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Clinton Presidential Records
Council on Environmental Quality
Kathleen "Katie" McGinty
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FOLDER TITLE:

Yanomami Massacre

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Date: October 27, 1993

From: Steve Schwartzman
Via Fax (Ken Walsh, Operator)

To: Amy Christiansen
Office of Environmental Policy
456 2710

CEDI-SP, October 15, 1993.

The integral version of this text was published in FOLHA DE SAO PAULO (Brazil), edition October 10th, 1993.

People who intend to publish the whole text may contact Bruce Albert, in Paris, by telephone and/or fax number 33-1-42390506.

THE MASSACRE OF THE YANOMAMI OF HASHIMU

By Bruce Albert

Brasilia, Brazil

On August 19, 1993, Brazilian and international news agencies reported the massacre of Yanomami Indians in the Amazon jungle. Initial government figures indicated that 19 Indians had been killed by gold miners. A week later this number was raised to 73. When it was then ascertained that, in fact, the total of victims was 16, the topic disappeared from the news and interest in the event waned. For those who thought 16 deaths reduced the seriousness of the case; and for those who feared that "only" 16 deaths would dissolve the attention paid to it, I offer this chronicle as food for thought.

THE GOLD MINER'S TRAP

The origin of the Hashimu massacre springs from a situation of chronic interethnic conflict created by the presence of predatory gold mining in the Yanomami area. Since the beginning of the great gold rush in Roraima in August 1987, various Indians have been assassinated and other murders are likely to occur for the same reasons. A brief account of the social and economic context which has led to such violence will provide clues to this tragic case.

When gold miners first enter the Yanomami area, they arrive in small groups. Since they are few in number, they feel endangered by the more numerous Indians and try to buy their goodwill through the liberal distribution of food and goods. For their part, the Indians have little or no experience with Whites and consider this attitude to be a demonstration of generosity that they would expect from any group that

wishes to establish bonds of neighborly alliance. At this early stage of cultural misunderstanding, the Indians do not yet feel the health and ecological impact of the mining activities. From their point of view, the work of the prospectors seems enigmatic and irrelevant. In a tone of irony and condescension, they call the prospectors "earth eaters" and compare them to peccaries snorting in the mud.

As the number of gold miners increases, it is no longer necessary to maintain the initial generosity. The Indians turn from being a threat to being an annoyance with their incessant demands for the goods that they are accustomed to receiving. The gold miners get irritated and try to shoo them away with false promises of future presents and with impatient or aggressive behavior.

At this stage of the contact, the Indians begin to feel the rapid deterioration of their health and means of subsistence caused by gold mining. The rivers are polluted, hunting game is scared away by the noisy machinery, and many Indians die in constant epidemics of malaria, flu, etc., all of which tends to destroy the economic and social fabric of their communities. Due to this situation, the Indians come to see the food and goods given by the miners as a vital and indisputable compensation for the destruction they have caused. When this is refused, a feeling of explicit hostility wells up within them.

Thus they arrive at a deadlock: the Indians become dependent upon the prospectors just when the latter no longer need to buy the former's goodwill. This contradiction is at the root of all the conflicts between Yanomami and gold miners. From there, the possibility of minor incidents degenerating into open violence increases. And since the disparity in force between the prospectors and the Indians is enormous, the scales always tip against the Yanomami.

This type of situation clearly shows the extent to which the logic of gold mining repels the participation of the Indians and even their mere presence. Because they use mechanized techniques to extract gold, the miners have no interest in the Indians as labor force or anything else. From the miners' point of view, they are, at best, a nuisance, and at worst, a threat to their safety. If gifts and promises do not get rid of them, then the solution is to intimidate or even exterminate them.

MURDERS AT THE ORINOCO RIVER

At mid-year of 1993, the relations between the Brazilian gold miners of the "Taboca River" (a tributary of the upper Orinoco in Venezuela) and the Yanomami of Hashimu had come to such an impasse. The visits by the Indians to the mining encampments in search of food and other items were getting more and more frequent. On one occasion, two owners of gold prospecting rafts promised to give hammocks, clothes and ammunition to a young leader of the community. This promise, like many others, was not kept and, on

the day, this Indian leader went to the storehouse of one of the owners to demand what he had been promised. He had a heated argument with a local employee and ended up scaring him away with shotgun fire. With the storehouse now deserted, the Indian and his companions cut the cords of the hammocks, threw tarps and blankets into the bush, and took a radio and some pots. After this incident, the miners decided to kill the Indians if they returned to bother them. In a previous clash, the miners had taken back a shotgun that they had given to the Indians, in order to guarantee their own safety.

On June 15, the situation came to a head and led to a quick succession of tragic events. A group of six Hashimu youths arrives at a different storehouse in the area to ask for food, trade goods and, perhaps, to take back their shotgun, as was suggested to them by their elders. They are only given a little food and a scrap of paper with a note to be delivered to another storehouse upriver, with the promise that they would be given more things there.

At the next storehouse, they find a group of miners playing dominoes. They are received by the cook who reads the piece of paper, throws it into the fire and harshly sends them away with a few items of food and clothing. The slip of paper read: "Have fun with these suckers". Perked by this message and encouraged by the cook, the miners even think of killing the six youths right there and then, but give up, fearing that other Indians might be hiding nearby. They decide to attack them along the trail that leads back to the Indians' village.

After walking for less than an hour, the Yanomami stop to eat the food they had received. As they eat, six armed miners arrive and invite them to go hunting for tapir and then visit a nearby storehouse. The Indians

mistrust the invitation and refuse at first, but finally accept upon the miners' insistence. They all walk single file along the trail, led by a Yanomami and followed alternately by miners and Indians.

Shortly afterward, the last Yanomami leaves the trail to defecate, gives the Indians' only shotgun to another Yanomami, and tells the others to go on ahead. But the miners stand still. Suddenly, one of them grabs the arm of the Indian with the gun and shoots him at point-blank range in the stomach with a sawed off two-barrel shotgun. Three other Indians are shot at by the other miners. One of the assassins was later to tell a friend that one of the boys knelt down with his hands over his face, trying to escape death, and begged: "Miner, my friend!" He was summarily executed with a shot in the head.

Upon hearing the shots, the Yanomami who was in the bush jumps into the Orinoco River nearby and escapes. The eighteen-year-old who led the file also tries to run away, but is surrounded by three miners who, standing in a triangle, shoot at him as if they were taking target practice. Thanks to his agility and to the thickness of the jungle, he dodges the first two shots, but is wounded by the third. As the miners reload their guns, he gets away and also throws himself into the Orinoco. Still stunned by his wounds, he tries to hide by submerging himself up to his nose. From this position, he sees the miners bury the three victims (the body of the fourth was never found; mortally wounded, he probably fell into the river and was swept away by the current). While searching for the bodies, one of the miners turns and walks toward the river where he sees the hidden boy; he goes back to get his gun, but the youth manages to escape.

Meanwhile, the other survivor arrives at the Hashimu community with news of the murders. Two days later, he returns with a group of men and women to the locale where their relatives had been shot. Along the way they run into the injured boy who tells them what he saw, including the spot where the bodies had been buried (this custom is considered by the Yanomami to profane the dead). They dig up the three corpses, look in vain for the fourth, and take the remains to be cremated at a place an hour-and-a-half walk into the forest. They collect the charred bones needed to officiate their funeral rites and return home.

During the following days, they organize a ritual hunt which precedes the ceremony of preparation of the mortuary ashes (the bones are crushed and stored in gourds sealed with beeswax). After the hunt (which lasts from a week to ten days), three allied villages are invited to come: Homoshi, Makayu, and Toumahi. Upon finishing the preparation of the ashes, a group of warriors get together to go on the traditional raid of vengeance against the murderers. It should be emphasized that Yanomami tradition demands that violent deaths be avenged in raids where the targets are men, preferably those who committed the previous murders. Women and children are never killed.

On July 26, after a two-day walk, the war party camps on the outskirts of the mining encampment. At ten o'clock the following morning, under a steady rain, they come close to the kitchen of a storehouse where two miners are chatting around the fire. One of the Yanomami slips away and from behind a tree fires his gun at the men. One of the miners is struck in the head and is killed instantly; the other escapes, but is wounded in the side and buttocks. The warriors continue their revenge by splitting open the skull of the dead man with an axe, shooting arrows into his body and, before fleeing, grabbing everything in the storehouse, including shells and the dead miner's shotgun.

PREPARING FOR THE ATTACK

The Indian attack infuriates the miners. They bury the body in the kitchen, abandon the storehouse, and carry the wounded man to an air-strip two-days' walk away. Then they begin to plan their retaliation. Two meetings are held where they decide once and for all to put an end to the problems with the Indians, by killing all of the inhabitants of the two Hashimu communal houses, a total of 85 people. They recruit men from all around and gather arms and ten boxes of shells. The entire operation is sponsored, if not commissioned, by the four main owners of prospecting rafts in the region. These four men, some of whom are well-known figures in the State of Roraima, are: JoFo Neto, rural landowner; his brother-in-law Chico Cear ; Eliezio, also the owner of a supply store, and Pedro Prancheta, the author of the note. They had freed their workers, supplied them with ammunition and guns, and hosted their preparatory meetings for the attack. Fifteen heavily armed miners (with 12 and 20-gauge shotguns, 38 caliber revolvers, machetes and knives) set out on the trail to carry out their plan. Among them are

several of the men who had participated in the murder of the Hashimu youths, along with four gunslingers contracted to guarantee the safety of the owners.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Hashimu leave their houses and camp for five days in the jungle at a safe distance from the community to guard against any counterattack by the miners. Since they are expecting an invitation from the community of Makayu for a celebration, they head in the direction of this village. On the way there they spend the night in their own houses. The next morning, they continue their trip and stop at an old garden between Hashimu and Makayu. As they wait there for a formal invitation brought by messengers from their hosts, as is the custom, three young warriors go back to the miners' encampment to attack them once again because they are dissatisfied with their previous attempt at revenge. The leader of this party, the brother of the missing dead youth, had particular reason to avenge his brother's death precisely because his body was never found, thus precluding a proper funeral. They arrive at the edge of a gold digging and, protected by the noise of the machinery, slip up and shoot at one of the miners working there. The man, who senses the Indians' presence at the instant of the shooting, protects his head, and is wounded in the arm that served as his shield. The three youths escape and join their Hashimu relatives at the old garden where they are camped.

This attack occurs while the fifteen miners are in route to the Hashimu community, a two-day walk from their encampment. The Indian youths and the miners only miss each other on the trail because on war expeditions the Yanomami avoid trails and hike through the dense brush. Upon arriving at Hashimu, the miners find the houses empty. They look around, find the trail that leads to the old garden, and set out in search of the Indians.

On the previous day at the old garden, the Hashimu people had received the formal invitation from Makayu messengers. Since they are at war with the miners, they decide to shorten that visit to a minimum. Only men and a few women without children will accompany the messengers to the community, leaving at the garden the women with children, along with three older men. These people are left behind for two reasons: they do not walk as fast as the others, and women and children are never attacked in war raids. The three young warriors who had attacked the

miners also stay behind to rest.

THE MASSACRE

In the morning of the following day, most women in the camp go out to collect wild fruit far away from the old garden. They take along nearly all the children; the old leader of one of the communal houses also accompanies them. Nineteen people stay at the camp, including the three warriors who are still resting.

A few hours later, around mid-day, the miners arrive at the camp and close it off on one side. Children play, women chop firewood, and the others rest in their hammocks. One miner fires a shot and the others begin the shooting, as they advance towards their victims. In the middle of the hail of fire, the three warriors, an older man and a middle-aged woman, two six or seven-year-old children, and a girl of about ten years of age, manage to escape thanks to the complex distribution of the shelters and the thickness of the underbrush typical of old gardens. The two small children and one of the warriors are wounded by buckshot in their face, neck, arms, and sides; the older girl receives a serious wound in the head from which she later dies. From their hiding place, the Indians who escaped continue to hear cries muffled by the sound of gunshots. After a few very long minutes, the miners stop shooting and enter the shelters in order to finish off anyone still living. Machete blows kill not only the injured but also the few who had not been hit; they mutilate and dismember the bodies that are already riddled with buckshot and bullets.

In all, twelve people were killed: an old man and two elderly women; a young woman who was a visitor from the community of Homoshi; three adolescent girls; two baby girls, one and three years old; and three boys between six and eight years of age. Three of these children were orphans of parents who had died of malaria. The woman from Homoshi, of around eighteen years of age, was first shot fire from a distance of less than ten meters and then again from a distance of two meters. A blind, elderly woman was kicked to death while a baby lying in a hammock was wrapped in a cloth and pierced through with a knife.

The miners realize they have not exterminated all of the people of Hashimu. Thus, as a preventive measure, they take away the two

shotguns that were in the shelters, shoot off a flare to dissuade anyone from following them, and return to the empty communal houses where they spend the night. The next day they pile up the Indians' household gear left behind and fire volleys of gunshot into them. Then they set fire to both houses and quickly head back to their mining sites. Several weeks later, they hear on National Radio the news of the massacre. They hike for two or three days to the landing strip of Raimundo Nen. They threaten to kill anyone who informs on them, indicating that any miners who talk "will receive the same treatment that the Indians did". They fly to Boa Vista, the capital of Roraima, and from there most of them scatter all over the country.

THE CREMATIONS

When the shooting finally stops, one of the three warriors who escaped unhurt runs to where the women were gathering, tells them what happened, sends them into hiding, returns to the camp, and looks for his shotgun which is no longer there. He then calls back the women and sends three of them to Makayu to warn the others. They rush along the trail for several hours. They arrive wailing and in the midst of great commotion, tell of the tragedy and describe in dramatic detail how the women and children had been mutilated and dismembered. The men of Hashimu go immediately to the camp at the old garden in a forced march and arrive at nightfall. They gather the injured and the other survivors together amidst crying and terror interspersed with angry speeches of bereavement by the leaders. Due to darkness they have to postpone the proper treatment of the bodies. The strong smell of blood forces them to sleep a short distance from the scene of the massacre. At a half-hour's walk, they clear an opening and erect improvised shelters. At daybreak, they begin the cremation of the corpses as required by their funeral rites. Not even the high risk of being attacked again by the miners keeps them away from the imperative task of providing a proper funeral for their relatives.

As they begin to gather the mutilated bodies, the girl whose skull had been cut open suddenly appears from the brush screaming in pain and terror as her mother runs toward her crying in desperation. Cremation begins with each body placed in fetal position in individual pyres. The adults are cremated immediately at the camp; the corpses of the young are taken to the clearing where the group had spent the night,

and are cremated there. As soon as the fire subsides, survivors remove their scalding-hot charred bones and place them in baskets and even in cooking pots. Some teeth and many bone fragments remain in the ashes, some of which showed vestiges of the shooting. The hurry in cremating the bodies is due to the fear that the miners will return to kill the Indian men. It is inconceivable to them that the murder of women and children could be considered by the Whites as appropriate revenge. The urgency in fleeing is so great that the dismembered body of the Homoshi visitor is left without cremation as she has no relative present to do it. A gourd containing the ashes of one of the youths murdered in the first attack had been split open by the miners and the ashes scattered on the ground. The mother of the youth tries to gather them in leaf bundles, but in her haste she leaves behind a few of the bundles. The ashes of the dead are the Yanomami's most precious possessions; they are under the constant care of the women, who carry them even when they travel.

THE FLIGHT

Upon completing the cremations, the people of Hashimu collect all the belongings of the deceased which will later be destroyed during the funeral rites. They begin their flight, which takes several weeks, through the dense forest in a wide detour designed to dodge the miners, walking often at night, with hardly anything to eat, while carrying the three wounded girls. After eight days of walking, they stop at a friendly village, Tomokoshiu. That night, the girl with the open wound in her head, dies. Her parents carry her body through the jungle for one more day before cremating it at the locale where they camp for the night. Without delay, the fleeing Indians cross the trails leading to two other villages, Ayaobe and Warakeu. They stop at a fourth, Maamabi. They had crossed the Orinoco River and, heading south, approach the border of Brazil near the upper Toototobi River, in the State of Amazonas. They finally arrive at Marcos' village along the upper Pashotou River, a tributary of the Toototobi. It was August 24, 1993, nearly a month after the massacre.

The survivors of Hashimu chose the upper Toototobi region for several reasons: it is an area without gold miners; its inhabitants are friends with whom they had frequent contact; and it also has a health clinic to which they had gone for treatment of malaria epidemics on various

occasions in the previous three years.

THE FUNERAL RITES

When they stopped at the two friendly villages on the Venezuelan side of the border and afterwards, at Marcos', the Hashimu Indians began to grind the charred bones of their dead relatives, keeping them in sealed gourds carried in open baskets or wrapped in cloth.

In the great inter-community funeral ceremonies that will be organized in honor of the dead, the ashes of the adults will be buried in the hearths of their relatives, and the ashes of the children will be drunk mixed with plantain soup. On this occasion, the gourds, baskets, and deceased's possessions will be burned or destroyed.

The belongings of the dead have to be disposed of, their personal names obliterated, and their ashes either buried or ingested during the Yanomami funeral rites. This procedure guarantees that their specter travels to and remains in the world of the dead on the "back of the sky", thus barring their return to torment the living. For this to happen, it is necessary that the deceased's relatives repeatedly commemorate them until all the ashes are used up during successive mortuary ceremonies. This is the reason why the people of Hashimu had to recover the remains of their dead, even under the imminent threat of another attack by the gold miners. To not do so would condemn the specters to wander between two worlds, haunting the living with an interminable melancholy even worse than death.

The 69 survivors of Hashimu, refugees at Marcos' village, are now trying to rebuild their lives, with plans to make new gardens and new homes. In the coming months, and the better part of next year, they will also be busy organizing the funerals of their relatives killed in the massacre, and of several others who have recently died of malaria spread by the gold miners. Their mourning will last until the ashes are gone, and only then will their lives return to normal. Even then, they will never forget that the Whites are capable of cutting up women and children, just like "people-eating spirits". The warriors of Hashimu say that they have given up taking revenge on the miners. They would do so if they considered these Whites to be human beings with a sense of honor. Now they doubt it. The miners are not even fit to be enemies. It is their hope that the

murderers will be "locked up" by other Whites so that they will never return to Indian lands.

October 8, 1993

(Translated from Portuguese by Paul E. Little)

THE MASSACRE OF THE YANOMAMI OF HASHIMU

By Bruce Albert

ARGENTINA

Thousands of Birds Die in Patagonia Oil Pits

PY1109224493 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES
HERALD in English 11 Sep 93 p 9

[Article by Carmen Pignotti]

[Text] The reports are shocking but not new: thousands of birds are trapped in oil pits in Patagonia, dying off slowly as others arrive to scout their own—hopefully water-filled—lagoons.

Ever since a local television channel this week aired images of petrol-smeared geese being rescued by volunteer crews in Santa Cruz, the oil industry has come under fire.

Argentine and foreign firms are being accused of negligence and disregard for the environment as activists boost their campaigns to save birds and other animals from a similar fate in the crude-filled pools.

Two years after 17,000 penguins were reported to have been killed by oil spills off the coast of Chubut, provincial authorities say 10,000 geese may have died this winter in the oil pits which dot Santa Cruz.

"Birds die in the man-made pools year-round, but the public is only reacting now thanks to the TV footage," Liliana Cerutti of the Argentine Wildlife Foundation (FSVA) told the HERALD.

"The pits are like traps for the birds," said Cerutti. "They usually dive in at nighttime, tricked by the glare of the surface."

So far the oil sector is keeping a stiff upper lip. Officials contacted by the HERALD recognized the harm caused by the sumps dug to drain sludgewaters during oil extraction, but they stressed the steps taken to phase out the practice.

"This is a very, very old problem, as old as the oil industry itself," YPF [Government Oil Deposits] institutional relations director Enrique Pineiro argued.

"The exploration of oil wells was always carried out in this fashion, filling pits with sludge after separating the crude from the water. However, for the past year we've been changing this," he added.

YPF has so far drained and sealed 100 pits and is turning to new production methods to reduce its environmental impact, such as treating effluents and reinjecting them into wells.

"We expect to have sealed all our sumps by mid-1994," said Pineiro. "Of course the greening of business takes time and money, but we're stepping up reforms in the most-affected areas." YPF plans to fork out 430 million dollars for environmental-related reforms between now and 1995, he added.

Cerutti admits oil companies are starting to clean up their act. "Some have already sealed all their sumps and scrapped the 80-year-old method," she said. "But others still have a long way to go."

She also denies that the death of birds—including geese, ducks and swans—is an "ecological disaster," as charged yesterday by the environmental group Greenpeace.

"The birds are not threatened with extinction... but serious problems could develop in the long run."

BRAZIL

Amazon Minister Appointed Acting Environment Minister

PY1509032693 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network
in Portuguese 2200 GMT 14 Sep 93

[Text] Ambassador Rubens Ricupero has reported that foreign governments have granted Brazil loans surpassing \$1 billion to be invested in environment?l programs. Ricupero was installed today as head of the Special Ministry for Coordination of Activities in the Amazon Region. The ministry will function at Planalto Palace, and will be responsible for coordinating the activities of the federal organizations and of the state and county governments of the region.

President Itamar Franco has already approved the general guidelines established for the ministry actions. A coordinating board will be created to define a plan of action, and a technical group will be in charge of preparing an overall policy for the Amazon Region. With a quite reduced staff, Minister Rubens Ricupero will head a ministry that has no financial resources. The ministry will use funds resulting from budget allocations which have been assigned to organizations that act in the region. According to Ricupero, however, nearly 10 loans surpassing \$1 billion have already been granted to Brazil from abroad.

[Begin Ricupero recording] It is incredible that Brazil can receive this quantity of resources, and it is necessary to make a great effort. As I have just said, these loans are not being negotiated; they have already been approved. Therefore, once the current obstacles are removed, we can receive these resources in the very near future, in no more than a few weeks. [end recording]

Minister Ricupero will also be installed as acting environment minister, replacing Coutinho Jorge, who resigned yesterday as a result of the crisis between the government and the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party. He will be sworn in at President Itamar Franco's office tomorrow.

Environment Minister Coutinho Jorge Resigns

PY1409012093 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network
in Portuguese 2200 GMT 13 Sep 93

[Text] Environment Minister Coutinho Jorge has resigned. He said he resigned in compliance with a decision by the Para regional PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] branch to withdraw from the government.

Coutinho said that ethically he had no choice and that President Itamar Franco understood his position. The minister said his position is independent from that of other PMDB ministers.

[Begin Jorge recording, in progress] ...an agreement that we would resign together if the party made a decision in this regard. Yet the events gathered momentum between last Friday and Sunday. I therefore informed them that I had no other choice. They understood my position, because my personal position is beyond all doubt very different from that of the other ministers. They should make a final decision on 21 September. [end recording]

Jorge will now return to his seat in the Senate. He said that even if the PMDB decides to break with the government, the party will not be able to withdraw its support for the measures that are important for the country. For this reason, it is not a matter of shifting to the opposition.

-Clifford
ITA

MEMO TO KATIE FROM AIMÉE
RE: YANOMAMI INDIANS OF BRAZIL
DATE: 10-7-93

Katie, this is an FYI for you in preparation for your meeting tomorrow with the Brazilian Minister of the Environment. The factual information has been largely confirmed by the State Department and NGOs, while much of my policy information and opinion is directly from Barbara Bramble and Steve Schwartzman.

On August 15 some 12 Yanomami Indians, of which at least half were children, were killed in their demarcated reserve in the Haximu area within the Yanomami reservation. In July 4 or 5 Yanomami were killed in a skirmish with Brazilian gold miners over access to the Indian land; the Yanomami later attacked the miners in return, and allegedly killed one miner. The most recent killing was in retaliation, and carefully planned by the heavily-armed miners, so that the entire Yanomami village would be killed, but most happened to be out of the area at the time. According to the FUNAI, the Brazilian Indian Agency, it was a very vicious attack with some of the children decapitated with machete blows.

Many enviros and human rights organizations feel that these killings have continued because of the impunity afforded the miners by the Brazilian authorities, and are calling for an end to impunity. The Brazilian government, realizing the increasing international pressure to prosecute murderers of the marginalized members of their society (including the recent killings of street children in Rio), reacted quickly to this incident. The Minister of Justice flew immediately to the area, and a bilateral commission of Venezuelan and Brazilian authorities was created (or is in the process of being created) to look into the facts of the incident. (The actual killings may have occurred across the border in Venezuela by Brazilian miners).

*How much
benefit does
go to
dis?*

The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 stipulates that all indigenous lands must be demarcated by October 5, 1993. When the Yanomami lands were demarcated in 1991, the gold prospectors were removed at great expense to the Brazilian government. The removal of those who have reentered is a critical step toward protecting the Yanomami. Steve and Barbara both strongly advocate that the government take legal steps to hold the gold mine operators (donos de garimpo) accountable for their activities in the Yanomami and other indigenous lands in Roraima. These operators supply the miners, provide them transportation, and are the chief beneficiaries of the illegal mining. They do not pay taxes, as the miners do not either, so the government should have no reason not to go after them.

According to Steve Schwartzman, as of today, after the deadline, in addition to the Yanomami there are over 200 indigenous areas which remain to be demarcated, including more than 100 areas for which the demarcation process has not even begun. However, there are ten areas that need only approval of the Minister of Justice for their physical demarcation to proceed, as well as a further 8 areas lacking only Presidential ratification to complete their demarcation.

The realities of the Brazilian situation are imposing: the government has only one year and three months left in office, and many of the players have only recently been replaced with the induction of President Franco. There is the National Environmental Policy Loan which has been negotiated with the World Bank since 1989. It has been redesigned and renegotiated three times with the three governments since then. It was originally designed to be a "good environmental loan" from the Bank who was getting so much flack for its "bad loans" to Brazil.

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MEMO TO KATIE FROM AIMÉE
RE: YANOMAMI INDIANS OF BRAZIL
DATE: 10-7-93

Katie, this is an FYI for you in preparation for your meeting tomorrow with the Brazilian Minister of the Environment. The factual information has been largely confirmed by the State Department and NGOs, while much of my policy information and opinion is directly from Barbara Bramble and Steve Schwartzman.

On August 15 some 12 Yanomami Indians, of which at least half were children, were killed in their demarcated reserve in the Haximu area within the Yanomami reservation. In July 4 or 5 Yanomami were killed in a skirmish with Brazilian gold miners over access to the Indian land; the Yanomami later attacked the miners in return, and allegedly killed one miner. The most recent killing was in retaliation, and carefully planned by the heavily-armed miners, so that the entire Yanomami village would be killed, but most happened to be out of the area at the time. According to the FUNAI, the Brazilian Indian Agency, it was a very vicious attack with some of the children decapitated with ~~by~~ machete blows.

Many enviros and human rights organizations feel that these killings have continued because of the impunity afforded the miners by the Brazilian authorities, and are calling for an end to impunity. The Brazilian government, realizing the increasing international pressure to prosecute murderers of the marginalized members of their society (including the recent killings of street children in Rio), reacted quickly to this incident. The Minister of Justice flew immediately to the area, and a bilateral commission of Venezuelan and Brazilian authorities was created (or is in the process of being created) to look into the facts of the incident. (The actual killings may have occurred across the border in Venezuela by Brazilian miners).

The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 stipulates that all indigenous lands must be demarcated by October 5, 1993. When the Yanomami lands were demarcated in 1991, the gold prospectors were removed at great expense to the Brazilian government. The removal of those who have reentered is a critical step toward protecting the Yanomami. Steve and Barbara both strongly advocate that the government take legal steps to hold the gold mine operators (donos de garimpo) accountable for their activities in the Yanomami and other indigenous lands in Roraima. These operators supply the miners, provide them transportation, and are the chief beneficiaries of the illegal mining. They do not pay taxes, as the miners do not either, so the government should have no reason not to go after them.

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FOLDER TITLE:

Yanomami Massacre

2012-0769-F
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Miners Kill 20 Indians in the Amazon

By JAMES BROOKE
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, Aug. 19 — Gold miners killed 20 members of a remote Indian tribe near Brazil's Amazon border with Venezuela this week, officials of Brazil's Indian protection agency said today.

"Some of the children were decapitated with machete blows," Suami dos Santos, the agency's administrator in Roraima State said of the killings on Sunday. "What causes us great indignation and repulsion is that the murders were carried out with touches of cruelty and savagery."

The victims, including 10 children, belonged to the Yanomami tribe. Considered the largest unacculturated Indian tribe of the Americas, the 20,000 Yanomami have been the focus of an international campaign to insure their physical and cultural survival.

Breaking an isolation of millenniums, the Yanomami's first contacts with the outside world, in the 1970's, led to cultural disorientation and death from imported diseases.

The Worst on Record

The killings on Sunday, the worst of Yanomami on record, highlight growing anti-Indian sentiment in Amazon mining areas. Defenders of the Indians asserted today that miners were emboldened by a lack of national outcry over the killings of five Yanomami in the Venezuela border region last month.

"The first massacre did not have any repercussion, so the miners probably felt encouraged," said Carlo Zacchini, a Roman Catholic missionary who has worked with the tribe for the last 26 years.

According to surviving Indians and the police, the miners attacked Hoximu lodge to retaliate for a police raid on Saturday on a nearby mining camp, Raimundo Nenê. In this raid, the police destroyed the miners' water pumps and generators and sabotaged their airstrip.

