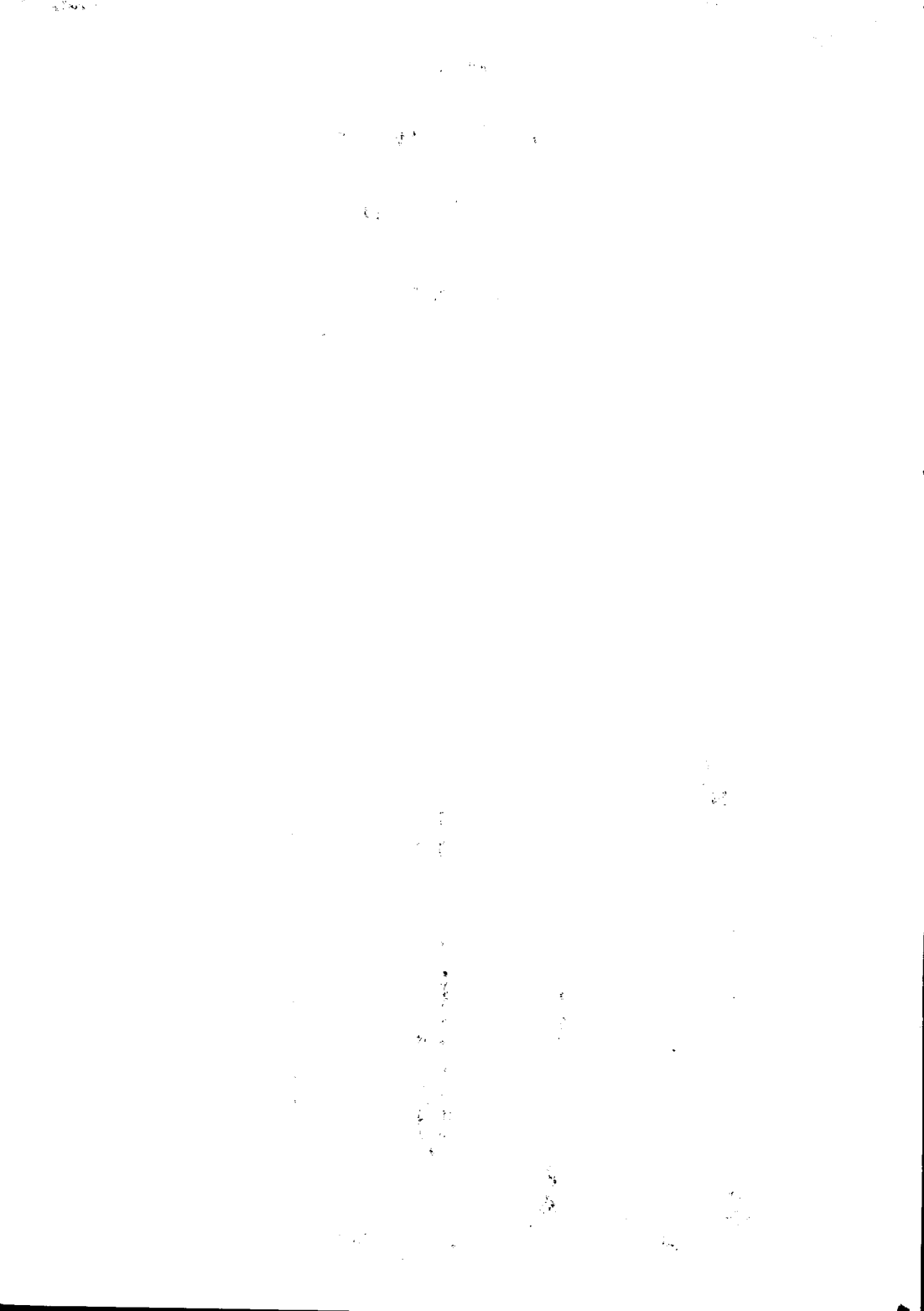


Henning Siverts:

**Tribal Survival
in the Alto Marañon:
The AGUARUNA CASE**

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TRIBAL SURVIVAL
IN THE ALTO MARANON:
THE AGUARUNA CASE

Copenhagen 1972



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For the Secretariat of IWGIA
Peter S. Aaby Helge Kleivan Stefano Varese
Editors of the Series.

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Errata

p. 42, lines 6-12:

This happened, however, after many years of futile efforts on the part of the Aguaruna spokesmen (the Jesuits) to bring the Agrarian Reform into action. When the case so opportunely was closed with the imprisonment of Monteza, the engineers of the said institution appeared on the scene, enthusiastically telling our source that the land is free and the Aguarunas might take over.

I. INTRODUCTION

The title of this IWGIA report is a permutation of Bodley's Tribal Survival in the Amazon: The Campa Case (IWGIA-DOCUMENT 5, 1972). However, the similarity between the two papers goes beyond the title. The Jívaro-speaking Aguaruna and the Arawak-speaking Campa both inhabit the Peruvian Amazon, they both fought fiercely and successfully against the intruders, and they both suffer under the impact of recently launched colonization projects.¹⁾

Certainly the list of resemblances may be extended almost indefinitely since colonial history, particularly one of adjacent areas, tends to repeat itself. The differences that do emerge are variations with regard to scale rather than to the nature of the confrontation between members of the alien cultures. The Campa have been exposed to foreign influence for a longer period than the Aguaruna, and societal destruction as well as human degradation may therefore have reached a more advanced stage among the former.

Some of the circumstances responsible for this slightly dissimilar state of affairs are imbedded in a constellation of variables such as relative topographical obstruction, quantity and quality of potential resources, and the military strength mustered by the respective Indian groups. For instance: considering the factor of relative accessibility, it seems obvious that the Aguaruna have been more fortunate than the Campa, the latter being settled in a territory which "offered an ideal gateway from the Andean highlands to the rest of the Amazon region" (Bodley 1972: 5). In contrast, the Aguaruna and the other Jívaro groups find themselves in an extremely difficult and rugged homeland which formerly presented a genuine obstacle to intruders and a strategical advantage to experienced warriors and headhunters who knew the lands like the palms of their hands.

An important additional asset was their organizational potential of emergency mobilization or fusion of antagonistic, feuding units. The fact that the Jívaro as a whole managed to keep their

stand to this day and remain among the last few of the free and independent Indian "nations", seems to be intimately related to this capability of cancelling out temporarily internal ceremonial warfare.

Even as late as 1938, when Stirling published his well-known ethnographical and historical survey on the Jívaro, the following statement was probably quite appropriate (Stirling 1938: 3):

The alliance between nature and the Jívaros has enabled these Indians successfully to repulse for 400 years the most determined efforts of the white man to establish himself in their territory. The many-faceted account of this prolonged struggle against military, theological, commercial, and territorial aggression constitutes one of the most colorful chapters in aboriginal American history.

The bulldozer and the machinegun have changed the situation. It is no longer possible for the Aguaruna to control the area by watching the main mountain passes or attacking isolated and vulnerable outposts such as happened in 1915²⁾ when a Peruvian garrison on the upper Morona was routed and practically everybody killed or in 1925 when the village and mission of Cahuapenas on the Apaga river was wiped out (cf. Stirling 1938: 28).

The Aguaruna, together with the other Jívaro groups face extinction; not the sudden napalm-way perhaps, but the slow slicing off, pushing-out-way; ethnocide rather than genocide. Another name for it is progress, i.e. economic development in terms of colonization and agrarian reform. It is the purpose of the present paper to give an account of what is meant by a characterization such as the one given above. As a document written by an anthropologist ethnography is the point of departure. Through a description of certain basic features of the Aguaruna way of life, their mode of subsistence and their local organization, I attempt to depict some fundamental aspects of foraging society in a jungle habitat. The subsequent reporting on Peruvian expansion and its effects on the native population takes this description of the infrastructure as its frame of reference. By way of conclusion I shall venture some formulations which aim at converting this frame of reference into a general lesson about human adaptation, and ecological balance under varying conditions.

II. ETHNOGRAPHY

Jívaro

Probably more than 40,000 Jívaro inhabit the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Montaña, an area comprising some 60,000 square kilometers.³⁾

Although they form a linguistic and cultural entity⁴⁾, they do not constitute a tribe if we take tribe to mean a permanent political group or corporation. The Jívaro are an aggregate of neighborhoods (caseríos, jivarías) whose members consider each other as ceremonial foes or temporary allies within an all-embracing kin- and affinal network. As headhunters they recognized only Jívaro heads as worth taking and shrinking into /kánka/ for the victory feast. In other words: A Jívaro is a potential /kánka/ while all others, including the whites, are just foreigners.

At present when headhunting is no longer feasible and the victory feast cannot be performed, many Jívaro warriors feel that their identity is being threatened, that their hallmark as a people is lost.

In spite of the fact that the ceremonial reassurance of commonness is a thing of the past, the fundamental values are still shared by the majority of the Jívaro whether they live in Ecuador or Peru as members of four recognized divisions: Untsuri Shuara, Achuara Shuara (Achual), Wampis (Huambisa) and Awahun (Aguaruna). Of these the Untsuri Shuara and the Aguaruna are by far the most numerous groups, representing, moreover, the most clearcut dialectal distinctions.⁵⁾

Aguaruna

The Aguaruna occupy the Peruvian Montaña along the Marañón river and its tributaries from Pongo de Retema to Río de Apaga. Some Aguaruna settlements may be found on the Ecuadorian side of the border, the distribution of houses and house clusters being fairly even within a territory comprising some 22,000 square kilometers.⁶⁾ Aguaruna houses are found on both sides of the Marañón itself as well as along the main tributaries, Chiriaco, Cenepa, Nieva and Santiago. Quite a few people are occupying the interior part of the territory, living dispersed in single dwellings or small house groups around the headwaters of the minor river valleys, quebradas.

According to Gullart (1964) the inhabited area is situated

between 200 and 1,000 meters above sea level. The region is characterized by a rough topography covered by a dense tropical forest. Rivers and brooks criss-cross the region in an intricate fluvial net. Aside from the recently constructed highway from Olmos over the Andes to Imazita (Nueva Nazareth),⁷⁾ the rivers constitute the chief means of communication and transportation.

Aguarunas travel by canoe and balsawood-rafts. The former was introduced into the area in a not too distant past, oral traditions indicate that the art of building and handling the canoe was learnt from the Huambiza of Santiago.

Rafts are constructed as occasion and need arises, and the vessels are left wherever the crew see fit.

Jungle tracks tie settlements together. Branching out from the main trails are hardly visible paths leading to yuca fields⁸⁾, to hunting grounds or to a spot where certain fruits may be collected at particular periods of the year. Even the main paths are often so difficult to follow for a non-Aguaruna that he, (the ethnographer for instance) is always dependent on Aguaruna assistants in order to visit inland settlements. Indeed, to be able to live and work in this habitat requires long training and skill, precisely what the Aguaruna possess. Through ages of experimentation and painful adaptation they have accumulated a formidable amount of insight into plant and animal life. In contrast to the foreigners, the colonists, now seeping into the area from the coast and mountains, the Aguarunas feel at home in the jungle, which they have learnt to master.

In the following I shall attempt to present some of the ways in which the Aguarunas have accomplished this mastery, exposing certain connections between resources, technology and local organization.

Resources

From the Aguaruna point of view plants and trees and animals are known quantities with names, characteristics and uses.

There may be some 50 different species of palms, all of which are known and categorized by the Aguaruna⁹⁾. Especially important are those palms which offer leaves for house thatch, edible fruits and "heart of palm". The first mentioned category may contain at least these members:

- (1) /Çápi/ - yarina (Sp.) which is the much preferred kind; furthermore the palm itself permits more than one cutting.

(2) /kampának/ - palmleaves of good quality, but the stem itself is high and slender and once cut will not yield leaves another year.

(3) /yugkúp/ - a variant of /kampának/ with shorter leaves, but same quality.

(4) /takának/

(5) /púmpuśak) = of lesser quality, but commonly used where better qualities are scarce.

Frequently a tree or plant is multipurpose such as is the case with the /čápi/ or yarina mentioned above. In addition to thatch-leaves, "heart of palm" may be harvested, and when it gets older large, fat larvae /datúnč/ also called "grandmother" /dukúč/ (sp. suri) are collected in the same pith.

It is the knowledge about an object, its location in time and space that makes an item, such as an animal or plant, a resource. People must be willing to share this information about their environment and to communicate the diagnostic changes in the flora and fauna to make a resource an asset; and it takes the coordinated effort of a group of skilled individuals to accomplish a productive activity, such as, for instance, a combined fruit collecting and hunting expedition where both young and old, men and women, participate.

Animals, like plants, are a resource in the sense that Aguarunas know their habits and their characteristics and thus are able to find them and kill them. They know that the /kányuk/ and /káśai/¹⁰⁾ frequent the yuca gardens, consequently they construct shelters to ambush them. On the trail they make use of a small whistle, the sound of which gives a perfect imitation of the /kányuk/ male call in the rut season. Birds are also attracted in a similar way.

At night certain animals, like the tapir, the deer or the peccary seek to the salt pond where the Aguaruna is waiting with his shotgun or blowgun. The Aguaruna knows that his blowgun dart will kill even a peccary if the poison is strong enough, and he tests the poison on the big tucan which is supposed to be rather resistant to all but the strongest curare.

Both the whitelipped and collared peccary constitute his favorite game. Formerly the small deer was not hunted, the reason being the belief in reincarnation. The tapir was hunted to feed the dogs. Nowadays both these species as well as the capybara are killed to feed humans. Game is getting scarce.

Not only the Marañon itself, but in all the tributaries and

smaller brooks, fish, crabs, crawfish and moluscs are found. Both men, women and children participate in the "washing" of the river meaning a poisoning of a portion of a brook by one of two different kinds of barbasco - plant-poisons.

The Aguaruna know exactly what the river or brook should look like (amount of water etc.) to offer an opportunity for a joint undertaking like a communal fishing. Boys try their cast-nets when the rivers are low and the water sufficiently clear, in June-August. Lines and hooks are considered standing gear and left unattended over night the year around.

In spite of its luxurious vegetation the jungle areas offer a meager soil, unfit for agriculture on a large scale. The majority of the Aguaruna therefore concentrate their time and effort on modest yuca gardens and plantain-banana fields. Not more than a half or one hectar is cleared at a time. The yuca is a vegetative plant which requires some 8 - 9 months before the tubers are ready to be harvested. One clearing or chacra may yield yuca for about two years.

ONERN-FAO has carried out a study of soil quality in the region in question, basing its report on a sample comprising 460.000 hectares. The conclusions seem to corroborate the observations made in the preceding paragraph:¹¹⁾

- 72% Upper highland: steep, broken, rugged, stony, rocky slopes of low fertility.
- 21% Lower highland: medium slopes, topographically undulating, characterized by acid soil of low fertility.
- 7% Low country: fine sediments, inundated lands with drainage problems.

The majority of Aguaruna settlements is found in the lowland and lower highland along the rivers and smaller tributaries. The native population is, as noted before, basically riverine and the houses are naturally clustered where, on the one hand, root-crop farming and fishing and, on the other, transportation by canoe and balsa raft are feasible. While both terrestrial and arboreal game is found along the rivers and quebradas not too far from the settlements, hunting range, by necessity, is much more extensive and comprises the total interfluvial and highland area, except for the very highest ridges (cf. Lathrap 1968).

According to the QNERN-FAO classification of soil types as found between the tributaries of Chiriaco and Nieva, a very limited

stretch of the total area is considered arable land. The study operates with eight types or classes, shown below:

TYPES	SOIL DESCRIPTION	PERCENTAGE
I	Very good without particular limitations	0
II	Good, arable with certain limitations	1
III	Moderately good with limitations	1
IV	Arable with severe limitations	11
V	Appropriate for intensive cattle breeding	3
VI	Appropriate for a combination of permanent agriculture, grazing and forestry	20
VII	Marginal land suited for extensive grazing and forestry	13
VIII	Fit for neither agriculture nor forestry	51

The Aguaruna have until recently occupied soil categories comprising II - V. Generally the arrival of the colonists have caused the Aguaruna to abandon the relatively better and fertile areas along the river to seek inferior patches away from the invaders.

Technology

Mastery of an environment, involves more than retrieval. It means manufacture and elaboration of known elements into shelters, utensils, receptacles and tools, which together represent a set of solutions to problems posed by the habitat. But mastery implies skills beyond the production of mere survival equipment. Technological adaptation in this sense involves the ways and means to maintain the good life, to make life comfortable.

A hot humid climate requires big and strong houses. Frequent and heavy rainfalls make certain spots unfit as house sites. Aguaruna select high level ground, preferably a small hill, sloping down on all sides, and they dig ditches around the house to drain off the water. They go far into the forest to pick out trunks which have a hard core, and they chop off the soft outer layers of the studding to be. Houses are often more than 10 x 6 m and some 5 m high to keep the air fresh and cool inside.

Two or three fireplaces are continually renewed by fetching heavy logs and firewood from the swidden clearing where sufficient amounts of dry, halfburned logs are available. Three or four big logs are placed in star-fashion, the log ends keep the fire going.

The homemade cooking pots are shaped precisely to fit this

type of fireplace. (Aluminium pans and vessels bought at the Chiriaco trading station are more difficult to accommodate).

Since hunting and collecting as a basic food quest activity requires mobility over a considerable range, technological skill must include the ability to improvise bivouac shelters from local material. Considering the great distances covered and the variations in hunting success, some kind of security may turn out to be of survival value. Aguaruna cope with these problems in simple and ingenious ways: Several variations of shelters have been observed all over the area, and dispersed in the wilderness small emergency yuca gardens are encountered.

To transport the quarry, the collected fruits and the yuca from distant gardens one needs strong and light receptacles. Aguaruna men split slender lianas from which they manufacture a variety of baskets. One of these baskets is provided with a lid and is completely waterproof, suited for the transportation of clothes and precious decorations, like the toucan-feather headdress /tawaa's/.

Animals are shy and difficult to approach. A shotgun is an effective instrument in a skilled hunter's hand, particularly when his dogs accompany him. Dogs and guns make a lot of noise, however. The more people, the more noise. Aguaruna are aware of this, and quite a few try to purchase rifles (22 cal.) which are considered less upsetting for the animals. Better still is the blow-gun which is a silent killer. Aguaruna tell that it is possible to pick one bird or monkey after another without the rest getting scared away. Blow-guns are cheaper than rifles and shotguns, but difficult and time-consuming to manufacture. To be effective the blow-gun requires poisoned darts, but poison is not easily available. The better kind is imported from Iquitos in small quantities at 30S/a "tea-spoonful". Rifles, shotguns and ammunition are expensive articles. The result is some sort of compromising: People do not discard their blow-guns although they may have acquired shotguns; to save money they re-charge shots, and they try to get hold of curare when and if the stuff is available.

The present situation is challenging and the imagination and inventiveness of the Aguarunas put to a test. One family living isolated and at a great distance from the trading post which they visit once a year, has started experimenting with homemade poison extracted from the great stinging ant - the isula/yutuí/.

Population

The census report signed by Juan Aldrete and Joan Pizarro

in 1582, referring to the districts of Santiago and Santa María de Nieva, comprised 12,586 inhabitants.¹²⁾ Being a partial census, including but a portion of the Aguaruna and Huambiza, the total Jívaro population may be estimated to about 30,000 at that time.

Due to wars and epidemics the number of people was probably reduced considerably in the subsequent period. However, recent census records seem to indicate population increase. In 1964 Guallart reported 6,737 Aguaruna and 1,263 Huambiza, a total of 8,000. Six years later the same author gives the figure 11,200 for the Aguaruna, 2,970 for Achual and 20,799 for Untsuri Shuara¹³⁾. In 1970, Varese and his students arrive at an estimate of 18,000 Aguaruna and 5,000 Huambiza. The latest report, for which Uriarte and his associates are responsible, confirm substantially this figure in so far as they have actually registered 16,005 Aguaruna and 2,092 Huambiza, but adding a comment to this to the effect that some eight settlements are still lacking. Possibly the figure per 1972 will approximate 20,000 in the whole Cenepa district (Uriarte 1972).

Not only has there been an increase in the native population. Since 1964 the number of persons of foreign origin has gone up from 160 settlers (colonos), including traders, missionaries etc. to an estimated 1.800 of settlers only in 1970. In addition approximately 1.000 floating residents were recognized; and in none of these 1970 categories were the troops and technical staff of the Ministry of Agriculture included, neither were the police force (Guardia Civil) nor the missionaries of various denominations (Guallart 1964, Varese 1970).

If these figures are not far from correct, population density has increased considerably in recent years: from 0.37 per square kilometer about 1964 to more than 1 in 1972, taking 22,000 square kilometers as our areal basis. Considering only the growth of the native population, we notice that space has been reduced compared to 1582; and space, not arable land, is the critical factor for a people living off the jungle.

