

FUNAI's 21 AREAS PROPOSAL

In June 1977, with the greatest urgency, FUNAI made plans for an aerial survey of virtually all of Yanoama territory in Brazil. I was asked my opinion of the idea and pointed out that it was rainy season in the area and that the job could be done more easily, more completely and more safely at the end of the year, in the dry season. But the matter was considered too urgent to wait. When one Brasília bureaucrat excused himself from the task, another, with more field experience, was immediately given the job and left within the week. In charge of the survey, which of course was to include the Surucucu area, was General Demócrito Soares de Oliveira, head of COAMA (Coordenação da Amazônia) the branch of FUNAI set up and financed by PIN, the Plano de Integração Nacional, whose main activity was the highway construction programme in Amazônia (see page above).

The survey produced very uneven results, highly detailed for some areas but a complete blank for at least two (the middle Auaris river valley and the Paduari and Araçá river valleys) where other sources have recorded the presence of Indians. Over 160 malocas were located, with reasonable accuracy in most cases, and 21 areas in Roraima and the State of Amazonas have been "declared as areas of Yanoama Indian occupation" in a series of decrees by the President of FUNAI (details are given in Appendix A, item 6, of the Counter-Proposal page , below).

The numerous inadequacies of these 21 small, discontinuous areas are discussed in detail in the Counter-Proposal, in this volume and in Taylor (1979). One major inadequacy is that, by my count, some 38 malocas (approximately 23% of the Yanoama population) were left outside any of the 21 areas (four other malocas have since moved outside, see Counter-Proposal, page , below). These malocas are shown by the black dots on Map I⁶⁾. Of these 38 malocas, 20 are registered in FUNAI's own aerial survey report and an earlier survey of the Ajarani river valley (FUNAI 1977a and 1977b). The other 18 malocas or villages, not registered by FUNAI, are the following. According to fairly recent information, there are some 8 villages of the Sanumá sub-group in the mid-Auaris river valley (shown, on Map I, between FUNAI areas Nos. 15 and 13). These include the Sabuli, Kalioko, Lalawa, Kadimani and Sogosi villages, which Ramos and I knew at their 1970 and 1974 locations. They are shown, at their 1970 locations, on Map III of Taylor (1974: 22). (Comparison of their locations, with reference to the river system, with FUNAI's mapping of the mission and nearby Indian settlements suggests that these have been incorrectly registered by FUNAI at points over 20 kms too far to the northwest). Two other villages of the Auaris valley are those of the Sikoi group, visited by MEVA missionaries in the late 1960's and known to some of the Maiongong and Sanumá Indians of Auaris, in 1970. Immediately to the northeast of FUNAI area No. 4 is a small maloca I located by aerial survey in December 1975 (see Map II). To the east of FUNAI area No. 4 are six malocas, four of which are of the Marashiteri group. As discussed below, these are all registered by FUNAI but with inaccurate coordinates. While according to FUNAI they would be inside area No. 4, they are in fact outside it to the east. To the northeast of FUNAI area No. 19 there is a maloca on the Jutai tributary of the Demini river. It is shown on Migliazza (1970), in Becher (1974) and Ramos was informed of its continued existence by missionaries and Indians at Tototobi mission, 55 km

to the north (Ramos 1975). Five of eight malocas to the west of FUNAI area No. 19, in the Araça and Padauari river valleys were shown by Migliazza in 1970. Becher in 1974 refers to one of these malocas. While RADAM's 1975 data cited in the Counter-Proposal do not seem to be entirely independent of Migliazza's earlier map, the fact that RADAM shows 8 malocas where Migliazza had 5 indicates the continued existence of several malocas in this area where the FUNAI survey reports nothing at all.