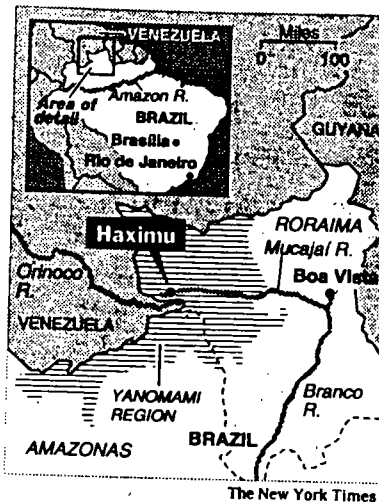
The raid was part of an on-again-off-again battle by Brazilian authorities to expel clandestine miners from the Yanomami homeland, a 37,000-square-mile area bordering Venezuela. In the second campaign since 1990, the police expelled all but 600 miners from the area this year, according to Funai, the Indian protection agency.

Lodge Is Burned, Too

Attacking with guns and machetes on Sunday, the miners killed as many Yanomami as possible and then burned down two thatched, circular lodges, according to survivors interviewed by Funai officials.

"First, they shot the men with guns, then they cut the throats of the women and children with machetes," said Anton Netto, a Funai spokesman.

On Wednesday, a Funai helicopter flying with two survivors aboard was unable to locate the camp in the remote, mountainous rain forest. Today, a Funai official, Wilt Célio da Silva,



Miners attacked Hoximu lodge to retaliate for a police raid.

reached the village and radioed a report back to Boa Vista, the Roraima capital.

Concerned by reports that the death toll could mount, Brazil's Justice Minister, Mauricio Corrêa and the Attorney General, Aristides Junqueira, flew to Boa Vista today.

"I don't have any doubt that this can be classified as a genocide," Mr. Junqueira said after arriving.

Mr. Corrêa said on Wednesday, "If confirmed, this could be worse than the Candelária massacre." He was referring to the killing of eight street youths in front of the Candelária Church in Rio a month ago.

Pressure on World Bank

The negative international impact could be just as great.

A familiar figure worldwide, Davi Kaponewa Yanomami, the leader of Brazil's 10,000 Yanomami, met with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt in Washington in May and with Vice President Al Gore, then a United States Senator, in Rio during the Earth Summit last year.

Last month, during Congressional hearings in Washington, Robert G. Torricelli, Democrat of New Jersey, proposed that the United States help pro-

tect Brazil's Indians by putting pressure on the World Bank and the Inter-American Bank. Sensitive to international concern over the Yanomami, the World Bank announced in late June a \$330,000 loan to improve Government health care for the tribe.

In the late 1980's, about 1,500 Brazilian Yanomami died of imported diseases. Of 8,131 Yanomami tested this year, 20 percent had malaria, according to the Committee for the Creation of a Yanomami Park, a private Brazilian group.

"If Brazil wants to talk to the World Bank about support for new directions in the Amazon, they will have to show a minimal concern about human rights," said Stephan Schwartzman, a visiting anthropologist for the Environmental Defense Fund, a Washington group. "We will be sure to bring our concerns to Babbitt and the Vice President."

In Britain, Survival International, another private group, announced a demonstration in London on Friday, calling on the Brazilian Government to "act now to prevent further atrocities."

Debate in Brazil Is Bitter

The killings and the international pressure are expected to polarize Brazil's increasingly bitter debate over the Yanomami.

In Roraima, unemployed gold miners say they feel abandoned by their Government. Forced out of the reserve, thousands emigrated to southern Venezuela and Guyana. In recent months, both countries forcibly repatriated dozens of miners.

Miners, local politicians and Brazil's army assert that it is unrealistic to try to stop a gold rush and to lock up billions of dollars in mineral wealth in order to shelter 10,000 Yanomami in an area the size of Portugal. Amazon politicians refuse to recognize the Yanomami reservation, which was officially decreed one week before the Earth Summit.

In October, when Brazil's Congress is to start reviewing the Constitution, Amazon legislators plan to seek to open Indian lands to mining and to revoke the presidential decree creating the Yanomami reserve.

Nicaraguan Rebels in North Hold Hostages

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Aug. 19 (AP) — Rebels took legislators, soldiers and human rights workers hostage today in northern Nicaragua, demanding the resignations of two top Nicaraguan officials, the Army said.

The demands were made by former contras who fought the leftist Sandinistas in the 1980's, Lieut. Milton Sandoval, an Army spokesman, said. The rebels sought the resignations of a presidential aide, Antonio Lacayo, and the Army leader, Gen. Humberto Ortega Saavedra.

There was no immediate word on how many hostages the rebels were holding. The attack, the second in two months, took place in Quilali, an isolated mountain town 30 miles south of the Honduran border. In Esteli, an attack in July by a different rebel group left at least 50 people dead.

An estimated 1,400 ex-contras and demobilized soldiers have taken up arms again, saying President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro has broken her promises of land and financial help.

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September 24, 1993

Exmo. Sr. Ministro
 Celso Amorim
 Ministro de Relações Exteriores

Dear Mr. Amorim:

We would like to bring to your attention several concerns with the ongoing investigation of the Yanomami massacre, as well as with the upcoming deadline for completing the demarcation of indigenous lands in Brazil, which, as stipulated by the Constitution of 1988 (Art. 67, Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias), falls on October 5, 1993.

With respect to the Yanomami situation we very strongly support the creation of the Binational Commission (Brazil-Venezuela) as well as any other bilateral diplomatic initiatives that may be necessary to ensure the prosecution of those responsible for the massacre in the appropriate jurisdiction. We note that even if the massacre occurred on Venezuelan territory, Brazil remains responsible for the invasion of both Yanomami and Venezuelan territory, and the perpetrators of the massacre should be held accountable for these infractions.

The Brazilian government has expended considerable resources in removing goldminers from the Yanomami territory, which we also strongly support. Removal of the illegal miners is critical step toward protecting the Yanomami land. This effort could be made more effective and ultimately less expensive by taking legal steps to hold the gold mine operators (donos de garimpo) accountable for their activities in the Yanomami and other indigenous lands in Roraima. We urge your government to use all possible means to hold the gold mine operators, who supply the miners, provide them transportation and are the chief beneficiaries of the illegal mining, responsible for their actions.

National Headquarters

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128 East Hargett St.
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1800 Guadalupe
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 (512) 478-5161



Excmo. Sr. Ministro
September 24, 1993
ENVIRONMENTAL
DEFENSE FUND
Page 2

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Fax: (202) 387-6049

We are aware that over two hundred indigenous areas will remain to be demarcated on the Constitutionally mandated deadline of October 5, 1993, including more than 100 areas for which the demarcation process has not even begun. Nonetheless, we understand that there are 10 areas that need only approval of the Minister of Justice for their physical demarcation to proceed, as well as a further 8 areas lacking only Presidential ratification (homologação) to complete their demarcation. Taking the requisite administrative steps for these 18 areas before October 5 would send a clear and important signal that your government does recognize the importance of Indian land rights. A list of the areas in question is annexed.

Yours Sincerely,

EDF, Amanaka'a, NWF, Rainforest Foundation, etc.

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Indigenous areas awaiting approval of the Ministry of Justice in order to be demarcated:

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Washington, DC 20009

(202) 387-3500

Fax: 202-234-6049

<u>area</u>	<u>indigenous group</u>	<u>state</u>
1) Agua Preta Inari	Apurinã	AM
2) Mara'ã/Urubaxi	Canamari	AM
3) Parana Boá-boá	Canamari, Macu, Tucano	AM
4) Tapeba	Tapeba	CE
5) Tremembé	Tremembé	CE
6) Marawetsede	Xavante	MT
7) Rio da Várzea	Kaingang	RS
8) Raposa Serra do Sol	Macuxi	RR
9) Alto Rio Negro	various groups	AM
10) Mata Medonha	Pataxo	BA

Indigenous areas awaiting Presidential ratification of their demarcation (Homologação):

1) Sete Serras	MS
2) Irai	RS
3) Alto Rio Guamã	PA
4) Kariri - Xocó	AL
5) Jacaré de S. Domingo	PB
6) Taquaraty - Ysykharussu	MS

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Env. Br. Ministro
September 24, 1993
ENVIRONMENTAL
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7) Juininha

8) Meria

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1
2
3 WHY DO ENVIRONMENTALISTS CARE ABOUT THE YANOMAMI?
4
5

6 The shocking murder of scores of Yanomami people by illegal gold
7 miners last week has outraged the world community, already stunned
8 by other accounts of "ethnic cleansing". Government negligence, and
9 the general disrespect for indigenous peoples' rights, contributed
10 to the atmosphere of lawlessness, allowing the garimpeiros to lash
11 out at innocent people who they blame for interfering with their
12 fevered search for gold. That the Brazilian government must expel
13 the illegal miners, find and try those who are guilty of these
14 murders, and restore order in the Yanomami reserve is beyond
15 question. But responsibility for this tragedy also lies with the
16 business interests in the state of Roraima, those who illegally fly
17 the gold miners into the Indian reserve, and exploit their poverty
18 and desperation. (13)
19

20 Many times this week, I have been asked by both the Brazilian and
21 international press to provide a commentary on the massacre, from
22 the perspective of a North American. While some believe foreigners
23 should have nothing to say about tragedies in Brazil, I write in
24 support of the outcry of concerned Brazilians. Sadly, we have had
25 to write many times before, about murders of other indigenous
26 people, rural labor leaders and street children. And then there was
27 the surreal "escape" from prison by Chico Mendes' assassins--Darly
28 and Darci Alves just walked out of jail in February! (9)
29

30 Besides murders and attempted murders, thousands of organizations
31 like mine for years criticized Brazilian government subsidies for
32 cattle ranches, which promoted rainforest destruction and dis-
33 placement of indigenous people, while draining the national
34 treasury. Protesting against unwise government programs is the duty
35 of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) all over the world. We
36 criticize our own government in the same way. And Brazilian NGOs
37 joined us in denouncing unwise American policies such as
38 unsustainable, subsidized logging in the temperate rainforests of
39 the northwest region of the United States. (10)
40

41 In the same way, NGOs would also protest any action or threat by
42 the U.S. government to "internationalize" the Amazon, if it ever
43 happened, because we believe such a goal would be illegitimate. But
44 NGOs' inquiries into the recent controversy over U.S. military
45 training exercises in Guyana, and temporary loans of radar
46 equipment to the Andean countries for narcotraffic surveillance,
47 reveal no plan or activity by the U.S. or any other government to
48 threaten Brazil's territory or sovereignty. (8)
49

50 Nor is there any threat to the sovereignty of Brazil from United
51 Nations consideration of the proposed Declaration of the Rights of
52 Indigenous Populations. There the debate is about the tribal right
53 to "self-determination". That term must still be defined. And as

1 we understand it, almost all governments, including the United
2 States, support Brazil in insisting that the definition must not
3 include setting up a separate nation. (7)
4

5 Why, then, do we all care about a tribal group in the middle of the
6 Amazon? South America's last major unassimilated tribe is a symbol
7 of one of Brazil's greatest assets -- its cultural diversity --
8 people who hold priceless traditional knowledge about their forest,
9 and who are trying to act as guardians of the forest resources for
10 the future. We who care about the environment have learned over
11 the years that there can be no progress toward sustainable
12 development without democracy and respect for human rights. (8)
13

14 We care about the rights of native peoples to occupy their land and
15 to be protected from genocide because it is morally right. You all
16 know that the history of the United States regarding slavery and
17 treatment of indigenous peoples has been equally violent and
18 corrupt. But the world community of NGOs stands together in the
19 struggle to overcome our past of racial injustice in all countries.
20 (6)
21

22 Most important, respect for the human rights and land rights of the
23 Yanomami and other tribes is required by the law of Brazil.
24 Demarcation of Yanomami land was accomplished just before the Earth
25 Summit last year. But many other tribes are waiting for legal
26 demarcation. The Constitutional deadline is October 5th. (5)
27

28 Demarcation by itself is still no guarantee that indigenous rights
29 will be respected. The solution is aggressive enforcement of the
30 law, eviction of all invaders, delivery of the promised health care
31 and other programs, working with the tribal leaders on sustainable
32 uses of the forest -- and finding dignified alternative employment
33 for the garimpeiros and thousands of others flocking to Roraima,
34 who fear their future is in jeopardy. (7)
35

36
37 (Barbara Bramble, 46, is Director of International Programs of the
38 National Wildlife Federation (NWF), the largest non-profit,
39 environmental education NGO in the United States, with over 5
40 million members and supporters. NWF promotes sustainable
41 development in the U.S. and all over the world.)
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YANOMAMI MASSACRE

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MEMO TO EILEEN FROM AIMÉE
RE: YANOMAMI MASSACRE
DATE: 8-20-93

on August 15th
According to Jim Pritchett of the Brazil desk at State, 19 Yanomami were massacred, 9 adults and 10 children were decapitated with machetes by gold miners in the area. A telex from the FUNAI in Roraima to the FUNAI in Brasilia, also stated that they were killed by gold miners, but the miners are saying two indigenous groups were fighting each other (no one believes this story). The Brazilian government has reacted quickly by already sending up policemen and FUNAI representatives, however, they have not been able to get to the village because they can only get there by helicopter, and the weather has been too bad. This afternoon they were getting as close as they could and then planning to hike the rest of the way. The Brazilian Justice Minister, Corrêa, is going up there tomorrow. The Brazilians are taking this seriously partly because of the international human rights concerns regarding the killing of street children.

Apparently the U.S. military has been performing somewhat iffy exercises in the Forests of Guyana, and is soon to do "water safety training in Surinam." The Brazilian press and the Brazilian military have been claiming that the military exercises are the beginning of the U.S. internationalization of the Amazon. They claim that we are building bases in the surrounding countries and will use this massacre as an excuse to lay claim to the Amazon region. In addition, the Brazilian press is claiming that by supporting the UN Declaration on Indigenous Rights we are sanctioning the creation of puppet states within Brazil's (and other countries') borders (see enclosed U.S. statement).

According to the official U.S. word, the military has been running jungle training exercises and "construction was limited to building toilet facilities, a small footbridge, and repairing roofs on some existing buildings at Makouria training camp." The official story on Surinam is that the U.S. will deploy between 15 and 40 personnel to conduct air-sea rescue training, tentatively scheduled for September 12-18 (see attached memo regarding both). Madonna McGuire of NWF spoke with Bill Orneby of the U.S. Military South Command center in Panama. He is a civilian and therefore has no military rank. He told her that there were two different troop deployments. 200 U.S. Special Forces went to Makouria, Guyana for jungle training from April 27 to May 15. Then from July 19 to August 2, 130 men returned to Guyana and he said that Makouria is not anywhere near the border of Brazil. In Colombia

the Navy Sea Bees helped the Colombian Marines build a base and left when it was completed.

It is highly possible that the Brazilian military is manipulating legitimate U.S. military activity to try to justify increasing its budget as well as control over the Amazon. However, the U.S. excuse that it is doing jungle training exercises is an old one to hide drug war activity and other covert acts (see Guatemala), so we may want to try to find out what's really going on. Barbara Bramble is going to Brazil in September and would like to be able to tell everyone she meets with (including presidential candidates, NGOs) that their concerns over U.S. activities are totally unfounded. Steve Schwartzmann of EDF is apparently on his way there now.

The U.S. embassy has been communicating with the Brazilians to reassure them that we are not planning any aggression against them, and not using the massacre as an excuse to push for the internationalization of the Amazon. Assistant Secretary Watson just returned from Paraguay and had been given talking points on the military activities so that when he met with Franco he could dispel any concerns. However, the meeting never took place.

We do need to discuss what exactly the military is doing in the forests. Apparently some in the Pentagon have been using the "protection of the Amazon" as a reason/way to secure more defense funding, and so the Brazilians may not be unjustly paranoid after all.

Jim Pritchett, Brazil Desk: 647-9407
Asst. Sec. Watson: 647-5780

see enclosures: NYTimes article and cover note from NWF, U.S. government (State and Embassy) documents/press releases on Indigenous Rights Declaration and military activities.

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**NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION**

1400 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-2266 (202) 797-6800

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

Aimee Christensen
Fax # 456-2710

Dear Aimee:

My name is Madonna McGuire and I am Barbara Bramble's assistant. Barbara asked me to fax you some things. She also asked me to share the name and number of a contact that I have made in the South Command center of the U.S. Military. I spoke with Bill Orneby, in Panama. He can be reached by dialing 011 507 82 4226. He works in Media Relations of the Public Affairs department for the South Command. He is a civilian and therefore has no military rank. He told me some specifics about the military maneuvers in Guyana. I won't give you all of the details now but please contact me if you wish to get the specifics he shared with me. My phone number is 797-6600.

Following are 13 pages of material including the article that appeared in the NY Times today and a fax we received from the State Department. Again, please call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Madonna McGuire
Assistant to the Director

14 PAGES TOTAL

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THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1993

Brazil's Army Casts U.S. as Amazon Villain

By JAMES BROOKE

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, Aug. 18 — If Brazilian newspaper headlines were to be believed last week, the United States Government was plotting the biggest land grab since the Louisiana Purchase: "U.S.A. Builds Two Military Bases in the Amazon Region," one headline read. Another announced, "U.S. Bases Surround the Amazon."

What was really going on, political analysts say, is that Brazil's military was flexing its political muscles, seeking to win support for a plan to extend air traffic control over the Amazon.

Last week, President Itamar Franco unexpectedly called the first meeting in five years of Brazil's National Defense Council at which he unveiled the long dormant "Amazon Vigilance System" — and won unanimous approval for it.

Today, seeking to quell press speculation that the military could threaten Brazil's democracy, President Franco addressed a gathering of generals. In a nationally televised speech, he warned that "perverse rumors, coming from obscure sources, about a coup against democracy in our country, can only serve the builders of chaos."

Last week, the army sent two gener-

als to brief a defense committee of Brazil's Congress about the \$600 million radar project. According to published accounts, the generals charged that the United States was building military bases in Colombia and Guyana and had conducted joint military maneuvers with nations around the Brazilian Amazon.

The American Ambassador, Richard Melton, called the reports "totally erroneous" and said that aid to Guyana in a recent joint training exercise "was limited to building toilet facilities, a small footbridge, and repairing roofs."

After initial headlines subsided, Brazil's press became increasingly skepti-

cal of the conspiracy theory. The military, Geraldo Cavagnari, a strategic studies expert, told the newspaper *Folha of São Paulo*, "want to depict a concrete threat, to define an enemy in order to justify more money for their budget."

But in a measure of the military's growing shadow over Brazilian politics, three politicians seen as presidential candidates paid lip service to the idea in Sunday's newspapers.

"The preoccupations and proposals of the armed forces merit the solidarity of the Brazilian people," wrote Leonel Brizola, Governor of Rio de Janeiro State. "North American bases in South America represent, without a shadow of doubt, an expansionist lunge of unacceptable domination."

José Sarney, an Amazon Senator who ranks in opinion polls as Brazil's

most popular former President, wrote: "If we want to have sovereignty over our territory, we have to watch it. It would have been better if the United States had let every country take care of its own territory."

Ivan Moacyr da Frota, who retired last week from the Brazilian Air Force with the rank of brigadier general, said in a newspaper interview that the presence of American troops in Guyana was "very worrying."

The retired general's interview is seen as the opening shot in his campaign to become "the military candidate" in the October 1994 election. Claiming that "a lot of people" would defend a coup, General Frota announced that he would create a "Movement for Democracy with Dignity" to back his candidacy, which is to be announced Aug. 25, Soldier's Day.

Miners Kill 20 Indians in the Amazon

By JAMES BROOKE
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, Aug. 19 — Gold miners killed 20 members of a remote Indian tribe near Brazil's Amazon border with Venezuela this week, officials of Brazil's Indian protection agency said today.

"Some of the children were decapitated with machete blows," Suami dos Santos, the agency's administrator in Roraima State said of the killings on Sunday. "What causes us great indignation and repulsion is that the murders were carried out with touches of cruelty and savagery."

The victims, including 10 children, belonged to the Yanomami tribe. Considered the largest unacculturated Indian tribe of the Americas, the 20,000 Yanomami have been the focus of an international campaign to insure their physical and cultural survival.

Breaking an isolation of millenniums, the Yanomami's first contacts with the outside world, in the 1970's, led to cultural disorientation and death from imported diseases.

The Worst on Record

The killings on Sunday, the worst of Yanomami on record, highlight growing anti-Indian sentiment in Amazon mining areas. Defenders of the Indians asserted today that miners were emboldened by a lack of national outcry over the killings of five Yanomami in the Venezuela border region last month.

"The first massacre did not have any repercussion, so the miners probably felt encouraged," said Carlo Zacchini, a Roman Catholic missionary who has worked with the tribe for the last 26 years.

According to surviving Indians and the police, the miners attacked Hoximu lodge to retaliate for a police raid on Saturday on a nearby mining camp, Raimundo Nené. In this raid, the police destroyed the miners' water pumps and generators and sabotaged their airstrip.

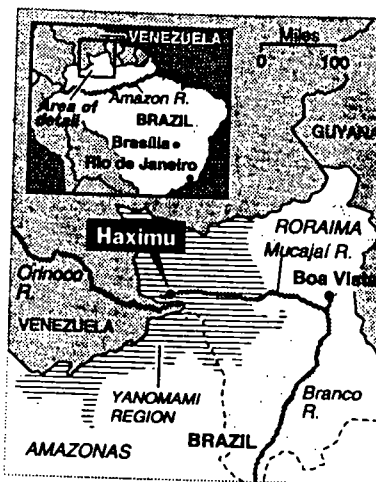
The raid was part of an on-again-off-again battle by Brazilian authorities to expel clandestine miners from the Yanomami homeland, a 37,000-square-mile area bordering Venezuela. In the second campaign since 1990, the police expelled all but 600 miners from the area this year, according to Funai, the Indian protection agency.

Lodge Is Burned, Too

Attacking with guns and machetes on Sunday, the miners killed as many Yanomami as possible and then burned down two thatched, circular lodges, according to survivors interviewed by Funai officials.

"First, they shot the men with guns, then they cut the throats of the women and children with machetes," said Anton Netto, a Funai spokesman.

On Wednesday, a Funai helicopter flying with two survivors aboard was unable to locate the camp in the remote, mountainous rain forest. Today, a Funai official, Wilt Célio da Silva,



Miners attacked Hoximu lodge to retaliate for a police raid.

reached the village and radioed a report back to Boa Vista, the Roraima capital.

Concerned by reports that the death toll could mount, Brazil's Justice Minister, Mauricio Corrêa and the Attorney General, Aristides Junqueira, flew to Boa Vista today.

"I don't have any doubt that this can be classified as a genocide," Mr. Junqueira said after arriving.

Mr. Corrêa said on Wednesday, "If confirmed, this could be worse than the Candelária massacre." He was referring to the killing of eight street youths in front of the Candelária Church in Rio a month ago.

Pressure on World Bank

The negative international impact could be just as great.

A familiar figure worldwide, Davi Kaponewa Yanomami, the leader of Brazil's 10,000 Yanomami, met with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt in Washington in May and with Vice President Al Gore, then a United States Senator, in Rio during the Earth Summit last year.

Last month, during Congressional hearings in Washington, Robert G. Torricelli, Democrat of New Jersey, proposed that the United States help pro-

tect Brazil's Indians by putting pressure on the World Bank and the Inter-American Bank. Sensitive to international concern over the Yanomami, the World Bank announced in late June a \$330,000 loan to improve Government health care for the tribe.

In the late 1980's, about 1,500 Brazilian Yanomami died of imported diseases. Of 8,131 Yanomami tested this year, 20 percent had malaria, according to the Committee for the Creation of a Yanomami Park, a private Brazilian group.

"If Brazil wants to talk to the World Bank about support for new directions in the Amazon, they will have to show a minimal concern about human rights," said Stephan Schwartzman, a visiting anthropologist for the Environmental Defense Fund, a Washington group. "We will be sure to bring our concerns to Babbitt and the Vice President."

In Britain, Survival International, another private group, announced a demonstration in London on Friday, calling on the Brazilian Government to "act now to prevent further atrocities."

Debate in Brazil Is Bitter

The killings and the international pressure are expected to polarize Brazil's increasingly bitter debate over the Yanomami.

In Roraima, unemployed gold miners say they feel abandoned by their Government. Forced out of the reserve, thousands emigrated to southern Venezuela and Guyana. In recent months, both countries forcibly repatriated dozens of miners.

Miners, local politicians and Brazil's army assert that it is unrealistic to try to stop a gold rush and to lock up billions of dollars in mineral wealth in order to shelter 10,000 Yanomami in an area the size of Portugal. Amazon politicians refuse to recognize the Yanomami reservation, which was officially decreed one week before the Earth Summit.

In October, when Brazil's Congress is to start reviewing the Constitution, Amazon legislators plan to seek to open Indian lands to mining and to revoke the presidential decree creating the Yanomami reserve.

Nicaraguan Rebels in North Hold Hostages

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Aug. 19 (AP) — Rebels took legislators, soldiers and human rights workers hostage today in northern Nicaragua, demanding the resignations of two top Nicaraguan officials, the Army said.

The demands were made by former contras who fought the leftist Sandinistas in the 1980's, Lieut. Milton Sandoval, an Army spokesman, said. The rebels sought the resignations of a presidential aide, Antonio Lacayo, and the Army leader, Gen. Humberto Ortega Saavedra.

There was no immediate word on how many hostages the rebels were holding. The attack, the second in two months, took place in Quilali, an isolated mountain town 30 miles south of the Honduran border. In Estelí, an attack in July by a different rebel group left at least 50 people dead.

An estimated 1,400 ex-contras and demobilized soldiers have taken up arms again, saying President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro has broken her promises of land and financial help.

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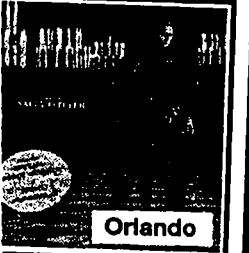


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IV RECORD S

DAVID - This is an article Barbara wrote to be published in the newspaper "Folha de São Paulo." We're not sure yet if it went in.

WHY DO ENVIRONMENTALISTS CARE ABOUT THE YANOMAMI?

The shocking murder of scores of Yanomami people by illegal gold miners last week has outraged the world community, already stunned by other accounts of "ethnic cleansing". Government negligence, and the general disrespect for indigenous peoples' rights, contributed to the atmosphere of lawlessness, allowing the garimpeiros to lash out at innocent people who they blame for interfering with their fevered search for gold. That the Brazilian government must expel the illegal miners, find and try those who are guilty of these murders, and restore order in the Yanomami reserve is beyond question. But responsibility for this tragedy also lies with the business interests in the state of Roraima, those who illegally fly the gold miners into the Indian reserve, and exploit their poverty and desperation. (13)

Many times this week, I have been asked by both the Brazilian and international press to provide a commentary on the massacre, from the perspective of a North American. While some believe foreigners should have nothing to say about tragedies in Brazil, I write in support of the outcry of concerned Brazilians. Sadly, we have had to write many times before, about murders of other indigenous people, rural labor leaders and street children. And then there was the surreal "escape" from prison by Chico Mendes' assassins--Darly and Darci Alves just walked out of jail in February! (9)

Besides murders and attempted murders, thousands of organizations like mine for years criticized Brazilian government subsidies for cattle ranches, which promoted rainforest destruction and displacement of indigenous people, while draining the national treasury. Protesting against unwise government programs is the duty of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) all over the world. We criticize our own government in the same way. And Brazilian NGOs joined us in denouncing unwise American policies such as unsustainable, subsidized logging in the temperate rainforests of the northwest region of the United States. (10)

In the same way, NGOs would also protest any action or threat by the U.S. government to "internationalize" the Amazon, if it ever happened, because we believe such a goal would be illegitimate. But NGOs' inquiries into the recent controversy over U.S. military training exercises in Guyana, and temporary loans of radar equipment to the Andean countries for narcotraffic surveillance, reveal no plan or activity by the U.S. or any other government to threaten Brazil's territory or sovereignty. (8)

Nor is there any threat to the sovereignty of Brazil from United Nations consideration of the proposed Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Populations. There the debate is about the tribal right to "self-determination". That term must still be defined. And as

1 we understand it, almost all governments, including the United
2 States, support Brazil in insisting that the definition must not
3 include setting up a separate nation. (7)

4
5 Why, then, do we all care about a tribal group in the middle of the
6 Amazon? South America's last major unassimilated tribe is a symbol
7 of one of Brazil's greatest assets -- its cultural diversity --
8 people who hold priceless traditional knowledge about their forest,
9 and who are trying to act as guardians of the forest resources for
10 the future. We who care about the environment have learned over
11 the years that there can be no progress toward sustainable
12 development without democracy and respect for human rights. (8)

13
14 We care about the rights of native peoples to occupy their land and
15 to be protected from genocide because it is morally right. You all
16 know that the history of the United States regarding slavery and
17 treatment of indigenous peoples has been equally violent and
18 corrupt. But the world community of NGOs stands together in the
19 struggle to overcome our past of racial injustice in all countries.
20 (6)

21
22 Most important, respect for the human rights and land rights of the
23 Yanomami and other tribes is required by the law of Brazil.
24 Demarcation of Yanomami land was accomplished just before the Earth
25 Summit last year. But many other tribes are waiting for legal
26 demarcation. The Constitutional deadline is October 5th. (5)

27
28 Demarcation by itself is still no guarantee that indigenous rights
29 will be respected. The solution is aggressive enforcement of the
30 law, eviction of all invaders, delivery of the promised health care
31 and other programs, working with the tribal leaders on sustainable
32 uses of the forest -- and finding dignified alternative employment
33 for the garimpeiros and thousands of others flocking to Roraima,
34 who fear their future is in jeopardy. (7)

35
36
37 (Barbara Bramble, 46, is Director of International Programs of the
38 National Wildlife Federation (NWF), the largest non-profit,
39 environmental education NGO in the United States, with over 5
40 million members and supporters. NWF promotes sustainable
41 development in the U.S. and all over the world.)
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**U.S. MILITARY COOPERATION WITH GUYANA, SURINAME,
AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN SOUTH AMERICA**

*Ø MARR
Exercise.*

After conferring with the appropriate authorities in the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia confirmed on August 13 that there is no truth to allegations in the Brazilian press that U.S. personnel participating in joint training exercises recently concluded in Guyana ever increased, or planned to increase, to include 750 U.S. soldiers. Similarly, claims that the U.S. is involved in building a base in Guyana and five bases in Colombia are groundless. Joint military training exercises around the world between United States forces and forces of other countries have long been a part of U.S. efforts to improve inter-military cooperation. Joint exercises are regularly conducted with friendly and allied forces throughout the world, including with Brazilian forces, e.g. during UNITAS, and there has been no recent increase in their number or change in regional distribution.

