

THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AGAINST THE SATERÉ-MAWÉ PEOPLE OF THE AMAZON

A DITADURA MILITAR BRASILEIRA CONTRA O POVO SATERÉ-MAWÉ DA AMAZÔNIA

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Abstract: This article is a collaborative research between a Sateré-Mawé researcher from Amazonas, non-indigenous researchers, and elders of the Sateré-Mawé people from the Andirá-Marau Indigenous Land in the state of Amazonas. The main goal was to investigate the impacts of the Brazilian military dictatorship on the Sateré-Mawé indigenous people from the state of Amazonas in northern Brazil, based on three ancestral categories of treatment: rituals, prayers, and hunting. The theoretical-methodological assumptions anchored in decoloniality (and its anti-decoloniality antithesis) guided our methodological analysis. The results suggest that the Large Investment Projects (GPIs), which have a developmentalist content, were carried out under the military regime (1964-1985) and only contributed to the generation of controversial, if not negative, effects on the Amazonian ethnic group in question. These GPIs were a universal geopolitical action, in the midst of the Cold War, then imposed by the United States and its allies, to varying degrees across the planet. The imposition affected Brazil and more specifically the indigenous people of the lowlands of South America that make up the Brazilian Central Amazon. We conclude that the Sateré-Mawé were broadly impacted by the actions of the Brazilian military governments, which generated immense problems for the natives of the biome. This, in fact, was a major determining factor in halting supposed actions to reconstruct Amazonian indigenism based on decolonial bases, which would serve to confront the various historical erasures promoted by the regime.

Keywords: Sateré-Mawé people; Military dictatorship; Amazon; Brazil.

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Resumo: O artigo é uma pesquisa colaborativa entre um pesquisador Sateré-Mawé/AM, pesquisadoras/es não-indígenas e anciãs/anciões do povo Sateré-Mawé da Terra Indígena Andirá-Marau, no Estado do Amazonas. A principal meta foi investigar os impactos da ditadura militar brasileira sobre os indígenas Sateré-Mawé, do Estado do Amazonas, no Norte do Brasil, a partir de três categorias ancestrais de tratamento: os rituais, as rezas e as caçadas. Os pressupostos teórico-metodológicos ancorados à decolonialidade (e sua antítese anti-decolonialidade) orientaram a nossa análise metodológica. Os resultados sugerem que os Grandes Projetos de Investimentos (GPIs), que têm em si um teor desenvolvimentista, foram realizados no âmbito do regime militar (1964-1985) e apenas concorreram para a geração de efeitos controversos, se não negativos, à etnia amazônica em destaque. Esses GPIs foram uma ação geopolítica universal, em plena Guerra Fria, então impetrada pelos EUA e os seus aliados, em diferentes graus em todo o planeta. A imposição atingiu ao Brasil e mais especificamente aos indígenas das terras baixas da América do Sul que adensam a Amazônia Central brasileira. Concluímos que os Sateré-Mawé foram impactados de modo amplo por causa das ações dos governos militares do Brasil, o que gerou imensos problemas aos nativos do bioma. Isso, inclusive, foi um alto fator determinante para frear supostas ações de reconstrução de indianidades amazônicas segundo bases decoloniais, que serviriam para enfrentar os vários apagamentos históricos promovidos pelo regime.

Palavras-chave: Povo Sateré-Mawé; Ditadura militar; Amazônia; Brasil.

INTRODUCTION

This article aimed to explore and describe the impacts of the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985) among indigenous people of the Amazon biome (ALBUQUERQUE, 2019). As a particular focus, the implications for the cosmological constitution of the most populous ethnic group in Central Amazonia, the Sateré-Mawé, inhabitants of the Andirá-Marau Indigenous Land (TI), in the State of Amazonas, were analyzed. The decision to choose three categories (rituals, prayers, and hunting) was based on the fact that, in addition to significantly mediating the cosmology of the ethnic group, they are strong constituents of the process of formation of the Sateré-Mawé clan hierarchy (SATERÉ; ALBUQUERQUE; JUNQUEIRA, 2021). The Sateré-Mawé clan hierarchy uses totemic statutes, named after plants and animals, to mediate the politics of these indigenous peoples, which in turn is guided by the symbolic power of the clans themselves. It is, therefore, a systemic link, especially because from the relevance of rituals, prayers and hunts it is possible to perceive the existence of a circular perspective, of eternal return, of the Sateré-Mawé worldview.

