

500 YEARS OF INVASION: ECO-COLONIALISM IN INDIGENOUS VENEZUELA¹

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Introduction

Colonialism and invasion have been central to the lives of indigenous peoples in the Americas since 1492. *Colonialism*, the exploitation of foreign lands and their peoples, involves a paternalistic and arrogant attitude towards indigenous peoples. There are many variants. *Neo-colonialism* is the economic exploitation of foreign nations and states. *Internal colonialism* is the exploitation of indigenous peoples by European descendents within a nation or state, such as people of Spanish descent in Venezuela. *Eco-colonialism*, which has elements in common with neo-colonialism and internal colonialism, occurs when first world environmentalists take control over the environment, resources and lifeways of indigenous peoples and third world nations, so as to further their own interests.

From the point of view of many indigenous peoples,² Western ethnobotanists act like treasure hunters seeking new medicines known to indigenous peoples to benefit pharmaceutical companies economically and to fill their *curricula vitae*. Reviewing the long history of anthropological research in Venezuela and other countries in the third world, indigenous peoples have repeatedly seen information extracted from them and not returned in a form they could utilize (see Sponsel 1991).

This is not an easy issue to address because there are many interests and worldviews involved. On the one hand, there is the third world nations' desire to develop. On the other hand, there are the interests of biologists, environmentalists, and first world nations in protecting endangered plant and animal species and stopping global warming. Indigenous peoples' interests have rarely been well represented; rather they have often been presented in a romanticized fashion. Some environmentalists and naturalists assume that indigenous people will continue to extract resources from their lands in a sustainable fashion, unaware that many of them are experiencing great socio-economic change and assimilating a more individualistic and capitalistic mode of production. In this paper, I will address indigenous views on conservation, progress and environmental destruction. There is no doubt that biodiversity reserves are essential for the survival of indigenous peoples and their cultures. Therefore, I will also explore solutions to protect both biodiversity and indigenous peoples' rights.

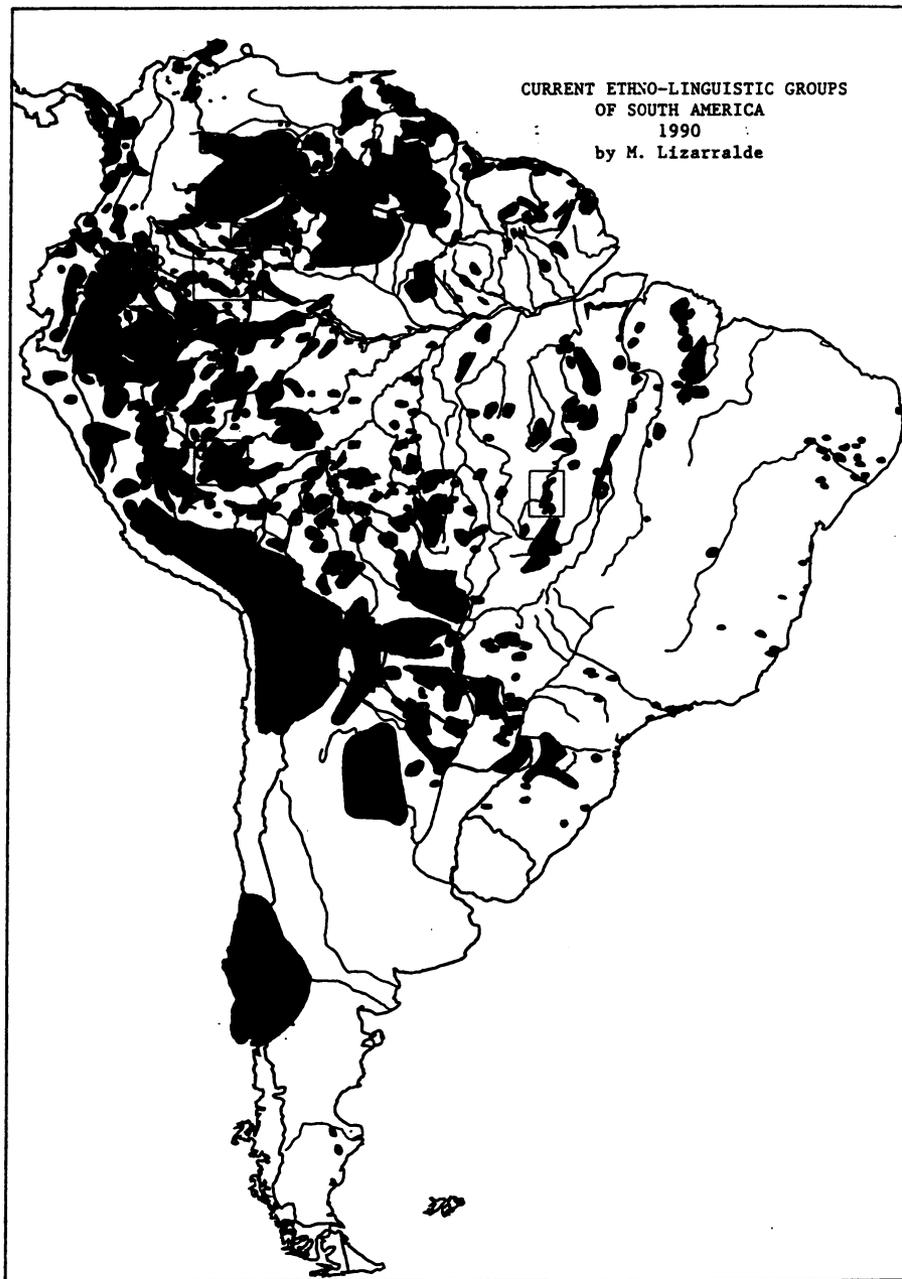
Currently, there are approximately 472 ethno-linguistic groups and 15.3 million indigenous peoples who still speak their native languages in South America (see Table 1 and Map 1). This number is relatively accurate although there is not a current complete census of South American indigenous peoples available in the literature. The most complete and accurate is the Venezuelan 1980 census (OCEI 1985).

