the ideal line father/younger son). However, whether the curaca has the benefit of traditional legitimisation or not, his functions have barely changed¹⁾. At the central point of the group, his role is to assure that peace is maintained; a mediator between men, he has the role of arbitrator and pacifier. At a supralocal level, he is the principal representative of his group with neighbouring societies and makes most economic transactions with the outside: it is not surprising then, that he is the privileged target of patronage. However, we should mention that the presence of the patron does not basically alter the mechanisms of traditional chiefdom. The figure of the "patroncillo" is not at all contradictory to that of curaca; on the contrary, there are certain analogies between them: the "patroncillo" maintains his position by redistributing the goods forwarded by the patron, the curaca secures his prestige by his generosity and the ways with which he puts his goods at the disposal of everyone. Nevertheless, the big difference in this system comes in the change of orientation of the poles of interest, at present directed towards the patron and no longer towards the group. It sometimes happens that the "patroncillos" try to take advantage of their situation by hoarding the merchandise they receive in "habilitación" or demanding a surcharge from the receivers. The danger of "playing at patron" is a permanent threat to the curaca and his group. Without doubt, it is necessary to reduce the causes of the state of crises which characterise the Yagua society rather than the system of patronage stricto sensu.

1) The present curaca corresponds entirely with the indian figure of chief that P.Clastres has outlined in his works (1974:25-42, 161-186; 1980:103-109). However, it is necessary to emphasise that the Yagua have in the past certainly known a socio-political organisation much more complex than it is today, with what appears to have been the existence of "classes" and a form of tribal government.

Corresponding with the creation of Native Communities (Comunidades Nativas) under the impetus of the old government of General Velasco, a new politico-administrative structure has superimposed itself on the curazgo system. This new structure saw the light of day thanks to SINAMOS, now dissolved¹⁾. Modelled on mestizo villages, each Native Community is obliged to form its own organisation composed of a theoretically elected president (but more often appointed) holding the greatest civil authority, a secretary to keep records, a treasurer and a "spokesman". The president, who doesn't generally correspond with the old "curaca", is then the official, and no longer traditional representative of his community when facing Peruvian political institutions. This new organisation, supposed to be a substitute for traditional authority, has created numerous internal conflicts: on one side the curaca, faithful to the old system and trying to maintain the status quo and traditional values - on the other the president, more progressive in the defence of indigenous rights, advocating the change towards new forms of self organisation and the systematic opposition to patronage. The community of San José de Loreto-yacu provides a typical example of the dichotomy of traditional and progressive power and the internal struggles they engender.

If today the politico-administrative organisation of the Native Communities remains, it has no contact with reality. The curazgo system is rising up again as the last vestiges of SINAMOS policy fades away. Stimulated by the forceful return of patronage, the Yagua will again prefer their old political structure, without further prolonging the constraints of a model of organisation alien to their culture.

1) -----
A state organisation (1972-1978) whose objective lay in "consciousness-raising and native self-organisation. This system of help, the symbol of the Peruvian revolution, is largely diffused throughout the country. It remains the principal political organisation with which the Yagua have had contact (cf. Primera Convención Nativa de Cushillococha: Yaguas y Ticunas - 8/10 agosto de 1975. Iquitos: ORAMS V., 18pp.).

In November, 1978, CAAAP (Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica)¹⁾ tried in vain to renew the dialogue with the old indigenous leaders following on from SINAMOS by organising a pluri-ethnic meeting in Iquitos (seven indigenous groups were represented, the Yagua among them) concerning the defence and organisation of tribal minorities. This attempt will not see the success of its objectives because of the restructuring of the organising executive leading to the project being abandoned. Nevertheless, CAAAP was able to finance the building of two "native hearths" (a type of travellers lodging for the use of indigenous people) at Iquitos and Pevás. The idea was to offer accommodation to the numerous indigenous families who come to the capital of Loreto each year to sell their produce (the house at Pevás served, above all, as a relay post between the frontier of Colombia and Iquitos) and to open a craft centre where those interested could come and sell their merchandise to each other. After an ephemeral success, the native house was used less and less frequently by the indigenous people and given over to the curiosity of tourists. Unlike a great number of other ethnic groups, the Yagua have not actually used these places²⁾. The diverse occasions when the Yagua have been forced to appear in public places have not given them the chance to express their ethnic identity as they have been exhibited as curiosities of mankind (*cf.* above p. 18). Without any doubt, the presence of patronage throughout the last two centuries

- 1) Non-governmental Peruvian organisation under the auspices of the Catholic church involved in the defence and promotion of Amazon minorities. We have come to learn through a leak in the press by the paper *El Diario* of 15/8/83 that the Iquitos branch of CAAAP has been the object of a search to confiscate written material "of a subversive character". This was in fact about publications and reports which referred to the problem of the Amazon.
- 2) Which is no more the case today. Thanks to the dynamism of local support, it seems that activities have resumed with the "native hearth" of Iquitos.

and the cycle of dependence it has created represents the greatest obstacle to a political awakening and the affirmation of an "ethnic conscience" among the Yagua.

The Programme of Help for Native Communities¹⁾ in which we participated with the research, puts into practice solutions which enable the indigenous peoples of the area to find a "path to development" in accordance with their aspirations and culture. In spite of the impact of new projects such as these, the return to a liberal policy put forward by the present government advocating the intensive exploitation of natural resources and the multiplication of plans of colonisation will have drastic repercussions on the political panorama of the Amazon and on that of its indigenous people in particular.

Cultural Contacts: The mission and the school

Despite three centuries of colonial history with strong missionary presence, the Yagua have never been "reduced" or converted to Christianity. The ephemeral success of some missions (cf. table p.36) by no means signifies their hold to a Christian faith but reveals rather, one of a number of strategies the Yagua used to protect themselves from the many attacks against them (Lusitanian persecutions, "correries" or indian hunts, etc.). The permanence and extraordinary vitality of the system of indigenous values today shows clearly on the ideological plane the feeble impact of the numerous attempts at evangelization of the Yagua.