The cosmological constitution within these spheres was highlighted because it tends to encompass the physical and psychic constituents of the ethnic group (ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2016). We start from the fact that the Sateré-Mawé suffered manifest and latent violence due to persecution against their ways of life and attacks directed at their human spheres during the last Brazilian State of Exception, from 1964 to 1985. The hypothesis is that actions of the dictatorship contributed to hindering formative and intergenerational experiences of the ethnic nation under study (RODRIGUES, 2014). Within this hypothetical context, we highlight actions of the dictatorship based on the name of Large Investment Projects (GPIs).

An example of a GPI operationalized against the Sateré-Mawé, which we will focus on, came from the French natural resources exploration company Elf Aquitaine, which obtained the right to act in a “degrading and criminal manner by using all forms of technology to map and identify what was in its interest [in the Andirá-Marau TI], leaving a trail of destruction in the Lower Amazon (our translation)” (SATERÉ; ALBUQUERQUE; JUNQUEIRA, 2021, p. 126). “[The company] completely changed the lives of the Sateré-Mawé. Elf Aquitaine was not forced by the Brazilian courts to pay any significant amount as mitigating factors for the disaster [in the Andirá-Marau TI] (our translation)” (IB., op. cit.).

The quote refers to the fact that during 1981 and 1982, the French-based firm was encouraged by the dictatorial government of Brazil to install excavation equipment to find fossil fuels on the sacred land of the Sateré-Mawé, with a view to prospecting and extracting crude oil from the Andirá-Marau. “The attitude turned the customary owners of the land into victims and brought irreversible losses (our translation)” (IB., op. cit.).

In addition to the issue of the Elf Aquitaine company, we assume that the effects of GPIs occurred from direct and indirect threats against those who were against the extensive works, which ultimately led to torture and deaths correlated with agents of repression and their dictatorial apparatus. However, such facts are yet to be recognized and have not been fully investigated by the National Truth Commission (CNV), despite important information already being in the public domain (FIGUEIREDO, 2011).

The CNV was an agency created by Law 12,528, of 11/18/2011, which ended its activities on 12/10/2014, delivering a *Final Report* in three volumes, subdivided into i) The National Truth Commission, ii) State structures and serious human rights violations and iii) Methods and practices in serious human rights violations and their victims. In other words, problems inherent in violence against indigenous peoples in Brazil must be better investigated.

Although not fully investigated, testimonies and official documents covering the period from April 1, 1964 to March 30, 1985 were included in the *Final Report*. According to the CNV, the psychophysical repercussions of the dictatorship on indigenous peoples as a whole were included in reliable investigations. Therefore, the proposed debate is based on previous studies with data already published (SCHWADE; REIS, 2014), proving to be unique in the education and awareness of current and future generations, so that a criminal past is not repeated.

The article analyzed Sateré-Mawé/AM rituals, prayers and hunting, which were shown to be gaps in categories, partly due to the treatment given by the CNV, which was terminated prematurely. Therefore, we sought to verify to what extent the authoritarian regime carried out harassment and abuses of these three important practices of the ethnic group. We investigated acts financed, encouraged or carried out by the dictatorship itself or third parties.

THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The problem was defined by systematics according to Bourdieu (1989) and confluences, such as writings by Benjamin (1987), Deleuze and Guattari (1997) and Viveiros de Castro (2002), when dealing with relations between education, communication and memory. Contributions to concepts of decoloniality (WALSH, 2005, 2017) and insurgency (MIGNOLO, 2017), associated with the struggles of pre-conquest peoples in their resistance actions, were conveyed in order to point out how much anti-decolonial acts by the military had effectively pernicious consequences.

