LUMEN ET VIRTUS

Challenges of anthropological practice in the Brazilian Amazon: Trajectory of the organized indigenous movement in Brazil (1970 to 2017)

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ABSTRACT

The mechanisms of social control used by the national state imposed on indigenous peoples and the strategies of indigenous resistance in the defense of rights, the main achievements of the indigenous movement, perspectives and challenges in the face of the situation of denial and attacks suffered. The general objective of this article is to carry out an analysis of the Organized Indigenous Movement, taking as reference the "XI Ordinary General Assembly of COIAB", held in the Headquarters Village/Alto Rio Guamá Indigenous Land, from August 28 to 30, 2017. The methodology used was descriptive, conceptual, taking as a cut the years from 1970 to 2017, as it constitutes a period of ascension of the organized indigenous movement. In this way, an indigenous movement is a set of strategies and actions developed by indigenous communities and organizations to defend their collective rights and interests. Indigenous movements are distinct from indigenous organizations, although the latter are an important part. Indigenous organizations are the ways in which indigenous communities or peoples organize their work, their struggles, and their collective lives.

Keywords: Indigenous Movement, Indigenous Policies, Indigenous.

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[2] Post mortem tribute to my dear friend

INTRODUCTION

The present work seeks to carry out an analysis of the Organized Indigenous Movement, taking as reference the "XI Ordinary General Assembly of COIAB[3]", held in the Headquarters Village/Alto Rio Guamá Indigenous Land, from August 28 to 30, 2017. It is considered to be a singular event to think about the agendas that guide the anxieties of indigenous populations, in the seven states that make up the Brazilian Amazon, in relation to the Brazilian national state. It was decided to highlight two agendas in the organization of work: 1 – Conjuncture: Relationship between Indigenous Rights and Indigenous Policy; 2 – The Strengthening of Indigenous Participation in Party Politics.

It is intended to highlight the mechanisms of social control used by the national state imposed on indigenous peoples and the strategies of indigenous resistance in the defense of rights, the main achievements of the indigenous movement, perspectives and challenges in the face of the situation of denial and attacks suffered. The reflections and analyses will start from the hypothesis that allows us to affirm that despite the hopes and possibilities brought by the political resistance movement, there is an ongoing process of co-optation, demobilization and fragmentation of social rights and guarantees implemented by the Brazilian state, which has generated a crisis of political representation, lack of protagonism, break in the defense of territories, culture, languages, the indigenous way of living and producing.

Do you want to understand, how the organized Indigenous Movement has resisted in the face of these global and unifying contexts of denial of rights? What are the strategies used for these new/old contexts? What are the new paths, dialogue, and justifications with institutions that support indigenous struggles? How have you been equating the internal crises of representativeness, of organizations?

The methodology used was descriptive, conceptual, taking as a cut the years from 1970 to 2017, as it constituted a period of ascension of the organized indigenous movement, which boosted the emergence of the first large regional and national indigenous organizations, under the leadership of the Union of Indigenous Nations – UNI, inclusion of fundamental indigenous rights in the 1988 constitution of Brazil; implementation of programs and projects carried out by indigenous people; training of indigenous leaders and technicians in the 90s and 2000s.

FORMS OF TRADITIONAL INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATION: CULTURAL LINKS

One of the factors that contributed to the process of domination and extermination of the indigenous peoples of Brazil was the technique of the Portuguese colonists to exploit the internal

[3] Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon – COIAB, founded in 1986 to represent indigenous peoples living in the states of Amazonas, Pará, Acre, Roraima, Rondônia, Tocantins, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul.

divisions between the different ethnicities to their advantage, either to provoke a feud between them or to use them to their advantage. Form your armies to attack rival groups.

From this tragic experience, indigenous peoples decided to overcome competition and unite to fight for their rights. To consolidate this new strategy, several indigenous peoples, from the 1970s onwards, began to create their representative organizations to deal with the links with other peoples, as well as with the national and international community.

Today, the associations and articulations between these organizations constitute what is known as an organized indigenous movement; In other words, the movement combines efforts with local, regional, and national strategies to build among communities, peoples, and indigenous organizations around a whole. a common agenda and interests of struggle.