SURUCUCU AND THE 21 AREAS

One outcome of FUNAI's aerial survey, as can be seen on Map I, is that the Surucucu mining site is included in "Área Indígena Surucucu". This area, as delimited by FUNAI, has some 3,600 Indians, in 58 villages (calculating 62 people per maloca, on the basis of the information from the mission at Surucucu, in March 1975, of 2,665 Indians in 43 malocas), and is the second smallest of FUNAI's 21 areas, in terms of size per person. Compared to the 765 hectares per person which are necessary for Yanoama subsistence in accordance with their semi-nomadic system of tropical forest horticulture, hunting and gathering (cf. Counter-Proposal, page below; and Smole 1976:78, 234), this area, as proposed by FUNAI, would provide only 123 hectares per person. It cannot, then, be said to provide for the needs of the Indians. It does, however, include the site of the cassiterite mining.

FUNAI's handling of the different phases of the mining at Surucucu is interesting. During the phase of garimpeiro placer mining, FUNAI refused to recognize that Surucucu was

an Indian area and made no response to my four recommendations (March 1975, May 1976, January 1976, May 1976) that it should be delimited as an Indian area. Since the evacuation of September/October 1976, there have been no garimpeiros there and the current plan seems to be for the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce to re-open the mining as a mechanized operation. By Article 45 of the Indian Statute, sub-soil mining of this kind is permitted in Indian areas provided that a part of the proceeds is received by FUNAI, on behalf of the Indians (cf. statement by General Ismarth, quoted above, page). On 22 December 1977, on General Demócrito's recommendation, Surucucu was declared an Indian area and is now one of the 21 areas of FUNAI delimitation proposal. We see then that when declaring it an Indian area would have made explicit the illegality of the garimpeiro tin-mining, FUNAI did nothing. Now, when its being an Indian area will not interfere with CVRD's operation and will, in fact, ensure FUNAI a share of the proceeds, Surucucu has been declared an Indian area.

FUNAI has thus ensured its own benefit from any future large-scale mining of the cassiterite. It has not, however, taken the steps necessary to protect the Indians from further invasions of garimpeiros. As I warned FUNAI in a report submitted in 1976, there are, over and above the old and new airstrips on Surucucu plateau and the mission airstrip immediately to the west, three other airstrips so located as to provide possible clandestine access to the area. These are: (1) the airstrip of the abandoned Waiká mission, on the south bank of the Uraricoera river, some 98 kms to the NNE of Surucucu, still maintained in serviceable condition by the missionaries as an emergency landing site; (2) the airstrip, which was almost ready for use in early 1976, near the mouth of the Tinoro stream, tributary of the Uraricoera, some 93 kms to the NE of Surucucu; (3) the airstrip at the Marashiteri village, already operational at the end of 1975, on the Couto de Magalhães river (headwater tributary of the Mucajaí), some

some 60 kms to the ESE of Surucucu (see Map II). In FUNAI's report on their 1977 aerial survey, the first two are not mentioned at all, while the third is given, incorrectly, at a location some 40 kms to the east (that is, further from Surucucu) of its true position.

This airstrip is located beside one of a cluster of Marashiteri malocas (3 in late 1975, apparently 4 in mid 1977), and has been visited and used by the MEVA missionaries from Mucajai. I visited it, by ICOMI helicopter, on 12 December 1975. On 22 February 1975, the director of MEVA, in Boa Vista, had first told me of this "Marashiteri airstrip" and gave its position as: $63^{\circ} 10' W$; $02^{\circ} 40' N$. As can be seen on Map II, I later confirmed its position as: $63^{\circ} 10' W$; $02^{\circ} 38' N$. As mentioned, FUNAI gives the airstrip as being some 40 km further east, at $62^{\circ} 52' 20'' W$; $02^{\circ} 30' 20'' N$. What would appear to be the four Marashiteri malocas and the three Amokoapteri malocas immediately to the west of these (Map II), are all shown by FUNAI as being some 10' to 17' of longitude further west than they were in late 1975. Since it is unlikely that the Marashiteri would build the airstrip only to abandon it a few months later and since the description given by FUNAI of the locations of the other three malocas agrees with my observations of late 1975, these would seem to be further errors in the FUNAI report. The result is that these malocas are given as all being inside FUNAI's "Surucucu" area (No. 4) and the airstrip as being inside FUNAI's "Serra da Estrutura" area (No. 2). In fact, six of the malocas and the airstrip would all seem to be between and outside these two areas (see Map I).

