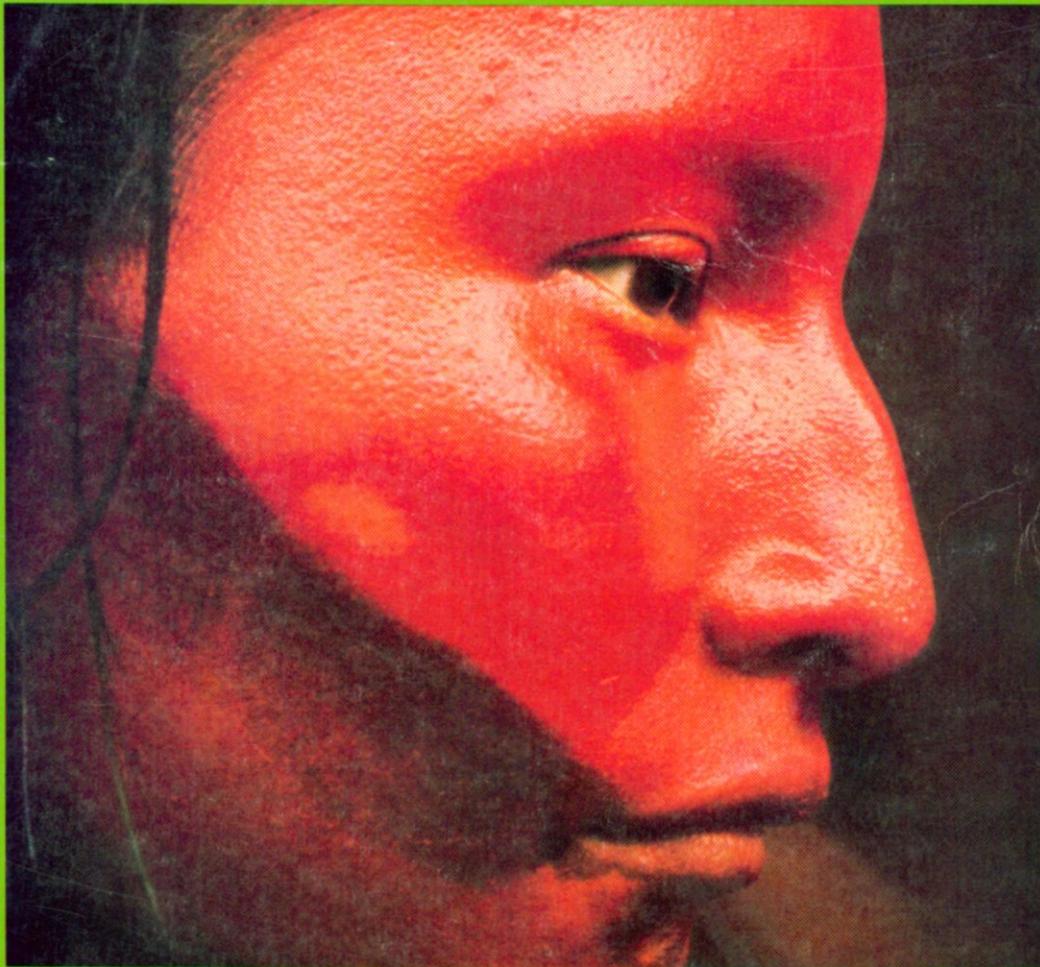


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The Earth Diary



Kayapó Indian of Brazil

Poland: Give Us This Day
Serengeti: A Prehistoric World Preserved
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Brazil: The Painted People Rise
Sand Castles: Ephemeral Architecture








In the Xingu: **A Shattered Peace**

The Indians of the Xingu National Park were supposed to live in peaceful isolation until they decided for themselves how they would fit into modern Brazil. Instead there has been bloodshed. And no solution is in sight.




As a matter of good grooming, Kayapó Indians of central Brazil, inhabitants of the reservation called Xingu National Park, paint one another's bodies in geometric designs, using the blue-black juice of the genipap fruit. An unpainted body can be taken as a sign that the person has no one—mother, spouse or friend—who cares enough.



In a lighthearted ceremony, costumed men of one of the Xinguano tribes (they are park neighbors of the Kayapó) return from a ritualized raid on a communal house with part of the day's catch as a prize. Among many Brazilian Indians, ordinary daily activities as well as major life events call for ceremonies that unfold according to minutely detailed and scrupulously observed rules.








