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**EPIDEMICS, THE WAIMIRI-ATROARI INDIANS
AND THE POLITICS OF DEMOGRAPHY**

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EPIDEMICS, THE WAIMIRI-ATROARI INDIANS AND THE POLITICS OF DEMOGRAPHY¹

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In this paper, I aim to deal with the representation of epidemics and the indigenous interpretations of the consequences of the intrusion of the "Whites" in the Waimiri-Atroari society, focusing the process of "pacification"/settlement. Such an approach will permit a comprehension of the contact events during the "attraction phase" directed by the National Indian Foundation (*Fundação Nacional do Índio* - FUNAI)², which began in 1969³ up to the early 1980's, when the majority of the Waimiri-Atroari were living in settlements organized and directed by the "Waimiri-Atroari Attraction Front" (*Frente de Atração Waimiri-Atroari* - FAWA⁴) administration. I examined this period, immediately before my fieldwork⁵, through documents of the FUNAI and oral testimonies both of Waimiri-Atroari

1. My thanks to Professor Alcida Rita Ramos and Dominique Buchillet for the invitation to participate in this Symposium, and to the former for kindly giving me access to her books about epidemics among indigenous populations. My thanks also to Professor Julio Cezar Melatti for his helpful suggestions.

2. The Brazilian government Indian agency, which substituted, in 1967, the *Serviço de Proteção ao Índio*, S.P.I. (Indian Protection Service), founded by General Cândido Mariano Rondon in 1910. The S.P.I. was disbanded after repeated accusations of corruption and connivance with genocide.

3. Report of the "Waimiri-Atroari Attraction Front", 27-10-73, Gilberto Pinto Figueiredo Costa, Head of the FAWA, p.XVIII.

4. One of the FUNAI's specialists in working with isolated Indians, Gilberto Pinto Figueiredo Costa, headed the "Waimiri-Atroari Attraction Front" (FAWA) from 1970 until his death in an attack against the Abonari Indian Post, in December 1974. An "attraction" plan had been implemented in 1968, led by Father Calleri, with a team from the Prelacy of Roraima, aiming to remove the Waimiri-Atroari from the route planned for the BR-174 Highway and resettle them in the headwaters of the River Alalaú. After the elimination of this "attraction" team in an attack led by the Indians at the end of 1968, the Regional Delegate of the FUNAI, in a "Agreement Proposal" directed to the National Department of Highways - DNER (29-04-70), made clear his plan to persist in "... attracting and, if possible, removing these still wild Indians from the region cut by the mentioned Highway". In 1970, Gilberto Pinto took up again the task of "attraction", recuperating the Camanaú Indian Post and setting up other Posts: on the River Alalaú in 1971, the Alalaú Sub-Post (later destroyed twice by the Waimiri-Atroari) and the Abonari Post in 1972. Gilberto Pinto specified that the "principal objective of the FAWA is to attract the Waimiri-Atroari Indian groups (...) accelerating their process of integration in the national society, as well as assisting the Highway construction services (...) BR-174" (FAWA Report, 27-10-73).

5. I carried out 17 months of fieldwork with the Waimiri-Atroari, in several stages, over the period from January 1982 to August 1985, as part of my doctorate research in social anthropology at the

and FUNAI workers. After giving a brief outline of the history of interethnic contact, I shall examine some of the different ways in which the Waimiri-Atroari and FUNAI workers in the FAWA interpreted the epidemics, finally, commenting on the politics of demography in this Indian area.

The Waimiri-Atroari Indian population, of the Carib language family, refer to themselves as *ki?in'ja* (gente)⁶. Most of their territory is a region of low relief covered with tropical forest, situated in the north of Amazonas state and south of Roraima, in the valleys of the Rivers Alalaú, Camanaú, Curiaú, Santo Antônio do Abonari, and their tributaries. With some small variations of dialect between local groups, the Waimiri-Atroari speak the same language.

Estimates of the Waimiri-Atroari population in the past vary enormously, a question which I shall examine below. Their territory was very much larger, including the valleys of the Rivers Jauaperi and Uatumã, and their respective tributaries, the Rivers Alalaú and Santo Antônio do Abonari. During the long history of violent invasions⁷ of their territory, closely related to the fluctuations of prices on the international market of forest products such as Brazil-nuts, balata latex, otter and alligator skins and tropical hard woods, and, more recently, minerals, the Waimiri-Atroari suffered a drastic depopulation, largely the devastating consequence of epidemics. After being reduced to a lowest point in 1983, the population has undergone a rapid recuperation, reaching over 500 individuals in 1990.

Up to the middle of this century, invasions by the regional population, both spontaneous and those directed by the local government, were sporadic. The permanent invasion and occupation of the Indian territory was restricted to the valley of the River Jauaperi. From the late 1960's, the Federal Government initiated the complete occupation of the Waimiri-Atroari territory in the form of large-scale regional development projects.

In the 1972-1977 period, the BR-174 Highway, linking Manaus to Boa Vista, was built through the Indian territory, followed by the implantation of the Pitinga mining

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6. In this paper I use the transcription that the Waimiri-Atroari are currently using, under the supervision of the "Progama Waimiri-Atroari" (FUNAI/ELETRONORTE), with some small differences. The symbol // marks the accent.

y = central vocoid, high, closed, not rounded, sonorous. Rather like the German /ü/.

j = semivocoid, palatal, sonorous. Like /y/ in "yes".

x = contóide, fricativo, côncavo, alveopalatal, surdo. Like /sh/ in "trash".

? = contóide, oclusivo, glotal, surdo. Like /tt/ in cockney English "butter".

tx = africado, alveopalatal, surdo. Like /ch/ in "charm".

7. The history of massacres is documented from the middle of the 19th century (Barbosa Rodrigues, 1885; Payer, 1906; Hübner & Koch-Grünberg, 1907; Bandeira, 1926; in the "Relatórios da Província do Amazonas", and in reports of the S.P.I. and the FUNAI). A massacre in Indian villages on the River Jauaperi in 1856, carried out by major Manoel Pereira de Vasconcellos and 50 national guards, marked the beginning of 30 years of interethnic war and military expeditions. Barbosa Rodrigues established non-violent contacts and founded a settlement in 1885. Later conflicts included an expedition of 50 soldiers of the police in 1905, who killed 283 Indians, taking 18 prisoners.

complex of the Paranapanema Group⁸, the construction of the Balbina Hydroelectric Scheme by the government electricity company, ELETRONORTE⁹, and colonization in the form of cattle-raising projects on the limits of the Waimiri-Atroari area. To open up the BR-174 Highway, a "pacification" and relocation operation (FAWA) was organized for the Waimiri-Atroari by the FUNAI, whose structures still dominate their lives.

After the Waimiri-Atroari population had been gathered together into three large settlements directed by the FUNAI administration, in the late 1970's and early 1980's, with several relocations and directed remanagements in the following years, by 1985 there were nine settlements. Two years later, an area of approximately 2.440.000 hectares was declared to be occupied by the Waimiri-Atroari¹⁰. In 1987, a few months before the flooding of the Balbina reservoir, the agreement was signed creating the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* (FUNAI/ELETRONORTE), substituting the FAWA, and taking over the administration of the indigenist policy in this area. The valley of the River Santo Antônio do Abonari and its tributary streams became uninhabitable after the closing of the Balbina dam. The water in the reservoir became inadequate for human use with the putrefaction of submerged forest, resulting in the forced displacement of the Tobypyna e Taquari Waimiri-Atroari settlements¹¹, about one third of the total Waimiri-Atroari population.

During the construction of the BR-174 Highway and, later, when the majority of

8. From 1979, subsidiary mining companies of the Paranapanema Group invaded the Indian Reserve. In 1981, the Reserve was annihilated by a Presidential Decree and redefined as an "area temporarily interdicted", dismembering about one third of the original Reserve. The dismembered part was that which had already been invaded by Paranapanema (Baines, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c:97-103).

9. In 1981, an area of approximately 10.344,90 km², overlapping the Indian area, was decreed to be of public utility for flooding by the reservoir of the Balbina Hydroelectric Scheme (Baines, 1991c:103-104).

10. Decree No.94.606, 14-07-87. According to information published by the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* (FUNAI-ELETRONORTE), 2,585,911 hectares have been demarcated and homologated by Decree No.97,837, 16-06-89.

11. See Viveiros de Castro & Andrade 1988, and Silva 1993. The demarcation and homologation of the area in itself does not guarantee the Indians' lands, considering that mining companies of the Paranapanema Group enticed some Waimiri-Atroari leaders appointed by the administration to sign "Terms of Agreement" which permit the mining companies to advance over the Indian territory in exchange for royalties, with the connivance of some FUNAI employees. Starting with a "Term of Agreement" signed in 26.08.86, among other documents, a "Declaration" favouring Paranapanema was signed in 15.05.87, and, "Term of Agreement N°.001/89", 24.06.89, between Mineração Taboca S.A. (Paranapanema) and the Waimiri-Atroari, during the administration of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* (FUNAI/ELETRONORTE). The manager of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* (a FUNAI employee) and the Regional Superintendent of the FUNAI signed these documents as witnesses. The mining company has not yet been able to advance further over the Waimiri-Atroari territory since the complementary legislation governing mining in Indian lands according to the 1988 Brazilian Constitution, which opens up the possibility of mining by private companies in Indian territories with the Indians' agreement (restricted previously to the mining of "strategic minerals" by government companies), has not yet been dictated.

the Waimiri-Atroari were living in settlements near the FUNAI Indian Posts¹², their representations of the epidemics were remodelled within the context of domination imposed by the numerous FUNAI "Attraction Front" workers, implanted from 1970. Their vision of the Whites before and during the "pacification", as predatory, who had invaded their lives, was substituted by a prohibition to speak about their history and the adoption of the interethnic discourse of the FUNAI workers, in the settlements where the Waimiri-Atroari survivors were subjected to a close control over all aspects of their lives.

The abrupt and violent changes imposed during the "pacification" by the FAWA submitted the Waimiri-Atroari to a life-style totally foreign to their previous way of life, following the work regime and social model of the FUNAI workers, which forced them to accommodate to the domination. With their population drastically reduced by epidemics which disrupted the network of villages, the survivors were submitted to camps of forced ressocialization (the FAWA settlements) where the only option for them was to internalize the rules of the official indigenist policy based on a model of regional economic development, adopting the FAWA's model of "civilized Indian". Although the long history of massacres and use of military force by the national society contributed to reducing the Waimiri-Atroari to this situation, it was epidemics which played the principal role in shaping their colonial experience.

It was, thus, difficult to obtain information, during my fieldwork, about the life of the Waimiri-Atroari before their being incorporated into the system of FAWA settlements, so strongly was their past being censured, not only by the FUNAI workers, but also by those Waimiri-Atroari themselves who had been recruited as "Captains"¹³. When they narrated their past, the Waimiri-Atroari revealed that during the first years of the FAWA, the visits made by FUNAI workers to their villages, followed by fatal epidemics, led, in the first place, to accusations of sorcery directed against the inhabitants of other villages, resulting in conflicts between local groups. Later, the coincidence between the visits of FAWA workers and lethal epidemics, which increased enormously during the period in which the Army and contractor company workers invaded their territory to construct the BR-174 Highway, led the Waimiri-Atroari to reinterpret the mass deaths in their villages. They started to interpret them as being acts of sorcery directed against them by the invaders. While entire villages were being eliminated and others severely decimated, the survivors of different local groups organized themselves to try to expel the invaders who brought their death.

Parallel to these interpretations of the epidemics, the local FUNAI workers

12. In 1978, the first Waimiri-Atroari came to live in the Indian Posts, and, by 1980-81, most of the surviving population was living in the settlements.

13. When I started fieldwork, at the beginning of 1982, the office of "Captain" had already been institutionalized by the FAWA workers. The "Captains" were, above all, young men recruited by the workers to transmit orders from the FUNAI team to the other Waimiri-Atroari in exchange for privileges such as an unequal access to manufactured goods, control over the distribution of food among the other Waimiri-Atroari in the settlements and of goods obtained in exchange for the commercial production of the settlements, and prestige conferred by the workers who positioned them as subdominators between the FUNAI team and the other Waimiri-Atroari. The workers treated the Captains as superior to the other Waimiri-Atroari, and instigated them to assume such a posture.

explanations of the attacks directed against the Indian Posts (with the participation of Waimiri-Atroari who were known to them and who had previously visited the Posts¹⁴) revealed their incomprehension of the events and of the vision which the Indians had of them. The sudden changes of behaviour of the Waimiri-Atroari only reinforced popular prejudices against Indians as "treacherous", "wild", "bad", "perverse", "savages", "animals", "beasts", etc. They thus elaborated many hypotheses about the attacks against the Indian Posts, seeing them as a consequence of "savage instinct", "religious ritual", "disputes" among Indian leaders, and even of "the existence of a Whiteman or civilized Indian who induce them to hostilities", of the presence of a "bearded Indian" or of "outlaws" who commanded the attacks, and other explanations which reflect the images of the "Indian" created by the Whites¹⁵.

Based on these stereotypes and this imaginary reconstruction of the indigenous historical experience, the local FUNAI workers completely prohibited anything they saw as related to the Waimiri-Atroari past or to their life before the FAWA, imposing on them a disciplinary work regime in an attempt to turn them into agricultural labourers and eliminate their "savage" past. Through this device of historical censure and cultural reconstruction, the FAWA "captured" the Waimiri-Atroari, with the aim of recreating their society ("civilized Indian") to redeem them from their past associated with the attacks against FUNAI's Indian Posts ("wild Indian").