As I stated in the report mentioned above, submitted to the President of FUNAI on 18 May 1976 and acknowledged by him on 25 May 1976, "One other extremely problematical aspect of the situation in this area must be emphasized. Apart from the two airstrips on the Serra itself, there are two other airstrips in usable condition, and a third in the final

phases of preparation, close to the Serra. Control of the use of these three airstrips will also be essential, in order to avoid the illegal entry of... miners into the area". It is worth noting that on 17 January 1976, in its report of the Governor's visit to the MEVA missions, mentioned above, the *Jornal de Boa Vista* published a map of the area, showing all three airstrips. It is thus common knowledge, in Boa Vista, that three points of access, by air, exist in the general vicinity of Surucucu. Once it becomes known (as must already be the case) that FUNAI has left all three outside any of the 21 areas of its proposal for the delimitations of Yanoama lands and, therefore, has no intention of controlling these airstrips, as a measure of protection to the Indians, we can expect a resumption of clandestine and illegal entry of garimpeiros and others into Yanoama territory, with all the risk of epidemic disease among the Indians which that will entail. The Counter-Proposal has the limits of the Parque Yanoama so defined as to include every one of these airstrips (and, of course, the airstrips at Surucucu itself) within the area proposed as Yanoama lands.

We see, then, that even after delaying from 24 March 1975 until 22 December 1977 before declaring Surucucu as an Indian area, FUNAI has not, in fact, provided sufficient land for the population of the area (its proposed 123 ha/person is only 16% of Yanoama requirements) nor has it taken the necessary steps to protect the area from further invasions by non-Indians. That the President of FUNAI was in dereliction of duty when he let two years and nine months go by before declaring Surucucu an Indian area is, I should think, self-evident. That he procrastinated in this way not only while surface mining in itself illegal was going on, but while hundreds of garimpeiros, predictably carriers of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, etc., were invading Indian territory without control of any kind whatsoever, is a clear indication of his inability or his unwillingness to perform his duty. It may be true to say that so long as he had no support from the Governor and from the Minister of the Interior he was in a difficult position and unable to do what was necessary