The methodology used was qualitative, with continuous ethnography and referenced according to field diaries and contextual experiences with Sateré-Mawé indigenous leaders from the Andirá-Marau Indigenous Territory. Data collection procedures were based on documentary records and interviews with João Sateré and Josias Sateré, who for three and a half years (from early 2018 to mid-2021) were willing to dialogue with the first author of this article. The dialogues were transcribed and recorded with a floating reading of them. The co-authors then helped with the in-depth interpretation of the questions, based on inferential reading. The evaluated communications were specifically about the theme of GPIs and their repercussions during the Brazilian dictatorship. The treatment of the corpus allowed us to note meanings anchored in Sateré-Mawé materialities and immaterialities, especially because João and Josias (father and son) are active leaders of the Andirá-Marau people and were willing to express historical themes that say a lot about the ethnicity, related to times gone by during decades of the dictatorial regime in Brazil. In 2020, father and son founded the Kapi Association, formed by a group of leaders of the Sateré (caterpillar) clan, with the aim of defending interests and reconstructing memories based on verbal narratives among elders.

Based on lexical-semantic analyses, the article took into account overt, declared and perceived acts, as well as latent, implied and unspoken acts. The collection of information from clan leaders was classified by importance (frequency and co-occurrence) and depth (circumstance and context). In addition to the statements of João and Josias Sateré, narratives

from Sateré-Mawé chiefs, tuxauas, shamans and educators, who often accompanied our conversations, also guided the discussion.

Therefore, we can affirm that we aimed at the factors of respect and otherness to conduct an ethnography mediated by Sateré-Mawé values and beliefs, with an admittedly decolonial tone. We started from ethnic epistemological bases to understand the native relationship with white society. The data were also processed in this way, as the results are descriptions of thoughts and feelings about the impacts of the dictatorship captured from the meetings in which we conducted free and consensual interviews.

Three aspects were addressed: rituals, prayers and hunting. Points of discussion represented dynamics related to education and communication (i) of the ceremonial constitution of people (rituals), (ii) of spirits (prayers) and (ii) of bodies in transit (hunting). The construction of Sateré-Mawé cosmological knowledge was also seen through the educational and communicational marking of members of the ethnic group, including natives who were co-opted for work under a regime of ambiguous exploitation of natural resources (RODRIGUES; TRINDADE; BITTENCOURT, 2016).

RITUALS AND PRAYERS

These two Sateré-Mawé categories that give the topic its title were observed together, because the first is related to and precedes the second for the ethnic group. They are interconnected issues. Among the Andirá-Marau nation, rituals contain within themselves prayer pillars and these mediate situations or people within ritualistic ceremonial plans. These plans involve psychodramas and scenic complexities (SATERÉ; ALBUQUERQUE; GORDIANO, 2022) within cosmogonic contexts that, among other uses, mark ethnic integrations of initiates and non-initiates, that is, indigenous and non-indigenous people.

In the ancient past (CLAIDE; GÓES, 2012), rituals and prayers welcomed indigenous people who were exiled by choice or necessity from Nusokén, the ancient Kingdom of Mundurukânia, a grandiose, immemorial environment now located where today is the declared TI Andirá-Marau, on the border between Amazonas and Pará. There were also ancestrally yawnias (families or clans) of the Sateré-Mawé who fled, entering the forests and completely separating themselves from their original groups, temporarily or permanently, due to conflict or free choice. When observing obstacles of this type, leaders acted to quell disputes and seal ethnic units, opposing these movements. To this end, the two categories were carried out in a ceremonial manner.