S o u t h A m e r i c a n P o p u l a t i o n			
COUNTRY	mid-1980s Indigenous Population*	1986 National Population**	Percentage of Indigenous Population
ARGENTINA	130,699	28,955,000	0.45
BOLIVIA	2,485,614	6,160,000	40.36
BRAZIL	207,134	133,100,000	0.16
CHILE	340,074	11,740,000	2.90
COLOMBIA	221,330	30,285,000	0.73
ECUADOR	2,512,198	9,410,000	26.70
FR. GUYANA	8,316	78,000	10.66
GUYANA	19,675	835,000	2.36
PARAGUAY	45,325	3,575,000	1.27
PERU	9,114,668	19,555,000	43.94
SURINAM	7,815	375,000	2.08
URUGUAY	0	2,980,000	0.00
VENEZUELA	189,131	15,325,000	1.23
Total	15,281,979	262,373,000	5.82

* Source: M. Lizarralde 1992 (p. 5).

** The World Bank, 1988 (p. 283).

Table 1: Estimated South American indigenous populations in contrast to national populations.



Map 1: Locations of South American Indigenous Peoples in the 1980s.

These 472 ethno-linguistic groups represent one-third of the total number estimated to have existed 500 years ago. When Christopher Columbus came to the Americas in 1492, there were about 57 million indigenous people and possibly 1500 ethno-linguistic groups in South America alone (see table 2).³ It is known that up to 90 percent of American indigenous peoples were killed or died within the first century of contact in Central America and the Caribbean (Denevan 1976). The indigenous peoples in the coastal regions of Latin America have been almost completely wiped out. Indigenous societies in remote and geographically inaccessible regions have survived better to the present. Controlling all natural resources before the arrival of Europeans, today these people have access to only a fraction of the land.

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS						
(population figures in millions)						
	SAPPER 1924	KROEBER 1939	ROSENBLAT 1954	STEWARD 1949	DOBYNS 1966	DENEVAN 1976
Andes	13.5	3.0	4.8	6.1	30—37.5	11.5
Lowland South America	4.0	1.0	2.0	2.9	9—11.3	8.5
Continental Total	17.5	4.0	6.8	9.0	39—48.8	20.0
Density (pers./km ²)	0.99	0.23	0.38	0.51	2.2—2.75	1.13

Source: Modified from Denevan (1976:3, 291, who cites Kroeber 1939:166, Rosenblat 1954:102, Steward 1949:656, Sapper 1924; Dobyns 1966:415).

Figure 2: Estimates of Pre-Columbian South American indigenous populations

Scientific Discourse, Rhetoric, and Ideology

Scientific and social science research tends to be concerned primarily with theoretical questions, as is demanded by the funding institutions (Sponsel 1991). In the last twenty years there has been too little concern with the rights and needs of the people being studied, except

in a small number of publications.⁴ After a long series of anthropological studies with little apparent benefit to themselves, many Venezuelan indigenous groups (the Barí, Wayúu, Wotuha, E'ñapa, Yukpa and Yekwana) have recently refused to allow anthropologists and ethnobiologists to study them. They believe that anthropologists and ethnobiologists have betrayed them by extracting their knowledge without giving them a proper share of its value.⁵

The recent concern with protecting tropical environments where indigenous peoples live is based on the argument that enough of the world's environment has been destroyed. Thus, it is time to protect the remaining forests, their organisms, and their native peoples from destruction. Not all indigenous people's objective is to run around in loincloths using simple technologies such as bows and arrows or digging sticks and to maintain a subsistence economy that barely achieves survival. Westerners may admire indigenous people for having lived this way for millenia, and see no reason for this to change. This view seems to indigenous peoples to be just another form of imposition from outside. It strikes them as a new form of colonialism that has a premise similar to the old: instead of "saving" the souls of the "pagan Indians" from damnation 500 years ago, the focus is now on "saving" the rainforest and its inhabitants from "destruction" in the present. Many indigenous peoples have now developed a taste for the lifestyle and goods of the Western world.

