

Nemesio J. Rodriguez:

# **Oppression in Argentina: The Mataco Case**

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Nemesio J. Rodríguez, anthropologist who worked from 1968 to 1974 among indigenous groups of the Gran Chaco (Argentina and-Paraguay): Mocoví, Toba, Pilagá, and Mataco. Lectured in 1975 on "the Situation of the Indians of the Gran Chaco", at the Copenhagen University. For the time being he is in charge of the Anthropological Documentation Centre for Latin America (Cadal). This report has been written especially for the IWGIA Document Series. We are grateful to Mr. Jörgen Ulrich for drawing the maps. The views expressed in IWGIA Documents are those of the authors, and not necessarily those of the organization.

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For the Secretariat of IWGIA

Inese Andersen Helge Kleivan Jens Erik Knardrup-Larsen

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

**Nemesio J. Rodrigues**

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## INTRODUCTION

The present report has a very clear purpose: to make known the situation in which an ethnic minority survives in the Argentine part of the Great Chaco. Having chosen here the Mataco does not imply that this group lives under particular conditions, different from those of the Toba, M'bya, Mapuche, Chorote, Chanê, Chulupí, Chiriguano, Mocoví, etc. This group is, as far as its living conditions are concerned, only an example; I could have chosen any of the other ones, and we would still face the same problem: ethnocide.

The history of this group's contacts with the West is not going to be presented here. I shall only indicate that they began by the middle of the 16th century when Spanish monks and warriors (i.e. conquerors) started to subjugate the North West of Argentina. The traces left by this contact are misery, malnutrition, tuberculosis, cultural desintegration and fear of the representative of the West, the white man. This group, like all other independent ethnic groups that have met Western expansionism, suffered the imposition of laws that superseded the traditional ones of balance between men and with nature. From this contact on, they learnt that for the West nature and people can be conquered, even if this conquest implies destruction of both nature and people.

Likewise I do not want anyone to think that only the Mataco living by the Teuco River (middle part of the report) find themselves in a grave situation. On December 27th, 1973, Pedro Aldana (Chorote), Antonio Cardoso (Chauanco), and Luis Miranda

(Mataco) denounced serious irregularities in the Tartagal area. They pointed out the unfulfilled promises from member of Parliament Cejas: "That one, like many other politicians, before the elections came to have his photo taken with us, to repeat promises and organize parties at the tent village, but when he got seated in an arm-chair he forgot about us, and now he attacks us". They spoke of the abduction of young girls:"... my two daughters were kidnapped and taken to Bolivia, I have the address of the place where they are (Calle Cordillera esquina Mercado, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia), and when I say all this to Intendent Clemente Ávila or to the Chief of Police, they turn a deaf ear and say to me: 'no doubt they will be back soon'. There exists an organised gang that kidnaps aboriginal girls and takes them away to other cities where they become maid servants. Well-off families pay more for the young ones because they can mould them as they wish and they make them work without pay" (1).

On February 3rd 1975, Dr. César Napoleón Sánchez, who is the Minister of Public Health of Salta Province, declared that in the part of Salta lying next to Formosa Province "the infant mortality rate is similar to that of India... 3 children die out of every ten born"; this means an infant mortality rate of 300 per thousand. The statement was made on account of a measles epidemic in the area which left eighteen dead children in one village alone, Estación Morillo (2). In his report on the 1968 expedition to the North of Salta Province, the Rev. Rubén Gerardo Arancibia, a Jesuit, found in the Mataco villages: brucellosis, TB, syphilis, thyroid tumours, cirrhosis, hepatitis, parasitosis, and that eighty per cent have tooth complications and bacteria focuses. In the report it says, "Generally all the sick persons die due to lack of medical care..." (3). In 1972, near the Pilcomayo River, north of the Ingeniero Juárez village, two social workers found a "high percentage of TB, venereal disenses, influenza; diseases of digestive organs,...malnutrition,...absence of sanitary care for mothers and babies..."(4). All over the area where this

group lives dispersed, in every Mataco village we heard the same recital over and over: "...Why do they take our land?"... "When are they going to give us the title deeds they promised us?"..."Who is that settler to have so much land after being here for less than five years?"... or, at the least,"...we don't get any pay"..."we always owe money to the squire".

I do not want to set myself up as a judge. Contact with non-Western groups, subjugated by the West, leads me necessarily to consider what we are as a civilization. But it also makes me responsible for a given situation which urges me to demand immediate steps directed toward solving the problems of the ethnic minorities of the country. Such steps can only be taken by the national society as a whole, and they include, as a minimum: handing over of the land in such a way that the rules of land tenancy are respected in each community; full respect for the social, economic, legal and religious system of each ethnic minority; guarantee of medical care; technical and agricultural aid to those groups that request it; equality of treatment, possibilities, pay and trade, both in dependent job situation and in the purchase and sale of products; educational assistance to the groups that might so wish. I feel that a programme which applies these minimum guidelines would be useful, not only to the ethnic minorities since it would preserve them from a sure extermination, but also to society as a whole as a new form of relating to itself.

What matters most is to get rid of all kinds of paternalism; nobody has the right to think and/or act for the ethnic groups imposing his own ideas or plans. The Barbados Declaration "For the Liberation of the Indians" (4a) was clear enough on the matter; but few are the states, missionaries and social workers that so far have taken the contents of this declaration of principles into consideration.

#### GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Area: Gran Chaco; subarea: Central Chaco; political and

administrative division: a) Country: Argentina, b) Province: Formosa, c) Department: Bermejo.

Formosa Province has been considered National Frontier Territory until not many years ago (5), and has two areas that are geographically different. One is rich, has good soil, and there white colonization came into effect from the beginning of this century (6); it stretches from the Paraná River over to Las Lomitas village, in the middle of the province. The other area, which extends from this village to Salta Province, is covered with thorny, low and hard scrub, and is extremely dry; life is lived in miserable white villages located along the railway track (7) or in the indigenous settlements situated mainly on the outskirts of the white villages or on the banks of the rivers Pilcomayo and Teuco, to the north and to the south respectively. In theory, the land of this zone is State property (8), and the indigenous people living there constitute approximately seventy per cent of the total population; this amount is higher on the bank of the Pilcomayo River where the indigenous population represents between 90 and 95 per cent(9). The most important production is the making of railway poles and sleepers from hard wood which is to be found in abundance; the waste wood is converted into charcoal. During the last ten years small stock breeders have settled, and there are very few crops (exclusively for family consumption)(10).

The Mataco settlements that I am going to describe are situated in the land belt which extends from Pozo del Mortero-Laguna Yema (to the north) down to the Teuco River (to the south).- See map.

#### ETHNIC GROUP

The Mataco belong to the Mataco-Mataguayo family (10a) which included several different groups that to some extent were related culturally speaking (Chulupí, Ashlushlay, Mataco, Chorote, Matará, Malbalá, etc). Up to the present, the Mataco, Chulupí and Chorote have survived in Argentina. There can also

be found groups of the Mataco-Mataguayo family in Bolivia (11), and in Paraguay.

According to the National Indigenous Census, the Mataco in Argentina are 21.800 out of a total of 142.482 indigenous people. These figures do not correspond to mine - see appendix "Myth and Reality of the NIC".

I will characterize the Mataco village found in the investigated area as examples of subsistence economy whose production techniques are immediate; energy is a direct product of human labour, with more or less skill.