Manipulating Ethnic Identities and Indian Rights Rhetoric in the FAWA

To understand the Waimiri-Atroari explanations of epidemics, it is necessary to outline the context of the FAWA in which they were molded. The FAWA team¹⁶ was made up principally of workers who identified themselves as "Indians" from other ethnic groups¹⁷. The majority of these identified themselves in two categories according to

14. Similar to the case of the Urubus (Ribeiro, 1979:274), when, after a massive epidemic, an Indian killed the head of the pacification team and the interpreter, who were "the Whitemen who they liked most..."

15. See, for example, "Mysteries of a Century involve massacres of the Waimiri-Atroari", *Informativo FUNAI*, N^os. 15/16 - III e IV trimestre de 1975, fev./76.

16. (59 FUNAI workers in July 1983, year in which the Waimiri-Atroari population was at its lowest point of 332 individuals). Documents of the FUNAI reveal that the FAWA applied a consistent policy of maintaining a high density of workers in the area, especially after the conflicts of 1973 and 1974 during the construction of the BR-174 Highway. A Report of the FAWA manager, dated 07-08-77, reveals that there were **110** workers in the area. At this time, the Army played a decisive role in the indigenist policy (Baines, 1991c:70-74).

17. The report "Analysis of Workers Allocated to the NAWA (*Núcleo de Apoio Waimiri-Atroari*) 08-07-79", by the manager Giuseppe Cravero, 09-07-79, FUNAI, reveals that 68% of the workers came from "several 'acculturated' Indian areas". According to this manager, there were 29 from the River Negro, 29 from the Lower Amazonas, 3 from the River Purus and 7 from other areas.

regional criteria: "Indians from the Upper Rio Negro" (of various ethnic groups) and "Indians from the Lower Amazonas" (Sateré-Mawé and Munduruku), in addition to others from other parts of Amazonas and from other states. Many had had a long urban experience in Manaus and other towns.

In applying a policy of allocating a minority of "White" workers to jobs as heads of Indian Posts and FAWA managers to which a large contingent of "Indian" workers were subordinated as manual workers¹⁸, the FUNAI created a situation which stirred up the opposition "Indian"/"White" in the FAWA, adding to that already experienced by the Waimiri-Atroari, which the Indian workers manipulated in the hierarchical work relations. During the periods in which I was in the area (between 1982 and 1985), there was a constant tension between "White" heads of Indian Posts and subaltern "Indian" labourers, many of the latter scheming together in attempts to drive out the former, with the aim of taking over the jobs as heads of Indian Posts, even if temporarily. They often resorted to the generic identity of "Indian", given value in a discourse of "Indian" addressed to "Indian" against "Whites", engaging in intimacy with the Waimiri-Atroari to incite them to reject the "White" heads of Indian Posts and demand that the FAWA manager appointed them in the headships. In this strategy, they also appropriated the pejorative vision which the Waimiri-Atroari had of *ka?amin'ja* (the others), including themselves with the Waimiri-Atroari in the category *ki?in'ja* ("people" = Waimiri-Atroari), redefining this word as generic "Indian", despite the fact that their domination over the Waimiri-Atroari, as FUNAI workers, followed the same patterns as that of the White workers. They treated the Waimiri-Atroari with the same prejudices, including the idea that the Waimiri-Atroari, as Indians who "don't know", had to be "taught". In addition to compelling the Waimiri-Atroari to conform to their standards of "civilized Indians", the Indian workers took upon themselves the task of "teaching them" everything about their new identity, through a revision of the opposition "Indian"/"White" according to the interethnic classification.

In this context, in addition to plotting intrigues with the Waimiri-Atroari against White workers, some of these Indian workers tried to monopolize the commerce of local Indian handicrafts, establishing agreements with Waimiri-Atroari Captains to sell Waimiri-Atroari products in Manaus and bring manufactured goods. They told the Waimiri-Atroari that, as "Indian" workers they were authorized by the FUNAI to have sexual access to the Waimiri-Atroari women¹⁹ and, in exchange, took some of the Waimiri-Atroari men to centres of prostitution in Manaus when these were staying at the "Indian House"²⁰. They

18. In the cited report (of 09-07-79), this manager proposed "The gradual reduction of White workers, filling the vacancies with workers from Laranjal (an Indian Post on the Lower River Amazonas) and the River Negro ... The White workers should simply be allocated as heads of Indian Posts and in specialized technical jobs". Some of the Indian workers revealed that they had been allocated to the FAWA by the Regional Delegate of the FUNAI as a punishment. In another report, the same manager (10-02-81) states that "almost all of the (FAWA) workers of Indian origin had had problems in their own areas and resorted to the FUNAI as a means of economic survival when the majority of them were in the state capital".

19. Radio message No.840, 09-04-85, from the Regional Delegate of the FUNAI.

20. The FUNAI's "Indian House", located near Manaus, was used principally to provide lodgings for Indians who were undergoing medical treatment. The principal Captains were also taken for

also established agreements with the "Captains" to hide from the FAWA managers the fact that many of them were consuming alcoholic beverages in the FAWA Indian Posts.

In these plots, the "Indian" identity was extended to include all those workers who participated, independent of ethnic criteria: it was also manipulated to exclude "Indian" workers who did not participate. To reconcile these contradictions in the use of ethnic identities, the workers involved frequently redefined the opposition "Indian"/"White" as "FUNAI"/"real White". They also used the opposition "peão" (manual labourer)/"White" (worker in job as head of Post). In this manner, the Indian Post situation reproduced at the local level the power structure of the FUNAI and the national society: the setting up of asymmetric social relations of subjection/domination (Cardoso de Oliveira, 1976:55-57) between generic Indians and Whites, and also between, on the one hand, Waimiri-Atroari "Indians", and, on the other, White and Indian FUNAI workers.

The Indian FUNAI workers resorted to the contradictory identity of "civilized Indians" to involve the Waimiri-Atroari in the power struggle among the FAWA workers. Ramos (1990:134) mentions that the appointment of Indians to high positions within the FUNAI, a result of the Indian movement in Brazil from the 1970's, has "all the characteristics of a double-edged tool", since, as well as Indian leaders who are engaged in the Indian political movement gaining access to the upper levels of the administration, "a new personage has appeared, the 'Indian worker', a category of young people who are apparently opportunists, more interested in their jobs than in the Indian cause, who prefer to oppose the movement than to put their jobs at risk..." (Ibid.).

The incorporation of "Indian workers" as manual labourers in the process of attracting and sedentarizing other Indian groups was a policy followed not only in the FAWA but during the previous decades when the Indian Protection Service (*Serviço de Proteção ao Índio* - S.P.I.) operated from Indian Posts localized on the Rivers Jauaperi and Alalaú. This practice has its historical roots in the colonial policy of Indian enslavement in the form of "*descimentos*"²¹. A notable difference in the present situation is that, with the emergence of the Indian movement, evoked by Ramos, many of the "Indian workers" of the FAWA resorted to the Indian rights rhetoric which resulted from this movement in

long periods to Manaus as part of the "civilizing" mission of some FAWA managers.

21. The practice of Indian enslavement, in which Indians were "brought downriver" (*descidos*) from their villages to large settlements to be transformed into slave labour. The recruitment of "Indians" to impose the interests of the hegemonic society is clear in the punitive expeditions directed by captain Pedro da Costa Favella. According to Souza (1988 [1873]:181), in 1664, on the River Urubu, close to the region presently inhabited by the Waimiri-Atroari, Favella massacred seven hundred Indians, took four hundred prisoners and burnt down three hundred Indian villages, with an expedition that left Belém made up of "five hundred Indians under their superiors' orders and four hundred companies of regular troops...", recruiting "many domesticated Indians" (Souza, 1988 [1873]:182) on the journey. Barbosa Rodrigues (1885:40), in the 19th century, recruited "tapuyas" (different to the more usual use of this term to designate "primitive Indians", Barbosa Rodrigues uses it here as equivalent to "civilized Indian" or "caboclo") in his pacification team - individuals recruited from the local population around the small town of Moura, including the Makuxi "Indian Pedro" - despite his severe criticisms of them since they were from the same population which lived in a situation of violent interethnic contact with the Indians of the River Jauaperi. The S.P.I. reports reveal a consistent policy, since 1910, of recruiting "Indian workers" for this area.

order to conceal their manipulations of ethnic identities and their domination of the Waimiri-Atroari, presenting themselves to non-Indians as the most suitable people to work with the Waimiri-Atroari since they were "Indians too", who were "helping" the Waimiri-Atroari demand their rights as Indians.

The "Indian workers" of the FAWA played a role in some aspects similar to that of the Indian guards "recruited and trained by the (Peruvian Rubber) Company", described by Taussig (1983:60; 1987:47-48, 122-124), at the time of the rubber boom on the River Putumayo at the beginning of this century: "as civilized Indians (...) they incorporated all the differences of class and caste imposed by the productive system..." and "changed their identity as savages for the new social status of guards and civilized Indians" (1983:60).

Although many FAWA workers resorted to Indian rights discourses preaching unity and solidarity between generic "Indians", the fact of being FUNAI workers, in itself, disunited them. The hierarchy of jobs and salaries divided them, with competition for the jobs with higher pay and greater prestige. Among the "Indian workers", from different ethnic groups, the rivalries created by the bureaucratic hierarchy overruled any unity based on ethnic identity. In the first place, they were FUNAI workers, reserving the discourse of unity among Indians principally to plan intrigues against "White" workers who held the jobs of heads of Indian Posts and to legitimize their own domination over the Waimiri-Atroari.

Many "Indian workers" in the FAWA had been living far from their ethnic groups for many years. Several of them, before taking up employment in the FUNAI, had worked in large-scale development projects which invaded Indian lands, such as the construction of the Balbina Hydroelectric Scheme on the River Uatumã and the "Perimetral Norte Highway" in the São Gabriel da Cachoeira region. Others had worked as sailors throughout the Amazon region and in different jobs in Manaus.

They transmitted to the Waimiri-Atroari all the pejorative prejudices of the national society about "Indians" and "*caboclos*"²² in their most accentuated form, in a discourse that denied their Indian origins and valued an urban life-style: a developmentalist discourse in consonance with the integrationalist ideology of the FAWA which favoured the interests of large companies. As was the case with all the FAWA workers (Indian and White), they admitted that their interest in working in the Waimiri-Atroari area was related to the fact that, as the Waimiri-Atroari area was classified as an "Attraction Front", they received higher salaries than they could get on the regional market. As workers, predominantly single or having abandoned or become separated from their families, they were oriented by consumer values, showing off emblems of civilization such as showy portable radio-tape-recorders and other electric gadgets, watches and suitcases, identifying with the life-style of itinerant labourers. When they wanted to convince the Waimiri-Atroari and "White" workers that they were "Indians too", they made use of "indigenous" diacritical symbols such as necklaces and bracelets made for trading (from any Indian group), inserting expressions such as "my *maloca*"²³ in their speech, while they made every effort to follow

22. The word "*caboclo*" has many meanings, usually of a depreciatory nature, ranging from "acculturated Indian", a person of mixed Indian and White descent, to a "yokel" or "country bumpkin". In the FAWA it was used most frequently with the contradictory and ambiguous meaning of "civilized Indian".

23. A Brazilian Portuguese word for "Indian village", derived through Argentinian Spanish from

the life-style of wage-earners.

In the FAWA, the "Indian" workers had the most direct and continuous interaction with the Waimiri-Atroari, inserted as they were as subdominators who transmitted the work orders, given by the "White" heads of Indian Posts, to the Waimiri-Atroari. The latter also had sporadic contacts with "alternative" Indian policy makers, mostly from the south of Brazil, as occurred during the visit of a FUNAI work-group in 1985. These policy makers also presented discourses to the Waimiri-Atroari, incentivating them to create a unity among "Indians". Their rhetoric only differed from that of the local workers by the fact that it was not linked to the power struggle among the FAWA workers. However, in its aim to unify "Indians" (thought of generically, and including the "Indian" workers of the FAWA) against "Whites", this rhetoric reproduced a similar ideology in the sense that it preached an imaginary unity from the Waimiri-Atroari's point of view, who were suffering social relations of subjection-domination imposed by the FAWA workers. This discourse thus denied, not only the situation of extreme inequality between "Indian" workers and Waimiri-Atroari "Indians", but also that created and sustained by the local FUNAI policies between "Captains" and the other Waimiri-Atroari.

In the context of such a complex play of ethnic identities stirred up by the FAWA, it was always evident that my presence - as a researcher, and seen as a foreigner - predetermined the type of discourse which the social agents directed to me in the category of "White". The period in which I was carrying out fieldwork coincided with the historical moment in which many Indian FUNAI workers had started to adopt the rhetoric of the Indian movement. From my arrival in the area, many Indian FUNAI workers told the Waimiri-Atroari that I was a "White", in the same way that they classified anyone who arrived at the FAWA, either as "Indian" in a valued sense, or as "White" in a pejorative sense. On several occasions I heard some of the Indian FUNAI workers tell the Waimiri-Atroari that I was "White" and that it was "my relatives" who had killed Waimiri-Atroari in the past, while they were "Indians too". This led the Waimiri-Atroari to adopt a discourse of generic "Indian" opposed to "White" when they addressed me.