A Kayapó boy (left) is dressed and decorated for the culminating day of his weeks-long name-giving ceremony. On his back he wears parakeet and macaw feathers, his head and cheeks are covered with down and crushed eggshells, and his jewelry is made of shells and beads bought from Brazilians. A blue parrot feather (this page) is worn by a young Xinguano down the middle of his back. Smooth skin like his is admired by Indians.





Xinguano men wrestle for the entertainment of their fellow villagers. A match begins with the opponents circling each other, looking for a hold and repeating the words "huca, huca, huca" back and forth. The match ends when one man throws the other to the ground. The victor and loser then separate, with no cheering or other sign of victory.



The fish painted on the face of a young man living in the Xingu National Park may be a traditional decoration of his tribe, but it could also be an improvisation by an inspired artist. His hair is dressed with oil of coconut or Brazil nut and dyed red with the seeds of the urucú plant. He is undoubtedly considered a model of masculine beauty.







Kayapó Indians attacked and killed Brazilian settlers on disputed lands twice last year. In one incident (left), 23 people were clubbed to death. The other incident, in which 11 workers died,

was reenacted (inset) a few weeks later by the participants. No arrests were made, since legally the Indians are wards of the State and not subject to the Brazilian civil code.





Reenacting their killing of the 11 workers, Txukarimãe Indians of the Xingu National Park play both victims and raiders. For the photographer, the "raiders" have dressed in ceremonial headgear, and the "victims" appear without the customary black body paint. The Indians claim they set out only to stop illegal clearing of their lands, and that they were goaded into violence by insults.

A Shattered Peace

Article by Daniel R. Gross

Photos by Maureen Bisilliat and Jean-Pierre Dutilleux

Before daybreak on August 8, 1980, nearly a hundred men left the meetinghouse at the center of the village of Kretire in the Xingu National Park in central Brazil. Most of the men were Txukarramãe Indians of the Kayapó tribe, but a few Suyá, Juruna, Kreen Akrore and Kayabi were also in the band. The Txukarramãe and Suyá wore large wooden disks inserted in their lower lips. Most of the men were dressed in shirts, sandals and shorts. They carried shotguns, bows and arrows and heavy wooden clubs dyed red.

They walked single file through their gardens to the edge of the Xingu River and boarded dugout canoes. Then they paddled a few miles downstream to the place where Highway BR-80, an unpaved two-lane road through the jungle, intersects the river at a ferry crossing. Built in the early 1970s, it is the only overland route between the industrial heartland of southern Brazil and the central Amazon Valley. It is also legally the edge of the Indians' world. The band of men landed on the east bank of the river and headed down the road. In less than an hour they reached Fazenda São Luis, a ranch where a dozen Brazilian workers were cutting down trees. The Indians confronted the workers and reminded them that clearing forest was prohibited in this area. The workers responded with insults. Then the Indians attacked the workers, using their clubs. In a few minutes, all but one lay dead, their blood soaking into the forest floor. The Indians returned to the river and scuttled the ferryboat. Then they paddled back to Kretire.

When this incident was reported in the Brazilian press, some stories described ferocious painted savages attacking innocent Brazilians; others

stressed the long chain of broken promises to the dispossessed Indian. But soon another, even bloodier incident occurred, involving Indians from the Kayapó village of Gorotire, which is 400 miles northeast of Kretire, beyond the borders of the Xingu National Park. On August 28, one hundred five men from Gorotire walked into the Fazenda Espadilha, another new Brazilian ranch where trees were being cut. The Indians believed the ranch was on their reservation. As they had often done in the past, they began by demanding food. The ranch foreman, João Nunes, ordered them off the property. He called them shiftless bums and at one point violently shoved their leader, Kanhonko. Kanhonko's men made a move toward Nunes, as if to seize him. Nunes's daughter rushed up and stabbed one Indian, wounding him. Suddenly, a heavy club smashed into her head. Then the Indians systematically clubbed to death all but one of the 17 persons present, including several small children. Seven more bodies were later discovered.

Again, Brazilians were deeply divided over these killings. Some called for punishing the Indians. Others thought the government's policies toward the Indians were really to blame. But no arrests were made, since the Indians aren't strictly subject to Brazilian law.

My first response to the news of these incidents was disbelief. I am a cultural anthropologist specializing in Brazilian Indians, and I have lived among and studied Kayapó Indians. I had even met some of the men involved in these massacres. Though conflict between Indians and settlers is nothing new in Brazil, I couldn't reconcile these killings with my memories of the alien but hospitable people whose villages I

had visited. Neither could I hide behind a professional mask and point out that warfare is traditional among these people or that the history of injustices against them is very long. (In 1980 alone, 30 Indians met violent deaths at the hands of Brazilians.) That has all been said before, to no purpose.