Settlements

The total number of Aguaruna and Huambiza houses counted as of March 1972 was 3.076 and the number of "families" 3,475. Allowing for errors in recording family and/or household compositions we may, nevertheless, establish as evident that, at least, some houses give shelter to more than one nuclear family, the average number

of inhabitants per house being 5,8 and per family 5,2. (Uriarte 1972). Actually I have recorded from one to three nuclear families forming a domestic unit of production and consumption.

The census, to which I am referring, has registered 19,2% marriages where two or more women - 48.4% of whom were sisters - shared one husband.

Houses are, as mentioned before, scattered over the territory. However, quite a few of them are grouped together in, what the census designates, comunidades, (communities). Caserío, as noted before, is the local name for such a comunidad or settlement¹⁴). Excluding the 8 caseríos still to be recorded, the census comprises 176 such neighborhood entities, the nature and composition of which vary. Thus the census ventures a break down into three major types of caseríos based on criteria such as relative distance and degree of interaction between house sites. Since further details are not given, we cannot survey this typology at the time being. However, the census does offer a table which displays the relative size of caseríos in terms of their component families:

Number of families	Percentage	Comment
1 - 10	22.00	i.e. less than 10 families
10 - 20	42.60	
20 - 30	21.50	
30 - 40	4.50	
40 - 50	5.00	
50 - 60	1.08	2 settlements only
60 - 70	2.16	4 settlements
70 - 80	0.54	1 settlement
100 - 110	0.54	1 settlement (Napurúk)
3,475	100.00	Nuclear families (not households)

Evidently 64% of the settlements consist of less than 20 families, or perhaps not more than 15 houses. Observation establishes that many caseríos are but named stretches of a river or quebrada along which single houses or small house clusters are spaced at great intervals. Comments made by Uriarte on the census, reveal that some caserío borders are arbitrarily set, reflecting convenience rather than a geographical and/or social reality. Thus it is clear that single houses are found that do not belong, in any definite sense, to one or another of the 176 caseríos registered.

Our initial statements as to the essentially dispersed settlement pattern is then borne out by the census report. We may, by the same token, conjecture that the populous caseríos do not represent the typical or preferred form of settlement; on the contrary their occurrence is most likely circumstantial and therefore worth probing into. We will return to this later.

Local Organization

Certain areas of the world are more marginal than others in the sense that they are more constraining on human habitation. The Cenepa district (Alto Marañón area) offers a set of opportunities for a relatively stable population dedicated to foraging activities. Excessive population growth, a change in settlement pattern of productive regimes may turn out to be critical in this kind of environment. Balance is obtained through the social mechanisms and technology people have at their disposal for coping with the problems of life met in this particular setting. Crucial in this respect is the formation of viable social units.

The social units people form and maintain are the outcome of expediency and the crew needed for the jobs to be done, and the tasks are largely determined by the resources recognized and the techniques chosen.

But the social form is also a product of specific cultural traditions or shared values about things important in this world. In their dealings with fellow men the Aguaruna are constrained by their most cherished idiosyncracies concerning life and death: life ought to be adventurous and dramatic, death stylish and heroic. To be exposed to danger and show virility and contempt of death are virtues highly prized in men, and a similar attitude is expected of women who do not refrain from committing suicide if they feel their dignity offended¹⁵). Closely associated with this view about personal integrity is the position held about individual freedom: An Aguaruna goes or comes when it pleases him.

Through hunting and war, the two favourite pursuits, these ideals and notions are enacted and vindicated.

Both activities have implications for the manner by which individuals choose to attach themselves to each other. War parties and hunting expeditions require an organizational basis for their realizations. Defense as well as attack entail the recognition of enemy territory and frontier area on the one hand and the potential of forming alliances on the other.

Today when headhunting is no longer practiced, "enemy territory" is still a reality in so far as people seem to avoid trespass on lands that are controlled by traditional opponents.

Consequently, local organization should somehow reflect this state of affairs.

Considering now other crucial activities in which the Aguaruna indulge we discover that barbasco fishing cannot take place without the simultaneous effort of a fairly large crew, preferably under the guidance of a leader of operations ¹⁶⁾. Likewise, clearing of a new yuca garden cannot easily be undertaken by one man alone. Even if grown-up sons should be available, it is more efficient, time-saving and by far more fun to invite a lot of people to participate in a masateo - a masato-drinking, singing and dancing feast ¹⁷⁾ - which of course takes place after everybody has joined in a working party for the benefit of the host. This kind of labor exchange through feast is called /ipáamat/, meaning simply "invitation".

Some of the tasks requiring the coordinated effort of several people need directing and leadership; such was the case with war parties and such is the case with hunting expeditions and barbasco fishing.

A small local group consisting of some 7 - 10 houses would be sufficiently large to permit the formation of temporary working units of the kind indicated. On the other hand an alliance of less than 10 households may seem far too small to maintain a military defence against the rest of the world. Furthermore, a wide hunting range and constant clearing of new yuca gardens require large areas within which travelling and moving can be undertaken without danger. Indeed, the most important environmental constraint is the rapid exhaustion of resources, including soil, house constructing materials and animals. Individual mobility, then, is necessary in order to obtain maximum return from a vulnerable habitat.

Hence some compromise must be sought by individual Aguaruna in their dealings with fellow men, exploiting the same general area, i.e. some social arrangement which allow for a high degree of individual liberty while at the same time providing a basis for the establishment of improvised, temporary work groups.

Flexibility, then, appears to be the property required, and the actual Aguaruna settlements should somehow reflect precisely this feature. In other words: We should not expect the existence of

permanent corporations with ascriptive membership, but rather loose, semi-corporate, dispersed neighborhoods, the membership of which is legitimized through voluntary association.

Since ceremonial war and headhunting up to recently have been prominent features and central to Aguaruna self-image, the underlying framework of organization is bound to make provisions for exclusion of some individuals, and by the same token allow others to attach themselves to persons, groups or settlements. The implication is a constraint on the individual's choice of residence. His mobility is channelized so that he may operate freely within a certain area while avoiding other districts and settlements, viz. those of traditional "enemies".

Thus, up to this point I have tried to expose certain conditions which may help us understand why Aguaruna actually do move all the time and why homesteads vary considerably in size and composition.

Even the single domestic unit does not show some standard form, although a typical development cycle is observable. A household increases its membership through time by natural growth and by inclusion of affinals, young men - who frequently turn out to be SiSo or BrSo - marry the daughters of the head of the household. Indeed, one domestic group may by these processes form a fairly viable and almost independent unit.

While there do exist today some few isolated houses with very little outside contact, the majority of homes are clustered in such a way as to form neighborhoods - houses being spaced at trumpet-shell calling distance on both sides of a river or brook. In the neighborhood of Yupikús two houses belong to the same man, Antún Tsamahén. In the main house the head and his two first wives are living with their dependents. These two wives are sisters. The second house is occupied by his third wife (unrelated to the first two) and her children from an earlier marriage.

A house may seem to be a unit of production and consumption. However, closer observation makes it clear that while each woman has the complete control of her yuca garden and disposes of the produce from which she prepares the fermented yuca drink (masato) and other yuca dishes, she is actually feeding more people than the persons who usually sleep in her house. In fact she herself is eating about half her meals in some other house. This is true of all the persons belonging to the inner neighborhood circle of Yupikús. They visit each other constantly and share everything,

including game and fish.

Who are living in the house then?

We have mentioned Antún and his three wives. Right across from his first house, his daughter lives with her family. In the fourth house, not more than shouting distance away, lives Antún's Br-in-law, Nahámtay, with his Mo, children (his Wi is dead) and a So-in-law. Nahámtay is Br of Nasék and Tsapík, Antún's first and second wives. In the fifth house, some 100 meters away from Antún's first house, his Br-So, Santos, is living with his present Wi and infant child.

The occupants of this small house cluster are closely related in various fashions. The same is true of the rest of Yupikús and of two other house clusters of Numpátkeim and Sáwentsa about an hour away (not including the time it takes to cross the river). Every single house, totalling some 25 at one period during 1970-71, is related to at least three other houses in a never-ending kin-and-affinal web.

This then is the framework on which the Aguaruna base their interpersonal relationships and which they refer to in order to gain access to hunting territories and garden plots: A kinship network embracing all Aguaruna and some Huambiza. Going from one end of the territory to the other chance is that one might follow a thread of kinship all the way; or rather a chain of kinsmen and affinals, i.e. as long as each link in the chain is recognized. A gap may represent a manslaughter and an ongoing feud. Some people are not recognized as relatives, they are "outsiders", and I can not, therefore, call them /diíč/ (MoBr), /apág/ (FaBr), /yažúg/ (Br, FaBrSo etc) or /saíg/ (MoBrSo/Br-in-law) the most important categories into which those people fall who are connected over great distances. This is just to say that the prolific kinship terminology is reserved for close kin the genealogical positions of whom are wellknown. All others are distributed on the main categories according to genealogical knowledge, but since charters do exist for each EGO, and because agnatic links are known, some agreement can always be reached.

A neighborhood which includes all the main categories may be the one in which I was born or the one to which I can move at any time and feel welcome. If I travel through such a settlement I will be given food and shelter. Likewise when a /yažúg/ visits our house, we are obliged to treat him well.

For a young man to leave his home and live with his /diŋč/ (MoBr) is a proper way of approaching the daughter of the latter, a preferred marriage partner. Some senior men who have more than one wife and several daughters, may find themselves as heads of fairly large household groups, comprising a number of hunters (or warriors). Such a man may be called /kakáham/ if he is known as a killer and /wáhju/ should he have gained reputation as a leader of men in war parties and hunting expeditions. A big man /múun/ becomes the central figure in a neighborhood and may even be recognized as adviser and spokesman for several neighborhoods. The temporary, corporate nature of certain settlements seems to hinge precisely on their prominent men; and as long as these are physically and mentally strong the house clusters over which they exert some influence, remain fairly stable sub-communities - in spite of the fact that individuals constantly shift residence. "Stability" in this sense refers to a change of house site within the hunting range of the neighborhood rather than the moving out to a completely different area.

Just as death within the domestic unit may cause the family to go somewhere else, leaving the body in a hammock, old age or death may befall the neighborhood as such: "Once there was a much bigger caserío on this side of the river (in Yupikús) but now they have all left, my relatives are like the /kányuk/, they don't stay long at any place", said Antún Tsamahén. Nevertheless, Yupikús does still exist on the map, and Antún acts as a headman and representative, even for those who have moved to the other side of the river.

The interesting point is that not only domestic units are subject to a typical developmental cycle, but also neighborhoods or communities may change their composition and number completely in a man's lifespan - sometimes literally the lifespan of a "big man". However, it happens that a /wáhju/ is "succeeded" by a son or a son-in-law (SiSo). Antún Tsamahén is a case in point. He became leader as his father had been, but not because he was his son. Antún has several elder brothers, but Antún proved himself to be the brave man, the killer and the leader of men. In other words: he achieved his position as his father did. On the other hand, opportunities to demonstrate bravery are present in a setting where a famous /wáhju/ speaks and gives advice, and a son is at least as likely a person to take over responsibility as any other man.

Thus, a social network consisting of linked fragments of ge-

nealogies, constitutes the frame of reference for Aguaruna in their search for hunting grounds and hunting partners. In the process they form households, clusters of domestic units and dispersed neighborhoods, the exact nature and composition of which may vary considerably from one district to the next and from one year to the next.

The all-embracing nature of the kin-and-affinal network is apparently acknowledged by the Aguaruna. Apart from their personal experiences involving such items as, "my mother was a Wampis (Huambiza)", they seem to realize the general character of the network just as they are aware of the ethnic specificity of ceremonial warfare and head shrinking. In other words: The Aguaruna consider all other Jívaro, whether foe or friend, as somehow related. An informant once volunteered a piece of legendary history to the effect that formerly all Jívaro were united against other ethnic groups; then followed a period when Aguaruna, Huambiza, Achual and Shuara were fighting each other, and finally the Aguaruna split into hostile, regional segments. If this history represents shared oral tradition or an improvisation made on the spot to account for a general notion about Jívaro cultural unity, I am not in the position to tell. But this is not the important point. What matters is the recognized reality of sameness expressed in an otherwise unreliable portrayal of tribal history.

And this sameness, it is true, has from time to time found its resounding demonstration during periods of unrest and threats from the outside when large numbers of Jívaro irrespective of locality and division fused into an army of great striking power. Neither the Inca, nor the Spaniards managed to conquer and pacify the Jívaro. Not even the Peruvians or Ecuadorians succeeded in making headway in this area some 50 years ago. At least they never won a decisive victory.

As already suggested in the introduction of this paper Jívaro invincibility was partly due to this organizational characteristics of theirs: the temporary suppression of internal strife in order to withstand an intruder. Apparently it was possible to warn both allies and enemies about an impending danger; such a warning obviously implied the postponement of all feuds. Technically messages of alarm may well have been communicated by means of the /túntui/ - the signal drum and/or emissaries were sent out to notify neighbors.¹⁸⁾

Thus we consider it evident that an overriding principle of

"ethnic fusion" was in operation. Applied to the total network, in cases of emergency, this principle has the effect of cementing weak links, the filling of gaps; indeed the sudden realization of a complete web of kinsmen and affines, uniting all Aguaruna and perhaps even all Jívaro in an action group of considerable striking power.

III. SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST ?

In order to survive the first polar explorers had to rely on Eskimo experience and technology. Life in the Arctic is harsh and those who had learnt to cope with the problems became the natural teachers of the intruders.

From our point of view the polar regions are marginal, but so is the tropical forest. It is marginal in the sense that it sets limits for human habitation and exploitation. Modern technology does not necessarily alter this situation. On the contrary, such equipment is likely to upset the balance and destroy existing resources. And that is exactly what takes place in several localities today. In the wake of the machines are left stripped and defenseless those who, through generations, have learnt to master the environment.

In the following I shall present fragments of the Alto Marañon case, illustrating but a general tendency, a trend towards self-destruction. The story starts with the first contact and ends with the imprisonment of a few Indians who dared resist the coming of civilization on their proper territory.

Confrontation.

The two Inca rulers, Topa Inca and his son Huayna Capac, made futile attempts at conquering the Jívaro territory and subduing its inhabitants, placer gold being the main motive.

The so-called Bracamoros of unknown affiliation, neighbors of the Jívaro, were conquered by the Spaniards in 1542. In 1549 the city of Jaén was founded. The same year, the Benavente expedition penetrated Jívaro country as far as Río Paute making sporadic contacts with the Indians whom he described as "the most insolent I have seen in all the time that I have been exploring in the conquest of the Indies".¹⁹⁾ Later he tells that "there are not one thousand Indians in all that land of Xivaro, and it consists of the wildest mountain land that I have seen and is very rough mountainous country, and the people of this province are all naked and very in-

dependent, according to the way it appeared to us" (ibid.).

In 1557 Juan de Salinas started his explorations of the area, founding colonies such as Santa María de Nieva on his way. He was the first one to pass the dreaded pongo (rapids) of Manseriche. He wrote many letters about his adventures and exploits. After a visit to Spain he says:

Following my return I have busied myself in establishing order and settling and sustaining the four cities that I left populated when I came to the Kingdom to salute Your Highness. In addition I have populated two more in suitable locations, one of which is called Logroño and the other Nueva Sevilla del Oro. In all of these, mines have been discovered and are still being discovered, which promise great riches and that the Royal fifths of Your Highness will be greatly increased; even though there should be no other reward for the work which has been put into them and the expenses incurred, that return would be large.²⁰⁾

The search for gold, then, was a major motive for entering Jívaro land and settle it. The natives did not let this pass unnoticed. In the beginning, however, they behaved expectantly if not friendly, even submitting "in a docile manner to their encomenderos" (Stirling 1938:16). Soon oppression and cruelties on the part of the encomenderos,²¹⁾ fomented hostility among the Indians directly concerned as well as among the independent groups. Rebellious Jívaro revolted successfully in many places, culminating in the great uprising of 1599, "which terminated in the complete destruction of Spanish rule in the Jívaro territory and enabled the Indians to revert once more to their native customs and manner of life" (ibid.). According to Velasco 20,000 Indians participated in the military operations, an exaggerated figure we may suspect, but still there is reason to believe that the routing of the Spanish settlements must have required the determined effort of a great force of warriors.

Later both military expeditions and missionaries tried to gain a foothold in the territory without much success. In 1692 an ambitious expedition under the leadership of Don Jerónimo Vaca set out to "convert the Jívaros by force and by persuasion" (op. cit.:20). The army consisted of 900 pacified Indians of other tribes and 100 Spaniards. The expedition was a complete failure, and when the disastrous result was "brought to the attention of the Viceroy of Peru he issued an edict prohibiting similar forays in the future" (op. cit.:23).

From time to time Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries made strenuous attempts to establish themselves in the area. Some of them did succeed in gaining the confidence and friendship of one or another group of Jívaro, but no real progress was made by the missions, "and the period (1790 to 1803) was principally one of decadence and disorganization" (ibid.). After a series of missionary intents the Jesuits were expelled in 1886, an event still remembered among the Aguaruna (Varese 1970). Not before 1949 was it possible for the Jesuits to return. In that year Father Martín Cuesta S.J. founded the school in Santa María de Nieva where only two merchants had settled down in addition to a few Loretan families and a group of Aguaruna.

In 1902 the first Protestant mission set up quarter on the Upano River. Other missions followed. On the Marañon a Nazarene station has been in operation since 1949 (when the Jesuits returned). Two years before that a linguist of the Summer Institute of Linguistics had started fieldwork in the area, and in 1953 the first bilingual school was opened.

From about 1890 to the early part of this century was the epoch of the rubber boom in the Amazon, and the Jívaro country was again invaded by fortune-hunters. These adventurers made no attempt at establishing permanent settlements and apparently left few traces after the collapse of the rubber market.²²⁾

While the rubber collecting was still going on, the skin trade started; and the killing of felines has been carried on until 1971 when the new protection act came into force.

Although precious metals were the prime motive power behind Spanish exploration and expansion in the early days, some attempts at colonization were launched at several places. Thus San Francisco de Borja was founded by Vaca de Vega in 1619 and was still extant in 1692 when Don Jerónimo Vaca visited it (Stirling 1938: 19, 21). Somehow it must have dwindled away because in 1865 the Peruvian Government decided to reestablish an agricultural colony at Borja. Settlers with their families were embarked on river steamers and sent up Marañon (from Iquitos presumably). These boats were to run on a six months' schedule with provisions. "At the end of 6 months the steamer arrived to find a flourishing community of about 100 people. Six months later the boat returned to find nothing but charred ruins. They had been visited by the Jívaros from above the Pongo".²³⁾

With regard to military activities in the zone, the following

statement was probably accurate in 1938: "Attempts at establishment of any sort of military posts within the Jívaro country have failed in modern times as completely as they did in the past" (Stirling 1938:27). Today the situation has changed. From 1964 when the Law 14920 was promulgated, the Peruvian Army and the Dirección General de Reforma Agraria y Asentamiento Rural have been carrying out a colonization program in the Alto Marañón district. During the year 1965 the highway had penetrated as far as the Chiriaco River and the military garrisons of Imazita and Mesones Muro were thereby connected with the outside world, as were the military posts of Pinglo and Chávez Valdivia and the check point Ciro Alegría which included a landing strip for small aircrafts. For several years expansion was impeded because the completion of the bridge over Chiriaco had been delayed. But this year the work was speeded up; consequently a large section of the eastern side of Marañón is now accessible by trucks.

In the wake of the army and the colonization program followed the Guardia Civil (Civil Guard), and the real estate speculators.

Last but not least, Peruvian interest in the tropical forest involved official concern about such endemic diseases as malaria. For some years the Servicio Nacional de Eradicación de Malaria (SNEM) has been operating in the zone, fumigating every house with aldrin at first and subsequently with DDT.

The present state of affairs.

Recent years have seen few instances of violence directed against the invaders, nor have these in their turn launched systematic attacks or massacres.

The arrival of the -civilizados however, has brought a series of dangerous epidemical diseases such as smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, influenza, whooping cough and gonorrhoea, all of which have taken their toll without, it is true seriously threatening normal growth.

More alarming is the effect of the territorial expansion instigated by central authorities and carried out by the army detachment now stationed in the zone. Through a succession of legal proposals and supreme decisions the whole area has ceased to be the undisputed land of the Aguaruna and Huambiza.²⁴⁾ Indeed their traditional right to the territory is ignored or deliberately denied so as to create a no man's land where catch as catch can, has come to be the rule.

The Peruvian Constitution grants citizenship to all persons born within the national territory. However, the official recognition of any particular membership, and hence legal confirmation of an individual's rights and obligations is based on conditions impossible to fulfill by the majority of the Indians in the tropical forests: Enlistment in the public records (census rolls), military service (and service card), literacy, ability to communicate in the official language.

The Peruvian Constitution declares that all forests are State property though acknowledging private landholdings legally acquired.