The communal work that these villages do in order to survive can be divided into five different branches: food-gathering, fishing, hunting, agriculture and woodcutting for the obraje timber establishments (12). The products obtained in the first four branches of production are used entirely in the internal consumption of the communities, without there being left any surplus of any kind. The last one (woodcutting), i.e. the work for the timber establishment, is a production for the white surrounding area; in other words, the capitalist way of production, in this case represented by the white timber establishment owner (obrajero). What he returns to the communities as pay for the work performed are goods whose value is one per cent of the production once it is on the consumption market.

The production forms that the food-gathering, hunting and fishing take are not dealt with in this report because they do not have any direct influence on the relations of friction between white and indigenous people in the area. What I will deal with is agriculture (connected with the land problem), and the obraje or woodcutting institution (connected with the exploitation problem).

#### AGRICULTURE

Poor and rudimentary. The land where the indigenous settlements are located is national property; in theory, it

belongs to the State. The Mataco that I met were able to cultivate maize, manioc, water melon, Indian fig, cotton, peanuts and pumpkin.

The groups that live on the banks of the Teuco have their fields along the riverside, next to the village. The settlements further away from the river cultivate their crops in fields near water-logged areas, swamps and ponds which can facilitate irrigation.

The land which is meant for cultivation is surrounded by fences of thorny plants (ocle and tusca) made in order to keep out the cattle of the white colonists who have settled recently in the area.

The extent of the fields is not very great, the largest I found was of approximately 55.000 square metres (Sol de Mayo), and the smallest was of 6.000 square metres (Los Esteros); the production of these fields only serves as a supplement to the group's normal food, and for a short length of time after each harvest.

At all points of the agricultural production process there exists cooperation between all the members of the community, and the tools used are collective property (a plough, wooden shovels, iron spades, sticks with sharp-pointed ends).

This land, considered open for colonization (13), in theory national property, is treated by the authorities as "uninhabited territory". In other words, they maintain the colonialist concept that all areas inhabited by the representatives of an ethnic minority are a desert and, for that reason, fit for colonization by Western farmers, stock breeders or manufacturers, faithful representatives of the ideology of the official national society. On this background, Province Law No. 618 fixed reservation of 380.000 state hectares for locating farmers who wanted to own land and who were located in the eastern part of the province; but 160.000 hectares were in the part I am occupied with. The farmers declined those tracts for two reasons: a) In them there existed indigenous groups that had been living there for many years, and small stock

breeders who had settled over the last five years; b) to make those areas fit for large scale cultivation it would be necessary to make an artificial irrigation system, the costs of which are so high that only the State can meet them (14).

Moreover, the handling of the national territory of the province is done in such a way that it only benefits a group of large estate owners, permitting that great extensions of land be concentrated in few hands, like, for example: Estancia El Ombú S.A., which belongs to the multinational company DELTEC; Arbol Solo S.A., representative of King Ranch and attached to the "Banco de Intercambio Regional" (Regional Exchange Bank); others that possess great extensions of land in the province are Bunge & Born, Noetinger, and Lepetit. And the greatest land transaction is the attempt to hand over one million hectares in the provinces of Chaco and Formosa (15) to the firm AGREX, which is formed by several U.S. companies and represented in the country by the firm Pedro y Antonio Lanuse; behind AGREX were the Hawaiian Agronomics Company International, Porter International Company, and Planning Research Company (16); the attempt to take possession of these lands was not carried out because of the quick action of the agrarian leagues among the peasants, and the political situation of that moment did not allow the plan to come into effect after it was denounced.

Furthermore, the province officials give the land as property to small settlers by way of simple bureaucratic proceedings (although there are some peasants who have been claiming title deeds for the last thirty years). All over this region, any white man who settles near an indigenous village first of all expels the indigenous people in order to take possession of the fields and of the area that has been cleared of wildwood. It would take him and his family between four and five years to clear between four and seven hectares. If he succeeds in his attempt to expel the indigenous people, he begins to pay taxes on all of the area that he occupies. He travels to Formosa City, and there he alleges that he has been living in that place for over five years, that he has cleared

those hectares, that he has cultivated successfully and intends to breed some cattle, that apart from himself and his family nobody lives nearby, and as witnesses he presents two more settlers from the area -who generally find themselves in the same situation as he- who testify to the truthfulness of the statement. This is the proceeding which the poor peasant uses to request title deed of the land. If he is successful, he definitively expels the Indians with legal right and with the support of the nearest police station. In this way the indigenous inhabitant is forced to emigrate to even less hospitable tracts or to give himself up entirely to the new landholders or else to the timber establishment owners.

In addition, the recent introduction in these parts of beef cattle breeders on a small scale has broken the precarious ecological balance that existed before. In the first place, the wildlife has been frightened away due to the very frequent use of fire arms, since the whites hunt to sell the furs and feathers. At the same time, the process which changes the whole Chaco into a desert is getting worse, especially after the beef cattle were introduced in these region. Each animal needs at least 15 hectares to be able to feed more or less reasonably, and the extreme dryness together with a very fast evaporation process do not allow the soft pastures to grow again; so they tend to disappear and give way to different types of cactuses. This process is also furthered by the extensive deforestation and lacking replacement of the advance of the vinal (Prosopis Ruscifolia, high bush or tree with hard thorns, grows alone or as a parasite, translator's note).

The stock breeders find that the best feed for their cattle is the one that is produced on the fields of the Indians, and so they help their animals to find it by deliberately making holes in the fences .If one confronts them with this fact (17) they deny it systematically, saying they do not know that their cattle are in the indigenous field and eating of it. If he admits that the cattle inside a field belong to him he excuses himself saying that he works alone, that he has no money

to pay farm workers, and that he cannot be present in all the places where the cattle are at the same time, or that he cannot afford to fence the field with wire where they have been placed (18). But he certainly can raise a thorn fence and use it for blocking the direct access of the Indians to a water well, threatening anyone who would dare to cross it (Los Esteros).

These new colonists are aware that if the Indians obtain good harvests and succeed in getting title deed of the land, it will be very difficult for them to expel them from the place they occupy. That is why they find it "necessary" to proceed with systematic destruction and with constant aggression against anything that may have to do with the Indian's adherence to the land he lives on, the little that is left of it. Generally speaking, there is a conscious or unconscious attempt to close in on them and eliminate them or leave them to be used in the timber establishment, if not an attempt to make use of them as workers at the settlers' own cattle farms.

Driven by despair because of the constant attacks against their fields, these ethnic groups have tried to breed wool animals and have small goat flocks (19). Concerning the wool animals, first they began to disappear, and later they all died (20). At the present time they only have small goat flocks left which they have to watch over day and night to avoid their being stolen or killed (21).

As we can see, the indigenous farm production is confronted with white stock breeders and, in addition, their lands can be the object of transactions between the State and national and international landholding companies, outside their own experience. The reasoning that the latter use is of the following type: "In short, the Indian is a little wild animal"- and the wild animals live in the desert.

#### WOODCUTTING

In Formosa Province the only ones entitled to cut trees are the "aborigines". In this way the labour force of the

lumbermen are the indigenous people, and this, in conjunction with their situation in relation to the rest of the national society, determines them to be the cheapest in the country and the only ones that the obraje or timber company can use if it is to function. The white master of the timber enterprise justifies the exploitation that he exercises on these people as a favour that he does to "those savages", "animals", "beasts"; and "retarded" that are the Indian when he gives them "decent work". This way of seeing the Indian and this work granted as a favour which dignifies the one who receives it, is typical of the whole West in relation to different colonized peoples.