Most of the Indian FUNAI workers of the FAWA, redefined the Waimiri-Atroari opposition *ki?in'ja* ("people" = "we") / *ka?amin'ja* ("the others") to include themselves in the first category (translating *ki?in'ja* as "Indian" in opposition to "White"), and invoked several regional ethnic identities as "Brazilians" to convince the Waimiri-Atroari that they were "Indians" like them, while I was a "White" or a "real White". The Waimiri-Atroari thus started to call me "White", "real White", "English", "foreigner", "not FUNAI", "not a worker" and other identities with a pejorative connotation in an anti-White discourse of "Indian" addressed to "White" constructed by many of the Indian FUNAI workers, annoyed by my presence, especially by the fact that I was a witness to events that they tried to conceal from the White workers in jobs as heads of Post and FAWA managers.

Some "White" managers of the FAWA also showed themselves to be inhibited by my research, fearing criticisms of their administration and the FAWA model of historical-cultural repression. They often tried to control my access to information, especially when representatives of the Paranapanema mining company and top level military personnel visited the Indian area, instructing the Captains and young Waimiri-Atroari to withhold information from me.

an Araucanian Indian word.

Epidemics and White Sorcery

During my fieldwork periods in the Waimiri-Atroari area, the comments made by Waimiri-Atroari about their recent past focused, above all, the epidemics and the consequent revolt against the the people who invaded their lands. In the majority of cases, these references took the form, within the context of the settlements, of attempts to defend themselves from the verbal aggressions of the FAWA workers (made up of acculturated Indians from other ethnic groups and non-Indian regional workers), who demanded explanations, accusing them of being responsible for the attacks against the Indian Posts and for the deaths of their colleagues in the early 1970's. On these occasions, the Waimiri-Atroari tried to defend themselves, producing explanations of these events which were acceptable within the official rhetoric of the FAWA (which I shall discuss in the next part of this paper). However, among themselves, many Waimiri-Atroari referred to disease as being a consequence of sorcery carried out by the FUNAI workers, despite the fact that the principal Captains and many young Waimiri-Atroari prohibited this explanation, as also did the FUNAI workers.

The references which the Waimiri-Atroari made to their past of epidemics and violence appeared in different forms, such as in genealogical sequences, toponyms, or accounts of intercommunity rituals. All these historical fragments revealed mass deaths as a *leit-motiv*. They also frequently cited long lists of names of deceased persons, punctuated by the phrase: *Ka?amin'ja aita'kahapa*, "the Whites killed us".

At the Maré Indian Post on the River Camanaú, in 1982, a young Waimiri-Atroari man, named Djacir²⁴ by the FAWA workers, related, in a mixture of of Waimiri-Atroari and broken Portuguese:

Ka?amin'ja aita'kahapa. Maxki. Ka?amin'ja jintxi'kwahapa, maxki. [The Whites killed us. Poison²⁵. The Whitemen fired sorcery at us, poison]. Father, high fever, ill. Mother, high fever, ill. Mother, high fever. Fever, she had fever, a lot of catarh. Fever, ill. Headache ... Captain was shot by an arrow. There were few women. The women had died. Arrows. A lot of arrows. Lances²⁶.

His declarations and those of other Waimiri-Atroari reveal that the epidemics which spread from village to village cutting down the Indian population were interpreted as a form of

24. I use pseudonyms when referring to Waimiri-Atroari and FUNAI workers at lower levels in the bureaucratic hierarchy to preserve their anonymity. When referring to FUNAI workers at the directive level of the administration, I use their names, since I have to cite documents signed by them.

25. Here, Djacir inserted the Waimiri-Atroari word, *maxki*. Many Waimiri-Atroari translated *maxki* or *maxi* as "poison, (act of sorcery)", bringing about the rapid death of many people simultaneously, like that brought about by *maxi*, a vegetable poison which kills fish.

26. Djacir was referring here to the conflicts in the villages between the Waimiri-Atroari who had survived the first big epidemics, made even worse by the scarcity of women.

Whiteman's sorcery, in which the Whites (or spirits which emanated from them, as we shall shortly see) fired sorcery at them which acted like poison in their bodies.

One night, at the Abonari Indian Post, Captain Mauro related: "In the village a lot of us rotted. It was the spirits of Whites. We were afraid. My father died"²⁷. Mauro whistled in the way that Waimiri-Atroari shamans do when they invoke spirits in the darkness of the night, remembering the time when epidemics spread through the villages:

At night, in the darkness, spirits of Whites. The Whites killed us. Illness, poison, aches in the body. There were many (spirits of) Whites. The Whites killed us. Sickness, poison, aches in the body. There were (spirits of) Whites in our village. They finished off the old people. The (spirits of) Whites killed them. We threw the body of my father onto a pyre after he had died. We cremated his body. In the past we cremated a lot of our dead on pyres. At night, in the darkness, there were many (spirits of) Whites in our villages²⁸.

This interpretation of the epidemics was based on the Waimiri-Atroari theory of sorcery, in which the aggressors' spirits can fire poison or a pathogenic substance at their victims who feel pains in their bodies and frequently die. The Waimiri-Atroari shamans had the power to perceive the attacks of sorcerer spirits of "Whites", whose voices spoke, mediated by the shamans during shamanistic rituals, directing their invectives against the Waimiri-Atroari and assuming responsibility for the deaths among them, at night, in the darkness of the forest.

Captain Miguel, who was also present the night in which I was talking to Mauro, made some loud whistling sounds and added:

Mauro's father died too. The elder brother of Mauro's wife died. The Whites killed them ... In the past, we were many. Many villages were annihilated. Aches in the body. We fled with fear ... They wiped us out a long time ago, in the darkness of the night²⁹.

27. "Maru'agata, ky'tahapa. Ki'in'ja 'wapy. Ka?amin'ja ja 'jakaha. Ty'nerkia. A'baba jeb'myhyba".

The Waimiri-Atroari word 'akaha (preceded, after vowels, by "j") has a connotation similar to "spirit" or "soul", although not necessarily of deceased persons. It includes the meaning "mental representation" of people who are alive or dead. It also includes concepts like "shadow", "image", "photograph", "drawing", "double", "something identical", "representation", "spiritual element of a person".

28. "Ty'wamata ka?amin'ja 'jakaha. Ka?amin'ja ba'kahapa. 'Jetyba, maxki, 'kamtxa. Ka?amin'ja 'wapy muru'agata. Taha'kome ba'kahapa, ka?amin'ja ja ja'kahapa. Taha'kome ba'kahapa. Ka?amin'ja 'jyhypa. A'baba ja'tyhypa. Jeb'myhypa. Kir'kwahapa. Pa'naty bija'tyhypa 'wapy. Ty'wamata ka?amin'ja 'wapy maru'agata".

I translate the Waimiri-Atroari word, 'kamtxa as "aches in the body". It was used with reference to the aches in the body associated with *maxki* or *maxi* ("poison"), fired like arrows by the spirits of the Whitemen.

29. "Mauro 'baba ma'ny jeb'myhyba. Mauro 'pyty 'mimi jeb'myhyba. Ka?amin'ja aita'kahapa. Pa'naty ki'in'ja 'wapy. 'Mydy 'wapy i?ba'tyhypa. Kamtxai'ja. Naha'txahapa ... Ki'in'ja ji?ba'tyhypa pa'naty, ty'wamata".

Then, Miguel whistled loudly and emitted sounds: "*Uichchch! Uichchch! Uichchch!*" similar to those which mark the moment in which the shamans incorporated spirits.

To clear my doubts, I asked them if the (spirits of) Whites appeared in the villages during the daytime. Miguel replied: "During the day, no. At night there were many. The (spirits of) Whites are fierce. They killed us. At night the Whites came"³⁰. Mauro continued: "When they had killed us, the (spirits of) Whites returned to Manaus"³¹. Mauro then cited the names of many deceased people, adding that they had cremated all the corpses: "They shot pains into our bodies. The Whites shot pains into our bodies"³². Mauro made some loud whistling sounds, followed by several clicks of his tongue and more whistles:

I was afraid. The Whites are fierce. At night the (spirits of) Whites came to kill us. The Whites killed us. They killed us with poison, aches in our bodies, poison³³.

In all the settlements, the Waimiri-Atroari referred to '*Kamtxa*' ("aches in the body") and used the expression *Ka?amin'ja txi'kwahapa*³⁴ ["the Whites fired them into us"] when they told of the waves of deaths which spread through their villages at the time of the construction of the BR-174 Highway. At the settlement beside the Alalaú Primeiro Indian Post, some Waimiri-Atroari were, one day, talking about the deaths which had occurred in 1971-72. Fausto, a young man, remarked on the death of a woman: "Aches in the body. The Whites fired them into her" ["*Kamtxaji. Ka?amin'ja txi'kwahapa*"]. On another occasion, in this same settlement, Anselmo, a middle-aged man, was lying in his hammock complaining of aches in his back, vomiting and diarrhoea. He pointed to his back and murmured with a frightened look in his eyes: "*Kamtxa*". Captain André explained to me: "In the past it was like this. Aches in the body, ... '*Kamtxa* killed us. First it aches in the back, in the head, in the legs, in the nose too ...".

This interpretation was reinforced by the fact that mass deaths in the Waimiri-Atroari villages followed visits by vaccination teams in the early 1970's³⁵. On many

30. "*Tawija'ta wa'ny. Ty'wamata 'wapy. 'Sakana ka?amin'ja. Ki?in'ja ba'ken. Ty'wamata 'nobija ka?amin'ja*".

31. "*Ki?in'ja bata'hukaba, ka?amin'ja jar'mahapa ma'nata*."

32. "*Kamtxa ja'brimy. Ka?amin'ja 'kamtxa ja'brimy*".

33. "*Awo ty'nerkijaba. 'Sakana ka?amin'ja. Ty'wamata ka?amin'ja 'nobija ta'kejaba. Ka?amin'ja kyb'kwejaba, jakta'kejaba maxki, kam'txaki, maxki*".

34. The verb *txi'kwahapa* (in the past tense here) is also used with the meaning "to fire" arrows into.

35. In the newspaper, *Correio Brasiliense*, 21-08-1973, an article was published, stating that the "medical doctor Sadock de Freitas was dismissed from service because he had refused to dismiss from the FUNAI those workers responsible for the undue application of a medicine against FOG flu, which had occurred among the Waimiri-Atroari Indians. The mistake resulted in the death of 14 Indians and his immediate expulsion, by the leader 'Maruaga', from a FUNAI health team which had been sent to the region to try to correct the mistake". When I mentioned this to the head

occasions, Waimiri-Atroari told me that the head of Indian Post, Ricardo, had killed them with "injections", gesticulating the act of applying injections to reinforce their words. Ricardo, himself, told me that he and other FUNAI workers had participated in these vaccination teams and that he had written a report to hush up the incident. Ricardo added: "It was sickness that provoked the attacks against the FUNAI Indian Posts. The FAWA workers went to the villages and vaccinated, many died, and so they attacked the Posts in revenge". On another occasion, Ricardo told me, referring to the death of Gilberto Pinto: "The doctor applied 5 ml. of vaccine instead of 2 ml., and when the vaccine arrived it had already passed the date of validity. This caused fever and many Indians died". Another ex-head of the Camanaú Indian Post told me that they made a mistake with the quantity of vaccine injected: "I remember the name of this vaccine. It was 'Multivac'. Fifteen Indians were vaccinated and died soon after".

Although the vaccination campaigns probably had the general consequence of providing a certain immunity to introduced diseases, especially among the children vaccinated, this incidence certainly had a great impact in molding the Waimiri-Atroari interpretation of the epidemics. It corresponded closely to the Waimiri-Atroari concept of firing a pathogenic agent into the body, just at the time when they were suffering the most violent epidemics.

In the situation of crisis brought about by the epidemics which followed the contacts with invaders, *ka?amin'ja*, the Waimiri-Atroari had resorted to the means which existed in their cultural world to explain the deaths in these circumstances. That is, accusations of sorcery: at first directed against people from other villages and, soon, when the epidemics had spread through all the villages, against the "Whites".

The Waimiri-Atroari system of sorcery can be better understood if considered in relation to the spacialized construction of social alterity on which it is based. At the time when I began fieldwork with the Waimiri-Atroari, there were no more villages independent of the FAWA. According to what the Indians told me, and judging by the number and the distribution of old village clearings and recently abandoned villages, during the years immediately prior to the establishment of the FAWA, there were three principal agglomerations of villages, inter-connected by several large pathways. Each village consisted of a large round or elliptic communal house and its gardens. Each agglomeration of villages was spread over the hydrographic basin of one of the rivers of the region: Camanaú, Alalaú, and Santo Antônio de Abonari³⁶.

Like other Indian groups of the Guiana massif region (Rivière, 1984), the Waimiri-Atroari conceptualized their villages as if they were, politically and economically, almost autonomous units, expressed in a basic dicotomy between "inside" and "outside" - on the one hand, *'aska* ("real kinspeople"), on the other, *'baxira*, *'amba mydy'tany* ("people, from other villages"). The expression *a'jaska*³⁷ includes both co-residence and cognatic kin ties

of Indian Post, Ricardo, he exclaimed that a lot more than 14 Indians had died in this incident.

36. See Rivière's (1969, 1970) description of Trio villages and, Butt Colson's (1966) description of Akawaio villages, other Indian groups of the Carib language family which are rather similar to the distribution of Waimiri-Atroari villages. See also Albert's (1988) description of the Yanomam, also in the Guiana massif region.