The joint training exercises in Guyana have concluded. All U.S. participants have departed, and there never were any plans for additional troops to join the exercise. The United States is not building a military base of any kind in Guyana, and has no plans to do so. Construction during the exercise was limited to building toilet facilities, a small footbridge, and repairing roofs on some existing buildings at Makouria training camp.

Likewise, the U.S. is not constructing five military bases in Colombia. Allegations in the Brazilian press may be confused references to cooperation between U.S. forces and those of several countries (Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru) during Support Justice IV, a regional air interdiction counternarcotics exercise. The United States has a standing offer to brief Brazilian authorities on this exercise. For purposes of the exercise, which is now scheduled to conclude the end of September, U.S. forces have loaned radars (two to Colombia and one each to Ecuador and Peru), which are jointly manned. The U.S. is not building permanent U.S. bases in any of these countries.

In Suriname, the U.S. will deploy between 15 and 40 personnel to conduct air-sea rescue training, tentatively scheduled for September 12-18. In

addition to training local force , the U.S. team will conduct an open house demonstration of safety techniques. The Brazilian attaché in Paramaribo was briefed by the USDATT about this training.

Additionally, a U.S. Army team of 6 personnel will be deployed to Suriname October 28 - December 18 to design and put into operation a training course for NCOs in the Surinamese Army. This is being done at the request of the Surinamese, and the Brazilian military attaché has also been informed of this training. This training will take place at the Surinamese Army's training center near the Zanderij international airport outside Paramaribo.

PRESS RELEASE

We have seen press reports of testimony before the National Defense Committee raising questions about the activities of the Armed Forces of the United States in the region. We are perplexed. The reports are both inaccurate, ~~and misleading~~. The United States maintains friendly relations with all nations of the region. We are engaged in cooperative actions with all of these countries, both multilaterally and bilaterally. This cooperation, of course, also extends to the Armed Forces of these friendly nations, including efforts to stem narco-trafficking. We have in the past offered to brief Brazilian authorities about these activities. Efforts to portray this cooperation as somehow threatening to Brazil are simply wrong.

Os Estados Unidos e a Amazônia PMARR. Exercises

Richard H. Melton

Recentemente inúmeras histórias têm sido publicadas na mídia brasileira falando sobre os Estados Unidos e a Amazônia. Alguns dos artigos mais sensacionalistas contêm asserções sobre alegadas intenções dos Estados Unidos com relação aos recursos e ao território dessa importante região do Brasil. Tais alegações são fantasiosas e, normalmente, não merecem resposta. Mas, a sua persistência ea falsa percepção das intenções norte-americanas que elas podem provocar, se deixadas esquecidas, exigem uma resposta.

A Amazônia exerce um grande fascínio tanto para os brasileiros quanto para os estrangeiros. A expedição de 1914 do marechal Cândido Rondon e do ex-presidente Theodore Roosevelt ao longo dos afluentes desse grande rio conquistou a imaginação dos nossos países. Mais recentemente, a Conferência das Nações Unidas sobre Meio Ambiente e Desenvolvimento, realizada no Rio de Janeiro, focalizou a atenção mundial sobre essa região.

Em sua grande parte, essa atenção tem sido positiva. Ela tem ajudado a galvanizar um esforço global em apoio a um desenvolvimento sustentável. Conquanto haja uma compreensível impaciência em relação ao ritmo — particularmente entre os membros da comunidade das organizações não-governamentais — tem-se registrado um progresso inegável na execução da ambiciosa agenda estabelecida pela Eco-92.

Algumas pessoas no Brasil, porém, não sentem felizes com essa atenção maior. Ouvindo comentários

ser avaliadas por seus méritos. Esta preocupação não deveria ser mal interpretada como invasão da soberania. Decisões sobre os povos indígenas, sejam ianomamis ou navajos, são da competência dos governos nacionais e dos próprios povos.

Mito — Os Estados Unidos, juntamente com outros países industrializados, querem "internacionalizar" a Amazônia.

Realidade — Tolice. As decisões soberanas sempre ficaram a cargo do Brasil. Porém, vivemos em um mundo mutuamente dependentes. A maioria dos problemas que enfrentamos, tanto o Brasil quanto os Estados Unidos, são globais em seu escopo. Promover os direitos humanos, proteger o meio ambiente e fortalecer o sistema de comércio internacional são apenas alguns exemplos que me vêm à mente. Longe de ser uma ameaça, a cooperação internacional com entidades brasileiras em apoio a uma agenda brasileira para a Amazônia — ou outras partes do País — é uma manifestação bem-vinda de um novo sentido de responsabilidade mundial compartilhada.

O Governo brasileiro está promovendo a implementação de um Programa Piloto do G-7 administrado pelo Banco Mundial que tem por fim o estabelecimento da base para o uso sustentável dos recursos naturais na Amazônia Brasileira. O governo dos Estados Unidos contribuiu para a formação do capital principal do programa e, a pedido do Governo brasileiro, garantiu uma ajuda de emergência a curto prazo para apoiar estruturalmente dois renomados centros de pesquisa científica na

devem ser empregadas, constituem decisões a serem tomadas pelos brasileiros.

Mito — Os exercícios militares nas "fronteiras" brasileiras têm propósitos sinistros e, portanto, representam um perigo claro e presente à soberania brasileira sobre a Amazônia.

Realidade — Treinamento de rotina é conduzido de tempos em tempos por elementos das Forças Armadas dos EUA com nações anfitriãs em virtualmente todas as áreas do mundo. A maioria desses exercícios é de pequena escala. O exercício em andamento na Guiana, por exemplo, envolve aproximadamente 130 membros das Forças Armadas dos EUA e o adido militar brasileiro em Georgetown foi convidado pela Força de Defesa da Guiana para observar o exercício. Autoridades brasileiras, civis como militares, foram notificadas por esta Embaixada antes desse e de outros exercícios na Guiana. Tal rotina de treinamento não representa nenhuma ameaça ao Brasil.

Mito — Os Estados Unidos, ao advogarem a expansão da proteção dos direitos de propriedade intelectual, procuram se apropriar de recursos da Amazônia em benefício próprio.

Realidade — O apoio dos EUA à forte proteção da propriedade intelectual deriva da nossa convicção de que tal proteção é importante para fluxos ordenados de investimento e comércio exterior respondendo às regras do mercado. A não ser que os produtos de pesquisa e criatividade sejam protegidos e recompensados, eles não serão produzidos em

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"exploração estrangeira" da Amazônia. Esforços têm sido empregados para explorar esse medo — em detrimento das relações bilaterais. Gostaria de responder a algumas das asserções mais frequentes.

Mito — Os Estados Unidos, ao apoiar os direitos dos povos indígenas, estão procurando minar a soberania e, enfim, o controle brasileiro sobre seu território nacional.

Realidade — A universalidade da proteção aos direitos humanos, expressa na Carta das Nações Unidas, foi recentemente reenfaturada na Conferência Mundial pelos Direitos Humanos em Viena. A preocupação com os direitos humanos — nos Estados Unidos, Brasil, Cuba ou qualquer outra nação — é legítima. Expressões de interesse baseadas em considerações sobre os direitos humanos são legítimas e deveriam

Amazônia — O Instituto de Pesquisas Amazônicas (Inpa) e o M. Goeldi.

Mito — Os Estados Unidos procuram militarizar a Amazônia como parte da guerra contra o narcotráfico.

Realidade — Os Estados Unidos estão preparados para cooperar de forma tanto multilateral como bilateral na repressão do narcotráfico. Nós estamos fazendo isso no Brasil. Nossa cooperação com o Ministério da Justiça, a Polícia Federal e uma série de estados e municípios é significativa e contínua. Também trabalhamos em estreita ligação com o Programa de Controle de Drogas da ONU e outros esforços internacionais em marcha no Brasil. Todos nós precisamos fazer mais. É óbvio que a forma como a luta contra os traficantes é conduzida no Brasil e quais agências — civis ou militares —

na abundância necessária. A zona indubitavelmente detém grande potencial para a descoberta e a invenção em benefício da toda a humanidade. Dar proteção adequada aos produtos resultantes de ventos e de descobertas na Amazônia é, acima de tudo, um benefício para o Brasil e para os pesquisadores brasileiros destinados a trazer uma maior contribuição para o avanço da ciência na região.

Infelizmente, um mito repetido com tanta insistência frequentemente torna o lugar da própria realidade. Essa falsa realidade pode desviar a atenção dos problemas reais e, assim, minar seriamente os esforços que vêm sendo desenvolvidos para fortalecer as relações entre os Estados Unidos e o Brasil.

■ Richard H. Melton é embaixador dos Estados Unidos no Brasil

It m Subject: YANOMAMIS

August 19, 1993

PRESS GUIDANCE ON YANOMAMI MASSACRE

U.S. Embassy Brasilia

(For use on if asked basis)

We are shocked and saddened by reports of the brutal killing of 19 Yanomami Indians, including women and children, in a remote area of the State of Roraima. We join all of Brazil in mourning their deaths. The Brazilian Government has reacted quickly to the reports by sending federal agents to investigate. We are confident of the determination of Brazilian authorities to establish the facts of this case and to punish the guilty.

UNITED NATIONS WORKING GROUP ON INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS
ELEVENTH SESSION

STATEMENT OF KATHRYN SKIPPER
OBSERVER DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GENEVA, JULY 21, 1993

Madame Chairperson,

On behalf of the U.S. delegation, I congratulate you on your re-election as Chairperson/Rapporteur of the Working Group. The United States looks forward to actively participating in this year's session, as the Working Group, under your leadership, endeavors to complete its efforts on the draft declaration.

The United States recognizes that persons belonging to indigenous groups have been the victims of serious and sometimes widespread human rights abuses. Accordingly, we firmly support the need for a properly drafted declaration. The United States expects to participate actively in future work on such a declaration.

The effort to draft a declaration is an important forward step in protecting and promoting the human rights of persons belonging to indigenous groups. We endorse much of what is contained in the existing text. We respect and commend the thought and effort that has gone into it.

At the same time, however, we believe that further reflection and work are required to produce an instrument that can find broad international acceptance and make a useful contribution to promoting and protecting the rights of all persons belonging to indigenous groups. I would like to point out briefly some of our main concerns about the draft declaration as it is reflected in the revised working paper E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/26. These concerns will be supplemented with more specific comments on particular provisions as we proceed

in the course of these discussions.

First, we note that there are many explicit and implicit references to self-determination throughout the text. Because the inclusion of a reference to self-determination has become so central in discussions about this document, and because the principle of self-determination is so apt to be misunderstood,

we must ensure that if the term is used in the declaration, it is clear what it means. Self-determination is generally understood to mean the right to establish a sovereign and independent state under international law. Self-determination, however, can be achieved through arrangements other than independence. The United States could not accept the inclusion of self-determination as applying specifically to indigenous groups if it implies or permits full independence generally recognized under international law.

Moreover, the World Conference debate whether to speak of "people" or "peoples," and the Conference decision not to use the term "peoples," suggests that many governments share our concerns about the risks and uncertainties of extending the

international legal concept of self-determination specifically to indigenous groups.

Second, the draft declaration refers in numerous instances to collective rights about which we have serious questions. The references generally go far beyond the limited collective rights recognized in international law or the practice of states. We note that many of the proposed new collective rights are extremely general and imprecise, thus

they will be unable to be implemented in practice. In this respect, there also are serious problems of definition. The draft declaration does not define "indigenous peoples." Hence, there are no criteria for determining what groups of persons can assert the proposed new collective rights. Moreover, we are concerned that in some circumstances, the articulation of group rights can lead to the submergence of the rights of individuals. For example, some paragraphs contemplate broad autonomy for indigenous populations, but without any requirement that such autonomy be exercised consistently with the rights of individuals. One can envision situations in which the exercise of such broad powers could be highly detrimental to individual rights.

Finally, the document refers extensively to various

"rights" of indigenous peoples. Some of these are not recognized as "rights" in existing international instruments, or in state practice. They are neither recognized as enforceable by any national legal systems, nor are they likely to be so. Accordingly, the pervasive use of the language of rights is both inaccurate and misleading. It tends to diminish

the credibility of the declaration and to lessen the likelihood of its broad acceptance.

My government has highlighted these primary concerns so that they can be borne in mind as the discussions continue over the course of this week. Continued open dialogue will be the key in addressing the novel, complex, and contentious issues that the draft declaration raises. We encourage the Working Group to precisely articulate rights and obligations in this document as it will be difficult for governments to subscribe to an imprecise and vaguely worded text. It is our hope that the text will be capable of attracting broad international support and serve as a basis for effective monitoring and implementation.

MEMO TO EILEEN FROM AIMÉE
RE: YANOMAMI MASSACRE
DATE: 8-20-93

According to Jim Pritchett of the Brazil desk at State, 19 Yanomami were massacred, 9 adults and 10 children were decapitated with machetes by gold miners in the area. A telex from the FUNAI in Roraima to the FUNAI in Brasilia, also stated that they were killed by gold miners, but the miners are saying two indigenous groups were fighting each other (no one believes this story). The Brazilian government has reacted quickly by already sending up policemen and FUNAI representatives, however, they have not been able to get to the village because they can only get there by helicopter, and the weather has been too bad. This afternoon they were getting as close as they could and then planning to hike the rest of the way. The Brazilian Justice Minister, Corrêa, is going up there tomorrow. The Brazilians are taking this seriously partly because of the international human rights concerns regarding the killing of street children.

Apparently the U.S. military has been performing somewhat iffy exercises in the Forests of Guyana, and is soon to do "water safety training in Surinam." The Brazilian press and the Brazilian military have been claiming that the military exercises are the beginning of the U.S. internationalization of the Amazon. They claim that we are building bases in the surrounding countries and will use this massacre as an excuse to lay claim to the Amazon region. In addition, the Brazilian press is claiming that by supporting the UN Declaration on Indigenous Rights we are sanctioning the creation of puppet states within Brazil's (and other countries') borders (see enclosed U.S. statement).

According to the official U.S. word, the military has been running jungle training exercises and "construction was limited to building toilet facilities, a small footbridge, and repairing roofs on some existing buildings at Makouria training camp." The official story on Surinam is that the U.S. will deploy between 15 and 40 personnel to conduct air-sea rescue training, tentatively scheduled for September 12-18 (see attached memo regarding both). Madonna McGuire of NWF spoke with Bill Orneby of the U.S. Military South Command center in Panama. He is a civilian and therefore has no military rank. He told her that there were two different troop deployments. 200 U.S. Special Forces went to Makouria, Guyana for jungle training from April 27 to May 15. Then from July 19 to August 2, 130 men returned to Guyana and he said that Makouria is not anywhere near the border of Brazil. In Colombia

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It is highly possible that the Brazilian military is manipulating legitimate U.S. military activity to try to justify increasing its budget as well as control over the Amazon. However, the U.S. excuse that it is doing jungle training exercises is an old one to hide drug war activity and other covert acts (see Guatemala), so we may want to try to find out what's really going on. Barbara Bramble is going to Brazil in September and would like to be able to tell everyone she meets with (including presidential candidates, NGOs) that their concerns over U.S. activities are totally unfounded. Steve Schwartzmann of EDF is apparently on his way there now.

The U.S. embassy has been communicating with the Brazilians to reassure them that we are not planning any aggression against them, and not using the massacre as an excuse to push for the internationalization of the Amazon. Assistant Secretary Watson just returned from Paraguay and had been given talking points on the military activities so that when he met with Franco he could dispel any concerns. However, the meeting never took place.

We do need to discuss what exactly the military is doing in the forests. Apparently some in the Pentagon have been using the "protection of the Amazon" as a reason/way to secure more defense funding, and so the Brazilians may not be unjustly paranoid after all.

Jim Pritchett, Brazil Desk: 647-9407
Asst. Sec. Watson: 647-5780

see enclosures: NYTimes article and cover note from NWF, U.S. government (State and Embassy) documents/press releases on Indigenous Rights Declaration and military activities.

BRAZILIAN EMBASSY

3006 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

FAX: (202) 745-2827

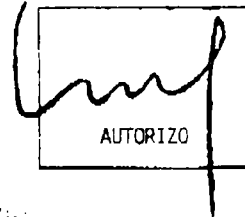
TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL PAGE

N° of Pages Including this Cover Sheet

02

Date

10/09/93



From

Marcia Donner
Human Rights Section

Phone

(202) 745-2776

To

Ms. Kathleen McGuinty
Director
White House Of. on Environ. Policy

Fax

(202) 456 2710

UPDATE INFORMATION

VIGÁRIO GERAL

The investigation of the slaying of 21 people at the Vigario Geral shantytown in Rio de Janeiro (July 30) continues. Sixteen police suspected in connection with the episode were arrested. One of them managed to escape (leading to the detention of the police officer who would have facilitated the escape), but the other 15 remain in administrative custody. There is evidence of involvement of the suspects with drug traffickers and extermination groups, and there could be a link between the Vigario Geral massacre and the killing of eight street children in Candelaria (July 1993) and the murder of eleven youngsters in Acari, a Rio de Janeiro suburb, in 1990.

In parallel with the police investigation that is being carried out at the state level, the National Human Rights Council (Ministry of Justice) established an Inquiry Commission to investigate human rights violations in connection with the tragic incident.

IANOMAMIS

On Thursday, September 2, the Federal Police arrested in Boa Vista, Roraima, Pedro Emiliano Garcia, a gold prospector accused of participation in the massacre of 16 Ianomami Indians in the Haximu area within the Ianomami Reservation. A detention order has been issued for three other gold prospectors, João Neto, "Parazinho" and "Fezão", who have not yet been located by the Police.

On Wednesday, September 8, Pedro E. Garcia confirmed to the Federal Police officer in charge of the investigation that, following a month-long conflict between Ianomamis and gold prospectors within the Reservation borders, he had taken part in a 20-man expedition to the Haximu village where the massacre occurred. He denied, however, any participation in the killings. According to Garcia's declarations, another suspect, João Neto, was the one who planned the crime.

MEMO TO EILEEN FROM AIMÉE
RE: YANOMAMI
DATE: 9-14-93

I received a note from the Brazilian Embassy which said that on September 2 the Federal Police arrested in Boa Vista, Roraima, Pedro Emilliano Garcia, a gold prospector accused of participation in the massacre of 16[?] Yanomami Indians in the Haximu area within the Yanomami reservation. A detention order has been issued for three other gold prospectors, Joao Neto, "Parazinho" and "Pezao," who have not yet been located by police.

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Washington, D.C. 20008

FAX: (202) 745-2827

TELEFAX TRANSMITTAL PAGE

Nº of Pages Including this Cover Sheet

3

Date

09/01/93

AUTORIZO

From

Marcia Donner
Human Rights Section

Phone

(202) 745-2776

To

Ms. Kathleen McGuinty
Director
White House Of. on Environ. Policy

Dan?

Fax

(202) 456 2710

Please find herewith updated information on the recent episodes of violence in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

1. Vigário Geral

Last weekend, the city of Rio de Janeiro witnessed new episodes of violence. On Saturday, August 29, four Military policemen were killed at Vigário Geral, a suburb west of Rio, allegedly on orders given by area drug traffickers. A day later, apparently in retaliation, hooded gunmen invaded the area and killed 21 people.

The President of Brazil, Itamar Franco, deeply regretted the incident, and promptly instructed the Minister of Justice to closely monitor the investigation being carried out by Rio de Janeiro State authorities. The Governor of Rio issued a "communiqué" on August 30 stating that these two episodes at Vigário Geral were undoubtedly linked, the second one presenting unacceptable characteristics of an act of revenge by the Police, and that he had already ordered a thorough investigation of the facts. The "communiqué" went on to stress that any evidence of involvement by the Military Police would result in the application of extremely severe disciplinary measures.

According to the President's instructions, the Minister of Justice travelled to Rio de Janeiro on August 31, where he met with the Governor to discuss the issue. During the meeting, the Minister of Justice informed the Governor of the establishment of a special "task force" of the Federal Police to investigate extermination groups and death squads throughout the country, giving effect to a recommendation made on August 4 by the National Council on Human Rights.

At the state level, the investigation of the Vigário Geral killings is being jointly coordinated by the Vice-Governor (who assumes the functions of Secretary of Public Security) and the Head of the Military Police. Up to now, the investigation has resulted in the following measures:

- the temporary arrest of three Military policemen who, according to local residents, are suspected of being involved in the killings;
- the discharge of the Commanding Officer of the Ninth Battalion of the Military Police, responsible for the patrolling of the area where the two incidents occurred;
- the decision to initiate promptly the procedural arrangements to provide compensation for the victims' families.

As a matter of clarification, it must be noted that the "Military Police" in every one of the Brazilian states is not a unit of the Brazilian Armed Forces: it is the State Police, operating under the authority of the State Governor. The denomination "military" derives from a constitutional provision determining that State police are the "reserve force" of the Army.

2. Killing of Street Children at Candelaria Church

The trial of the four accused -three of whom are Military policemen - in the "Candelaria Murders" (the tragic assassination of eight street children on July 23 in Rio de Janeiro) continues. Seven surviving children have maintained their accusation against the four arrested suspects, but there are indications that other policemen were involved in the episode.

MEMO TO EILEEN FROM AIMÉE
RE: YANOMAMI
DATE: 8-24-93

I spoke with the Brazil desk at State and they are not planning anything specific as far as a statement from the government. Perhaps you can call Assistant Secretary Watson to see what you all should do.

I have enclosed a copy of a fax from New York about actions to be taken in the U.S. to protest the massacre and pressure the Brazilian government to follow through on finding the killers and bringing them to justice.

URGENT FAX FROM: AMANAKA'A - New York City

UPCOMING ACTIONS IN RESPONSE TO MASSACRE OF 73 YANOMAMI INDIANS

The official count of the Yanomami men, women and children massacred last week by gold miners in Brazil is now up to 73, with more still likely. We are taking action to highlight the importance of this tragedy so that the criminals are punished and this never happens again. Here are the actions currently scheduled.

New York City:

DATE: Wednesday, August 25
TIME: 12 noon to 2 pm
PLACE: Brazilian Consulate, 630 Fifth Avenue

CONTACT: Zeze Weiss
Amanaka'a
(212) 674-4646
FAX: (212) 674-9139

ACTION: Vigil at consulate. Participants should wear black and Urucum will be provided for those wishing to paint their faces. Bring cardboard signs, identifying your organization and/or affiliation.

There will be Native American drumming. As an expression of sadness, people are encouraged not to speak or eat at the event. To help maintain the quiet vigil, please refer all reporters to the Amanaka'a organizers who will have a green arm band on their left arms.

At 2 PM, a delegation of US organizations will meet with ambassador.

DATE: Friday, August 27
TIME: 11 am
PLACE: United Nations, UN Center for Human Rights

CONTACT: Same as above

ACTION: A copy of the letter to Brazilian President Franco will be presented to UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros Gali through Elea Stamatopoulou

San Francisco:

DATE: Wednesday, August 25
TIME: 12 noon
PLACE: Brazilian Consulate, 300 Montgomery Street

CONTACT: Beto Borges
Rainforest Action Network
(415) 398 4404

ACTION: Vigil at consulate, followed by meeting with consul.

Houston, TX

DATE: Wednesday, August 25
TIME: 12 noon
PLACE: Brazilian Consulate, 1700 West Loop South

CONTACT: Benton Musslewhite
One World Now
(713) 222-2288 or
(800) 5-EARTH-5

ACTION: Vigil at consulate, followed by meeting with consul.

**Washington, D.C.:**

DATE: Thursday, August 26
TIME: 11 am
PLACE: Brazilian Embassy, 3006 Massachusetts Ave.

CONTACT: Fernando Allegretti
Environmental Defense Fund
(202) 387 3500

ACTION: Vigil outside the embassy; followed by a visit from a delegation to the ambassador.

ORGANIZATIONS ARE ENCOURAGED TO:

1. **JOIN US** in one of the protest vigils mentioned above; bring as many participants as possible.

If there is no Brazilian consulate in your area, organize a similar event at your Senator or Representative's offices. Please be in touch so we know what is happening all over the United States.

2. **SIGN A GROUP LETTER** to President Franco. This letter has been signed by over 60 organizations and individuals. The deadline for joining in this collective effort is Tuesday evening, August 24. Final copies of the letter will be

delivered to Brazilian Consulates and the Embassy during the Wednesday and Thursday events. (Call Amanaka'a and we will fax you a copy right away.)

3. **FAX INDIVIDUAL PROTEST LETTERS** to Brazilian President Dr. Itamar Franco (011-55-61-226-7566) and to Brazilian Minister of Justice, Dr. Mauricio Correa, (011-55-61-321-5145).
4. **SEND A LETTER OF SUPPORT TO DAVI KOPENAWA YANOMAMI** and his people. Letters to Davi can be faxed to Amanaka'a at 212-674-9139, or to CCNY in Brazil at 011-55-11-284-6997.

Important: Please send copies of all letters to Amanaka'a so that international solidarity can be properly acknowledged.

INDIVIDUALS ARE ENCOURAGED TO:

Come to the above mentioned actions, if you live in the Washington, New York or San Francisco areas. If you live close to other Consulates, organize visits to the Brazilian Consul and send letters to President Franco on August 25. If you cannot go, call the Consulate and send us a note on the action you took.

If you live far from a Brazilian Consulate, go to the offices of your Congresspeople on August 25. Ask them to manifest support to the Yanomami people by writing to the Brazilian authorities and to Davi Yanomami. Make sure they send us copies of all letters. If you cannot go, call your Representative and write us to record what you did.

Please make sure you maintain contact with us so that all of our efforts can be coordinated. Keep active in support of the Yanomami at this moment of extreme suffering and sadness for Davi Kopenawa and his people.

HOW TO REACH US AT AMANAKA'A

Amanaka'a will keep office hours from 11 am to 11 pm Eastern time until Wednesday, August 25 to answer questions and provide additional information. Subsequently, daily updates and background information will be provided during regular office hours.

Call: Zezé or Christine at (212) 674-4646

FAX to: Zezé or Christine at (212) 674-9139

EMAIL to: User AMANAKAA on Econet

Mail to: 339 Lafayette Street, Suite 8, New York, NY 10012

Thank you for your active participation and concern.

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RE: YANOMAMI MASSACRE
DATE: 8-20-93

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Jim Pritchett, Brazil Desk: 647-9407
Asst. Sec. Watson: 647-5780

see enclosures: NYTimes article and cover note from NWF, U.S. government (State and Embassy) documents/press releases on Indigenous Rights Declaration and military activities.

AMERICAN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSION
TO INVESTIGATE THE SITUATION OF
THE BRAZILIAN YANOMAMI

June 1991

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE SITUATION OF THE BRAZILIAN YANOMAMI

Terry Turner (Chair), Bruce Albert, Jason Clay, Alcida Ramos, Stephan Schwartzman, Anthony Seeger (members), Claudia Andujar, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Davi Kopenawa Yanomami (consultants)

I. PREAMBLE: THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION

The American Anthropological Association is an organization of researchers, teachers and professionals concerned with culture and cultural differences. The ability of a group to define and live according to its own shared cultural meanings and values is a fundamental human right. When a people's legal rights, social or cultural self-determination are denied, or its mode of life or physical existence are threatened because of its cultural differences from other groups, this Association has a legitimate concern with such abuses, and both a right and an obligation to speak out against them, regardless of where in the world they occur.

Acting on this principle, the Association has repeatedly manifested its concern over attempts by the government of Brazil to avoid its responsibilities to protect the welfare, lands, resources, and social integrity of its indigenous nations, or to implement economic, political and military policies incompatible with these responsibilities (AAA Resolutions 1970, 1978, 1979a). In recent years, the Association's concern with the treatment of the native peoples of Brazil has focused increasingly on the plight of the Yanomami of Roraima and northern Amazonas States (AAA Resolution 1979b; AAA 1990a, Letter Contributed to Environmental Defense Fund Briefing to Under Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; AAA 1990b, Briefing Letter to President Bush).