The romantic notion of the *noble savage* has evolved into an ideal of *ecologically committed people* who do not alter their environment and use forest resources in a sustainable way. On May 12, 1991, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a story headlined: "Trouble with the Techno Tribe: Are the Amazonian Kayapos turning pro-development?" (Kepp 1991: 4). The Kayapo, world symbol of Amazonian ecological harmony, are presently "allowing logging and gold mining" operations on their land, lured by the desire for state-of-the-art gadgetry such as "TVs, cassette recorders, short-wave radios, parabolic antennae, diesel-powered generators and bush planes" (Kepp 1991: 4). The Kayapo case shows how the media, and possibly scholars as well, are surprised to find that the Kayapo are not entirely the ecologically committed people pictured by anthropologists such as Jason Clay (1990) or Darrell Posey (1989), but also people eager to become technologically Westernized and to consume lots of Western goods. The same process is occurring among Venezuelan indigenous peoples.

In order to get beyond pessimistic attitudes about the future of biodiversity, we need to seek positive solutions with indigenous peoples for protection of pristine environments. These pristine environments are the home of indigenous peoples. In fact, recent studies (Balée 1989) suggest that such forests are actually to some degree anthropogenic. Thus, the forest is not pristine, and the indigenous peoples' relation to the environment is more complex than is perceived by Western eyes. The view of a Barí is reflected in a statement at a village meeting (Saimadodyi, October 13, 1991) when he said:

We are tired of the *dabagdoüra* [white men] telling us what is best for us to do when everything suggested by the *dabagdoüra* was a failure. It is time for them to listen and to let us decide what is best. The *dabagdoüra* do not understand our real needs. They only bring their needed items such as latrines,⁶ which cause more problems in our life.

Biodiversity and Indigenous Peoples

The world is experiencing one of the fastest changes in its biological history. Fifty species of organisms disappear from the earth daily, mostly in the tropical rainforest (Wilson 1988:13). The earth has never seen such massive extinctions, which are 1,000 to 10,000 times those before human intervention (Wilson 1988:13). Rainforest lands of the size the Netherlands or New England are destroyed every year (Richter 1992). The accumulation of carbon dioxide is increasing and is the primary cause of the greenhouse effect. The soaring populations and staggering foreign debts put pressure on the tropical forest and other natural resources of the third world. This is of great concern to environmentalists, biologists, botanists and zoologists. There is no doubt that these changes eventually will threaten our own existence as a species.

Societies that live in tropical rainforests tend to be characterized as societies with traditional economies as described by Toledo:

Traditional subsistence patterns of use of natural resources are based on multiple use of ecosystems. As members of a subsistence non-commodity economy, indigenous peoples carry out production based more on the principle of resources and production diversity than on specialization. By utilizing more than one ecosystem, indigenous peoples achieve the integration of different practices, multidimensionality of human activities, and diversification of natural products obtained from each ecosystem. (Toledo 1991: 157)

Once they articulate with the world economy, however, these traditional economies are transformed.

Western socio-economic relations are the root cause of the destruction of the forest. The Western world stimulates increased consumption, which increases the demands on third world natural resources. Because Western nations insist that third world nations repay their external debts and encourage development, indigenous peoples are forced to change their economies and demand more of their local resources. Western socio-economic relations negate the common environmentalist assumption that indigenous peoples live in harmony with nature. Once they are engaged by the world economy, even peripherally, this is no longer possible.

Environmental organizations, such as Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Foundation, which are directed, staffed and financed by peoples of first world nations, are extending into many parts of the world, including third world nations in the tropics. Environmentalists, such as Diane Fossey for the mountain gorillas in central Africa (see Mowat 1987) or Greenpeace with their action against Greenland Eskimos for fur seal hunting (the economic condition of these Eskimos was drastically affected as a result, although their hunting tradition had not had a negative impact on fur seal populations [personal communication, Roy Iutzi-Mitchell, 1992]), want to save the last environments with pristine flora and fauna in the same way that medieval crusaders wanted to save the Holy Land from the pagans. Are rainforests the paradise of a new religion? The ideology of eco-colonialism reflects the first world nations' aim to stop the destruction of the rainforest by protecting these environments and keeping