37. *'aska* with the possessive prefix for the 1st person.

which are often, but not always, overlapping³⁸. The expression *a'baxira*³⁹, *'amba mydy'tany*, which includes all people considered *a'jaska ka'by* ("S(he) who that other person calls, 'My real kinsperson'" i.e. "I do not", = "Not my real kinsperson"), is used in reference to all individuals from other local groups of Waimiri-Atroari, with the exception of those who are considered to be close cognatic kin of the speaker. Co-residents who go away to live in other villages are no longer referred to as *a'jaska*, unless they are considered to be close cognatic kin. The Waimiri-Atroari kinship terminology (for a stimulating discussion, see Silva, 1993) classifies persons of the same generation as *ego* with whom no genealogical ties are recognized in the same categories used to classify bilateral cross-cousins. However, distinctions are recognized between closeness and distance, both genealogically and geographically, which can be represented concentrically as varying degrees of relatedness and non-relatedness. The ideal conception of a village, from the indigenous point of view, is as a group made up of cognatic bilateral kindred, the preferential form of marriage being expressed as that between bilateral cross-cousins.

The dicotomy *'aska/baxira* reflects the strong preference that the Waimiri-Atroari express for endogamy at the village level, and, when this is not possible for demographic reasons, for endogamy at the level of neighbouring villages. People from other villages with whom no close genealogical ties were recognized, that is, unrelated affines, were treated with extreme distrust, especially those from more distant villages, being the most common object of accusations of sorcery. The Waimiri-Atroari stressed the difficulties that an individual faced to be accepted by members of distant villages and to marry people from distant villages. Captain Dalmo often reminded me that Amélio, his close cognatic kinsman (*'babaky*, FB) and former co-resident, who, after a conflict among members of his village, fled from the valley of the River Alalaú to seek asylum in the villages of the River Camanaú valley, was treated badly by the Waimiri-Atroari there⁴⁰. Animosities within a Waimiri-Atroari village were solved by fission, which continued to occur in the settlements of the FAWA, despite the mediation of FUNAI workers who tried to prevent it. In this aspect, the Waimiri-Atroari village was similar to the Trio village described by Rivière, which, "cannot support divisions within itself, and the appearance of tensions can be resolved only by fission" (1970:253). The village was conceived by the Trio "as an isolated, independent, and self-sufficient unit" (1984:72). According to Rivière, "The basic dichotomy in Trio thought is inside versus outside. Sorcery acts to confirm the distinction" (1970:254), and, "accusations of sorcery are directed against other villages, particularly unknown shamans and strange visitors" (1970:248). Rivière points out that "The Trio have known for a long time that sickness and death is related to visits of strangers" (1969:30).

38. The Waimiri-Atroari do not make a rigid distinction between cognatic kin ties and those of co-residence to include someone in the category *a'jaska*. As Rivière observes in the Trio case, "Co-residence can be as closely binding as the ties of genealogical connexion, and in Trio thought they are not truly distinguished" (1969:65).

39. *'baxira* with the possessive prefix for the 1st person.

40. Silva's (1993:107-108) comments about how the inhabitants of the River Camanaú valley gave a widowed woman as wife to a local man, interrupting Amélio's plans to marry her, reinforce what Dalmo stressed. According to Silva, after this incident, Amélio (person n°.168 in Silva's numeration) entered into a state of despair and died soon after, "because he was weak and stopped eating", the inhabitants of the settlement told Silva.

It was from this indigenous model that, with the outbreak of epidemics and deaths, the Waimiri-Atroari directed their accusations of sorcery, first, against members of other Waimiri-Atroari villages, and later against the Whites. As historical documents show, they had had a long history of decimation by epidemics and massacres. Letters from the Jauaperi Indian Post to the 1st Regional Inspectorate of the S.P.I. in 1923, 1926, 1927 and 1928 reveal that attempts to settle the Indians beside the Indian Post resulted in waves of epidemics⁴¹. A letter dated 06.07.23 relates that there were 20 Indians with flu and measles at the Post "all in such a state that their lives were at risk", which led the head of Post to suspend the work schedule and dedicate activities to looking after the sick. By 06.09.23, a letters report the death of 9 persons, and adds that "Only 15 escaped from measles". During following months and years there are registers of deaths from flu, measles and tuberculosis at the Indian Post and in the villages. In 1928, Indians informed the head of the S.P.I.'s Indian Post at the mouth of the River Alalaú that they had recently killed some people who had invaded their lands because the contact "had infected them with cataarh and many of their kinspeople had died", as well as these same intruders having shot at them with guns⁴².

It is interesting to stress the persistence of this model of interpretation of disease: in the FAWA settlements, many Waimiri-Atroari continued to explain diseases as a consequence of acts of sorcery, accusing the Whites or the inhabitants of other settlements. "He's ill. The Whites shot this into him"⁴³, was the comment at the Taquari Indian Post, in my presence, about a man who had pains. The following day, some FUNAI workers brought Captain Dalmo from the Terraplenagem Indian Post, with the intention of reinforcing his position as "principal Captain" over all the Waimiri-Atroari. Some of the Taquari inhabitants had intestinal disorders when Dalmo and his retinue entered the houses of the Taquari settlement, and a woman complained, loudly, that Dalmo and the people from his settlement had brought these abdominal pains on them.

Despite the strong prohibition imposed by the FAWA workers and principal Captains, it was the persistence of this indigenous aetiological model which permitted the reconstruction of fragments of the history of "pacification" through accounts of the epidemics. The same Waimiri-Atroari frequently presented explanations of epidemics which incorporated, simultaneously, the workers' versions about anonymous "diseases" and those of the Waimiri-Atroari about Whiteman's "sorcery". When the workers asked for explanations about the attacks against the Indian Posts, the Waimiri-Atroari offered them versions in the language that was demanded of them, referring to "disease" and placing the responsibility on individual Waimiri-Atroari as "wild Indians" who should be eliminated or transformed into "civilized Indians".

Early in 1984, I accompanied two Waimiri-Atroari, Wilson and Tiago, to the

41. The S.P.I. implanted an Indian Post at Tauacuera, on the River Jauaperi, in 1912 (Bandeira, 1926:38), at the same place where Barbosa Rodrigues (1885:263) had attempted to settle the Indians of this river in 1885. In 1931, after a gang of Brazil nut gatherers destroyed the Indian Post, which had previously moved upstream following invasions, the S.P.I. abandoned the Indians of the River Jauaperi (Baines, 1991c:122; 337).

42. Letter from the head of the Jauapery Indian Post, Luis José da Silva, 31-12-1928, to the S.P.I. Inspector in Amazonas and Acre Territory, Dr. Bentos Pereira de Lemos.

43. "*Jetyba. Ka?amin'ja txi'kwahapa*".

abandoned village where Comprido had died. After pausing at the place where Comprido had died, we visited another abandoned village, located at about one hour's walk to the southwest, which Wilson told me had been Damião's residence. Referring to an aluminium basin covered with small perforations, Wilson commented: "*Sakanaba*, Damião '*sakanaba*' [Angry, Damião was angry]. Because his wife died". In their frustration, attempting to interpret a situation of mass deaths, the Waimiri-Atroari had destroyed the manufactured goods given to them by the FAWA workers. The Waimiri-Atroari were reluctant to comment on the matter, since a head of Indian Post, Petrônio, had previously visited these abandoned villages and severely censured the Waimiri-Atroari for having destroyed FUNAI administered goods. Albert (1992:167), in the case of the Yanomam, shows how "a recurrent relationship between contamination and the acquisition of manufactured objects" favoured "the association of Whites with maleficent spirits", leading the Yanomam to identify "the belongings of these entities with pathogenic objects"⁴⁴.

Re-writing the "Pacification":

The accounts of the principal "Captains" of the FAWA

After outlining the characteristics of the office of "Captain" in the FAWA, I shall examine some accounts of the contacts of Waimiri-Atroari with the FUNAI's pacification scheme during the period (1970 to 1978) from the installation of the FAWA up to the time when some young Waimiri-Atroari men fixed their residence in the Indian Posts. These accounts reveal a reinterpretation of the "pacification" by these Captains, offering an "indigenous" version that was acceptable to the FAWA workers and in conformity with their own versions, in order to legitimize the action of the FAWA in the past and present.

The FAWA workers implanted the office of "Captain", choosing, among the first young Waimiri-Atroari men who visited the Indian Posts, those who showed themselves most willing to stay and follow the prescribed life-style. They recruited these young men and invested them with power and political prestige within the FUNAI's "pacification" system.

The workers took advantage of the disappearance of many of the older people whose authority had been based on the consent of their own society in order to justify the appointment of young "Captains". However, some older people did survive, including leaders who had held authority in their villages, but they were excluded from the political arena, as much by the FUNAI workers as by the Waimiri-Atroari Captains. Those who in the past had shown resistance to the occupation of their territory were especially censured in the social-political organization of the FAWA. The Captains were constantly favoured by the FUNAI workers, with privileged access to manufactured goods, proportional to their readiness to submit. They played the role of intercultural agents in the FUNAI's service,

44. See Buchillet, 1991:161-173 for a discussion of the different ways in which introduced diseases may be interpreted by indigenous populations.

transmitting orders from the team of workers to the other Waimiri-Atroari. While the workers incorporated these young Waimiri-Atroari men into the FAWA as subdominators, they prepared one of them and his brother as principal Captain and substitute, charged with the duty of transmitting orders from the administration to all the other Waimiri-Atroari, including the other appointed Captains.

The principal Captain, Dalmo, came to live at the Terraplenagem Indian Post, beside the BR-174 Highway, in April 1978, after the death of his mother (his father had died some years before) and after conflicts in the village in which he resided⁴⁵. According to a FUNAI publication, Dalmo was chosen by the FAWA workers since he was a person who "carried out the functions of 'ambassador' ..." and "interpreter of the White's peace mission"⁴⁶.

This was at a time when the Waimiri-Atroari population was ravaged by epidemics, already decimated and entering in social collapse. The efforts of leaders and shamans to drive away the intruders by attacking Indian Posts in 1973 and 1974 had proved to be ineffective. The invaders replied with demonstrations of military force by the Army and an increase in the number of armed FUNAI workers at the Posts. By late 1975, according to statistics of the FUNAI, some Waimiri-Atroari started to visit the Indian Posts again. During the following years, the survivors visited the Posts more frequently and stayed for longer periods, telling of waves of deaths which continued to devastate the villages.

At Terraplenagem Indian Post, usually accompanied by other young men who had lost their parents in the epidemics, isolated from the older men who had authority in their society, Dalmo was submitted to an intensive indoctrination by the FUNAI workers, who took on the task of "teaching him" to conform to their ideas about how a "Captain", "Chief", "Cacique" or "Tuxaua"⁴⁷ should be. Since the workers did not find in Waimiri-Atroari society a "Captain" who corresponded to their expectations, they set about preparing one.

In the Waimiri-Atroari villages before the FAWA had been implanted, the elderly leaders had authority which rarely extended beyond the local group. Not finding a model of centralized power which operated over all Waimiri-Atroari society, the workers invested Dalmo and his brother with power, within the FAWA administration, to set them up as Captains with authority over all the settlements. At first, Waimiri-Atroari survivors of villages which were distant from that in which Dalmo and Dario had resided did not accept them. However, as the administration increased its control over them, taking Dalmo and/or Dario to other settlements accompanied by managers of the FAWA or regional delegates of the FUNAI as Indian spokesmen for the administration, the offices of the principal Captain and his brother were consolidated. The young Captains were defined, and placed

45. According to accounts of FUNAI workers, after having passed a period at the Terraplenagem Indian Post, Dalmo refused to return to his village when other Waimiri-Atroari came to take him back. Dalmo affirmed that, after his mother's death, there had been a dissension in the village where he resided, between him and two other Waimiri-Atroari men.

46. *Revista de Atualidade Indígena*, Ano II, no. 11, 1978:15.

47. Oliveira Filho (1977:157-158) draws attention to the antiquity of these roles, distinguishing variations of meaning in the Tikuna case. In the Waimiri-Atroari Attraction Front, these terms were used as synonyms by the FUNAI workers.

themselves, in opposition to the older men, who they treated with contempt. A head of the Terraplenagem Indian Post had a FUNAI-Post style house, with a zinc roof, built for Dalmo. Later, Dalmo and Dario asked for masonry houses to be built for them by Taboca Mining Company of the Paranapanema Group, which had invaded their lands. The company had the houses built in the settlements where the two principal Captains were residing in 1988. Dalmo and Dario adopted a special form of behaviour to distinguish themselves from the other Waimiri-Atroari, such as avoiding participation in Waimiri-Atroari rituals and modelling their behaviour like that of a head of an Indian Post in relation to the subordinate workers. They demonstrated a constant concern with the time and fulfilment of the FUNAI work schedule, showing off watches and radio-tape-recorders, and following the life-style prescribed by the FUNAI workers.

Dalmo's position was unmatched in the FAWA. The workers' conversations were permeated by references to him. With his brother Dario, appointed Captain of Xerí settlement by the FAWA manager who ordered some Waimiri-Atroari to implant this settlement, they were both transformed into spokesmen representing all the Waimiri-Atroari for the indigenist administration. Ernane, a FUNAI worker who despite claiming part indigenous descent was dubbed "Northeasterner" (from the Northeast of Brazil) by many of the Indian workers since he did not participate in their plots, told me:

From the beginning Dalmo was given a special treatment. They bought those stylish American shorts for him. They took him to Manaus. They gave him a lot of presents, until he became like he is ... Dalmo was treated as if he were special, and he ended up believing that he is ... Osmar (a former head of Indian Post) used to take Dalmo to Manaus and pay for him to stay in hotels. Zé Maria (a head of Indian Post prior to Osmar) let Dalmo drive the FUNAI truck.