In the drama between Indian and settler still unfolding in Brazil, the antagonists are always classified as "primitive" and "civilized." These stereotypes are widely accepted, even by anthropologists, who are trained to look behind the veil of culture. We tend to see Indians as anachronisms. We juxtapose them with the idea of progress and the development of civilization. But when we regard Indians in this way, even when we sympathetically look upon them as victims of progress, we dehumanize them because we deprive them of individuality, diversity and, most of all, the ability to adapt to changing conditions and to create their own future.

There is no denying that the Indians are different from us. They speak exotic tongues, their standards of beauty and justice are alien, and their occasional acts of explosive violence make them seem wild. Some of us shudder with revulsion at them and would have them exterminated. Others wish they could be preserved forever in their "true and natural" state. They prompt us to both unspeakable acts of cruelty and extraordinary acts of selflessness. Neither is appropriate. Instead we must see the Indians as they really are.

The indigenous peoples of Brazil are descended from migrants from Asia who passed over the Bering land bridge during glaciations 20,000 or more years ago. Over the past 5,000 years, those who settled in tropical lowland South America became slash-and-burn cultivators, hunters and fishers. No elaborate civilizations like those of the Maya and the Incas appeared in Amazonia. Still, when the first Europeans arrived in the year 1500, perhaps 6 million Indians lived there. The relatively dense

populations along the Amazon were the first to be wiped out. Indians were no match for European soldiers, with their firearms and horses, and the Indians' immunological systems could not withstand new diseases such as measles and smallpox. Most of the survivors were inhabitants of the forests and savannas of the uplands.

Upland Indians lived then — as now — in small villages where they farmed corn, sweet potatoes and manioc. Some groups, among them the Kayapó, were once nomadic; they ranged over an enormous region comprising tens of thousands of square miles and returned to their widely separated villages, located on the banks of streams, for only a few months of the year. On trek, they hunted wild pig, deer, monkey, tapir, anteater, armadillo and the giant tortoises they needed for their ceremonies. Even today, the various Kayapó groups do not cooperate much with one another. Their communication is limited to occasional conversations on radios belonging to government Indian agents.

Though their material needs are simple, the Indians are not culturally impoverished. They have rich traditions of myth and ceremonialism. In every Kayapó village, the people group themselves into many formal associations, according to sex, age, name, stage of life and personal choice, and they do this for all sorts of purposes — sports, ceremonies, work. Like other Indian groups in Brazil, they have distinctive traditions of music, dance, featherwork and body painting. The French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss observed that Brazilian Indians paint the body as if it were a canvas, disregarding anatomy. This art and much of the rest of their culture provide little reason to classify them as primitive.

Life in Amazonia has never been a constant struggle for survival, as some outsiders seem to think. Before the ravages of contact with Europeans, most Amazonian groups made a comfortable living with relatively little effort and plenty of time left over for the

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Six million people belonging to hundreds of different tribes and speaking scores of languages inhabited the vast area of South America now known as Brazil when the first Europeans arrived at the beginning of the sixteenth century. By 1822, when Brazil declared its independence from Portugal, the Indian population had been decimated by European diseases and outright slaughter. When Brazil became a republic in 1889, only about 1 million Indians were left. The government's first Indian policy was instituted in 1911, but the Indian population continued to decline precipitously. Today there are only 120,000 Indians remaining in Brazil, the most industrialized country in South America with a total population of 120 million.

Indians are not Brazilian citizens but wards of the state. By far the largest number of them live on lands to which they have no secure title, often in small

bands isolated from one another. There is no national Indian movement to speak of in Brazil.

The Xingu National Park, in northern Mato Grosso in central Brazil, is the showpiece of the country's Indian policy today; no other comparable reservation exists. An area of 11,500 square miles, it contains 2,000 Indians of 14 different groups. This part of Brazil was home to some of them long before the park was created in 1961. Others have been moved there from nearby locations.

The northern fifth of the park was taken away from the Indians in 1970, when Highway BR-80 was routed through, but since then half of the area has been returned to the Txukarramãe at Jarina. The other half is still in dispute between the Indians and a number of Brazilian investors. A year ago, the government ordered a halt to land clearance, pending a settlement.



Brazilian Indians

pleasures of ceremony and art. Even today, the Kayapó spend many weeks a year on ceremonial performances. But neither is life an endless frolic. Homicide, feuds, raiding and warfare were once chronic features of life in Amazonian societies, and in some areas they still are. Among the Kayapó, villages formed temporary military alliances with one another, only to become bitter enemies as a result of betrayal, adultery or accusations of witchcraft. Large villages usually split apart, and the daughter villages often became antagonists.

