

# WORLD CONFERENCE ON GENOCIDE STUDIES-II

June 26-27, 2021 ANKARA / TURKEY



## Agrarian Capitalism's Genocidal Trail: The Saga of the Guarani-Kaiowa

**Dr. Antonio A. R. Ioris**

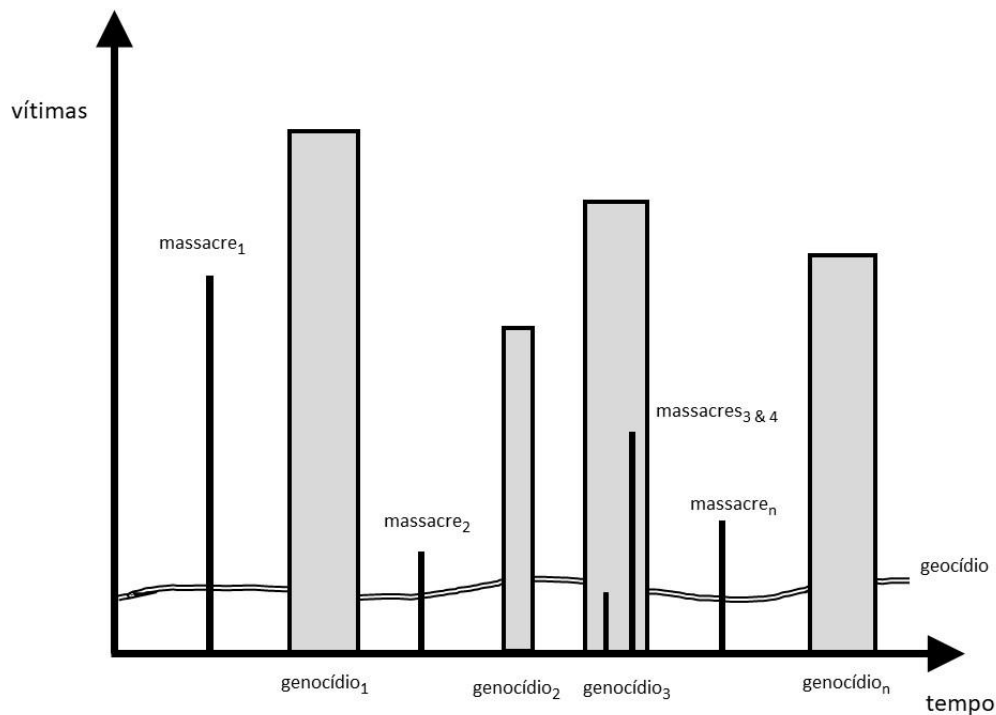


[www.cardiff.ac.uk/geography-planning](http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/geography-planning)

# Indigenous Genocide

- Genocide is a defining feature of the 21<sup>st</sup> century
- A long debate to adapt and amend the definition of genocide beyond the Holocaust and the 1948 Convention
- Indigenous genocides are still at the periphery of genocidal studies; major questions about the minimum threshold of killing, intentionality, direct responsibility, duration, inevitability, etc.
- An indigenous genocide today is typically the coordinated attempt to repress, control and annihilate indigenous peoples when they challenge frontier-making, exploitative national development and market-based globalisation

# The nexus geocide- genocides-massacres



Ioris (2020, 2021, 2021 forthcoming book)

Images from violent  
attacks on protests  
this week in Brasília  
(22/23 Jun 2021)





## Indigenous Brazil Violated

Challenges and risks faced by indigenous peoples in today's Brazil



# A Research on Indigenous Genocide in Brazil

Funded by the UK-AHRC;  
partnership Cardiff, LAB and  
four Brazilian universities