The more closely Dalmo's behaviour imitated that of the workers, the more he learnt Portuguese and the rhetoric of the FAWA and showed himself willing to subordinate himself to the workers, they referred to him as being "more intelligent", "more enlightened", "more civilized" and "more advanced" than the other Waimiri-Atroari. According to what he said, Dalmo's intelligence was judged by the FUNAI agents on a minimum/maximum scale of valuation inscribed in the opposition "Indian"/"White", as if the social relations of subjection-domination in which his role had been constructed were a translation of laws of natural evolution. On this basis, the workers also delegated to Dalmo and Dario the power "to teach" the other Waimiri-Atroari, despite the fact that both of them had to accept being "taught" by the FUNAI workers.

I shall examine some of the accounts of the two Captains, Dalmo and Dario, which reveal their representations of the epidemics at the time of "pacification" and their vision of the recent history of their people. The Waimiri-Atroari, especially the Captains and young people, presented, in their references to the past addressed to the FUNAI workers and to me, versions of the "pacification" which incorporated, almost exclusively, personages of the FAWA. They rarely mentioned the attack against Father Calleri's "pacification" team in 1968. The people who made up this former team, all killed in the attack, except one⁴⁸, were unknown to the FAWA workers. On the other hand, the FUNAI workers constantly

48. Report: "Testimony of the worker Álvaro Paulo da Silva" from the Indian attraction specialist, João Américo Peret to the president of the FUNAI, 14-01-1969.

reminded them of the Indian attraction specialist Gilberto Pinto and other colleagues who had died in the 1970's, since they were known to them. In this manner, the FAWA workers directed the elaboration of an "official history" of pacification between the FAWA and the principal Captains.

Once, in 1983, several Waimiri-Atroari from the Xerí settlement were talking among themselves about the deaths in the villages during the early years of the FAWA. When Captain Dario noticed that I was listening, he turned to me⁴⁹:

It started when Gilberto came. Gilberto brought diseases. Many people died. Comprido⁵⁰ became angry. Comprido's father died, so Comprido killed Gilberto. Then it started. Everyone died. Wilson's father died, Clotilde's father, my wife's father, Gentil's father. Then Comprido became furious. He said: 'It is he who brought disease. So I'll kill him now'. Disease started over at Camanaú. Gilberto (coming along the path from villages in the River Camanaú valley) crossed the 'travessia'⁵¹.

This declaration of Dario included elements that I had heard in the FUNAI workers' discourse, associating the Waimiri-Atroari deaths during the "pacification" with the visits made by Gilberto Pinto to their villages, and explaining them as the consequence of an unintentional contamination by "disease". The workers repeatedly demanded from the Waimiri-Atroari an explanation for the death of the manager of the Attraction Front, "blaming" Comprido exclusively for what they judged to be an arbitrary aggression. Dario also held Comprido responsible for the death of Gilberto Pinto, offering a version consistent with the FUNAI workers' versions, and distinct from the interpretations of the other Waimiri-Atroari in terms of the group's response to a malefic aggression of the Whites (sorcery *maxki*).

Dario said that he resided at this time in a village near the "travessia", on the left bank of the River Alalaú, where he was when these events occurred:

All died within a few days, after Gilberto had passed by there. First Gilberto passed by. Gilberto passed by on the River Alalaú. We went to the 'travessia' to see. We returned, caught a disease and then it started. Nobody cremated the corpses. They were afraid. They left them to die and fled.

49. The two principal Captains preferred to speak in Portuguese than to use their own language. They often used Portuguese to transmit work orders from the workers to the other Waimiri-Atroari, sometimes repeating the orders in their own language for those Waimiri-Atroari who did not understand Portuguese.

50. The FAWA workers who knew this "Comprido" (the nickname, which in Portuguese means "long" and "thin", had also been given to another Waimiri-Atroari who lives in a settlement in the River Camanaú valley), despite censuring him strongly and "blaming" him for the attacks against workers in 1973 and 1974, did recognize that he was a man who had authority. The importance that the Waimiri-Atroari gave to Comprido suggests that he was a local leader who had attained an inter-village political prominence at a time when many older leaders had died, and in an abnormal situation of hostilities in which, according to Rivière (1977:40) it would be characteristic of Carib societies for the local groups to submit to a wider temporary authority.

51. "Crossing" in Portuguese. The name given by the FUNAI workers to the place on the River Alalaú where one of the main Waimiri-Atroari pathways intersects with the course of this River.

Everybody was crying. Demóstenes caught it. He took one month to recover. I caught it, but it passed quickly and in ten days I was well. It was only flu. They went to the 'travessia'. At first they caught flu, then they caught something else, and they died. I didn't see Gilberto. I was there in my house ... Many of us died when the highway was built through our lands. Even Comprido died ...

In this account, addressed to me, classified as a "White", Dario made a point of dissociating himself from the attack against the FUNAI Indian Post in which Gilberto had died, defending himself from the possibility that I might incriminate him, as the majority of the FAWA workers did. Dario juxtaposed the workers interpretation of the epidemics as "flu" with the Waimiri-Atroari representation in terms of "then they caught **something else** and they died", an allusion to the Whiteman's sorcery. He thus presented a discourse which incorporated both explanations, despite the fact that, as one of the principal Captains of the FAWA, he strongly censured the Waimiri-Atroari version, reduced to an allusive evocation.

A few weeks later, at the Terraplenagem Indian Post, some Waimiri-Atroari and I were turning the pages of a book. When Dalmo saw the photograph of Gilberto Pinto, he interrupted:

Comprido wanted to kill Gilberto since he said, 'After that fat man came, many people died'. He thought it was he who had killed us... When that fat man came to our lands many people died. Nearly all the older people died until only Comprido was left. Then Comprido became angry. He thought that it was 'Whites' ... I went to live at Terraplenagem first. I didn't know what the FUNAI was. I thought they were 'real Whites'. I stayed at Terraplenagem but I was angry.

Captain Dalmo, like his brother Dario, referred to these events of the past in a language which reflected the manipulation of ethnic identities by the FAWA workers in the present. His speech, impregnated with the concept of "White" propagated by many of the "Indian" workers of the FAWA, translated the Waimiri-Atroari opposition *ki?in'ja/ka?amin'ja* to that of "Indian"/"White" of the FAWA.

Dalmo also expressed this reinterpretation by the opposition "FUNAI"/"real White". In this manner, the majority of the "Indian" workers redefined for the Waimiri-Atroari the attacks directed against the Indian Posts in the early 1970's in terms of the opposition "Indian"/"White", accusing the Whites, and not the Indian FUNAI workers, of being responsible for the deaths of Waimiri-Atroari in the past. In addition, these same workers used their manipulation to canalize discontent against any individuals who they designated "Whites". They used the opposition, repeating the formula "Whites are no good!", constantly inserted in their speech directed to the Waimiri-Atroari, together with the expression "I'm Indian too".

The workers vehemently censured Comprido, using him as a scapegoat to canalize their rancour for the death of colleagues in the attacks against the Indian Posts. Dalmo and Dario also reproduced the official history of the FAWA, relating versions of the death of Gilberto Pinto in which they insisted on attributing the responsibility exclusively to Comprido.

Once, I told Dalmo that, when I had travelled along the BR-174 at the time of its construction (October 1976), I had seen five Waimiri-Atroari men at the place where the

Terraplenagem Indian Post is situated, where the Highway cut through one of their principal pathways between villages. Dalmo replied:

A lot of people came here to the (Indian) Post, here beside the Highway. All of them died. My mother died. *Maxi*, a kind of poison. That's what Comprido thought. Comprido thought that 'Whites' killed with poison. It was a long time ago. Even before the Highway had been constructed here. First the FUNAI built a Post, those people died *maxi*, a 'bomb'.

I asked him about the "bomb"⁵², since on several occasions I had seen some of the Indian workers of the FAWA telling the Waimiri-Atroari that the Whites had dropped bombs on them and used poison to kill them⁵³. I asked Dalmo if there had been a loud noise and if an aircraft had flown over. Dalmo replied "No, there was no noise. It was '*kamtxa*, *veneno*'".

Dalmo told me that, once, after the Alalaú II Indian Post had been installed (1972), a group of men from the village where he was residing went to invite the inhabitants of another neighbouring village, localized a few hours from the right bank of the River Alalaú, to participate in a *maryba* ritual⁵⁴. They only found corpses:

There were people dead in their hammocks, already rotting. We were afraid because we thought that "Whites" had killed them (By acts of sorcery). We returned. Later somebody went there to burn the corpses. The FUNAI was

52. According to accounts of workers who had been many years in the FAWA, after the attacks against the FUNAI Indian Posts, the rescue teams which came to take the corpses away detonated tear-gas bombs at the Alalaú II Indian Post, in 1973. During the removal of the corpses of Father Calleri's Expedition, in 1968, fireworks were also used. In 1974, the brigadier general Gentil Nogueira Paes, Commandant of the 2nd Engineering and Construction Grouping of the Brazilian Army (Of. no. 042-E2-CONF, 21-11-74, about the construction work on the BR-174 Highway, sent to the Commandant of the 6th BEC), recommended the use of rockets and fireworks, and other demonstrations of force.

53. Captain Adriano of the Taquari Waimiri-Atroari settlement commented: "Peruano ['Peruvian', pejorative synonym for "Whiteman" in the FAWA workers language] '*sakana* '*wapy* [very violent]. Aeroplane pa! pa! here. Peruano *ky'nahapa*, '*amba mydyta'ka* [Peruano fought, there in another village]. After that we killed peruano". I did not know how to interpret his words: whether it was an account of the bombing of a village, or whether he was returning to me, classified as a "White", the words of some "Indian" workers, who, to reinforce the depreciatory concept of "White" in opposition to "Indian", addressed the Waimiri-Atroari using a discourse of "Indian" to "Indian" against "White", accusing the "Whites" of having bombed villages. The word "Peruvian" might have been introduced by FUNAI workers who had previously worked in the frontier area of Brazil and Peru. Or, more probably, it had been introduced during the first years of the FAWA, before the workers had started making a distinction for the Waimiri-Atroari between "Indians" and "Whites". Many "Indian" workers identified themselves as "Peruvians" as part of a stigmatized "Indian" identity in Manaus. Romano (1982:200) cites a Sataré-Mawé residing in Manaus: "Racism is so strong against us that no Indian identifies himself in this city as 'Indian': they say they are 'Peruvians'".

54. The Waimiri-Atroari refer, by this general term, to their collective rituals in which they dance and sing with the participation of the inhabitants of other villages. Dalmo did not enter into details about which rituals were taking place at this time.

already here on this side of the river⁵⁵. Comprido became angry because he thought that the 'Whites' had killed them. That's why Comprido became angry.

Dalmo, as principal Captain, used the same language that the "Indian" workers of the FAWA used, to narrate the recent history of his people, incessantly dividing the protagonists in generic "Whites" and "Indians" in order to free the FUNAI from blame for the deaths of many Waimiri-Atroari and incriminate Comprido, stressing that it was he who had been responsible for the attacks against the Indian Posts and the deaths of some FUNAI workers. The workers saw the attacks against the Indian Posts in the early 1970's as murders perpetrated against innocent "individuals". They demanded that the Waimiri-Atroari blame "individuals" as responsible⁵⁶, seeing their collective struggle to survive within the codes of criminal violence of the national society, as perpetrated by individuals against other individuals⁵⁷.

The Captains Dalmo and Dario, adopting the attitudes expressed by the FAWA workers, censured the explanation of epidemics as "Whiteman's" sorcery which led to the Waimiri-Atroari armed revolt against the people who had invaded their lands. Having internalized the power system established by the FUNAI, of which they had become part, they refuted the indigenous interpretation which challenged this system. Their "re-writing" of the recent history through the ideological prism of the FAWA reflected the manipulation of interethnic categories, to free the FUNAI from any responsibility for the contamination, accusing the generic Whites and not the "Indian" FAWA workers. Presenting the deaths in the villages in terms of anonymous "disease", the principal Captains reinforced the construction of a scapegoat in the form of the past leader, Comprido, pointing him out as

55. The first Alalaú II Indian Post was installed in 1972, on the right bank of the River Alalaú, downriver from the present-day BR-174 Highway bridge. It was attacked and destroyed in January 1973 by Waimiri-Atroari. Another Indian Post was installed to substitute it on the left bank, upriver from the present-day bridge, and destroyed in October 1974 by some Waimiri-Atroari. According to a report of the manager Gilberto Costa, dated 01.11.74, "Captain Comprido and his group were those Waimiri-Atroari who most frequently visited the Alalaú II Indian Post and camp of the LASA company (working on the topography of the BR-174 Highway, in construction)" (pág. XIII).

56. Zauger (1980:81, 82) describes a similar situation, when the territory of the Winnebago, in the U.S.A., was being invaded and occupied by placer miners. The invaders blamed the leader "Red Bird" for the Indians resistance. They focussed their resentment on him because they knew him, and attributed to him a role of leadership far beyond that which he played, blaming him as the "instigator" of the "revolt".