We will not discuss here the diverse methods used by the missionaries to convert the Indians or the ideology that they

1) Multi-disciplinary programme created in 1980 by the Development Organisation of Loreto (ORDELORETO) in co-ordination with the Technical Co-operation of the Swiss Government (COTESU). Because of the extreme dispersal of the local Yagua groups, only eight communities (Edén de la frontera, Nueve de Octubre, Paiche cano, San José, Santa Clara, Panchoco cocha, El Sol and Gallinazo) have been included in the outline of the project.

DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN CONTACT
WITH THE YAGUA SINCE THE CONQUEST

ORDERS	PERIOD OF ACTIVITY	YAGUA MISSIONS	IN CONTACT WITH THE YAGUA
Jesuit Miss- ions	1686-1768	San José (1704) Asunción de Pevas (1728) San Ignacio de Loyola de Pevas y Caumares 1 (1734-35) - Nuestra Señora de las Nieves (1734-36) San Ignacio de Loyola de Pevas y Caumares 2 (1736-69) San Ignacio de Pevas (1776)	
Franciscan Missions (Ocopa)	1802-1866	La Concepción de Pevas (1842-66) San José de los Yaguas (1843-66) Santa Maria de los Ya- guas (1843-50?)	
Augustian Missions (Spanish)	1902-1916	La Purisima Concepción de Pevas (1902-16) Jerico (1910-12)	
Franciscan Missions (Canadian)	1945-		Missions of Yanashi, Pevas, San Pablo and Caballo-cocha
Protestant Missions	1930-		Pichana, Pevas, etc.
Summer Inst- itute of Ling- uistics (S.I.L.)	1945-		Based at Yarinacocha, Cajocuma (1972-74), Catalán, etc.

employed in their project of civilizing because they are processes that have been well analysed elsewhere (read for example Reichel-Dolmatoff, G., 1972: 339-355; Jacopin, P.Y., 1972: 193-204; Toro, I.B., 1972: 21-37; Varese, S., 1972: 57-73). We should recall that only in the light of the lack of any notorious spiritual impact, the influence of the missionaries profoundly disturbed the material and social existence of the Yagua. The Jesuits were, in effect amongst the first to introduce metal implements to the Yagua - which gradually supplanted their traditional tools - and their acquisition by the indigenous peoples gave rise to a number of conflicts as Father Samuel Fritz recalls "...in their retreats they kill and destroy one another for the iron goods that they have received of me" (Edmunson, G., 1922: 100). Similarly, for decency's sake the missionaries imposed the wearing of western dress to the detriment of the bark loin-cloth which is the traditional Yagua dress. Likewise, they forbade the practise of polygyny as contrary to the norms of Judo-Christian ethics. Moreover, everything that did not conform to that morality was systematically opposed. Thus, on the grounds of promiscuity, the missionaries forced the Yagua to abandon their large collective houses where the communal life was based upon exchange and reciprocity, for individual houses on stilts. It seems useless to prolong the list of such acts that the missionaries perpetrated during their ministry among the Yagua.

However, after many centuries of political ethnocide it is necessary to outline the missionaries' change in attitude concerning their work and the struggles that certain representatives of the church are engaged in against respective governments (see for example Rumrill, R. and Zutter, P. de, 1976: 177-181; Mercier, J.M. and Villeneuve, G., 1974; "Encuentro Ecueménico Panamazónico de Pastoral Indigenista", Shupihui 16, 1980: 570-577). As for the concern of this paper, the influence of the Catholic missions on the Yagua has been

considerably reduced in recent years to the benefit of the mestizo riverine populations. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note a change in the policies of the missionaries with respect to the Yagua which gives their aid an emphasis towards the economic as opposed to the cultural. Certain missionaries are thus voluntarily converted into patrons, but where the methods of work are more flexible and the returns more just for the Yagua. Similarly, at the mission one finds medicines at basic prices, care and attention, the provision of fuel if necessary, technical aid and sometimes money.

If among the Catholics one sees a tendency to confine themselves to the economic field, such as their relationship with the Yagua, the evangelists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics on the other hand have their links mostly through the system of bilingual education. Their fundamental objective of translating the bible into different indigenous languages and their methods of field work represent, today, one of the principal forces of cultural expansion (Uriarte, L., 1976: 33). The Yagua have been in contact for 30 years with a couple of S.I.L. linguists who have covered most of their territory and translated the bible into their language. The evangelicals spread their word by means of cassette which constitutes a certain danger for the indigenous culture. However, the extreme dispersion of Yagua communities and the vulnerability of aural material in the tropics has considerably reduced its impact. In contrast to what has happened elsewhere, notably to their Ticuna neighbour, the Yagua have never been gathered in large villages by S.I.L. members.

Nevertheless, not one of the diverse religions with which the Yagua have had contact throughout their history has equalled the intensity of the movements of messianic character which have on several occasions penetrated the area of the lower Peruvian Amazon.