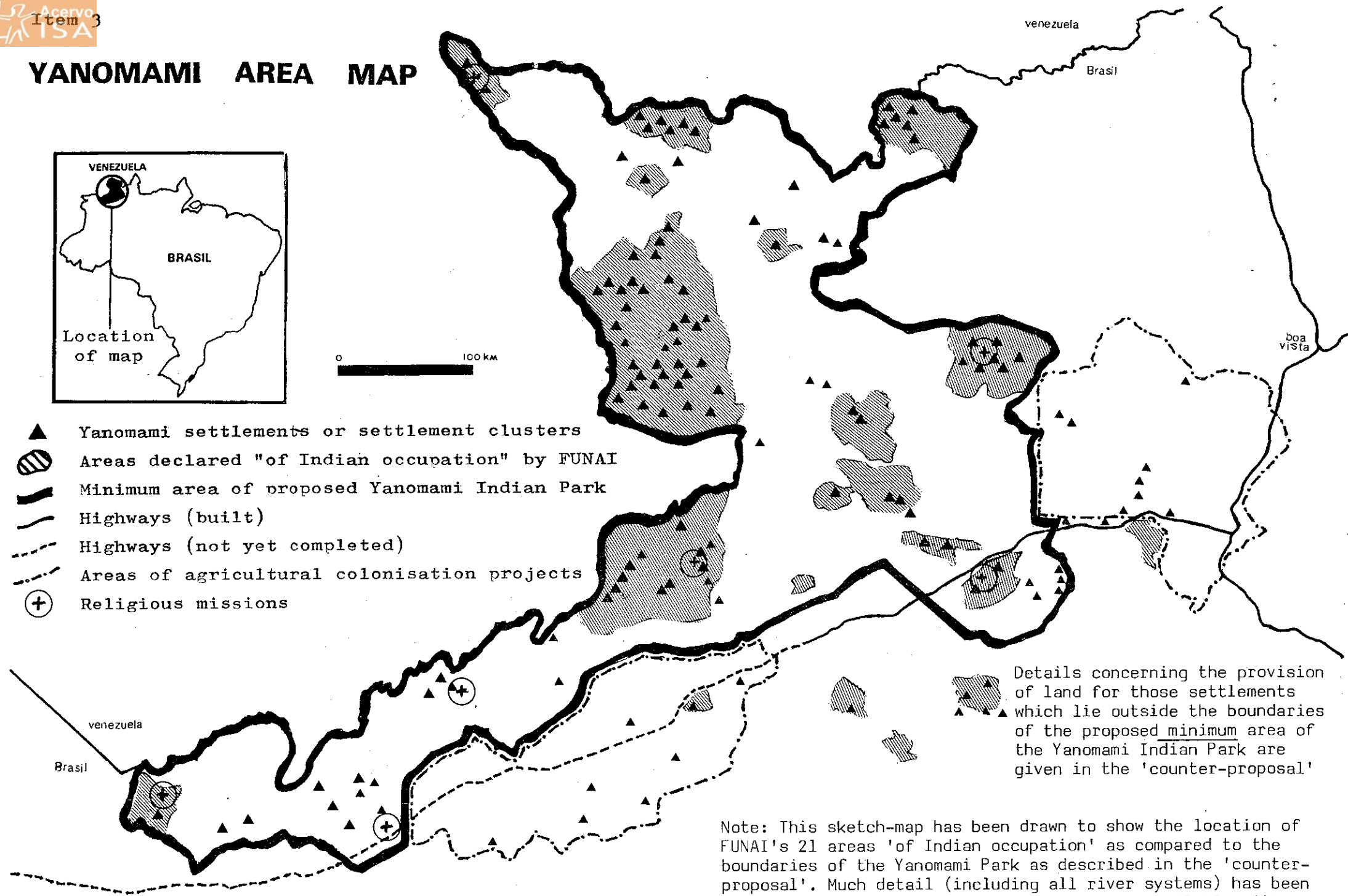
support from the Governor and from the Minister of the Interior he was in a difficult position and unable to do what was necessary. He did interdict the Perimetral Norte area in the Catrimani and Ajarani river valleys but, to the best of my knowledge, he never even considered interdiction of the Surucucu area. In fact he did nothing and his inaction was a highly informative demonstration of the priorities of the federal government. As far as the government was concerned, the Constitution could be mocked, the laws of the land ingored, the Indians' territory could be invaded and their lives could be put at risk - all for the sake of a few tons of cassiterite.

YANOMAMI AREA MAP



0 100 KM

- ▲ Yanomami settlements or settlement clusters
- ▨ Areas declared "of Indian occupation" by FUNAI
- ▬ Minimum area of proposed Yanomami Indian Park
- Highways (built)
- - - Highways (not yet completed)
- - - Areas of agricultural colonisation projects
- ⊕ Religious missions



▨ Details concerning the provision of land for those settlements which lie outside the boundaries of the proposed minimum area of the Yanomami Indian Park are given in the 'counter-proposal'

Note: This sketch-map has been drawn to show the location of FUNAI's 21 areas 'of Indian occupation' as compared to the boundaries of the Yanomami Park as described in the 'counter-proposal'. Much detail (including all river systems) has been omitted for clarity. More detailed maps are available with the full text of the 'counter-proposal'.