The Legislation of Tierras de Montaña (Law 1220) states what is meant by forests: "It is the property of the State all the land which, situated in the fluvial zone of the Republic, constitutes the forest region."

Since the owners are incapable of obtaining the legal acquisition of their proper lands, the State consider the jungle area as its free disposition to be adjudicated to anybody who solicits a piece of land.

Said A. Zumaeta of the Colonization Project, Region of Alto Marañón in December 1959: "The land tenure situation is uncertain with respect to the land occupied by the Indians, mestizos and whites. The occupants do not possess the titles and they have not even initiated the necessary steps in order to obtain the legal recognition of their patches, implying that practically all lands of this region are public territory and property of the State" (Guallart 1971).

Consequently, poor, landless families from the coast and the highlands are seeping into the area, enticed by promises of abundant and rich lands. They are even offered credit and technical assistance.

Land, then, as a result, has become a commodity. Specified, well-defined measured pieces of territory by the name parcelas are a scarce resource, a valuable object with a price and hence the prey of gamblers and swindlers, otherwise pursuing their business as merchants and itinerant traders. Both Aguaruna and colonos are their victims: the former are outsmarted because they quite simply do not comprehend the meaning of land as a marketable article, the latter are too tempted by seemingly advantageous offers to bother with the lawfulness of the transactions.

After all the colonos have little to lose since they are in a privileged position compared to the Aguaruna. Today they are

squeezing out the Indians from their territories close to the highway and along the main rivers, i.e. land lots with easy access to commercial centers and the military installations.

The original plan of the colonization project was based on a calculation of 86 non-Indian settlers to whom land was granted in the form of parcelas, 15 hectares each. Actually, there are 147 new settlers with titles in the Nueva Nazareth-Imazita area, 95 in the Tutúgkus region, 80 near Dumigkús, and at least 30 near Santa María de Nieva (Varese 1970:9).²⁵⁾

Officially two categories of colonos are recognized:

- (1) the immigrant who has been granted title to a parcela; this is the colono oficial, and
- (2) the freeloaders without titles who, in the capacity of relative or friend or employee are residing with an official colono, start tilling neighboring fields supposed to be "free". The tendency is to let these so-called precarios stay on indefinitely and to grant a title later on for the territory they are occupying or move them to some other parcela, to which they may get a legal title

From the Aguaruna point of view the colonos are intruders with no right whatsoever to Indian native land. However, while the Aguaruna fear the invasion as such, they are not particularly afraid of individual colonos. On the contrary, they look upon the foreigners with contempt, ridiculing them for their lack of knowledge about the environment, their incapability of constructing proper houses, their ignorance of the various techniques and practices required in order to clear a field for cultivation, their lack of familiarity with hunting and fishing, and, finally, their awkwardness on the river and on the trail (cf. Varese 1970:23).

The colono tends to treat the Indians with suspicion and distrust, frequently showing an aggressive attitude towards his fellowmen. He is more apt to behave individualistically and expansively than cooperatively and friendly. The colonos come from different provinces of Peru, and they only share the characteristic of being lumped together in an equally foreign inhospitable, difficult and unhealthy environment after having had to leave their place of origin in order to try their luck somewhere else. Any economic failure or deficiency is regularly attributed to the environment, lack of sufficient support, or the convenient rationalization: "The Aguaruna have better lands and they don't till them" (ibid.).

Varese and his associates remind us that the parcelling out

in family holdings as well as the tendency among the settlers and civil servants alike to state all problems connected with land and work in strictly personifying terms rather than collective ones, have fostered a spirit of extreme egocentrism, and hence an inclination to view interpersonal relations as primarily competitive and aggressive. It should not be overlooked it is added, that the majority of individuals coming from the mountains or the coast are marginal persons even at their place of origin (ibid.).

How many colonos fail in their new setting is unknown. No reliable statistics is available, but observers seem to agree that turnover is extremely high, the common sight being the disillusioned colono and his sick, malnourished family on the way back, out of the jungle with which he had no qualifications to cope.

While this coming and going of colonos is taking place, an increasing number of Indians are getting into trouble. Lacking titles to their native lands, they are forced out by those who have managed to obtain the required documents. If and when Aguaruna put up a resistance, usually by seeking advice from the Jesuits, they are likely to invoke a series of grotesque proceedings, reminiscent of a Kafka novel, the end product of which is negative.

Anduash Kumbia Pati and his family refused to abandon their lands, usurped by the notorious Malca of Chiclayo, they were condemned by the Judge of Bagua in 1969 to "three years imprisonment for invasion of another's property....". Their indefatigable spokesman, Father José M. Guallart, S.J., was sentenced to six years "for being the spiritual instigator (causante intelectual) and dangerous priest" (Uriarte 1971; cf. CASE 1, p. 30).

Lands along the highway and near the trading post of Chiriaco are naturally more exposed to encroachment than the interior quebradas. Thus the groups Kányash, Hémpue and Ágkuash, named after their headmen, inhabiting the Shushúga district, are now being invaded. The same ousting of the natives has occurred in the zone declared as Military Reserve, between the mouth of Nyagúga and the Chiriaco bridge (ibid.).

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that also the Civil Guard takes active part in the land robbing business (cf. CASE 4, p. 46). Even the University of Lambayeque is not above such actions (cf. CASE 3, p. 42).

The incidents of land grabbing are so numerous that a mere listing of cases would lead too far afield in as much as detailed documentation on five cases is offered in the next section. Let me

only mention the wholesale displacement of Indians in the Tutúgkus region, the removal of the Ausuk group from the Imazita zone to accomodate the military garrison, Colonización Militar No. 1, and most recently the entirely uncontrolled settling down of a swarm of precarios in places like Chiágkus, Mun, Río Nieva, the quebradas of Kanampa and Dumigkús near Ciro Alegría; the latter invasion being connected, undoubtedly, with the expected advancement of the highway (Uriarte 1971).

Clearly, this situation has caused alarm among institutions and people dedicated to the welfare of the Aguaruna. Petitions have been sent to central authorities and plans have been launched proposing reservations for the Indians. So far only 10 reservas (reservations), comprising 22,396 hectares of the total area, have been secured, the signification of which is that 0.3% of the caseríos enjoy legal recognition of their present zone of residence.²⁶⁾ The ten reservations were confirmed officially in 1964, but the guarantee entailed is questionable.

Eight of them were proposed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and two by the Apostolic Prefecture of Marañon. There may exist one or more additional reservations, the titles and documents of which seem mysteriously to have gone astray. When the army engineers approached the Urakús group in order to establish a provisional port of embarkation on their territory, the Indians were unwilling to relinquish any portion of it. Unfortunately, the deed and official documents pertaining to their reserved holding turned out to be missing (Guallart 1971, Uriarte 1971, Memorial de Urakús 1971, cf. p. 68).

Turning now our attention from landownership as it is presently practiced in Alto Marañon to certain other ways in which civilization makes itself felt, it seems pertinent to start with the campaign against malaria. The SNEM (see p. 22) takes for granted that the eradication of malaria is basically a question of killing the mosquito (Anopheles darlingi), and since this insect is supposed to congregate in or near the houses, the functionaries fumigate as many houses as they can lay hands on every six months.

In the beginning aldrin was used and the SNEM accomplished at least to intoxicate the Kumbia family (Uriarte 1971). At present DDT is used.²⁷⁾ Nothing is spared: houses, utensils and tools. I have myself observed that the functionaries have opened up outboard motors and sprayed the parts, causing damage and irritation. What they do not spray they grab. Time and again the

DDT officers are reported to have molested women. One day, while I was staying at the Chiriaco mission, a DDT-team appeared ready to fumigate the entire station. Some of us tried to stop them, explaining carefully the disastrous effect of DDT and that this insecticide was now prohibited in several countries. In the end they agreed to avoid a few buildings, but of fear for their superiors completed fumigation of the school children's sleeping quarters, school rooms and dining "hall" including the tableware.

One or two casualties among infants are on record. The most exposed victims, however, are the domestic animals. Indeed, keeping poultry, a potential protein source, has become an impossibility: DDT is killing off the entire stock of chickens. The valuable hunting dogs and the cats are sometimes saved if sugar cane juice can be administered before intoxication has gone too far.

Another serious effect of DDT is the process of deterioration it induces in the thatched roof. Informants claim that the decay of the yarina leaves is speeded up, and a thatch now lasts only one third of its original period of duration.

Only few Aguaruna have managed to hide their houses or move away fast enough to avoid the DDT curse. Those who have tried to resist fumigation of their houses have been threatened by reprisals or by force of arms point-blank. Quite recently, however, some Aguaruna have succeeded in organizing themselves in larger units in order to oppose more powerfully the DDT personnel. When news have reached a particular area that a SNEM gang is expected, a group of men, armed with shotguns and machetes, has promptly assembled, ready for action. So successful has this measure proved to be, that by now concerted effort against SNEM has become the generally accepted idea, and by implication, given impetus to a growing consciousness or revival (?) of a conception of Aguaruna unity and identity.

That a perception of common interest is likely to emerge is also indicated by the ways Aguaruna talk these days, informing each other about various encounters with the intruders.

On repeated occasions Aguaruna have found themselves obligated to undertake forced labor under the euphemic heading colaboración cívica voluntaria (voluntary civil action) (Uriarte 1971).

The officer in charge of the airstrip at Ciro Alegría has periodically compelled the neighboring Indians to do the cleaning of the field without remuneration. Nor are they given board or tools. Those who fail to comply or refuse risk to have their hair

cropped.

And since *Ciro Alegría* is a check point as well, any threat of that nature is backed by the muzzle of a gun. All crafts passing on the *Marañón* are stopped and checked. Stubborn *Aguaruna* who do not pay attention to the "voluntary civil action" are detained at the post and their belongings confiscated, be it timber or hides destined for sale in *Santa María de Nieva*, or products brought home from this place to neighbors and relatives in the *caserío*. Two instances of such detentions and confiscations were observed directly by members of the Varese team during the four weeks of study (Varese 1970:22).

The *Aguaruna* have, furthermore, become aware of the fact that they are being cheated. They know that a mestizo daylaborer is paid 50.00 S/. plus food while an *Aguaruna* earns 30.00 or 40.00 at the most without food. *Supinánch Tsamahén* wanted to buy a fine rooster from a *colono*. Of course he had no money, so he offered to work for the fowl. Eight days the *colono* demanded as a becoming payment. "My brother *Supinánch* must be dumb or crazy to accept such a deal," said *Antún*. The irony in this whole situation lies not so much in the discriminating wages as in the fact that the *Aguaruna* are preferred in *chacra* clearing due to their superior technical knowledge and because they work faster than the mestizos. But the paradox becomes even more visible when we compare this preference for *Aguaruna* assistance and their wages with the stereotype about the Indians "who don't till their lands" (cf. p. 24).

Of course overcharging for consumer goods, the classic ingredient of Indian-White relations, is not lacking in the picture: a box of cartridges which the Jesuit Economic Service sells at 125.00 S/. some merchants offer at 300.00 S/. and the garrison store of *Cháves Valdivia* at 250.00 S/. A box of painrelieving pills sold in the Jesuit dispensary for 90.00 S/.,²⁸⁾ merchants sell at 150.00 to 180.00 S/.

Even more common is the underbidding of Indian products. Buyers have managed to get hold of first class tigrillo pelts (*Felis pardalis*) for 350.00 S/. when the price in *Iquitos* was stipulated to 1.500.00 S/. (cf. *Uriarte* 1971).

In some places of the world pharmacies are run by professional pharmacists, and the sale of medicines is under strict control. Not so in *Chiriaco*. Here, even strong antibiotics are sold freely to *Aguaruna* without any medical prescriptions whatsoever. Thus one elderly man almost died from the effects of the misuse of a

particular drug. He was saved in the last moment by the intervention of a nurse attached to the Jesuit station.

This brings us to the final point: The missions. Protestant and Catholic institutions are operating in the area, trying to counteract as best they can the harmful effects of the civilization. We have already noticed their active participation in the struggle about Indian reservations. Indeed, they offer various forms of assistance in an effort to prevent abuses and delay the destruction of the Aguaruna way of life. Unfortunately, some element of competition between Catholic and Protestant has been present. There is, however, some hope that minor discrepancies with regard to belief, ritual and practical means may be put aside for the time being. In the process they unintentionally encourage certain developments which may prove detrimental. Thus programs of primary school education is intended to provide the Aguaruna with sufficient knowledge of the Spanish language and other useful skills to make them better equipped to withstand, or adjust themselves, to civilization (supposed to be inevitable anyhow). But schools are rather permanent installations, and their establishment tends to concentrate and partly immobilize groups of the population, the effect of which is overtaxing of resources in a particular locality.

While education is supposed to provide the Indians with a defensive weapon against cheating and abuses, agricultural innovations, such as new crops and cultivation techniques are intended to furnish them with an offensive instrument with which to fight altered circumstances and failing resources. The introduction of rice is a case in point. Rice is not well suited to the soil; hence the quality is often poor. Transport is difficult, and, as a result, the produce does not compete favorably with the yield from the far better rice district higher up in the foothill area. Rice cultivation, then, requires time and attention, but gives little return. Furthermore, the rice plant needs special care, such as keeping birds away, which tie up working hands from other useful tasks like collecting, hunting or fishing.

There is no obvious or immediate solution to the problems raised implicitly in this highly descriptive exposure of the present state of affairs. Subsequently, after I have laid bare before you some further details on the territorial question, I shall return to the fundamental issue of this essay, viz.: survival.

Documentation: Five model cases

Below are submitted verbatim a series of letters and excerpts from letters concerning land robbery and other abuses committed against the Aguaruna in recent years.

Since the letters are official documents, names and places are retained. The Spanish original of each sequence of letters comprising one case is presented first, followed by an English version. Dr. Willy Rasmussen of the Romance Language Department, University of Bergen, and I have worked together on the translation. Our intention has been to render as faithfully as possible the contents and style of the original documents, cumbersome and involved as they are, without losing legibility completely. Each case (sequence of letters) is supplied with a final comment the purpose of which is primarily to add whatever additional information exists, updating the case in question.

CASE 1: A letter to the President of Peru from Andoash Cumbia Pati

Sr. Presidente de la República
Gral. de División Juan Velasco Alvarado.
Palacio de Gobierno.
Lima.

Sr. Presidente:

Como en última instancia y después de haber agotado todos los otros recursos, acudimos a su autoridad pidiendo justicia y protección todos los aguarunas que vivimos en el sector Cangareso-Miraná en el Distrito de El Cenepa (Bagua, Amazonas).

1. En los años 1954 ó 1955, aparece en Cangareso Alfredo Malca Suárez. En aquel lugar vivía desde tiempo inmemorial un grupo o "clan" aguaruna cuyo representante en el momento era Andoash Cumbia. Malca, en cambio, procedente de Trujillo, vivía ahora en La Yunga (Jaén) como "comunero" y de allí salió para venir aquí después de vender sus trabajos.
2. Con promesa que luego no cumple, Malca consigue que los aguarunas le ayuden a hacer una pequeña chacra y le permitan instalar unas invernadas que escasamente llegarán a dos hectáreas. Una vez instalado, denuncia ante la Oficina de Tierras de Montaña de Bagua la totalidad de las tierras de los aguarunas hasta 88 Has. Y comienza a hostilizar a los aguarunas para que abandonen el lugar diciendo que "ya lo ha solicitado él."
3. En 1959, Andoash se entera de que la Ley le ampara (DS. No. 3 de l. de marzo de 1957). Entonces solicita a su vez la tierra en donde ha vivido desde tiempo inmemorial, según el

arriba citado DS. y esta solicitud es debidamente recibida y registrada en la Oficina de Tierras de Montaña de Bagua con fecha 11 de agosto de 1959 (Reg. no. 1660 Let C pag. 16, Lib 2°).

4. La solicitud de Andoash queda inmovilizada en dicha oficina; en cambio la de Malca va adelante. En 1965 obtiene que se le otorgue su título (Res. No. 3719 que está contenida en el Título No. 22338 B, y en el expediente 49 - M/ 966 (618/ 965). Abusando de la ignorancia de Andoash y de que no sabe leer ni escribir, aunque entiendo algo de castellano, hace poner a Andoash su huella digital en las actas de peritaje. Pero en ninguna parte consta que retractará la solicitud hecha anteriormente sobre estas mismas tierras.
5. En todo este tiempo, Malca no ha hecho allí más trabajos; tiene el terreno abandonado y no vive allí de manera estable. En realidad está esperando que, con el avance de la carretera de penetración Olmos-Nieva, estos terrenos suban de valor para poder venderlos. En cambio en este mismo tiempo los hijos de Andoash han ido creciendo, se han casado y han tenido hijos a su vez. Aumentan en la zona las casas aguarunas y las pequeñas chacras de subsistencia.
6. Para mayo de 1968 la carretera de penetración ha llegado ya a la zona y afluyen los colonos y compradores. Malca quiere hacer valer su título sobre estas tierras que tenía abandonadas y en las que en la actualidad viven pacíficamente siete matrimonios aguarunas que totalizan 38 personas. Un hijo de Malca intenta despojar a los aguarunas de unas maderas que ellos habían beneficiado. Son suyas de Malca, "por que los aguarunas las han cogido de su propiedad". Los aguarunas se resisten. Estalla el conflicto. Los aguarunas llevan a denunciar al hijo de Malca por querer apropiarse de sus tablas. Pero la policía de El Muyo y el juez de tercera nominación voltean la denuncia contra los aguarunas; les detienen, vejan y hacen pagar una multa de 2.000 soles (que ellos tienen que pedir prestados) bajo la amenaza de hacerles ir a Chachapoyas para ser castigados.
7. Los aguarunas acuden a protestar ante el Presidente Belaúnde, que visita a Bagua, y ante el Director de Colonización de Lima. Sr. Ernesto Noriega Calmet, y piden que no se les arrojen de sus tierras. De Lima ordenan una inspección ocular para comprobar quién vive allí: si Malca o los aguarunas Aunque, el perito comprueba que las únicas casas y labores que existen en el momento son las de los aguarunas, esto no consta en el acta y en realidad no se realiza "oficialmente" la vista ocular por la clara parcialización del entonces delegado de Tierras de Montaña.
8. Los aguarunas, por medio de un apoderado, presentan en Lima un recurso pidiendo la anulación del título de Malca fundándose en la legislación existente (DS No. 66 - 11 de noviembre de 1965). Sólo el presentar este recurso, se enteran de que Malca ha presentado otras dos peticiones de tierras, a nombre de su esposa, (Felicitas Acuña) y Lorenzo Acuña, copando así toda la extensión útil a la orilla del río, relegando a los aguarunas a las zonas montañosas del interior y ha obtenido los títulos sin hacer los trabajos ordenados y despreciando los derechos existentes gracias a la parcialidad de los fun-

cionarios. En vista de ello, presentan a continuación sendos recursos impugnando estos títulos que también afectan a familias aguarunas del mismo "clan".

9. Malca "resucita" el conflicto de las tablas y denuncia a los aguarunas haciéndoles comparecer cuatro veces, durante un mismo mes, en Bagua (setiembre 1969). Quiere así, coaccionarles para que, aburridos, abandonen el terreno. Durante estas comparecencias, ante el Juez Instructor de Bagua, los aguarunas denuncian que Malca, que no tiene labores actualmente, quiere ahora entrar a trabajar de nuevo después de haber tenido el terreno abandonado. De este queda constancia en las declaraciones que obran en el Juzgado de Bagua.
10. Pese a las repetidas órdenes, cursadas desde Lima desde agosto de 1968, Malca va logrando que los funcionarios de Bagua vayan retrasando indefinidamente la investigación ordenada, pues le consta la situación de ocupantes con continuidad de los aguarunas y su propio abandono del terreno.

Se convoca una vista ocular para el 4 de febrero de 1969. Comparecen los aguarunas. Sin previa justificación dejan de hacerlo, Malca y el Ingeniero de Bagua y el Ingeniero de la Oficina de Tierras de Montaña de Bagua, Luis G. Vásquez.