Such is the case with the movement of Santa Cruz which began around 1970-71 under the impetus of a so-called Brazilian priest by the name of José Francisco da Cruz, who claimed he had been sent to earth to save humanity from the final cataclysm predicted in 1975 then in 1978. The success of the movement survived the death of its founder. Many riverine people still practice the devotion to Santa Cruz (unique salvation according to the prophet who had wooden crosses erected in each village along the banks of the Amazon) and there are numerous Yagua who claim brotherhood with the apostle José (moreover, several Yagua communities took the name of San José). Equally numerous are those who abandoned everything to follow the prophet at the height of his fame between the years 1972-75. The blossoming of such a movement is made possible by the state of crisis which the diverse processes of acculturation engender. Moreover, we know such a movement to be essentially a lost cause (Morin, F., 1976: 421). The force behind such a movement stems undoubtedly from the Yagua themselves since it finds its explanation from within their own system of beliefs. Yagua cosmological history is, is punctuated with a series of fires which destroy the surface of the earth at irregular intervals. Each fire is followed by the emergence of a new mankind, similar in all aspects to the preceeding one whose last remains (the ashes), are devoured by mythological demons. Well before the arrival of the Brazilian prophet the Yagua shamans has already posed the problem of the next cataclysm. The concerns that Da Cruz aroused were there long before. According to the eschatological myths, a disaster for mankind is predicted by two old men. The Yagua see in the priest a "saviour" in as much as he came from the east (Brazil), from the direction of the land of their most ancient ancestors, thus providing additional proof of his divine ascendence.

In 1978, several Yagua communities were contacted by the followers of a religious sect whose message heralded the end

of the world. In accordance with the prediction of the sect the contacted Yagua were mobilized to excavate the spot for an underground hut which would save them from a destructive fire - which is exactly the case in one of their myths - and would stop all harvesting in the gardens for many days. While they displeased the missionaries, such movements had much more success among the Yagua, whose messianic sensitivity remained very alive, than a century of apostolic teaching.

All that has been accomplished with regard to material for literacy and learning among the indigenous populations has been, in the majority of cases, by the initiative of the missionaries. They have dealt then, a religious lesson strongly impregnated with western culture, with a profoundly ethnocentric content. The programmes of bilingual education were introduced in 1952 under the auspices of S.I.L. and in accordance with the signed approval of the Minister for National Education. This depended exclusively on the missions who assured the interim education of the indigenous peoples. However, after about ten years, the Minister for Education has decided to take charge himself and recover his own responsibility. Schools are established in indigenous territories (there are at present 16 schools among the Yagua of which two are bilingual) and badly prepared mestizo teachers are sent there, which raises numerous problems at the heart of the communities.

In the first place, the learning programmes are all just as ethnocidal as those of the missionaries. The teachers, who with one or two exceptions are all of mestizo origin, have only to say the least a limited understanding of the Yagua culture which they work together to devalue. We do not hesitate to affirm that the present education system is the most ethnocidal enterprise that daily confronts the Yagua. The system of bilingual education itself, dependent on S.I.L., is far from being as perfect and culturally adapted, (cf. F. Barclay, 1982: 3-7) as members of the Institute would like to

appear (cf. Larson, M. et al., 1979). On the other hand, as we have shown (p. 16), the presence of official mestizo teachers (sometimes converted into patrons) at the heart of the communities has serious consequences for the Yagua. Moreover, the school is synonymous with sedentarisation which implies a very great dependence on the dominant society (quickly exhausting resources, creating new problems, etc.). As such the school contributes effectively to the struggle against nomadism. Furthermore, it monopolises the young who, according to their age and sex would be participating in activities of production and rituals. The disparity between the agricultural calendar and the school calendar ensures a broken apprenticeship and decisively cuts up daily life. Finally, the deep contradiction that exists between the school system and the transmission of knowledge among the Yagua only increases the differences between generations, as much on the level of the nature of knowledge as the utilisation of concepts and the language. These few remarks suffice to convince anyone, if necessary, of the ethnocidal character of this type of teaching in an indigenous context.

Exploited outrageously by colonists on the economic level, manipulated at the same time by the latter and the State on the political level, the Yagua are categorically rejected on the cultural level, especially in the schooling programmes.

Consequences

The Yagua are an example of a society in transition, severely threatened on the socio-economic and cultural levels. They are touched by economic booms and successive political changes from near and far and suffer not only the wrongdoings of an outrageous exploitation but also the backlash of sudden halts of these economic relapses and political turn-about. In the face of such increasing stakes, the extreme fragment-

ation of local groups has had a double effect on the Yagua society as a whole. On one hand this dispersion has facilitated the work of the colonist in appropriating a localised work force and maintaining it under his sway and taking advantage of his power to move it to suit himself. On the other hand, it has permitted the preservation of certain indigenous culture traits and favours, to a certain extent, the gradual introduction of elements of western society. In this respect, the patron system has made good use of an antagonistic approach. If, in its time, it has paradoxically put a break on acculturation to the extent that the patron has kept his labour away from the urban zones, it constitutes today, one of the principal mediums of acculturation, as we have seen with regard to tourism, drug trafficking and the trade of servants. It is no less certain that the patron system, by the relationships of material and spiritual dependence that it engenders, is the major obstacle to the socio-economic development of the Yagua and the maintenance of their system of production. Employed for several months a year in lumber work or rubber collecting, the Yagua have no longer the means to make a new garden each year, to hunt as often as necessary, or yet to celebrate the associated rituals. Woodroffe (1914: 38) had, at the beginning of this century, already noted that subjected to working in rubber, the Yagua had great difficulty in producing enough food to meet their needs. An inventory of cultivated plots per community provides an excellent indication of the frequency of contacts and the degree of dependence on patronage. Thus, in San José de Loreto-yacu where the majority of the inhabitants are devoted to lumber work, in 1978 only twelve plots had been cleared for 26 families, that is less than half a plot per family. The number standing fallow (sixty eight) shows, on the contrary, that two to three years before work for the patrons was less intensive. Conversely, in Eden de la frontera, where the inhabitants are temporarily liberated from patronage,



"First contact"
Policeman giving clothes and the national flag
to a group of Yagua around the years 1940-50
(CETA archives, Iquitos)

nine plantations have been cleared in the same year, that is one per family. Prolonged contact with patrons inescapably generates a situation of dietary poverty, insufficiently supplimented by provisions based on farinha (granules of roasted manioc) and tinned food which make up the "habilitación". Numerous cases of malnutrition, even of famine, have been recorded on the Atacuari and the Yavari and attributed to the patrons. This situation is even found among the groups dependent on tourism, whereas it does not exist in the communities released from the sway of colonists. Moreover, the insufficient diet which is rife among the sedentary Yagua on the periphery of riverine settlements has led to stealing from victims who live in the interfluvial zones. This "pil-lage economy" is intensifying at the cost of the last "free" Yagua who have not been touched by the dietary crises on the banks of the Amazon.