Spanish and Portuguese adventurers and missionaries penetrated the Amazon in the sixteenth century. Depending on their objectives, Indians were enslaved, slaughtered or infected through gifts of the clothing of smallpox victims. The traumas of contact with the Europeans caused many Indian women to stop having babies. The formation of the South American republics in the nineteenth century did not soften the impact of civilization on the Indians, and the eventual adoption of humanitarian legislation in these countries also failed to protect them.

In Brazil, the Indian Protection Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, or SPI), founded in 1910 with the slogan "Die if necessary, kill never," attempted to isolate the Indians and give them time to evolve into what were termed mature societies. Brazilian Indians became wards of the state, having the legal rights of children. Reservations were created for some groups, but often years passed before boundaries were surveyed and demarcated. Meanwhile squatters arrived, prospectors swarmed over the land, and ranchers bribed officials to get title to Indian territories.

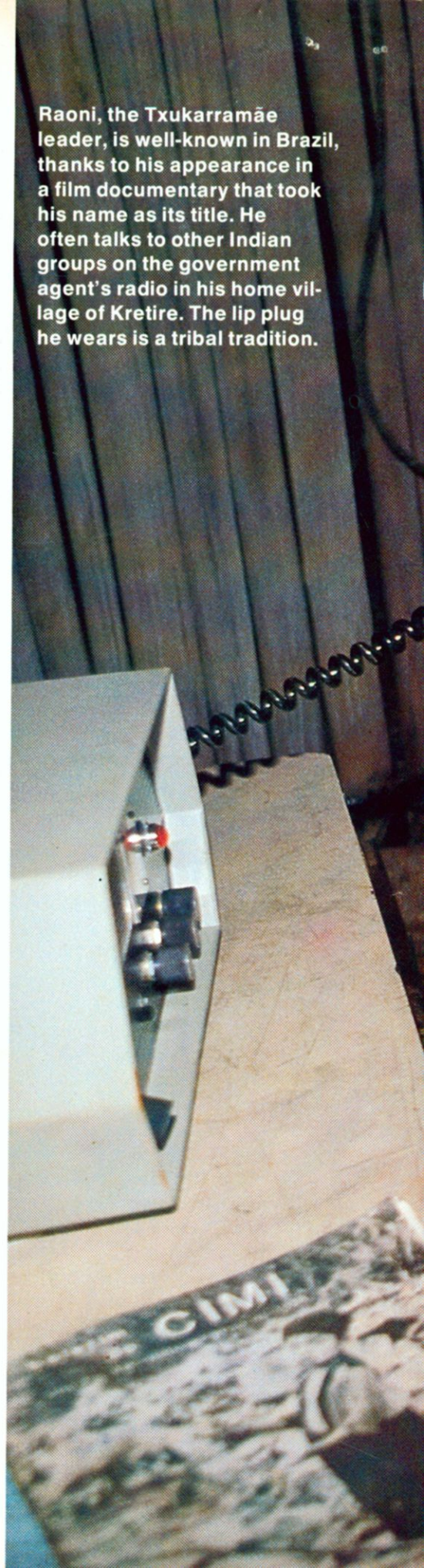
Nowadays, tribes that remain on the frontier face the even fiercer onslaught of developers, who are liberally financed by the government. Where the settlers are few and their demands on

resources modest, they and the Indians tolerate each other and even profit from the contact. But with the coming of large-scale enterprises such as rubber trading, cattle ranching and logging, conflict inevitably erupts. Indians raid Brazilian settlements, stealing goods and abducting women and children. The settlers attack Indian villages, committing atrocities.

The SPI disbanded in 1968 amid accusations of corruption. It was replaced by the National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, or FUNAI), an agency of the ministry in charge of development in Amazonia. A retired army general who was named president of FUNAI in 1973 declared that he would "not allow a handful of Indians to become obstacles to national progress." Despite the good intentions of some of FUNAI's staff, the strength of the economic interests competing for the land has left the agency nearly impotent. Efforts by Indians to organize on their own behalf with support from the Church have come to little. Language differences, great distances, lack of resources and continuing official resistance have thwarted them.