However, it is important to understand the traditional forms of organization, the specificity and characteristics of each organization, each community or people, which are also organized ways of life, but are generally limited to local levels and interests and do not have a broader scope. Differentiating these two moments is important to understand the developments that such organizational ideas will take in the face of the new contexts presented, among which, the indigenous social movement in urban contexts.

In this way, an indigenous movement is a set of strategies and actions developed by indigenous communities and organizations to defend their collective rights and interests. Indigenous movements are distinct from indigenous organizations, although the latter are an important part. Indigenous organizations are the ways in which indigenous communities or peoples organize their work, their struggles, and their collective lives.

The existence of organization is a collective necessity of indigenous peoples, because coexistence is only possible with a minimum internal order, in which there is nothing but the assignment of tasks and responsibilities. Chiefs, tuxedos, leaders, witches, teachers, health care substitutes, family fathers, and other substitutes and community members are all part of the organization within the indigenous community as long as each has their own roles and responsibilities.

One of the main characteristics of the traditional organizations of indigenous peoples is the social distribution of positions, functions, tasks and responsibilities among individuals and groups (phratries, sibs or tribes). The figure of the individual[4] is a collective existence and his actions are for the survival of the group and individuals. In this way, there are specialized training shamans and groups of shamans who are responsible for the mental and physical safety of individuals and people.

[4] DUMONT, Louis, reflects on Individualism, demonstrating that this concept arises only with modern societies, where individualism of the modern world is that of the individual in the world, while traditional societies is that of the individual outside the world. It demonstrates the passage from a holistic society to a modern individualistic society. The modern one arises in denial of the holistic one. In Modern Society and the Birth of Individualism. An Anthropological Perspective of Modern Ideology. Rio de Janeiro, Roco, 1985.

Some are responsible for training warriors and war techniques, which include acquiring know-how in the area of weapons manufacturing. There are also groups that specialize in training hunters and fishermen, as well as those who make utensils such as canoes, pottery, and other similar strategic items for the people and other close allies.

Another important characteristic of traditional social organization is the absence of autocratic power. The indigenous chiefs are given tasks, responsibilities and services, but they do not have sovereignty over the group. For this reason, the French anthropologist Pierre Clastres[5] states that they are societies that do not give absolute power to anyone, so they are societies that do not have a State or are against the State, because the State is a concrete manifestation of the sovereign power that is given to someone.

Faced with this situation, the person (the State) assumes full power over the people and defines itself as existing above good and evil, as in non-indigenous Western societies. For us, natives, tuxedos are more servants of the people than chiefs, as they are responsible for the functions of organizing, expressing, representing and directing the collective, but they do not have any decision-making power, which rests entirely with the individual. as a whole and the groups that make up the people.

In turn, formal models of indigenous organization have been adopted by indigenous peoples over time, as well as using other tools and new technologies of non-indigenous peoples to defend their rights, strengthen their own way of life, and improve. Their living conditions, which are the aspirations of any human society.

It does not mean becoming white or no longer being Indian. Rather, it means the ability to resist, survive, and absorb knowledge, techniques, and values from other cultures in order to enrich, strengthen, and ensure the continuity of their cultural identities, values, and traditions.

The idea of a clear ethno-indigenous movement was very important in overcoming the colonizer's old belief that the only thing the Indians knew how to do was fight and fight among themselves, when in fact they used these intertribal rivalries to rule them or judging them as one person.

INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATION: CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF A POLITICAL MOVEMENT

In 1970, the Congress initiated by CIMI and the rise of indigenous leaders triggered the strengthening of indigenous movements, and projections at the regional, national and international levels drove the emergence of the first great regional and national indigenous leaders.

[5] CLASTRES, Pierre. Primitive Economics: Chapter 8. In: Archaeology of Violence – Essay on Political Anthropology. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense S.A. pp. 127-144.

Combined with broad social movements, which fought for the redemocratization of Brazil, freedom of expression and participation in Brazilian public life, the maturation of the indigenous movement leads to the formation of indigenous fronts (local, regional, national and international leaders and organizations) that defend collective rights, identifying the needs and strategies of each people, forming the concrete basis of indigenous movements and struggles.