The practice gained recognition in the 18th and 19th centuries, when blacks and mixed-race people fleeing violence, hunger, and colonial slavery sought refuge in Andirá-Marau. These populations integrated and strengthened the Sateré-Mawé after undergoing the same rituals and memorial prayers as the ethnic group (SATERÉ; ALBUQUERQUE; JUNQUEIRA, 2020). Rituals and prayers, to be precise, were extremely educational, communicative, and spiritualistic. It was, therefore, the continuation in tradition of an immemorial practice maintained over time. In the following century, already in the midst of the military dictatorship and because of it, the perspective escalated and became notorious and problematic: it was during this period that the largest contingent of blacks and mixed-race people in national history — leaving their homelands throughout Brazil, encouraged by the State in adherence to the unplanned policy of occupation of the biome — was welcomed by the Sateré-Mawé through rituals and prayers.

If, therefore, the importance of Sateré-Mawé rituals and prayers for welcoming outsiders, showing solidarity with migrants, and incorporating non-indigenous people into the ethnic group's clan strength is clear and historically established, these same rituals and prayers suffered controversial effects precisely because of the accelerated occupation of native Amazonian territories. The propaganda of “integrating so as not to hand over the Amazon” not only encouraged migrations, as we assume, of impoverished blacks and browns, who had some identification with the Sateré-Mawé, but also of illiterate and slave-owning whites, often with salvationist ideals, coming from communities amalgamated by the culture of developmentalism and proto-supremacism. These whites sometimes preached economic liberalism, native cultural influence, and disdain for democracy. As a result, large investment projects (GPIs) were strengthened to make migrations even more viable with opposing or even negative effects, and these migration bubbles fostered chaos in an entire chain of peculiar events within the Sateré-Mawé cosmological conjunction.

GPIs and migrations biased by developmentalist and proto-supremacist mentalities, as indicated, generated socio-environmental and psychosocial pressures in the context of ritual practices and prayers, weakening the Sateré-Mawé. These were prejudiced exogenous alignments, spreading imitations and confrontations within constitutions, confronting an entire clan hierarchy in the Andirá-Marau Indigenous Territory. The dynamics, supported by the military dictatorship, entangled processes of erasure of this pre-Columbian nation, reinforcing racism and condemning indigenous people to at least three decades of countless uncertainties and weaknesses. The burden of the situation fell on militarism because it

strengthened the national collective unconscious of the idea of submission of exploited countries of the global south in the face of the colonization of northern nations. Against the Sateré-Mawé, specifically, racism financed by GPI-backed migration operated through a similar, anti-decolonial, dehumanizing logic, so that exploitation would be morally acceptable.

In our view, the GPIs of the dictatorship were triggers for the fragmentation of the identity constitution of the Sateré-Mawé through impacts on rituals and prayers, directly hindering the transmission of knowledge from the elders. Belonging declined due to the trivialization of connective stories of ancestral families. Families were clans that marked affirmations through patterns of behavior and knowledge. They tended to pass on traditional information in receptive support to migrants. The biggest mistake was to believe in the miscegenation of the Brazilian people as a portrait of the supposed generosity and tolerance of hegemonic elites defending the dictatorship — who still act radically against the Sateré-Mawé today, harassing them in favor of antidemocratic and anti-decolonial forms of government and power (SAWAIA; ALBUQUERQUE; BUSARELLO, 2021). These hegemonic elites showed themselves to be financiers of deep intersubjective and structural prejudices (SOUZA, 2021).

The ethical fraud against indigenous peoples of Central Amazonia was the result of colonialist embellishments that placed peoples from the lowlands of South America in existential limbo. This created a common perception that they were not intelligent and virtuous as much as they were supporters of the regime (ID., op. cit.). These are the conflicts of the Brazilian military dictatorship between the Sateré-Mawé indigenous people within the scope of these two native categories.

HUNTS

Regarding hunting, there is a historical consciousness that drives Sateré-Mawé eating behaviors involving hunters and prey. This consciousness also groups hunters and prey as part of a metahuman whole (ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2018). It supports hunting because it regulates it so that it functions as a ritual procedure that fills the stomach and mind with good wild foods, unlike acts of emptying, which are related to industrialized foods. And it was in the context of the military dictatorship that this dispute between good and bad food for the body and mind was established, when military invasions of indigenous territories in Andirá-Marau greatly compressed the potential use of forest areas for slaughter and protein collection (ALBUQUERQUE; JUNQUEIRA, 2017).