Today, fewer than 120,000 Indians survive in Brazil. They are about one tenth of one percent of the population and are found in all parts of the country, even in the industrial state of São Paulo. In groups as small as 20 or 30 or as large as 500 or 600, they live on reservations run by FUNAI or often on lands to which they have no formal rights. Many Indians have begun to lose hope of ever achieving their minimum goals: a secure land base, adequate health care, educational facilities, even the recognition of their right to exist. They have begun to express, in words and deeds, their lack of confidence in FUNAI and their determination to survive. Raoni, a Txukarramãe leader at Kretire, said in a film interview in 1979 that the Kayapó would resist, with violence if necessary, attempts to take their land. That same year, in the capital city of Brasília, a delegation of Xavante Indians seeking

Raoni, the Txukarramãe leader, is well-known in Brazil, thanks to his appearance in a film documentary that took his name as its title. He often talks to other Indian groups on the government agent's radio in his home village of Kretire. The lip plug he wears is a tribal tradition.





Brazilian Indians

an audience with the president of Brazil were turned away because they were not wearing neckties. Their leader declared that henceforth the president was not welcome on their reservation without an appropriate feather headdress.

In their encounters with the encroaching Brazilian society in the past 20 years, none of Brazil's Indians have escaped trouble, but some groups have fared better than others. Four Kayapó groups—all descended from a single parent village within a few generations—show the range of conditions all Indians have faced and the choices they have made. The Kararaó, who agreed in 1965 after many bloody conflicts with Brazilians to put themselves in the hands of FUNAI, have suffered disastrously. The Gorotire have stayed in their ancestral village as the frontier approached and seen their lands taken away bit by bit. The Txukarramãe voluntarily entered a "model reservation" and have since become like zoo animals. The Mekranoti, who have kept moving back, have so far done the best of all. But even their tactic—to avoid contact with "modern" Brazilians—seems to be only a stopgap.

Today, nearly all of the Kararaó are dead. The few survivors have been absorbed into other Kayapó villages. When the group first split off by itself in 1933, it accepted an invitation to occupy a village close to a river town. But so many of its members died of diseases caught from Brazilians there that most of the survivors returned to the forest. A band of 12 decided to camp near the city of Altamira, where they joined the local labor force. In 1940, they were ambushed by rubber traders, who shot all but one of them and burned the bodies. The Kararaó remaining in the forest mostly stayed clear of the expanding frontier after that, only making occasional raids for clothing, tools and other goods. On one





raid they killed a settler and kidnapped his 14-year-old daughter, Maria Moraes. It is thought that her desire for manufactured things was the cause of many subsequent raids.

In 1965, when the Kararaó raided a settlement and killed a man and abducted his pregnant wife and child, a "pacification" expedition was mounted. Three months later, the team managed to walk into the Kararaó camp, where they confronted 12 men with bows and arrows at the ready, 11 women and 25 children. Maria Moraes, now married and with two children, was among them. She spoke fluent Kayapó and could remember little Portuguese. The Indians accepted presents of shotguns and cartridges. They had killed the woman and child they had abducted, fearing reprisals if the captives were found among them.

The SPI took over administration of the Kararaó. At the end of a year, the agency decided to relocate the Indians to a new post and put them to work gathering Brazil nuts. A contract for the nuts had already been signed with an exporter. But soon after they arrived, an influenza epidemic struck, and several people died. When the Kararaó harvested only 5 percent of their quota of nuts, the SPI agent in charge delivered a stinging rebuke. Demoralized and angry, the Indians went back to their old village, found it uninhabitable and soon returned to the SPI post. At this point, a measles epidemic killed all but eight Kararaó. The following year, the survivors cleared and planted a new garden. But SPI forced them to relocate again. With no staff at the new site to assist them, they began to disperse

The Kamaiurá settlement on Lake Ipavu in the Xingu park, top, is a typical Xinguano village. Highway BR-80 crosses the Xingu River, far left, at the disputed northern boundary of the park. Indians in Kretire, near left, pick up a delivery of hunting rifles for which they traded their handicrafts.

Brazilian Indians

to other Kayapó villages. By the beginning of 1970, the Kararaó branch of the Kayapó no longer existed.

The Gorotire Kayapó number 400 today. The village once held as many as 3,000 people, but conflicts within the group have led to the formation of numerous daughter villages. The Gorotire also suffered terribly from introduced diseases, especially tuberculosis.

Protestant missionaries founded a mission in Gorotire in 1937, and now many of the Indians consider themselves Christians, although they still practice their own religion. A road built two years ago brought gold prospectors and ranchers to the village doorstep. Although Gorotire and two other Kayapó villages nearby are officially a reservation, the boundaries have never been posted, and the southeastern boundary in particular is disputed.