The system of patronage has had similarly numerous repercussions on the Yagua social structure, notably on the principle of residence. This has been essential through the exploitation of the male work force which gives rise to the more or less prolonged departure of the men outside their residential community. Traditionally, the Yagua comply with a rule of patrilocal residence. After a short period of uxorilocality corresponding with son-in-law service, the young couple are firmly established in the husband's lineage. Sometimes, in regions severely subject to economic pressures, the Yagua have adopted a strategy of matrilocal residence. By retaining their daughters, the parents are, in effect, able to recuperate the salary or "habilitación" of the sons-in-law instead of just their services because, at the beginning of married life, the latter's work potential is absorbed by the colonists. In this situation a matrilocal society is better provided for than a patrilocal society where the successive departure of men automatically initiates the disintegration of the local group. Nevertheless, the efficacy of such

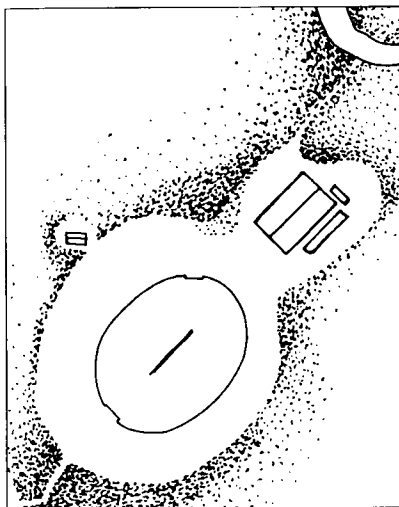
a strategy is threatened in its turn by the repeated departure of young girls with the appearance of the "muchacha" phenomenon, presaging a return to the old mode of residence. We are witnessing at present, a sudden reversal in the exploitation of the indigenous work force, yesterday exclusively masculine, today suddenly feminine.

The development of tourism, which has proved to be only a new form of the system of patronage, accentuates the degree of enslavement of the Yagua to the western world, with as a corollary, a systematic devaluation of their culture. To be convinced of this it is only necessary to compare their traditional artesan work with that made for the tourists. The difference is one of nature: "the artisan work.... is in line with the market demand of the consumer, that of the tourist industry, converting it into more of a merchandise which one finds subject to constant changes and innovations of line and style in keeping with foreign tastes, losing the authenticity and originality of the native design and the utilitarian function it holds within the tribal society" (A. Baca, 1981: 13). Moreover, subsequent to the expansion of tourism, the removals which isolate communities outside their territorial limits make the maintenance of property titles an acute problem.

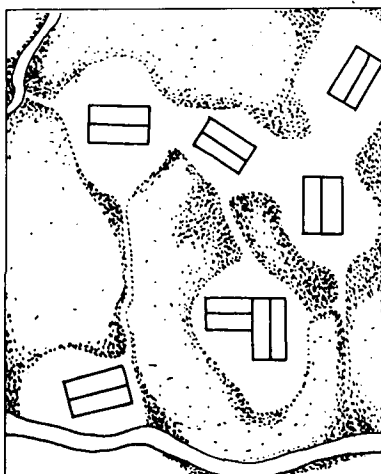
In the political sphere, after the attempts by the Velasco government to set up a new model of organisation, the resurgence of the machinery of traditional leadership emerged intimately linked to the victory of the still powerful patronage over the local administration which is practically no longer represented among the Yagua. However, the concept of Native Communities (Comunidad Nativa) injected by the policy of SINAMOS continues, although it is totally artificial in the context of the Amazon in general and the Yagua in particular whose model of organisation was the localised patri-lineage or one of its segments. Under the name Native Commu-

ity, lineage segments of diverse origins which are sometimes simple families without any lines of affinity between them, have been grouped together and from these arise frequent disputes and splits at the heart of communities.

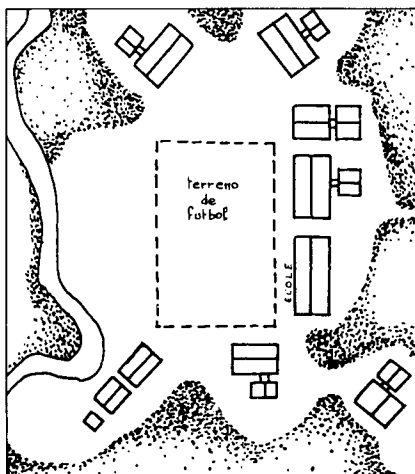
In short, the concept of Native Community results in the negation of any specific identity as far as the ethnic aspect of indigenous groups is concerned (on this subject see F. Barclay and F. Santos, 1981: 44). The access to ownership of land through the acts of the Law of Native Communities (1974) represents, on the other hand, an historically unprecedented step forward for the Yagua. Nevertheless, these gratuitous assignments of land, though essential to the groups under territorial threat, do not always take into consideration the exigencies of the cultural system and the inherent mobility of the indigenous way of life. They encourage, in the majority of cases, sedentary life, a process consolidated by the establishment of education centres. Now sedentary life, which is limited economically, strengthens relations of dependence on the dominant society. The structure of the residential units is found to be modified there: from a mobile habitat centred around the communal house, it has changed to a sedentary model where the basic nucleus is split up in favour of individual huts, initially without order (the missionary era), then alligned on both sides of the school around the inevitable football pitch (see diagram on following page). Sedentarisation, nevertheless, does not necessarily mean immobility of the population. The Yagua families continue to shift from one village to the next as in the past. However, each of these shifts, made necessary if one considers the clan disparity of the residential units, involve only a fraction of the group who in real terms do not constitute a unit of solidarity, as opposed to the former unit of the patrilineage. These points show once again the artificiality of the concept of Native Community.