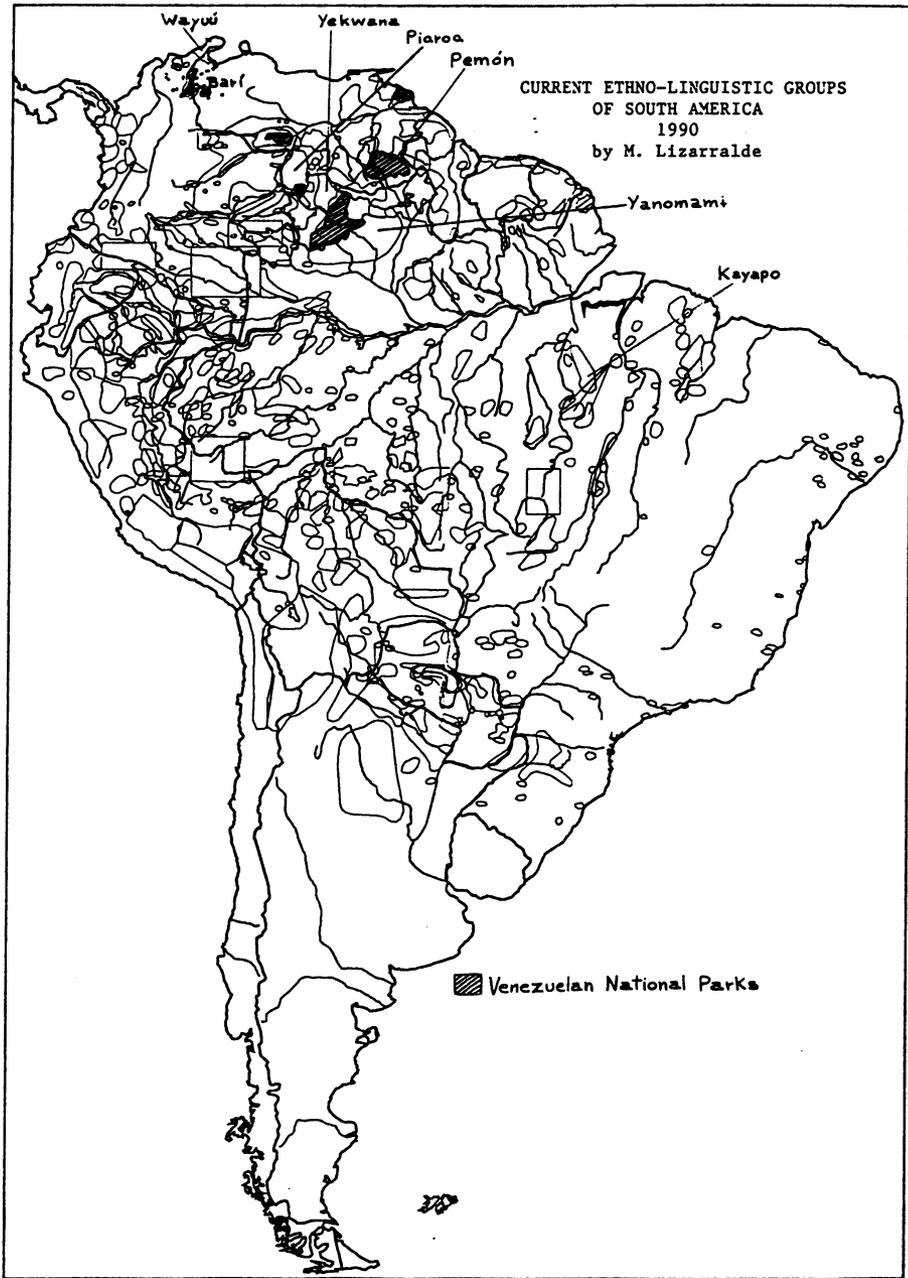
indigenous peoples within the framework of a sustainable subsistence economy. I definitely agree that we need to protect rainforests and biodiversity. But, do we have the right to impose our first world interests on these indigenous peoples?

For example, Venezuelan officials are preventing Pemón indigenous peoples from practicing slash and burn horticulture because it decreases plant cover and increases sedimentation of the Guri hydroelectric dam (see Map 2 for the location of tribes cited in the text). This dam produces most of the electricity that is consumed in Venezuelan cities. Government ecologists were sent to do research and argued that it is necessary to protect biodiversity in this region and reduce river sedimentation because sediments damage the hydroelectric turbines.