Historical awareness encompasses important connections between predation and commensality for indigenous peoples (PAIVA et al., 2019) because it has always moved, even before the regime of exception, robust counterpoints to Western food falsification. This was a falsification imposed by Old World piracy, which sought to reconform the food economy and create summits between the Amazon and the things of the people of Andirá-Marau. With the dictatorship, obstacles inherent to predation and commensality increased.

The establishment of counterpoints in this sense began after invasions on the coast and in the central regions of Brazil by the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch and English in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. In the Central Amazon, it took a little longer to happen. However, it advanced in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, despite strong armed resistance from the Sateré-Mawé. After 1960, however, there was a period in which transformations were underway (and continue to this day), as the ethnic group had to face the anti-decolonial military armament force with its developmentalist and proto-supremacist rage (SCHWADE; REIS, 2012). The regime's firepower was greater, especially during the Cold War and from 1964 onwards, when the Armed Forces carried out the coup d'état and began to encourage anti-indigenous terror with AI-5 (BAINES, 1991; RODRIGUES; FEARNESIDE, 2014).

It is important to note that historical awareness concerns, in one aspect, preparations made even before the birth of children and also the creation of hunting statutes in the early years of the Sateré-Mawé. And this was precisely what the military questioned. Clashes began in villages by supporters of the dictatorship to halt these transformation processes. But the transformation of children into good warriors and good game eaters did not stop completely. There were battles fought in the forests to ensure that the postnatal period remained crucial to defining the type of hunter that a baby would be in the future. While fathers, mothers and direct relatives concentrated their efforts on forming warriors who were active in their social role within the ethnic group, the military shrugged their shoulders and did not care about burning down villages and poisoning or impaling entire indigenous groups (BAPTISTA, 1981). In response, whites were also violently killed (RODRIGUES; FEARNESIDE, 2014).

Strengthening children's vital principles for hunting is not only valuable to the Sateré-Mawé nation. The Parakanã spend time massaging their children in operations that aim to shape their bodies so that they become strong and agile. The Kaxinawá carry out work during and after pregnancy in order to make future warriors invisible to evils and forest spirits (MCCALLUM, 1996). Becoming strong in order to search for good food is therefore unique

and fundamental to several indigenous peoples. These activities concern not only the child. The father must undergo identical training after the birth of his child, as if it were a kind of refresher course for hunting.

It is important to emphasize that problems in the formation process can cause the father to be cursed in the integration of rituals, prayers and hunting. The Guarani Ñandeva call the curse that hangs over the parent odjepotá (SCHADEN, 1974). The Sateré-Mawé also believe that the father's evil can be passed on to babies, especially through direct relatives: the father's illnesses are spread through ejaculation, in the conceptional sexual intercourse of warriors, for example, if the parent is in a state of suffering caused by traumas from previous generations. Evil is caused by patrilineality. Against this, historical awareness allows the Sateré-Mawé to act according to recommendations for paternal protection for the good of hunting.

One of them is that one should not go hunting for animals in the days following the birth of a child, because of the pursuit of a monstrous creature of the forest, the tapirayawara (tapir-jaguar-dog). If the father disrespects the seclusion, warriors will not kill anything and will have hallucinations due to the smell of the tapirayawara. It is a sacred monstrosity, among others that exist, haunting hunters who desecrate traditions inherent to conceptional sexual intercourse. It has a nefarious appearance and is linked to the ethnic deities. If a hunter wants to bleed or skin an animal during the seclusion, something intense will take over his body, generating a feverish condition produced by sensations of discharges from the killed prey. It is as if the animals were taking revenge on the Sateré-Mawé people. Animal revenge also occurs through panema and mofina, components of the ontology of the suffering of the hunters of Andirá-Marau.