El mismo Ingeniero cita, de nuevo, para el 28 de este mismo mes. Comparecen los aguarunas. Y, de nuevo, dejan de presentarse Malca y el Ingeniero. En estos mismos días se presenta, en cambio, la policía de El Muyo y les intima garantías para los trabajos del señor Malca.
11. Los aguarunas protestan por este verdadero desalojo sin orden judicial ante la policía de El Muyo, Sub-Prefecto Sr. Nicolás Osorio Arbaiza, Ministerio de Gobierno y Ministerio de Agricultura. Malca, con más de veinte peones contratados, pasa a la fuerza a la otra orilla del Marañón y comienza a rozaren forma intensiva en la tierra donde habitan los aguarunas. Esto sucede el 1° de marzo de 1969.
12. Después de casi un mes, la Dirección General de Gobierno Interior, 1° de abril de 1969 y el Sr. Ministro de Agricultura (31 de marzo del mismo) ordenan respectivamente que se impida la invasión y que se investigue y solucione el pleito. Ninguna de estas órdenes son cumplidas por los encargados de hacerlo. De estas órdenes dio, oportunamente, cuenta la prensa de Lima el mismo diario "El Peruano" abril 1969 afirmando que se había hecho justicia a los aguarunas. Naturalmente, todo este tiempo ha sido aprovechado por Malca que, con numerosos peones, ha rozado ya una gran cantidad de hectáreas (Quizá unas 18) e instalando toda prisa unas casas o tambos para sus peones.
13. Por fin, el 12 de abril, el Ingeniero de Bagua acude a realizar la vista ocular que se tenía ordenada con carácter de urgencia, desde agosto de 1968. En su misma presencia y en la del señor Sub-Prefecto, Malca sigue tumbando árboles en la tierra de los aguarunas sin que nadie se lo impida de manera efectiva. Fotografías tomadas entonces muestran, con evidencia, que no se trata de deshierbe de trabajos antiguos sino de verdaderos rozos recientes.

14. Posteriormente, sin que se haya tomado ninguna medida sobre el pleito, Malca ha continuado rezando y sembrado lo rozado. El pasto y el maíz de crecimiento precoz rodean ya las casas de los aguarunas y ocupan los mismos rozos hechos por estos mismos selváticos para sus propios cultivos. Triunfante en su impunidad, los invasores han llegado al maltrato de obra de alguna mujer aguaruna y son continuas las amenazas de desalojo violento y las de quemar las casas de los indígenas para obligarles a abandonar unas tierras, que dicen que ya no les pertenecen.

Al proclamar la Junta Revolucionaria los principios fundamentales de su gobierno, prometió:

"Promover a superiores niveles de vida, compatibles con la dignidad de la persona humana a los sectores menos favorecidos de la población, realizando la transformación de las estructuras económicas, sociales y culturales del país.

Normalizar al país en todos los campos de la actividad nacional y establecer firmemente el principio de autoridad, el respeto a la ley y el imperio de la justicia."

Esperamos, Sr. Presidente, que nuestra condición de selváticos, escasos en número y atrasados por el aislamiento en que hasta hace poco hemos vivido, no nos despojará de nuestros derechos de hombres y de peruanos. Y, precisamente, ahora que llegan a nuestras tierras las vías de comunicación que deben servir para integrarnos al Perú.

Cangareso, 22 de junio de 1969

Andoash Cumbia Pati

Lorenzo Tsakimp

Case 1: A letter to the President of Peru from Andoash Cumbia Pati

Mr. President of the Republic
Division General Juan Velasco Alvarado
The Governmental Palace
Lima

Mr. President:

As a last recourse and after having exhausted all other means, do we, the Aguarunas who inhabit the Cangareso-Miraná sector of the Cenepa district (Bagua, Amazonas), appeal to your authority asking for justice and protection.

1. In the year 1954 or 1955, a man named Alfredo Malca Suárez appears in Cangareso. In that place a group or "clan" of Aguarunas has been living since time immemorial. At the moment their representative is Andoash Cumbia. Malca on the other hand, originally coming from Trujillo, was staying in La Yunga (Jaén) as "comunero" (ref. is not quite clear, but could be joint-holder of a tenure of lands). After having sold his business (or share) he left and came to this place.

2. With promises he does not keep Malca secures the help of Aguarunas in clearing a chacra (field) and they let him fence in a pasture, hardly circumscribing two hectares. As soon as he had established himself he presented himself in the Oficina de Tierras de Montaña de Bagua, (Office of Montaña Real Estate, Bagua), register a claim of 88 hectares of Aguaruna lands. Thereupon he starts confronting the Aguarunas, urging them to abandon the site, telling them that he himself "had already solicited the title to the land in question".
3. In 1959, Andoash learns that the Law protects him (D.S. N° 3 of 1st of March, 1957). Consequently he solicits in his turn the land area in which he has always been living (and his ancestors before him). His petition is duly received and recorded in the Office of Montaña Real Estate, Bagua, at 11th of August 1959 (Reg. no. 1660, Let. C page 16, Lib. (Book) 2 no. second).
4. The claim presented by Andoash remains unmoved in the said office while Malca's is forwarded. In 1965 the title is granted (Reserve No. 3719 which is comprised in the Title No. 22338 B and in the despatch 49-M/966, 618/965). Taking advantage of his ignorance and of the fact that Andoash does not know how to read and write, although he understands some Spanish, Malca gets Andoash to put his fingerprint on the foxy acts. However, in no way is it made evident that he is redeeming the very claim he himself has made on these lands.
5. During all this time, Malca has not tilled the land; the terrain is abandoned and he does not live there permanently. Actually he is waiting for the advance of the Olmos-Nieva highway and the expected rise of prices on real estate (and hence profitable for him to sell). In the meanwhile the children of Andoash have grown older, they have married and themselves raising children. The number of Aguaruna houses and small "chacras" of subsistence is increasing.
6. In May 1968 the highway has already reached the zone and the new settlers and traders come flocking. Malca wish to market his title to the abandoned stretches where by now are living peacefully seven families totalling 38 persons. A son of Malca intends to remove some wooden planks of which they had made use. They belonged to Malca - "because the Aguarunas had gathered them on his property". The Aguarunas resist. A conflict ensues. The Aguarunas go to (the authorities), accuse Malca's son for the intent to possess himself of the planks. But the police in El Muyo and the judge of third nomination turn the accusation against the Aguarunas; they are arrested, molested and compelled to pay a fine of 2.000.- soles (about \$ 50.- which they have to borrow) under the threat of being taken to Chachapoyas for punishment.
7. The Aguarunas repair to President Belaúnde, visiting Bagua and the Director of Colonization in Lima, Mr. Ernesto Noriega Calmet, petitioning them to prevent that the Aguarunas be driven out of their native land. An eyewitness inspection is ordered from Lima in order to verify who is living there, Malca or the Aguarunas. Although it is evident that the only houses and cultivated fields that exist at the moment belong to the Aguarunas, no official recognition has been made and

no inspection has been realized by the commissioner at the time with the intention of clarifying the division of the Montaña area.

8. The Aguarunas, through an authorized person, present in Lima a petition asking for the abrogation of the title which Malca holds, basing their claim of existent legislation (D.S. no. 66, Nov. 11, 1965). First after they have presented this petition do they learn that Malca has submitted two additional claims on land in the name of his wife (Felicitas Acuña) and Lorenzo Acuña, thus grabbing the total extension of arable land as far as the river-bank, relegating the Aguarunas to the more mountainous zones of the interior; and these titles he has secured for himself without the required efforts, disregarding existing rights thanks to the partiality of the civil servants. In view of this, they present consecutively petitions confuting the two titles respectively, titles which affect relatives of the first group.
9. Malca revives the struggle over the planks accusing the Aguarunas who are summoned to appear in court four times during the same month (in Bagua Sept. 1969).

In this manner he wants to force them so that they sick and tired of it all will abandon the land. During these appearances in the court of the Judge instructor of Bagua, the Aguarunas bring the charge against Malca, who has no tillage at the moment, that he now wants to enter again to start working the land he has abandoned. Of this is left record in the declarations made in the Bagua tribunal.

10. In spite of repeated orders sent from Lima since August 1968, Malca is succeeding to the extent that functionaries in Bagua continue the indefinite delay of the ordered investigation of the case. Thus one notices the situation of continued occupation by the Aguarunas and the (equal) neglect on the part of Malca.

An inspection is convoked to take place the 4th of February of 1969. The Aguarunas appear. Without previous justification Malca and an engineer from Bagua Luis G. Vásquez of the Office of Montaña Real Estate stay away.

This same engineer appoints a new meeting to take place the 28th of the same month. The Aguarunas appear. And, again Malca and the engineer do not show up. On the other hand, in these days the police from El Muyo present itself announcing guarantees from Mr. Malca's use of the land.

11. The Aguarunas protest this veritable eviction, lacking any judicial basis, before the police of El Muyo, before the sub-prefect Mr. Nicolás Osorio Arbaiza, before the Ministry of Interior and before the Ministry of Agriculture.

Joined by more than twenty hired hands Malca forces his way to the other side of the Marañon and start clearing vigorously the land inhabited by the Aguarunas. This takes place on March 1st, 1969.

12. After almost one month the General Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior and the Minister of Agriculture (1st of April

and 31st of March respectively) decree that the invasion be impeded and the controversy investigated and solved. None of these orders are executed or obeyed by those in charge. About these decrees the press in Lima opportunely gave account - the daily "El Peruano" - confirmed in April 1969 that justice had been bestowed to the Aguarunas. Naturally, the time laps have been made good use of by Malca who, with a great number of workers, have cleared several hectares (perhaps some 18) and in a hurry constructed some houses and shacks for the workmen.

13. Finally, the 12th of April, the engineer from Bagua materialize to perform the inspection, fulfilling an order of urgency given in August 1968. In the presence of this engineer and the sub-prefect, Malca continues to tumble down trees on the Aguaruna territory without nobody lifting a finger to prevent it. Photographs taken on the spot then render evident that the clearing is recent, not the result of previous work.
14. Afterwards, without any measure taken relating to the controversy in question, Malca has continued felling trees and planting the cleared fields. Pastures and maize of precocious growth surround the Aguaruna houses and occupy even clearings made by the Aguarunas for their own cultivation. Triumphant in their impunity, the invaders have gone as far as maltreating an Aguaruna woman, and the threats of violent ejection and putting the houses to fire continue, thus compelling the natives to abandon portion of their territory which is said do not belong to them any longer.

When proclaiming the fundamental principles of their government, the Revolutionary Junta, promised:

"Promote to higher levels of life, compatible with the dignity of the human being, the less favored sectors of the population, implementing the transformation of the economic, social and cultural structures of the country.

Normalize the country in all the national fields of activity and establish firmly the authority principle, respect for the Law and the reign of Justice."

We hope, Mr. President, that our condition of being jungle people, few in numbers and short of means because of the isolation we have been living until recently, will not deprive us from our human rights and our rights as Peruvians; and precisely now when the lines of communication, which ought to bring about our integration into Peru, have reached our lands.

Andoash Cumbia Pati

Lorenzo Tsakimp

Comment: This case typically involves the fraudulent person being backed by corrupt authorities who respond to the Aguaruna appeal for justice by legal proceedings directed against the plaintiffs,

claiming a penalty of three years imprisonment for the latter and six years for their representative, the Reverend José M. Guallart.

The case is now shelved in Chachapoyas where it has stayed a year. The swindler himself, Malca, has of course sold his illegally acquired land to a third person while the engineers of the so-called Agrarian Reform evade the matter. In the meanwhile the new "owners" continue, threatening the only group left on the place: Wepiu and his family (cf. CASE No. 5).

CASE 2: Apatio versus Monteza

Chiriaco 12 de Octubre de 1968

Sr. Subprefecto

Baqua Chica

Sr. Subprefecto:

Me dirijo ante su digno despacho, para manifestarle que el día Once de Octubre de 1968, y a requerimiento del Cabo de la Benemerita Guardia Civil del Puesto del Chiriaco, se realizó una vista del lugar invadido, por el Sr. Jorge Monteza Centurión, invasión a la cual me refería en mi Oficio 185, dirigido a esa Subprefectura con fecha lo de los corrientes.

Fuí acompañando en esta vista, al Cabo de la Guardia Civil y un Número, quienes pudieron constatar:

1. Un gran rozo hecho ya por el Sr. Jorge Monteza, con buen número de peones dirigidos en contrata por el Sr. Sousa. Rozo del que se acusó existencia desde su misma iniciación, en tres Oficios dirigidos al Puesto de la Guardia Civil del Chiriaco, y de los cuales consta copia con su correspondiente acuse de recibo.
2. Dicho rozo está a punto de llegar hasta la casa de uno de los miembros del grupo Apatio, faltan sólo NOVENIA Y CUATRO PASOS contados, y que causa una honda intranquilidad e irritabilidad al grupo aguaruna que se ve ya despojado de su tierra
3. Una formal decisión por parte del Sr. Monteza de quedarse como propietario de esa tierra aguaruna, que tiene como fundamento un escrito firmado por el Sr. J. Ernesto Urrunaga, que ataca de frente la Ley 15037 en su Artículo 37. Dicho documento, ó escrito dice que el Sr. Monteza siga trabajando hasta que no se demuestre quien tiene la razón sobre la propiedad del terreno invadido, cosa un tanto absurda ya que este grupo aguaruna ostenta el título de su posesión inmemorial.
4. Una situación económica privilegiada del Sr. Monteza, que es conocida por toda la gente que habita en la zona, que por sí sola anularía en cualquier hipótesis, todo derecho a esta ocupación de la tierra, ya que el Sr. Monteza es:

Comerciante de profesión. (Tiene su tienda enfrente del actual

Cuartelillo de la Guardia civil en el Chiriaco).

Tiene un bote y un motor fuera borda con el cual ha acarreado y vendido cantidad inmensa de caña. Se le ha llegado a denominar por la gente el "rey de la caña".

Ya de antes ha creado problemas similares en la zona, cultivando tierras pertenecientes a la Reserva de Nazareth y vendiendo el producto de lo sacado. (Hecho constatado por mí); y de otros puntos según se dice por el Caserío, cosa esta última que no he podido comprobar.

5. Además frente al grupo de gente selvática al que en este momento el Sr. Monteza, por medio de trabajos de contrata y no por el suyo, está despojando de la tierra, se envía copia del número y nombres de los aguarunas que habitan ahí; está el hecho de que él sólo tiene mujer y carece de hijos. A estas dos personas se pretende entregar 60 Has., para que siendo comerciantes de profesión, puedan vivir como agricultores

Por todo esto Sr. Subprefecto, le ruego con el mayor respeto, de según su autoridad, las órdenes pertinentes para que esta grupo de desvalidos aguarunas peruanos, pueda gozar de su tierra con tranquilidad, y sea aplicada la ley según la letra y el espíritu que encierra.

Dios guarde a Usted

Vallado

CASE 2: A letter to Mr. Subprefect, Baqua Chica

Chiriaco October 12, 1968

Mr. subprefect

Baqua Chica

Mr. Subprefect,

I am addressing myself to your worthy office in order to make known that on the 11th of Oct. 1968 and on the request of the corporal of the Benemerito Guardia Civil of the Chiriaco post, an inspection of the place invaded by Mr. Jorge Monteza Centurión carried out, an invasion to which I have referred in my official letter 185 to the Subprefect's office dated loth of this month.

On this inspection I was accompanied by the corporal of the Guardia Civil and a private (policeman) who could verify the following:

1. An extensive clearing made by Mr. Jorge Monteza with the help of a great number of day-laborers under the leadership of Mr. Sousa. Recognition of this clearing was made from its very beginning in three official letters addressed to the Guardia Civil check point in Chiriaco; and of these copies exist together with their corresponding acknowledged -

gements of receipt.

2. The said clearing is just on the point of reaching the house site belonging to one of the members of the Apatio group, falling short of ninetyfour counted feet, which is causing deep unrest and irritation among the Aguarunas who face being ousted from their land
3. A formal decision on the part of Mr. Monteza to the effect that he intends to stay as owner of this Aguaruna land on the basis of a writ signed by Mr. J. Ernesto Urrunaga under the defence of Law 15o37, Article 37. The above mentioned document or writ declares that Mr. Monteza is entitled to continue the work as long as nobody can demonstrate rights to the invaded territory, a rather absurd statement in so far as it is evident that this group of Aguarunas do hold their title from time immemorial.
4. Mr. Monteza enjoys a privileged economic position well-known by all inhabitants in the zone, and he does not in any capacity fit into a category that can claim rights to the occupation of land, considering that Mr. Monteza is:

Tradesman by profession (he has a store right across the quarters of the Guardia Civil in Chiriaco).

He owns a boat with outboard motor with which he has transported and sold great quantities of canes (caña brava). People even call him the "king of the cane".

It is also known that he has previously caused problems in the area, cultivating lands belonging to the Nazareth reservation and sold the products (a fact which I myself have established); and there are other irregularities according to what people say in the neighborhood (caserío), but what this amounts to I have not been able to ascertain.

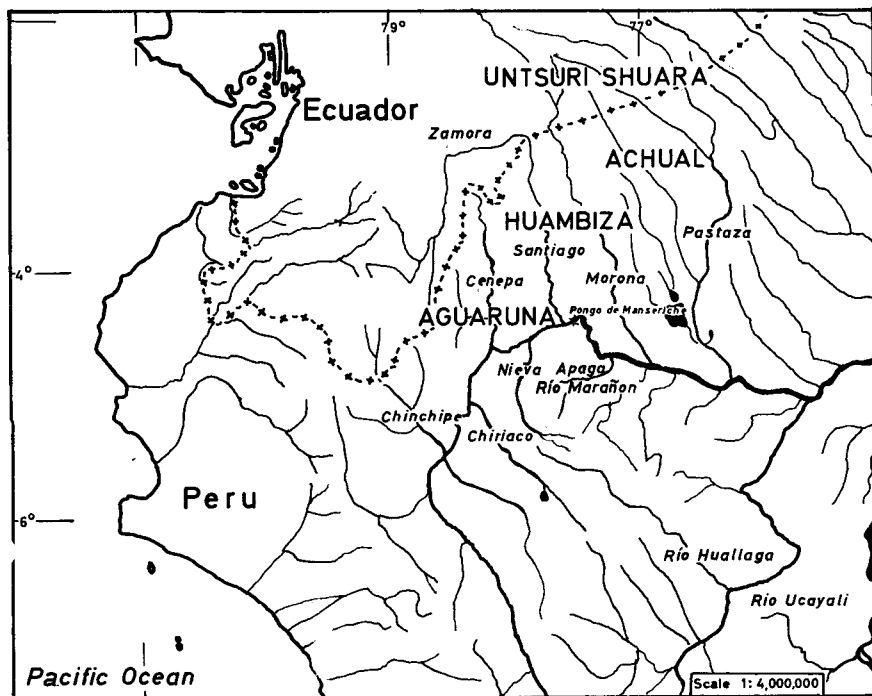
5. Moreover concerning the group of jungle people from which Mr. Monteza is grabbing the land by means of hired hands and not of his own work names and number of Aguarunas who live there are brought to your attention; pointing out as well that he (Monteza, in contrast) has only a wife but no children. To these two persons one attempts to transmit 6o hectares so that they, being merchants by profession, may live as farmers

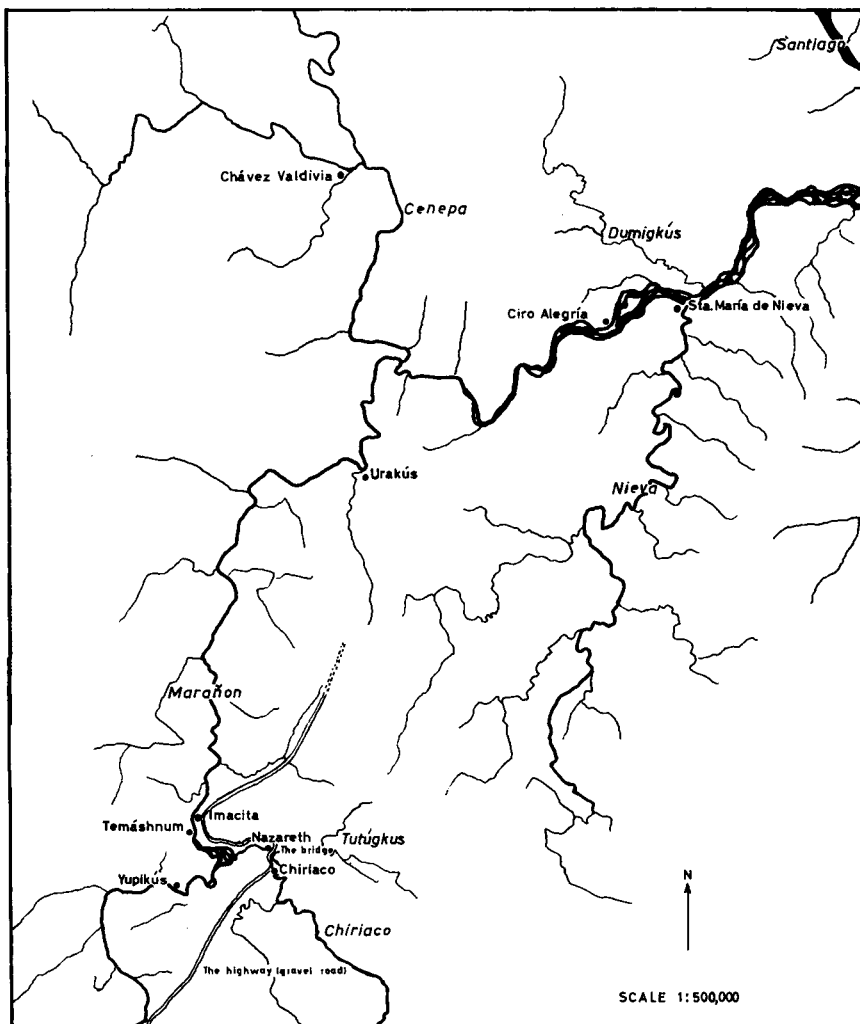
Because of all this, Mr. Subprefect, I ask you with all due respect, that you in accordance with your authority, issue the appropriate measures to secure that these destitute Peruvian Aguarunas be left free to enjoy their proper land undisturbed, and (that) the Law be applied according to the letter and spirit which it comprises.