Each of the indigenous communities I visited has a fluctuating number of men who work, at different periods of the year, for the timber establishment.

The product of this work is considered property of the community which gives it to the obraje in return for, not a salary, only goods (called "provista") as a pay for the services rendered. The obraje master cheats the Indians in two ways; firstly, in the prices and the quality of the goods that he delivers to them, and secondly, in the classification of the poles which the Indians deliver to the obraje.

The products that the obraje master has in his store are of very bad quality, generally they are waste goods which do not circulate in the market of towns and cities because they are not considered good enough. Moreover, the obraje master raises the selling prices of the goods with four hundred per cent (400 %), for example: for one kilogram of meal they had to pay (1972) 0,40 US\$ -which for five persons is enough for two days; one kilo of maté herbs 0,40 US\$; one kilo of fat 0,50 US\$; one kilo of noodles 0,30 US\$ (22).

The poles, according to their size, thickness and the smoothness of their surface, are classified as of first, second or third category. The first class ones were paid with 0,50 US\$, and those of second with 0,30 US\$, while the third class poles were worth 0,20 US\$. One person can manage to cut five logs a day and make two poles, or three as a maximum. The

fint class poles were sold to the national market and in the obraje they were worth 1,50 US\$ each. When the Indian deliver their production to him, the timber master classifies it to be of second and third category, when the poles are clearly fint class (23).

In this manner, so very Western, we find how the mechanism of surplus production works and how the appropriation of it takes place; under these circumstances it leads to a rapid accumulation of capital at the expense of the Mataco (in this case). Since what is produced "does not cover" what is acquired from the store, debts are created which are impossible to pay, and so, due to these debts, the Indians find themselves in the middle of a trap which is the closed circle formed by the chain: tree-axe-obraje-goods, until they fall back on the tree in order to pay the debt which is growing. This endless chain encircles them for the rest of their productive life which is not very long due to the precarious biological conditions in which these groups live; among them I was able to determine that 98 per cent had TB (to take an example, this means that in a family of ten persons there are three cases of acute tuberculosis and two of declared TB; the food and contact conditions tell me that the rest are also affected in an initial stage).

The work organized in a Western way here becomes a tool of destruction for these Mataco groups.

Furthermore, the whites consider the logging to be an exhaustible resource. Consequently it is being treated like a gold mine. Extract as much as possible in a minimum of time, to obtain a maximum of profit. In the same manner the men who work for the timber establishment are destroyed. The work carried out this way favours the development of the desert by the advance of the vinal as already mentioned; it also hands over more Mataco every day to the national capitalist system and its deforming development based on dependence, when it changes the natural environment in which they used to live.

## INTER-ETHNIC FRICTION

In the following I shall describe the concrete cases of aggression between whites and Indians in each of the Mataco settlements explored; later on I shall try to systematize this violence in its different forms.

El Castor:

Until ten years ago (24), this community lived without whites in the vicinity. About that time a poor farmer settled with his family one kilometre from the village; with them they had no problems. This colonist's younger brother, whose last name was Cuevas, settled rather nearby in 1965 - 500 metres from the village. Then began a period of permanent aggression against the Indians. First of all, this new colonist who had thirty head of beef cattle and seven horses made these animals feed on the fields of the Indians; with a gun in his hand, he did not allow them to drive out and scare away the animals. In 1968, after a great flood that covered the cultivated land of the Mataco, Cuevas raised a fence of guayacan wood which directly blocked the Indians' access to their own cultivations. Also this time he imposed his conqueror criterion with a gun in his hand. Halfway through that same year, by arson (25) he forced the Mataco community to leave their dwellings. The Indians made a denouncement at Laguna Yema, but no steps were taken. They built their new dwellings in a clearing of the woods next to the former village. In 1970, owing to the presence of Protestant "missionaries" in the area, he returned half of the fields that he had taken for himself. In 1971 he raised a new fence which crosses the paths that are the direct connection between the village and the Teuco. This fact forces the women to undertake a walk of one kilometre through the woods every time they have to get water.

This whole process started with an insinuation of this sort: "You Indians have to go deep into the forest", "All Indians are lazy and don't make any progress, and they steal other people's cattle". Then the insinuation became a threat,

put forth with gun in hand (26). As I could see many times he never leaves his arms, he holds one in his hand and another stuck in the horse saddle; they are always charged and ready for firing.

On the first days of January 1972 he practised target shooting against objects inside the Indian village; he accompanied this "training" with shouting threats, saying, "If you don't go away I will burn your houses again",... "If I find you in the woods I'll shoot you dead". In the month of February the situation reached the freezing point. One of Cuevas' sons (27), fourteen years old, shot in a path at a Mataco girl of only seven years of age. The shots hit the little girl in the arm and in the leg; the gun used was a 22 mm calibre rifle. The Indians cured the girl since the wounds were not serious. They made a denouncement with the police at Laguna Yema (28). From this town two uniformed men were sent to the area, and they took the two Cuevas' (father and son) with them. A few days later Cuevas came back and threatened the Indians, saying, "I'll make you pay for this". My indigenous informers told me that a few days after father and son had come back, again came two policemen who ate with Cuevas and who afterwards separated three head of cattle from the rest and took them with them. They say that was the price that the Cuevas' had to pay in order to make the denouncement inoperative. In other words, it was simply an act of bribery. The first step of revenge that this colonist family took was to make a yard on top of the indigenous cemetery El Castor, and in there they placed a small flock of goats. While I was around, Cuevas invited me to eat with him; he thought I was a national Government representative and he let me know that what had happened between his son José and the indigenous girl was only a mistake, an accident. Moreover, he stopped two young Indians who were cutting trees and told them that if the Mataco group informed me about the problems they had with him, they were going to have a very hard time.

The situation induces me to suppose, without any fear of

being mistaken, that: either the Mataco abandon the village "of their own free will" or Cuevas will find a way to get them out even if the Indians do not want to go. This white man wants all this land, and without Indians. Only if urgent steps are taken by the State, can this be prevented. As this possibility is highly questionable, I think that the only guarantee they have is to organize themselves in each community within a region, and this regional organization should establish close connections with other independent, already existing indigenous organizations; at all times it should avoid depending on whites and their interference in their organizations. However not all organized communities that seek independence are always respected by the State. See appendix: "Little Story of an Outrage".

Los Esteros:

Until fifteen years ago they lived alone, i.e. without whites in the area. At that time, some of them went to work at the sugar mills of Salta. Between 1957 and 1959 two white families settled with whom they have had no problems up to the present time, due to the fact that the newcomers have expanded their land to the side opposite of where the indigenous village is located. These whites live two kilometres away from the Mataco and follow a wise policy in their contacts: non-interference in the village and its adjacent territory.

In 1961, a white family settled in the place called El Gato and occupied a wide tract north of Los Esteros. Artensio Gómez opened a small shop with groceries, clothes and alcoholic drinks. After this family came along, the Mataco began to be provoked, insulted and beaten up when they were found alone in the middle of the woods, or when they went, also alone, to the grocery shop to change some animal fur for tobacco or gin. This family has been extending its fences more and more to the south, i.e. in the direction where the Mataco live.