II. THE APPOINTMENT AND WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

Over the past decade the Brazilian government, rather than change the policies against which these AAA resolutions and official memoranda had protested, has not only continued and intensified the policies but failed to take effective measures to ameliorate their massively disruptive and increasingly lethal effects on the Yanomami. Instead, it has actively sought to prevent others (religious missions, indigenous peoples' organizations, non-governmental organizations, medical doctors, ecological researchers and anthropologists) from gaining access or rendering assistance to the Yanomami, while going to great lengths to misrepresent the real nature, purpose, and effects of its policies toward them. The cumulative effects of these policies have now brought the Brazilian Yanomami to the brink of physical, not to mention social and cultural extinction.

By 1990 the devastation of the environment, health, social organization and culture of the Yanomami, particularly in the State of Roraima but also increasingly in the state of Amazonas, had reached a scale and intensity that the Procurador Federal (Federal Prosecutor, the equivalent of the U.S. Attorney General) of Brazil frankly described as "genocidal". (Aragao 1990:27.) In the light of the extreme urgency of the situation, and the persistence of the Brazilian government in its genocidal policies, the President of the Association resolved on the extraordinary step of appointing a Special Investigating Commission to report to the Executive Board on the current situation of the Yanomami and recommend appropriate actions by the Association (AAA 1990c; Document 90.134 establishing the Commission). The charge of the Commission was specifically limited to the Brazilian Yanomami, in recognition of the many important differences between their situation and that of the Venezuelan Yanomami, and the much greater urgency of their plight.

Terry Turner was appointed chair of the Commission, with authority to appoint five other members. Bruce Albert, Alcida Ramos, Jason Clay, Stephan Schwartzman, and Anthony Seeger were appointed and agreed to serve. Turner has done research and support work with Brazilian indigenous peoples and is currently with the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. Bruce Albert and Alcida Ramos are anthropologists who have worked extensively with the Brazilian Yanomami and have been their most outspoken and effective anthropological supporters. Both are now at the University of Brasilia. Jason Clay, now with Cultural Survival, has done anthropological research in Brazil and is currently directing Cultural Survival's projects in Brazilian Amazonia. Stephan Schwartzman has worked as an anthropologist with Brazilian Indians and is currently directing the Amazonian projects of the Environmental Defense Fund. Anthony Seeger is currently Curator in the Office of Folklife Programs at the Smithsonian. In addition to carrying out anthropological research with Amazonian Indians, he spent several years teaching in Brazil, during which time he took a prominent part in indigenous support activities. Manuela Carneiro, Ex-President of the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA), under whom ABA had taken various actions on behalf of the Yanomami and other native peoples of the same Northern Amazonian area, Claudia Andujar, Director of the Committee for the Creation of a Yanomami Park (CCPY), the leading non-governmental organization specifically dedicated to supporting the Yanomami, and Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, the political leader and principal spokesman of the Brazilian Yanomami, agreed to serve as special advisers of the Committee.

In early February 1991, Turner travelled to Brasilia, Manaus (where the Federal Ministry of Health had called a meeting to discuss its new Plan of Medical Assistance to the Yanomami) and Boa Vista (capital of the State of Roraima, where the majority of

the Yanomami are located and where their condition is most desperate) to interview as many of the principals involved as possible and to get a sense of the situation at first hand. Those interviewed included: Aurelio Rios of the staff of the Federal Prosecutor of the Republic, in Brasilia; Sergio Leitao and Anna Valeria of the Nucleo de Direitas Indigenas, also in Brasilia; Claudia Andujar, Director of the Committee for the Creation of a Yanomami Park (CCPY), in Manaus and Boa Vista; Carlo Zacquini of the Catholic Medical Mission of Catrimani, also in Manaus and Boa Vista; and in Boa Vista, Dom Aldo Mongiano, Bishop of Boa Vista; Gorette Selau, Doctor working with the CCPY; Oneron Pithan, ex-director of medical services for the Brazilian Indian Agency (FUNAI) in Roraima, who had just left FUNAI to become Superintendent of the federal Medical Agency of Amazonia (SUCAM) in Roraima; Glenio Da Costa Alvarez, Regional Superintendent of FUNAI for Roraima; Maria Aparecida da Silva, doctor working with FUNAI; various medical staff and Yanaomami patients in the Indian Hospital, or Casa do Indio, of Boa Vista; and Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, the Yanomami leader. All of these people were unstintingly cooperative and helpful. Personnel of the CCPY office in Boa Vista rendered invaluable assistance, arranging appointments, providing guides and transportation, and making available the organization's latest publications and documents. (CCPY 1989, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c)

Both before and after his trip to Boa Vista, Turner benefitted from extensive talks with Bruce Albert, a member of the committee. Albert not only briefed and debriefed Turner on his way to and from the Yanomami, but performed the laborious task of transcribing an extensive taped interview by Turner of Davi Kopenawa, providing glosses of Yanomami phrases and annotations on many otherwise obscure points. Albert also provided copies of several important recent unpublished papers on aspects of the Yanomami situation directly relevant to this report, as did committee member Alcida Ramos. (Albert n.d.1, n.d.2, n.d.3; Ramos n.d.1, n.d.2) Important assistance was also provided by the Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information (CEDI) of Sao Paulo, which made available to Turner its comprehensive files of press clippings, photographs, government and support group documents, as well as its own publications and those of Acao Pela Cidadania, a human rights research and advocacy organization in which CEDI participates, which are the most important and authoritative sources on the recent history and current state of the Yanomami crisis. (Acao pela Cidadania 1989, 1990; CEDI 1989) The director of CEDI's working group on indigenous peoples, Carlos A. Ricardo, also rendered invaluable assistance to Turner in indicating people who should be seen, arranging appointments, procuring and copying documents, and locating sources of information.

Turner met with Davi Kopenawa Yanomami and Claudia Andujar on April 19 in New York to discuss the draft of this report and

President Collor's announcement of new measures concerning the Yanomami made earlier that day. The final draft takes into account the results of these discussions, assessments of the meaning of Collor's April 19 statement by representatives of the most important Brazilian NGOs and consultants to this committee, and the comments of all the members of the committee on the original draft of the report.

III. THE YANOMAMI CATASTROPHE: A SUMMARY HISTORY FROM 1979 TO THE PRESENT

In 1988, the Yanomami of Brazil numbered almost 10,000 (9,910 according to a census conducted by FUNAI in that year). Divided into 125 local communities, they made active use of an area of 94,191 square kilometers extending for 900 kilometers along the Venezuelan-Brazilian border. This area was officially recognized by The Brazilian Federal Government's Bureau of Indian Affairs, FUNAI, in 1985. In that year FUNAI produced a proposal to "delimit" this area as a preliminary step towards legally declaring, or "demarcating" it as Indian land (FUNAI 1985, Portaria 1817/E). At this time the Yanomami were still among the most isolated native peoples of Brazilian Amazonia, and the largest, both in population and territory, of the relatively isolated groups. Large deposits of gold and cassiterite, however, had been discovered on their land, making the legal demarcation of their territory a matter of urgent concern.

The 1985 FUNAI brief interdicting the Yanomami area was based on a thorough study of Yanomami settlement distribution, territorial use, and subsistence needs carried out by specialists from the Committee for the Creation of a Yanomami Park (CCPY). It was a victory for the forces that had been fighting for the creation of a Brazilian Yanomami Park. These included Yanomami leaders such as Davi Kopenawa, Brazilian non-governmental organizations such as CCPY, the Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information (CEDI), and the Nucleo pelas Direitas Indigenas (NDI); foreign NGOs such as the International Work Group in Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), the Anthropological Resource Collective (ARC), the Indian Law Resource Center (ILRC), OXFAM, Survival International and Cultural Survival; and Brazilian and foreign anthropologists, both individually and in their professional associations (on the struggle for the establishment of a Yanomami Park in this period see Ramos and Taylor 1979, especially Albert and Zacquini 1979). Against these pro-Yanomami forces were arrayed the military and private economic interests identified with the military dictatorship that had ruled since the coup of 1964, who remained entrenched in the government of the democratic regime established in 1984. In spite of the formal change of regime, these interests retained control of matters they perceived as vital to "national security". Indigenous policy, particularly in Amazonia and more particularly

in its sparsely occupied northern frontier areas, was one such matter.

In the view taken by the military governments of the 1960's and 1970's, indigenous peoples were seen as "ethnic cysts" which must either be "excised" from the national body politic or assimilated into it (the colorful metaphor is that of one of the more forthright exponents of military indigenous policy, Gen. Bandeira de Mello, who served as chief of FUNAI in the late 1960's and early 1970's). "National Security", as defined by the military, required "taking possession of the national territory", which in turn implied settling Amazonia with ethnic Brazilians, while supporting its development by private economic interests, both domestic and foreign. The indigenous nations of Amazonia were perceived as obstacles to these overriding national goals. Their continued existence as socially autonomous, culturally unassimilated communities in control of valuable lands and resources was and continues to be seen as incompatible with this military notion of "national security".

The Yanomami, as the largest relatively isolated and unassimilated native Amazonian nation, inhabiting the largest territory with the longest and most strategically sensitive stretch of frontier, as well as the most economically valuable mineral deposits (gold and cassiterite) and timber reserves, accordingly became a target of the highest priority for "excision" by military planners. The military, and its political allies, the big private mining interests, therefore exerted every effort to block the creation of a Yanomami Park or Reserve. To this end, the governmental vehicle of military influence, the General Secretariat of the National Security Council (SG/CSN), formulated a project in 1978 to divide Yanomami territory into 21 discontinuous "indigenous areas" including most, but far from all, of the existing Yanomami villages, and leaving out much of the intervening territory traditionally used by the Yanomami. The 21 "Indigenous areas" by themselves were too small to support traditional Yanomami subsistence activities such as hunting and gathering, or essential social activities such as inter-village visiting for matrimonial and ritual purposes. The Anthropological Resource Collective (ARC) called this plan to the attention of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which formally interpellated the Brazilian government about it (Davis 1988). ARC also prepared and proposed a resolution describing and condemning the plan, which was adopted by the American Anthropological

Association (AAA 1979a). These international efforts were instrumental in persuading the Brazilian government to drop the plan in 1979. The FUNAI directive of 1985 interdicting the integral Yanomami area appeared to consummate the victory of the coalition of forces that had blocked the military-inspired project of 1978.

The victory turned out to be short-lived. The coalition of military and private economic interests that had ruled Brazil under the military regime established in 1964 had made the "development" of Amazonia one of its highest priorities. "Development", as represented by the policies implemented in Amazonia by these forces under the military regime, meant the promotion of massive settlement, cattle ranching and extractive enterprise to the detriment of the rights and well being of the area's indigenous nations, local Brazilian populations, and environment. These forces, represented in the National Security Council (CNS), perceived the advances of the indigenist and popular forces represented by the January 1985 interdiction of the Yanomami Park as a fundamental challenge to their vision of national development and to their continuing control of national development policy. They mounted their counterattack with a project designed to give them control over the northern 14% of the total land area of the country, the area of Amazonia stretching along Brazil's northern frontiers that contains 25% of its indigenous population (56 distinct indigenous nations, with a total population of 53,700). This project, called "The Northern Headwaters Project" (Projeto Calha Norte), was secretly approved by President Sarney on June 19, 1985. The existence of the project was only disclosed over a year later, and its scope and content have never been fully revealed. The project explicitly envisaged the military and economic occupation of the frontier region and the reformulation of indigenous policy in the area to take account of the interests of "national security", as defined by the General Secretary of the National Security Council.

In August 1987 there began a massive invasion of Yanomami territory by miners eager to exploit the area's gold and cassiterite. The army at first made a few feeble and unconvincing efforts to interfere, but moved into active complicity with the miners in 1988-89 (Albert n.d.2:40-44). The killing of four Yanomami and mutilation of their corpses by miners shortly after the beginning of the invasion was seized upon by the government as a pretext to suspend its working agreement with the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami Park to permit the latter's medical personnel to carry on medical and public health work among the Yanomami, and to expel the Catholic medical mission at the Yanomami village of Catrimani. FUNAI and the military argued that all outsiders (i.e., medical workers, anthropologists, and other independent observers) should leave the area "for their own safety"; the key "outsiders" involved, the miners, were ironically exempt from this policy. Anthropologists were also

refused entry into the area. Neither medical personnel nor anthropologists were involved in any incidents of conflict, and no effort was made to impeded entry of those responsible for the increasingly frequent acts of violence, the miners. These selective expulsions served only to cut off the Yanomami from contact with their only outside supporters, and to prevent news of what was happening to them from reaching the outside world.

On September 13, 1988, the government issued interministerial order number 160, which divided Yanomami land into 19 small, discontinuous areas separated by "corridors" designed to allow unobstructed access by the miners who were invading their country in ever increasing numbers. Only 29% of the Yanomami area originally delimited by the government in 1985 was included in these areas. The remaining 71% was placed in two "National Forests" and a "National Park". The order was given the force of law by Presidential decree in early 1989, even though neither the Yanomami themselves or the National Congress had been consulted, as required by the constitution. This document was followed only two months later by a second interministerial order (number 250) superceding the earlier decision (160). It repeated all the key features of the former decision, such as the division of Yanomami territory into discontinuous areas, but amended it in one crucial respect, which was the deletion of the earlier document's characterization of the "National Park" and "National Forests" that now contained 71% of the originally recognized area of Yanomami country as "Indigenous Lands" under Yanomami control. This portentous change betrayed the real purpose of these deceptively named entities: the expropriation of the greater part of Yanomami territory from the Yanomami themselves, in order to make it freely available to exploitation by the miners.

The ominous threat to Brazil's indigenous peoples posed by the "Northern Headwaters Project", and the horrific example of what was already happening to the Yanomami as a result of the government-encouraged invasion of their territory by the miners, contributed to the successful mobilization of indigenist and democratic forces to demand a strong section on the rights of indigenous peoples in the new Brazilian constitution drawn up in 1988. This campaign, with important participation by indigenous Brazilian nations like the Kayapo and the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI), was successful in obtaining an excellent set of Constitutional safeguards of indigenous rights. Article 231 of the new constitution, proclaimed on Oct. 5, 1988, defines "indigenous lands" as the total area necessary for the physical and cultural subsistence of the Indians and the protection of their environment. It also provides that any exploitation of indigenous territory for mining must first be approved by the National Congress and by the native communities affected. It further explicitly removes indigenous lands from those areas in which the State may stimulate the organization of miners' cooperatives or give their work priority over other uses.

These provisions clearly rendered unconstitutional the interministerial decisions 160 and 250 that had divided up Yanomami country into areas too small to support the native communities located in them, and which rendered impossible the inter-communal ritual visits and affinal exchanges that form an essential part of Yanomami social relations. They are likewise inconsistent with the government-encouraged expropriation of Yanomami land and resources by the invading miners. Above all, they are clearly contradictory with the way both the territorial division and the tacit acquiescence in the miners' invasion were implemented as federal government policy without the constitutionally prescribed consultation with the native people concerned and the National Congress. When pressed on the point, the general at the head of the National Security Council succinctly replied, "The constitution does not apply in the Northern Headwaters area". He could not easily have made it clearer that the National Security Council and the political-economic forces it represents saw their policy toward the native peoples of the Northern Headwaters region in general, and the Yanomami in particular, as a direct challenge to Constitutional legality and the democratic, indigenist and environmentalist forces that had mobilized behind it. Meanwhile, the National Security Council fomented spurious charges that criticisms of the Brazilian government's environmental and indigenous policies in Amazonia by NGO's and anthropologists were threats to "national security" inspired by foreign interests attempting to get control of Amazonia for their own ends. (ABA 1990) These charges have been widely repeated by Brazilian government spokespersons and media.

By 1989 an estimated 40,000 miners had flooded into Yanomami territory. The impact of this invasion on the Yanomami was shattering.

Gold mining in Yanomami country is carried out by the Placer method, which involves the use of high-pressure hoses and mercury to precipitate the granules of gold as the muddy water washed out by the hoses passes over the sluices. It results in large shallow ponds of stagnant water and the pollution of streams and rivers by mud and mercury. The large areas of standing water have become breeding places for mosquitoes, which have given rise to an epidemic of malaria. The noise of the operations, together with that of the small aircraft that constantly take off and land at the airstrips by the mining operations, drives away the game on which the Yanomami depend, while the river pollution kills or drives off the fish. In some cases, a community's swidden gardens have also been destroyed by mining operations; in many the people are too sick or weakened from disease to keep up their gardens. Malnutrition has become widespread, and has become a significant factor in aggravating the effects of disease and the rate of infant mortality. Many Yanomami have been reduced to begging the

miners for food. This, however, has created further problems. The unfamiliar industrialized food products they are given (white rice, sugar, canned goods) have proved difficult for many to digest, and are inadequate nutritional substitutes for the native diet. At the same time, the aggravated pollution of water sources with amoebae and other parasites owing to forced sedentarization and the proximity of large numbers of miners has produced intestinal disorders in many Yanomami, thus intensifying the effects of their medical and nutritional problems. Cumulative mercury poisoning from eating fish from polluted streams is also beginning to be a problem (7% of hair samples collected by Albert from 162 Yanomami from Paapiu, Surucucus and Mucajal in early 1990 showed levels higher than deemed tolerable by the Ministry of Health: Albert, personal communication).

The most devastating impact of the miners' invasion on the Yanomami has been the epidemic of malaria that is now in the process of wiping out whole Yanomami communities. This epidemic followed directly upon the flooding of large areas by the placer mining operations. These shallow, stagnant ponds become ideal mosquito breeding grounds. Many Yanomami villages in the central part of Yanomami country, where mining activity is most intense, have already lost all their children and old people. Fertility, which is particularly sensitive to malaria, has fallen to near zero, as a result of malaria-induced high rates of abortion, premature births, stillbirths and abnormal births. Death rates have reached 15% in the few relatively well-recorded villages with some medical assistance, but in more isolated communities have reached levels as high as 60% (B. Albert, private communication). In communities in the area of greatest mining activity, such as Paapiu and Surucucus, over 90% of the population is infected with one or more strains of malaria, the majority of the cases being the lethal falciparum variety.

Originally heaviest in the central Yanomami area where mining activity was most intense, the epidemic has spread to peripheral areas thus far not directly affected by mining. In April 1991, Ramos reported an astonishingly high incidence of 114% malaria-positive blood samples taken over a period of 20 days from a Sanuma population on the northern periphery of Brazilian Yanomami country, on the Rio Auaris (151 cases of malaria of different types among 133 persons in this time span). 71% of these cases were of falciparum malaria. (Ramos n.d.2)

As the malaria epidemic intensified in 1988-'89, FUNAI took no action to increase its own meager medical staff in the field, and in 1989 actually suspended all medical assistance in Yanomami areas. At the same time, it continued to ban non-governmental medical personnel from the Yanomami area. The hundreds of Yanomami malarial cases admitted to the general Indian medical facility FUNAI maintained in Boa Vista, the Casa do Indio, and the appalling medical, nutritional and sanitary conditions

prevailing there, were disclosed in a journalist's report published in Nov. 1989 (Albert n.d.2.:28-29). This report, which the Brazilian government tried unsuccessfully to suppress, led to a national and international outcry. Acao pela Cidadania also made a tour of inspection and released an important report on the health situation of the Yanomami at this time (Ramos 1989; Acao pela Cidadania 1989).

Forced by this mobilization of international public opinion to take some action, the government launched an emergency project of medical assistance to the Yanomami, which ran from the beginning of January to mid-February 1990. This project (the Plano Emergencial de Atencao a Saude Yanomami, or PEAS) was dogged from the start by lack of sufficient transport (especially light aircraft and helicopters), which prevented it from reaching two-thirds of its target population. Lack of funds, medical supplies and personnel further limited its effectiveness in the areas it did reach. (Ministerio da Saude 1990a)

The project did reach about 25% of the Yanomami population and succeeded in treating numerous cases of malaria and other diseases. It also provided the first systematic data on the general medical situation of the Yanomami of Roraima. From this it appeared that roughly 20% of the total Yanomami population had become infected with malaria, chiefly of the falciparum strain (a SUCAM doctor has recently calculated that there are about 2,000 cases of malaria among the Brazilian Yanomami, now with a population well below their previous near-10,000: Albert, personal communication); 70% with viral respiratory diseases; large numbers with gastric disorders; and relatively high incidences of venereal disease, dental problems, oncocercosis and other dermatological problems. 13% of the cases grave enough to be admitted to the field hospital of Surucucus were suffering from malnutrition, but in the community of Paapiu, the center of mining activity, the incidence of malnutrition reached 36% (Acao Pela Cidadania 1990:30; Albert n.d.1, n.d.2:28-29, 36-40, and private communication; Ramos n.d.1).

The catastrophic medical situation of late 1989 and early 1990, after the brief and relatively ineffective interlude of PEAS, has by now returned to the same crisis levels in the core areas, while significantly expanding its territorial extent to include hitherto untouched outlying areas, according to medical personnel currently working with the Yanomami interviewed by Turner in Boa Vista in February 1991 (CCPY Updates 1990, 1991a). A decrease in the number of miners from 40,000 to roughly 3,000 has been offset by the continuation of sizeable mining operations, the failure to recuperate the large areas already stripped and flooded by earlier operations, and the success of the malaria in establishing itself in an epidemic mode in the Yanomami population. The general consensus was that the medical effects of the PEAS emergency program of early 1990 had by now

disappeared, and that the malaria epidemic has risen to higher levels than it had attained a year earlier at the time of the PEAS.

The Brazilian Ministry of Health has recognized the urgency of the situation and in consultation with Yanomami leadership and other non-governmental organizations involved in the situation has developed an excellent plan to deal with both the emergency and long term medical needs of the Yanomami. (Ministerio de Saude 1990b) This plan has received the backing of an interministerial committee appointed by President Collor, which on April 11 produced an order putting the Health Ministry's plan into effect and allocating one billion cruzeiros (about \$3,750,000 US) for its execution (Portaria Interministerial no. 316, April 11, 1991). This is an important positive step. It must be emphasized, however, that all the medical personnel with whom Turner spoke in Boa Vista strongly felt that medical assistance will be pointless unless the miners, whose presence is the cause of the malaria epidemic and other major medical problems, are first expelled from Yanomami territory.

The expulsion of the miners must thus be the first priority of any attempt to save the Yanomami. Aside from the horrendous ecological and medical effects of the miner's invasion, the pervasive climate of lawlessness and menace it has created have had profoundly demoralizing effects on Yanomami society. There has been a continual stream of incidents of killing and casual brutality by miners against Yanomami, amounting to the equivalent of a campaign of low-intensity terrorism. Albert calculates that at least 21 Yanomami were murdered and some 6 more wounded by miners from late 1987 to end 1989, and the pattern has continued into 1990 (4 killed, 1 wounded in Olomai and Shirobi: CCPY Update 23) and 1991 (1 wounded in Shiriana: O Estado de Sao Paulo 3/22/91). The killings have often been followed by the mutilation of corpses. In a couple of cases, whole Yanomami communities have been forced to flee attacks, or the threat of attacks, by miners. Miners frequently come to Yanomami communities to ask for food and/or women; the Yanomami report that on such occasions they fear that the miners will use violence to take what they want if they refuse, and tend to comply. In the absence of police protection, many Yanomami now live in permanent terror of the miners in their own communities. It is noteworthy that there has been very little armed resistance or violence towards the miners by Yanomami. Nor have the effects of the miners' lawlessness and violence been confined to the indigenous population. Thousands of miners have crossed the international border from Brazilian Yanomami territory into Venezuela, provoking diplomatic incidents when they were expelled by the Venezuelan National Guard. (CCPY Update 1991b)

The miners have for the most part been brought in and supplied by air. Great numbers of clandestine airstrips,

operating outside of the legally required regulation by the Brazilian Aviation Commission, have been established, some of them immediately beside Yanomami villages (a map prepared by the Federal Police in 1990 showed 104 of these strips, and as they have continued to be built, there are by now doubtless considerably more). A single light plane may make over one hundred flights per day to these landing fields, and hundreds of planes are involved: the volume of traffic is enormous. There are as yet undocumented rumors that these airstrips are also being used by drug smugglers, being conveniently located half-way between the cocaine processing centers of Colombia and the Atlantic coast of Brazil, now an important point of transshipment. In a few cases, landing fields constructed by FUNAI, the Brazilian Air Force (FAB), or missionaries, have been taken over and used openly by the miners. In July 1989 the Federal Prosecutor sought a court injunction against these clandestine airfields, which was granted in December of that year. During 1990 and 1991 the Federal Prosecutor's office has been able to bring in Federal Police to close some of these airstrips, and in January 1991 they began to confiscate aircraft found on the strips (some two dozen had been impounded by early February).

President Collor's abortive attempt to eliminate the clandestine airstrips in Yanomami territory exemplifies the continuing inability of the Brazilian Presidency to enforce Constitutional legality in Northern Amazonia in general and the Yanomami area in particular. Shortly following his inauguration, in March 1990, Collor made a trip to Yanomami territory, accompanied by his principle aids. Shaken by his first-hand observation of the chaos and destruction inflicted on the Yanomami by the miners (and also obviously impressed by the demonstrations in support of the Yanomami he had encountered on his European trip immediately before his inauguration), he ordered the dynamiting of the illegal airstrips by the Brazilian Air Force. A plan was duly drawn up which called for the destruction of only 73 of the 91 illegal landing fields then known to be in operation. Only 30 of these were targeted for the initial phase of the operation, and of these only 14 were actually destroyed before operations were suspended because of the onset of the rainy season (Folha de Sao Paulo 5/3/90). Some of these were quickly repaired and put back in service.

Under orders from the Federal Prosecutor, the Federal Police have periodically arrested and expelled miners from Yanomami territory during 1990-91. These were only a small fraction of the thousands in the area, and lack of funds and personnel have limited police efforts to sporadic forays. Together with the bombings of the airstrips and the failure of many of the miners who rushed into the area to find enough gold to justify the hardships of life in the forests of Roraima, however, these police actions have had the effect of discouraging many from

staying on. The number of miners in Yanomami country fell dramatically from an estimated 40,000 in 1989 to perhaps 3,000 at the beginning of 1991.

This is clearly a significant result, but the numbers are deceptive in several respects. Many of the miners who left the delimited Yanomami area simply moved on into adjacent areas of northern Amazonas State that also contain Yanomami communities (Albert, personal communication). The 37,000-odd miners who left after the bombings of the airstrips were by and large first-time amateurs, rural poor from the Northeast who had flocked to Roraima to try their luck at the first reports of gold. By the time of the bombings and arrests, many were leaving anyway because the seasonal rains made aerial resupply too difficult. The 3,000 who have remained, by contrast, are experienced professionals who know what they are about and have every intention of continuing their work in the area. From the point of view of these hardened professionals, the effect of the intermittent Federal police actions has been mainly to clear the area of amateur competition.

The Brazilian Bureau of Indian Affairs, FUNAI, did nothing to protest the dismemberment and expropriation of the Yanomami area, to stop the invasion or to protect the Indians from the miners. On the contrary, it collaborated fully with the policies of the Federal and State governments promoting the expropriation of Yanomami territory by the miners, most notoriously under the Directorship of Romero Juca Filho (May 1986--September 1988). When Juca left the presidency of FUNAI to become the first (Federally appointed) governor of the newly proclaimed State of Roraima, he continued to serve the interests of the miners and the Federal government's "Northern Headwaters" Project against the Yanomami.

In July 1989, as Governor of Roraima, Juca promulgated "Project Meridian 62", which envisaged the establishment of "mining reserves" wholly within the "National Forest" areas that had been carved out of Yanomami territory by the Federal government's Portarias 160 and 250 in the preceding year. Such reserves were decreed by the Ministry of Mines and Energy within the same month. This establishment of the first "mining reserves" in the so-called "National Forests" that had been defined within Yanomami country clearly fulfilled the purpose for which these deceptively labelled areas had been created: namely, the expropriation of indigenously owned, ecologically intact land by mining interests whose extractive operations would destroy both its utility for indigenous subsistence and its natural ecological viability.

Attempting to reverse this clear violation of section 231 of the new Constitution, the Federal Prosecutor brought an action in Federal court on Oct. 12 (less than three months later) seeking

to have the "mining reserves", "National Forests" and the "National Park" that had been established within the Yanomami area declared illegal, and requesting the court to reassert the legal integrity of the continuous Yanomami territory originally recognized by the Brazilian government in 1985. A decision to this effect was duly handed down by a Federal judge on Oct. 20. The effect of this important legal victory was mysteriously undone, however, three months latter, when the head of the Federal Police, Romeo Tuma, upon his arrival in Roraima ostensibly to oversee the enforcement of the decision. Instead of executing the court's mandate to expel the miners, Tuma secretly arranged a "compromise" with the miners' leaders. This, Tuma declared, was to consist in transferring the miners from "indigenous lands" to "National Forests" within the Yanomami area, which of course comprised the very indigenous lands from which they had been ordered expelled.