May God protect you

Vallado

Comment: A merchant Monteza invaded Aguaruna land and started clearing this by the help of hired hands, said he had a "title"





to the land referring to a writ signed by another person. The case is taken to the authorities. It turns out that Monteza, besides bothering the Aguarunas, also have committed other unlawful acts involving non-Indians apparently: He disappeared from the area but was later caught and is now in prison on what charge is not specified. This happened, however, after many years of futile efforts on the part of the Aguarunas land their spokesmen (the Jesuits) to bring the Agrarian Reform into action. When the case so opportunely was closed with the imprisonment of Monteza, the engineers of the said institution appear telling on the scene enthusiastically our source that the land is free and the Aguarunas may take over. The engineers did not grasp at once why the spokesman, a jesuit lawyer, could not share their joy. He knew that Monteza undoubtedly had mortgaged the land in order to pay his day-laborers. Indeed, the Aguarunas would have to pay the debt in order to take over their own lands. Proposal of turning the area in question into a reservation was accepted by Apatio, and since the proposal was relatively advantageous, the spokesman found no reason to protest it, in spite of the fact that the mortgaged piece of land had to be waived because the Aguarunas had no means by which they could pay the amount required for redeeming the grabbed land. This piece was later portioned out to the so-called colonos militares, owners of neighboring lots.

CASE 3: The Lambayeque project

E L P E R U A N O. Lima, Lunes 25 de Marzo 1968
(pág. 5)

EN ZONA BAGUA

500 Hectáreas PARA UNIVERSIDAD AGRARIA DEL NORTE, LAMBAYEQUE
Resolución Ministerial No. RM-0096-68-DC

Lima, 18 de Marzo de 1968

Vista la solicitud formulada por la Universidad Agraria del Norte, Lambayeque, para que se reserve a su favor una superficie de 500 Has. ubicadas en la zona del río Huahuasa, distrito de Cenepe, provincia de Bagua, departamento de Amazonas con el fin de formar una Central Experimental Agropecuaria y Centros de Entrenamientos de Alumnos en la Especialidad de Tropicultura;

CONSIDERANDO:

Que es procedente estimular y facilitar la formación de engañanza técnica superior en la Región de la Selva, cuyos programas de experimentación y orientación contribuyan al desarrollo y progreso de las zonas pertinentes de dicha región;

Que los informes emitidos por la Delegación Técnico-administrativa de tierras de Montaña de Bagua, se comprueba que la Universidad Agraria del Norte - Lambayeque, se encuentra ejerciendo posesión de dichas tierras con plantaciones diversas efectuadas sobre una superficie de 40 Has. aproximadamente;

Estando a lo opinado por la Dirección de Colonización y en conformidad con el. Art. 200 de la Ley No. 1220;

SE RESUELVE

1. Resérvese para el Estado, una superficie de QUINIENTAS HECTAREAS DOS MIL SETECIENTOS OCHENTITRES METROS CUADRADOS (500 Has. 2,783 m²) ubicada en el distrito de Cenepa, provincia de Bagua, departamento de Amazonas, cuyos linderos de acuerdo al planotopográfico levantado por la referida Delegación Técnica de Tierras de Montaña son los siguientes: Por el Norte con los ríos Huahuasa y Shushungá, por el Sur con terrenos libres del Estado, por el Este, Shushungá y por el Oeste con terrenos del Estado y ocupados;
2. Acéptanse dichas tierras a la Universidad Agraria del Norte - Lambayeque, las que se destinarán exclusivamente a la construcción de edificios, casas-habitación, instalaciones, almacenes y a los Programas de Experimentación, fomento y investigación agropecuarios.

Regístrese y comuníquese. -

OLCESE

Es copia del original

Extracto de "Manifestación del Rvdo José María Guallart Martínez" delante del Instructor Daniel A. Duran Mencia, Oficial 2do PIP, a 18 de junio de 1968.

.....

3. Grupo Indígena de Huahuasa (Margen derecha del río Huahuasa), constituida por las siguientes familias: JEMPUEQUET; CANTOASH; CANAP; CASEH.

Estas familias fueron notificados por la Guardia Civil, para que desalojaran sus tierras, en vista de que existe una resolución Ministerial No. 0096-68-DC, expedida en Lima, el 18 Marzo 1968, que reserva una superficie de 500 hectáreas para la Universidad Agraria del Norte - Lambayeque; asimismo los ingenieros de la Universidad en mención, conminaron a los Aguarunas a que desalojaran sus tierras; también el Ingeniero MURO Jefe de la Delegación de Tierras de Montaña, les recalco a los Aguarunas que debían retirarse de esas tierras porque eran de propiedad de un Ingeniero en Lambayeque y que esas tierras iban a ser empleadas

en la cria de animales.

.....

Extracto de una carta escrito por Guallart a Sr. Director de Colonización y Bosques, Lima a 6 de julio de 1968.

.....

II. Zona de Huahuasa. Quizá más grave porque aquí desplaza a los aguarunas por quien quizá menos podría esperarse: Una entidad Oficial, la Universidad Agraria de Lambayeque. Es de creer que al solicitar estos terrenos no supiese que no eran, según la Ley, de libre disposición por existir allí aguarunas con derecho preferente según el decreto supremo No. 3 de 1 de marzo de 1957 y existir solicitudes debidamente registradas a nombre de los aguarunas Comprobante con sello del Ministerio de Agricultura Lima, Mesa de Partes Gral. "E" Feb. 22, 1963.

La concesión de tierras a dicha Universidad se hizo por resolución Ministerial 0096-68-DC. Ahora estan diciendo a los Aguarunas que tienen que dejar aquello. Previamente - y por gestiones del Sr. Ingeniero Muro que conocía perfectamente que allí había vivientes aguarunas, se obligó por él allí Teniente Gobernador, a los indígenas a construir un camino de acceso.

.....

CASE 3: The Lambayeque project

E L P E R U A N O, Lima, Monday March 25, 1968

(page 5)

IN BAGUA REGION

500 Hectares FOR THE NORTHERN AGRARIAN UNIVERSITY LAMBAYEQUE.

Ministerial Resolution No. RM-0096-68-DC

Lima, March 18th, 1968

Having seen the application formulated by the Northern Agrarian University, Lambayeque, in order to reserve in its favor a surface of 500 hectares situated in the region of the Huahuasa river, district of Cenepa, province of Bagua, county of the Amazon, with the purpose of creating an Experimental Central Office of Agriculture and Cattle Breeding and Training Centers for Students specializing in Tropiculture;

WHEREAS:

It is according to the law to incite and facilitate the establishment of superior technical education in the Jungle Region, whose programs of experimentation and guidance contribute to the development and progress of the relevant zones of the said region;

The reports issued by the Technical-administrative Delegation of Bagua's "Montaña" lands, prove that the Northern Agrarian University, Lambayeque, is actually practising possession of the mentioned lands through different plantations covering an area of approximately 40 hectares; and

This is in accordance with the Board of Colonization and in agreement with the Art. 200 of the Law No. 1220;

IT IS DECIDED:

1. To be reserved for the State: an area of FIVE HUNDRED HECTARES TWO THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE SQUARE METER (500 Has. 2,783 m²) situated in the district of Cenepa, province of Bagua, country of the Amazon, whose borderlines - according to the topographic plane drawn up by the mentioned Technical Delegation of Montaña Lands - are as follows: To the North bordering with the Huahuasa and Shushunga rivers, to the South with free areas belonging to the State, to the East with Shushunga, and to the West with the occupied State owned areas;
2. That the said lands be granted for the Northern Agrarian University, Lambayeque, which are going to be used exclusively for the construction of buildings, dwellings, installations, shops, and for the Experimentation Programs concerning the promotion and investigation of agriculture and cattle breeding.

To be registered and announced.

OLCESE

This is a copy of the original.

.....

Excerpt from "Declaration of the Rev. José María Guallart Martínez" before the Instructor Daniel A. Durand Mencía, 2nd Officer PIP, of June 18, 1968.

.....

3. Indigenous Group of Huahuasa (right bank of the Huahuasa river), consisting of the following families: JEMPUEQUET; CANTOASH; CANAP; CASEH.

These families were notified by the Civil Guard and requested to leave their lands, in view of the existence of a Ministerial resolution No. 0096-68-DC, issued in Lima on March 18, 1968, which reserves an area of 500 hectares for the Northern Agrarian University of Lambayeque; likewise the engineers of the mentioned University threatened the Aguarunas to move out of their lands; also the Engineer Muro, Chief of the Delegation of Montaña lands, emphasized that the Aguarunas ought to withdraw from these lands as they belonged to an engineer in Lambayeque and that they were going to be used for cattle breeding.

.....

Excerpt from a letter from Guallart to Mr. Director of Colonization and Forests. Lima, July 6, 1968:

II. Huahuasa Zone. Perhaps more serious because in this case the Aguarunas are being displaced by someone from whom such an action should be least expected: an official entity, The Agrarian University of Lambayeque.

It is plausible that when it applied for these lands it ignored that they were not, according to the Law, of free disposition, in as much as Aguarunas were living there with a right of preference according to the supreme decree No. 3 of March 1, 1957, and furthermore that there exist applications duly registered in the name of Aguarunas (Confirmation sealed by the Ministry of Agriculture, Lima, Board of General Reports "E", of February 22, 1963).

The grant of lands for the said University was concluded by Ministerial resolution 0096-68-DC. Now the Aguarunas are told to leave their lands. Previously - and through steps taken by Mr. engineer Muro who knew perfectly well that the place were actually inhabited by (allí había vivientes) Aguarunas -, the natives were obliged by the Governor Lieutenant of the area to build a road of access.

.....

Comment: When it was decided that the Huahuasa (Wawasa) area was to be an experimental zone dedicated to tropical forest agriculture sponsored by the Lambayeque University, the local inhabitants, the Aguarunas, were told to get out.

Later, when the project turned out to be a castle in the the air, the Aguarunas got permission to stay on conditioned they did not extend their present fields, nor were they allowed to let other Aguarunas have access to the neighborhood. When it was pointed out to an engineer, representative of the Lambayeque project presumably, that these conditions implied the slow but effective destruction of the population and their way of life (read: ethnocide) and hence tantamount to genocide in its ultimate result (though the protracted process of debasement and starvation is bound to be considered worse from the point of view of the victims), he did not understand a word. He had to be spoonfed that without being able to marry and denied the right to continue rotational cultivation (here! the use of successive fields by slash-and-burn) the Aguarunas were simply doomed.

As it is now quite clear that the Lambayeque project is given up, there is still a hope to secure the area for the inhabitants and original owners.

CASE 4: Tendeza vs. Guardia Civil

Sr. Comandante

Montenegro

Chiriaco 13 de Junio de 1968

Sr. Comandante:

Hoy se ha presentado el aguaruna Tendeza Socot Maitach,

atemorizado e indignado, porque el día 18 de Abril de 1968, se le obligó con engaño, por el Sr. Manuel Ríos Carranza a acudir a Bagua, para que efectuase una venta de unos terrenos que posee desde siempre:

Los hechos fueron de la manera que a continuación se exponen:

1. Manuel Ríos dice a Tendeza que le acompañe a Bagua Chica para hacer unas compras.
2. Camino de Bagua le habla de muy buenas formas del terreno que posee Tendeza, y de la conveniencia de la venta.
3. En Bagua le lleva a un sitio que Tendeza no sabe cuál es, y del que solamente recuerda que había una máquina de escribir.
4. Cuando están dentro "de ese sitio", un despacho, le conmina con todo género de amenazas y mentiras, a que venda el terreno. Ante la resistencia de Tendeza, Manuel Ríos, pone como última argumentación, que si no quiere venderlo por las buenas, le despojarán del terreno, sin pagarle un centavo, y que encima le llevarán preso hasta Chachapoyas.
5. Sin más ponen delante de los ojos del atemorizado Tendeza, un papel escrito a máquina, y le obligan a imprimir en él la huella digital. Sin enterarse de lo que hace, no sabe leer ni escribir, y por el miedo medio mareado, firma con su dedo un papel que resulta ser el contrato de venta.
6. Después de esta acción incalificable, Manuel Ríos pasea triunfante a Tendeza por una serie de oficinas, como si fuera un animal de exposición, y en todas ellas por lo que pudo colegir el aguaruna, Manuel Ríos iba diciendo: "Este aguaruna está vendiendo las tierras".
7. Este falso contrato de venta, fue hecho usando a Carlos Facundo de intérprete, que asegura que no estuvo presente mientras se escribía el documento de venta, sino que permaneció durante todo el tiempo a la puerta de la oficina esperando a Manuel Ríos y Tendeza, para ir a pasear y comprar algunas cosas. Sólo al final, Manuel Ríos le invitó a entrar y le dijo que pusiera su huella digital en un papel sin importancia.
8. Por todo esto, se le pagó a Tendeza la cantidad de SEIS MIL SOLES ORO. En el papel del contrato consta que esta cantidad fué abonada por Manuel Ríos y a cambio de la tierra a Tendeza.

Pero la verdad es muy otra. La plata fué dada por un serrano, que ellos no saben quién es, que es el que ha venido ya al terreno de la supuesta venta y ha arrojado a Tendeza de ella.

Está pues claro que fué una venta, para la inmediata VENTA.

- - - -

Después de todos estos hechos, el abuso cometido por Manuel Ríos contra Tendeza, no para aquí:

Le pide plata, los seis mil soles a Tendeza, para hacer con ella unas compras y que así no le puedan engañar.

Manuel Ríos compra a Tendeza artículos que constan en dos facturas, que ascienden a la suma de 2.600,00 S/. (Dos Mil Seiscientos).

Al llegar al Chiriaco, le pide al aguarunas que le compre maní por valor de 1,500,00 S/., para que él, Manuel Ríos, se lo lleva a Chacapoyas a vender y sacar con este maní más plata.

Manuel se queda con el maní y no le da a Tendeza ni la plata, ni el producto.

Luego entrega a Tendeza, que se indigna con esta acción 500,00 S/. para que de esta manera se calle.

Después de todas estas operaciones maliciosas por parte de Manuel Ríos, que aprovecha la ignorancia de Tendeza, se produce en resumen una situación hasta graciosa, puesto que Tendeza, se queda sin tierra, se queda también sin 2,900,00 S/. de los 6,000,00 S/. que son escamoteados por Manuel Ríos en todos estos cambalaches, y toda vía según la mentalidad del dicho Manuel, con un sentimiento de agradecimiento hacia esa persona que se preocupa tanto de los aguarunas para que no les engañan.

Sr. Comandante; todo esto de por si es tan elocuente, que creo que todo comentario es inútil. Le ruego, por el más mínimo sentido de justicia humana, que intervenga en este caso, en el que el mismo protagonista: Manuel Ríos y por tratarse de un aguaruna, se siente muy seguro, para que se restablezca el orden que debe reinar. En nombre de nuestra nación, e invocando el título que preside nuestras acciones este año "Año de los derechos humanos" me dirijo ante Usted, seguro que actuará con la firmeza que le caracteriza y con la justicia que guía todas sus determinaciones.

Sabe siempre dónde me tiene.

P. Javier Vallado. S.J.

Supervisor del Centro Educacional del Chiriaco.

Misionero.

CASE 4:

Mr. Commander in Charge

MONTENEGRO

Chiriaco, June 13, 1968

Mr. Commander in Charge,

To-day the Aguaruna Tendeza Socot Maitach turned up, frightened and indignant, because on the 18 of April, 1968, he was artfully obliged by Mr. Manuel Ríos Carranza to hasten to Bagua in order to carry out the sale of some lands which have always belonged to him:

The facts were as follows:

1. Manuel Ríos tells Tendeza to go with him to Bagua Chica to

do some shopping.

2. On the way to Bagua he speaks to him eloquently about Tendeza's land and of the advantage of selling it.
3. In Bagua, he leads him to a place which Tendeza does not know and cannot recognize, of which he only remembers that there was a typewriter.
4. Once they are inside "this place", an office, he threatens him with all sorts of maledictions and lies to sell his lands. Confronted with Tendeza's reluctance, Manuel Ríos, as a last argument, puts forth that if he does not sell it willingly, they are going to turn him out of his lands without paying him a "centavo" and that furthermore they are going to put him under arrest and have him imprisoned in Chachapoyas.
5. Without any further explanations, they put before the eyes of the frightened Tendeza a sheet of printed paper and they oblige him to stamp it with his finger-print. Without knowing what he is doing, - he does not know how to read or write - and sick with fright, he signs with his finger a paper which turns out to be a sales contract.
6. After this most reprehensible act, Manuel Ríos triumphantly takes Tendeza around to various offices, as if he were an animal - on display - and as far as the Aguaruna could gather, in all these offices Manuel Ríos kept saying: "This Aguaruna is selling his lands".
7. This false sales contract was concluded with Carlos Facundo as an interpreter. He, in this turn, assures that he was not present during the writing of the sales document, but that on the contrary he remained during all this time by the office-door, waiting for Manuel Ríos and Tendeza in order to go for a walk and to do some shopping. It was not until the end that Manuel Ríos invited him in and told him to put his finger-print on a sheet of paper of no importance.
8. For all this Tendeza received a sum of SIX THOUSAND GOLD SOLES (about \$ 140,-).

From the contract paper it is evident that this sum was paid by Manuel Ríos in return for Tendeza's peice of land. But the truth is very different. The money was given by a "serrano" whom they do not know, and who is the one that showed up on the plot supposedly sold, and chased Tendeza out of it.

Thus it is clear that it was a sale for the immediate RESALE.

- - - -

Nevertheless, the abuses committed by Manuel Ríos towards Tendeza, do not end here, after all these misdeeds:

He borrows money from Tendeza, the six thousand soles, in order to carry out some purchase for him, so that nobody will cheat him. Manuel Ríos buys some article for Tendeza, registered in two bills amounting to 2.600,00 s/. (Two thousand six hundred).

Arriving at Chiriaco, he asks the Aguaruna to buy peanuts for him for an amount of 1.500,00 s/, so that he, Manuel Ríos, can take it with him to Chachapoyas where he intends to

resell it and thus make more money.

Manuel keeps the peanuts and gives Tendeza neither the money nor the product.

Tendeza becomes indignant at this act; therefore Manuel Ríos gives him 500,00 s/ in order to make him shut up.

After all these evil operations of Manuel Ríos, who takes advantage of Tendeza's ignorance, a rather tragicomical situation: Tendeza remains without both lands and 2.900,00 s/ of the 6.000,00 s/, swindled away by Manuel Ríos in all these barterings, and yet, according to the judgement of the mentioned Manuel, he (Tendeza) remains grateful toward this person who is so preoccupied with the Aguarunas' not being cheated.

Mr. Commander in Charge, all this speaks itself to such a degree that I believe any comment unnecessary. I beg you, for the least sense of human justice, to intervene in this case, - in which the protagonist himself, Manuel Ríos, feels very secure as the case deals with an Aguaruna -, in order to reestablish the order which ought to prevail.

In the name of our nation and invoking the motto of this year's acts: "Year of the Human Rights", I address myself to you, convinced that you will proceed according to the firmness characteristic of you and with the justice that leads all your decisions.

At your disposal, yours sincerely,

F. Javier Vallado, J.S.
Supervisor of the Educational Center of Chiriaco.
Missionary.

BENEMERITA GUARDIA CIVIL DEL PERU

17a. COMANDANCIA

PUESTO DE CHIRIACO

P A R T E No. 01-PCH.

Del : Cabo Comandante de Puesto de la BGCP.
Al : Sr. Juez Instructor de la Provincia en: BAGUA CHICA
Asunto : Transcribe denuncia por destrucción de una casa en construcción y pone a disposición de su Despacho, al presunto autor intelectual MANUEL RIOS CARRANZA.