Panema and mofina are states confirmed by pragmatic encounters with the tapirayawara in a particular world, that of hunting. This means that food is, therefore, decisive even for the creation of needs or rules of kinship, and perhaps of kinship (of clans), since they are arranged in cosmological frameworks and the disposition to integrate myths and symbologies of rituals and prayers, as in a chained triad, as highlighted by Paiva et al. (2021), to classify parts of a hunted animal.

Santos et al. (2016) discuss the unworthy parts, the worthy parts, and the parts appropriate for eating. According to him, if an Andirá-Marau warrior finds a dead, disemboweled, and dismembered animal along the way, it is best not to eat it because it will bring misfortune or revenge from the tapirayawara against him, his home, and his family. The

monstrosity would choose to debase the hunter's sexual relations in order to feed itself in retaliation for collecting animals already eaten by others in the forest. Therefore, it seems obvious that hunting, in addition to rituals and prayers, is a consequence of predation and cannibalism, but also of commensal acts. This is when the existential plans of the Sateré-Mawé nation are marked.

Therefore, by forcing the disassociation of respectability from hunting through the degradation of primary lands and the re-semanticization of the primitive grammar of people and animals, the dictatorship proved to be pernicious and fragmented a powerful ancestral culture (RODRIGUES; TRINDADE; BITTENCOURT, 2016). The deleterious quality of military governments, as we have tried to suppose, came from GPIs and the compulsory migration of people guided by developmentalism and proto-supremacist views, operating anti-decolonial and dehumanized logics.

ANTI-DECOLONIAL IMPETUS

When we speak of anti-decolonial impetus, we are emphasizing a universal geopolitical movement, in the midst of the Cold War, then waged by the United States and its allies to varying degrees across the planet. This impetus affected Brazil and more specifically the indigenous people of the lowlands of South America who populated the Central Amazon. The problems during the dictatorship were, strictly speaking, the promotion of devastation in huge areas of societies in the biome via GPIs, through acts of annihilation of native ecosystems, replicating ideas that nature and culture were ambiguities and even rival classes within a humid tropical forest inanimate by conscious wills, whether of pre-conquest peoples or of the fauna and flora that made up the regions.

The perspective vilified both rituals and prayers as well as hunting, as we have suggested, from a nationalist institution, the Armed Forces (FFAA), and according to an economy of multiple dictatorial intelligibility, via anti-decolonial activities in the Brazilian style, in different arrangements within Andirá-Marau. The regime's intention to trigger migrations and development plans in the Central Amazon was even encouraged by orders reported by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Let us take, in fact, an activity warrant directed at our country's military personnel, in a meeting in March 1974 (BRAZIL SECRET/CIA, 1974, p/unica-online), in which General Ernesto Geisel, newly sworn in as bionic president, the general who was leaving the command of the Army Information Center (CIE), the general who would succeed him and General João Figueiredo, appointed by

Ernesto Geisel to the National Intelligence Service (SNI), a repressive body and guide for GPIs, decisive for indigenous depopulation activities and extraction of natural resources in the Amazon, participated.

At the meeting, generals from the CIE and SNI officially inform Geisel of the summary execution by torture of 104 people, including indigenous and non-indigenous people, throughout Brazil during the Médici government. During the discussion, authorization is requested to continue the agnotological policy of military advance in the Amazon. Geisel expresses reluctance and asks for time to think. On another day, he authorizes Figueiredo to continue with the policy, but with caution. First, “only dangerous subversives” should be “executed”. Second, the CIE would not kill at random and the Planalto Palace, represented by Figueiredo, would have to approve each decision. As for the Amazon, envisioned by the slogan “integrate so as not to surrender”, a motto of militarism, energy and mineral activities would be expanded with free advance on indigenous lands (ALBUQUERQUE, 2019).