1 - Traditional collective house (eg: Pañe quebrada, rio Atacuari, 1971)



2 - The split up of the collective dwelling into residential units (missionary impact) (eg: "Santa Ursula", rio Orosa, 1972)



3 - New spacial organisation after the establishment of the school (eg: "Edén de la frontera", qda Marichín, 1975)

THE EVOLUTION OF YAGUA HOUSING.

Through the system of education, the acquisition of Spanish now represents the principle means of integrating the young generation of Yagua even if, in mastering the language of the conquerors, they acquire the means to protect themselves from them. We must not forget, however, that literacy cannot liberate until the certain socio-economic conditions have been fulfilled (cf. d'Ans, A.M., 1972: 402) which the Yagua are far from having done. The acquisition of Spanish by the Yagua women has certainly not led to their liberation, more to their greater exploitation. In this respect, the mestizo teachers represent a new facet in the internal exploitation of indigenous groups which ought to be taken into account in the years to come.

If servitude, humiliation, under-nourishment, social and cultural decay are the principal benefits inherited from contact with western civilisation as yet none have equalled in terms of human loss the effects of the impact of microbes. They remain, in spite of the vaccination campaigns, the principal cause of death among the Yagua. Each year, in fact, they suffer numerous deaths ascribed to diseases, notably of young children. For example in 1972, in the community of San José de Loreto-yacu (150 inhabitants at that time), ten children under ten years succumbed to an epidemic of flu and hooping-cough. Fifteen children less than ten years old died under identical conditions in 1975. The situation reproduces itself every year with an average of ten to twelve deaths, that is nearly one tenth of the population. In Edén de la frontera, in the space of four years (1973-1977) eighteen people among them fourteen children less than six years old, died of various illnesses, about a quarter of the total population of the community (68 inhabitants in 1976). In 1975, according to A. M. Seiler (1976: 151, 154; 1980: 246), "an epidemic of whoopingcough introduced by mestizo lumberjacks, decimated the communities of the stream of Tangarana (upper Atacuari) which were flourishing in 1973, and forced them to leave the area".

And so one could multiply the examples. The ravages of disease are not particular to today: formidable epidemics of the plague, catarrh and smallpox were noted in the 17th century and returned through the 18th century. In 1877, Galt (1878: 314) announces the complete extinction of the Yagua at the mouth of the Rio Napo which he attributes to smallpox. In 1932, an epidemic of measles decimated about a third of the Yagua population of Pevas (Fejos, P., 1943: 16), a real whole-scale slaughter by troops of the Peruvian army stationed in Pevas at the time of a conflict with Colombia. Today, paradoxically, infectious diseases have graver consequences when they arise in the interior, which is inaccessible for vaccination teams, than nearer the Amazon river, where one would expect the risk of contagion to increase because of promiscuity and inadequate conditions of hygiene. However, in spite of the endemic character of infectious and parasitical diseases, the rate of growth of the Yagua population is actually greater than the global rate of mortality, such that it pushes aside, for the time being, all danger of genocide.

Within the sphere of indigenous medicine, the increase of diseases has produced a very marked change in shamanic practices towards magic cures to the detriment of other techniques that are used in a more balanced way in areas less forcefully exposed to contact with Whites.

Problems and perspectives

This paper has so far discussed the different types of relations that the Yagua maintain with the dominant society and their implications for the culture and the social, political and economical organisation of the group. It is now appropriate to examine their future prospects in the search for non-destructive solutions to the numerous problems of health, land, organisation and production that their confrontation with society at large poses.

Health

Despite the efficacy of shamanic therapeutic practices (cf. above), the indigenous practitioners are not able to check the advance of illness spread by the Whites. To encourage their formation and use of medicinal substances of animal or vegetable origin, seems to us to be insufficient. External "aid" would perhaps be more desirable in this domain than others. At the moment this aid is limited and very badly administered in every case where it exists. Western medicine has made its appearance among the Yagua with little effect. Some sanitary posts, generally badly equipped, have been set up by the government on the banks of the main tributaries of the Amazon and receive, when they function, a clientele most often dying and penniless. It is rare in fact, that an ill person who is moreover an Indian or mestizo will come to the post as early as the first symptoms of his illness. He first will try to isolate the causes by confiding in a shaman who will strive to explain to him the reason for his troubles in relation to a socio-cultural referent, then will try to diminish the effects by taking or applying natural medicinal substances. It is only when traditional medicine is proved to be ineffective that he will seek the help of nurses but then the worsening of his state of health very often precludes recovery. The high price of medicines considerably limits their use by the Yagua, notwithstanding the efforts of Canadian missionaries to reduce the cost by buying them in large quantities in Leticia (as in the case of the "health shop" of Caballococha, on the initiative of father Réal). Besides, the reckless multiplication of vaccination campaigns, which one must strongly denounce, have only increased the lack of confidence the Indians have in white medicine. Under the auspices of the "Area of Health" of Iquitos and the Canadian mission, the government has officially supported the establishment in the field of Indian promoters of health. It has been forced to do this, in part, to try to reduce the gulf

between indigenous peoples and white medicine and to favour the diffusion of official medicine. (Mercier J.M., et al., 1974: 192-200). However, the results are disappointing due to inadequate information conveyed, the want of material means and above all the difficulty in finding a common nomenclature for two medicines that separate two radically different conceptions of the world. According to the Atlas de Comunidades Nativas (Chirif, A.; Mora, C., 1977: 206), one single Yagua promoter of health works in the community of Catalán. Those of San José de Loreto-yacu abandoned the post in 1978 and have not been replaced.