Me es grato dirigirme al Despacho de su digno cargo, transcribiendo la denuncia por destrucción de una casa en construcción cuyo contenido a la letra es como sigue:-----

"Horas - 16,00.- Día-02.-Mes Octubre.-Año 1968.-

POR DESTRUCCION DE UNA CASA EN CONSTRUCCION.- Siendo la hora, fecha, mes y año anotadas al margen, se presentó a este Despacho doña Vicenta Farra Carrasco, de cuarenta y cinco años de edad, de estado civil soltera, de ocupación su casa, natural del distrito de Huambes, provincia de Chota, departamento de Cajamarca, sin documentos personales, con actual domicilio en esta localidad, denunciando lo siguiente:-Que el día de la fecha le han destruido su casa en construcción, sito al margen izquierda de la carretera Olmos Chiriaco, a trescientos metros de distancia de esta localidad, presumiendo que los presuntos autores sean don Manuel Ríos Carranza y el Aguaruna Tendeza Secat Maytocech, ya que con éstos actualmente están sosteniendo un juicio en reclamo del terreno que Ríos Carranza le vendió, el cual ha resultado ser dueño el mencionado Aguaruna, por lo que se sienta su denuncia

para su investigación y fines, autorizándola con su huella digital en presencia del Instructor, por no saber firmar ni leer.

Agrega:- Que el monte del daño sufrido lo calcula en la suma de novecientos cincuenta soles oro.----- La Denunciante - Vicente Farra Carrazco - Huella digital del índice derecho.- El Instructor- Guardia GC. Fdo. Porfirio Pinedo Calongos-Rubrica".-----

Recibida la denuncia que antecede el suscrito comisionó a una pareja de Guardias para que constituyéndose al lugar de los hechos practique la inspección ocular respectiva, los mismos que a su retorno informaron haber constatado que a trescientos metros de esta localidad, y a seis metros lado izquierdo de la carretera Sur, una casa en construcción en había caído, o sea que las maderas todo nuevo estaban en el suelo, por haber sido hacheados sus seis arcanes, siendo sus dimensiones lineales de seis metros por cuatro de ancho, observándose al mismo tiempo que las maderas para el escalamirado ya estaban colocadas.-----

Hechas las investigaciones pertinentes se establece que el terreno donde se ubicaba la casa ha sido vendido por Manuel Ríos Carranza sin tener ningún derecho legal en este bien no obstante de conocer bien que los únicos propietarios por posesión y derecho son los Aguarunas apellidados Tendeza, a quienes el vendedor los indica como sus arrendadores o feudatarios. Pues conforme a la manifestación del Aguaruna Tendeza Secat, éste fue seducido por Manuel Ríos Carranza para vender el terreno donde actual tiene su casa, sugestionándole de que al ser urbanizado para un pueblo tenía que perder, en efecto convencido el aguaruna Tendeza, viajaron a Bagua Chica, y en el estudio de un Notario pactaron el negocio de promesa de venta de un terreno de ocho hectáreas ubicado al margen derecho del río Chiriaco, que el comprador en vista de esta formalidad entregó en este Despacho, la suma de veinte mil soles oro, a Ríos Carranza, y este a su vez al aguaruna la suma de seis mil soles, pero que posteriormente el primero lo invirtió comprando mercaderías para su utilidad, pero que fué decomisado por el Sacerdote Francisco Javier Vallado de la Misión Apostólica de Chiriaco al constatar que el aguaruna había sido víctima de fraude en agravio de su casa, su terreno y sus chacras, por parte de Ríos Carranza, cuya acta de constatación y clasificación de la mercadería en referencia se adjunta al presente, que va a constituir como cuerpo del delito en la denuncia por estafa que la señora Vicenta Farro Carrasco y su conviviente Hilario Tello Parales, habían sido objeto, cuya consecuencia, ha obedecido a que el aguaruna posiblemente indignado al ver sus tierras en peligro de ser expropiado ha cometido daños derribando la casa en construcción de la denunciante, conforme lo expone en su manifestación.

Por todo lo expuesto se deprende, que el único culpable para todos los casos que se ha descrito, es el individuo Manuel Ríos Carranza, de quien se tiene conocimiento que es persona de antecedentes pésimos, pues es acaparador de tierras de montaña y al mismo tiempo negociante de las mismas, llegándose el caso de haber vendido un solo lote a varias personas, o sea que actúa con la modalidad creada por él mismo "de las tierras".

Otro caso similar de estafa lo aclara la manifestación del menor de dieciocho años de edad, llamado Celso Fausto Cardozo Ganoza, al haberse presentado a este Puesto voluntariamente, de haber sido timado con el cuento del (olvido) de dinero, al haber llevado a una tercera persona a su tienda Manuel Ríos Carranza, y solicitado mercaderías por el valor de trescientos soles en compre, pero que al haber recibido y entregado todo lo comprado, mientras su acompañante que fué entregado la mercadería se aleja de la tienda, Ríos Carranza con ciertas evasivas y disimulos propios de un timador perfecto ratero, al buscarse en sus bolsillos el dinero y al no encontrarlos, salió de la tienda

de este menor con dirección a su casa para regresar de inmediato con el dinero, pero que habiendo transcurrido cinco meses más o menos no ha regresado hasta la fecha.

Por todos estos motivos y otros que posteriormente se presentarán es lo que, señor Juez Instructor, pongo a disposición de su Despacho, a Manuel Ríos Carranza, junto con las mercaderías que el Acta respectiva lo aclara, cuatro manifestaciones y la copia de la denuncia del Padre Misionero Francisco Fernández Vallado, Párroco de Chiriaco, para los fines de su Despacho, determino lo conveniente.

Chiriaco, 13 de Octubre de 1968
EL COMANDANTE DE PUESTO

Cabo G.C.-----
Anselmo Golac Visalot

THE MERITORIOUS CIVIL GUARD OF PERU

17th COMMAND

CHIRIACO POST

DESPATCH NO. 01-PCH.

From : The commanding Corporal of the BSCP Post.
To : Mr. Judge Inspector of the Province in: BAGUA CHICA
Case : Reports the accusation of destruction of a house under construction and leaves to the disposal of your Office the presumed deliberate perpetrator ("presunto autor intelectual" sic.) MANUEL RÍOS CARRANZA.

It is a pleasure to address myself to the Office of your worthy charge, reporting the accusation of destruction of a house under construction, the textual contents of which are as follows:

"Hour: 16.00 - Day: 02. - Month: October. - Year: 1968.-
CONCERNING THE DESTRUCTION OF A HOUSE UNDER CONSTRUCTION. -
Being the hour, date month and year marginally appointed, appeared in this Office Doña Vicenta Farra Carrasco, age: forty-five: status: unmarried: occupation: housewife: origin: district of Huambes, province of Chota, county of Cajamarca, - without any personal documents, with present residence in this locality, accusing the following:

That on the day noted, her house under construction, - situated on the left side of the road Olmes-Chiriaco and three hundred meters from this locality -, was destroyed. She claims that the presumed perpetrators are Don Manuel Ríos Carranza and the Aguaruna Tendeza Secat Maytocech, as she is presently pursuing a suit against them claiming the lands that Ríos Carranza sold her and whose owner has turned out to be the said Aguaruna, - reason for which she presents her accusation to have it investigated and decided upon, authorizing it by her finger-print in presence of the Instructor, as she does not know how to sign or read.

Adds: - That the amount of damage suffered is to be estimated to the sum of ninehundred and fifty gold soles. ---- The Accuser.- Vicenta Farra Carrasco. - Finger-print of the right forefinger.- The Instructor.- C.G. Guard Fdo. Porfirio Pinedo Calongos.- Signature."

After having received the preceding accusation, the undersigned commissioned a pair of Guards to execute the corresponding eye witness inspection. These, on their return, informed that they

had been able to state that at a distance of three hundred meters from this locality and six meters from the left side of the South Road, a house under construction had fallen down, that is: that the lumber, - completely new -, was on the ground, having been cut down with an axe the six supporting beams, whose linear dimensions were six meters by four large; at the same time they observed that the lumber to be used for the ribs had already been put up in the corresponding places.

After having concluded the pertinent investigations, it is evident that the site on which the house was situated, has been sold by Manuel Ríos Carranza without his having any legal claim on this estate; although he knew very well that the only owners by possession and right are the Aguarunas named Tendeza, to whom the seller refers as his tenants or feudatories. According to the declaration of the Aguaruna Tendeza Secat, he was lead astray by Manuel Ríos Carranza to sell the site where he has presently got his house, as the latter had intimated that the plot in question was to be reserved as site for a planned village; consequently that particular terrain was certainly wasted. When the Aguaruna was really convinced of this they went to Bagua Chica. In the office of a public notary, they concluded the deal: a promise of selling a lot consisting of eight hectares, situated on the right bank of the Chiriaco river. In view of this formality, the buyer delivered the sum twenty thousand gold soles to Ríos Carranza, in this Office; and the latter, in his turn gave six thousand soles to the Aguaruna, who converted the money in various commodities for his own utility. This merchandise was then confiscated by the Clergyman Francisco Javier Vallado of the Apostolic Mission of Chiriaco, who realized that the Aguaruna had been the victim of fraud in offense of his house, his lands and his chacras, by Ríos Carranza. The act of confirmation and classification of the merchandise referred to, is added to the present letter, which will constitute the corpus delicti of the accusation of swindle of which Doña Vicenta Farra Carrasco and her co-habitant had been the object. Reasonably enough, the Aguaruna, possibly indignant when seeing that his plot was in the danger of being expropriated, had committed damage tearing down the house under construction belonging to the accuser, - according to what she exposed in her declaration.

In view of the exposition above, one deduces that the only one guilty of all the incidents described is the individual Manuel Ríos Carranza, of whom one possesses knowledge that he is a person of very bad antecedents, for he is a monopolizer of lands of Montaña and at the same time he bargains with these lands, having even occurred the case that he has sold one and the same plot to various persons. All this shows that he acts in his own personal way dealing with "the lands".

Another similar case of swindle is revealed from the declaration made by the minor Celso Fausto Cardozo Ganoza, eighteen years of age, when he turned up voluntarily at this Post in order to render a report on what had happened. He had been cheated through Manuel's story of having "forgotten" his money. Manuel Ríos Carranza had entered the youngster's shop accompanied by a third person and had solicited merchandise for an amount of three hundred soles. After having received what he had bought and handed it over to his companion who left the shop, Ríos Carranza, - with certain evasive remarks and dissimulations typical of a perfect swindler and scoundrel -, searched for the money in his pockets, and as he did not find it, he left the youngster's shop to go home and then return immediately with the money. But more or less five months have passed since then and he has as not yet returned.

It is for all these reasons and others that will turn up later that I, Mr. Judge Instructor, put Manuel Ríos Carranza to the disposal of your Office together with the goods specified in the corresponding Act and with four declarations and the copy of the accusation of Father Missionary Francisco Fernández Vallado, Parson of Chiriaco, - for the concerns of your Office, so that you may conclude the appropriate decisions thereupon.

Chiriaco, October 13, 1968
THE COMMANDER IN CHARGE OF THE POST

C.G.Corporal -----
Anselmo Golac Visalot.

Chiriaco, 28 de Octubre de 1968

Sr. Comandante del Puesto del Chiriaco.

BENEMERITA GUARDIA CIVIL

Sr. Comandante:

Me dirijo ante su digno despacho con todo respeto, con el ánimo de esclarecer un hecho en el que creo no son suficientemente conocedores, por acabar de llegar a este Caserío.

El Aguaruna Santos Andoash Secut y su suegro Tendeza, antes de que viniera el Campamento del Chiriaco de los militares, vivían en donde ha estado enclavado dicho Campamento Militar hasta que ha sido trasladado más adentro. Por petición del Ejército, ellos abandonaron ese lugar y se retiraron a vivir más hacia arriba. El entonces Capitán Franco, según dicen Santos y Tendeza, les prometió que el sitio que iban a ocupar les sería siempre respetado, ya que cedían el sitio en donde vivían por bien de la carretera que estaban construyendo.

Así pues se instalaron al lado de arriba del río Chiriaco y ahí han estado viviendo tranquilos desde entonces.

Al parecer el sitio que va a ocupar el cuartelillo de Ustedes, es precisamente la tierra en donde ellos están viviendo. Parece ser que el Municipio del Chiriaco, cuando estaba Manuel Ríos de Agente Municipal, cedió por Escritura, el terreno de Santos, para que pudiera ocuparlo el Cuartelillo de la Guardia Civil.

Ustedes ya conocen los antecedentes del dicho Señor Ríos, y cómo se ha dedicado a vender y dar terrenos que en absoluto no le pertenecían. Creo que este es otro caso similar y que la Escritura que hay levantada, si es que existe, sobre la cesión de dicho terreno, ha sido hecha en contra del verdadero dueño y que por lo tanto no tiene valor. Quiero decirles esto, para que Ustedes que defienden lo que es justo se enteren bien de lo sucedido, no vaya a ser que Manuel Ríos haya hecho una nueva injusticia.

El Ingeniero del Aguila, incluso midió ese terreno y puso un palo en la medición con una trocha que hicieron entonces. Fue una medición para que Santos ocupara el terreno tranquilo.

Saben en dónde me tienen a su disposición.

Dios guarde a Usted.

P. Javier Vallado. S.J.
Párroco.

Chiriaco, October 28, 1968

Mr. Commander in Charge of the
Chiriaco Post.

MERITORIOUS CIVIL GUARD

Mr. Commander in Charge,

I respectfully address myself to your worthy office for the purpose of clarifying a fact with which I believe you are not sufficiently familiar, as you have just arrived at this settlement.

Before the Military Camp of Chiriaco was established, the Aguaruna Santos Andoash Secut and his father-in-law used to live in the place where the mentioned Military Camp was situated until it was transferred to the interior. By petition of the Army, these people left the place and withdrew further upward in order to settle there. The Captain at that time, Franco, promised them, according to Santos and Tendeza, that the place they were going to occupy would always be respected, as they had ceded the place where they used to live, to the benefit of the road which was being built.

Thus they settled by the upper part of the Chiriaco river and there they have been living peacefully ever since.

The site on which your quarter is now situated turns out to be exactly the place on which this group of people is living.

It seems that the Municipality of Chiriaco - when Manuel Ríos was Municipal Representative - had ceded the land of Santos through written form, so that the Civil Guard's Quarter could occupy it. You already know the antecedents of the mentioned Mr. Ríos and how he has dedicated himself to selling and giving away lands that in no ways belonged to him. I believe this is another similar case and that the Document drawn up - if it exists - on the surrender of the said lands, has been done against the real owner and that it therefore has no value. I want to tell you this so that you who defend the justice will be informed about what has happened; do not let it be that Manuel Ríos has committed another injustice.

The Engineer of Águila at that time even measured the lot, erected a pole as boundary marker, and made a path. This measuring was done so that Santos could occupy his lands peacefully.

You know where you will find me at your disposal.

May God protect you.

F. Javier Vallado. J.S.
Parson

Chiriaco, 22 de Febrero de 1970

Sr. Prefecto del
Departamento de Amazonas

CHACHAPOYAS

Estimado Señor Prefecto:

Tengo el gusto de dirigirme a Ud. para comunicarle un problema surgido en un terreno Aguaruna que necesita de su intervención.

Los hechos son los siguientes:

1. La Guardia Civil del Puesto del Chiriaco, Provincia de Bagua ha recibido en donación un terreno ocupado legalmente por el Aguaruna Santos Dandush Secut identificado con L.E. No. 0050668.
2. La donación la hace el Consejo Distrital de Cenepa, de la Prov. de Bagua, Dpto. de Amazonas.
3. Lamentablemente, por las razones que se exponen a continuación, dicha donación ha sido aprobada por Resolución Suprema No. 0535-69-IN/GC con fecha 18 de Septiembre de 1969.
4. Las razones por qué impugnamos dicho acto son las siguientes:
 - a. En 1962 el Capitán Franco del Campamento del Chiriaco, reubicó en dicho terreno al Aguaruna arriba mencionado a quién el Ejército solicitó su terreno para la ubicación del Campamento Militar.
 - b. Por tanto la donación hecha por el Consejo Distrital del Cenepa recae sobre una propiedad que en modo alguno no le pertenece.
 - c. Existen documentos - conocidos por los miembros de la 17a. Comandancia, Puesto de Chiriaco - de 1968 en que consta que un tal Manuel Ríos, con antecedentes como estafador en tierras de montaña, siendo agente Municipal intentó ceder dicho terreno para los mismos fines.
 - d. Posteriormente la zona situada en la margen izquierda del río Chiriaco, que incluye el mencionado terreno, fué declarada Reserva Militar, con fecha anterior a la R.S. arriba citada.
 - e. El 26 de Mayo de 1969 tuvo lugar una reunión en el Chiriaco en la que participaron los Señores Palacios, Zuñiga y Vázquez Ingenieros de Reforma Agraria; Tte. Coronel Cornejo, Comandante Paulinos y Mayor Córdoba representantes del Ejército; y finalmente Walter Cufiachi y Padre Guallart representando a los Aguarunas. En esta reunión se acordó: Primero, respetar con preferencia los derechos de los Aguarunas; segundo, designar al Ingeniero Zuñiga de Reforma Agraria para que definiera las cuestiones de hecho y de derecho en dicha

zona.

- f. De todo esto tiene pleno conocimiento la Comandancia de la Guardia Civil del Chiriaco. Más aún, los Padres de la Misión han protestado repetidas veces ante dicho Puesto al iniciar sus trabajos en el terreno en cuestión, al continuarlas ignorando nuestras protestas y al seguir ellos intimidando a dicho Aguarunas para que abandone su terreno.
- g. Por tanto, en resumen, el Consejo Distrial donó un terreno que no le pertenecía; la Comandancia del Chiriaco, conociendo todos estos hechos, aceptó por su parte (en vez de defender los derechos del Aguaruna) y se atrevió a solicitar una aprobación superior, ocultando todas las implicaciones del caso en cuestión.

Sr. Prefecto, por todo lo que antecede es patente el daño que sufren las relaciones entre Aguarunas y autoridades; es patente que se está consumando una grave falta a la justicia precisamente por los llamados a defenderla.

Le suplicamos, Sr. Prefecto, su intervención eficaz para que de inmediato se detenga el trabajo de los Guardias Civiles en ese terreno y para que se den los pasos convenientes a fin de obtener la anulacion de documentos que puedan amparar esta injusticia.

Por todo lo cual y desde ya le quedamos sumamente agradecidos.

Peter T. Hansen SJ	Luis M. Uriarte SJ	Fco. Rodríguez SJ
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Chiriaco, February 22, 1970

Mr. Prefect of
the County of the Amazon

CHACHAPOYAS

Dear Mr. Prefect,

I have the pleasure of addressing myself to you in order to inform you about a problem arisen in an aguaruna area and which needs your intervention.

The facts are as follows:

1. The Civil Guard of the Chiriaco Post, Province of Bagua, has received in donation a territory legally occupied by the Aguaruna Santos Dandush Secut identified as L.E. No. 0050668.
2. The donation is being executed by the District Council of Cenepa, Province of Bagua, County of the Amazon.
3. Unfortunately, for the reasons exposed in the following, the said donation has been approved by Supreme Resolution No. 0553-69-IN/GC dated September 18, 1969.

4. The reasons why we impugn the mentioned act are as follows:
- a. In 1962, Captain Franco of the Chiriaco Camp, repatriated in the said lands the Aguaruna mentioned above, from whom the Army solicited his lands for the instalment of the Military Camp.
 - b. Consequently the donation executed by the District Council of Cenepa falls back on a property which by no means belongs to it.
 - c. There are documents existing - known by the members of the 17th Command, Chiriaco Post - from 1968, from which it is evident that a certain Manuel Ríos - with antecedents as a swindler of Montaña lands - when Agente Municipal, tried to transfer the mentioned lands for the same purposes.
 - d. Later on, the area situated on the left bank of the Chiriaco river, which includes the lands in question, was declared a Military Reservation, dated prior to the S.R. quoted above.
 - e. On the 26 of May 1969, a meeting was held in Chiriaco, with the participation of the gentlemen Palacios, Zúñiga and Vázquez, engineers of the Agrarian Reform; Colonel Lieutenant Cornejo, Commander in Charge Paulinos and Major Córdoba, representatives of the Army; and finally Walter Cuñachi and Father Guallart representing the Aguarunas. In this meeting it was agreed: First, to respect with preference the rights of the Aguarunas; secondly to appoint engineer Zúñiga of the Agrarian Reform to define the questions de facto and de jure in the mentioned area.
 - f. The Command of the Civil Guard of Chiriaco possesses full knowledge of the antecedents. Moreover, Fathers of the Mission have protested repeatedly before the mentioned Post when it started its activities in the said area, but it continued ignoring our protests and they went on intimidating the mentioned Aguaruna in order to make him abandon his lands.
 - g. To summarize, the District Council has donated a lot which did not belong to it. The Command of Chiriaco knowing these facts still in its turn accepted the offer (instead of defending the rights of the Aguaruna) and even dared to solicit a superior approval concealing all the implications of the case in question.

Mr. Prefect: in view of all the preceding facts, it is evident that the relations between Aguarunas and authorities are suffering harm, it is also evident that a serious offense against justice is being committed precisely by those who are appointed to defend it.

We implore you, Mr. Prefect, to intervene efficiently so that the work of the Civil Guards on this piece of land will be stopped immediately and so that the appropriate steps be taken in order to obtain the abrogation of documents that may shelter this injustice.