To the south of the Mataco settlement there is a seasonal lake (left behind by the river when it dries out, translator's note) of 200 thousand square metres (approximately) which has fresh water and abundant fish. Next to the seasonal lake the

Indians had their cultivation fields, and from it they also got water in cases of serious drought. From this lake to the village the distance is seven kilometres.

In the last months of 1966, a white man appeared in this southern region; he settled by the lake and raised a long fence blocking the access of the Indians to their fields and accessible fishing spots. This white man, José Maidana, told the Matacos: "Any Mataco found within the fence will be shot. There will be no mercy. This land belongs to my masters"(29). A Protestant missionary, the same one who succeeded, by way of blackmail, in imposing his interpreter at the village over the authority of the chief born there, convinced them that "you should forgive, as good Christians". Moreover, according to what the Indians told me, the missionary often goes to see the white settler. Some time went, and the Indians prepared new plots for the crops. The missionary returned to the village on one of his periodical visits and proposed to them, through the interpreter, that they leave the place and go with him to Salta "where there are other Matacos and where they will find work and food in abundance". These proposals from the 'religious' produced internal frictions in the village community. When I was at the locality, those who did not want to leave the area for anything in the world prevailed, "because they had always lived there", because their ancestors had always been present in those woods. These stood against the ones who accepted the Protestant's confidence tricks arguing that if they stayed there they would die of starvation, and that the denouncements they had made to the police had had no effect except that the uniformed men on each trip had taken some animals with them from the white man's land, and then the policemen would do nothing; and also that they would always keep one of the Mataco in jail for several days and beat him (30).

When I left they were all discussing. Two days later, when I was encamped at Morteritos, a Mataco informed me that two labourers had turned up within the fenced land; they were keeping guard over the fence and were armed, taking care that

nobody cross the fence.

Sol de Mayo:

In 1969 a white colonist named Miranda settled next to the Indians. He brought along beef cattle, and from the first moment he used his neighbours' crop fields as pasture grounds. When the denouncement of these facts was made to the police detachment at Laguna Yema, the only result it had, according to the indigenous informants, was that these very informants were imprisoned and accused of being cattle thieves. Since then, this event is repeated twice or three yearly. In 1971 Miranda made a corral for his goats, closing a woodcutters' path. The timber enterprise owner complained, and Miranda opened a new path which goes across a Mataco burial ground belonging to Sol de Mayo, despite the fact that the Indians had told him more than once that they buried their dead there. The Mataco made a new path alongside the cemetery; the timber master refuses to use it saying that it is longer than the other one. I measured them both, and the one made by the Mataco is only 7 metres longer. However, no reason is valid for irrational people.

That same year a Protestant "missionary" tried to impose his favourite in the community as leader of the group, and through him he proposed that they all go to Salta. In other words, here the same problem arose as in Los Esteros. The traditional leader (31) refused categorically to leave the area, because the land had belonged to their ancestors; he threw the religious man out telling him he did not want anything from him and that he wanted to live in peace with his people, and condemned the interpreter (the missionary's favourite) to live outside the fence that marks the village boundary.

A few days before I arrived, Miranda threatened them, saying, "if you don't go away before the end of the year I shall burn your huts, and those who stay will all be shot". However, he is not going to fulfil this promise. He died of a viper's bite while raising a fence; perhaps his children will carry it out when they grow up.

Morteritos:

Up until the time I visited it, this community had had no kind of friction with the white neighbours in the area (two families). When I left them, they were preparing plots for cultivation near a water hole which they share with the whites. Maybe these fields will mean the first clashes seeing that the colonist breed cattle and they have no fences to hold back the animals.

Charata:

This settlement suffered some aggressions until five years ago (32) from a white family who raised cattle in the vicinity. According to the Mataco informants, they were beaten up when they were found alone in the woods and insulted when they were in a group. Two indigenous girls were violated when they went to get water. Twice the village was attacked at night; they used long weapons which only left light wounds among the inhabitants, And three fields were burnt a few days before the harvest. In 1967 two of the members of this family (33) disappeared mysteriously, they were never seen again, nor could their bodies be found. In the area, this is popularly thought to be the work of Chief Charata together with the most famous medicine man of this part of the Province, called Zamora (34).

After these events they had no more problems. The white family emigrated to Chaco Province, and the three nearest white families expanded their land away from the village.

Pozo del Mortero:

As long as the Indians are within the limits of the timber enterprise, they have no problems except their being exploited. The most common aggressions that the white population carries out against the Mataco of this community are: permanent threats of beatings; insults for any reason; if a group of drunkards meets a Mataco they carry their threats into action, and if the Mataco in question is a woman they rape her; if a theft is committed at the village "the Indians are responsible", according to the general opinion in the area, and they are punished, not for an imaginary or imputed theft, but because they are indige-

nous, different (35).

The aggressions at Pozo del Mortero do not have the purpose of gaining more land; they are determined by a prejudiced conception of the Indians and their world. It is a false and far-fetched conception, inherited from the ideology that was maintained during the Conquest of America. It is the justification exported by the West to all parts of the world where it found, confronted and destroyed ethnic groups that were self-governing and different, but by no means less representative of Homo Sapiens, a status which, together with that of "Civilization", the Western dominator ascribes exclusively to himself.

#### AGGRESSIONS

The list of aggressions and the descriptions of them can easily become the central theme of a voluminous paper. Here I only intend to denounce and characterize the area with which I am occupied.

##### Non-physical aggressions:

These are verbal, manifested in threats, insults, false accusations, isolation of the indigenous children who go to educational establishments by not accepting them among their fellow pupils, attitudes of contempt, or insulting gestures.

The aggressions of this type primarily spring from a wish to effect a removal of the attacked person or group and try to create a distance between the white "I" or "WE" who are "equal and superior", and the other one or ones, "Indians, dark and different". It is an open desire that this "strange and inferior" group should carry out its activities (life) out of the sight of the aggressor, in another place and another world. It seems as though the Indians, in the eyes of the whites, embody a purulent and infectious disease that could be contagious to the "clean and pure" (whites and Westerners).

##### Physical aggressions:

These are directed toward two goals: a) the things of the

Mataco, and b) the Mataco themselves.

a) They appear as: deliberate arson of villages, intentional closing of access to cultivated plots by way of fences and threatening the Indians' lives, closing in the same manner of direct access to water, closing of traditional fishing spots, deliberate destruction of fields used as pastures, appropriation of the production of the village community (36), appropriation of the surplus value of the woodcutters' work since these are not paid with the same value in goods and/or money, and appropriation by force of village community fields after which they are registered with the authorities as private property.

b) They take the form of fire-arm shots against the Mataco and their village, beatings, rapes, imprisonments, and denial of medical care when it is requested.

These aggressions correspond directly to two very clear aims: one is appropriation of land, and the other is appropriation of the work produced by the indigenous manpower. These aims are justified by a racist ideology which, as already mentioned, springs from a concrete historical situation which was deeply connected with colonial expansion in the beginning, and with imperialist expansion later.

#### A FINAL CONSIDERATION

G. Balandier states that a colonial situation "is the domination which a foreign minority, different both racially and culturally, imposes; it acts in the name of racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority, asserted dogmatically. This minority imposes itself upon an indigenous population which makes up the majority... This domination in a certain way ties together... radically different civilizations... this relation has a basically antagonistic character which is solved by the 'developed' society by the use of force, a stereotyped system of pseudo-justifications and pattern of behaviour operating in the relation. The colonial situation is a total situation"(37).