The meeting is an indication of the involvement of the regime's leadership in anti-decolonial policies in ancestral areas in the Amazon. The CIA report was addressed to Henry Kissinger, then US Secretary of State, who organized diplomatic engagements with Geisel. Kissinger understood the biome as global property and an open-air laboratory, ready for exploitation, devastation and rentier subsidies by the privatizing mega-business community.

Therefore, it seems clear that dialectics of annihilation of Sateré-Mawé rituals, prayers and hunts followed by asphyxiation of decolonial symbolisms, in accordance with the intention of the USA and with ideological subservience of the Brazilian dictatorship. The asphyxiation contributed to vertical actions, “[...] in a tutelary manner, leaving severe consequences for indigenous people, such as deforestation, soil degradation, river pollution and sociocultural dismantling of communities, among other consequences. And the problems have not diminished [today]” (SATERÉ; ALBUQUERQUE; JUNQUEIRA, 2021, p. 109).

We conjecture, in short, that processes of forced miscegenation and social exclusion were carried out on a large scale. The Sateré-Mawé, in particular, felt in practice the denial of democracy and the anti-decolonial activities of militarism, to the point that they still work today to recover rituals, prayers and hunting, principles that evoke memories and representations of Andirá-Marau.

DECOLONIAL, ANTI-DECOLONIAL RELATIONS AND POSSIBLE CONSIDERATIONS

In order to encourage reflections on Sateré-Mawé rituals, prayers and hunts within the scope of ideas on decoloniality and anti-decoloniality, juxtaposed in the scenario of the affirmation of narratives originating from Andirá-Marau, in contrast to the official history of the dictatorship in Brazil (FIGUEIREDO, 2011), we worked on theoretical marking based on what natives from the lowlands of South America raise. We started from Sateré-Mawé epistemological assumptions, primarily, and associated them with what we understand as similar thoughts, equally shared by native peoples. Otherwise, let's see.

In *Brincando de onça e de agotia entre os Sateré-Mawé* (ALBUQUERQUE; JUNQUEIRA, 2017) it is highlighted that the Andirá-Marau ethnic group seeks to compose its clan hierarchy because the nation's worldview depends on it. “A clan tends to demarcate what is its own and what comes from the other, what is inside and outside, as a duality between good and bad character, unlocking interpretations about the power of relationships and humanities” (p. 62). Thus, “social classifications of the world and mental classifications are crystallized between dialogues between one [clan] and another, [...] and memory is eminently a social phenomenon, something more constructed from collective experiences” (p. 47).

The same trend regarding the Sateré-Mawé is discussed in *O tacape do diabo e outros ferramentas de predação* (PAIVA et al., 2019), when Nozinho and Colombo, two important ethnic figures in Andirá-Marau and surrounding areas (city of Parintins/AM), project relational difficulties between natives and non-natives in the Lower Amazon. For them, the market made them forget about their clans, about who they were, and this fragmented them as individuals with an ancestral pre-Columbian worldview (pp. 104-106). In other words, their memories, for them, old Sateré-Mawé, were now shaped according to social phenomena in a perverse way because they went against the interests of non-indigenous people.

A unique perspective on the matter is addressed by Kaká Werá Jecupé, who denounces abuses by the Armed Forces in relation to sensitive and meta-sensitive practices of Amerindians. Jecupé, like the Sateré-Mawé, draws attention to the need to “discover Brazils, to discover Brazilians, to talk together by the fire” (2002, p. 17). Ritualistically, the expression “by the fire” is equivalent to a plural gathering, an ordered collective, in action-reflection-action, associated with educational and communication plans, as highlighted by the Andirá-Marau ethnic group. The activity helps us understand capitalist productivism and consumerism, so dear to GPI projects in the Amazon, as agencies of crises driven by developmentalism and proto-supremacism.