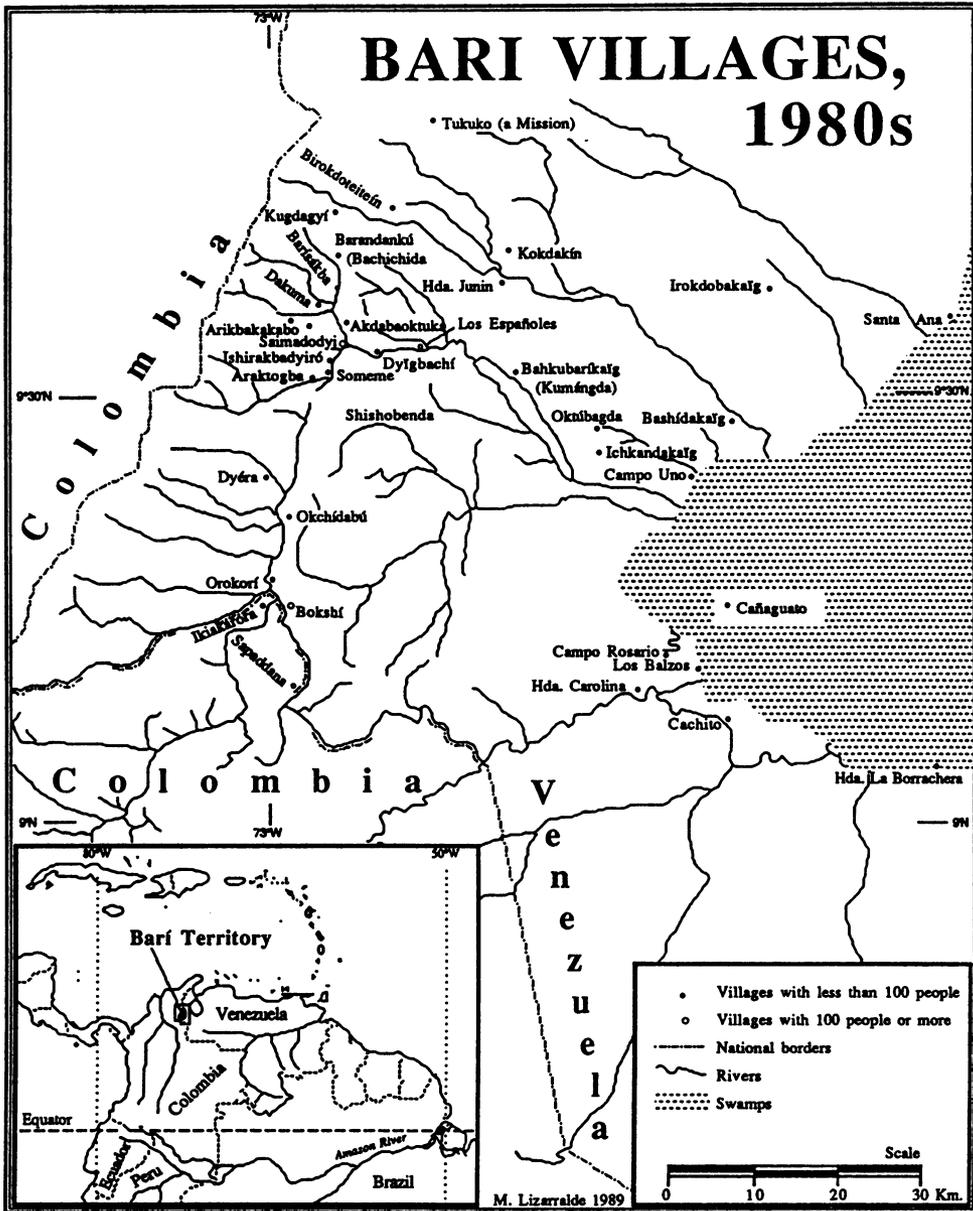
The conflict of interest between the Pemón indigenous peoples and Venezuelan urbanites running the Guri hydroelectric dam is a microcosm of that between first world nations and indigenous peoples in relation to biodiversity. The first world inhabitants have the commodities and the high levels of energy consumption but lack the ability to stabilize the climate of the planet and preserve biodiversity. The third world nations lack the commodities and high levels of energy consumption that the first world nations have but they have most of the rainforest that acts as a great biodiversity resource. "Biodiversity conservation in... industrialized nations arose primarily as an issue among educated, urban, upper middle class people concerned about the loss of aesthetically pleasing wildlands" (Oldfield and Alcorn 1991:119). While these "upper middle class people" from industrialized nations make conservation decisions about remote resources, the others must make the sacrifices. These others are poor third world nations, and it is mostly in indigenous people's lands where the greatest biodiversity is found. It is time to ask the question: What do indigenous peoples want? They do not share the first world's views: "Indigenous peoples are not conservationists in the same way as we all too infrequently try to be; for example, they rarely attempt to get other peoples' houses in order" (Clay 1991:249).