I have not the slightest doubt about the colonial situation,

defined as above, which this area suffers. Supported by the Barbados Declaration "For the Liberation of the Indians" and by the United Nations Declaration on Genocide, one conclusion alone and without any difficulty finds its way to me: in this area an ethnocide machinery exists and is working at the present time, with the participation of the State, the missionaries, anthropologists and social workers, and all sectors of the official national society, whether it be in action or by neglect, consciously or unconsciously, because of lack of information or due to complicity.

In the introduction I made a loose outline of the topics that should be considered when planning ahead and taking into account the defence of the country's ethnic minorities. The people responsible for the elaboration of these plans must carry out this task to the benefit of the ethnic minorities and not for the publicity and promotion of this or that Government official. It is a fact that "paternalism" and the "integration" programmes have failed all over Latin America. The liberation of the Indians will come about, whenever it occurs, in conjunction with the liberation of all the people who live on the national territory and in Latin America as a whole. But we should not, for that reason, hold back in proposing temporary solutions for the Indians as a special group. Even though we know that such solutions are partial and within the game rules of the socioeconomic and political-cultural system (based on the exploitation of man) in which we now exist, they can guarantee, to some extent, that these groups of human beings survive physically and culturally, with an alternative history to that of the West.

The following appendices have the aim of giving a minimum of supplement to the information about the area, and of showing some of the mechanisms used by the national State toward the ethnic minorities residing in the country.

## APPENDIX I

Myth and Reality of the National Indigenous Census (N.I.C.)

To anyone interested in the ethnic minorities of the country this Census presents data which should be accepted only with great care owing to: 1) Lack of clear criteria for work and analysis, for the selection of the topics dealt with and the grouping of them; 2) grave mistakes in obtaining the data.

1) Criteria: All the ethnic minorities living in the country have been brought together without regard to the Indians' own social habits and attitudes, in each one of the ethnoses. The criteria for family relations are the Western and "Christian" family criteria; in this way a coefficient is given of distribution of families per dwelling, in every indigenous village, which only helps to spread the distorting concept of "indigenous promiscuity" which has been used by so many missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, who have not come to understand the criteria for alliance and dwelling that each group has.

There has been no differentiation either as to the degree to which each group is influenced by the capitalist way of production, nor to what extent it coexist with the group's traditional economic relations. The same thing happens with the lack of analytical criteria with regard to traditional or imposed leadership etc., together with the absence of a description of the degree of dissolution in which the traditional communities find themselves regarding internal social relations. Ultimately, the groups have been standardized indiscriminately, theoretical generalizations have been made without patterns based on reality; through the statistics the different cultural worlds of the various ethnic minorities have been depersonalized. Not only have they been standardized in relation to each other, they have also been standardized with the West. The same criteria can be applied to any other group living within the frontiers of the Nation. If we, in the place or box where it says Ethnic Group, put Catholic or Protestant,

black or white, Spanish, Italian or French, instead of Mataco, Chorote or Chiriguano, we are in the same situation (38).

2) Data: The data have been wretchedly collected. There has not even been taken a census of all communities, and, in many cases, the person in charge of collecting the data has not got anywhere near the area, inventing numbers or repeating reports he has never verified on the spot. When I prepared my future paper among the Mataco, one of the sources I used was the N.I.C. The data I got from it showed themselves insufficient when I arrived on the spot. What I experienced there either differed considerably or simply was not indicated.

The census data which I bring in the following, about the area corresponding to the present report, clearly show the deficiencies.

El Castor: Formosa Province, Bermejo Department, geographic location at  $24^{\circ} 38' / 61^{\circ} 12'$ , ethnic group: Mataco; inhabitants: the N.I.C. gives 49, I counted 66; dwellings: the N.I.C. says 8, I say 14; under Predominant Economic Activities the N.I.C. states "Rural and forest day labourers", and I: hunters, fishers, food-gatherers, and woodcutters, and agriculture in an initial stage.

However, where I got the greatest surprise was on my arrival at El Tas-Tas; at this village there have been no Mataco since 1962, and the N.I.C. gives to an imaginary group, which is called "isolated" (39), the numbers of 19 inhabitants, 8 dwellings etc.etc. It is necessary to make clear that the N.I.C. was carried out between 1967 and 1968. Furthermore, when I investigated the question of the Matacos' departure from the place I found out that they were driven out from there by the white settlers who closed to them every possible access to the water of a spring which existed at the village, forbidding them any further use of it, helped by a police detachment that has now been removed from El Tas-Tas. In other words, they were driven out by thirst. This is the group that settled together with other Mataco at Sol de Mayo. The latter settlement is not registered in the N.I.C., and the same is the case of Morteri-

tos, Charata, and Pozo del Mortero; this last village is the obligatory point of departure to reach El Tas-Tas through the woods. I do not think it necessary to insist more on this particular issue.

After briefly pointing out these differences and deficiencies, I think it is important to add that those who carried out and designed the N.I.C. in actual fact only made (consciously or unconsciously) a list of places where ethnic groups are found, stating that the great majority of these tracts are State property. In this way they inform the national capital and the multinational companies about where they can invest capital in extraction industries or in farming establishments etc., places where they will find the cheapest manpower of the country. However, this listing is not total. In one way or another the true dimension of the ethnic minority problem is concealed, and so the authors appear as faithful representatives of the Argentine "Acamedy" (twisting of "Academy", referring to academic people and institutions generally, translator's note) which already has a long history of concealing the reality of the nation.

## APPENDIX II

### Little Story of an Outrage

A short newspaper notice has left me frozen. I knew those people. In the Buenos Aires newspaper "La Razón" of March 10th, 1975, I have found as follows: "EXTREMISTS' REFUGE IN AN ABORIGINE COOPERATIVE IN THE CHACO.- Resistencia -. Today Mr. Guillermo A. Faría, inspector of the Aborigines Cooperative of Nueva Pompeya, informed here that the National Institute of Cooperative Action has contributed thirty million old pesos (40) to the mentioned organization. The manager of the Indigenous Cooperative held a press conference at the House of Deputies in order to describe the situation of the Cooperative. He said that he had assumed his duties at the resolve of the court, taken at the request of the Provincial Government, since

the Cooperative was in a 'serious state of neglect'. He also declared that 'elements that are not connected with the Cooperative as such, who have formed an advisory committee under the direction of Sister Guillermina Hagen Montes de Oca, have had a negative influence on the management of the organization'. He likewise revealed that 'in the area flags have been found of the illegal organization and of the one that has chosen to operate underground, and some arms together with war equipment'. He added that all this was being investigated and that some persons had been arrested because they might be involved in supposed subversive activities. Later on he discoursed upon the help that the Cooperative was receiving from the Provincial as well as the national Government. He emphasized that the national Minister of Social Welfare had sent them a considerable shipment of clothes, food, and medicine, for distribution among the population generally at Nueva Pompeya, which is made up of some 4.500 Mataco Indians. With regard to the contribution of the N.I.C.A. he explained that it would be used for installing a cold-storage house and for acquiring the necessary elements for building a sawmill. Mr. Faría finished by saying that there are plans for building 25 dwelling houses and other works that will benefit the community of the area".