Though the medicine of the Whites has up till now come to nothing, and with this most projects of medical help, it is not opposed, however, to the traditional medicine. The Yagua are perfectly aware of the effectiveness of certain remedies and ask only for them. Shamans and doctors are not necessarily rivals and can collaborate very well as Fejos attests (1943: 109): "Although as noted, the Yagua are reluctant to visit the doctors of the white man, I was rather surprised to find that Unchi, the shaman of the Ant clan, accepted modern drugs and even asked me to cure his wife who suffered from stomach trouble". The doctor uses clinical signs to establish his diagnosis (the shaman does not make his solely on the basis of symptoms) and draws up a pattern to which the patient will conform. On the other hand he is quite incapable of isolating and showing his patient the origins of his troubles, of vomiting a magic arrow (the cause of the illness) or going in search of a lost spirit. He is, then, not able to be a rival of the shaman whose importance in medical matters is never denied. The shaman is concerned with the supernatural cause of illness (the only possible cause of sickness among the Yagua) whereas medical doctors strive to combat biological causes in order to strangle the effects. What is demanded of one and the other spring from two different conceptions of the pathogenesis. If it is with-

in the scope of indigenous practice, then the doctor's action should come after the shaman's cure. White medicine need not be seen as a substitute for shamanism, but as a therapeutic complement which can work concurrently with traditional pharmacopaea.

It seems to us therefore, that proposals to help ameliorate the state of health of the Yagua should be primarily preventative methods (vaccination campaigns under pre-vaccine control, the formation of indigenous promoters of health and a re-valuing of traditional medicine). Without talking of free hand-outs, it would be desirable to make available to the Yagua at a very low price precisely those medicines without which the traditional pharmacopaea is not completely effective (disinfectants, serums, vitamins, etc.). It would be equally desirable to see local hospital centres regularly stocked with medicaments (which is far from the case) and with an infrastructure sufficient to be able to evacuate such people in cases of urgency. For the Yagua situated on the periphery of mestizo villages, it is necessary to improve the hygienic conditions limiting the centres of infection and the risks of contamination. The malnutrition which is rife in these areas ought to be combatted, particularly by giving the indigenous people access to better cultivable land, which is all more or less in the hands of the Mestizos.

Land

We have already insisted on the fundamental importance for groups threatened territorially of the concessions of land according to the legal act (Decreto-Ley no. 22175, articles 9 to 13). They constitute, at present, the only weapon with any semblance of effectiveness at the disposal of the indigenous people to prevent, at least partially, colonists invading their lands and dispossessing them. Unfortunately, we are witnessing in recent times a systematic freeze of the

processes of titularisation (on the part of the administrative apparatus) which has already considerably slowed down since 1980: "By design of the present government, this right is in practice denied given that there is no desire on the part of the State to continue the demarcating and titling of the communal territories which are waiting in large numbers for their legalisation " (Rumrill, R., 1982: 54). According to the "Directory of Native Communities" (1982), fourteen Yagua communities (of the twenty six officially recognised and some sixty in total) are in possession of property titles for a total of 67.063 hectares, that is approximately 47 hectares per person. Moreover, one can count seven communities which have been soliciting titles since 1975. The titles are granted in a decreasing pattern from ten in 1975-76 to two in 1980, one in 1981 and one in 1982. These restrictive measures are aggravated by the risks of annulment of certain property titles because of the tourist agencies' policy of transplanting the Yagua. The repeal of the rights to territorial property is in fact written in the terms of the new policy in the country: "Other evidence of the policy of the present government ... is found in its declared purpose to reduce any territorial increases of the Native Communities" (Rumrill, R., 1982: 54). Now in progress, the struggle for the defence of land rights must organise itself, especially by means of the Commission for the Defence of Native and Peasant Land in the Amazon (see the report of this Commission published in Shupihui 20, 1981: 671-72, concerning the Shipibo and Amuesha cases). However, if land concessions are essential to the existence of the Yagua, the territorial constraints to which they give rise mark one more step on the path to a greater dependence on mestizo society for it is similarly undeniable that such concessions favour sedentarism. Certain groups enclosed territorially, are from now on forced to allow only two years of fallow on their mediocre land. In this respect it is necessary to com-

bat the attempts, which result moreover in failure, of the Ministry of Agriculture to try to introduce the mono-cultivation of bananas, rice or sugar cane; although the Yagua themselves are quickly becoming aware of the total inaptitude of their land to a specialised, intensive system, which is in other respects, quite viable for rice on the flood plain of the Amazon.

The Yagua example prompts us to reconsider critically the policy of allocating land in the areas of indigenous occupation, especially since the groups, as with the Yagua, are extremely dispersed and at the same time both partially mobile and restricted territorially (cf. Chaumeil, J. and J.P., 1983: 15-22). On the one hand, the legally recognised limits do not permit the maintenance of an indigenous mode of land use any longer and above all do not cater for hunting and fishing. On the other hand, the riverine communities near the mestizo settlements will very quickly see their lands engulfed in the midst of lands cultivated individually by the Whites. This enclosing of indian lands in a reduced area of mediocre soil could be the beginning of new conflicts and new subjugation of territory. Already this poses the problem of the law, in as far as it is respected, over the abandoning of titled lands (as is the case for San José de Loreto-yacu). Should not all communities which have good reason be able to obtain new titles? - on the contrary, to be outside of their borders will be an offence. This raises the general problem of titling the land of very dispersed groups into local units which are more or less mobile and in zones of heterogenous population (the Yagua case). Should one not limit the permanent concession of land solely to communities registered in ethnically and geographically homogeneous zones (a river basin for example), permitting a freedom of movement within recognised limits, as it is with the Secoya of Yubineto and the Matsès of Galvez, or else for communities

which are perfectly sedentary? And should we not also foresee intermediary solutions for the other groups?