The Barí Indigenous People

Between June of 1989 and December of 1991, I conducted five months of ethnobotanical fieldwork trying to understand the Barí indigenous people's relation to the rainforest with the goal of finding solutions for preserving the rainforest (see Map 3). The Barí are 1,850 agriculturalists/hunters/fishers living in the tropical lowland rainforests of northwestern Venezuela and northeastern Colombia (Lizarralde and Beckerman 1982). I was aware that drastic environmental damage had occurred and was produced by cash cropping and cattle raising. These changes could threaten the physical and cultural existence of the Barí Indians. I was aware that my scientific approach was itself a cultural construct and not necessarily welcome to the Barí. As an anthropologist, however, I believe in respecting indigenous people by treating them as equals and not just focusing on theoretical and scientific questions. Thus, I had to eliminate my paternalistic attitude to the Barí and learn a different approach in my fieldwork. A paternalistic attitude toward "protecting" indigenous peoples and their environment is no different from the attitude missionaries have toward saving the souls of indigenous peoples.



Map 2: Location of Ethnic Groups cited in this article and Venezuelan National Parks in Indigenous Peoples' lands.



Map 3: Locations of the Barí Indian Villages in the 1980s.

The Barí Indians, like many Venezuelan indigenous peoples, are engaging in cash cropping and cattle raising. It is not only because they want to become Westernized, but also because that is the only way they can protect their land and get some financial aid and approval from Venezuelans and the Venezuelan government. According to Venezuelan law, forested lands belong to the state. Any person can own this land by "improving" it, which means clearing the forest, cultivating it and raising cattle.

The Barí as well as other indigenous peoples need and want our medicine, medical services and technological power to make their subsistence easier (Anderson 1990a). In order to achieve this, they integrate cattle raising⁷ and cash crops⁸ into their economies. Missionaries, civilians, governmental officials and the military all pressure indigenous peoples to develop their economies in Western forms (Lizarralde and Beckerman 1982). They also subsist on wildlife and hunt many endangered animals, including jaguars. While there, I was concerned that jaguars will disappear from Perijá and asked the Barí not to kill jaguars. I was told that jaguars did not exist on *dabagdoïra* (Eurodescendants') lands because *dabagdoïra* killed them all. The Barí men told me there are plenty of jaguars in their lands. In fact, between the Barí villages of Bashishida and Bokshi, there are a great number of jaguars judging from their footprints on most of the trails I observed between September and December, 1991.

The jaguar's abundance in the Sierra de Perijá is attested to by the fact that a Barí hunter recently encountered a female jaguar in heat surrounded by four males. Clearly jaguars enjoy a relatively high population density in Barí territory, and the Barí do not appreciate being told not to kill them in order to preserve what other people have wiped out elsewhere. The Barí wanted to know how I, as a *dabagdoï*, could ask them to be environmentally responsible while white Venezuelans were not. Eighty-five percent of Barí territory was taken by Venezuelans and deforested between 1910 and 1970 (Lizarralde and Beckerman 1982). The remaining fifteen percent was converted into a national park.

Forest, Savannas, and Parks: Home of Indigenous Peoples.

Major national parks are on indigenous territories. Some environmentalists see human inhabitants as a problem in eighty-six percent of South American parks (e.g. Amend and Amend 1992:5). Even though there are many reasons for parks to exist, they are controversial from the indigenous perspective. Indigenous people lose control of their land and resources by living in national parks. In Venezuela, there are 39 national parks and 15 national monuments covering 14 percent of the national territory (R. Lizarralde 1992). Eight of these are on indigenous territories: 9,799,656 hectares: Perijá with 295,288, Ciénagas del Catatumbo with 270,000, Cinaruco-Capanaparo with 584,368, Yapacana with 320,000, Serranía La Neblina with 1,360,000 ha., Parima-Tapirapecó with 3,420,000 ha., Canaima with 3,000,000 ha., Mariusa with 550,000 ha. (R. Lizarralde 1992). Nine ethnic groups with 304 indigenous communities live in these eight parks (R. Lizarralde 1992). Although the creation of parks is a way to protect indigenous peoples from progress, it is not a coincidence that indigenous peoples are in the largest parks. Parks are rarely created in the land of the rich, powerful and educated who propose them. However, environmentalists who promote parks in Venezuela and Latin America have started in recent years to acknowledge the rights of people

who lived on the lands before the parks were created (e.g. Amend and Amend 1992). The creation of parks brings indigenous lands irreversibly under state control, with no guarantee that the next government will not relocate indigenous people to less productive lands.

Let me quote a relevant statement by Brazilian Indians who "complained to the environmental establishment in Washington which has been eagerly promoting parks":

We are concerned that you have left us, the indigenous people, out of your vision of the Amazon Biosphere. The focus of the environmental community has typically been the preservation of tropical forests and their plant and animal inhabitants. You have shown little interest in its human inhabitants who are also part of that biosphere. (Hecht and Cockburn 1990:276)

West and Brechin (1991) also point to the same issue by criticizing first world nations for hurrying to protect ecosystems and biodiversity, but paying little attention to the indigenous peoples living in the areas that are about to be protected.