In precisely this area, the owner of the Fazenda Espadilha ordered his men to clear forest for pastureland during the dry season of 1980. The Gorotire visited the site repeatedly to warn that the land was legally theirs. They also lodged protests with FUNAI. The government did nothing. A rumor spread that 1,800 gold prospectors were headed to the area. The Gorotire took to patrolling the disputed zone. The band that demanded food on August 28 was possibly on one of these patrols.

After the killings occurred, workers on nearby estates began to plan a punitive raid on Gorotire. The president of FUNAI, accompanied by the police, visited the area and put a stop to the plans. A subordinate was dispatched to Gorotire itself. He arrived by plane, wearing a business suit and a tie, walked to the men's house of the village and, uninvited, delivered a harangue in Portuguese, telling the Indians how they ought to behave. With that, the incident has apparently ended, to the satisfaction of no one.

The Txukarramãe, the principal pro-

tagonists in the August 8 incident, are one of the groups that live in the Xingu National Park. It is at the headwaters of the Xingu River, a remote area that has provided a safe haven for Indians for the past 500 years. The park was largely the creation of Orlando, Claudio and Leonardo Villas Boas, members of a wealthy São Paulo family. In 1948, when they set out to develop a plan for the region, they took a special interest in the native peoples there. They proposed that the upper Xingu should become a reservation where Indians could be isolated from national society as long as possible, so that they might decide for themselves how they would live in modern Brazil. Today, nearly 2,000 members of 14 tribal societies live in the park, which is about 150 miles long and 55 miles wide. Good

The Indians don't want to be "left alone." They want tractors, schools, help in marketing goods.

medical care is provided by a medical school that maintains a research program there.

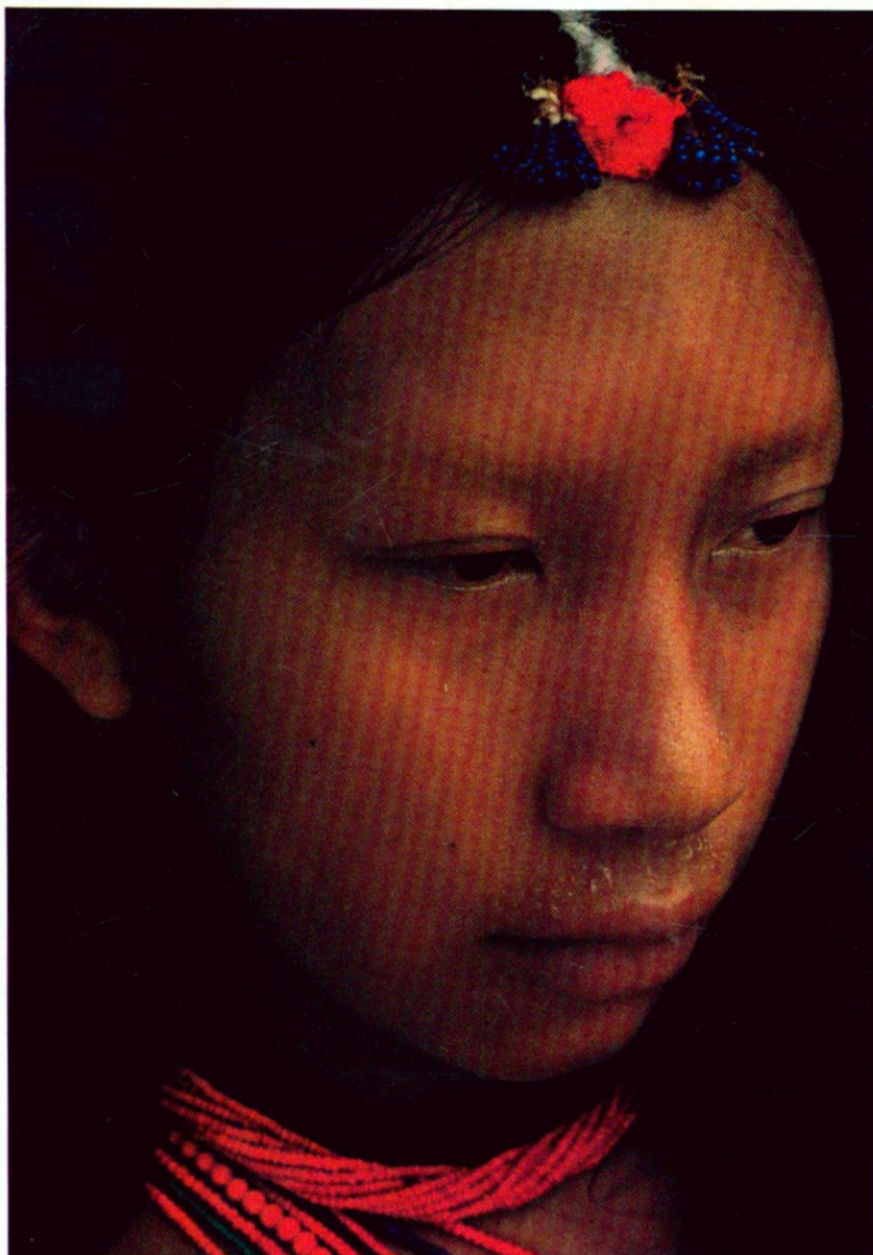
Claudio Villas Boas conducted the pacification of the Txukarramãe in 1953. Known as raiders of other Indian groups, they had only recently split off from the Mekranoti. Villas Boas promised they could use both sides of the Xingu as far north as Von Martius Falls, as they had for decades. The Txukarramãe, who share little of the culture of the Xinguano tribes to the south, on whom they had frequently preyed, soon took on the role the Villas Boas brothers cast them in: that of the wild-est Indians in the park.