An Indian Organisation

Beyond the limits of the local group, the Yagua have no form of organisation that covers the whole society. Each local unit forms, in principle, an independent political entity. The cohesion of the group is bound around the play of relations between basic units which weave between them a complex network of exchanges and mutual prestations. It is this network of relations that in fact constitutes the framework of all Yagua social building and the cement of tribal cohesion.

The total lack of a centralised organisation at the heart of the society is accompanied by a strong tendency towards equality among its members and extreme dispersion of groups into small mobile units (which has preserved a relative socio-cultural integrity), corresponding to a mode of life that is perfectly adapted to the environment and matched with a profound desire for political independence. Paradoxically, the absence of a tribal organisation, once dear to the Yagua, is returning today in the face of pressures from too strong an adversary: Peruvian society. The acceleration of the processes of integration and splintering of groups is making the indigenous people's capacity for resistance anaemic. There can be no doubt that only by uniting into an intra-tribal league will they be able to constitute a force great enough to make their claims for their rights heard by the oppressor. However, the constitution of a Yagua federation or organisation (such as the Aguaruna Central Organisation of the Upper Marañon or the Shuar Federation in Ecuador) seems at the moment premature given the extreme tribal fragmentation and the absence of a real Yagua "ethnic conscience". This sort of organisation would be, in other respects, singularly suicidal if it depended on any external push when it ought to be born from a sentiment common to all the Yagua. Now, for

example, the Yagua of the Orosa and those of the Atacuari mutually ignore each other and have no relations between them. It would be time, however, for the Yagua to see the necessity of self-organisation, as others have done, by means of inter-community meetings where each locality would be represented. The constitution of a federation could be envisaged to a large degree as arising out of such meetings. The related problem of tourism ought to be placed in the same framework. Diverse action was taken by the public without success against tourist companies with the aim of reducing their effects on the indigenous groups. In November 1979, the department of agriculture of Iquitos under the responsibility of a multisector committee, compiled a working paper entitled Standards for the Activities of the Tourist Companies in Relation to the Folklore Presentations of Native Communities, which was categorically rejected by the representatives of the companies concerned. A second document was drawn up later but it still awaits the signature of the director-general...

These examples prove the supremacy of the private interests and once again we can see that the voice of officialdom remains silent. Rumrill (1976: 183-184), for his part, suggests that the political authorities confer the question of the tourist lodges to the good care of the indigenous people themselves and speaks of a possibility of a "real social tourism" as opposed to "capitalist tourism". Though the proposition is attractive it is perfectly utopian today with the forceful return of the liberally inspired Belaundist model. Therefore it remains that the solution must come from the foundation, from the object itself without which no form of tourism can be possible: that is to say the indians. Only decisions coming from them and supported by communal and legitimate revindications (access to a minimum living wage, medical and educational attention, etc.) would be able to produce results. But for this to happen it is imperative that they break the isolation in which the tourist organisations keep

them. We find ourselves back where we were before: the matter of Yagua self-organisation (not to be confused with "territorial regrouping" as certain Iquitos social promoters advocated) on the basis of a politically durable alliance. To this end it is evident that the Yagua have a long way to go. Outside support could be envisaged from similar experiments successfully conducted in other regions of the Peruvian Amazon but also arising from a long labour of mutual confidence and working together with the Yagua.

Indian Production

As we have said throughout this work, the Yagua are subject to the constraints of an extractive-mercantile economy dominated by the private interests of local patronage. However, in the light of a progressive economic independence for the Yagua which is already beginning, even if the policies of the present government hardly lend themselves to it, it is appropriate to examine their productive capacities and self-administration into framework of an economy with essentially a local market. Also we should examine the possible forms of commercialisation outside the network already established by mestizo merchants.

The production of food and artesan work, the supply of construction materials and the wood trade could constitute a significant source of revenue for the Yagua in view of the strong demand on the mestizo market. Meanwhile, before considering adequate networks of outlets for this production, one must analyse the consequences and their repercussions on the Yagua socio-economic system. In fact, it is probable that in the long term, intensification of food production with a possible orientation towards a combined cultivation of manioc and bananas, would cause difficulties for the system of indigenous polyculture with regard to yields and price.¹⁾

1) The Yagua are by tradition cultivators of sweet manioc whose production is geared more to the making of a beer, indispensable to rituals, than to the daily consumption based on bananas. Manioc makes up nearly 60% of all cultivated plants, bananas 25 - 30%.

The demand for manioc and bananas, which with rice constitute the staple food of eastern Peru, exceeds the supply on all markets, particularly over recent years in the aftermath of exceptional floods which destroyed the harvests. The intensification of meat and fish production within the framework of hunting and fishing, will threaten the last remaining refuges of terrestrial and aquatic fauna. The Yagua do not practice any form of pisciculture and the breeding of birds and pigs (practiced on a small scale) contributes very little to the economy. The breeding of cattle, introduced into the region several decades ago, remains out of reach of the Yagua and they content themselves with tending the pastures for the colonists. For the moment at least the Yagua have little interest in raising livestock and they remain concerned with the respect for, and maintenance of, cynegetic practices. On the other hand, the external sale of a qualitatively important part of Yagua food produce, which it would be hoped would cover a certain number of immediate needs, would be detrimental to ritual activities which need a big reserve of meat and manioc beer. With the neglect of the cycle of large rituals which reunite the symbolic conditions of reproduction of the group, a whole side of Yagua culture would disappear. However, sooner or later, the Yagua will find themselves facing the position of having to choose between an economic compromise or a preservation of their traditions, thereby forcing themselves into retreat. As far as artisan work is concerned, to encourage its production then to cut off its social significance amounts to destroying it, as it is possible to see happening (cf. above). However, one such step would be an appreciable financial gain for the Yagua. Advantages, disadvantages? The Yagua have certainly to reflect before taking the risk there; some of them at this moment are refusing to "produce" artisan work.