Regarding decolonial action, we highlight Freire (2002, p. 44) in line with the Sateré-Mawé, when he writes that self-reflection would lead the masses “to a consequent deepening of awareness”. Here, we warn about how necessary the pedagogical path is towards the insertion of autochthonous, original, pre-conquest humanities, against big capital (market) “no longer as spectators of history, but as precursors”. We believe that Freire (IB., op. cit.) proposed a system of promoting original knowledge through ancestral construction, precisely in the context to which the Amazonian natives of the Lower Amazon refer (2020, p. 20): “[...] through celebrations and initiations [of rituals, prayers and hunts] that serve to clear the mind and understand tradition, which is nothing more than the reading of teachings recorded in the movement of the internal nature of the being”.

Just as it happens for the aforementioned Amazonian ethnic group in focus, teachings always begin “with the name of things, because all words have spirit” (JECUPÉ, 2020, p. 20). In other words, both Jecupé (ID., op. cit.) and Freire (ID., op. cit.) seem to agree with the Sateré-Mawé that rituals, prayers and hunts translate into historical awareness within ceremonial spaces and with decolonial purposes. The role of native people who, from ceremonial teaching spaces, foster social relations, goes through alliances and conflicts, discords and associations, antagonisms and ties, dissidences and mergers, incompatibilities and reconnections (KRENAK, 2019).

Kopenawa (2015), like Krenak (ID., op. cit.) and the Sateré-Mawé, states that forest people have forms of existence that are different from those of white people. “Singing, dancing and living magical experiences of suspending the sky is common. Suspending the sky is expanding the horizon. Not the prospective horizon, but the existential one. It is enriching subjectivities” (KRENAK, 2019, p. 32).

We therefore assume, among the proposals in the comprehensive educational and communicational areas of rituals, prayers and hunting, the importance of teaching and learning different languages for postures and readings of the world, all decolonial. This plan of thinking, according to Mignolo (2017, p. 15), “is detached from chronologies constructed by modern, postmodern, altermodern, Newtonian, quantum or relativist epistemes or paradigms”. For him, it is not that “epistemes and paradigms are alien to decolonial thinking. They could not be. But they are no longer the only references of legitimacy” (ID., op. cit., p. 15). The assumption dialogues with Santos (2011, p. 286), when he emphasizes the objectification of people associated with the personification of things, both exercises that disconnect ancestral knowledge from good education and communication.

Therefore, thinking about this movement of the Sateré-Mawé contextualized by rituals, prayers and hunts, engenders dynamics of inclusion and citizenship directed towards pedagogical and communicative practices linked to interculturality and decoloniality. In other words, in the act of evoking the past, of bringing up alleged crimes of the dictatorship against the native spiritual education of the Sateré-Mawé, we verify, from the narratives, the precision of recording this part of history because it is the history of all of us.

In the words of Kopenawa and Albert (2015, p. 410): “[...] when I am no longer here, burn my things and live in this forest that I leave for you. Go hunting and open fields in it, to feed your children and grandchildren. Only it will never die!” Here is memory. It is not in things, objects and goods, all of this is the forgetfulness of non-indigenous people.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Educational and communication reconstruction actions are decolonial in principle (SOARES, 2004). They lend themselves to alliances between indigenous and white wisdom. This means that processes of resistance and struggle against colonialism occur from ruptures with Eurocentric positions from the past, removing from silence not only the peoples of Andirá-Marau, as we intend, but also boosting an entire historical population context.

Through the interpretation and analysis of field data, we conclude that the constitution of Sateré-Mawé rituals, prayers and hunts impacted by the military dictatorship went through processes of rupture and continuity. In other words, militarism was unable to extinguish these ceremonial practices, but throughout the memorial conjunctures narrated by cosmopolitical native leaders we note that harsh memories related to such lived experiences need to be better fostered and debated. This, in fact, proves to be a determining factor in the supposed actions of reconstruction of Amazonian indigeness according to decolonial bases, against historical erasures promoted by the regime.

In short, we believe that, given the degree of transmission of decolonial knowledge from the elderly to the young in Central Amazonia, state incentives are essential to strengthen and disseminate education and communication through decolonial pillars. In this way, both areas present themselves as perspectives for the historical consciousness that strengthens indigenous ancestry.

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