In 1970 the territorial promise to the Txukarramãe was broken. Highway BR-80, originally planned to pass north

of the park, was now rerouted to go straight through it. Park directors Claudio and Orlando Villas Boas fought the change but lost. They asked the Txukarramãe to move south of the road, which became the new northern boundary of the park. A schism already growing among the Txukarramãe was exacerbated by this development, and they divided into two groups. One moved to Kretire, south of the road; the other refused to leave the village of Jarina, to the north. In time, the stubbornness of the Jarina group paid off, for the government agreed to return to them the west bank of the Xingu north of the road, an area that is now the Jarina reservation.

It is easy to imagine the frustration of the Kretire villagers, who saw intransigence rewarded while their own cooperativeness went uncompensated. Through their leaders, Raoni and his nephew Megaron, they demanded the return of the east bank of the Xingu up to Von Martius Falls, especially the area along the river's edge, which is rich in fish, game and garden land. Early in 1980, the government agreed to study the matter, and FUNAI officials warned some of the workers in the area to clear no more forest. When the band of Indians left Kretire last August 8, headed for Fazenda São Luis, they were following the orders of Raoni and Megaron. Their mission was to frighten away the workers and to confiscate their chain saws. The Indians later said that they would not have killed the workers had it not been for their insults.

The incident provided final proof that the policy of isolation was a failure. The inhabitants of the park had not been left alone to decide their future, and none of them had remained purely "primitive." Some Indians were sneaking off the reservation to do illegal day labor on neighboring estates. Although visiting cameramen habitually trained their lenses on traditional activities — a funeral festival or a ceremonial wrestling match—they rarely showed the Xinguanos driving tractors, smoking ciga-



A young woman of the Juruna, one of the 14 groups living in the Xingu park, more closely resembles Indians of Bolivia and Peru than she does most of the people who share the reservation, where six languages are spoken. Though the Indian cultures are now seriously studied, their histories are still unclear and will never be fully known.

rettes or playing their transistor radios. The fees demanded by the Indians for posing were never mentioned. Moreover, the Villas Boas brothers allowed themselves to be lionized as great humanitarians, presiding over televised Indian extravaganzas just as some of their paternalistic and manipulative policies were beginning to show unwanted results.

In 1978 the park director who had succeeded the Villas Boases was dismissed by the president of FUNAI for protesting an authorization granted in

Brasília to film a television serial in the park, using the Indians as extras. The Villas Boas brothers sided with FUNAI in the dispute. Taking this position was tantamount to admitting that the Xingu National Park was not and could never be the preserve they had intended it to be.

The sad story of the Kreen Akrore came to light in 1976. First contacted in 1973 and the subject of a film entitled *The Tribe That Hides from Man*, the Kreen Akrore were first settled in a roadside location where they subsisted by begging and prostitution. Later they were moved into the Xingu Park. In three years, their numbers were reduced by disease from 140 to 74. The policy of isolation was not working at all.

It was this message the Txukar-ramãe put into a bloody form in August 1980.

The Mekranoti are one of the most isolated native populations in Brazil. They live deep in the jungles of the upper Iriri, far from other Indian groups. The garden land in their home village is still fertile and productive, even though they have remained there much longer than they would have done in the past, having invested so much labor into clearing an airstrip. Medical teams, medicines, tools and the prized blue, white and red glass beads all come to them by air. To buy these goods, the Mekranoti gather Brazil nuts for a few weeks every other year. Much more of their time is spent in hunting, gardening, bathing, relaxing and staging ceremonies.