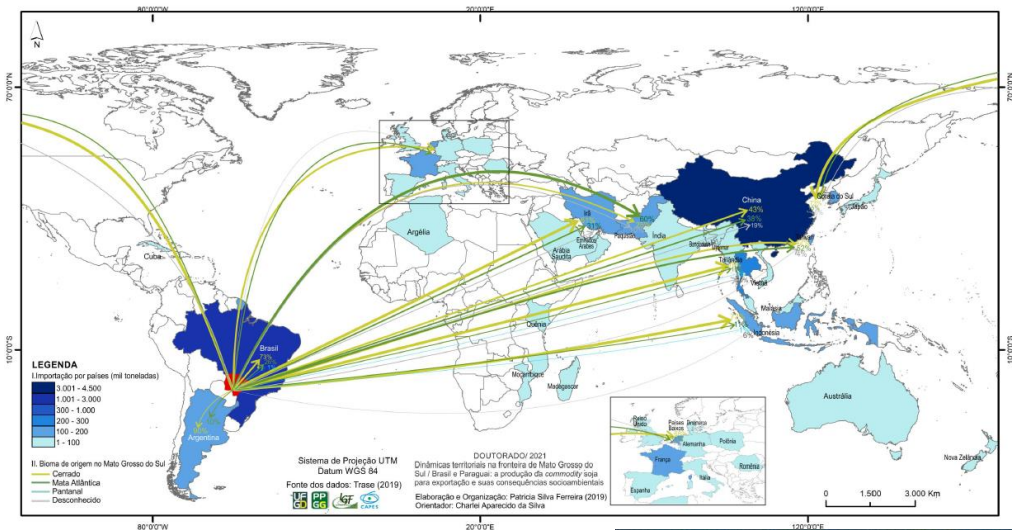
<https://lab.org.uk/indigbrazil>

Main case-study: the ongoing genocide of the **Guarani-Kaiowa** in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso do Sul

The second largest indigenous population in Brazil; more than 50% of the assassinations of indigenous people in recent years; loss of 98% of their land; but many attempts since the 1970s to retake their ancestral areas (the so-called *retomadas*)

# Comercialização de soja por bioma do Mato Grosso do Sul

PATRICIA SILVA FERREIRA E CHARLEI APARECIDO DA SILVA



## RIO+20 ■ Demografia

# ADIVINHE QUAL É A TERRA DOS ÍNDIOS

Apenas ampliar as áreas indígenas, que já ocupam 17,2% do território nacional, não solucionará os crescentes problemas sociais e econômicos das tribos brasileiras. Em boa parte das reservas, as atividades produtivas, a saúde e de educação e a preservação do bem-estar do governo.

**UMA RESERVA NO MATO GROSSO DO SUL**  
A Reserva Indígena de São João do Rio Negro, localizada no município de São João do Rio Negro, no Mato Grosso do Sul, é uma das muitas reservas indígenas do Brasil. A reserva é formada por uma área de 1.500 hectares, sendo que 1.000 hectares são de terra indígena e 500 hectares são de terra comum de reserva.

**MATO GROSSO DO SUL**  
O Mato Grosso do Sul é um dos estados mais ricos do Brasil em termos de biodiversidade. O estado possui uma grande variedade de espécies de plantas e animais, sendo que a maioria delas é encontrada nas áreas protegidas do estado.

## News

### URGENT ACTION - LET'S CLAIM WITH THOUSANDS OF VOICES "I AM GUARANI KAIOWA" TO STOP THIS PEOPLE'S GENOCIDE

- 1) Write #IamGuaraniKaiowa with a black marker on an A4 sheet of paper, or download this [visual](#) and show it on your tablet (to spare paper) ;
- 2) Take a picture of yourself with it and submit it using our form on this dedicated page: <http://raoni.com/alerte/kaiowa.php>.

Planète Amazone (Amazon Planet) is initiating an international emergency campaign that has to become viral. Its aim is to put pressure on Brazil's current president Dilma Rousseff so that she signs immediately the decree that would provide definitive approval for 22 indigenous Guarani-Kaiowá territories. This would stop the bloody raids and others murders by big landowners who grabbed their traditional lands.



*You can use this visual as your profile picture on social networks to set off the alarm about the Guarani-Kaiowá people's tragedy*



The contemporary  
genocidal violence  
against the  
Guarani-Kaiowa:

**KAIOWCIDE**

## Schematic Moments of the Guarani-Kaiowa Genocide

17 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> Century Conquest and Enslavement	most 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Agrarian and Agribusiness frontier	late 20 <sup>th</sup> Century <b>Kaiowcide</b>
Catholic Missions Encomiendas Bandeirantes Colonial and national frontiers	Territorial grabbing Land market Over-exploitation of labour (semi-enslavement)	1970s – early 1990s mid-1990s – 2007 since 2007
Forced labour and population control	Assimilation, exploitation and tutelage	Extermination, financialisation and juridical asphyxia