The Ideal of the Noble Savage and the Progress of Indigenous Peoples within Biodiversity Reserves

The formation of parks and biodiversity reserves threatens indigenous peoples' rights to control their resources, cultures and lives. They see it as yet another imposition of foreign views, interests, ideology, and laws. They would like to participate in the process as equal partners, not be treated like another species of endangered animal. This is a delicate problem that has no simple and easy solution. Both isolation and exposure of an indigenous society (like the Barf) to the dominant culture (such as non-indigenous Venezuelans) have negative and positive sides. Bodley writes:

The cultural autonomy alternative has unfortunately been misunderstood and misrepresented by those who have obscured it under the misleading category of isolation policies where it could be ridiculed with false emotional arguments about "human zoos" and "living museums." As a so-called human zoo policy, cultural autonomy has been criticized as "sheer cruelty" (Williams-Hunt 1952:79) because it would "deny them the chance to progress"; and has been labeled "inhuman and inefficient" and "morally wrong" because it would perpetuate famine, disease and ignorance (Goulet 1971:208, 249)... (Bodley 1975:170)

Although these are Western views expressed by Western people, I have heard similar arguments from Venezuelan indigenous people. We need more research on indigenous perspectives on the issue, and I hope to bring more insight on this from further field research.

What are the Solutions?

What is uncertain, however, is whether [indigenous peoples'] rights to the land they occupy—guaranteed by virtually all the constitutions of Latin American countries—will be respected (Clay 1988:73).

We could start seeking solutions by reducing the arrogance of environmentalists and increasing understanding of indigenous peoples. It is clear that human needs in the future can be achieved by increasing sustainable use of the environment, not only in tropical forests but in first world nations. We should not expect indigenous peoples to be the only conservationists while developed nations waste many times more resources and produce much more pollution per capita than third world people. However, the survival of indigenous peoples depends on the protection of their environment and resources as well as the protection of biodiversity. To protect indigenous peoples and biodiversity, we should not impose solutions but construct them together with indigenous peoples for the protection of global climate. In a book review (Gradwohl and Greenberg 1990), Padoch writes:

Reviewing reserves in Mexico, Belize, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Thailand, Indonesia, and Gabon, the authors find that including indigenous peoples within reserved land, allowing multiple uses, and consulting local people throughout the park's creations and administration are characteristics that distinguish promising reserves from failed ones. Good planners don't just discourage populations from invading neighboring parks, they often aid them in getting title to their farm lands and assure them of employment as park guards or guides—jobs that may keep them from cutting down forests in their search for income. (1990:32)

Toledo points to a classic problem in the third world that is also present in the first world:

Perhaps the most difficult problem faced today in the effort to accomplish biological conservation in the Third World is the inability of educated people such as scholars, conservationists, and policymakers to recognize and comprehend the enormous ecological value of the modes of subsistence of traditional cultures that inhabit rural areas. Most recent evidence suggests that indigenous peoples play a key role in the conservation of biological diversity (1991:168)

Toledo's statement may apply to Southern Mexico where the Mayan people live, but my fieldwork experience and work such as Hames (1991) provide fuel for an opposite argument. The problem is that we must take into consideration how the Western world has disrupted the indigenous sociopolitical order and its relation to natural resources. Indigenous economies were based on communal management of unlimited or abundant resources in the past. Resources are now more limited and quite reduced from precontact periods, and their economies are in a transitional state between self-sufficiency and Western capitalism.

Whatever we do, whether isolation or progress, will change their future. I believe in a cultural dialogue in which we can hear from them and we could inform them of the implications of deforestation and destruction of their biodiversity. Indigenous people are quite divided on the issue and many are still exploring solutions. Many of my Barí informants are aware of their uncertain future and are hoping my research will help to find a solution, about which I myself am relatively skeptical. The Barí, as well as many other indigenous peoples, are aware of the current world economic crisis.⁹

In order to achieve worldwide understanding and harmony, we should guarantee indigenous rights. If their lands are not in constant threat of being taken at any moment, they may have less need to develop them in the Western way (e.g. converting them into cattle ranches or plantations of cash crops). Indigenous people want intellectual and material benefits for their contributions to the earth's stability. If their involvement is accepted and recognized by Westerners, our efforts to protect our planet might be successful. Even though many conferences such as the 1989 International Ethnobiology Conference in Belén (Brasil), 1992 International Park Conference in Caracas (Venezuela) and the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) have presented stimulating and positive declarations and agendas, the political forces of the North and the South, or the first world and the third world, may render these fruitless as long as we are looking at issues such as who should pay for biodiversity and who should protect it. The Barí see their priority as getting the Western medicine, technology and food for their survival, while the Western world sees their biodiversity as necessary for its survival. With a fair trade, we might be able to have both justice and biodiversity well into the twenty-first century.