Ceremonialism is something like a religion to the Mekranoti. Ceremonies are planned and executed according to rigorous formulas specifying the correct food, dress and other details. A large number of people make a long trek to gather supplies. They travel for months without encountering settlements or other hunters, through forests not yet hunted out. They return loaded with dozens of giant tortoises to be slaughtered for ritual meals. The festi-

Brazilian Indians

val may last for weeks. Singing and dancing go on all night, every night, in the village plaza, with every villager taking part.

The Mekranoti habitually paint their bodies in geometric designs. For ceremonies, they add color to the compositions. Both men and women shave their hair into a triangular shape, and they dress in homemade earrings, bracelets, necklaces, headdresses and other decorations made from freshwater mussel shells, eggshells, parrot and parakeet feathers, as well as glass beads and clothing obtained in trade with Brazilians.

In conversations with the Txukarramãe over the FUNAI radio, the Mekranoti sometimes make fun of them for having chosen to live in the Xingu National Park. The Mekranoti have carefully considered the advantages and disadvantages of life on the reservation and have chosen isolation. Their reward has been relative tranquillity, plenty and freedom from disease and interference. But even this peace is threatened.

While FUNAI has promised to create a reservation for the Mekranoti, so far no survey has been made. Meanwhile, a power company has begun to survey the region for a possible dam and hydroelectric station on the Iriri. Soon the Mekranoti will be overrun by cattle ranchers, prospectors, construction workers and hunters. They will have to restrict their treks to a smaller area, as all the other Kayapó groups have done. The fertility of their land will decline as they use it more intensively. Epidemics will occur more frequently, requiring more medicines. They will need new tools, new techniques, new knowledge, simply to be able to hold their own. They will be induced to trade more with Brazilians.

It is even possible that the Mekranoti, too, will one day resort to violence. If they do, they will probably fol-

low the odd pattern of the Txukarramãe and the Gorotire at São Luis and Espadilha. On the one hand, these killings fulfilled the stereotype of warlike Indians. The Txukarramãe and their allies carried firearms, but like the Gorotire, they killed with their clubs. And when they returned to their villages, they went into seclusion, as is prescribed for warriors who have killed enemies. On the other hand, the killings reflected the political reality. The fierce defense of territory implicit in the August massacres was new to the Kayapó, reflecting an adaptation to "civilized" concepts of property. It seems likely that the Kayapó knew that their victims were poor workers, not high-status Brazilians whose murder would have brought serious con-

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sequences. Thus the killings were a curious mixture of desperation and calculation.

Doomsayers, among them passionate defenders of the Indians, feel that the Indians and their culture are on the road to extinction, but this is not necessarily the case. The Mekranoti population increased by 5 percent last year. Nor is it true, as many claim, that Indians resist innovation and only want to be left alone. The Indians are demanding tractors, schools, medical assistance and help in marketing their goods.

The short history of the Xingu Park shows that building a wall around a people is impossible, and that expecting them to remain forever unchanged behind it is unrealistic. The stories of the Kararaó and the Gorotire show how

disastrous it is to encourage dependence and treat Indians as children. While they cannot be left without land, schooling and medical care, neither should they be given things with nothing expected in return. The dependency fostered by paternalism saps the Indians of their ability to negotiate for themselves. As things stand now, one way Indians seem to be expressing their desire for self-determination is by killing Brazilians.

Until now, Indians have been widely viewed as the natural enemies of progress. Accordingly, Brazilians have formed two camps, one that defends Indians and condemns development and another that attacks Indians and supports development. The Indians themselves refute this dichotomy. Many Indians want to participate in the building of the country, and they are willing to change to the extent necessary. What they do not want is to become assimilated into the vast, exploited lower class that exists on the margins of the frontier.

The experience of the United States with its indigenous peoples can hardly be upheld as a model to be followed by the Brazilian economic planners. If that scenario is to be repeated—and there is much to suggest that it will be—there is little cause for optimism for the survival of the Indians in Brazil. The power and destructiveness of the technology available to Brazil today is far greater than what was available in the United States during its comparable period of expansion.

The future of the Brazilian Indians may ultimately depend on an elusive factor: the ability of Brazilians to hear what the Indians, in deeds and words, are trying to say. □

Daniel R. Gross is a professor of anthropology at Hunter College of the City University of New York.

Maureen Bisilliat's book *Xingu: Tribal Territory* was published in England.

Jean-Pierre Dutilleux made the documentary film *Raoni*, about the Txukarramãe Indians.