57. Several FAWA workers told me that Dalmo and Dario killed Comprido, binding and constricting his body with lianas when he was sick, which was a Waimiri-Atroari custom to dispose of people considered moribund. However, the Waimiri-Atroari never mentioned to me this version of Comprido's death. The Captains adopted the workers attitudes, which demanded the elimination of Comprido, approving their killing him, if not instigating them to do so. The workers saw in him an obstacle to their aim to sedentarize the Waimiri-Atroari and saw his death as a wellcome act which would free them from the possibility of further deaths of FUNAI workers. At the same time, the Captains assumed the attitude of the workers which strongly condemned them for killing someone.

the author of arbitrary killings, an explanation based on the White people's imagination about "wild Indians".

After his death, the deceased leader Comprido, seen in the past by the FAWA workers as a threat to their lives who had to be eliminated, was transfigured, verbally, as an "Indian" hero by some Indian workers who resorted to an Indian rights rhetoric of resistance against the "Whites", often by the same workers who, when talking about the history of the FAWA, justified the annihilation of Comprido. They represented him as one of the last leaders who had resisted the invasion of the "Indians'" lands by the "Whites" who "are no good". Dalmo also started to spread this new image of Comprido as an "Indian" hero who had assumed an Indian rights attitude against the "Whitemen", from the workers Indian rights rhetoric superimposed on his previous discourse, accusing Comprido of having been responsible for the attacks against the Indian Posts. At this time I heard Dalmo say that it was Comprido who had told the Waimiri-Atroari, decimated by epidemics, to stop killing each other in inter-village conflicts, and to kill the "Whites". Dalmo also started to adopt this new image of Comprido as an "Indian" hero who had assumed an Indian rights position of resistance against the "Whites", modelled on the Indian rights discourse of the FUNAI workers superimposed on his historical discourse which blamed Comprido for the attacks against the Indian Posts.

Even the "White" manager of the FAWA, who, when referring to the Waimiri-Atroari attacks against the FAWA workers, had attributed to Comprido a "natural jealousy" which had induced him to lead the "last reactions" in 1974 (Acts of the 6th Meeting of Heads of Indian Posts of the NAWA, 04-09-82), also adopted the new image of Comprido, in contexts where he wanted to remodel the Waimiri-Atroari of the past verbally as an "essentially agricultural group and consequently a peaceful group of docile temperament" (Report: Participation in the III Seminar on Research in the Amazon Region, 1981) as he ordered them to be⁵⁸. He refers to the "courageous Captain Comprido" (Radio message n° 366/NAWA, 01-04-81). I heard the worker Ernane say to Captain Dalmo: "When Comprido was alive, he didn't let anyone enter your lands!", advising him to adopt a similar attitude. Ernane, like some other "Indian" and "White" workers, spoke of making the

58. Barbosa Rodrigues called the indigenous population with which he made contact on the River Jauaperi in the 1880's, "Crichanás", although he identified them as the Uamerys, Uaimiris and Waimirys, name that he alleges to have been derived from the name of the river (1885:9, 46, 67, 135). His changing of the depreciatory name by which they were known by the regional population was, apparently, an attempt to reconstruct the image of this indigenous population for the national society after having settled them at Tauacuera on the lower course of the River Jauaperi: "The terrible Jauaperys, the treacherous Uaimirys no longer exist. Having disappeared, they have been replaced by the Crichanás who come to the civilized people with the cup of hospitality, (...) they are no longer those... [he enumerates the highly depreciatory stereotypes with which the regional population represented them]. They become, in the botanist's words: "kindhearted men of honour (...) and cheerfully celebrate the presence of Whitemen from whom they receive blessings!" (1885:59). In saying that the "Uaimirys" had been replaced by the "Crichanás", Barbosa Rodrigues was writing in a figurative sense, declaring that they were what he wanted to transform them into, in an affirmation of power, strategy also adopted by the manager of the FAWA. Like many representatives of colonial power, he lamented the violence perpetrated against the indigenous population, remodelling them with some of the characteristics that, according to Pratt (1986:46), "the powerful commonly find in those they have subjugated".

Waimiri-Atroari "politically conscious" and appealed to the image of Comprido as a hero in an attempt to "teach" Dalmo to adopt a position of "Indian resistance" as he thought "Indians" should do. Dalmo, his brother Dario and other Captains and young men adopted a position of "politically conscious Indians" when this was demanded of them (Baines 1993:236). These different images expressed about how "Indians" should be also reflected the power struggle between the FAWA workers (Baines 1991c:288-290; 299-301).

Shamanism as Historical Consciousness

The principal Captains not only avoided talking to me about shamanism but also prohibited and ridiculed it in the presence of other Waimiri-Atroari. The reason for this censure makes more sense if the fundamental role of shamanic rites in the transmission of accusations of sorcery in Waimiri-Atroari society is taken into consideration. The shamanic sessions were, it must be remembered, the principal arena in which the Waimiri-Atroari interpreted the epidemics as Whiteman's sorcery.

In addition to identifying individualized spirits by the word '*akaha*'⁵⁹, the Waimiri-Atroari referred to spirits, in the collective form, as '*ka'raiwa*'⁶⁰. They used these terms to include both the souls of the dead and the living, supernatural spirits in human form which inhabit the forest and beings which appear in dreams. *Ka'raiwa* is a derivation from the Tupi word "cariúa"/"cariú" (Whiteman), used by the Waimiri-Atroari with reference both to their own and White entities, evoked by the shaman, which are invisible to the other Waimiri-Atroari. Butt Colson (1977:49) mentions the mediation of Whitemen's spirits in the Akawaio shamanic sessions. In a village on a tributary stream of the River Camanaú, as well as in the Maré and Xerí settlements, I was present at several shamanic sessions in which Waimiri-Atroari shamans evoked *ka'raiwa*.

The shaman entered the edge of the forest, carrying his bow and arrows, only on moonless nights when it was impossible to see him or the spirits. During the rite, he remained in the darkness of the forest which nobody entered at night, while the people who participated actively as audience, directing their questions to the *ka'raiwa*, remained at a distance, at the edge of the clearing. They stressed the danger of approaching the place from where the shaman spoke, warning that the *ka'raiwa* were very fierce and could kill with arrows. Sometimes the shaman staged fights between *ka'raiwa*, who shouted and groaned when they were struck by arrows.

The shaman moved about in the darkness during the rite, so that the voices rang out from different places in the forest, first from one side, then from another; from far away, from very close, and from far away again. Sometimes the voice of the shaman was heard, directing questions to the *ka'raiwa*. Sometimes he mediated the conversations between the

59. For example: *taha'kome 'jakaha* "the spirits of the old people", *ki'in'ja 'jakaha* "our (Waimiri-Atroari) spirits", *ka?amin'ja 'jakaha* "the spirits of Whitemen", *'xany 'jakaha* "his(her) mother's spirit", *'akaha* "his(her) spirit (of a specific person)".

60. For example, *ka'raiwa jak'bany* "he evokes spirits", *ka'raiwa jabrimy* "he mediates/presents spirits" (in shamanic sessions); *Janu'ma ka'raiwa* "Those spirits which (the shaman) *Janu'ma* evoked".

audience and the *ka'raiwa*. The voices of *ka'raiwa* which replied came and went away again, identifying themselves as old people, young people, and children, of both sexes, substituting each other abruptly, the same ones often reappearing.

The audience identified the *ka'raiwa*, referring to them by nicknames and calling them by kinship terms. They asked their advice and conversed with them, inducing them to speak about matters of current interest to the community and to assume attitudes in relation to these matters. The audience and the *ka'raiwa* participated, thus, in a dialogue in which the different views of the members of the audience about sundry situations were discussed, especially those considered to be crises. When the *ka'raiwa* revealed anger, the members of the audience sometimes told them to go away and return to the place from where they had come.

The atmosphere was generally at ease. They joked with the *ka'raiwa*, laughing, provoking them, and pointing out roles for them to play. The voices of *ka'raiwa* took up the allusions and insinuations of the members of the audience, often interrupting the discourse with songs and focusing certain matters by multiple means such as, for example, expressions of anger or jests. Sometimes the voices of *ka'raiwa* transferred the dialogue between them and the members of the audience to a dialogue between *ka'raiwa*, to mold it and then return it to the members of the audience, always sounding their opinions with perspicacity. The *ka'raiwa* asked for food or banana drink and, when the members of the audience brought it, the shaman drew near to them to take the pot and carry it into the darkness, returning it empty and communicating the comments of the *ka'raiwa* about the food or drink consumed.

Waimiri-Atroari who were taking part often commented to me about the spirit which was talking: sometimes the voices were of spirits of elderly people from the past (*taha'kome 'jakaha*), including old leaders who had died in the epidemics; sometimes they were the voices of Waimiri-Atroari who resided in other settlements of the FAWA, identified by nicknames; and sometimes they were spirits of Waimiri-Atroari who lived in distant villages⁶¹. They added that in the darkness of the night there were many. On one occasion, the members of the audience informed me that it was my sister's spirit talking and they suggested to me how I should reply in their language.

Both Dalmo and Dario vehemently censured these shamanic rites of consulting *ka'raiwa*. The only occasions on which I saw a shaman who resided at Xerí practise the rites were when Captain Dario was not present. Considering that these rites were the principal vehicle to express inter-group rivalry, the young Captain's censure is not surprising. One of their duties was to prohibit the manifestation of conflicts between Waimiri-Atroari and propagate among them an Indian policy ideal that they should be "unified Indians", obedient executors of orders in the work programme directed by the FUNAI administration, who should not abandon the settlements without FUNAI's permission.

During the first years in which the Waimiri-Atroari were living in the settlements, disputes between persons from different factions resulted in fissions, and groups often

61. Or of deceased Waimiri-Atroari from villages which had been wiped out by epidemics, or of both Waimiri-Atroari and White characters created by the shamans recognized as being the *ka'raiwa* mediated by a particular shaman. Each shaman mediated his particular repertoire of *ka'raiwa*, but there was always room for innovations and a continuous creativity.

abandoned the FAWA administered settlements. Repeatedly, the heads of Indian Posts and FAWA managers sent Captains, or other Waimiri-Atroari delegated by these, with the mission of bringing back the groups which had left the settlements, and ordering them to participate in the FAWA work programme. At the level of relations between Waimiri-Atroari and workers, the FUNAI thus succeeded, by delegating power to the Captains, in imposing this model of a generic, deculturated "Indian" under tutelage. However, the constant occurrence of dissensions in all the settlements and the separation of factions led the FAWA managers to adopt another strategy: allow the fissions to occur and then instal a new Indian Post with workers beside the new settlement, subordinating it to the FAWA through orders transmitted by the principal Captain.

According to the Waimiri-Atroari, in the past there were many shamans who evoked *ka'raiwa*, but most of them had died in the epidemics. The survivors of many villages lost the shamans who practised in their local groups and did not trust those who were from rival factions. The young Waimiri-Atroari who followed the life-style of the FAWA workers parodied the shamanic sessions and affirmed that only the older people knew how to practise shamanism. Dalmo usually referred to shamanic practices as "playing", "games", and "old people's foolishness", expressions which most of the FAWA workers used to deride Waimiri-Atroari rites. Yet, despite their censure of shamanic sessions, Dalmo and Dario showed great interest in listening to a tape I had made of a shamanic session at the settlement beside Maré Indian Post, asking to borrow it in order to listen to it at night in my absence and record it on his own tape-recorder.

The appearance of the voices of spirits of Whitemen in shamanic sessions, associated with the experience of epidemics and conflicts with people who invaded their territory, precipitated a form of historical consciousness. In their struggle to survive the massacres and the contamination which accompanied interethnic contact, the shamans interpreted the deaths resulting from epidemics as aggressions of spirits of Whites who "fired" poison (*maxi* ou *maxki*) into them. In the dialogues which occurred in shamanic sessions between spirits of Whites and living and recently deceased old Waimiri-Atroari leaders, the interethnic conflicts were translated into the form of verbal aggressions by these spirits. In declaring their responsibility for having "fired" poison into the Waimiri-Atroari, the spirits of Whites legitimized the indigenous belief in supernatural attacks by "Whites", which led them to reply with incursions against the FAWA Indian Posts.

This became clear to me on the only occasion I heard an angry challenge directed against a head of Indian Post of the FUNAI, an attitude openly contrary to the system of generalized subjection imposed by the FAWA. This was during a shamanic session. The furious voice of an elderly man resounded in the darkness, accompanied by the beating of hands on the chest, a Waimiri-Atroari way to express rage, and the sound of arrows hitting against a bow, screaming invectives against the then head of Indian Post, Ricardo, and demanding his elimination⁶².

A small boy who was watching murmured to me: "He's fierce! The old man's fierce!"⁶³. Some of the young men, including the Captain appointed by Ricardo, interrupted

62. Expressions of rage frequently appeared during the shamanic sessions which I had the opportunity to presence, but they were not directed directly against FAWA workers.

63. "'Sakana! Txamy'ry 'sakana!'"

the voice, vehemently defending the FUNAI worker against the outburst of wrath: "Ricardo is our friend!"⁶⁴, they repeated with consternation. Immediately, several young men who were listening, who passed the days working with Ricardo at the Indian Post, shouted that it was lies, and the voice of the rebel entity mediated by the shaman went away and was substituted by another, changing the subject to peccary, tapir, and diseases, focusing the difficulties which the Waimiri-Atroari were facing in the settlement. A small child, daughter of this shaman had died a few weeks before.