# 1<sup>st</sup> phase of Kaiowcide (1970s-1990s)

- Initial Guarani-Kaiowa mobilisation to stop and revert land grabbing and socio-spatial marginalisation
- Large, regular assemblies (*Aty Guassu* and others)
- Early movement to retake areas (*retomadas*) illegally lost to farmers and speculators
- Farming community and police forces increasingly organise violent reactions
- Frustration of the constitutional rights secured in 1988 (result of national grassroots campaigns)
- Exponential growth of suicides (child & teenagers)
- Murder of leaders, activists and community members



Paul Patrick Borhaug/Survival International



Acampamento de índios guaranis: vida precária, enquanto aguardam demarcação de terras

## 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of Kaiowcide (mid-1990s to 2007)

- Mounting pressures due to the steady neoliberalisation of the agribusiness economy
- Deterioration of violence associated with land struggles and the power of agrarian elites
- Tortuous court cases (endless appeals, illegalities)
- Sporadic land regularisation and some new allies (e.g. journalists, academics), but it is evident the sustained trend of killings and abuses
- In 2007, the federal government launched a comprehensive plan to restore indigenous areas (immediately frustrated)





## 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of Kaiowcide (2007 to 2020s)

- The Zenith of Hell: poverty, unemployment, child mortality and malnutrition, overpopulation, labour exploitation and regular killings
- Advance of conservative thinking, alienation and evangelical churches also in the communities
- Criminalisation of indigenous leaders, academics, anthropologists and civil servants (2007 compromise)
- Growing number of publications, documentaries and 'letters of desperation' confirm the tragedy
- Militarisation of the region; coordination between neo-fascist local and national politicians; drug traffic



Fotos retiradas do filme feito pela ASCURI. Yvy rendy a semente da terra. Paisantes retiram o corpo caído do Clodiód, que ainda estava vivo, para levar ao hospital, que infelizmente veio a falecer durante o trajeto.



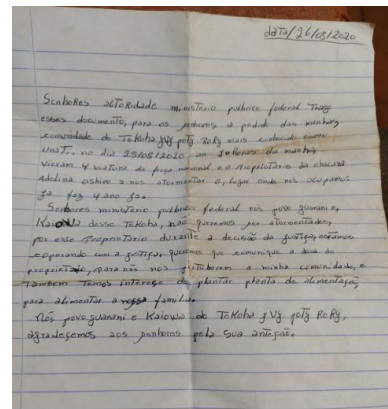
Fotos retiradas do filme feito pela ASCURI. Yvy rendy a semente da terra. Uma das vítimas mostrando o local onde foi atingida por balas de borracha.



Foto Eliel Benites. Diferentes cápsulas de armas de fogo espalhadas pelos campos onde ocorreram os ataques, juntadas para mostrar às autoridades.



Foto Eliel Benites. Momento de enterro do Clodiód, muitas emoções entre os familiares e amigos.