For which we remain on beforehand very grateful.

Peter T. Hansen JS

Luis M. Uriarte JS

Fco. Rodríguez JS

Comment: Tendeza is living in the neighborhood of the Guardia Civil checkpoint in Chiriaco. Through the manipulations of Manuel Ríos, a former Municipal Representative (Agente Municipal) a portion of Tendeza's territory was ceded to the Guardia Civil without the owner's consent. The circumstances under which this came about is revealed by the correspondance presented.

Commenting upon the case, ending with the letter of February 22 our source records that copies were sent to the superior officers of the police in Bagua and Piura. This resulted in the appearance of the Chief commander of Chachapoyas in Chiriaco where he entered into discussion with the jesuit in charge, a conversation which lasted five hours. It turned out that the police officer was not interested in the true facts of the case, but in defending the police. The final answer from the police authorities was directed against los padres (the priests) who, it was said, were only dedicated to the purpose of embarassing the police. It was further pointed out that Tendeza's son-in-law, Santos, who had taken over the disputed plot through his marriage, never had asked the jesuits to help him obtaining his right.

A statement to this effect seems to have been given by Santos to the Guardia Civil in Chiriaco sometime during the period he was being cultivated by the latter and he himself acted as the favorite minion of the policemen. To complete the picture, as it were, it must be added that there exists a handwritten letter, signed by Santos, to the President of the Republic asking for help against the police. Anyhow, the police authorities concluded that they were to be considered the legal owners of the said plot. When the engineers of the Agrarian Reform came to measure his piece of land, they were stopped by the police. Forced to leave they solemnly promised, however, to take measures leading to the recognition of his obvious right to the site now claimed by the police. It is perhaps not surprising that nothing ever happened. The case was dismissed or just shelved. In as much as Santos himself was somehow compromised and otherwise had acted obnoxiously vis-a-vis his fellow tribesmen, the jesuits found it unwise to pursue the case. This, of course, is a strategic decision.

In principle they might have proceeded just to bring forth the simple ethnographic fact that Santos is not the owner of the disputed piece of land although he has a right in it, a traditional right which the police does not have.

Furthermore, it might have been revealed that at least the cultivated portion of the land in question does belong to Santos' wife, and that her right refers to the products of her toil on a tract of land which is situated within her father's unspecified domain, to which he himself has a foraging usufruct as an Aguaruna, but no permanent claim.

CASE 5: Wepiu versus Luis and the Police (from a letter to the author dated April 19, 1972)

A serrano by the name Luis "owns" a disputed piece of land. He has ordered a laborer to plant and sow the field. This is so thoroughly done that even the neighboring patch belonging to the Aguaruna Juan is included. When the latter asks the serrano worker if he is working for him as well, a quarrel ensues, and eventually the foreigner leaves, apparently feeling threatened by Juan.

The next day the owner Luis appears accompanied by a Guardia Civil. They search for Juan who is not home. He is out hunting. Thereupon they turn to his brother Gonzales who is seized and whipped with Luis' own belt. After the punishment has come to an end, the two of them leave the place, heading for the canoe where Pedro (the owner of the canoe) sits waiting in the aft. By then Gonzales have come to his senses and summoned friends and neighbors. Thus reinforced the Aguarunas run down to the canoe. During the following fight between Luis and Gonzales a stick plays a major part, shifting hands several times between the blows. During this scuffle the Guardia Civil falls overboard, and Gonzales calls out to his brother Jeremias that he better get hold of him. But the policeman is afraid and refuses the offer of help, letting himself be caught by the current and as a result disappears. However, before that happens, Pedro has warned Luis, urging him to rescue the Guardia Civil. "Don't bother", Luis said, "Let him alone, we may as well accuse the Aguarunas for having him killed". And this is precisely what they did.

Next day the Guardia Civil arrived in two trucks armed with guns and submachineguns. After having occupied the river banks, they open fire, directed by Luis, against the house of Juan.

All the Indians disappear in the jungle whereupon Luis and

the police hunt up an old man further down the river, forcing him to show them trails and tracks in the area. However, the pursuit remains futile and the "army" retreats. The Aguarunas return during the night well aware of the fact that the future does not look very promising. They leave for Najem to discuss matters with relatives. An agreement is reached to put the case before the self-appointed "Leader" Kaikat who sometimes acts as go-between in disputes involving Aguarunas and outside authorities. Kaikat visits the Guardia Civil post in Chiriaco in order to get information and seek advice. He is told that, under the circumstances, and if the course of events were as he had presented them, the group of Indians concerned could safely appear in Chiriaco to make a disposition of the incidents. Trusting the word of the policeman, the Indians do arrive at the post only to be arrested and forced into two cars, three women and an unknown number of children in one car, the rest, six men in the other. Destination was declared to be Chachapoyas. Later it was established that no Aguarunas had arrived in that town, or at least so it was said. The authorities (presumably) did not know anything about the Aguarunas in Chachapoyas, and their whereabouts is still an open question, as of April 19, 1972; this had all happened three weeks previously.

Ole

From a letter to the author dated June 14th, 1972

Here is the continuation of the Wipio-case, which I managed to include before I left the area. On the way to the coast we stopped - Peter and I - in Bagua Chica, where we long ago learnt that all ten - out of whom 3 women and 3 children from about 3 years to 10 years - had ended up. And in the meantime, since their "arrest" we made several people visit them e.g. a fourth brother of Wipio who one day came to Peter to ask his advice when the houses had been robbed and the fields destroyed. Peter gave him a letter of which you will have a copy from Luis (v. this). Peter himself was a bit worried because he thought the Spanish was somewhat deficient, but the contents are clear enough, says Luis. The brother was given a copy, for which the judge was to acknowledge the receipt, what he finally did 14 days later. But nothing what Peter demands in the letter has been complied with. Therefore, we took the detour and wanted to see how things were going. And it was a sad sight. The prison guard in charge had been

somewhat surprised by the great invasion of prisoners. However, he soon decided to take advantage of the situation, forcing them to work on his fields. They protested, so it stopped. But then he told them that they would not be given any food, because he had nothing to give them. If they did not want to starve they could go to the town and work for their food. And when we were there (29th May in the afternoon) they were just back from "work", which consisted of washing dishes in restaurants in return for which they were allowed to eat leftovers.

They were all sitting on the sidewalk outside the prison except for the four young (boys of 15-16 years), who were inside the prison yard. Peter talked to them through a barred door. And then it was Wipio. It was a tragic sight. By that time they had been imprisoned for 2 months without being informed what was going to happen with them. And during the past fourteen days he had been ill, so he was sitting in the middle of the cell-floor (no furniture, earthen floor and a small barred window) wrapped in some ragged blankets, completely apathetic. Although I know him very well and on several occasions have visited him in his home and he has been many times in Chiriaco, it was as if he only with difficulty could recognize me.

But there was a certain dignity in his apathy, which I think is special for these Indians, and which undoubtedly have given him mental strength to endure this inhuman treatment. I succeeded in filming them all outside the prison - Guardia Civil showed no interest for my filming - and I also took pictures of Peter and Padre Garin, who went to see the leader of Guardia Civil to be informed how the case stood. It turned out that this was sent to Chachapoyas 1 month ago (i.e. about 29th April) and that there was no news about it since then.

Now Peter intended to go to Bishop Bambaren in Lima with the case and to make him contact the right persons in the Government to put an end to the injustice to which the imprisoned Aguaruna were subject. We had learnt that the case should be tried in Chiclayo because after all the original victim was a Civil Guard. However, this talk about Chiclayo turned out not to be true. Our Bishop Antonio Hornedo paid them a visit about 3 weeks ago (on 23rd May), but no matter how many people there are who visit them, no change is discernible, no speeding up whatsoever. So I hope very much that Peter will succeed in Lima. I asked Peter's permission to publish the case, and his answer was that perhaps time had

come; however, he would leave it to Luis to decide. And as you know, he has nothing against it, on the contrary he thinks that this is the kind of material that can be used to create an opinion in Europe and in the USA, which in the last instance may induce the Government in Lima to act.

Ole i

Chiriaco el 26 de Abril 1972

Estimado Señor Juez de la Provincia Bagua:

A ruegos del Señor Jorge Kakias Shange, familiar de los Aguarunas de Tutumberos que hace ya mas de dos semanas estan presos en la carcel de Bagua y por responsable para el niño Jeremias Cumbia yunuic, alumno de la escuela de Najem bajo mi supervision, pido urgentemente y energicamente la libertad inmediata de las tres mujeres aguarunas y de los niños que estan con ellas. Sus hogares y chacras en Tutumberos estan abandonados y ya se han cometido robos de herramientas y utiles de sus casas, ademas de sus gallinas y plantas de sus chacras. Estos pobres Indígenas, cuya culpa en el presupuesto delito carece de probabilidad, sufririan un daño incalculable dejando abandonados y sin defensa sus recursos de vida.

Pido que Ud. Señor Juez tome las medidas necesarias y legales para proteger la integridad de la propiedad de todos los Aguarunas presos. Pido la proteccion de dichos Aguarunas y sus familiares contra las amenazas, hasta con armas, del Señor Luis Quispe, que continuamente interviene contra los familiares que desean acercarse a las casas de los presos.

Pido una investigacion exhaustiva sobre los comentarios entre los Aguarunas de que dicho Luis Quispe está actuando así bajo la protección del Sargento de la Guardia Civil del Muyo, y si el Señor Quispe tiene licencia de armas en el uso de una pistola.

Pido, que Ud. Señor Juez que por oficio defiende la justicia y sobre todo los derechos de los que por su inculpable situacion de inferioridad cultural y económica no tienen remedios para defenderse, de los pasos judiciales contra el responsable (o responsables) de la noticia en el periódico "Expreso", segun la cual los Aguarunas matan a flechazos a un Guardia. Contra esta difamación pública contra un grupo de ciudadanos Peruanos sin voz no hay defensa si los que tienen el poder legal y la obligacion moral no intervienen.

Pido, por fin, que me informe quién ha sido nombrado abogado para la defensa de los Aguarunas, y los pasos jurídicos que se han tomado hasta ahora, y los que se van a tomar. Todo eso para poder tranquilizar a los familiares y informarles sobre el destino de los presos.

Dada la situación desesperante de los familiares aguarunas menores de edad que residen en Tutumberos espero su pronta información, y sin esa me vería obligado a recurrir directamente a las autoridades de Lima.

Atentamente

Peter Tantholdt Hansen, S.J.

Chiriaco, 26th April, 1972

Hon. Mr. Judge of Bagua Province:

On behalf of Mr. Jorge Kakias Shange, relative of the Aguaruna Indians from Tutumberos who have been in prison in Bagua for more than two weeks, and as responsible for the boy Jeremias Cumbia Yunuic, student of the Najem school under my supervision, I ask you urgently and expressively to effectuate the immediate release of the three Aguaruna women and the children staying with them. Their homes and chacras in Tutumberos are abandoned and tools and utensils left in the houses are now stolen, as are their chickens and products of their fields. These poor natives, whose guilt in the presupposed crime is improbable, suffer an incalculable loss as long as their subsistence basis is left unattended.

I ask you Mr. Judge to take the necessary legal measures to protect the integrity and property of all the imprisoned Aguaruna. I beg you to protect the said Aguaruna and their families against the threats, even armed menaces, on the part of Luis Quispe who continually intervene when relatives of the prisoners wish to approach the houses of the latter.

I demand an exhaustive investigation about the story circulating among the Aguaruna that said Luis Quispe is acting in this manner under the protection of the Civil Guard in Muyo, and (I want you to investigate) if Mr. Luis Quispe holds an arm permit for pistol.

I urge that you Mr. Judge, who by position defends Justice and above all the rights of those who due to a situation of cultural and economic inferiority, beyond their control, are left without means for their defence, take the legal steps against the responsible (or those responsible) for the notice in the newspaper "Expreso" according to which the Aguaruna kill a Guard with arrows. Against this public libel concerning a group of voiceless Peruvian citizens, there is no defence if they do not intervene, they (those) who command the legal power and carry the moral obligation.

Finally, I ask you to inform me about who has been appointed counsel for the defence and other juridical steps taken and about to be taken. All this in order to appease the relatives and inform them about the destiny of the prisoners.

Given the hopeless situation for the minors still left in Tutumberos, I expect your prompt informative response; (and) in absence of such information I see myself obliged to address myself directly to the authorities of Lima.

Yours sincerely,

Peter Tantholdt Hansen S.J.

The Wepio Case: Excerpt from a letter to Ole Dorph-Jensen from Peter Tantholdt Hansen, dated June 26, 1972.

"..... through Bambarin I finally got in touch with the Director of Government, Mr. S. Velarde, to whom the Wepio-case was submitted. He promised to take action and inform me about the progress of the matter. A week ago Wepio, the women and the children were released from the Bagua prison and returned home to Tontumberos. Still three persons, Gonzalo, Jeremias and Ivan are kept under arrest. These

are now transferred to Chachapoyas. A few days ago a lawyer from Sinamos visited us. He had come from Lima with the obligation to investigate the case. When he came to us he had already contacted the police in Bagua and Muyu and discovered that there was something fishy about the whole story. He stayed here three days, visited Imacita and passed Tontumberos on his way to Chachapoyas. We now hope that the last three prisoners will be let out."

MEMORIAL DE LA COMUNIDAD DE URAKUSA CON RELACION A LA
CONSTRUCCION DEL PUERTO Y DE LA CARRETERA EN TIERRAS
DE SU PROPIEDAD - BASES PARA EL CONVENIO ENTRE LA
COMUNIDAD DE URAKUSA Y LA DIVISION DE COLONIZACION
DEL ALTO MARANON

La comunidad de Urakusa, después de numerosas asambleas consultas y viajes a Lima de sus delegados frente a los reiterados pedidos de la División de Colonización de firmar un acuerdo para la concesión de una determinada cantidad de Hectáreas para la instalación provisional de un Puerto como Base de Apoyo para la construcción del Centro de Servicios en los límites posteriores externos de la Reserva, deja constancia de los siguientes puntos:

1. Que en conversaciones realizadas en el año 1968 entre representantes de la División de Colonización y de la comunidad de Urakusa, se había acordado que la cantidad de terreno necesario para la instalación del Puerto como Base de Apoyo para la construcción de la carretera no iba a ser superior a una extensión de una hectárea y media.

2. Que posteriormente según consta en el Plano Topográfico de fecha 27 de abril de 1971 de la División de Asentamiento Rural de la Colonización del Alto Marañón titulado: AREA PARA BASE DE OPERACIONES DE URAKUSA, se limitó un área de 8.74 Has.

3. Que en el punto cuarto del proyecto de Acta de Acuerdo entre la comunidad de Urakusa y la División de Colonización que se nos pide que firmemos, se menciona que: "la ubicación y el número de locales por instalar, es aproximadamente el que se indica en el plano adjunto y su diseminación requiere de una extensión que es inferior a las (2) dos Hectáreas" lo que es una contradicción y una inexactitud puesto que el plano delimita (8) ocho Hectáreas y no las (2) dos Has. que se indican en el punto cuarto.

4. Que no es cierto que la comunidad de Urakusa haya "tomado conciencia de la importancia que representa la disponibilidad de un Puerto para favorecer el Desarrollo económico de la Zona" según consta en el primer párrafo del Acta, que por el contrario la comunidad de Urakusa expresa claramente sus temores acerca de las consecuencias que tendrá la construcción del mencionado Puerto para su intergridad y la de sus tierras.

5. Que de la lectura del Acta de Acuerdo propuesta por la División de Colonización en cuya preparación no participó ningún representante de la comunidad, se tiene la impresión que nosotros los Aguarunas de Urakusa hemos pedido que se construya el Puerto y la Carretera, lo que es falso.

6. Que antiguamente antes de llegar la carretera en Imacita vivían aguarunas. Les prometieron que en el pueblo iba haber una escuela y una posta médica para ellos y que se podían quedar allí en sus tierras pero después entraron los serranos y se les ha dado nuestras tierras del Imacita, por esto nosotros no queremos que suceda lo mismo aquí en Urakusa.

7. Que nosotros los Aguarunas tenemos muchas experiencias de los mestizos porque en 1968 se establecieron aquí en terrenos de la comunidad de Urakusa donde se piensa construir el Puerto un campamento militar que nos trajo solamente problemas porque los soldados

fastidiaban a las mujeres mientras los hombres estaban en las charcas y nos robaban y no había justicia para nosotros ni sanción para los culpables. Nosotros y nuestras mujeres nos acordamos ahora de la experiencia que dejaron los mestizos y los soldados. El primer hombre mestizo que llegó se llamaba Alfonso y los otros eran Roldán, Benjamín, Pedro, Marcial Trigoso, ellos mandaban a recoger balata, semillas de Yarina y pieles. Después Benjamín trajo a los soldados al Cenepa, Chávez Valdivia y Borja y empezaron a violar nuestras mujeres. Porque nosotros los aguarunas cuando encontramos una mujer en el camino la saludamos, le hablamos. Nosotros respetamos a la mujer y si un aguaruna violaba a una mujer se le cortaba la cabeza y ahora nosotros le pegamos. Pero los soldados cuando encuentran una mujer la palabrean y la fastidian y nosotros no podemos vivir en paz, por eso no hemos querido y no queremos ahora que ningún soldado venga a vivir en nuestra reserva.

8. Que nosotros los Aguarunas vivimos en paz y no queremos problemas, a nosotros no nos interesa la Carretera ni el puerto ni la Colonización porque con ellos vendrán los serranos y los soldados a quitarnos nuestras tierras y abusar de nuestras mujeres y ningún aguaruna nunca se ha beneficiado de la carretera o de la colonización. Esto lo hemos visto en todos los sitios por donde ha pasado la carretera.

¿Acaso hay aguarunas en Imacita y en Chiriaco?

¿Acaso se han beneficiado los aguarunas de Aramango con la carretera?

Lo único que les ha traído la carretera es la pérdida de sus tierras y de la paz.

9. Que por todas las razones expuestas y por la experiencia de nuestros mayores y nuestra sabemos que el Puerto, que la carretera y la Colonización no nos traerán ningún beneficio sino sólo problemas y por lo tanto: **DEJAMOS CLARA CONSTANCIA QUE NOS Oponemos A LA CONSTRUCCION DEL PUERTO DE LA BASE DE APOYO Y DE LA CARRETERA** que pasará por nuestra reserva, pero queremos decir que nosotros los aguarunas de la comunidad de Urakusa sabremos defender nuestras tierras y nuestras mujeres.

Por todo lo que hemos dicho proponemos los siguientes puntos como Base para un Convenio entre la comunidad Aguaruna de Urakusa y la División de Colonización del Alto Marañón:

1) La comunidad de Urakusa pide su inmediato reconocimiento e Inscripción oficial conforme a lo dispuesto por la Ley. El territorio de su propiedad es a qué se figura en la Resolución Ministerial N. 883 del 13 de Marzo de 1964 y en el plano topográfico que acompaña dicha Resolución.

2) La comunidad de Urakusa pide que en el plazo de un mes a partir de la fecha se elabore un nuevo plano topográfico de las (2) dos Hectáreas de extensión necesarias para la instalación de un campamento provisional en proximidad de la quebrada de Tunnin que funcionaría como puerto.

En dicho plano figurarán de manera clara los límites del campamento los que estarán representados en el terreno por estacas de aproximadamente un metro i medio de alto y colocadas a veinte metros de distancia a fin de que quede claramente delimitado el espacio de propiedad de la comunidad que ésta cede en uso temporal. La comunidad se compromete a colaborar con el personal de la División de Colonización en esta labor.

3) La División de Colonización se compromete a elaborar y

colocar antes del inicio de los trabajos del puerto un número de cinco carteles de una superficie mínima de un metro cada uno colocados a una altura de 2 metros sobre el nivel del suelo y ubicados en los límites externos del puerto y en los límites de la Reserva por donde se construirá la carretera.

En dichos carteles deberán figurar los datos principales de la cesión en uso temporal de las dos (2) hectáreas para el puerto, tales como:

Número de la Resolución Directoral que aprueba la cesión, el plazo de la cesión, el espacio cedido, etc.

4) La Comunidad de Urakusa pide que las chacras y casas que sean malogradas por los trabajos de construcción del puerto y de las carreteras sean valorizadas sobre la base de un catastro que se levantará inmediatamente después de la colocación de las estacas un ingeniero Agrónomo del Ministerio de Agricultura con la colaboración de los miembros de la Comunidad. Dicha valorización constituirá la base de la indemnización que el Estado deberá pagar a los comuneros afectados, de conformidad con lo establecido por la Ley.

5) Ninguna persona no aguaruna podrá establecerse fuera de los límites de las dos (2) hectáreas cedidas para el puerto. Cualquiera persona no aguaruna que roce o que construya su casa fuera de los límites del puerto y dentro de las tierras de la Comunidad, será inmediatamente desalojada por las autoridades de la División de Colonización.