When challenged with having given away precisely the point he had been sent to enforce, Tuma contradicted himself and denied having agreed to allow miners to remain anywhere within the original Yanomami area, in violation of the Federal Court order he had been sent to enforce. Nevertheless, he did nothing to expel the miners, and less than two weeks after his denial, President Sarney himself issued the first of a series of decrees giving official form to the "compromise" Tuma had reached with Brazilian legality. Sarney proclaimed a new "mining reserve", Uraricoa-Santa Rosa, which he claimed was wholly outside the Yanomami indigenous area, but which when checked against maps was found to have 16% of its area within the originally delimited Yanomami reserve. Ignoring denunciations of the patent illegality of this act, Sarney added to the outrage less than a month later by proclaiming two further "mining reserves", Catrimani-Couto de Magalhaes and Uraricoeira, both wholly within the originally interdicted Yanomami area. This time he did not even bother to claim that they lay outside Yanomami lands.

The Decrees establishing these three "reserves" (no.s 98.890, 98.959, and 98.960) were published in the Official Gazette on Jan. 26 and Feb. 16, respectively. Four days later, on Feb. 20, the Federal Prosecutor charged President Sarney and the four Ministers who had signed these Decrees with "crimes of responsibility" (that is, of criminal failure to fulfill their Constitutional responsibility to enforce the law, the Brazilian equivalent of a Bill of Impeachment) in the Federal Congress. This case was still pending on March 15 when Sarney and his Cabinet left office. The concluding words of a speech delivered on March 9 by the Federal Prosecutor, commenting on this sordid affair of the "mining reserves", hold special relevance for the potential significance of an intervention by this Association in support of the Yanomami, and are thus worth quoting:

The Public Ministry is prepared to pursue this

case to its ultimate consequences, even if this means joining with international organizations to expose the drama being lived by this native people. How is it possible that at the end of the XXth Century we are being forced to watch such a deplorable episode of the annihilation of a culture, in such a barbarous and unscrupulous manner, for the profit of a few individuals and through the inertia and indifference of so many others who promised faithfully to uphold the Constitution of the Republic, but trample upon it as if it were a dead letter? (E.J. Guilherme de Aragao, cited in Acao pela Cidadania 1990:27)

The efforts of the Federal Prosecutor's office and the Federal Courts to force the Brazilian government to abandon its devious policy of passive acquiescence and active complicity in the miners' invasion and rape of Yanomami territory, while laudable and constructive, have thus far been sporadic and insufficient by themselves to reverse the illegal situation that now prevails as the status quo in Yanomami territory. At one level, the relative ineffectiveness of law enforcement has been the result of a lack of sufficient funds and aircraft. This lack in itself, however, has deeper political causes. For the Federal government of Brazil to muster the resources necessary to enforce its own laws and provide the necessary backing to its own law enforcement agencies, it must first muster the political will to confront the coalition of military and private mining and other business interests that seized control of indigenous policy during the Presidency of Sarney and have thus far continued to control it under President Collor. The recent history of environmental and indigenous politics in Brazil suggests that this is unlikely to happen without a significant mobilization of public opinion and political pressure in North America and Europe. A strong public statement by the American Anthropological Association could make an important contribution to such a mobilization.

As an anthropologist who works with the Brazilian Yanomami summed up their situation in 1990:

...the reduction of the indigenous territories of Northern Amazonia for the benefit of private interests...the political isolation of indigenous demands through the neutralization of every form of external solidarity, the confinement and rapid deculturation of the Indians of the region in small discontinuous areas...this program of expropriation and ethnocide constitutes the essence of the indigenous policy of the military lobby, institutionally expressed in the "Northern Headwaters" project in defiance of the new constitution. [This policy] has a particularly devastating effect on the more isolated indigenous

groups, as the tragic case of the Yanomami amply illustrates. The territorial constriction, ecological violation, epidemiological shock, and physical violence that these Indians suffered between 1987 and 1990 reached an intensity that wiped out 13% of their population, between 1,200 and 1,300 people, in that period. How is it possible, in the light of these facts, not to consider the indigenous policy of the "Northern Headwaters" project a policy of genocide? (Albert n.d.2:45-46)

On April 19, 1991, under steadily mounting pressure from the Brazilian Federal Prosecutor and Courts, as well as NGOs and the Yanomami themselves (in April, Davi Kopenaua went on a speaking tour of the United States, where his denunciations of Brazilian actions towards his people received wide attention) President Collor finally acted to revoke his predecessor's illegal decrees sequestering most of Yanomami country and dividing the rest into small discontinuous areas. He also promised (again) to expel the miners who remained on Yanomami land (these decrees published in the Official Gazette April 21). Immediately preceding this announcement, his administration announced plans to appropriate one billion cruzeiros for the implementation of the Ministry of Health's plan for medical assistance to the Yanomami (Portaria 316, signed by Ministers Alcení and Passarinho April 11).

These announcements represent positive moves, but their effects are potentially undermined by another measure which Collor announced at the same time. Rather than return the land divided up by the revoked decrees to the Yanomami as a demarcated Indigenous Park, Collor only reinstated, for a period of six months, the preliminary "interdiction" of the area previously declared in 1985. Collor explained that this was necessary "to study the question of what area should be demarcated and legally recognized as belonging to" the Yanomami. This study, however, has already been made; it was the basis of the original interdiction of the area in 1985. Why is another study needed, unless the government is planning to use it as a pretext for yet another attempt to carve up Yanomami for the benefit of the miners and the satisfaction of the military planners of "Project Northern Headwaters"?

When informed of Collor's announcement, Davi Kopenaua, the Yanomami leader, who was then in New York at a meeting attended by Turner, responded, "We have already been 'studied', our land has already been surveyed. If Collor meant to give back our land, he could have done it. This is another trick the Brazilian President is playing on the Indians". In the broader perspective of the balance of political forces in the contemporary Brazilian regime, what may appear to the Yanomami as simply one more dirty "trick" may be yet another desperate manoeuvre by Brazil's democratic regime to accommodate the covert control of policy by

military and private economic interests while still appearing to discharge its constitutional responsibilities to protect the rights and environment of its people. Experience shows that in such situations, the pressure of international opinion can make the difference between victory and defeat for the forces of democratic legality and fair treatment for indigenous nations.

IV. RECOMENDATIONS

A. PUBLIC STATEMENT BY THE ASSOCIATION

We of the American Anthropological Association denounce the Federal government of Brazil for its repeated violations of its own constitutional guarantees of indigenous rights, lands, and resources in its actions towards the Yanomami who live within its national boundaries, in defiance of the challenges of its own Federal Prosecutor and the decisions of its own Federal courts. We denounce its attempts to disguise from its own people and the world the true nature, purpose, and effects of its policies towards the Yanomami. The effects of certain policies (detailed in this report) initiated by the Federal government of Brazil and the State governments of Roraima and Amazonas toward the Yanomami and their country have been genocidal. These governments cannot escape their moral responsibility for this genocide of a people and the destruction of its society, culture and environment. We pledge ourselves to do all we can to bring the truth of the massive suffering and mortal peril these policies have brought to the Yanomami to the attention of the government and public news media of this country. We shall also communicate these findings to the appropriate agencies of the Organization of the American States, of the United Nations, and of all governments and international financial institutions considering support of the Brazilian policies and economic activities that have turned the land of the Yanomami into a death camp for its own people.

We call upon the Brazilian government to restore to the Yanomami their full territory, an integral, continuous area of 94,191 square km., as recognized by the Brazilian government in its own decree of Jan. 8, 1985 (FUNAI Portaria 1817/E), and to give this territory full legal standing as a permanently demarcated Indigenous Park. We call for the permanent revocation of the illegal decrees fragmenting the country of the Yanomami into 19 discontinuous "indigenous areas", and expropriating over 70% of it through the establishment of so-called "National Forests", a "National Park" and "Mining Reserves" (Portarias Interministeriais 160 and 250, and Decretos 97.512-97.530,

While applauding President Collor's suspension of these decrees in his announcement on April 19, we note that Collor did not couple this gesture (in itself no more than belated compliance with decisions of Brazilian Federal courts) with the full legal recognition ("demarcation") of Yanomami territory, but instead retained it under government control pending a "restudy" of the Yanomami land question. Neither the revocation of the decrees nor the repudiation of the policies from which they proceeded can be accepted as definitive while the basic question of the status of Yanomami land is thus left in suspense. There can be no justification for such tentative and provisional prolongation of a clearly illegal and unconstitutional government policy, especially one whose genocidal effects have been so amply demonstrated. Yanomami land use and territorial boundaries have been exhaustively studied; there is no real need for another study. Competent anthropological opinion is unanimous on the need of the Yanomami for a continuous area, and on the disastrous social, cultural, and medical effects of the existing situation and the government policies that have precipitated it. President Collor's announcement thus appears as little more than another attempt to placate public opinion while in fact continuing the basic policy of denying Yanomami land rights that has been dictated for the past half-dozen years by military and private economic interests. President Collor should be under no illusion that his minimal and indecisive gesture will lead the members of this association (or other scientific and human rights bodies with which we are in communication) to relax our vigilance or to cease to call for justice, land and medical support for the Yanomami.

We specifically call upon President Collor and his administration to implement his promise to expel all miners who have illegally invaded and occupied the Yanomami indigenous area. We also call for the destruction of the roughly 100 illegal airstrips that have been constructed within the reserve, and for the policing of the few legal landing fields required for legitimate purposes of medical and other assistance to the Yanomami, to prevent their use by miners and drug smugglers.

We bring the violations of the human rights of the Yanomami people by the actions of the Brazilian Federal government and the State governments of Roraima and Amazonas to the urgent attention of the U.S. State Department and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. We call upon these agencies to bring pressure to bear on the governments concerned to discontinue their abuses against the Yanomami.

We further call for an international effort to support the implementation of the Yanomami Health Project developed by the Brazilian Ministry of Health. We take note that in its document setting out this plan, the said Ministry recognizes that Brazil lacks the financial resources, medicines and trained medical

personnel to implement the plan. While noting and applauding President Collor's promise to budget one billion cruzeiros to support the Plan, we urge that an international consortium of NGOs and governments be formed to lend supplementary support as called for by the Ministry of Health. We also call attention to "Project Demini", a project for medical assistance to the Demini area of Yanomami country formulated by Yanomami leadership in cooperation with the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami Park, as particularly worthy of support.

We caution, however, that such help will be wasted if the invading miners who are the ultimate cause of the medical problems are not expelled from Yanomami territory. We also call upon the Brazilian government to follow the recommendations of its own Ministry of Health and establish a permanent program of medical assistance, which is its clear responsibility under the Constitution.

We particularly denounce the policy of FUNAI, the National Indian Foundation of Brazil, since 1987 of refusing access by anthropological and other scientific investigators, as well as desperately needed medical personnel, to the Yanomami area. This has been part of a concerted attempt by the Brazilian government to cover up the truth of what it is doing to the Yanomami. By cooperating in this effort, FUNAI has made itself an accomplice to the genocide of the indigenous people in its charge.

Four years of unregulated mining operations and the building of illegal roads and airstrips by 40,000 invading miners has devastated the Yanomami environment. The destruction of forests, pollution of rivers, and the transformation of large areas of dry land into stagnant swamps where malarial mosquitoes breed by the millions is the responsibility of the Brazilian government, which allowed and facilitated this invasion and stood by while the damage was done. As a first, urgently needed step in repairing the damage, we call upon the Brazilian government to drain the inundated areas left by the miners, which sustain the devastating malaria epidemic now raging in Yanomami country.

Finally, we of the American Anthropological Association recognize and support the struggle of the Yanomami people to survive and resist the catastrophe to which they have been subjected, and to maintain the viability and relevance of their culture in the midst of overwhelming disaster by interpreting and speaking out against it in their own terms. We pledge to do what we can to help the voices of Yanomami leaders to be heard, as they denounce what is happening to their people and appeal to the outside world for support. To this end we will publish the attached statement of the Yanomami leader, Davi Kopenaua Yanomami, to the Association, in the Association Newsletter, and circulate it as part of this statement to the press, NGOs, and other scholarly and scientific associations.

B. ACTIONS

It is recommended that

1. The above statement should be circulated to the major newspapers and other important informational media; to the International Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations; to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States; to the relevant agencies of the United States government, including the Undersecretary of State for Latin American Affairs; and to the appropriate Congressional Committees.
2. A Portuguese translation should be simultaneously circulated to the Brazilian Press, and to appropriate agencies of the Brazilian government, including the President of Brazil, the President of FUNAI, the Minister of Justice, the Federal Prosecutor, and the Secretary for the Environment, and to the Yanomami (who may for this purpose may be considered to be represented by Davi Kopenawa Yanomami).
3. The Portuguese translation should also be sent to the Brazilian Anthropological Association, and to the Brazilian parties who aided in the collection of the data used in the preparation of this report, including the Bishop of Roraima, Dom Aldo Mongiano; the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami Park; the Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information; the Director of SUCAM for Roraima, Dr. Oneron Pithan; and the Nucleus for Indigenous Rights.
4. Copies of this report and the attached statement of Davi Kopenawa Yanomami should be circulated to major NGOs likely to support programs to help the Yanomami and defend their environment, such as Cultural Survival, Survival International, and the Environmental Defense Fund.
5. The Association should take every opportunity to communicate the contents of this report and its concluding statement in briefings and testimony to U.S. government agencies, leaders and Congressional Committees responsible for policies or investigating questions related to any aspect of the Yanomami situation, and to international financial institutions considering loans to Brazil or support for projects affecting the Yanomami area.
6. The President or representatives of the Association should present resolutions embodying the substance of the concluding statement of this report in appropriate public contexts such as the meetings of other learned and scientific associations. The Association should encourage such bodies to bring pressure on the Brazilian government to change its policies, and to support the Yanomami people in their struggle to resist and survive. More

specifically, we should call for support of, and cooperation in, the international effort to implement the emergency program of medical assistance formulated by the Brazilian Ministry of Health, and for measures to restore the Yanomami environment.

7. The Association should publish the concluding section of the report, with as much as practicable of the accompanying statement by Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, in its Newsletter or other appropriate publication.

8. The Association should encourage all members teaching courses on the Yanomami to include the information in this report as an update on the situation of the Brazilian Yanomami.

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INTERVIEW WITH DAVI KOPENAWA YANOMAMI

Talk between Davi Kopenawa Yanomami (DY) and Terence Turner (TT)
in Boa Vista, March 1991. Transcribed by Bruce Albert and
translated into English by T. Turner

PART ONE. AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT

DY: I want to send my message, this message, to our friends, the other indigenous peoples, and to our white friends too, those who stand by our side, who support us. I want to communicate my news and my message, my feelings and my needs. My full name is Davi Kopenawa Yanomami. The village I live in is called Watoriketheri. It is in the Mountains of the Wind.

My Yanomami people know, they see what is happening to our community, and they see what is happening to our relatives in other communities. They are terrified of the miners, and by the [polluted] rivers.

The miners invaded our reserve and came to our communities feigning friendship; they lied to us, they tricked us Indians, and we were taken in. Then their numbers grew; many more arrived, and they began bringing in machinery that polluted the river. The pollution killed the fish and the shrimp, everything that lived in our rivers.

I am trying to help, no not trying, I am helping my people. At first I didn't know Portuguese, but I learned to speak it to be able to protest to the Brazilian government, to all authorities. I am travelling among my people to tell them of my work: to Tootobi, Araca, Ajuricaba and Catrimani. I am very sorry not to have been able to travel to other communities because they are so far away, and hard to reach from where I have been. I would like to ask for help in my work from a friend, perhaps a white friend. I do this work, visiting other villages, whenever I get money to pay for the airplane to make the trip for me. It is very difficult to travel to distant villages because my people's forest is very big, with high jungle and mountains. I am telling you this so you can understand the difficulty. I am going to work in Surucucus, Paapiu, Jeremias, Avaris, Erico, Waikas and Mucajai and as far as Marari. It is very hard to get there; it would take me 20 days [on foot]. If I had to walk to all of these places it would take me a year.

TT: Doesn't FUNAI ever help you with this?

DY: FUNAI never helps me to do this work. FUNAI has never given me an airplane to visit villages that have airstrips, places I could reach by plane. I get no support from FUNAI.

TT: Is FUNAI doing anything else to help your people these days?

DY: I have known FUNAI since I was little, when FUNAI first began to work for the Yanomami, and now I am an employee of FUNAI, I am the chief of the Post at my village, Watoriketheri. I am working for my kin, not for FUNAI. FUNAI never does anything well, it is always complaining that it has no money, or has no airplane, that it has no support from the government to do anything good for the Yanomami, and it never has. Now things have gotten even worse. FUNAI has become even weaker. That is why I need so much help to carry on my work with different communities; because FUNAI is not doing this, it is jealous of me, it gets angry with me if I do this. FUNAI doesn't want me to leave my own village, it wants to keep me hidden, it wants me to keep quiet, not to protest, not to talk to others, not to speak to white supporters. At first FUNAI forbade me to leave my post, to leave my village. The FUNAI people want me always to stay in that one place, but I am not willing to sit still and keep quiet while my people are dying. I need to go out into the world, I need to cry out, I need to protest what is happening. No, not "need", I have the right to spread the news to other countries. My words have reached Europe, the U.S., Japan and Venezuela, and other countries throughout the world. But I am worried about reaching the more remote villages of my own people there on the [Venezuelan] frontier. You know this frontier, don't you? There are villages up there, I alone can't visit all of them.

TT: You're speaking of the Venezuelan frontier, aren't you?

DY: Yes, with Venezuela. It is virtually impossible for me alone to visit and talk with all of them. It is an enormous task. But I am trying to do what I can to save the lives of my people, of my Yanomami.

TT: Let me ask you if there are anthropologist who have helped or are helping you in your struggle, your effort. Can you tell me something about that?

DY: Yes, I can talk about that, certainly. Anthropologists exist only outside of FUNAI. There are only two anthropologists [who have helped us], one, who is not Brazilian, is called Bruce, and there is another, called Alcida. These anthropologists have helped us. They have helped by writing reports and delivering them. Bruce speaks our language, he is helping very much. We like what he is doing. He is working for the Yanomami, in support of the Yanomami, and carrying out much news about what they are experiencing. Bruce is going to our area and Alcida is going to the Auaris [the country of a northern group of Yanomami]. When they get to the communities where they are going, the Yanomami who live there tell them what is happening, so Bruce and Alcida know, they write it down and afterwards send it to the news media

so other people also hear about it.

TT: Is FUNAI doing anything to help these anthropologists? Can you say a little about that?

DY: No, they (FUNAI) do not like this work of the anthropologists. They keep trying to prohibit anthropologists [from entering Yanomami country], these two anthropologists who are working [with us]. FUNAI does not like anthropologists to move about from village to village because anthropologists tell the truth, anthropologists see at first hand what is happening in the reserve, there in Paapiu, in Surucucus, in Auaris, Tootobi, Catrimani, all these places. When an anthropologist tells the truth, it follows that s(he) is speaking against the government. FUNAI is an organ of the government and does not like this work [of anthropologists].

But that's the way it is, it takes a courageous person, a courageous anthropologist not to just do some research and then leave, we Indians need anthropologists with courage, anthropologists who can speak our language. We need anthropologists to come to us with news of what the whites are doing, of what the government is saying, of what foreign governments, European governments are saying, we need news from there, we need good news...because here in Brazil the Brazilian government never gives good news to us Yanomami. That is why we think it is good that they [anthropologists] speak our language, and can thus explain to people, to our communities, to the old people, to those who do not understand Portuguese, to the women who do not speak Portuguese. Anthropologists can speak to the shabori [shamans], to the tuxaua [chiefs] to those who don't speak Portuguese, to those who have never left the village to come to cities like this [Boa Vista]. Our people can learn about these things from anthropologists who speak our language. This is very important.

TT: Can you speak a little about the health situation? Is it getting worse? Is FUNAI doing anything to help? What can other people do?

DY: Well, FUNAI tried to carry out a community health project for the Yanomami as a whole. They only did a very little work, very little, they had no effect. This is because FUNAI has no doctors, or at least no competent doctors who can work with the Yanomami, who like to work with the Yanomami to help them...The personnel of FUNAI, government personnel are not prepared to do health work, they are not accustomed to it, and thus they find it difficult.

Personally, I think it would be better if the [FUNAI health workers] familiarized themselves with [us Yanomami] before coming in to our communities to do medical work. As it is, the FUNAI

government workers only come to know the Yanomami when they are called in for emergency aid. When they arrive in the villages they are shocked to find no houses to stay in, no clean stream for them to drink. They are afraid of getting malaria.

To deal effectively with malaria, it is necessary to have doctors in the villages, staying there for a month or two months without coming out to the city. That way, the disease could be diminished. As things are now, they [FUNAI medical personnel] only stay here in Boa Vista, or they go only to one Yanomami village, Paapiu or Surucucus. That way they will never accomplish anything. The FUNAI doctors will only have a real effect if they stay in the village, in Paapiu where there is much malaria. They have to stay in the village for a month. In Paapiu they need two doctors who will work continuously for a month without coming out to the city. They need to work there together with a couple of technicians from SUCAM, they have to take the microscope to see what kind of disease, what type of malaria it is, in order to treat it properly.

TT: Obviously; but this is not happening now, right?

DY: Right, this has not happened. So many people have died, children, youths, girls, shamans, almost everyone in Paapiu has died, so that very few people are left, that is why I am so worried...

TT: As you know, I am here on behalf of the American Anthropological Association which is a foreign organization, from a foreign country. I would like to ask you to say something to the Association. What can we do to help? What do you think we can do, what would you like us to do from abroad to support your people's struggle?

DY: Well, this is good, hein? You coming to Boa Vista to see me. It's lucky you caught me in the city. If I had been in the village it would have been a lot harder to talk! We need this work of yours, that you are doing with this foreign association that wants to help us, hein? I need your support, because we are suffering, my Yanomami people. I need your support to work, to bring pressure on the government to make it think a little, to make it hink about solving our problems. You people are always writing letters to the government, bringing things to the attention of President Collor. We need this help that you give, we need you to bring your strength to bear to make them demarcate our land, to recognize our area as a single, continuous and indivisible territory. We need this.

We Yanomami cannot fight against the whites. I don't want the government to fight against the Indians. I am more Brazilian than the government. I ask this of you: I need you to try to get out the news, to write letters, in order that the government

should demarcate our land, remove the miners, remove everything that they have brought into our reserve. The miners always leave their machinery hidden, they even hide themselves, so the government must make sure to take them all. They must leave the area clean so as to abolish the disease that the miners brought, to end or diminish the malaria, TB, flu and other kinds of [respiratory disease], that kill so many people. These and other kinds of disease that I don't know. This disease that has come from outside Brazil has also arrived here in Boa Vista, and the white man is sick with it, he is sickened by it and then transmits it.

I also want to leave another message with you. I have a project. I think you haven't yet seen this, but you have heard about it, no? I have a project that I have thought of carrying out. It is called the Demini Community Project. It is not a project of FUNAI, it is not a government project, it is not a project of the missionaries, of the Church, or of CCPY. This is a project that I conceived and created myself. It is for this that I need help.

TT. Tell me about this project, I don't know about it.

DY. With this project I am trying to help four communities. I started with Demini, and now I am working in Toototobi and Araca and Ajuricaba. I also give support the [Catholic] Mission at Catrimani, for dental work. I am learning how the whites do things; I still don't understand well the work of this project, but I am learning now through the project.

In this project I have worked to bring doctors, two doctors who are working in the community of Demini, one man and one woman, The woman is Gorete, whom you met yesterday, and the man is called Istvan. There is also a nurse, who has gone to Sao Paulo to study. So, with this project, I am inviting doctors to come and work to help these four communities. There is also Cica [Maria Aparecida da Silva], she is a dentist. She knows how to work with Yanomami, she already knows some Yanomami families. These three don't speak our language, but they are working and helping.¹

FUNAI knows about my project. So do the Church, the Evangelical Missions, and the Ministry of Health; I have shown it to them, and they found it good. So, as you have asked what the Yanomami need, I am answering you, hein? I need--no, the project needs--[support]. The project originated on my trip to Europe.

¹ As of May 1991 Project Demini includes three doctors, two nurses with training as laboratory technicians, one laboratory technician, one dentist, and one anthropological assistant and interpreter.

The Europeans agreed, they thought it would be good if I did this, that I should start work on this, that I should begin to learn about money, to learn about how to do this sort of work. If I don't do anything, if I just let things slide like FUNAI does, if I just leave everything for CCPY or the government to do, things will always lag behind, they would always just stay the way they are.

PART TWO. HOW THE WHITES' ASSAULT ON THE ENVIRONMENT THREATENS TO DESTROY THE WORLD

We have two struggles: the fight to defend the earth, the environment, the sky, the wind, the trees and the earth; and second, the fight to defend our land, our territory. The shabori [shamans] know how to do this; it is their work, because they understand Oname [God, the Creator] and his ways. Oname is like a government, like the President of the world, more powerful than any human government. The governments of the whites, like that of Brazil, do not know Oname, they don't listen to him, or the shamans. They are ruining the world, and the shamans are very worried about this, but they are growing tired of speaking out against it, they are giving up. This way the world will come to an end.

I am working with Bruce [Albert] for him to write down the shamans' knowledge of Oname and to make it into a book so that the whole world can know it. The pollution that the whites are creating is a smoke: the smoke of factories, the smoke of the forest-clearing fires, the smoke of bombs. The whites make war, drop this atomic bomb, and the smoke billows up, covering the whole world. This smoke causes much sickness among people, and the shamans are very concerned about it. People all over the world, whites, Indians, are falling ill with the sickness caused by this pollution from the smoke of metal.

The world is a sky. This smoke of pollution that the whites are generating will rise up into this sky until the sky will no longer be able to bear it, and then the world will explode, and that will be the end of it. This will happen if we do not stop this pollution. We all have dirty spirits. The whites have dirty spirits, the Indians too. There are, however, places in this world that are not dirty, where nature is still clean, as Oname directed. The shamans know these places, they understand this cleanness, they can teach it to others.

In the cities of the whites there are many poor people. Why? Because the rich whites seize their lands, take their money and don't give it back. Indians don't do this. We don't have poor people. Every one of us can use the land, can clear a garden, can hunt, fish. An Indian when he needs to eat kills just one or two tapirs. He only cuts down a few trees to make his garden. He

doesn't annihilate the animals and the forest. The whites do this, they finish the trees and the animals because they cut down great areas of forest and kill all the animals, so that they can never come back.

The huburibi [spirits of blindness] live underground, with the gold and cassiterite. They escape in the dust, they get in the eyes and cause oncocercose. Omame hid the shawara [epidemic diseases] under the earth. Nabewakaribe² use machines and dig deep holes in the earth [to get] iron, to make pieces of airplanes, of trains. This stirs up much dust, which the wind carries like smoke, and this makes many people sick.

There is also a petroleum disease (I learned about this from Lorival, the headman of my village, and my teacher; he is a shaman who is also my father-in-law). The whites take oil out of the earth. the oil, the iron, the rocks are not dead, they are alive. They only die when they are heated in the factories. then their spirits go wheeling around through the air, in the wind, and sicken children and old people. The shawara of stones gets out and wants vengeance. This is the universal sickness of pollution, the disease of smoke. It arises from iron, stones, oil, bombs, all these things. This is why I am worried about the war in Arabia, and all the black smoke that is rising from the [burning] petroleum.

If the miners are removed [from our land] only to make way for big mining companies with huge machines that can dig even deeper, this will only make things even worse, it will let loose even more shawara, more epidemics. Disease is greedy, it wants to eat people, it is a glutton. It is too strong for the shamans, there are not in this world shamans strong enough to stand against it. This way everyone will be killed. The world will be destroyed in our own time, it will not survive us. This is what Lorival says, it is what all the Yanomami are saying, and other Indians as well. [There are not enough] strong shamans.

TT. Why not then become a shaman to work against this?³

DY. Anybody who works very strongly against sickness, against the shawara, the shawara will kill, just as Chico Mendes was killed. This is why I do not say that I am "strong".

TT. But if things are so hopeless, why do you still keep fighting?

² Literally "whites--giant armadillos", i.e., miners.

³ Davi was actually initiated as a shaman by his teacher Lorival in the early 1980s.

DY. Why do I still fight? Because I am alive. I believe in my fight. I am fighting for the young, for the children, and also for the adults, that my people may not have to die so young.

Hutucara [the spirit of the sky] can call a powerful wind from under the earth, where the wind stays, call it forth thus [swirling arm gesture] and command it to clean away all that smoke, all that pollution and carry it back under the earth. Thus the world might be cleansed once again. It will require a very strong wind, however, because the world is very big. That is why all the Yanomami together are not enough to save it.

TT. In your letter, "To All the Peoples of the Earth" published in the last report of Acao Pela Cidadania (1990), you speak of the need to protect the sacred mountains of Yanomami country. Could you explain why these mountains are so important?