Numerous indigenous, ethnic, local, regional, and national organizations and associations subsequently emerged, including professional, gender, and student categories. The number of indigenous organizations grew so rapidly that if there were no recognized indigenous organizations in 1970, in 2001 there were 347 in the legal Amazon alone (PDPI, 2001).

These organizations revealed new indigenous leaders (teachers, health agents, indigenous environmental agents, etc.) who began to act as interlocutors with the State and NGOs. They are increasingly assuming a leading role in the struggle and forcing us to rethink the relationship, the role and function of advisory and support entities, as well as their relationship with the State.

Currently, indigenous organizations form a national network of indigenous entities, strategies and initiatives, and use all the political and technological means of the modern world to defend and enforce indigenous rights. The leaders of these organizations have campaigned consistently across the country and the world to promote and defend Indigenous rights, occupying important forums such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and other international organizations.

RISE AND AFFIRMATION OF THE ORGANIZED INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT

One of the reasons for the emergence of indigenous organizations in Brazil may have been the need to respond to the indigenous liberation policy that the Brazilian government tried to implement in the late 1970s, the indigenous peoples, initially responsible for giving incentives to aboriginal responses.

In addition, the decentralization of financial support from public resources and post-war international cooperation (World War II, which ended in 1945) stimulated the emergence of organizations with the express purpose of acquiring resources, especially those aimed at organizing environmental and economic alternatives. But what drove and consolidated the emergence and legal existence of indigenous organizations was the Federal Constitution of 1988, which recognized the civil capacity of the Indians and their social and political organizations.

The retreat of the State and the political and financial vacuum of indigenous institutions, FUNAI also demands that indigenous movements and organizations strengthen themselves, expand coalitions and government interlocutors to overcome the growing lack of state and FUNAI aid in community life.

Globally, the globalization of environmental issues, including the decentralization of discussions on indigenous lands and international cooperation, preferably in the field of projects, has determined the emergence and strengthening of indigenous organizations. Related to this, investment in education in indigenous areas has led to the emergence of new leaders who are beginning to boost the community's agenda to find answers and solutions to the problems faced.

All the achievements, expansion of mobilizations, national and international articulations have caused changes and adjustments in the indigenous movement. If, on the one hand, spaces and the conformation of public policies are constituted, new strategies have been established by the national state, combined with offers, with new strategies of integration and pacification, whose challenge is how indigenous peoples will deal with the complex bureaucratic logic of Public Administration and the political and ideological (ir)rationality of the State in not treating them as differentiated societies; period of execution of programs and projects in indigenous lands, administration of financial resources and accountability, coexistence with bureaucracy; It is a time of (ir)responsibilities, new demands of contemporaneity.

STRUCTURING AND STRENGTHENING THE ORGANIZED INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT

For indigenous movements and groups, the 1980s were marked by informal, politically active but rarely institutionalized groups claiming territorial and welfare rights, on the one hand, especially through the action of charismatic leaders, and on the other hand, tradition and, on the other hand, the village cadres. Charismatic leaders are those who, through awareness, charisma and personal determination, assume the leadership of indigenous struggles in national and international situations, articulated first by the Union of Indigenous Peoples (UNIIND) and then by the Union of Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Peoples (UNI) and at the end of the decade by COIAB[6].

From the 1990s onwards, based on the 1988 Constitution, a multiplication of formal, institutionalized and legalized indigenous organizations emerged throughout Brazil. These organizations are increasingly assuming functions that the State no longer performs directly, especially in the areas of health, education and self-sufficiency. As a result, other discussions became part of the agenda of indigenous organizations, such as discussions on ethnic discourses on "sustainable ethnic" development and territorial self-governance.