On a wider scale, the problem of commercialisation among the Yagua finds itself up against the interests of patrons who control the monopoly, either as a principal beneficiary

or as a privileged intermediary. The enormous benefits gained by the patron is without the knowledge of indigenous people and at their expense. The solution to this problem does not necessarily lie in a direct confrontation with the colonists but rather, it seems to us, in the changes of mentality and the realisation of autonomous networks for the flow of production. Certain Yagua communities have already anticipated the creation of a "tambo comunal", a sort of store house for food products and have found buyers in Caballo-cocha. But this new organisation needs an adaptive infrastructure and material means that the Yagua are far from able to provide for themselves (transport, warehouse, accounting etc.). This is perhaps the opportunity for indigenous community support organisations to give aid without necessarily controlling native production. However, experience has shown that the setting up of an infrastructure, though it be suitable, is not sufficient. For lack of power, the colonists are arranging necessary political help to make all attempts at competition against them miscarry. It was thus, for example, that the management of the sawmill at Pétropolis, at the connivance of the patrons, refused to place orders with the indigenous communities. It is quite evident that the stakes are not only economic - giving the Yagua the material means to get rid of the tutelage of Whites - but also political. One of the tasks of indigenous community support organisations is to fight on these two fronts, in order to create or recreate the material, political and ideological conditions for the self-development of the Yagua communities of Peru.

APPENDICES

COMMUNITIES	POPULATION	DATE	SOURCE	COMMUNAL TERRITORY (IN HECTARES)	DATE	IN PROCESS OF TITULARISATION (DATE OF ENROLLMENT)	SCHOOL	OTHER INFORMATION
El Sol (río Atacuari)	140	1982	Chaumeil, JP.	10,755.00	1982		X	4 mestizo families
Pancho-cocha (Yacarité)	87	1982	"	5,255.00	1975		X	1 mestizo family
San José (río Loreto-yacu)	176	1982	"	5,066.84	1975		X	4 mestizo families
Bdén de la frontera (qda. Marichín)	86	1981	"	725.00	1981		X	
Gallinazo (cano Caballo-cocha)	62	1981	"	-	-	1981		
Santa Clara de Agua Blanca	62	1980	Ordelo- reto	-	-		X	Yagua/Ticuna/mestizo (in process of breaking up)
Santa Teresa (Nuevo) (río Yavari)	49	1976	Chaumeil, JP.	-	-		X	
Pobre Alegre (río Yavari)	173	1976	"	-	-		X	
Santa Rita (río Yavari)	60	1975	"	-	-		?	
Santa Rosa (río Orosa)	123	1977	Ordelo- reto	2,635.74	1980		X	According to A. Baca (1981: 6-7) in relation with tourist enterprises "Amazon Lodge", "Jungle Amazon Inn" "Tanshiyacu Lodge"
Urco Mirano (río Napo)	120 140	1980 1981	" Baca, A.	567.61	1975		?	In relation with tourist enterprise "Amazon Lodge"
Atun Cano (río Napo)	29	1975	Ordelo- reto	-	-	1975	?	In relation with tourist enterprise "Amazon Lodge"
Yagua de Basilio (qda. Basilio/Napo)	32	1976	"	1,909.00	1976			In relation with tourist enterprise "Paseos Anazónicos Ambasador"

Las Palmeras (qda. Yanamono)	108	1980	Ordelo- reto	1,385.45	1980	In relation with tourist enter- prise "Explorana Lodge S.A."
	124	1981	Baca, A.			
Yagua de Ta- huayo (qda. Valentin)	32	1976	Ordelo- reto	-	1975	
Catalán (qda. Vainilla)	120	1980	"	3,318.19	1976	bilingual school
Yagua de Tipish- ca (qda. Yanaya- cu de Tipishca)	59	1976	"	1,538.05	1976	?
San José de Pevas	78	1978	"	-	1978	In process of breaking up
Condor (Amazon)	42/60	1980	"	1,028.32	1975	
Remanso (Amazon)	88/95	1980	"	2,058.04	1975	
Pichana (qda. Pichana)	139	1980	"	2,733.77	1976	bilingual school
Santo Tomás (Amazon)	154	1980	"	-	1977	?
Nueva de Oc- tubre (qda. Mayoruna)	188	1982	Bautis- ta, I.	-	1982	X 2/3 mestizo families
Santa María (Paiche cano)	68	1982	"	-	1982	X
San Alberto (qda. Morona)	70	1981	"	3,487.00	1976	X 1 mestizo family
Nuevo Perú (río Putumayo)	42	1980	Ordelo- reto	-	-	X

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF THE YAGUA POPULATION BY FLUVIAL
ZONES (1980) *

ZONES	POPULATION
- Atacuari/Loreto-yacu	550-600
- Yavari/Caballo-cocha	550-600
- Oroza/Arambaza	200
- Napo/Apayacu	250-300
- Amazon and secondary affluents	1500
- Putumayo	50

* For more details on the demography of the Yagua, see Chau-
meil, J. and JP., 1976: 73-94.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE YAGUA POPULATION
BY ECOLOGICAL ZONES.

Riverine ecotype	80%
Interfluvial	20%

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