This news is the end of a completely new experience of an ethnic minority in Argentina. Completely new because of the independence from the national society with which it had come about and been put into effect, a relative independence achieved by setting up an element of today's national society: the Production and Consumption Cooperative, as a legal form of defense of their economic interests, opposing large cattle ranch owners, unscrupulous traders, exploitative timber enterprise owners etc. It was also a way of raising a cultural defense barrier since contact with the national society was reduced to a minimum.

The news item says very little, as usual, almost nothing of the course of development of these Mataco. Diffusely, it limits itself to giving a glimpse of the way in which the

phantom of the guerrilla is conjured in order to accomplish the straightforward liquidation of an independent indigenous organization. It can also be seen how the broad concept of "State security" or "inner security" is used, in order to put an end to "a bad example", as the unscrupulous traders and large estate owners considered it; this fact (the example they were) was very clear to the Mataco, as we shall see further ahead.

Ever since it was organized this group of people met all kinds of persecution and pressure: armed attacks, prison, torture, economic strangulation, and blackmail, in other words, all the forms that the West resorts to and always resorted to in its plans for conquering the world.

Nueva Pompeya is situated in the Chaco Province (61° 30'/ 24° 55'), on the old riverbed of the Bermejo; this means that it faces the Matacan communities described in the report, only separated by a narrow strip of dry land and by the Teuco River. The area where Nueva Pompeya is located is called El Impenetrable; thirty thousand square kilometres covered with stunted, low, hard and thorny scrub. Within it 4,500 or perhaps 5,000 Mataco live, non-westerners, pushed by the West and its white representatives onto these inhospitable tracts from which hardly anything to live on can be obtained.

In the middle of 1969 Sister Guillermina Hagen penetrated into the region. She had to give up her mission purposes and start working on more profane and immediately necessary things: "When I arrived in the Chaco the situation was dramatic. What was happening in Biafra sometimes seemed pale compared to that. By that time, the Mataco were returning from Castelli (from the cotton harvest where they received a few goods in return for their work). Epidemics of influenza and whooping cough had attacked them on the way. Along the roadside graves had been dug for the dead. In all families several persons have died. TB, malnutrition, chagas (virus introduced in the venes by an insect, firstit produces blindness, later death, translator's note), goitre, and rheumatic troubles were the most frequent

diseases" (41). Faced with this panorama, she set up a sanitary post which was the only one within a radius of 500 kilometres. After the health situation had slightly improved, the Mataco began to organize themselves with the aim of becoming economically independent of the national society. To start with, they founded a grocery store, the first consumers' cooperative of the area, which gave them their first enemy, a trader named Kloster. Until that moment the latter gave them one kilogram of maté for each iguana skin. He would sell the skin for between US \$ 4.- and US \$ 5.- (42).

The Chaco Aborigine Department granted them a permit "by word of mouth", in other words not written, to make use of the woods for producing poles and to sell them. For what they earned they set up a sawmill. But in September 1972 a crisis broke out, the first important one. Since the Aborigine Department granted the marketing licenses and only did so with long intervals, the Indians produced more than they were authorized to sell. The money earned, instead of being spent on renewal of old and purchase of new equipment, had to be spent on food articles. The Aborigine Department only made it possible to sell one third of the production.

After this first serious setback had been avoided, the aggressions from the authorities continued.

In June 1973 the Aborigine Department sent Mrs. Nélide Trevisán to the region as directress of a new educational establishment which was to be founded at El Sauzalito (in the neighbourhood of Nueva Pompeya), pretending not to know about the one that the Mataco had built and brought into service and for which they had been requesting official recognition for a year. Together with the directress they sent a supervisor from the Aborigine Department for the Mataco area, Diego Soneira. Both of these persons had been rejected and thrown out of the region by the Mataco some time back, and I strongly feel that these appointments have been made with the clear purpose of provoking, trying by all means to create a conflict which would give the Province an opportunity to interfere lawfully. As a

matter of fact, the appointments caused unrest among the Mataco; on June 22nd they moved the tents from El Sauzalito to Nueva Pompeya "where they are more useful" (42), as they said. The police reports were promptly made, but action was postponed.

In the month of September of the same year, facing a complete standstill in the sales of their poles, the Mataco went to Resistencia to manifest their dissatisfaction with the way in which the official bodies limited them. They were asked to produce a maximum of 2,000 poles a year, even though they could make 700 a week. On September 8th they gathered in front of the Governor's offices to demand concrete answers and no promises, demand the dismissals of the Rev. Martínez and Mr. Boutonet who were in charge of the National Department of Aborigine Affairs under the Ministry of Social Welfare, and that of Mr. Sotelo, director of the Chaco Aborigine Department since the days of the military dictatorship. In this very moment they were machine-gunned by an armed group that belongs to the Organization Command (43), whose national leader is deputy Brito Lima; in the Chaco Province its general secretary was Víctor Sánchez (died some time later in a dynamite assault). The attackers said that extremists had infiltrated among the Indians.

Immediately after (September 9th) the Chaco Indigenous Parliament assembled at the private Itatí School; on this occasion Mario Agreda Cibila, the secretary-general, declared, "...this attack is the culmination of a long process which began when the Production and Consumption Cooperative of Nueva Pompeya was created. The purpose of the Cooperative is to achieve self-sufficiency for the community... it constitutes an economic entity which soon began to worry the landowners of the area. The thing is that the (indigenous) manpower is the cheapest in the country. If this Cooperative is successful, others will follow its example. And then the exploiters will have no more workers to exploit. The thing is they do not want the Indians to liberate themselves. They are cheap labour. But no exploiter will be able to keep the Argentine Indians from

advancing". And the press release issued by this Parliament, signed by Florencio Gómez, chairman of the meeting, declares, "...fight until the last resources have been exhausted, in order that all the aborigines of the Chaco may live in a truly worthy way, with justice and well-being for their families. We want work, no gifts". They did not forget to mention the people who had come from outside and never fail to interfere: "We shall fight until the end against all those who call themselves friends of the aborigines, and who supervise us as if we were no-good, and, thus, they are opposed to our true liberation".

Facing the situation which had arisen in this way, and because of the organizational forms that the Indians had set up (which allowed them to make permanent agitation and mobilization), together with the importance that the press gave to this affair, the official bodies had to implement a quick way out to silence those who were criticizing them. In any case, thanks to all this the Indians stepped out of their anonymity, of the pallid and degraded drawings of the school books and became a reality with a truly tragic dimension to the national society which had been unaware of them. The Minister of Social Welfare transferred to the Province the sum of 142 million old pesos in order to finance a colonization project in aboriginal areas, including the communities of Colonia Aborigen Chaco, La Matanza, Cabá-Naró, El Tacuruzal, Pampa del Indio, Fortín Lavalle, La Argentina, and 10 de Mayo (44). From this we see that Nueva Pompeya was left out. Black-mailing and imprisonments began.