In the early 2000s, through its organization, which consolidated the representative space of the indigenous movement in the public sphere, several leaders of government resources and

[6] We witnessed the movement of indigenous leaders: Manoel Moura Tucano, Álvaro Tucano, Egídio Tuyuka, Jacy Macuxi, Jerônimo Macuxi, Elclides Macuxi, Marcos Terena, Ailton Klenak, Mário Juruna, Megaron Tukaramae, Rauni Mentakuire. In Daniel Munduruku. The Educational Character of the Brazilian Organized Indigenous Movement (1970-1990). São Paulo Paulinas, 2012.

indigenous organizations began to occupy the public sphere and internalize and manage the functions and policies of the sphere of public administration, bringing new achievements and new challenges; Especially in the fields of health and education, policies guided by new concepts and different approaches to political practice seek to overcome historical tutelage, paternalism, and attachment to the old official indigenous political practice.

The difficulties faced by indigenous peoples in dealing with the complex bureaucratic logic of public administration and the (ir)rational political and ideological nature of the State were identified, failing to see indigenous peoples as bearers of a certain culture.

In this way, new relations were consolidated between the State and indigenous organizations, with the latter increasingly assuming the role of executors of State action, in many cases. For example, many indigenous organizations (mainly in the Amazon region) have agreements with FUNASA, within the scope of the Special Indigenous Sanitary Districts (DSEIs), for the execution of basic health actions with indigenous communities[7].

Over the last 40 years, indigenous resistance movements have advanced in their agendas and achievements. Although the vast majority of us, especially the villagers, still live in a situation of limited survival, food security, security of our lands, deaths and persecution of leaders, achievements have been made, thus new possibilities of autonomy for indigenous peoples have emerged, and which necessarily require a new legal framework and a new institutionalization in the relationship with indigenous peoples.

At this moment, the struggle is for the maintenance and quality of the public policies conquered, in particular, the Rights conquered in the 1988 Constitution to Demarcations and homologation of lands, especially in the Amazon; implementation of Specific and Differentiated Indigenous School Education, bilingual, pluricultural, autonomous and self-managed by indigenous people; affirmative action policies at the graduate level, among others.

The permanence of rights and the continuity and improvement of social policies aimed at indigenous peoples will depend a lot on the strengthening of the organized indigenous movement and its adaptation to the new context of attacks on collective rights, capable of regrouping its grassroots organizations, supporters and financiers, with the ability to think of new strategies of struggle, to establish negotiations capable of stopping the harassment and persecution underway by the current Brazilian government.

It is in this context of violence and denial of rights, accentuated in the last two years (2016/2017), that the Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon – COIAB, together with the Association of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil – APIB, returns to the national and

[7] Such responsibilities, assumed by indigenous organizations, were not monitored, adequate training was not offered, preparing the indigenous people to deal with public bureaucracy, personnel administration and financial resources, causing default and the closure of organizations.

international scene to (re)constitute, collective forces and create fronts of resistance to government policies, which have been working to make indigenous rights more flexible or modify. the dismantling of support and assistance structures for the indigenous population, such as the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) and the Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health (SESAI), closing health and border security posts, further intensifying conflicts between indigenous peoples, farmers, rice farmers, miners and squatters.

THE CHALLENGES FACED BY COIAB IN THE FACE OF THE POLITICAL/ECONOMIC CRISIS IN BRAZIL

The Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon – COIAB, held its XI General Assembly between August 28 and 30, 2017, 600 indigenous leaders from the Brazilian Amazon met in the Alto Rio Guamá indigenous land, in the city of Santa Lúcia, state of Pará. The conference provided an opportunity to analyze and debate fundamental issues of the Amazon and Brazil's indigenous peoples, including: land, health, education, communication, sustainable development, and income generation; in parallel with the rally, a series of art presentations were held, as well as a paragraph on Videos on Tradition and Material Culture. On the agenda, the election of a new General Coordination Council is a governing body composed of an Executive Committee, a Review Committee and a Finance Committee.