DY. I can explain it to you. I like to explain these things to the whites, so that they may know. We Yanomami are always talking of the name of the creator of the mountains, and we respect him/her [gender not indicated] very much, as do other Brazilian Indians, and all the indigenous peoples of the world. This sacred place, the high mountains, the beautiful mountains, are places of spirit. Now "spirit" ("espírito") is not a word in my language. I have learned this word "spirit" and use it in the mixed language I have invented [to talk to whites about these things], but my own indigenous name is hekurabe; [also] saboribe.⁴ These are the spirits of shamans (shabori) who live in the mountains. This sacred place we call hutu pata. It is a place where Yanomami villages stood in the past, and the souls of the Indians [who lived there] still exist there. In your language you say "soul" ("alma") but we call them "bore", "ne borebi, o ne borebi kua...a nomarayomeki a ne borebi temi."⁵

There are various spirits, different shabori.⁶ The shabori of the whole world created these mountains for them to live in and survive. The shabori like to stay in these mountains; shabori that exist in this land, and also in the entire world. These sacred mountains are important to the world as a whole, not just the Indians. It is very difficult, however, to enter into contact with these shabori. The Yanomami are able to know and see them, to enter into contact with them.

⁴ Literally, "old gardens".

⁵ "People have souls..when they die, their souls come alive".

⁶ "Shabori" means "shaman", but may also mean "hekura" the familiar spirit of a shaman. Here it is used in the latter sense.

Our fathers and grandfathers, our old shamans, die but continue to exist, their souls still live. They only leave behind their skin, their flesh and bones, because it has grown old, as people take off their old clothes when they are torn and no longer good to wear, and throw them away. When Yanomami die, we burn their bodies, but their souls do not die. They stay where the person died, where his house was, hein? The soul always remains there, and therefore we respect it as a sacred place, we are afraid of it. The souls want to live, to be with us, they do not want to separate from us. We make loud noises [to drive them away]. They hurt us Yanomami, they inflict disease on children, those which we call "our" diseases, but other shamans, those still living, are able to talk to them, and are thus able to cure the sick so that they don't die.

TT. If miners destroy the mountains, will it still be possible to contact these spirits?

DY. Yes, but they don't want...the shamans have already contacted these spirits, these hekurabe who live in the mountains, they do not want anyone to disturb their dwelling place. They want the mountains to remain clean. When the whites come there wanting to destroy the mountains, the spirits become angry. This is what happened in Paapiu. the whites dug in the mountains, the miners disturbed a sacred place, a sacred mountain. They kept digging there, so the spirits became angry and killed them.

TT. So because of this many people died?

DY. Because of this many died. The whites do not know what the spirits are doing. They break and upset things in the mining operations; many such things are happening in all these places, everywhere where the shabori have been angered by the noise of the helicopters. Sometimes they even cause airplanes to disappear; the spirits make airplanes crash from time to time. When the hekurabe are angry they break things, they stand up and when the airplane approaches and they see it they destroy it, and the airplane crashes. These spirits, the shabori are small but strong. They have the strength to destroy [an airplane] and thereby demonstrate their power. The whites need to understand that if they keep disturbing sacred places, many people are going to die, many airplanes will crash, many winds, many rainstorms will come, houses will be destroyed even in the cities, because the spirits are angry.

PART THREE. ON YANOMAMI WARFARE, "FIERCENESS" AND FIGHTING

TT. As you know, one of the arguments that has been made for splitting up your country into discontinuous "islands" is that Yanomami communities area always fighting with each other. Would you care to address this point?

DY. Sure, I have heard this many times, this thing that they say against us, but in my time, today, the Yanomami are no longer fighting with one another. In my time there is no more war among the Yanomami. In the past, it existed among us, just as it exists among you. Right now there is a war in Arabia, so you can see that it is not only the Indian who is dangerous. The white man is more dangerous than the Indian. The Yanomami do not have bombs like the whites, they do not mistreat and kill everybody [when they make war]. Our way of war is different. We don't have warplanes, we don't drop bombs.

There was still warfare when I was in my mother's belly, but today it no longer exists. Today we are all friends. Disputes are rare, and when someone is killed, it does not lead to fighting year after year. The whites are saying this against us because they don't want to make our reserve, they are afraid of you [ie. foreign supporters], they are afraid of us too, the whites who speak this way are afraid that they might lose. They think the Yanomami are like them. On the contrary: we want our reserve for the Yanomami to live in. It was they who cut up our country into little pieces, without ever telling us what they were doing or why.

The "Northern Headwaters" Project [the secret military plan, "Projeto Calha Norte"] did this in secret, they hide what they are doing, they never tell people or explain or ask to hear from the Indians as to whether they agree to this division of our land into these little pieces. In Brazil [DY is here referring to Yanomami country--TT] there is no war, no fighting or violence of the kind they speak of. If there were I would truthfully say so. I am a Yanomami, I like to speak truly, I would not lie, I would want to make things clear to these people, I would say, "Look! We really are dangerous, we fight a lot, we kill a lot of people, we don't get along with each other, so we don't need much land, only little discontinuous areas."

But it's the other way around: because we have so little [land], my Yanomami people today are very weak, [also] because of malaria. The whites speak this way [about the Yanomami] because they want to use the minerals of our land, to work the gold, the cassiterite of our reserve. They are not just talking, they are doing it: the government of President Sarney, together with the "Northern Headwaters" [Calha Norte] Project, FUNAI [Fundacao Nacional do Indio], and IBAMA [Instituto Brasileiro da Amazonia], cut our land up into little pieces, one for each community, so they could enter our country and work its resources, so they could finish off our people. They have done much violence against us Indians in order to kill us off. So I am here fighting to keep my kinfolk from being wiped out.

Friday July 12 1991

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G7 may back Brazil's \$1.5bn debt-for-nature swap

By Rachel Johnson and Stephen Fidler in London

LEADERS of the Group of Seven biggest industrialised countries are expected to back a controversial \$1.5bn project for the conservation of Brazilian rainforests at the London economic summit next week.

Approval from G7 would entail the largest debt-for-nature swap so far undertaken - with the exception of current negotiations over Polish debt - and would be the first of its kind in Brazil.

Up until three weeks ago, Brazil refused to consider swaps on the grounds that such programmes required an

unacceptable loss of economic sovereignty.

Debt-for-nature swaps involve the cancellation of a country's foreign debt in return for the provision by the debtor government of local currency or other concessions for environmental purposes.

Such swaps have only been in existence for five years. The biggest so far involved \$9m of Ecuadorean debt in 1989.

The Brazilian swap would involve \$500m of bank or official debt over a period of five years.

Summit leaders are keen to

launch the rainforest project in time for the Earth Summit in Rio next June.

Such a move would be seen as concrete evidence that the world's biggest economies can co-operate with - rather than dictate to - developing countries on environmental issues.

To that end, the G7 commissioned the project at its Houston meeting last summer. It has been carried out by the EC, the World Bank, and the Brazilian government.

All of these, together with the G7 and private-sector companies, will be invited to

donate funds not covered by the swaps.

Mr John Major, the UK prime minister, yesterday highlighted the importance of the London summit's environmental agenda and made a plea for all G7 leaders to attend the Rio summit next year.

Though the project is a G7 initiative, it has not met with universal support from member nations.

Last night, at pre-summit meetings, the UK and the US were still questioning the quality of the project, which is embodied in a 100-page docu-

ment to be discussed at next week's meeting.

However, it is thought that the project has gathered an unstoppable momentum in spite of last-minute quibbles from some countries.

The EC and Germany have been promoting the project. They consider the programme represents a significant shift in Brazilian environmental policy.

Just a month before the summit, President Fernando Collor reversed his previous stance, declaring that swaps would start as soon as possible.

Furthermore, Mr Collor sacked the head of the Brazilian Indian Bureau last month following criticism from Mr George Bush, the US president, that he had failed to demarcate the territory of the Yanomani Indians.

Behind the G7-scenes, these actions are being read as an attempt by the Brazilian government to win support for the project after criticism that Mr Collor failed to fulfil many of his pledges on the environment.

Background, Page 3

Pöhl's final Bundesbank meeting tightens money supply targets

Hopes raised for UK rates cut

By Andrew Fisher in Frankfurt and Peter Marsh in London

THE Bundesbank yesterday made clear its concern over inflationary tendencies in Germany, but left interest rates alone, at the last meeting of its policy-making council to be headed by Mr Karl Otto Pöhl.

The decision is likely to clear the way for a cut in UK base lending rates today from 11.5 per cent to 11 per cent. The Bank of England yesterday gave a separate pointer to an imminent cut with its activity on the UK money market



Japan's golf investors slice into the rough

By Robert Thomson in Tokyo

JAPAN'S financial troubles have struck at one of the country's most cherished institutions - the golf club.

One of Japan's leading dealers in golf club memberships, Ginza Golf Service, yesterday filed for court protection with outstanding debts of ¥260bn (\$1.66bn). This is Japan's second largest corporate failure

Death and Democracy in Brazil

By Terence Turner

The battle to save an Indian nation in Brazil's rain forest has gone beyond the struggle to save a people. It has turned into a fight to save Brazilian democracy. When President Bush meets with President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil in Washington today, he should heed bipartisan Congressional advice and not pass up the chance to discuss the plight of the Yanomami people.

In a dramatic gesture on Brazil's Day of the Indian in April, President Collor announced that he was revoking the decrees issued in 1988 and 1989 by his predecessor, José Sarney, that had taken the Indians' land and made it available for mining.

But those who had been following the situation viewed Mr. Collor's statement with skepticism. After all, the move came 18 months after the Brazilian courts had declared the decrees illegal.

Terence Turner, a professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, is chairman of the American Anthropological Association's commission on the Yanomami.

Moreover, in the same speech, the Brazilian President postponed giving the Yanomami legal title to the land for six months in order to allow the Government to restudy the question of the boundaries of the Indians' country. This hardly seemed necessary: in 1985, the Brazilian Government, after a thorough study, had

officially marked these borders.

The ambiguities of President Collor's statements reveal the extent to which Brazil is still dominated by the military and business forces identified with the military dictatorship that yielded power in 1984. Despite the euphoria after his election a year ago, Mr. Collor has been unable to carve out a policy independent of these interests and has been politically weakened by the collapse of his economic program. The struggle

the next 10 years. Many of their communities have already lost all the children, and fertility rates have dropped dramatically. The Federal Prosecutor of Brazil has denounced the Government policies responsible for this tragedy as "genocidal."

The Sarney decrees, which gave rise to the situation, were clearly unconstitutional under Brazil's 1986 democratic Constitution, which guarantees to indigenous people land needed to sustain their cultural way of life. Why, then, has the popularly elected Collor Government waited until now to take its first, timid step toward undoing this horror? And why is another study of Yanomami boundaries needed, unless Mr. Collor is hoping to use it to further dismember the Indians' territory?

The Bush Administration should make future aid to Brazil contingent on Mr. Collor's insuring that the Yanomami retain their constitutional rights. The fate of these Indians has become an issue of historic importance for Brazil. The Yanomami, however, cannot wait for history. If they are left to die while the Government temporizes, Brazilian democracy may suffer a mortal wound. □

Bush should fight for the Yanomami.

over the Yanomami land represents a challenge by the old forces to the constitutional authority of the new democratic regime.

This challenge is embodied in a vast clandestine military project, Projeto Calha Norte (the Northern Headwaters Project) that places northern Brazil — 15 percent of the country — under military control. This is land that would be returned to the Yanomami under the court order. Secretly approved by President Sarney in 1985, the largely secret project is aimed at reshaping environmental and Indian policies in the interests of "national security."

This means, in principle, the massive exploitation of the natural resources of Amazonia to support the development of the rest of Brazil. Such a move would certainly force the assimilation of the Yanomami through the settlement of their land by ethnic Brazilians.

The gold rush of thousands of miners made possible by Mr. Sarney's decrees has already seriously damaged the Yanomami. The outsiders brought malaria, and the destruction of forest habitat has led to starvation. The Yanomami are dying at a rate that will annihilate their entire population (almost 10,000 in 1986) within



Horacio Fidel Cardo

Plight
of the
Kurds

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Price of gold

Miners bring disease and death to Brazil's Yanomami Indians.



David Moberg reports

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Gold miners are destroying the Amazon jungle and devastating its people with disease.

In the Amazon, an epidemic of greed

By David Moberg

BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT FERNANDO COLLOR de Mello entered office last year earnestly promising to save the Amazon forest and protect native peoples. He appointed Jose Lutzenberger, a longtime defender of Amazonian people and ecology, as minister of the environment.

Shortly after his inauguration, Collor visited the northwest Amazon, where an invasion of gold miners has, for the past decade, wreaked devastation on the Yanomami—one of the largest and most culturally intact indigenous groups in the Amazon. With great fanfare, Collor ordered the Brazilian air force to bomb the 91 illegal landing strips that miners used to reach the remote territory.

Only 13 landing strips, however, were destroyed. Although most of the amateur treasure seekers among the 40,000 invading miners, mainly Brazilians from the impoverished northeast, were driven off, about 1,500 hard-core professionals remained. They continued to "placer" mine, using high-powered water hoses to wash away soil and separate gold flakes. This process leaves behind large stagnant pools—prime breeding ground for mosquitoes bearing malaria, including a particularly deadly "falciparum" strain.

The miners continue to brutalize and terrorize the Yanomami, killing or raping individuals and stealing food. They have destroyed many Yanomami gardens and polluted many streams with deadly mercury, for example, killing fish and driving away much of the game.

The destruction of the Yanomami has accelerated, despite Collor's supposed protections. "Many villages now have as much as 100 percent malaria," reports University of Chicago anthropologist Terry Turner, who recently visited the area as head of an American Anthropological Association investigation. "Because of the illness, people have not been able to hunt or go to their

gardens. People are starving. Malnutrition vastly complicates other medical problems. A lot of villages lack children or old people. Near the mining operations, many Yanomami are living in plastic-sheet shacks [instead of the elegant thatched circular structures that traditionally housed an entire village of 100 to 200 people] and existing on handouts of powdered milk, sugar and coffee."

Ethnic cysts: Between 1987 and 1990, nearly 13 percent of the Yanomami population—about 1,300 people—died as a result of the multiple shocks of the miners' invasion, prompting a leading anthropologist and Brazil's attorney general to denounce the government policies as "genocide." People working with the Yanomami say medical conditions have worsened over the past year. Although the Ministry of Health has developed a plan for the Yanomami, the government still has not endorsed or funded it.

In mid-April, Collor made headlines again with a new plan to expel the miners from Yanomami territory and to rescind the 1979 decision of the previous Sarney government to divide Yanomami territory into 19 isolated "islands" of forest—a division that would have undermined the Indians' subsistence economy and cultural life. But Turner warns that, despite the apparent progress, "it could be an empty, deceptive gesture. None of the Yanomami land has been given back to them."

The military governments that ruled Brazil from 1964 to 1985 saw indigenous people as "ethnic cysts" to be "excised" from or assimilated into the body politic. When in 1985 the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) proposed legally demarcating as traditional Yanomami territory a contiguous area the size of Indiana, the military responded with a project designed to control the northern frontier, which includes all the Yanomami land. The old 1979 subdivisions were reinstated, all medical missions to the Yanomami were expelled and the territory was opened to a flood of gold miners. When malaria became epidemic

among the Yanomami in 1987, the government expelled all medical personnel from the area, except those from the BIA. But even the BIA suspended medical services to the Yanomami in 1989.

Domestic and international outrage at the effects of the gold rush on the Yanomami, along with the campaigns of other indigenous people such as the militant, well-organized Kayapo, led to strong protection of indigenous people's lands in the new 1988 constitution. But the military boldly asserted that the constitution did not apply to the northern frontier region.

Now both the Ministry of Justice and its low-level subordinate, the BIA, are headed by conservatives who have collaborated with the military and mining interests. They and other conservatives are part of the Interministerial Group recently appointed by Collor to once again study the Yanomami situation.

Substantial veneer: Collor's actions are "much more veneer than substance," argues Jason Clay, director of Cultural Survival, a Cambridge, Mass.-based group that helps defend threatened cultures. Clay speculates that Collor, a politician skilled in manipulating the media, is concerned about the attention that will come when an international conference on ecology and development convenes later this year in Brazil. Collor's new directive will ban from Yanomami territory not only miners but also anthropologists and non-governmental doctors who might both help the Indians and publicize their plight to the world.

With 600,000 gold miners spread throughout the Amazon, clear governmental definition of land rights for indigenous people and forest dwellers such as the rubber tappers is extremely critical. Indians elsewhere in the Amazon are also threatened with murder, rape, mercury poisoning, malaria, oil pollution (in Ecuador) and destruction of forests. Some natives, such as the Guarani in southern Brazil, have grown so hopeless that their suicide rate is soaring.

The cholera epidemic currently plaguing Peru could sweep into the Amazon, and in

some areas AIDS may be spread to indigenous people through contact with frontier-town prostitutes. Cocaine trafficking, now reliant on the miners' landing strips in Yanomami territory, and anti-insurgency actions from Peru to Guatemala also have taken their toll.

Yet there are a few signs of progress, argues Stephan Schwartzman, an Environmental Defense Fund anthropologist. The rubber tappers and the Union of Indigenous Nations have formed an alliance and are pressing for clearer land rights and government investment in "extractive reserves" that would sustainably exploit forest products. In such reserves, forest dwellers would collect rubber, nuts and pharmaceutical material, for example, without destroying the tropical-forest ecology. Also, the World Bank, which has financed many of the most destructive projects in Brazil, is no longer supporting penetration roads into pristine forests. Under pressure from worldwide demonstrations organized by the Kayapo, the bank also has dropped plans for dams that would have flooded much of the Xingu River basin, home to the Kayapo.

Greed and poverty: Along with greed, "the major tropical threat is poverty," says Clay. Ownership of land and wealth is extremely unequal in Brazil's economy, now in recession and burdened with heavy international debt. Collor's policies, which are sympathetic to business and international creditors, pit the poor of the coastal regions against the poor of the Amazon. The real wealth of the Amazon, however, is not in gold or cattle farms but in its genetic storehouse crucial to the future of such agricultural products as chocolate, rubber, cashews and pineapple.

"The region provides 25 percent of all medicines, but we only know about [the healing properties of] 1 percent of the plants," adds Clay. "What are the other 99 percent worth to us?" Such future, potential value is poorly calculated by a market economy, since it cannot be converted immediately into profit. In addition, the U.S. is pushing revision of international trade rules in the current negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to protect intellectual property rights that, if approved, would guarantee that major pharmaceutical firms and not the indigenous people will capture that wealth.

Proposals to trade reduction in Third-World debt for protection of natural areas have received favorable publicity recently. But these debt-for-nature swaps have been largely ineffective top-down plans that ignore indigenous peoples' land rights and views. Nevertheless, in cases such as a reserve for the Lacandon in Mexico's Chiapas province, the swaps may prove better than nothing.

Many current strategies to save tropical forests and the people who live there have some merit, though they are gravely limited. Plans to market tropical-forest products may bolster indigenous cultures and their claims to the land. And despite its limits, international pressure from human-rights and environmental groups does carry great weight.

Ultimately, Turner argues, there has to be a "political solution that enables indigenous people to protect themselves and to control both resource exploitation and their own lives."

"I Fight Because I Am Alive"

An Interview With Davi Kopenawa Yanomami

by Terence Turner and Davi Kopenawa Yanomami

AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT

ALARMED BY REPORTS OF THE desperate situation of the Yanomami of Brazil, the American Anthropological Association resolved to take the unprecedented step of appointing a special commission to investigate matters and recommend actions in support of the Yanomami. Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, the chief spokesman and leader of the Brazilian Yanomami, served as a consultant to the commission; this interview as recorded as his contribution to its support. Turner, who traveled to Boa Vista as chair of the AAA commission, conducted the interview in Portuguese. Davi, in his replies, occasionally used Yanomami terms and expressions. Bruce Albert, an anthropologist who has worked with the Yanomami for many years and who is also a member of the AAA commission, transcribed the entire text of the interview and provided glosses for the Yanomami expressions. Turner translated the interview into English. Davi wanted to have this interview reach as broad an audience as possible. The publication of the full text in Cultural Survival Quarterly (arranged by Jason Clay of CS, a member of the AAA commission) is directly in accord with his wishes.

Davi Yanomami: My full name is Davi Kopenawa Yanomami. The village I live in is called Watoriketheri. It is in the Mountains of the Wind.

My Yanomami people now, they see what is happening to our community, and they see what is happening to our relatives in other com-

munities. They are terrified ^{by} of the miners, and by the [polluted] rivers.

The miners invaded our reserve and came to our communities feigning friendship; they lied to us, they tricked us Indians, and we were taken in. Then their numbers grew; many more arrived, and they began bringing in machinery that polluted the river. The pollution killed the fish and the shrimp, everything that lived in our rivers.

I am trying to help—no, not "trying," I am helping—my people. At first I didn't know Portuguese, but I learned to speak it to be able to protest to the Brazilian government, to all authorities. I am traveling among my people to tell them of my work: to Tootobi, Araca, Ajuricaba, and Catrimani. I am very sorry not to have been able to travel to other communities because they are so far away, and hard to reach from where I have been. I would like to ask for help in my work from a friend, perhaps a white friend. I do this work, visiting other villages, whenever I get money to pay for the airplane to make the trip for me. It is very difficult to travel to distant villages because my people's forest is very big, with high jungle and mountains. I am going to work in Surucucus, Paapiu, Jeremias, Avaris, Erico, Waikas, and Mucajai, and as far as Marari. It is very hard to get there; it would take me 20 days [on foot]. If I had to walk to all of these places it would take me a year.

Terence Turner: Doesn't FUNAI [Brazil's Federal Indian agency] ever help you with this?

DY: FUNAI never helps me to do this work. FUNAI has never given me an airplane to visit villages that have airstrips, places I could reach by plane. I get no support from FUNAI.

TT: Is FUNAI doing anything else to help your people these days?

DY: I have known FUNAI since I was little, when FUNAI first began to work for the Yanomami, and now I am an employee of FUNAI, I am the chief of the post at my village, Watoriketheri. I am working for my kin, not for FUNAI. FUNAI never does anything well; it is always complaining that it has no money, it has no airplane, it has no support from the government to do anything good for the Yanomami, and it never had. Now things have gotten even worse. FUNAI has become even weaker. That is why I need so much help to carry on my work with different communities; because FUNAI is not doing this, it is jealous of me, it gets angry with me if I do this. FUNAI doesn't want me to leave my own village, it wants to keep me hidden, it wants me to keep quiet—not to protest, not to talk to others, not to speak to white supporters. At first FUNAI forbade me to leave my post, to leave my village. The FUNAI people want me always to stay in that one place, but I am not willing to sit still and keep quiet while my people are dying. I need to go out into the world, I need to cry out, I need to protest what is happening. No, not "need"; I have the right to spread the news to other countries. My words have reached Europe, the U.S., Japan, and Venezuela, and other countries throughout the world. But I am worried about reaching the more remote villages of my own people there on the frontier. You know this frontier, don't you? There are villages up there; I alone can't visit all of them.

TT: You're speaking of the Venezuelan frontier, aren't you?

DY: Yes, with Venezuela. It is virtually impossible for me alone to visit and talk with all of them. It is an enormous task. But I am trying to do what I can to save the lives of my people, of my Yanomami.

TT: Let me ask you if there are anthropologists who have helped or are helping you in your struggle, your effort. Can you tell me something about that?

How You Can Help

Give support to Davi Kopenawa's Demini health project, which receives funds and support through the Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park. Contact:

CCPY

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04001 Sao Paulo SP

BRAZIL

Clouds of Catastrophe

Yanomami shamans derive their power from a hallucinatory snuff which they inhale as an aromatic powder. From the outset, the shaman interpreted the strange and powerful attraction of white-manufactured commodities, with their ambivalent implications for the Yanomami who came into contact with them (they were thought to cause epidemic disease), as a kind of scent or fume. Yanomami cosmological analysis of the effects of white commodities and economic activities has come out of these linked notions of power as an inhalable fragrance or smoke, and the nature of the contagion, disease, and destruction that it brings in its wake. As Davi's exposition demonstrates, the Yanomami shamans have come a long way from their first notions of the paranormal, shaman-like power of the whites' technology and manufacturing economy as a "fragrance of metal" exuded by machetes, knives, and aluminum pots. The "fumes of metal" have now become the clouds of dust claimed by mining operations and the billowing clouds of black smoke from burning forests and even flaming oil wells in the Persian Gulf.

The shamans say that the hostile power unleashed by these destructive activities threaten not only the Yanomami and but all humanity with epidemic disease; not only humanity but the physical world itself, whose cosmic layers are being progressively unbalanced by the clouds of mineral dust and oil smoke the whites are throwing into the atmosphere. As Davi makes clear, the Yanomami have come to understand that the progressively increasing imbalance that the whites are posing on the natural world is integrally related to the imbalance whites have created within their own society, with its contrast between rich and poor and the insatiable drive of its rich to accumulate more wealth.

This is a powerful and comprehensive analysis of the nature of the human and environmental impact of white civilization. Entirely formulated out of Yanomami shamanic cosmology, it is an impressive monument to the theoretical power of the Yanomami shamanic tradition and its capacity to engage and comprehend the historical catastrophe to which Yanomami society has been subjected by its encounter with one of the most brutal and destructive forms of capitalist society.

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Brazilian Leader Acts to Protect the Amazon

By JAMES BROOKE

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 25 — Facing criticism over Brazil's Amazon policies, President Fernando Collor de Mello has dismissed the head of Brazil's Indian protection agency and has unveiled a program to allow foreign financing of environmental projects here.

In another move, he promised Monday to abolish tax subsidies that make it profitable to cut down Amazon rain forest for farming and ranching.

The steps, hailed by environmentalists here, came after Mr. Collor visited Washington last week and heard eight

American senators urge the Brazilian Government "to live up to its commitments on the environment and human rights in the Amazon."

The international criticism comes at a particularly sensitive moment. Next month, at the meeting of the seven leading industrial democracies in London, Brazil plans to submit a proposal for \$1.5 billion in grants for a five-year program for conservation of the Brazilian rain forests.

At home, Brazilian environmentalists charge that during Mr. Collor's 15 months as President he has slashed money for Amazon preservation projects and has failed to fulfill prom-

ises to demarcate Indian lands.

The annual Amazon burning season is under way, just as Brazil's environmental agency has been paralyzed by a three-week-old strike over low pay. Of \$8 million budgeted for a fire prevention program in the Amazon, only \$900,000 has actually been disbursed to the agency.

On the Indian issue, Brazil's Constitution stipulates that by October 1993 the Government must survey and give legal protection to 237 areas identified as Indian homelands.

"With the Government one year old, the process of demarcation has practically stopped," reads a new report on

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Indian lands by the Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information, a church group.

In Washington, Mr. Collor reportedly was irritated to learn from American lawmakers and environmentalists that up to 8,000 gold miners had invaded lands of the Yanomami Indian tribe. Last year, the police expelled as many as 30,000 miners from the area.

On Friday, the day after he returned from Washington, Mr. Collor dismissed Cantidio Guerreiro Guimarães, president of Funai, Brazil's Indian protection agency. Mr. Collor said the agency head dragged his feet on demarcating a continuous Yanomami reserve in Brazil's northern state of Roraima.

"The miners are a constant menace to the health of the Yanomami," Mr. Collor said in an interview before his United States trip. "We have to guaran-

tee the Yanomami a space so they don't lose their cultural identity or their habitat."

This week, Brazil's federal police are to resume a program of evacuating miners and dynamiting their airstrips.

Claudia Andujar, a longtime critic of Brazil's policies toward the Yanomami, said today that she believed Mr. Collor was now serious about demarcating a reserve.

"We think that with all this international pressure, President Collor is entirely interested in speeding demarcation," said Ms. Andujar, who is coordinator of a private group, the Commission for the Creation of a Yanomami Park.

In another policy turnaround, Mr. Collor announced Monday that he will allow \$100 million of Brazilian debt to be exchanged every year for financing

for environmental projects.

Under this financing mechanism, a foreign government or private nature group buys Brazilian debt on the secondary market, where it currently trades for 34 percent of face value. The Brazilian Government then retires the debt by paying 70 to 75 percent of its face value into a local currency account for environmental projects.

Last year, Brazilian environmentalists drew up a list of \$25 million of potential projects — training park guards, surveying park boundaries, erecting Amazon study institutes and buying jeeps and helicopters.

Although already in use in several Latin American nations, the so-called "debt for nature swaps" never started here because of opposition by Zélia Cardoso de Mello, Brazil's Economy Minister until early May.

For years the two population geneticists had been studying the genetics of aboriginal populations in an attempt to reconstruct the movements of early peoples, whom they bred with, and how they were related. But the research was handicapped because the "old style" genetic markers, such as the ABO blood group antigens, were "cumbersome and awkward to work with," says Kidd. These markers are used to compare how people vary at specific spots along their chromosomes, thereby creating genotypes or distinctive genetic "fingerprints."

What's more, there simply weren't very many of these markers around. Says King: "Ten years ago, you could determine the genotype of perhaps 50 loci [along the chromosomes]. That was the end of the story." Indeed, for that reason, Cavalli-Sforza and Kidd essentially stopped their phylogenetic studies in the early 1970s. "We ran out of data," says Kidd.

But by 1984, recalls Kidd, the new molecular tools coming on line promised to transform the field. He and Cavalli-Sforza were particularly excited by the new genetic

markers, or DNA polymorphisms, that were being developed at the University of Utah and elsewhere. Not only did they provide a much more direct measure of genetic variation than the older methods, but they would soon be available in unprecedented numbers. "What's changed," says Kidd, "is the availability of thousands of genetic markers, scattered around the genome."