6) La Comunidad de Urakusa se compromete a asumir en el plazo de seis (6) meses, a partir de la instalación del puerto, la gestión y administración de los siguientes elementos de apoyo: a) Grifo de gasolina; b) Grupo electrógeno; c) Panadería; d) Bazar Comunal.

7) Para los efectos del cumplimiento del punto anterior, la Comunidad solicita apoyo para la capacitación de 4 (cuatro) comuneros.

Para tal fin, la Comunidad propone:

a) Que en cuanto se instalen la panadería, el grifo de gasolina, el grupo electrógeno y el albergue, cuatro (4) comuneros seleccionados por la comunidad sean capacitados en la administración de los mencionados servicios, de tal forma que éstos pasen a manos de la Comunidad, para un gestión comunal, en cuanto las instalaciones sean abandonadas por la División de Colonización.

b) Que la Dirección de Comunidades Campesinas se preocupe de gestionar la capacitación de un (1) comunero para la administración del Bazar Comunal.

8) La División de Colonización queda encargada de prestar todas las facilidades del caso para el cumplimiento del punto 6. que es de su responsabilidad.

9) La instalación del grifo de gasolina, panadería, grupo electrógeno, Bazar Comunal y las demás instalaciones permanentes pasarán a ser propiedad de la Comunidad y estarán bajo su administración en el plazo de un año y medio (1.5), a partir de su instalación y funcionamiento.

10) El Convenio que suscriban la Comunidad de Urakusa una vez que están debidamente reconocida e inscrita de acuerdo la

Ley y la División de Colonización, tendrá una duración de dos (2) años a partir de su firma y podrá ser modificado sólo por acuerdo mutuo de las partes y previo acuerdo de Asamblea General en el caso de la Comunidad de Urakusa. Al término de los dos (2) años, habrá una nueva suscripción del Convenio.

Urakusa, 19 de Octubre de 1971

Gerardo Wipio D.
Secretario

Pijuskum Ukuncham W.

Raúl Timias

Pedro Weepin T.

Abercio Tsejem

Mayash Weepin

Miguel Ukuncham W.

Juanito Daichap

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF URAKUSA CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PORT AND ROAD IN LANDS OF THEIR PROPERTY. BASIS FOR A TREATY BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY OF URAKUSA AND THE DIVISION OF COLONIZATION OF THE ALTO MARAÑON.

Faced with the repetitive requests from the Division of Colonization urging the signing of a treaty, implying the concession of a determined quantity of hectares for the provisional establishment of a Port as a Base of Support for the construction of a Service Center in the external posterior limits of the Reservation - and, as a response to this, having arranged numerous meetings, made consultations and sent delegates to Lima, the community of Urakusa declares the following:-

1. In conversations between the representatives of the Division of Colonization and the community of Urakusa, which took place in 1968, it was agreed that the quantity of land to be used for the establishment of a Port as a Base of Support for the construction of the road would not exceed the extension for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hectares.
2. Later according to the Topographical Plan of April 27, 1971 of the Division of Rural Settlement of the Colonization of the Alto Marañon, entitled AREA OF THE OPERATIONAL BASE OF URAKUSA, the delimited area was 8.74 hectares.
3. In point No. 4 of the proposal of the Minutes of Agreement between the community of Urakusa and Division of Colonization which we are requested to sign it is stated: "the location and number of constructions to be established is approximately the same as indicated on the enclosed plan and its distribution requires an extension less than two (2) hectares" and all this is contradictory and inaccurate because the plan delimits 8 hectares and not 2 as indicated in point 4.
4. It is not true what the 1st paragraph of the Minutes claims that the community of Urakusa has become "aware of the importance of having a port to help the economic development of the zone". On the contrary the community of Urakusa is expressing clearly its fears of the consequences of the port construction for

the integrity of the community and its land holdings.

5. From reading of the Minutes of Agreement proposed by the Division of Colonization, which was prepared without the presence or participation of a representative of the community, one is left with the impression that we the Aguarunas of Urakusa have requested the construction of the port and the road - which we have not.

6. Formerly - before the highway reached Imacita - Aguarunas were living in that area. They were promised that in the new town a school and medical center were to be established in order to serve the Aguarunas. It was also said that the Aguarunas were allowed to continue living in their own land, but when the serranos (colonists from the highlands) entered Imacita, they were given our property. We do not want the same to happen here at Urakusa.

7. We - the Aguarunas - have experiences with the mestizos. In 1968 they settled down here in Urakusa on the territory upon which they now intend to build the port. It was a military camp, and it brought us only problems: soldiers bothered our women while the men were away clearing their chacras and they were stealing things from us. There was no justice for us and no punishment for the guilty.

We, both men and women, still remember the mestizos and the soldiers; impression of their behavior was left behind.

The first man to arrive was called Alfonso and the others following were Roldán, Benjamín, Pedro, Marcial Trigoso. They ordered us to collect rubber, palm tree seeds and hides.

Afterwards Benjamín took the soldiers along to Chávez Valdivia on the Cenepa river and to Borja, and wherever they came they started raping our women. When we, the Aguarunas, meet a woman on the trail we greet her and talk to her. We show respect to the woman, and a man who dared offend a woman was formerly beheaded while today a transgressor will be beaten. But when the soldiers meet a woman they behave rudely and they bother her - and we cannot live in peace. For this reason we have never wanted and will not tolerate the presence of any soldier on our reservation.

8. We, the Aguarunas, live in peace and want to avoid problems. We are not interested in the highway, nor the port or the colonization. For with these things arrive the serranos and the soldiers who grab our land and violate our women. No Aguaruna has ever benefited by the road or the colonization. That much we have seen in all the districts through which the highway passes.

Are there for instance any Aguarunas left in Imacita or in Chiriaco?

Have the Aguarunas of Aramango benefited by the road?

The only thing the highway has brought them is the loss of their land and peaceful existence.

9. For all the reasons given, based on the experience of our elders and of ourselves, we know that the port, the highway and the colonization are not likely to bring anything good but only problems. Therefore WE DECLARE THAT WE OPPOSE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PORT AS WELL AS THE BASE OF SUPPORT AND THE HIGHWAY which is to pass our reservation. We want to say that we, the Aguarunas, of the Urakusa community will be able to defend our land and our women.

In accordance with what we have hitherto said we propose the following points as basis for an Agreement between the community of

Urakusa and the Division of Colonization of the Alto Marañon:

1) The community of Urakusa petitions its immediate recognition and official registration according to the Law. The territorial extension of the property is recorded in the Ministerial Resolution No. 883 of March 13, 1964 and in the topographical projection which accompanies the said Resolution.

2) The community of Urakusa calls for a new topographical map of two (2) hectares necessary for the installation, near the Tunnin quebrada, of a provisional camp supposed to serve as port. This delineation is to be prepared within one month from today.

In the plan referred to it should be indicated clearly the camp borders, and these should be represented in the actual terrain by stakes, approximately one and a half meters long, and placed at twenty meters intervals so that the limits of the ceded portion of the community property intended for temporary use are clearly demarcated. To accomplish this task the community offers its collaboration, assisting the personnel of the Division of Colonization.

3) Before the work on the port starts, the Division of Colonization commits itself to manufacture and distribute as many as five posters, the minimum extension of which should be one meter each, placed two meters above the floor level at the external border points of the port and the Reservation limits through which the road is supposed to cross.

On these posters are to be written the principal data concerning the cession of the two (2) hectares for temporary use in connection with the port construction, such as:

Number of the Directorial Resolution approving the cession, period of the cession, extension of the territory ceded, etc.

4) The community of Urakusa demands the evaluation of the chacras and houses likely to suffer ruination as a result of the construction of the port and the roads. This evaluation should be carried out immediately after the stakes of demarcation have been collocated, and it is to be based on a complete record of the affected property, carried out by an agronomist of the Ministry of Agriculture in collaboration with members of the community. This evaluation is to constitute the basis for stipulation of the indemnity which the Government has to pay to the community members concerned - all according to what is established by the Law.

5) Nobody, except Aguarunas, are permitted to settle outside the delimited two hectares ceded to the port. Any person who is not an Aguaruna but who nevertheless tries to clear a plot or build a house on community land outside the demarcation line should immediately be ousted from the territory by the authorities of the Division of Colonization.

6) Within six (6) months subsequent to the establishment of the port, the community of Urakusa assumes the responsibility for the management and administration of the following service installations: a) Gas station; b) Power unit; c) Bakery; d) Community (general) store.

7) In order to implement the anterior point, the community solicits support in the instruction of four (4) community members. The community therefore proposes the following:

a) As soon as the bakery, the gas station, the power unit and

albergue (hostel) have been installed, four (4) community members, named by the local assembly, are to be trained in the operation of the above mentioned service outfits, so that the latter can be transferred to the community and communal management when the Division of Colonization leave the place.

b) The Division of Colonization is to take care of the training of one (1) community member who is supposed to run the general store.

8) In order to accomplish point 6, for which the Division of Colonization carries the responsibility, it is requested that all sorts of facilities are offered.

9) The gas station, bakery, power unit, general store and other permanent installations become communal property and are subject to be taken over and administered by the community within one and a half (1 ½) year after their establishment and operation started.

10) The community of Urakusa and the Division of Colonization will sign the Treaty when the community is officially registered according to the Law. This Treaty (Agreement) is to last two years from the moment it is signed and will, in the future, only be liable to modification upon mutual agreement of the parties concerned and the previous consent of the General Assembly of the Urakusa community. At the end of the two years period ratification takes place (the Treaty is to be re-signed).

Urakusa, October 19, 1971

IV: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Amazon forest is one of the most sparsely settled regions of the world; yet people seem to think that the jungle is exceptionally fertile, that such a luxurious vegetation, amount of decaying matter and abundance of water should make this landscape into an agricultural El Dorado. This is not so. The humus is not deep and it is poor for most agricultural uses. Tropical soils are deficient in mineral salts and organic material, both being subject to the leaching action of rain water (cf. Service, 1958, Linton, 1941).

The Alto Marañon area fits into this description, and we therefore conclude that the Aguaruna are compelled to pursue an extensive form of rotational gardening supplemented by foraging. Since a jungle habitat is notably deficient in large land animals but relatively rich in fish and other fresh-water animals, we deduce a corresponding dependency on the river as a resource area. Furthermore, we observe that the tropical forest abound in species but not in individuals, and that consequently foraging is space-demanding, which in its turn has implications for human population growth and distribution.

But given the appropriate technology, demographic mechanisms, and organizational responses, there is apparently nothing inherent in the original setting that prevents the flourishing of a rich and meaningful life - a life based on material plenty and a moderate output of energy, reminiscent of Sahlins' "original affluent society" (Sahlins 1968: 85). The traditional productive system, is characterized by a balanced utilization of alternative niches; and the crew-coordination requirements of the respective niches are met by human aggregates of great flexibility and mobility.

However, the tropical forest as a habitat is vulnerable. The dispersal of members of the same species makes this environment easily susceptible for overtaxing. Too long residence in one particular area by too many people, may prove detrimental not only to the system of garden rotation, but also put strains on the supply of wild fruits and housebuilding material. If for some reason the durability of the thatch is reduced by several years, the demand for fresh yarina is bound to exterminate permanently this palm in the whole neighborhood. The "legal" requirement of permanent settlement only to attain a parcela has forced some Aguaruna to stay

put in a particular locality. Other groups have concentrated in village-like settlements, hoping by this measure to bring about legal recognition of a common landholding - a reservation. The schools reinforce this tendency, and the SNEM aggravate the situation by destroying an important protein source as well as inducing an increased demand on palms.

Population growth is not making things easier. It is my guess that some 40,000 people may live comfortably in the total area, Ecuador included. Due to the suppression of head hunting, the partial vaccination against smallpox, the increasing immunity against such epidemics as measles, and the medical assistance offered by the missionaries, the Aguaruna are still among the populous Indian groups. Indeed natural increase of the native population is, under the circumstances, a disruptive force, threatening household and caserío viability. Thus the Aguaruna, who have learnt through generations to cope with the jungle and maintain viable social units, are now subject to a space-reducing mechanism beyond their control; and, as repeatedly noted in this essay, a foraging people is strongly dependent on rather extensive areas in order to survive.

But, that is not really the point. Mere survival is the single purpose of an inmate in the concentration camp. No freeborn human being is satisfied with such a humble destiny. The free man, such as the Aguaruna hunter, seeks the "good life", which is not necessarily a life in luxury, but certainly one of plenty. As the ethnographic presentation should have revealed: those Aguaruna who still decide over their lives and property are well off and carry on a comfortable existence. It is this rich and meaningful life which is at stake to begin with; and the situation is aggravated by the flow of ignorant and poorly equipped immigrants who fail to adapt themselves to the foreign environment, and who, in the process of failure leave behind them irrevocable damage to a vulnerable habitat.

Thus natural population growth is in itself not a positive symptom; and combined with an excessive immigration of unskilled settlers, growth is bound to be detrimental, upsetting the ecological balance of the zone. For certain portions of the area the threshold has already been reached.

Add to this the other long term effects of Western civilization, such as the introduction of firearms and motorboats, and we begin to discern the outlines of a grim picture, a picture of di-

minished return from both hunting and fishing.

To sum up our argument we state that the Aguaruna area is approaching overpopulation, implying the incipient overtaxing of resources. The latter tendency is reinforced by technological advances; and the overall effect of these processes is the gradual pauperization of the whole region.

Similar developments are taking place all over the world, the general tendency being one of integration of minorities into large-scale society through a process of deprivation and proletarianization. Thus national governments, supported by the World Bank and other agencies, invest large sums of money to further something called "progress"; through ignorance or imprudence, combined with corruption and a destructive bureaucracy, they reap disaster (cf. Hayter 1971). And this is not only a question of "tribal survival" or survival of those most fit to cope with the problems presented by a particular environment - in this case: the Aguaruna - it is a question of survival at all.

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About this question the anthropologist may have something to say. It is the task of the anthropologist to study social life on the grassroot level. His professional skills enable him to disclose essential features of human existence under varying conditions. Through his analysis the intricacies of the man-nature relationships are exposed. The insight gained makes the anthropologist a unique source of information, and, by the same token puts a burden on him, a burden of responsibility vis-a-vis his fellow men. The least he can do is to bring to the fore what little he knows about the small world in the hope that its members, who are now experiencing the grave effects of cultural misunderstanding, will benefit from the exposure.

NOTES

1. Fieldwork on which this report is based, was carried out in the period between August 1970 to April 1971. Some of the material and formulations are borrowed from a previous report (Siverts 1971) intended for Smithsonian Institution and Norwegian Research Council, the two supporting institutions. Documentary material on the land question has been provided by members of the Jesuit mission operating in the Aguaruna area. - Transcription of Aguaruna Jívaro corresponds more or less to phonemization proposals suggested by Pike and Larson (Pike & Larson 1964, Larson 1963). Geographical names and personal names are rendered in an alphabetical convention for which Larson is responsible (Larson 1966). However, the documentary material is not at all consistent in this respect.
2. In a list of major events concerning the Aguaruna area, Guallart gives the year 1913 for the annihilation of the Beseda Company on the Morona. This may refer to the same incident.
3. This is an estimate based on the guess that Ecuadorian Jívaro groups occupy a territory about the same size as the Alto Marañon area (see note 6).
4. Jívaro has for a long time been considered a separate linguistic stock, under the category "Z. Unclassified South American language" (McQuown 1955), but was tentatively placed within the Andean-Equatorial super-stock by Greenberg in 1956, quoted by Steward and Faron, 1959.
5. While it seems probable that the Actual show linguistic characteristics sufficiently different from the Shuara and the Aguaruna to warrant their being considered a separate group, certain indications suggest that the Wampis actually are a branch of the Shuara who happen to be on the Peruvian side of the border. Suggestive is the fact that the Aguaruna apparently consider the Ecuadorian Jívaro and the Huambisa of the Santiago River as belonging to the same category, viz.: Wampis. The Antipa Aguaruna used to fight the Santiago Wampis and other Aguaruna higher up on the Marañon and Cenepa fought the Zamora Wampis (Uriarte, personal communication).
6. This figure turns up in Guallart 1964 and Varese 1970. Uriarte has extended the territory to 30,000 square kilometers (Uriarte 1971).
7. The road was finished as far as Chiriaco in 1966 and has by reached at least 40 kilometers beyond the military camps of Imazita and Mesones Muro. Since the bridge over Chiriaco has now been completed, more rapid advancement of the highway is expected. Until the beginning of this year the Nazareth was the end of the road as far as heavy traffic was concerned, and this bridge head house cluster was the port from which commercial goods and people were transported down river by means of heavybuilt, local river boats propelled by outboard motors.
8. Yuca = sweet manioc (Manihot esculenta).

9. Guallart, personal information (cf. also Berlin 1972).
10. /kányuk/ = añuje, aguti (Dasyprocta aguti).
/kášai/ = májaz, paca (Coelogenys paca).
11. ONERN = Oficina Nacional de Evaluación de los Recursos Naturales; see bibliography: ONERN-FAO 1968.
12. This census was instigated by Juan de Salinas who died before the reports were completed. Gaspar de Salinas succeeded him as governor, but he was absent at the time, and therefore Capt. Juan Aldrete, acting in his place had the scribe Joan Pizarro carry out the actual writing of the document (Stirling 1938).
13. The Wampis (Huambiza) being included in the Untsuri Shuara category, presumably (Guallart 1964, 1970).
14. The word caserío tends to be applied to any form of settlement in the zone, including the mestizo trading post of Chiriaco.
15. Suicidal rate is supposed to be rather high among the Aguaruan, and I have several cases on record. Reliable quantitative data do not exist to my knowledge. But people at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Yarinacocha) have informed me that Mildred Larson probably has a comprehensive material on suicide, collected through a period of about 15 years.
16. There are two different kinds of barbasco and they both require a coordinated effort of several people to be effective as a fishing instrument. Barbasco is also the most common means used by women who want to commit suicide.
17. Masato = /niamánč/ = fermented juice of cooked and masticated yuca. The drink is nourishing and refreshing, the taste not unlike sour milk. Protestant missionaries have recently tried to prevent Aguaruna from drinking masato. They have also intervened in their burial practices.
18. Stirling mentions the use of messengers or emissaries as part of the "ethics of Jívaro warfare" (1938: 52).
19. An account of this expedition - dated 1550 - is found in Stirling (1938: 5 - 9).
20. Quotation taken from Stirling who gives a detailed description of Salinas' activities (1938: 8 - 16).
21. Encomendero = Spaniard who was granted a contingent of Indians and (usually) the piece of land upon which these Indians were living.
22. According to Guallart the rubber era continued until 1964. The same author describes how concessions are given to firms and enterprises much in the same vein as encomiendas: "Solicitud a la concesión de 300 Has. de gomales, contando 40 familias (indígenas) para su explotación", solicitation presented by R. del Aguila Domingusa (Guallart 1971).
23. Reported by Up de Graff 1923 and quoted by Stirling 1938: 27.

24. Desde el año 1964, fecha en que se promulgó la Ley 14920, el Ejército Peruano y la Dirección General de Reforma Agraria y Asentamiento RURAL (antes IRPA), están llevando a cabo el Programa de Colonización del Alto Marañón. Dos Convenios, el primero del 21 de Mayo de 1965 y el segundo del 17 de Febrero de 1970, establecen las bases legales y el modo de acción del proyecto de la DGRA/YAR, y el EJERCITO: El Programa de Colonización tiene dos objetivos principales:
- a) "Incorporar la zona al pleno dominio de la soberanía nacional".
 - b) "Incorporar nuevas áreas a la producción y al desarrollo social y económico en nuestras zonas húmedas tropicales (Proyecto 1967: 1).
- Quotation from Varese 1970: 1.
25. A total of 322 new settlers corresponding to an estimated 1,800 persons, families included, cf. p. 11.
26. This is Uriarte's calculation and is therefore based on the 30,000 square kilometers extension (Uriarte 1971: 33).
27. It is doubtful if the DDT spraying of houses will have any effect at all, since the mosquitos breed in shallow ponds and marshes (cf. Lepage 1957). Furthermore, it has been established that DDT affects the photosynthesis of the plants, upsetting the ecobiological equilibrium (cf. Uriarte 1971: 29). Finally, it should be made clear that the use of DDT is now prohibited in several countries. It has been said that the SNEM is bound to continue the DDT fumigation until the FAO sponsored store has been exhausted.
28. Medicine is only sold to individuals who can afford it, otherwise it is given free of charge.

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 AI = América Indígena.
 BAE-B = Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
 ICA-P = International Congress of Americanists Proceedings of.
 ILV-SLP = Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Serie Lingüística Peruana.
 SIL-P = Summer Institute of Linguistics.
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 SSF-CHL = Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Comentationes Humanarum Litterarum.

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