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Notes

- 1 This is a revision of a paper presented at the joint Annual Meetings of the Southwestern Anthropological Association and Kroeber Anthropological Society in Berkeley on April 11, 1992.
- 2 It has been difficult for me to define whose views I am representing. I intend to represent the Barí's views as accurately as possible. I am not a Barí. However, my early contact with the Barí in 1964 at age six as the son of an anthropologist, Roberto Lizarralde, who was involved in the "first contact" in 1960, shaped my "voice" on this issue. Even though I have only spent 15 months with the Barí since 1964, I have heard about them all my life, speak some Barí and in many respects I am well acquainted with them. Through all these years, the Barí have asked me to return, and more recently to "teach" the dabag'doitira (white people) about their ways, needs, and views in a symbiotic exchange. A Barí view was not articulated by a specific indigenous informant; rather, I have understood it as a result of various hints and statements provided to me by many informants. According to Ailton Krenak, a Brazilian Kayapo Indian, a "true indigenous voice" is the indigenous "analysis and point of view that [indigenous people themselves] could articulate" (cited in Hecht and Cockburn 1990:243). The Barí discourse, our language barrier, and our different cultures (worldviews) were factors I had to overcome in order to reconstruct their view culturally and linguistically in terms comprehensible to Western discourse. My intimacy with Barí ways provides me with an understanding of their worldview. For example, one morning the Saimadodyi Barí chief Andrés Achirabu asked me: "Do you sell the dried botanical specimens in the cities?" I explained that the botanical specimens go to herbariums, which are plant libraries. Either Andrés was not satisfied with my answer or he did not understand it entirely. A few days later, the fishing leader, Daniel Karibagdo asked me: "Where does the money for your research come from?" My explanation produced another unsatisfied look. One of the school teachers, Agustin Akriba, asked me a difficult question: "Do your publications produce money?" These three questions show an awareness of the economic aspect of academic work. The Barí are aware that my intentions are complex: I am helping them but I *could* be exploiting them for their knowledge and resources. A statement by Daniel Karibagdo (December 10, 1991) that I "surely had many helicopters in Berkeley" was a complex statement that I could not forget. The indigenous perception of the economic world in the West can also be illustrated by a very sad experience of a prominent Hungarian anthropologist, L. Boglár, with the Piaroa Indians in Venezuela. The Piaroa would not permit Boglár to do fieldwork, believing he had made large profits from publishing a book about their myths (Boglár, personal communication in 1986). Boglár has not been able to clarify this misunderstanding with the Piaroa and has not been able to do fieldwork in Venezuela since the mid-1970s. I wish I could provide more material and insight from the indigenous perspective on eco-colonialism, but my field research has been centered on the knowledge and use of the rainforest plant resources.
- 3 Denevan's figures are the most accurate, though those of other authors disagree with his estimates.
- 4 The most important of these are: A. B. Anderson 1990a, 1990b, 1990c; J. N. Anderson 1974; Arvelo-Jimenez and Cousins 1992; Balée 1989; Beckerman 1976; Bodley 1975, 1990; Caballero 1987; Carbono 1987; Clay 1988, 1989, 1990; Denslow and Padoch 1988; Dostal 1972, Head and Heinzman 1990; Hecht and Cockburn 1990; Khor Kok Peng 1992; R. Lizarralde 1992; Oldfield and Alcorn 1991; Padoch 1988; Padoch et. al. 1985; Peluso and Padoch 1991; Posey 1990; Posey and Balée 1989; Sawyer 1990; Shiva 1992; Sponsel 1991;

Sponsel and Holme 1992; Taylor 1988; Toledo 1982, 1987, 1991. *Cultural Survival* is a quarterly journal and *Survival International* is an important newsletter focusing on indigenous rights throughout the world.

5 This is also observed by indigenous peoples in the rest of the world (cf. the letter by a North Indian farmer printed in a recent *Anthropology Newsletter* (Pandey 1992)).

6 I asked a Barí about the latrines the Venezuelan government installed in Saimadodyi. He laughed and said that the whole village was stinking, and there were more mosquitoes than any old person could remember. No Barí could sleep because of the mosquitoes. They put kerosene in them but it did not work and finally abandoned the idea of using the latrines.

7 Cattle raising was introduced by the missionaries in the late 1960s. By 1991, almost all the Barí villages had cattle but not all individual Barí have cattle.

8 The most common cash crops are cocoa, rice, black beans, manioc, plantains and oranges (in order of importance).

9 In my last fieldwork, some Barí informants asked me why people are dying of hunger in Ethiopia and why the U.S. military forces attacked Iraq in 1991. They were wondering if such a fate could happen to them, too.

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