The strong censure expressed by the Captains appointed by the FAWA against shamanism reveals the key-role of this means of expression in the Waimiri-Atroari attempts to find meaning in the tragedy that they faced as a consequence of the invasion and occupation of their territory. It was, thus, in the shamanic sessions, that a language of resistance to the attacks by spirits of Whites developed, and it was in the sessions that the attacks against the Indian Posts in 1973-74 had their origin. At that time, the leaders who were still alive and the voices of the spirits of those recently deceased transmitted by the shamans canalized the perplexity, terror and indignation of the Waimiri-Atroari in witnessing the collapse of their society with a new irruption of Whites.

The shamanic sessions, in this manner, took on a new role with the invasion of Whites at an unprecedented magnitude that started with the construction of the BR-174 Highway and the waves of epidemics that this brought to their territory. It was by means of these sessions that the Waimiri-Atroari reached a consensus about the action that they should take in this situation of crisis; in them the dwindling numbers of survivors of the epidemics of "pacification" decided to resort to war in a last desperate attempt to drive away the people responsible for their drastic depopulation.

The impact of the "pacification", in the context of the violent and massive invasion and the epidemics which it brought, which brutally disrupted their way of life, was understood by the Waimiri-Atroari through cultural forms which were unintelligible to the FAWA workers, engaged as they were in imposing the official model of the history of interethnic contact in terms of a colonial imagination inhabited by "savage Indians".

In this incommunicability of interpretations, the traumatic history of "pacification" emerges as a "founding event" (Ricoeur, 1976:21) of the present interethnic conjuncture, revealing the strategic character of the construction of history in the interethnic contact situation. For the Waimiri-Atroari, this construction represented the basis of their cultural continuity; for the FAWA it was another instrument of subjection and deculturation.

Epidemics and the Politics of Demography

Demographic statistics referring to the Waimiri-Atroari, as is the case with most Amerindian populations, reveal that throughout their documented history, as much as today, the variable and contradictory data presented often reflect more about the sources than about the actual number of Indians.

Barbosa Rodrigues (1885:149; 241) estimated that the indigenous population he renamed "Crichanás", in the valley of the River Jauaperi, to be around 2000 individuals.

64. "*Ricardo to'waka! Ricardo to'waka!*"

However, he did not visit all the Indian villages and does not explain how he reached this estimate. He was clearly interested in convincing the local government of the necessity of carrying out his plan to sedentarize them.

Hübner and Koch-Grünberg (1907:232) mention that there were "6000 Indians along the Rio Jauaperi, according to the Brazilians". However, the regional Brazilian population to which they refer was at war with the Waimiri-Atroari at this time and had just incentivated the local government to carry out a punitive expedition, in which fifty soldiers of the police had massacred three hundred Indians (1907:229), taking eighteen Indians to Manaus as prisoners. Since the regional population wanted to eliminate the Indians and take over their lands for the extraction of forest products, there was a clear interest in exaggerating their numbers to convince the local government of the threat that they presented to the regional population and to try to justify punitive actions.

Grubb (1927:96) declares that "their population is unknown, but it is probably more than one thousand". In 1930, the Regional Inspector of the S.P.I.⁶⁵ states that "the Uatimiris or Atroais Indians inhabit the valley of the River Alalaú ... It is calculated that there are 700", but his estimate presumably does not include the Indians of valleys of the Rivers Camanaú and Jauaperi. According to the Indigenous Census, August, 1959, carried out by the S.P.I., there were 957 Waimiri-Atroari in contact with the "Camanaú" and "Alalaú" Indian Posts. There are, however, no estimates of the Indian population that was not in contact with these Indian Posts.

The telegraphist Raimundo Pio de Carvalho Lima, in 1965⁶⁶, affirmed that the "Waimirís" were approximately 600. Yet he does not specify which villages he includes in this category. None of these sources mention how they arrived at these estimates, nor the reasons for such estimates.

The FUNAI's "Attraction Front" specialist, Gilberto Pinto Figueiredo Costa, who had walked through the Waimiri-Atroari territory, visiting some villages, and flown over it, admitted, in a FAWA Report, that "The Attraction Front does not have any real data about the number of Indians... Nevertheless, estimates of the author of this Report are 600-1000 Indians"⁶⁷.

In 1977, the Attraction Front manager, Sebastião Nunes Firmo⁶⁸ estimated the Waimiri-Atroari population to be about 500. He told me (personal communication, 1981) that whilst manager (1975-78) there were 500-600 Indians and 24 villages in all the area. In November 1977⁶⁹, Giuseppe Cravero, later manager of the FAWA, mentions that in 23 visits of Waimiri-Atroari to the Indian Posts, between January and November 1977, "the

65. Report of the Inspector, Bento M. Pereira de Lemos, of the 1st Regional Inspectorate of the S.P.I., referring to 1930-31.

66. Letter from the telegraphist Raimundo Pio de Carvalho Lima, 16-06-65, to the regional director of the S.P.I.

67. "Waimiri-Atroari Attraction Front Report", 27-10-73, v., vi.

68. "Report of the FAWA manager, 07-08-77, to the Delegate of the Regional Delegacy of the FUNAI".

69. Letter n° 911/77, Giuseppe Cravero, 18-11-77, FUNAI.

presence of 638 Indians was registered".

The manager Giuseppe Cravero, in March 1981⁷⁰, wrote that there were "around 1500 Indians". Two months earlier (22-01-81), the same manager had told me: "Perhaps there are not even 800 Waimiri-Atroari. I doubt that there are as many as 1200". I suspected that his report written for the FUNAI was a strategy to justify the continuation of the "Attraction Front" and thus obtain financing and legitimize the presence of a large number of FUNAI workers in the area. In a report written in July 1981⁷¹, he reduced his estimate of the population to 900.

Just over one year later, this manager⁷² presented another reduction of the population, stating that there were no more than 600 Waimiri-Atroari, under a subtitle, "The statistical increase of the Indians". Despite the fact that his reports present successive reductions of the Waimiri-Atroari population, in the same report he argues: "We have observed, however, a tendency among them to slowly increase... This means that our community assistance project, especially in the health area, is effectively preserving the group". This declaration can be interpreted as an attempt to justify his policies, since, the previous year, despite his "community assistance project"⁷³, or perhaps in consequence of its inefficiency, 21 Waimiri-Atroari had died in a measles epidemic at Terraplenagem Indian Post. Documents of this period (Baines, 1991c:174) reveal that the policy of sending

70. "Report on the Present Situation of the NAWA" (*Núcleo de Apoio Waimiri-Atroari*), 20-03-81, to the Delegate of the 1st Regional Delegation, FUNAI.

71. "Report on the Waimiri-Atroari Indian area", 30-07-81.

72. "Acts of the Sixth Encounter of Heads of Indian Posts of the NAWA", 04-09-82, Giuseppe Cravero.

73. Reports and declarations of health attendants, who were in the area at the time of the measles epidemic, point out this manager as being responsible for the lack of assistance. In a report dated 25-07-81, the head of Terraplenagem Indian Post, Pedro Lourival da Cunha, addressing the manager (he informed me that he did not present the report) refers to his "great deception with the way in which the manager acted, remaining most of the time at the Camanaú Indian Post and visiting the sick Indians at Terraplenagem Indian Post, at the peak of the measles epidemic only once (...) the deaths followed one another, without sufficient medical assistance". In a "Report of the Events and Activities carried out by the nurse Maria Sônia Medeiros Nóbrega during the period from 27-05-81 to 07-06-81", addressed to the manager Giuseppe Cravero, she states: "We waited for you to return from Manaus with the necessary medicines, but your delay passed the limits which the organism of each one of the children could tolerate". According to one health attendant who was at the Terraplenagem Indian Post: "There was a lack of assistance. Cravero was at Camanaú... Cravero said: 'The hospitals of Manaus are full. There's nothing we can do...' After they stopped sending the sick to Manaus, then it started. Two or three died each day... Then, there was nothing more we could do here. If they had been sent to Manaus, they wouldn't have died. Cravero came here only at the end... In my opinion it was a lack of interest. We could have done something. There was a vehicle here". The first cases of measles, which were sent to Manaus for treatment, all recovered. As Ribeiro (1979:279) observes, "the principal factor for the recuperation of the sick (in a measles epidemic in the Xingu in 1954) was the provision of regular food". At the Terraplenagem Indian Post, the only regular food available at the time of the 1981 epidemic, according to a report written by the FAWA manager, was oatmeal porridge.

the young Waimiri-Atroari men who had taken up residence at the Indian Posts to bring all the remaining Indians from the villages and settle them in large, nucleated settlements, as cited above in the case of the River Jauaperi in the 1920's, exposed the Indians to infectious diseases. After obtaining the largest concentration of Indians at Terraplenagem Indian Post (124 individuals, according to a radio message of 09-05-1981), submitted to an intensive agricultural work regime designed to resocialize them, this measles epidemic broke out⁷⁴. Measles was brought to the area by a small boy who had been undergoing treatment for tuberculosis at the FUNAI's "Indian House" in Manaus and returned before the symptoms of measles had appeared.

The incoherence of this manager became even more clear to me when, in 22-04-83, Giuseppe Cravero informed me that, in 1974, when Gilberto Pinto Figueiredo Costa was in a meeting with representatives of the Army at the Abonari detachment, in which he alleged to have also participated, Gilberto said "There are no more than 700 Indians". Such a figure, compared to the previous statistics he had presented, would clearly reduce the number of Indians who had died during the time that he was manager.

The head of Indian Post, Ricardo, on 30-04-82, told me that he estimated that there were about 400 Waimiri-Atroari. On 21-05-82, he suggested that there were no more than 300, alleging that in 1973 there were at least 600 and many had died in epidemics.

The manipulation of demographic statistical data is clear in the newspaper article "The FUNAI Delegacy, in Amazonas, estimates the total Waimiri-Atroari population to be about 1000 individuals"⁷⁵, with "about 350 having regular contacts with the FUNAI and the Army...". This same year, 1983, after having visited all the settlements and villages then inhabited, and made personal contacts with all the Waimiri-Atroari survivors, I calculated the total population to be 332 individuals (164 men and 168 women), 216 of which were less than 20 years of age⁷⁶ (Baines, 1991c:78). The statistics published by this FUNAI delegate clearly reveal a strategy to justify the continuation of the Attraction Front, when the majority of the Waimiri-Atroari were living in FAWA administered settlements near the Indian Posts and the small groups of people living in villages made frequent visits to the Posts.

74. Reff (1991:224; 276) stresses that the impact of infectious diseases was greatest on the large nucleated mission settlements in Northwest Mexico in the 17th and 18th centuries. During the measles outbreak at the Terraplenagem Indian Post, in 1981, many Waimiri-Atroari fled to their villages. The principal Captain, delegated by the FAWA manager to command the sedentarization of the Waimiri-Atroari at the Post settlement, was held responsible for the deaths by some Indians, who left the Post angrily. The manager, afraid of an attack, called in the Army to occupy the Indian Post. Reff (1991, Chapter 5 and 6) argues that it was in the context of a disease environment, more than any other factors, that led native peoples to capitulate to situations of extreme subordination. Whitehead (1988:136), referring to the Carib populations of Venezuela, observes that "the concentration of Amerindian populations in areas designed (...) to 'civilise' them, was a guarantee of disaster", increasing their exposure to Old World diseases.

75. *A Notícia*, Manaus, 15.05.83, page 6.

76. The statistical data are resumed, according to age and sexes, in Baines, 1991c:77, Fig. 5. Because of the time necessary to make all the contacts, I included in my estimate the births and deaths in settlements and villages registered by the FUNAI during that year.

In a publication of the Fourth Russel Tribunal in 1980 and in the article: "The War of Extermination against the Waimiri-Atroari", written in the same year, by Father E. Schwade of the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) of the Catholic Church, statistics of Hübner and Koch-Grünberg are presented, estimating the Indian population to be 6000 in 1905. As I mentioned above, this estimate is presented by Koch-Grünberg qualified by the phrase "according to the Brazilians". The CIMI publications chose the highest estimates, thus stressing the decimation of the Indian population and reinforcing a critical position in relation to the official government Indian policy. As I have pointed out, the FAWA manager, Giuseppe Cravero, selected those demographic statistics which reflected most favourably on the disastrous consequences of his policies, to try to diminish, statistically, the massive depopulation which occurred during the years that he was manager. The statistics presented by Schwade, which, according to the publication, the FUNAI had presented to the press, may also reflect the policy of the FUNAI in this area, at this time, of exaggerating the Indian population as a strategy to obtain more funds⁷⁷.

By the number of abandoned villages and clearings and their own constant references to mass deaths, it is clear that the Waimiri-Atroari, like other indigenous populations, suffered a massive depopulation, above all, as a consequence of epidemics. Ribeiro (1979:273-278 [1956]) presents data which show that flu epidemics had the heaviest toll among Indian populations in Brazil, wiping out entire villages, followed by measles. The Kaingang were reduced from about one thousand to two hundred individuals between 1912 and 1916. The Tupari of the River Guaporé valley were reduced from about three thousand to two hundred and fifty individuals in 1934, and to some dozens by 1954 (1979:286). Galvão & Simões (1966:43) show that Indians of the Xingu, in a period of just over 60 years up to 1952, suffered a depopulation of about 80%, together with a tremendous reduction in the number of villages (74.4%), pointing out that flu was the principal cause, followed by measles, the surviving Indian populations attaining a certain resistance after a longer period of interethnic contact (Ibid.:45-46).

After reaching a lowest point of 332 individuals in 1983, the Waimiri-Atroari population started to make a very rapid recovery in the following years (Silva, 1993:69-70). One of the factors that favoured an extremely rapid increase in the Waimiri-Atroari population is the very large number of young people, possibly a consequence of the vaccination of many children throughout the period of the FAWA, from the early 1970's. In addition, in the case of influenza epidemics, which were prevalent, "Although children are most susceptible, adults, especially the ill or elderly, suffer from a higher death rate" (McGrew, 1985:150 apud. Cook & Lovell, 1991:223).