The irony was that just as the new markers and other techniques were becoming available, the populations Cavalli-Sforza and Kidd wanted to study were disappearing. What they needed to do, the two decided, was to collect DNA samples from members of indigenous groups immediately and preserve them. That could be done by collecting blood and then inducing the white cells to grow permanently in culture. Cavalli-Sforza and Anne Bowcock at Stanford and Kidd's team at Yale began that year, establishing cell lines from two groups of African Pygmies, whom Cavalli-Sforza had studied since the early 1960s, and others.

They have continued ever since, working on a shoe string. Says Kidd: "Both Lina and

I have been frustrated by the difficulty of getting grants for this kind of work." Indeed, they have not mounted any special expeditions, which would be costly, but rather have persuaded anthropologist friends to collect blood samples for them, often meeting them at Kennedy Airport and rushing the samples off to the lab. So far, the Stanford and Yale teams have established permanent cell lines from individuals in 13 of the 250 populations the researchers identified on their 1984 flight. Clearly, they would need international help to complete the project.

Meanwhile, Wilson at Berkeley was pioneering the use of a new technique—the direct sequencing of mitochondrial, as opposed to nuclear, DNA—to study aboriginal populations in Africa and elsewhere. This led him to, among other things, a controversial theory about mitochondrial Eve. While pursuing these studies, Wilson also came up with essentially the same idea that Cavalli-Sforza and Kidd had. And by the late 1980s, Cavalli-Sforza and Wilson, who had earlier been on opposite sides of a heated debate on human origins, had begun

Yanomami People Threatened

Just 3 years ago, the Yanomami people were the largest group of native Amazonians still living in relative isolation in the jungles of Brazil. Almost 10,000 of them inhabited 125 villages, spread throughout a 94,191-square-kilometer region near the border of Venezuela. There they hunted and thrived in the tropical forest much as their ancestors had for thousands of years before them. But today, the Yanomami are a threatened people. According to anthropologists who have just returned from a fact-finding mission to Brazil, they will become extinct in the next decade if the Brazilian government does not move to protect them.

The warning is part of a hard-hitting report released this week—timed to coincide with Brazilian President Fernando Collor's visit to Washington—by the American Anthropological Association. Earlier this year, the association had taken the unprecedented step of sending a special commission of anthropologists to check out reports of the devastation of the Yanomami. What they found shocked even those prepared for the worst: Malaria and other diseases are killing the Yanomami at a rate of 13% per year and have thinned their ranks to 8000 already. As a result of the rampant malaria, fertility is near zero, and those people who have survived are sick and starving. "It's a desperate situation. A lot of villages have no more children and old people," says University of Chicago anthropologist Terence Turner, chair of the special commission.

What has visited this plague upon the Yanomami? The report lays the blame squarely at the feet of the Brazilian government, saying that it has failed to honor the Brazilian constitution, which guarantees Yanomami land rights, as well as its own promises to protect the indigenous people of the Amazon. Although the government had taken steps in the mid-1980s to turn the Yanomami territory into a special refuge, it later reneged on that promise and opened much of the region to

miners of gold and the tin ore cassiterite.

In the gold rush that followed, as many as 40,000 miners invaded the region, using high-powered hoses and mercury to blast gold out of the soil. The mercury and soil runoff polluted the rivers and streams where the Yanomami fish, while the noise scared off the wildlife they hunted. Worse yet, the pools of stagnant water from the mining operations became breeding grounds for malaria-carrying mosquitoes. "Brazilian policies and economic activities have turned the land of the Yanomami into a death camp for its own people," says the report.

But there are some signs of hope. The report notes that President Collor, who assumed office in 1990, announced in April that he would revoke earlier decrees that had expropriated most of the land of the Yanomami. But he stopped short of giving the Yanomami legal title to the land, in favor of allowing the government to study the issue for 6 months. The anthropologists question the need for further study, as does the Environmental Defense Fund, which released a report of its own this week decrying the Brazilian government's policies on the Yanomami and other environmental issues. But Jose Goldenberg, Brazilian secretary for science and technology, said that the extra time was needed to figure out how much land to include in the reserve. The original Yanomami territory comprises 40% of the state of Roraima, which is home to about 500,000 other people, many of whom would have to be displaced for the reserve.

At press time, the anthropologists and environmentalists were hoping to meet with Collor during his Washington visit to discuss their report, which calls for the immediate return of the land to the Yanomami, the expulsion of miners from the region, and the provision of adequate medical supplies. No less is at stake than the future of one of the oldest Native American cultures.

■ ANN GIBBONS

--- Monday --- August 23, 1993 ---

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THE DAILY EXECUTIVE BRIEFING ON THE ENVIRONMENT

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

282 North Washington Street, Falls Church, VA (703) 237-5130

THE BABBITT TOUCH

Interior sec'y, promising to prod Exxon and restore salmon habitat, gets AK fishermen to abandon their blockade of Prince William Sound. (#11)

OBJECTION!

Two-thirds of lawyers surveyed said their firms did not fully comply with enviro laws in 1992, but a similar number said increased enviro efforts will aid profits. (#4)

NAFTA'S BIG DAY(S) IN COURT

Solicitor Gen. Drew Days will argue the admin.'s case against Judge Richey's EIS ruling tomorrow. Are enviros' NAFTA concerns "overblown"? (#3)

CLOUDS CLEARING THE PICTURE?

Mid-atmosphere clouds over Canada could be "first hard evidence" of warming. (#17)

SEEING RED OVER GREEN DOT

German solid waste program is the focus of EC ire. (#19)

ALSO: Alcoholics and pornographers upset in Belgium. Full index on page 2.

SPOTLIGHT

NO NET LOSS? HERE WE GO AGAIN

The Clinton admin.'s proposed wetlands policy recommendations could be ready for release as early as this week.

In a familiar pattern, both sides are likely to contest key provisions of the plan.

Some enviros will oppose "mitigation banking," under which developers can delay rebuilding wetlands.

New permit requirements where none now exist are likely to enrage some business interests. (#1)

Farmers are encouraged, but skeptical, to learn from Ag. Sec'y Mike ESPY that his dept. will have the last word on farm wetlands. (#2)

Will the new policy guarantee "no net loss" of wetlands, as candidate CLINTON promised?

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"I think it's outrageous that an American corporation with the size and sophistication of the Exxon company doesn't have the will to come and sit down and talk with a bunch of fishermen on this sound."

-- Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt. (#11)

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WETLANDS II: USDA to get the last word on farms, Espy says. (#2)

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===== FACT OF THE DAY =====

Seventy-one percent of the 233 lawyers responding to a survey said that based on policies to date, they fear the Clinton admin. could pose more trouble for industry than they had anticipated, according to the NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL. (#4)

*1 WETLANDS: NEW POLICY UNLIKELY TO PLEASE EITHER SIDE

The Clinton administration is developing a new policy on wetlands that is "likely to generate criticism from both" enviros who want tougher regs and farmers and developers who seek fewer land-use restrictions. The proposal, which could be ready for release this week, was put together by an interagency task force "and billed by the White House as the first comprehensive federal approach to wetlands regulation." The task force, according to two administration sources familiar with its recommendations, "will call wetlands protection one of the nation's most urgent environmental concerns."

COMPLAINTS: One provision "sure to upset" enviros would promote "mitigation banking." Under current regulations, a farmer or developer who destroys a wetland must rebuild one elsewhere immediately. The forthcoming administration proposal would allow those who fill wetlands to "bank" required restorations and apply them to a larger piece of land in the future. Farmers and developers are likely to "raise objections" to plans to require permits for some drainage activities that are not now regulated. "And they're complaining that the plan won't provide any provisions for compensating landowners who say their land is devalued by wetlands regulations." The administration proposal comes as Congress is considering reauthorization of the Clean Water Act, which includes wetlands provisions (Bruce Alpert, N.O. TIMES-PICAYUNE, 8/20).

*2 WETLANDS II: USDA TO GET THE LAST WORD ON FARMS, ESPY SAYS

Under Vice President Al Gore's "reinventing government" initiative, the Dept. of Agriculture will be consolidated from 42 divisions to 30, "and the streamlined agency will have the last word on wetlands on farm property, Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy announced" on 8/20 in Pine Bluff, AR. Espy said the Soil Conservation Service will soon have the final say over what is and is not a wetland if the land is being farmed. That takes 53 million acres of farmland "that some agencies wanted to reclaim as wetlands '... off the table,'" the Ag. sec'y said. Espy also said, "The USDA will be at the table" when the administration makes environmental decisions that could affect farmers. The farm lobby, which "has had the contentious issue of wetlands at the top of its congressional agenda for months," expressed cautious support for the announcement. Jack Justus, exec. VP of the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation: "It's certainly agreeable if it proves true, but ... all of these agencies [EPA, Fish and Wildlife Service and Army Corps of Engineers] will expect to be involved ... and I doubt seriously they'll be ignored" (Doug Thompson, Little Rock ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 8/21).

FROM THE APN/ACCESS DATABASE

WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE ...

Elements of the Bush admin.'s 1991 wetlands policy:

- narrow the definition of wetlands under federal protection;
- speed the permit process for developers;
- create an interagency panel to rank wetlands' environmental value;
- set up a "market-oriented mitigation banking system" to let developers obtain and trade credits for restoring and filling in wetlands; and
- bring additional wetlands-damaging activities under federal regulation (GREENWIRE 8/12/91 #5).

SEARCH: "WETLANDS AND MITIGATION BANKING," 5 stories.

-- For more information on APN/ACCESS, call 703/237-5130 --

===== SOCIETY AND POLITICS =====

*3 NAFTA: CLINTON ADMIN. IN COURT TOMORROW

"Environmentalists get their day in court tomorrow, when President Clinton must stave off yet another challenge" to NAFTA. In oral arguments tomorrow, the Justice Dept. will appeal federal Judge Charles Richey's "surprise decision" requiring an enviro impact statement on NAFTA. "In a sign of how seriously the administration views the fight, Solicitor General Drew Days is arguing the case himself." If the enviros lose on appeal -- as "legal and economic experts predict" -- they have vowed to take the case to the Supreme Court, "ensuring the confrontation will not die soon" (Reuters/WASH. TIMES, 8/23). The appeals court decision is due late in 10/93 (Keith Bradsher, N.Y. TIMES, 8/23).

TAKING SIDES: A week after agreement was reached on NAFTA side accords, members of Congress and interest groups "are choosing sides, rallying grass-roots supporters and churning out press releases," reports Keith Bradsher in today's N.Y. TIMES. "The noisiest actor in the drama" is Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT), who, after months of "dissecting the enviro issues of NAFTA in greater detail than any other politician, ... tentatively endorsed" the side deals last week. On the opposition side, Bradsher notes liberal enviro and consumer groups have been "reluctant to join forces with Ross Perot" to form a united front (8/23).

ENVIRO FEARS "OVERBLOWN"? Despite the recent agreement on a NAFTA environmental side accord, "concern for the environment on the US-Mexico border is rising" (Casey Bukro, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 8/22). But NAFTA supporters say concern that Mexico's lax enforcement of its enviro laws will lead firms to relocate south of the border is "overblown." Michael Walker of the Vancouver, B.C.-based Fraser Institute says pollution abatement costs amount to about 2% of a firm's costs. Walker: "That simply isn't enough to cause a firm to move from Ohio to Guadalajara" (BUSINESS WEEK, 8/30 issue). "Both sides are cranking up their spin machines -- sometimes bending the facts," reports NEWSWEEK and offers a page of "spin" examples, followed by "the facts." On the environment, the magazine cites the "spin" of enviros who oppose the pact saying it will "encourage American polluters to move their operations into Mexico." "The facts," however, are

that a side deal is "supposed to ensure that Mexico enforces its antipollution rules," NEWSWEEK reports (8/30 issue). "It is not clear" why the accord would "undermine" enviro standards, writes N.Y. TIMES' Peter Passell; NAFTA "would probably reduce cross-border pollution since it would end the artificial concentration of industry in free-trade border zones" (8/22).

COUNTING THE VOTES: Citing "solid" business support and "presidential credibility" on international matters, BUSINESS WEEK reports, "The battle over NAFTA is one that the Clinton administration may win" (8/30 issue). But U.S. NEWS' Michael Barone reports, although "the consequences of rejecting NAFTA would be severe, ... the votes [in Congress] to approve NAFTA are not there at the moment" (8/30-9/6 issue). Sen. Min. Ldr. Bob Dole (R-KS), asked how many votes he thought NAFTA had in the Senate right now: "I'm only guessing -- I would say 34, 35" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 8/22). House Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA): There is "a significant majority of House Democrats probably against it or at least tending against" NAFTA. Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX): "I believe the vote on NAFTA will be the most important vote of the decade in the Congress" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 8/22). CBS' Eric Engberg noted NAFTA was "the next big item on [Clinton's] legislative agenda" (8/22).

KEY PLAYERS: In addition to naming Chicago atty Bill Daley as "NAFTA Czar," the White House "is considering appointing" a GOP vice chairman; one possibility is Ex-Rep. Bill Frenzel (R-MN). "Meanwhile, since Howard Pastor, the White House's chief congressional liaison, is both preoccupied with health care and also seen as a friend of NAFTA's labor opponents, Susan Brophy, his second in command, will supervise the push for votes on Capitol Hill" (U.S. NEWS, 8/30 issue).

OPINION: Gerald Ford, in a WASH. POST op-ed: "For the past seven months, NAFTA's opponents have dominated the airwaves with their sound bites and inaccuracies. ... With the supplemental agreements now concluded, the time has come for the Clinton administration to lead a 'full court press' in Congress for NAFTA's approval" (8/22). Patrick Buchanan, in an op-ed: "Sink NAFTA, and save the old republic" (mult., 8/21). Harley Shaiken, visiting prof. at UC-Berkeley, in a N.Y. TIMES op-ed: "Expanded trade offers considerable promise for the US and Mexico. ... [But this pact] ignores jobs, incomes and the environment, [and] won't realize that promise" (8/22).

===== ENVIRONMENT AND THE LAW =====

*4 COMPLIANCE: VIOLATIONS WIDESPREAD, LAWYERS ADMIT

Two-thirds of corporate lawyers who responded to a survey acknowledged that their firms violated environmental laws in 1992 "and said that they believed full compliance was impossible." The survey, conducted by the NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL and Arthur Anderson Environmental Services, also found that 70% of respondents believed increased attention to the environment would improve their companies' long-term profitability. The survey questionnaires were sent in 6/93 to companies around the US, from manufacturers and mining companies to insurance and real estate firms, with revenues from \$50 million to more than \$10 billion. The lawyers, 233 of whom responded, emphasized the complexity of the laws, varying interpretations by regulators, cost and human error, the NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL reports in their 8/30 issue. Other findings:

- Almost 95% of the respondents said they believe enviro regulation is becoming more stringent worldwide;
- 98% believe the NAFTA would affect their firm's

- environmental programs;
- 71% said they fear the Clinton admin. could pose more trouble for the industry than anticipated based on policies to date; while 29% said the admin. showed better understanding of industry needs than anticipated;
- 88% said top executives fully support their corporate enviro policies; and
- 23% said their companies did not emphasize going beyond what the law requires (AP/mult., 8/23).

*5 DU PONT: FIRM READIES TO DEFEND BENLATE IN HOLLYWOOD, FL
 Wilmington, DE-based Du Pont Co. goes to court again today, this time in Hollywood, FL, to defend itself against growers' claims that its fungicide caused \$500 million worth of damage to plants. In this first Florida case, a jury will decide if Du Pont's Benlate DF caused the destruction of 70,000 plants owned by the now-defunct Paradise of Orchids business. On 8/12, Du Pont settled out of court in a Georgia case (GREENWIRE 8/13 #14), agreeing to pay \$4.25 million to settle crop loss allegations by four GA farmers (Reuters/INVESTOR'S BUSINESS DAILY, 8/23).

===== CLEAN AIR =====

*6 EMISSIONS: MA UNVEILS REG PROPOSALS; ENVIROS UNSATISFIED
 Massachusetts motorists, consumer products and industrial facilities would all "be targeted for tougher environmental regulations under a series of new state smog-reduction proposals" announced on 8/19. The air-quality proposals, required by the federal Clean Air Act, were unveiled as a transportation task force made a series of recommendations "that touched off a protest" by the Conservation Law Foundation. The enviro group "refused to sign off" on the transportation task force report because it did not "include measures to limit the number of parking spaces" in Boston and nearby Cambridge (Tate/Brown, BOSTON HERALD, 8/20). The task force, headed by MA Dept. of Environmental Protection Commissioner Daniel Greenbaum, has "urged the DEP to prepare an employee ride-sharing program for later consideration" (Scott Allen, BOSTON GLOBE, 8/20).

CUOMO SIGNS ON: Millions more drivers in New York will soon have to pay for auto exhaust inspections every two years, "under sweeping anti-pollution legislation" signed into law 8/19 by Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) (Michael Hill, AP/Schenectady GAZETTE, 8/20).

===== HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES =====

*7 RADWASTE: FOR PA UTILITY, SHIPMENT WORTH POLITICAL RISK
 If all goes as planned, next month a barge "will be loaded with 17 bundles of ... uranium fuel from the closed Shoreham nuclear power plant [in NY] and begin the first of 33 trips" to the Philadelphia area. A three-day "shakedown voyage" for the barge, which began 8/20, was designed to assess the seagoing part of the route that the Shoreham fuel will travel to reach Philadelphia Electric Co.'s Limerick reactors in Montgomery County, PA. The Long Island Power Authority is paying PE \$45 million to take 200 tons of the "practically new" fuel, which was used "only for tests before Shoreham was shut down five years ago." For PE, the potential for "political fallout" from the project is "worth the risk." Not only is PE getting paid \$45 million, the fuel is worth \$35 million. The utility's customers will save millions in fuel costs over the next 12 to 15 years, "since the Shoreham fuel would replace fuel that otherwise would

have to be purchased" (Andrew Maykuth, PHILA. INQUIRER, 8/20).

*8 RADWASTE II: NY TOWN SPLIT AGAIN OVER PROPOSED DUMP

New York will be losing its only existing low-level nuclear waste dump in less than a year, renewing talk of planing a new dump in Ashford, NY, "rekindling old resentments among townspeople, some of whom are willing to accept the dump --for a price." Currently NY ships its low-level radioactive waste to a disposal site in Barnwell, SC, but its contract to use that site expires in 6/94. Ashford is a "prime candidate" for the dump because it is already home to the 3,340-acre Western NY Nuclear Service Center, a tract of state-owned land that is mostly vacant except for a 160-acre parcel that includes the old fuel-recycling plant and a closed low-level radwaste dump. "Opponents marvel at how anyone could think of bringing more radioactive waste to an area that already has so much contamination" (N.Y. TIMES, 8/23).

*9 YUCCA MTN: AMID CRITICISM, ONE AUTHOR VOICES SUPPORT

Pres. Clinton and Congress "would do the world, the nation and even the state of Nevada a favor by making the proposed Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository ... the preferred place for long-term, internationally monitored storage of plutonium from disassembled nuclear weapons," writes Luther Carter, the author of a forthcoming book on atomic energy, in a WASH. POST op-ed. "But to do so, they will have to straighten out some misguided thinking" at the Energy Dept. The addition of warhead plutonium to the already existing Yucca Mtn project, which includes storage of spent fuel from nuclear reactors, "would initially bring more opposition from Nevada. ... But the importance of the mission could lend the project a political weight and momentum that Nevadans could not ignore" (8/22).

*10 PESTICIDES: PRO-AND-CON ON REPEAL OF DELANEY CLAUSE

USA TODAY's debate today is on pesticides in food and how much is too much (see GREENWIRE 8/20 #1). USA TODAY editorial: "[The Delaney Clause] simply isn't practical, and it simply must be changed." Jay Feldman, executive dir. of the Nat'l Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides, in an op-ed: "It's time for the consumers to be heard over the clamor of the chemical industry and say no to unnecessary cancer-causing pesticides" (8/23).

===== NATURAL RESOURCES =====

*11 EXXON VALDEZ: BABBITT QUELLS PROTEST BY SALMON FISHERMEN

Interior Sec'y Bruce Babbitt yesterday "effectively ended" a protest in Prince William Sound, AK, by fishermen who have been "blockading the oil port of Valdez because of a massive decline in the pink salmon harvest that they blame on the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill." ABC's Brian Rooney, in the lead story on "World News Sunday," reported the three-day old blockade was "within days of shutting down the whole Alaska pipeline because tankers couldn't take away the oil in Valdez." Rooney reported that Exxon "took issue" with fishermen over lower salmon runs, "saying the 1990 and '91 salmon harvests were the two largest in the history of Prince William Sound." Rooney: "Exxon said the low catch of both wild and hatchery fish this year 'clearly points to some other factor or combination of factors in the marine environment as a cause for the population decline.'" Babbitt: "I think it's outrageous that an American corporation with the size and sophistication of the Exxon company doesn't have the will to come and sit down and talk with a bunch of fishermen on this sound" (8/22).

HARVEST A "BUST": The fishermen agreed to end the blockade after state officials agreed to consider their request for economic assistance and Babbitt said he will prod Exxon to speed up negotiations with fishermen over their damage claims. Fishermen, expecting to catch some 25 million pink salmon this year, blame the spill for their harvest of only about 2 million so far -- the second consecutive "bust" year. Scientists "still differ on" the lingering environmental impact of the Valdez spill (Charles McCoy, W.S. JOURNAL, 8/23). The blockade, assembled by about 60 fishing boats, turned back at least seven oil tankers (AP/mult., 8/23). Several fishermen presented Babbitt "with a bucket of oily rocks, proof, they say, that the Sound has not recovered from the spill" (John Tracy, "Nightly News," NBC, 8/22).

BABBITT'S FOLLOWING: The Interior Sec'y "has drawn a cult-like following since he arrived" in AK. "Everywhere he has gone during his three-week Alaskan journey, he has been trailed by reporters, film crews, government officials, adoring environmentalists, Department of Interior employees and citizens with assorted grievances against the federal government." He has been "quizzed and lectured on" oil development, Eskimo whaling, mining reform, national park access and overcrowding, the woes of Alaskan fishermen and the failure of federal officials to understand native Alaskan culture. Babbitt spent two days on Kodiak Island, where he was negotiating for a federal purchase of 300,000 acres of native American land within the nat'l wildlife refuge. Babbitt: "I think (the Kodiak islands) may be perhaps the most important totally intact ecosystem in the" US (C.S. MONITOR, 8/23).

FISH OVER OIL: Babbitt told a roomful of fishermen in Dillingham, AK, last week that the Clinton admin. wants to buy oil drilling leases back to allow more salmon fishing in the area's Bristol Bay. Babbitt: "The Bristol Bay fishery is way too important to the lives of Alaskans to be messed up by oil leasing and development." The Interior secretary's "pledge to keep oil rigs away won applause." Babbitt said the bay's large salmon runs are a resource that must be protected (Steve Reinhart, ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS, 8/19).

*12 TROUT: ENVIROS TARGET LOGGING IN BID TO PROTECT FISH

The Oregon Natural Resources Council and Steamboaters, a sport fishing group, asked the Nat'l Marine Fisheries Service to approve emergency endangered species listings for two runs of cutthroat trout which "they say are imperiled by logging in the Umpqua National Forest." The petitioners hope to stop several current and planned timber sales. ONRC spokesman Jim Middaugh, referring to forest managers' approval of the timber sales in question: "There seems to be a callous disregard for the directives coming from the White House." Umpqua National Forest officials were not available for comment (Joan Laatz, Portland OREGONIAN, 8/20).

===== ENERGY =====

*13 CONSERVATION: PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL LOOKS AT OPTIONS

The Pacific Northwest's energy planners, facing "a future of energy limits," are saying "economic growth depends on saving energy, not producing it." Ed Sheets, exec. dir. of Northwest Power Planning Council: "We're going to have to spend \$7 billion by the year 2000 for conservation." The council was created by the Northwest Power Act of 1980 to coordinate energy development in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana. The council has come up with a 20-year plan that "relies heavily" on conservation,

natural gas-powered turbines, co-generation using waste heat from large factories or mills, regional power exchanges and "unproven" renewable energy sources such as wind, solar and geothermal. The focus on conservation has forced utilities in the region, such as the Bonneville Power Admin. to "reverse their thinking": utilities must now sell less and "encourage their customers to save even more" energy (William McCall, AP/L.A. TIMES, 8/22).

===== MARKETPLACE =====

*14 RECYCLED PAPER: ENVIROS TRYING "TO MOVE THE MARKETS"

Last week's announcement by the Environmental Defense Fund that it had teamed up with five major corporations and a university to promote the use of recycled paper (GREENWIRE 8/19 #16) may be an example of the third wave of environmentalism, writes John Holusha in the N.Y. TIMES. The first wave, which began early in this century, aimed to curb "the exploitation of forest lands and wildlife, largely in the West." The second, "triggered" by Rachel Carson's book "Silent Spring," led to what some call the "sue 'em and stop 'em" phase of environmentalism. The joint recycling project is emblematic of what some say is the third phase -- a cooperative one that relies on "the power of the market more than the legislative mallet" (8/22). CHICAGO TRIBUNE editorial on the joint venture: "This could be a huge ... step in environmental cooperation" (8/22).

ENVIRO-FRIENDLY BILLS? A new state law in Arkansas promoting the use of recycled goods in the state government may result in bills being printed on recycled paper. "The time may be drawing near when legislative bills ... will be environmentally correct no matter what they legislate" (Noel Oman, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 8/20).

NEW YORK: Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) last week signed into law a bill that will give "new life to an ambitious state-backed program" to spur commercial recycling efforts. The aims to create markets for recycled products "by fostering the development of processing equipment and related technology that cuts recycling costs and makes it more competitive" (Ira Breskin, JO. OF COMMERCE, 8/23).

===== STATE REPORTS =====

*15 MARYLAND: CLEAN AIR TO TOP AGENDA OF NEW ENVIRO HEAD

The state's new secretary of the environment, David Carroll, said he will bring to the job a "special fondness" for the Chesapeake Bay, "but will have to devote at least as much time to other problems." Carroll is set to be sworn in today, replacing Robert Perciasepe, who has been nominated as assistant US EPA administrator for water. Carroll had been head of Maryland's Chesapeake Bay cleanup efforts. But in his new position, his top priority will be implementation of US clean-air requirements. He said he hopes to work with regulated businesses "to help them avoid pollution problems instead of trying to solve problems after they arise." Carroll: "In many cases, you can find better ways for industry to operate that are less costly." Another goal will be to increase cooperation with surrounding states to attack pollution problems, he said. Both the head of the Chesapeake Bay Foundation and the VP of the MD Chamber of Commerce praise Carroll's nomination (Tom Stuckey, AP/WASH. TIMES, 8/23).

*16 NEW YORK: ASBESTOS PROBES STEPPED UP; PARENTS IN THE DARK?

NYC officials directing the inspection for asbestos in 1,069 city schools are stepping up the pace of their work, with only 17

days until classes are scheduled to begin. The officials said the 76 teams of inspectors will be working today to examine the 751 schools that have not yet been inspected (Randy Kennedy, N.Y. TIMES, 8/21). N.Y. DAILY NEWS editorial: "So far, only one school ... has been ruled so contaminated that only parts of it will be ready to open on time. The school authority has refused to identify most of the other 95 that have tested positive. It says it does not want to cause a panic. ... Just what does it think it is causing by keeping parents in the dark?" (8/22).

===== WORLDVIEW =====

***17 CLIMATE CHANGE: CANADIAN CLOUDS FIRST EVIDENCE OF WARMING?**

Noctilucent clouds -- luminous clouds that appear at night over northern Canada -- "may be the first hard evidence of global warming." Noctilucent clouds, or NLC, were first spotted a century ago in industrialized Europe. "Since then, their range and frequency has steadily increased, although they have been the subject of very little investigation." The middle atmosphere is the extremely cold region 15 to 100 kilometers above the Earth "that is believed to be a prime indicator of global temperature changes." Every one degree increase on the Earth's surface should produce a seven-degree decrease in the middle atmosphere, researchers say. Therefore, the increase of NLC, which are composed of tiny ice crystals, could be a sign of warming. David Turnbull, an atmospheric researcher at the U. of Western Ontario: "They may just be an early warning that all is not right up there. This could be our canary in the mine shaft." Robert Lowe of the U. of Western Ontario, who is overseeing a joint US-Canadian study of NLC in the skies of Alberta and Saskatchewan: "We are going to be able to detect the signature of the greenhouse effect far easier and quicker up there than at the surface" (Michael O'Reilly, Toronto GLOBE & MAIL, 8/21).

***18 BRAZIL: YANOMAMI MASSACRE PROMPTS GOV'T ACTION**

President Itamar Franco yesterday called for a meeting today of the National Defense Council to "enlist" military aid "in hunting down" the gold miners involved in the 8/15 massacre of 73 Yanomami Indians. In the largest carnage of Brazilian Indians this century, almost half of the victims were children and two were pregnant women (James Brooke, N.Y. TIMES, 8/23). Anthropologist Stephan Schwartzman of DC-based Environmental Defense Fund: "What we're seeing today is that without effective measures to protect native lands, genocide could easily occur anywhere in Latin America" (Isabel Vincent, Toronto GLOBE & MAIL, 8/21). Some 45,000 miners invaded the Yanomami land by 1987 for the "coveted" mineral resources in the Brazilian Amazon, bringing with them malaria and epidemic diseases, according to Brazil's National Indian Foundation. Miners were expelled by police at the end of 1990, but reports have recently surfaced that as many as 2,000 gold miners had re-invaded the area. Legislation is pending in the Brazilian Congress that would "substantially" reduce the Yanomami's 94,000 square kilometer reserve. In a May meeting, Yanomami leader Davi Kopenawa Yanomami appealed to US Interior Sec'y Bruce Babbitt for aid in pressuring the Brazilian government to establish permanent protection for the reserve (Rainforest Action Network release, 8/19).