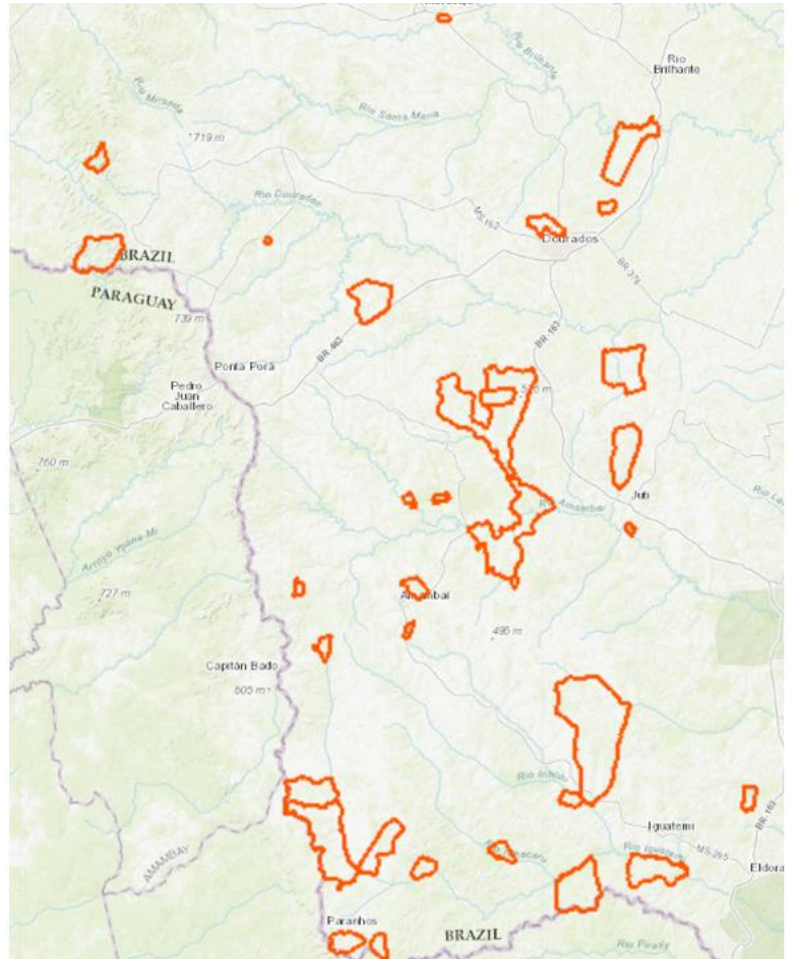


Lower photos from:  
Benites (2021), PhD

# Living through Kaiowcide

- Widespread racism and discrimination
- Alliances/impact of regional politicians on national politics (e.g. Ministers of Health and Agriculture)
- But persistent protests, denunciation and mobilisation against Kaiowcide
- Negotiation of internal community tensions AND against external pressures: combining traditional knowledge, family links, religiosity, new sources of income, ancestral symbols and references, etc.
- New opportunities and creative spaces: primary and secondary education; university degrees and jobs

The lived,  
contested,  
fought for,  
imagined and  
remembered  
space of the  
Guarani-Kaiowa





2382 people  
have joined in

## Join the #IamGuaraniKaiowa hashtag campaign

### Stop indigenous genocide in Brazil

With a few celebrities' support (Paul Watson, Pierce Brosnan...), Planète Amazonie is aiming to spread an international emergency hashtag campaign and calls for thousands of users around the world to gather to save the Guarani-Kaiowa people by posing with the #IamGuaraniKaiowa hashtag. Once uploaded on a dedicated page, the pictures will be sent to the Brazilian President to urge her to immediately sign the certification decree for 22 indigenous Guarani-Kaiowa territories, as imposed by the 1988 Constitution, to end land disputes motivating the annihilation of this people of 45 000 souls by big landowners.

[Click here to learn more](#)



add a picture

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Paul Watson (Paris, France)



Pierre Richard (Paris, France)



Pierce Brosnan (Drogheda, Ireland)



Valérie CABANES (End Ecocide On Earth, France)



Gert-Peter BRUCH (Planète Amazonie, France)



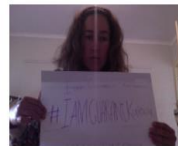
Jean-Marie BIGARD (France)



simon M. (Cornwall, United kingdom)



Marco B. (Gzira, Malta)



Jessica L. (Melbourne, Australia)



Agnès V. (HOSSA, Finland)



Gael N. (Barcelona, Spain)



Agnès V. (HOSSA, Finland)



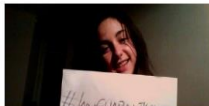
Marc C. (TOULOUSE, France)



Rosa D. (EURRE, France)

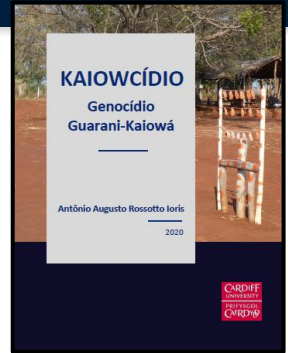


Michel D. (EURRE, France)

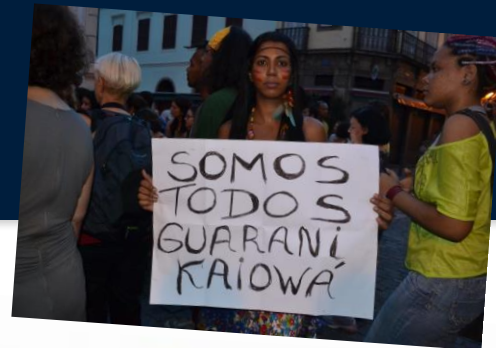


# Prospects and Lessons Learned

- Kaiowcide is a peculiar, lengthy and extremely brutal genocide
- It demonstrates the dynamic nexus between geocide-genocide-massacres
- Disturbing paradoxes: horrible living (and dying) conditions and racist violence, but 'surprising' elements of resistance, wisdom, partnership and creativity
- Clear connections between ethnic, agrarian and class-based politics



New book (2021)



Thank you !  
Aguyjevete !