Puzzlingly, the old denouncements for the dismantling of the tents at El Sauzalito were taken up. Judge Ricardo Peón, whose jurisdiction was the Presidencia Roque Sáenz Peña region, ordered the nun and fourteen helpers to be arrested; eleven of these were Matacan. Firstly, it was said that the arrest was owing to: "irregularities in the licence documents of the Producers and Consumers' Cooperative..." (45). The Matacos arrested are: Leopoldo Uroncito, Ricardo Vallen, Simeón Salva-

tierra, Juan Angel Sánchez, Aniceto Pila, Lorenzo Miranda, Alejo Saravia, Santos Hernández, José Hernández, and José Ignacio Paz. The charges of the proceedings were: damage and robbery with force on material things and physical violence against persons, at an inhabited place and in a band, instigation to violence, and illegal deprivation of liberty, all in concurrence (Spanish: concurso real, translator's note). One of the Mataco prisoners declared to the "El Mundo" journalist, "We were the cheapest manpower, and now our land is ours and so is our work; Governor Bitel and the Government don't want us to make progress. It is unjust, it is clear that they want to be masters of our work. We want the Cooperative, we are going to defend it". Another Mataco, also in prison, expressed on the same occasion, "Among ourselves we don't exploit each other; the Aborigine Department really wants to command us, for Sotelo is a bloodsucker". "We are not stupid, we are not ignorant as they say. We have suffered a lot to make progress, and now they want to take everything away from us" (46). The clearness with which the Matacos see the problem they are facing needs no further comment.

From the whole nation solidarity was manifested immediately toward the persons under arrest; it came from all directions. But the most important one proceeded from the indigenous communities that were organized in provincial parliaments. These started a constant agitation for the release of the prisoners and for the restrictions on the Nueva Pompeya Cooperative to be lifted. Elena Cayuqueo, standing member of the National Indigenous Parliament, protested at a press meeting, held on October 22nd 1973 in Buenos Aires, against the "... arrests for the sole offence of having stood up for their rights and having opposed measures that were an outrage to the aborigine community of the Chaco" (47). On the following day the prisoners were released. In the case it was impossible to be unaware of the deep economic, social and political roots of the problem of the Mataco.

The problems continued throughout 1974. The Aborigine

Department continued to be extremely slow in issuing the permits to sell poles. The banks refused to grant them credits for improving the machinery of the sawmill. The aid programmes included no plan referring to Nueva Pompeya.

At the beginning of the current year this Mataco community again appeared in the aid, or charity, programmes (in this case it makes no difference to call them one thing or another). "As part of an extensive programme arranged by the national Ministry of Social Welfare, on the occasion of the feast of Epiphany (January 6th, on which the Magi bring presents to children, translator's note), and which consists in the distribution of toys and sweets among needy children all over the country, an airplane will land at Resistencia International Airport today at 10 a.m. with a considerable cargo of these articles destined for the aborigine communities of our province. For this reason, Dr. Silvia Otero, who is directress of the community area of the Secretariat for Promotion and Development, will arrive on the same plane; she plans to go to El Espinillo, El Sauzalito, and Nueva Pompeya, accompanied by civil servants of the Chaco Ministry of Social Welfare, in order to hand over the presents to the children of the aborigine communities in those areas" (48). The problems posed by the Mataco were of no importance; what mattered most was to present young Indians with toys and sweets, in order to corrupt them from childhood on. What is it like to create new needs for someone who is striving hard to survive, physically and culturally speaking?

A month later, on February 8th, the National Institute for Cooperative Action under the chairmanship of Julio Yessi granted the Cooperative a credit of thirty million old pesos. This institution pointed out that the Cooperative had exclusively Mataco members, and that they beginning with these measures, would finally be integrated into society (49). The manoeuvre was clear, first sweets and toys, then money; however, when accepted, this money allowed for a control of the Cooperative in all its economic transactions, and for intervention if the N.J.C.A. should doubt about its administrative effi-

ciency. Some days later, on February 23rd, "The National Minister of Social Welfare...authorized a considerable cargo of merchandise to be dispatched to the aborigines of Nueva Pompeya..." (50). After that, we return to the beginning of this appendix. The Mataco Cooperative was controlled. This was the first step to liquidate it as a defense instrument of the Mataco.

The iron hand policy gave no result. Then they dressed the fist in a silken glove, although it fell off at the last minute when it had to resort to the phantom of the guerrilla.

## NOTES

- (1) "El Mundo", December 27th, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (2) "El Tribuno", February 1st and 3rd, 1975. Salta.
- (3) The Rev. Rubén Gerardo Arancibia, S.J. (Jesuit): "Entre los Matacos" (Among the Mataco). ADECOA. Buenos Aires.
- (4) Perez Diez, A.A., and de los Ríos, M.A.: "Los Matacos del Río Pilcomayo" (The Mataco of the Pilcomayo River). LIMEN No. 38, Año X, pp. 141-144. November, 1972. Buenos Aires.
- (4a) IWGIA Document No. 1, Declaration of Barbados. 1971. Copenhagen.
- (5) This province is separated from the Republic of Paraguay by the Pilcomayo River.
- (6) In this area there is a great influence from Paraguay; commonly the people speak Guarani or Yopará (Lingua franca, of contact and relations between Guarani and Spanish).
- (7) General Belgrano Railway which connects Formosa City with Orán, Salta Province.
- (8) The province disposed of 68 per cent of the cultivable land. Source: Censo Agropecuario de 1960 (Farming Census, 1960).
- (9) Report from the Argentine Centre of American Ethnology. "La Nación", October 19th, 1974. Buenos Aires.
- (10) "...impossible to produce anything on it without watering", reads the report from the Formosa Union of Peasant Leagues. Francisco Ferrara: "Qué son las Ligas Agrarias" (What are the Agrarian Leagues). Siglo XXI Editores, p. 293, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (10a) Miguel A. Bartolomé: "La Situación de los Indígenas en América del Sur" (The Situation of the Indians in South America). Pp. 347-349. Editorial Tierra Nueva, 1972. Montevideo.

- (11) Jürgen Riester: "Indians of Eastern Bolivia: Aspects of their Present Situation". IWGIA Document No. 18. January 1975, Copenhagen.
- (12) Set up at Laguna Yema and Pozo del Mortero.
- (13) By Province Colonization Law No. 113.
- (14) Law No. 618 is of November 10th, 1972.
- (15) Equivalent to 5.8 per cent of the area of both provinces. In Francisco Ferrara, p. 116, op. cit.
- (16) These companies "...had taken care of giving advice to the U.S. Government in the Vietnam war". Francisco Ferrara, op.cit., p. 117.
- (17) Like it happened to me with the colonists Miranda and Cuevas.
- (18) These arguments were used by Miranda.
- (19) An average of fifty head per community visited.
- (20) The Mataco informants suppose that it was either due to the effect of poison used by the white settlers or to the tricks of a woman quack at Laguna Yema, or possibly due to both factors.
- (21) Various beef cattle breeders in the area declared to me that they believed: "Sheep can feed on anything. However, where a sheep goes there is nothing left for a cow".
- (22) A dollar (US) is considered 1.000 \$ (old Argentine pesos).
- (23) I was able to witness this on several occasions at the timber enterprise of Pozo del Mortero, and I have similar reports concerning Laguna Yema.
- (24) I am referring to 1962. They reckoned time in terms of exceptional climatical events or a very marked change in the flow of the Teuco.
- (25) There are still charred remains to be found.
- (26) Shotgun with two tubes, 16 mm calibre, or rifle, 22 mm

calibre, are the arms they always have with them.

(27) José Cuevas.

(28) White village with 750 inhabitants.

(29) The company which was purchasing that land was Bunge & Born; they are well-known Argentine estate owners connected with foreign capital and multinational companies like DELTEC.