***19 EC: MOST COUNTRIES WANT TO TRASH GERMANY'S GREEN DOT**

As 86 million Germans enthusiastically collect "every scrap of household waste" for recycling, other members of the EC "see red when convoys of lorries ferry German household, industrial

and hospital waste to their dump." Due to an overflow of trash at German recycling facilities, France is calling for incineration and is lobbying the EC "hard" not to set "stiff" quotas for recycling. However, Germany has stringent incineration regulations. France, joined by Britain, also argue that the green dot system -- the symbol on environmentally friendly goods in Germany -- is inhibiting trade because German consumers prefer products with the dot (Leonard Doyle, London INDEPENDENT, 8/23).

"DIRTY SECRETS": The "safe disposal" of 3.5 million tons of garbage per year in Belgium "is taxing the imagination of political leaders as they search for [a] solution that is cheap and ecologically sound." In a "peculiarly Belgian problem," consumers are objecting to a new system of separating trash that employs see-through plastic bags, saying it is an invasion of privacy -- especially for "alcoholics and readers of pornographic literature" (Sarah Lambert, INDEPENDENT, 8/23).

***20 MALAYSIA: FURTHER RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON INDUSTRIAL WASTE**

A new classification system will prohibit the importation of certain industrial waste for "final disposal" in Malaysia, according to Dept. of Environment deputy dir. general Tan Meng Leng. On 8/12, 56 types of industrial waste were added to the Customs Order of 1988, requiring approval by the DOE for entry. A certain percentage of the waste will have to meet reclamation standards in order for it to be allowed inside the country. Waste from Sweden, Japan and Mauritius has been imported for reuse in the past, Tan said (Kuala Lumpur STAR, 8/23).

***21 JAPAN: NATION TO EMBARK ON BIOLOGICAL SURVEY**

Next year, the Environment Agency will begin a five-year survey of the nation's 30,000 animal and 5,300 plant species, agency sources said 8/20. The information collected on the species' life cycle and distribution will be stored in a database. Half of Japan's mammals, one-fourth of its plants and freshwater fish, and one-fifth of its birds "are in danger of extinction." An internal government liaison committee will also will be organized by the agency to find the "best way" to preserve biodiversity under the Rio Earth Summit's Biodiversity Convention (Kyodo News Service/Tokyo DAILY YOMIURI, 8/21).

***22 AUSTRALIA: ENVIROS URGE PASSAGE OF OIL SPILL PROTECTION LAW**

Greenpeace is "dumping" crude oil around the Parliament House in Canberra to demonstrate its demand that the Senate reject a bill "that would cap compensation payments at \$400 million for oil spills at sea." The crude is sealed in bottles and is being handed out to senators with a warning that the contents are "poisonous and should be kept away from children." Greenpeace's Michael Bland: "[The government's] own Bureau of Transport Economics says there is a 50-50 chance of a major oil spill on Australia's coast in the next 10 years." The Protection of the Sea Bill 1993 would make Australia party to the int'l convention that provides limited compensation from oil companies' contributions (Tony Wright, SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 8/23).

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMO TO EILEEN FROM AIMÉE

RE: YANOMAMI FOLLOW-UP/GREENWIRE ARTICLE

DATE: AUGUST 23, 1993

According to the Greenwire article, 73 Yanomami were massacred, not the original 19 we had heard. Half were children, and two pregnant women. According to the article, President Franco called for a meeting "of the National Defense Council to 'enlist' military aid 'in hunting down' the gold miners involved in the 8/15 massacre." Reports have surfaced that as many as 2,000 miners have reinvaded the Yanomami territory after having been expelled in 1990. Legislation is pending in the Brazilian Congress that would "substantially" reduce the Yanomami's reserve.

Barbara Bramble wrote the enclosed piece on the massacre which is to have appeared in the newspaper, "Folha de Sao Paulo." We're still waiting to hear if it got in. She feels that the Vice-President needs to voice U.S. support for the Yanomami cause--without causing an international incident. She suggested something in the tone of her article. The article looks like an effective way to address all issues of the incident in Roraima, and perhaps the administration has the responsibility to denounce this behavior.

Have you spoken to Alec Watson?

AMERICAN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

August 20, 1993

Ms. Kathleen McGinty
Director
Office on Environmental Quality
The White House
Room 360
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20501

Dear Katie:

A much belated congratulations! I have been to the new quarters to visit Mary Margaret, but we didn't get to see you. I read about you in paper, however, and hope that all is going well.

If you haven't been notified already, I wanted to pass on our and many other organizations' concerns about the Yanomami Indians. Would you bring these to the attention of the President and the Vice President?

We were notified yesterday that 14 Yanomami (the official count is 20, 10 of them children) were murdered on their federally-demarcated and protected Reserve in Brazil by goldminers. The massacre is the largest and one of the most brutal in the history of the Yanomami. For your information, I have enclosed a copy of today's New York Times article.

The American Anthropological Association has been concerned with the human rights of indigenous peoples, in particular the Yanomami. Following the results of our Special Commission on the Yanomami in 1991, the Association joined the international community in requesting the establishment of the Yanomami Reserve in Brazil. Although the Reserve was established, there have been repeated incursions of goldminers and timber interests to retrieve the natural resources in the Reserve.

I have enclosed a copy of the letter that our President, Annette Weiner, wrote to Mauricio Correa, the Brazilian Minister of Justice expressing our concerns, also. Thank you for your help. Take good care.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Margaret Overbey, PhD
Director
Government Relations

P.S. A copy of our Yanomami Commission Report is on its way in the mail.

Enclosures



AMERICAN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

DATE 8/20/93NO. OF PAGES 5
(Incl. cover sheet)

FAX COVER SHEET

TO [FAX Number]:

202-456-2710

[Telephone]:

ATTENTION:

Katie McGinty

FROM:

Peggy Overbey

SUBJECT:

Yanomani of Brazil

MESSAGE:

Hi Katie!

Miners Kill 20 Indians in the Amazon

By JAMES BROOKE
 Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, Aug. 19 — Gold miners killed 20 members of a remote Indian tribe near Brazil's Amazon border with Venezuela this week, officials of Brazil's Indian protection agency said today.

"Some of the children were decapitated with machete blows," Suami dos Santos, the agency's administrator in Roraima State said of the killings on Sunday. "What causes us great indignation and repulsion is that the murders were carried out with touches of cruelty and savagery."

The victims, including 10 children, belonged to the Yanomami tribe. Considered the largest unacculturated Indian tribe of the Americas, the 20,000 Yanomami have been the focus of an international campaign to insure their physical and cultural survival.

Breaking an isolation of millenniums, the Yanomami's first contacts with the outside world, in the 1970's, led to cultural disorientation and death from imported diseases.

The Worst on Record

The killings on Sunday, the worst of Yanomami on record, highlight growing anti-Indian sentiment in Amazon mining areas. Defenders of the Indians asserted today that miners were emboldened by a lack of national outcry over the killings of five Yanomami in the Venezuela border region last month.

"The first massacre did not have any repercussion, so the miners probably felt encouraged," said Carlo Zacchini, a Roman Catholic missionary who has worked with the tribe for the last 26 years.

According to surviving Indians and the police, the miners attacked Hoximu lodge to retaliate for a police raid on Saturday on a nearby mining camp, Raimundo Nenê. In this raid, the police destroyed the miners' water pumps and generators and sabotaged their airstrip.

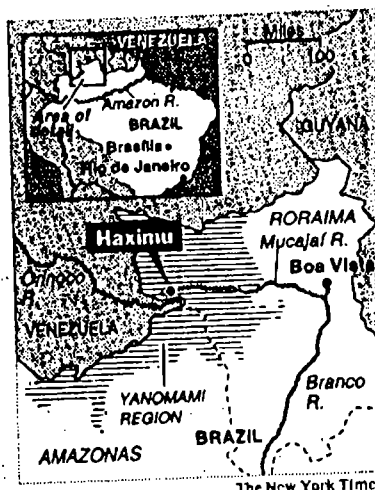
The raid was part of an on-again-off-again battle by Brazilian authorities to expel clandestine miners from the Yanomami homeland, a 37,000-square-mile area bordering Venezuela. In the second campaign since 1990, the police expelled all but 600 miners from the area this year, according to Funai, the Indian protection agency.

Lodge Is Burned, Too

Attacking with guns and machetes on Sunday, the miners killed as many Yanomami as possible and then burned down two thatched, circular lodges, according to survivors interviewed by Funai officials.

"First, they shot the men with guns, then they cut the throats of the women and children with machetes," said Anton Netto, a Funai spokesman.

On Wednesday, a Funai helicopter flying with two survivors aboard was unable to locate the camp in the remote, mountainous rain forest. Today, the official report will be filed.



Miners attacked Hoximu lodge to retaliate for a police raid.

reached the village and radioed a report back to Boa Vista, the Roraima capital.

Concerned by reports that the death toll could mount, Brazil's Justice Minister, Maurício Corrêa and the Attorney General, Aristides Junqueira, flew to Boa Vista today.

"I don't have any doubt that this can be classified as a genocide," Mr. Junqueira said after arriving.

Mr. Corrêa said on Wednesday, "If confirmed, this could be worse than the Candelária massacre." He was referring to the killing of eight street youths in front of the Candelária Church in Rio a month ago.

Pressure on World Bank

The negative international impact could be just as great.

A familiar figure worldwide, Davi Kaponewa Yanomami, the leader of Brazil's 10,000 Yanomami, met with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt in Washington in May and with Vice President Al Gore, then a United States Senator, in Rio during the Earth Summit last year.

Last month, during Congressional hearings in Washington, Robert G. Torricelli, Democrat of New Jersey, proposed that the United States help pro-

tect Brazil's Indians by putting pressure on the World Bank and the Inter-American Bank. Sensitive to international concern over the Yanomami, the World Bank announced in late June a \$330,000 loan to improve Government health care for the tribe.

In the late 1980's, about 1,500 Brazilian Yanomami died of imported diseases. Of 8,131 Yanomami tested this year, 20 percent had malaria, according to the Committee for the Creation of a Yanomami Park, a private Brazilian group.

"If Brazil wants to talk to the World Bank about support for new directions in the Amazon, they will have to show a minimal concern about human rights," said Stephan Schwartzman, a visiting anthropologist for the Environmental Defense Fund, a Washington group. "We will be sure to bring our concerns to Babbitt and the Vice President."

In Britain, Survival International, another private group, announced a demonstration in London on Friday, calling on the Brazilian Government to "act now to prevent further atrocities."

Debate in Brazil Is Bitter

The killings and the international pressure are expected to polarize Brazil's increasingly bitter debate over the Yanomami.

In Roraima, unemployed gold miners say they feel abandoned by their Government. Forced out of the reserve, thousands emigrated to southern Venezuela and Guyana. In recent months, both countries forcibly repatriated dozens of miners.

Miners, local politicians and Brazil's army assert that it is unrealistic to try to stop a gold rush and to lock up billions of dollars in mineral wealth in order to shelter 10,000 Yanomami in an area the size of Portugal. Amazon politicians refuse to recognize the Yanomami reservation, which was officially decreed one week before the Earth Summit.

In October, when Brazil's Congress is to start reviewing the Constitution, Amazon legislators plan to seek to open Indian lands to mining and to revoke the presidential decree creating the Yanomami reserve.

AMERICAN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

August 19, 1993

Exmo Sr. Mauricio Correa
Ministro da Justica
Esplanada dos Ministerios, Bloco 23
70.064 Brasília, D.F. Brazil

Vossa Excelencia:

We have received reports that goldminers this week have killed 14 Yanomami Indians and five other Yanomami in late July.

We are deeply saddened and greatly angered by the continued attacks on the Yanomami. The attacks are of extreme concern given that they took place on the tribe's "protected" reservation.

We call on the Brazilian government not only to pursue, capture and try the suspected murderers, but to immediately increase the protection the government provides the Yanomami and to increase its efforts to force all those illegally on the reservation to leave the reservation immediately. The added protection must be maintained until the reservation is safe for the Yanomami to live in peace.

We are informing the U.S. government and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights of our deep concern over these repeated attacks on the Yanomami.

Sincerely,



Annette Weiner
President

MEMO TO EILEEN FROM AIMÉE
RE: YANOMAMI MASSACRE
DATE: 8-20-93

According to Jim Pritchett of the Brazil desk at State, 19 Yanomami were massacred, 9 adults and 10 children were decapitated with machetes by gold miners in the area. A telex from the FUNAI in Roraima to the FUNAI in Brasilia, also stated that they were killed by gold miners, but the miners are saying two indigenous groups were fighting each other (no one believes this story). The Brazilian government has reacted quickly by already sending up policemen and FUNAI representatives, however, they have not been able to get to the village because they can only get there by helicopter, and the weather has been too bad. This afternoon they were getting as close as they could and then planning to hike the rest of the way. The Brazilian Justice Minister, Corrêa, is going up there tomorrow. The Brazilians are taking this seriously partly because of the international human rights concerns regarding the killing of street children.

Apparently the U.S. military has been performing somewhat iffy exercises in the Forests of Guyana, and is soon to do "water safety training in Surinam." The Brazilian press and the Brazilian military have been claiming that the military exercises are the beginning of the U.S. internationalization of the Amazon. They claim that we are building bases in the surrounding countries and will use this massacre as an excuse to lay claim to the Amazon region. In addition, the Brazilian press is claiming that by supporting the UN Declaration on Indigenous Rights we are sanctioning the creation of puppet states within Brazil's (and other countries') borders (see enclosed U.S. statement).

According to the official U.S. word, the military has been running jungle training exercises and "construction was limited to building toilet facilities, a small footbridge, and repairing roofs on some existing buildings at Makouria training camp." The official story on Surinam is that the U.S. will deploy between 15 and 40 personnel to conduct air-sea rescue training, tentatively scheduled for September 12-18 (see attached memo regarding both). Madonna McGuire of NWF spoke with Bill Orneby of the U.S. Military South Command center in Panama. He is a civilian and therefore has no military rank. He told her that there were two different troop deployments. 200 U.S. Special Forces went to Makouria, Guyana for jungle training from April 27 to May 15. Then from July 19 to August 2, 130 men returned to Guyana and he said that Makouria is not anywhere near the border of Brazil. In Colombia

the Navy Sea Bees helped the Colombian Marines build a base and left when it was completed.

It is highly possible that the Brazilian military is manipulating legitimate U.S. military activity to try to justify increasing its budget as well as control over the Amazon. However, the U.S. excuse that it is doing jungle training exercises is an old one to hide drug war activity and other covert acts (see Guatemala), so we may want to try to find out what's really going on. Barbara Bramble is going to Brazil in September and would like to be able to tell everyone she meets with (including presidential candidates, NGOs) that their concerns over U.S. activities are totally unfounded. Steve Schwartzmann of EDF is apparently on his way there now.

The U.S. embassy has been communicating with the Brazilians to reassure them that we are not planning any aggression against them, and not using the massacre as an excuse to push for the internationalization of the Amazon. Assistant Secretary Watson just returned from Paraguay and had been given talking points on the military activities so that when he met with Franco he could dispel any concerns. However, the meeting never took place.

We do need to discuss what exactly the military is doing in the forests. Apparently some in the Pentagon have been using the "protection of the Amazon" as a reason/way to secure more defense funding, and so the Brazilians may not be unjustly paranoid after all.

Jim Pritchett, Brazil Desk: 647-9407
Asst. Sec. Watson: 647-5780

see enclosures: NYTimes article and cover note from NWF, U.S. government (State and Embassy) documents/press releases on Indigenous Rights Declaration and military activities.

Working for the Nature of Tomorrow.

**NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION**

1400 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-2266 (202) 797-6800

To: Amy ChristensenFAX # 456-2710From: Annick SalomonPhone # 797-6604 Fax # 797-5486

Date: _____ Number of pages to follow: _____

Message: _____

wald, gn!wiccge,

gn!wwfgland, ax!oxbrasil[D[D[Dzil, web!eprobe, web!pjessup, web!pprobe

Subject: Yanomami Masacre Brazil.

Cc: ax!cedi

CCPY - Comission for Creation of the Yanomami Park (Sao Paulo), Fax:
005511-284 6997

CEDI- Ecumenical Center of Documentation and Information (Sao Paulo), fax
0055 11 8257861

&

NDI - Nucleus of Indigenous Rights (Brasilia)

fax 0055 61 248.6420

BRAZIL

URGENT ACTION

MASSACRE OF YANOMAMI INDIANS IN RORAIMA

-- Hit <RETURN> for more --

Mail?

[A[A

AUG. 18/93

Between fourteen and nineteen Yanomami Indians were massacred by goldminers between the Hemosh and Xidea villages in the Yanomami territory in Roraima state in the northern Brazilian Amazon. The dead include men, women and children who were decapitated with machetes, according to a telex from the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in Roraima to the agency's president in Brasilia. The immediate motive for the killings is unknown. Federal police have gone to the area. This is clearly a consequence of the impunity guaranteed the gold mine operators by local politicians and the ommission of the federal government.

The legal recognition, or demarcation, of the Yanomami territory in November 1991, brought Brazil's Collor de Mello government international credibility on human rights and the environment. Some 20,000 Yanomami, many still highly isolated from the outside world, inhabit forests of the Brazil-Venezuela border, with about 10,000 in Brazil. A gold rush began in the mid-eighties, and by 1987 some 80,000 goldminers had invaded the Yanomami land, bringing virulent malaria and epidemic diseases.

Indigenous, human rights and environmental organizations in Brazil and

-- Hit <RETURN> for more --

Mail?

[A[Ainternationally called insisently for the legal and physical demarcation of the Yanomami territory, and removal of the miners. Many of the miners were removed at the end of 1990, under federal court order, but military ministers, mining interests and the local political elite blocked the demarcation, arguing that recognizing the entire 9.6 million hectare area inhabited by the Yanomami in the border region represented a threat to Brazil's national security. In 1991 Minister of Justice Jarbas Passarinho, finding the national security arguments baseless, demarcated the area. The military nonetheless recently raised the spectre of "internationalization of the Amazon" through foreign interference in Indian areas in the region, convening an extraordinary meeting of the Committee for National Defense to discuss the issue.

Indigenous and indigenous rights organizations had for the last year warned that reinvasions of the area, cleared of miners after the demarcation, would spread fatal illnesses and lead to violent conflict between the Indians and goldminers. In May, Yanomami leader Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, on a visit to the United States, asked members of the US

Congress and US Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt to pressure the Brazilian government to prevent further reinvasions. He made the same point in discussions in the United Nations working group on indigenous -- Hit <RETURN> for more --

Mail?

[A]Arights in Geneva in July. There are at present some 600 goldminers working in the area.

PLEASE FAX OR WRITE, requesting complete investigation of the case and punishment for the guilty parties of;

Ilmo. Sr.

Ministro da Justica

Mauricio Correa

Ministerio da Justica

Esplanada dos Ministerios Bl. T

70.064 Brasilia DF

Brazil

Fax - 011-55-61-224-0954

with copy to:

Embassador of Brazil

Brazilian Embassy

Mail?

**U.S. MILITARY COOPERATION WITH GUYANA, SURINAME,
AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN SOUTH AMERICA**

*Ø MARK
Excell.*

After conferring with the appropriate authorities in the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia confirmed on August 13 that there is no truth to allegations in the Brazilian press that U.S. personnel participating in joint training exercises recently concluded in Guyana ever increased, or planned to increase, to include 750 U.S. soldiers. Similarly, claims that the U.S. is involved in building a base in Guyana and five bases in Colombia are groundless. Joint military training exercises around the world between United States forces and forces of other countries have long been a part of U.S. efforts to improve inter-military cooperation. Joint exercises are regularly conducted with friendly and allied forces throughout the world, including with Brazilian forces, e.g. during UNITAS, and there has been no recent increase in their number or change in regional distribution.

The joint training exercises in Guyana have concluded. All U.S. participants have departed, and there never were any plans for additional troops to join the exercise. The United States is not building a military base of any kind in Guyana, and has no plans to do so. Construction during the exercise was limited to building toilet facilities, a small footbridge, and repairing roofs on some existing buildings at Makouria training camp.

Likewise, the U.S. is not constructing five military bases in Colombia. Allegations in the Brazilian press may be confused references to cooperation between U.S. forces and those of several countries (Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru) during Support Justice IV, a regional air interdiction counternarcotics exercise. The United States has a standing offer to brief Brazilian authorities on this exercise. For purposes of the exercise, which is now scheduled to conclude the end of September, U.S. forces have loaned radars (two to Colombia and one each to Ecuador and Peru), which are jointly manned. The U.S. is not building permanent U.S. bases in any of these countries.

In Suriname, the U.S. will deploy between 15 and 40 personnel to conduct air-sea rescue training, tentatively scheduled for September 12-18. In addition to training local forces, the U.S. team will conduct an open house demonstration of safety techniques. The Brazilian attache in Paramaribo was briefed by the USDATT about this training.

Additionally, a U.S. Army team of 6 personnel will be deployed to Suriname October 28 - December 18 to design and put into operation a training course for NCOs in the Surinamese Army. This is being done at the request of the Surinamese, and the Brazilian military attache has also been informed of this training. This training will take place at the Surinamese Army's training center near the Zanderij international airport outside Paramaribo.

UNITED NATIONS WORKING GROUP ON INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS
ELEVENTH SESSION

STATEMENT OF KATHRYN SKIPPER
OBSERVER DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GENEVA, JULY 21, 1993

Madame Chairperson,

On behalf of the U.S. delegation, I congratulate you on your re-election as Chairperson/Rapporteur of the Working Group. The United States looks forward to actively participating in this year's session, as the Working Group, under your leadership, endeavors to complete its efforts on the draft declaration.

The United States recognizes that persons belonging to indigenous groups have been the victims of serious and sometimes widespread human rights abuses. Accordingly, we firmly support the need for a properly drafted declaration. The United States expects to participate actively in future work on such a declaration.

The effort to draft a declaration is an important forward step in protecting and promoting the human rights of persons belonging to indigenous groups. We endorse much of what is contained in the existing text. We respect and commend the thought and effort that has gone into it.

At the same time, however, we believe that further reflection and work are required to produce an instrument that can find broad international acceptance and make a useful contribution to promoting and protecting the rights of all persons belonging to indigenous groups. I would like to point out briefly some of our main concerns about the draft declaration as it is reflected in the revised working paper E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/26. These concerns will be supplemented with more specific comments on particular provisions as we proceed

in the course of these discussions.

First, we note that there are many explicit and implicit references to self-determination throughout the text. Because the inclusion of a reference to self-determination has become so central in discussions about this document, and because the principle of self-determination is so apt to be misunderstood,

we must ensure that if the term is used in the declaration, it is clear what it means. Self-determination is generally understood to mean the right to establish a sovereign and independent state under international law. Self-determination, however, can be achieved through arrangements other than independence. The United States could not accept the inclusion of self-determination as applying specifically to indigenous groups if it implies or permits full independence generally recognized under international law.

Moreover, the World Conference debate whether to speak of "people" or "peoples," and the Conference decision not to use the term "peoples," suggests that many governments share our concerns about the risk and uncertainties of extending the

international legal concept of self-determination specifically to indigenous groups.

Second, the draft declaration refers in numerous instances to collective rights about which we have serious questions. The references generally go far beyond the limited collective rights recognized in international law or the practice of states. We note that many of the proposed new collective rights are extremely general and imprecise, thus

they will be unable to be implemented in practice. In this respect, there also are serious problems of definition. The draft declaration does not define "indigenous peoples." Hence, there are no criteria for determining what groups of persons can assert the proposed new collective rights. Moreover, we are concerned that in some circumstances, the articulation of group rights can lead to the submergence of the rights of individuals. For example, some paragraphs contemplate broad autonomy for indigenous populations, but without any requirement that such autonomy be exercised consistently with the rights of individuals. One can envision situations in which the exercise of such broad powers could be highly detrimental to individual rights.

Finally, the document refers extensively to various

"rights" of indigenous peoples. Some of these are not recognized as "rights" in existing international instruments, or in state practice. They are neither recognized as enforceable by any national legal systems, nor are they likely to be so. Accordingly, the pervasive use of the language of rights is both inaccurate and misleading. It tends to diminish

the credibility of the declaration and to lessen the likelihood of its broad acceptance.

My government has highlighted these primary concerns so that they can be borne in mind as the discussions continue over the course of this week. Continued open dialogue will be the key in addressing the novel, complex, and contentious issues that the draft declaration raises. We encourage the Working Group to precisely articulate rights and obligations in this document as it will be difficult for governments to subscribe to an imprecise and vaguely worded text. It is our hope that the text will be capable of attracting broad international support and serve as a basis for effective monitoring and implementation.



FAX - FAX - FAX - FAX - FAX
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Date 8/19.

TO: Amy Christensen

FAX NO. _____

From: Office of Brazilian Affairs (ARA/BR)
Room 4908 NS
Department of State
(Tel) 647-9407 / 647-6541
(Fax) 736-7481

SUBJECT/COMMENTS: per our conversation
for

Cover + 9 pages

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NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

1400 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-2266 (202) 797-6800

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

Aimee Christensen
Fax # 456-2710

Dear Aimee:

My name is Madonna McGuire and I am Barbara Bramble's assistant. Barbara asked me to fax you some things. She also asked me to share the name and number of a contact that I have made in the South Command center of the U.S. Military. I spoke with Bill Orneby, in Panama. He can be reached by dialing 011 507 82 4226. He works in Media Relations of the Public Affairs department for the South Command. He is a civilian and therefore has no military rank. He told me some specifics about the military maneuvers in Guyana. I won't give you all of the details now but please contact me if you wish to get the specifics he shared with me. My phone number is 797-6600.

Following are 13 pages of material including the article that appeared in the NY Times today and a fax we received from the State Department. Again, please call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Madonna McGuire
Assistant to the Director

14 PAGES TOTAL

Brazil's Army Casts U.S. as Amazon Villain

By JAMES BROOKE

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, Aug. 18 — If Brazilian newspaper headlines were to be believed last week, the United States Government was plotting the biggest land grab since the Louisiana Purchase: "U.S.A. Builds Two Military Bases in the Amazon Region," one headline read. Another announced, "U.S. Bases Surround the Amazon."

What was really going on, political analysts say, is that Brazil's military was flexing its political muscles, seeking to win support for a plan to extend air traffic control over the Amazon.

Last week, President Itamar Franco unexpectedly called the first meeting in five years of Brazil's National Defense Council at which he unveiled the long dormant "Amazon Vigilance System" — and won unanimous approval for it.

Today, seeking to quell press speculation that the military could threaten Brazil's democracy, President Franco addressed a gathering of generals. In a nationally televised speech, he warned that "perverse rumors, coming from obscure sources, about a coup against democracy in our country, can only serve the builders of chaos."

Last week, the army sent two gener-

als to brief a defense committee of Brazil's Congress about the \$600 million radar project. According to published accounts, the generals charged that the United States was building military bases in Colombia and Guyana and had conducted joint military maneuvers with nations around the Brazilian Amazon.

The American Ambassador, Richard Melton, called the reports "totally erroneous" and said that aid to Guyana in a recent joint training exercise "was limited to building toilet facilities, a small footbridge, and repairing roofs."

After initial headlines subsided, Brazil's press became increasingly skepti-

cal of the conspiracy theory. The military, Geraldo Cavagnari, a strategic studies expert, told the newspaper *Folha of São Paulo*, "want to depict a concrete threat, to define an enemy in order to justify more money for their budget."

But in a measure of the military's growing shadow over Brazilian politics, three politicians seen as presidential candidates paid lip service to the idea in Sunday's newspapers.

"The preoccupations and proposals of the armed forces merit the solidarity of the Brazilian people," wrote Leonel Brizola, Governor of Rio de Janeiro State. "North American bases in South America represent, without a shadow of doubt, an expansionist lunge of unacceptable domination."

José Sarney, an Amazon Senator who ranks in opinion polls as Brazil's

most popular former President, wrote: "If we want to have sovereignty over our territory, we have to watch it. It would have been better if the United States had let every country take care of its own territory."

Ivan Moacyr da Frota, who retired last week from the Brazilian Air Force with the rank of brigadier general, said in a newspaper interview that the presence of American troops in Guyana was "very worrying."

The retired general's interview is seen as the opening shot in his campaign to become "the military candidate" in the October 1994 election. Claiming that "a lot of people" would defend a coup, General Frota announced that he would create a "Movement for Democracy with Dignity" to back his candidacy, which is to be announced Aug. 25, Soldier's Day.

BRAZILIAN EMBASSY

Current Issues 1

BRAZIL
AND THE
ENVIRONMENT

June 1993

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BRAZILIAN EMBASSY

Current Issues 3

BRAZILIAN POLICY
ON INDIGENOUS
POPULATION

August 1993

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