Crosby points out that a long history of interethnic contact does not necessarily lead to the complete destruction of the Indians, "but only to a sharp diminution of numbers, which was then followed by renewed population growth among the aborigines (...) when those Indians with the weakest resistance (...) had died, interbreeding among the hardy survivors and, to some unmeasured extent, with the immigrants, led to the beginning of

77. From the days of the FAWA, a policy was followed of maintaining an exceptionally large contingent of workers in the Waimiri-Atroari area (Baines, 1991c:70-74). A policy which continues, since, according to the Technical-Administrative Report of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* (FUNAI/ELETRONORTE), 1990, of the 57 employees, 46 were allocated within the Waimiri-Atroari area.

population recovery" (1973:39).

The very rapid populational recuperation of the Waimiri-Atroari, since 1983, can be interpreted as a consequence of various factors: the very large proportion of young survivors (116 females under 20 in 1983); the preaching to the Waimiri-Atroari by the very large contingent of Indian FUNAI workers during the early 1980's of the necessity to recuperate the "Indian" population decimated by the "Whites". Many of the Indian FUNAI workers constantly demanded sexual access to Waimiri-Atroari women under the pretext that they were "Indians too", and "people" in opposition to the "Whites"⁷⁸, and thus "authorized by the FUNAI" to have sexual access to the Waimiri-Atroari women. The very rapid population recovery, after an initial drastic depopulation in the FUNAI administered settlements, may be attributed, above all, to the fact that the survivors, many of whom had received vaccinations during the previous years, had some immunity to introduced diseases as well as access to a more efficient health service which has contributed to a reduction of the mortality rate.

From 1987, the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* (FUNAI/ELETRONORTE)⁷⁹ took over the administration of the indigenist policy in the area. Despite the fact that the rapid populational recuperation of the Waimiri-Atroari is being used as one of the main themes of the entrepreneurial policy of intensive marketing of the *Programa*⁸⁰, this recuperation

78. The Regional Delegate of the FUNAI removed many of the Indian FUNAI workers from the area in 1985. In his words: "The situation was very serious, with problems of alcoholic beverages among the Indian workers and sexual problems between (Waimiri-Atroari) Indian women and the workers. Dalmo made a list of the people involved, almost 30 workers... It was a great mistake to allocate these Indian FUNAI workers to the Waimiri-Atroari area" (Baines, 1991c:278).

79. The *Programa Waimiri-Atroari*, result of an agreement between the FUNAI and ELETRONORTE, and financed by ELETRONORTE, is planned for 25 years duration. It was intended as a means of compensating the Indians for the flooding of part of their territory, in consequence of the decision to construct the Balbina Hydroelectric Scheme, without previously consulting the Indian population. The programme of assistance was created in the final phase of construction of the Balbina dam and just a few months before the floodgates were closed in October 1987, flooding an area of about 2928,5 km² (Map of Anthropic Influence of the Balbina Hydroelectric Scheme, CSR, IBAMA, Brasília, 1992). All the area flooded was part of the traditional territory of the Waimiri-Atroari up to the early 1970s, and about 311 square kms. of flooding was inside the reduced area that has been reserved for the Waimiri-Atroari. The flooding transformed all the headwaters of the Rivers Uatumã, Santo Antônio do Abonari and Taquari into an uninhabitable area with putrefaction of the submerged tropical forest, forcing the removal of about one third of the total Waimiri-Atroari population to other parts of the Reserve. Viveiros de Castro & Andrade affirm that these "palliative and tardy measures, of cosmetic character, taken when all decisions about the construction work had already been carried into effect" have been used to create "a false idea of `participation'" (1988:16). The present *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* offers an infrastructure of assistance subordinated to the *fait accompli* of the flooding of part of the Indian territory and the irreversible modification of the environment.

80. Which includes a 9 minute propaganda film, in Portuguese, English, and Italian, shown on international flights of the Brazilian Varig airline company. The film presents the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* as **the salvation** of the Waimiri-Atroari, carefully omitting demographic statistics based on anthropological research for the 1983-1987 period, and ends with a declaration that the survival of the Waimiri-Atroari memory is an obligation which ELETRONORTE has assumed.

started before the implantation of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari*. As Silva, shows, basing his claims on his own research and on data collected by a vaccination team from the *Instituto de Medicina Tropical de Manaus* (IMTM) in 1987, compared with my data for 1983, and data of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* for 1991, the Waimiri-Atroari population underwent a rapid recuperation before the implantation of the *Programa*:

The Waimiri-Atroari population registered an increase of 26.5% in the 1983-1987 period, while in the 1987-1991 period the rate fell to 20.2%. The annual average increase for the 1983-1987 period was 6.05%, while for the 1987-1991 period it was only 4.71%. Whether coincidence or not, and based on data provided by the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* itself, it is possible to confirm a notable fall in the rate of populational increase (especially taking into account the size of the population), exactly during the period in which the *Programa* was put into practice for these Indians (Silva, 1993:69-70).

Silva adds:

It does not appear, thus, to be without motive, the intensive marketing policy of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* put into action from the second half of 1991. The *Jornal do Brasil*, for example, in its edition of 29th September 1991, together with several newspapers in Amazonas, published, on the front page, that the Waimiri-Atroari population was increasing, according to FUNAI/ELETRONORTE sources, at a rate of 7% per year! (Silva, 1993:70, nota 27)⁸¹.

However, as Silva stresses:

The isolated examination of demographic data does not, evidently, permit a precise estimation of the improvement or deterioration of the general living conditions of this population, and, even less, the impact of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari*, through its sub-programmes (Silva, 1993:70).

Although the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* (FUNAI/ELETRONORTE) is providing a health service which is far more efficient than the extremely deficient service offered by the FAWA, it has chosen to systematically ignore, in its administrative reports and propaganda, the demographic statistics based on anthropological research carried out before the implantation of the *Programa*, citing statistics from 1987, date of the agreement between the FUNAI and ELETRONORTE. This choice, serves the political interests of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari*, giving the impression that the populational recuperation

ELETRONORTE has also published glossy brochures about the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari*, and sponsored newspaper articles, as well as commercializing postcards and T-shirts with Waimiri-Atroari designs. The *Programa* also organized a seminar in Manaus in 1990, during which my doctoral thesis was publicly depreciated as "mere gossip", and an exhibition in the Shopping Centre of Manaus, capital of Amazonas state, in 1993.

81. Article, "*Vaimiris suportam provações e sobrevivem com valentia*" ["*Vaimiris withstand hardships and survive courageously*"], in which the journalist Orlando Farias states that "the tribe started the year 1991 with a big party to commemorate the birth of the 500th Vaimiri, taking note of a number which is intriguing even for the FUNAI: a rate of increase of 7% per annum, 5% higher than that of the Brazilian population".

occurred after, and exclusively in consequence of, the implantation of the *Programa*, thus exaggerating its efficacy and presenting it as if it were **the salvation** of the Waimiri-Atroari. This is one of the principal arguments used, it should be pointed out, by ELETRONORTE, to justify the *Programa*, including attempts to dilute some very serious problems with the *Programa* which have been pointed out by researchers who have carried out doctoral anthropological research in this area (Silva, 1993:54-57; Baines, 1991a; 1991b; 1992a; 1992b; 1993).

In a propaganda leaflet⁸², commending the merits of ELETRONORTE's policies and actions with the Waimiri-Atroari and Parakanã Indians whose lands were flooded, respectively, by the Hydroelectric Schemes of Balbina and Tucuruí, it is stated that "They (the Waimiri-Atroari) were approximately 1500 in 1974 and by 1987 they had been reduced to 374 individuals" (page 6)⁸³, followed by a eulogy on the benefits provided by the *Programa*, and demographic statistics for the period from June 1987 to December 1991 which show the population to have been 417 in June 1987 (page 11), in contradiction with what was stated on page 6 of the same leaflet. According to this leaflet, the average yearly increase for the period from June 1987 to December 1991 was higher than the rate given by Silva for the period from July 1987 to July 1991, but slightly below that of the four year period prior to the *Programa*. Not only is the estimate of the Waimiri-Atroari population for 1974 excessively high in view of documentary evidence cited above, but the documented history of populational recuperation between 1983 and 1987 is, again, conveniently omitted, making the palliative and tardy policies of the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari* conform, verbally, to the indigenist salvation myth of its mentors.

The same strategy has been used in a documentary film shown on Brazilian television in April 1994⁸⁴, yet again ignoring populational statistics based on anthropological research carried out prior to 1987. This manipulation of demographic statistics is used in the film as the principal argument to justify the *Programa Waimiri-Atroari*, presenting it as an enormous success in the history of Indian policy and pompously declaring, at the end of the film, that the *Programa* "seems to have reverted the terminal situation of an Indian people". The text of this film, after some criticisms of the Balbina Hydroelectric Scheme, stresses that from 1987, the setting up of an Environmental Department within ELETRONORTE marks a basic change in the company's policies. The forced displacement of the Waimiri-Atroari from the flooded Tobypyna and Taquari settlements and their relocation respectively to Samaúma and Monawa settlements, are represented in this documentary film **as if** the new sites were "chosen by the Indians themselves". Silva (1993:48; 54-55; 161-163) reveals how the "official theory" about the Waimiri-Atroari on which these relocations were planned and carried out by the officials of the administration resulted in a situation of extreme tension among the Waimiri-Atroari in

82. ELETRONORTE: ELETROBRÁS: Ministério de Minas e Energia, undated, *Ambiente Desenvolvimento: Comunidades Indígenas* [Environment Development: Indigenous Communities].

83. Silva (1993:69) affirms, based on his own statistics and those of the *Instituto de Medicina Tropical de Manaus* (IMTM), that on 1st July 1987 the Waimiri-Atroari population was 420.

84. *Energia Elétrica no Brasil - Obras Amazônicas* [Electric Energy in Brazil - Large-Scale Projects in Amazonia], directed by Romain Lesage.

the case of the relocation from Tobypyna to Samaúma⁸⁵. What this change in company policy does represent is part of a recent tendency among government and private companies to try to create an "environmentally concerned" and "ecological" mask to large-scale development projects in the Amazon region (See Albert, 1991).

Stress is also given, in this documentary film, to the role of indemnifications in **saving** the Waimiri-Atroari by permitting the financing of community development and assistance projects. Taking into consideration what has happened in other Indian areas, indemnifications for large-scale development projects such as hydroelectric schemes and mining are, to say the least, highly questionable, since they have often been badly administered, used to cultivate dependency and to entice Indian leaders to accept extremely unequal agreements with the companies concerned. That is, when there is not open corruption, the creation of local clientships, the neutralization of any criticisms, as well as an increase of inequalities among the Indian population leading to divisions and social upheavals (Viveiros de Castro & Andrade, 1988:7, Oliveira, 1990:22-23).

A propaganda article "A Brazilian Tribe Escapes Extinction", by Cherie Hart, was published in a special issue of the Revista *World Development: Aiding Remote Peoples*, vol.04, n°.2, 1991, of the United Nations Development Programme. As in the above mentioned documentary film, after statements which admit that the Balbina Dam "is now widely regarded as an environmental atrocity", the article argues that, "In a dramatic shift in policy, ELETRONORTE... created a Special Department of Studies in Environmental Effects in 1987", and, as a consequence, "For the Waimiri-Atroari changes in Brazilian attitudes meant deliverance from extinction".

On the front page (and page 17) of the nation-wide newspaper *Jornal do Brasil*, on 20th September 1993, another article states that the Waimiri-Atroari "reduced to only 400 persons at the end of the last decade are now 570 Indians and their population is increasing at a rate of 12% per year". The article affirms that "Their extinction seemed to be near in the mid 1980's, when this group (...) was reduced to only 400 individuals", and that with indemnification from ELETRONORTE they are, "on their own initiative, carrying out environmental projects". According to the statistics presented in the propaganda leaflet cited above (note 82), and those presented in this newspaper article, the population increased from 532 at the end of 1991 to 570 in September 1993, showing an average yearly increase over this period of one year and nine months below (certainly not the alleged 12%) the average yearly increase of 6.05% given by Silva for the 1983-1987 period before the *Programa* was initiated.

Such tendentious propaganda can be interpreted as an attempt to defend company interests, distorting the action of an administration which, since 1987, has selectively prohibited the continuation of anthropological research with the Waimiri-Atroari. This prohibition has been exercised in the name of Indian self-determination. The Waimiri-Atroari leaders have been subjected to, and incorporated into, intensive propaganda campaigns and prevented from having access to information which would give them a chance to question the situation and the company interests behind the policies. This is a clear example of the way in which pressures exerted by large companies can produce discourses of Indian self-determination which mask the immense inequalities of the

85. Silva mentions (1993:161) that he was unable to observe the relocation from Taquari to Monawa settlement.

interethnic contact situation. It must be remembered that a new strategy of large mining companies of the Paranapanema Group, determined to advance over the Waimiri-Atroari territory (in which they allege are located some of the richest and largest deposits of cassiterite in Brazil) is to favour the demarcation of Indian areas and exercise their immense economic powers to try to persuade Waimiri-Atroari leaders to enter into direct agreements between the Indian community and the companies in exchange for indemnification in the form of mining royalties to finance community development and assistance projects.

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