(30) "...I went to Laguna Yema because a lawyer had informed me that the persons arrested there were not being treated well...". This statement was made by the judge, Dr. Luis Elías Gassibe, recently installed at Las Lomitas.- "7 Días Ilustrados", Año VIII, No. 384. For the Indians of this area there are no lawyers of any sort. In this case the complaints have to come from the bad treatment received by some farm hand or tenant of some local large estate owner. This can give us an idea (although vague) of the treatment they give to the Indians at this Police Detachment.

(31) called Sarmiento. The interpreter's name is Peralta.

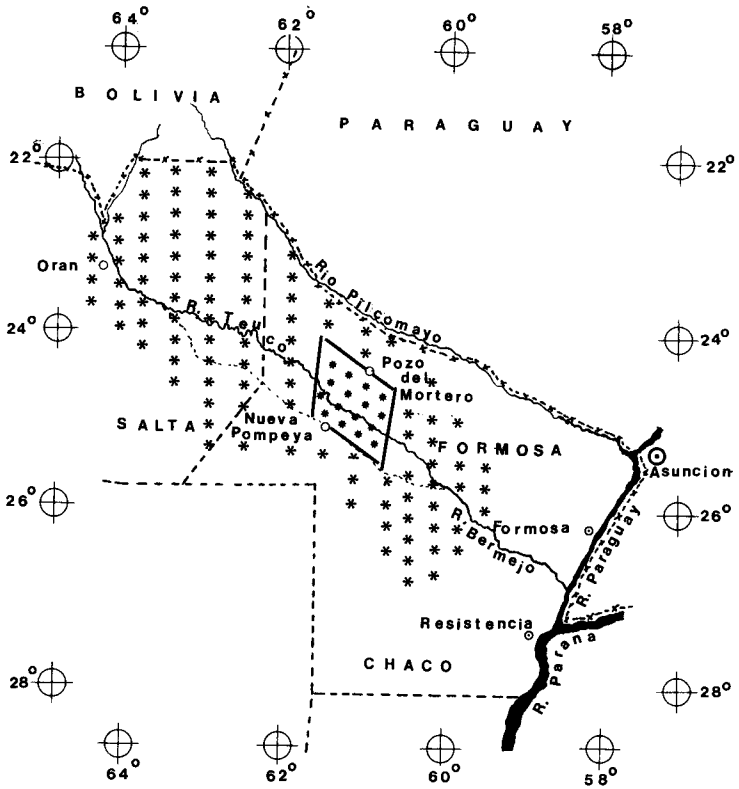
(32) The year 1967 -proceeding in the same way as in note (24).

(33) Elías, Verlias. These are the two surnames which the informants used when talking about this family. I could not find out the reason why both were used indiscriminately.

(34) Zamora lives at Ingeniero Juárez. This medicine man is also mentioned by Susana Colazo in "Tre Gruppi Amerindi Argentini" (Three Groups of Argentine Amerindians), Istituto di Studi Trasculturali, Genoa, 1972.

(35) See the problem of the "Other one" in Robert Jaulin: "La Paix Blanche - Introduction à l'ethnocide". Union Générale d'Éditions, Colección 10/18, Vol. I and II. June 1974, Paris.

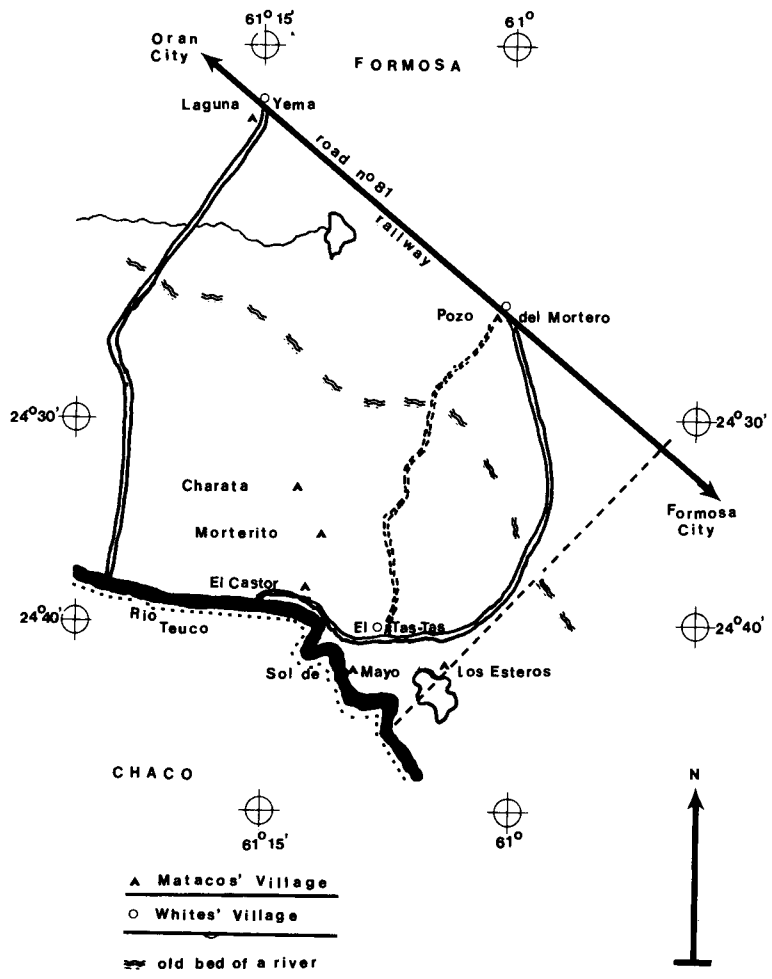
- (36) In a personal letter Miguel A. Bartolomé has defined the deficiencies of the N.I.C. as a lack of background orientation to inter-ethnic friction.
- (37) Balandier, Georges: "Sociologie de l'Afrique Noire". P.U.F., 1955, France (see also by the same author: "La Situation Coloniale: approche théorique", in Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, Vol. 9, 1951, pp.44-79).
- (38) According to the National Indigenous Census. Volume II. Ministry of the Interior, 1968. Buenos Aires.
- (39) US \$ 30.000,-
- (40) Miguel Angel Merellano. "La Opinión Cultural". October 8th, 1973. Buenos Aires.  
-"Acción Cooperativa", November 16th-30th, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (41) M. A. Merellano, op. cit.  
-"Acción Cooperativa", op. cit.
- (42) "El Mundo". October 8th, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (43) "El Mundo". September 14th, 1973. Buenos Aires.  
-"El Mundo". September 19th, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (44) "La Opinión". September 18th, 1973. Buenos Aires.  
The sum is equivalent to US \$ 142.000.-
- (45) "La Opinión". October 3rd, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (46) "El Mundo". October 22nd, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (47) "El Mundo". October 23rd, 1973. Buenos Aires.
- (48) "El Territorio". January 5th, 1975. Resistencia.
- (49) "Mayoría". February 8th, 1975. Buenos Aires; "Prensa Confidencial". February 17th, Buenos Aires; "La Nación". February 11th and 28th, 1975. Buenos Aires.
- (50) "La Capital". February 23rd, 1975. Mar del Plata.



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The MATACOS Settlements in Argentina

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MATACO Groups Described in this Report







The previous reports in this series are:

- NO. 1 Declaration of Barbados
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