Founded in 1989 and headquartered in Manaus/AM, COIAB is the largest indigenous organization in Brazil. In total, it represents 160 people from 09 states in the Amazon. They are: Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Maranhão, Mato Grosso, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima and Tocantins. Together, they cover about 60% of the country's total indigenous population, or about 440,000 people. In addition, they bring together 403 demarcated indigenous lands and many other non-normalized territories (COIAB/2016). Its general election is held every 4 years, representing 276 representatives of the 46 regions of the Amazon of the Executive Coordination and the Deliberative and Fiscal Council (CONDEF).[8]

In its XI Assembly, the indigenous people were elected: General Coordinator: Francinara Soares (143 votes) – Baré People – Upper Rio Negro/Amazonas; Vice-Coordinator: Mário Nicácio Wapixana (120 votes) – Roraima; Secretary: Sitbró Xerente (94 votes) – Pará; Treasurer, Ângela Amanakwa Kaxuyana (Acre) - elected by acclamation of the plenary. After the election of the new Executive Coordination, the nominations and election of the new Deliberative and Fiscal Council of COIAB (CONDEF) were made: advisory, advisory and deliberative body of the Executive Coordination, formed by representatives of the 46 regional bases of COIAB, being elected: President: Crisanto Xavante; Vice-President, Ronaldo Amanaê and Secretary, Simone Vidal da Silva.

[8] Documentation and Information Sector of COIAB/2016

In the last two decades, the participation of aborigines in different areas of public policies that deal with issues related to the aboriginal people and in representative political bodies such as city halls, sub-prefectures, chambers and state governments has been gradually consolidated. Leaders' participation in key thematic discussions at the national and international levels, such as health and education, allows leaders to receive additional training in the process of political discussion and advocacy. The realization of these steps has made it possible for COIAB to become one of the main interlocutors of the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, at the head of the government and Brazilian society.

The elected Coordination will have the urgent task of resolving the situation of financial and personnel default that the institution is going through; resumption of dialogues, new understandings with supporters and funding agencies (TNT, SERVIVAL, NORAD, OXFORD, FORD FOUNDATION and others), establishing new strategies of struggle and convincing with grassroots organizations; strengthen mobilizations and articulations with regional, national and international entities, in the struggle in defense of indigenous rights; to bring together and aggregate the new indigenous movements that have emerged in urban contexts; to settle differences and conflicts between indigenous political candidates.

CONJUNCTURE: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIGENOUS RIGHTS AND INDIGENOUS POLICY

The history of Indigenous Peoples is marked by the conflicts provoked by the national state and its supporters throughout the history of Brazil. Many conflicts involve land and its use, those that are off the market, are especially coveted: this includes indigenous and quilombola lands, conservation units and lots allocated by the National Agrarian Reform Program. All these lands are now the target of new legislative proposals by the current Brazilian government.

In the Amazon, several actors invade protected lands; squatters, who take them illegally by falsifying documents; clandestine loggers, who loot hardwoods and exploit the area with increasingly sophisticated methods; gold, bauxite, tantalite and niobium miners, from the Upper Rio Negro region.

Increasingly invading indigenous lands, the policy of building hydroelectric dams dates back to the 1970s and the military dictatorships. The policy is particularly important for the mining industry and agribusiness. It was resurrected at the end of President Lula's second term, with the Belo Monte hydroelectric dam on the Xingu River and two dams on the Madeira River once again affecting indigenous societies. The current economic crisis has suspended plans to build five more large factories in the Tapajós Basin, which will directly affect the Munduruku people.

Some Constitutional Amendment Proposals (PECs) have been stalled for years or decades, waiting for the right moment to enter the Chamber's agenda. This is the case of PEC 215, originally proposed in 2000. Decisions on the delimitation of these lands have always been in the executive branch, but PEC 215 would delegate this power to the legislature, where agribusiness that speaks out against the interests of indigenous peoples is strongly represented. The amendment also requires Congress to approve indigenous lands that have already been demarcated.

The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate are already occupied by deputies and senators, regardless of their party affiliation, who vote on some legislative items that violate indigenous rights. These elected representatives formed the Agricultural Parliamentary Front, known as the "ruralist caucus". Although rural benches have gained power in parliament in the last 10 years, demographics and traditional environments are under increasing attack. Environmental protection societies and indigenous peoples have also suffered notable failures, such as the approval of a new forest code in 2012 and amnesties for environmental crimes already committed.

Of the 513 members of the Chamber of Deputies, the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA) currently has 231 representatives from different parties. Of the 81 senators, 25 are from the FPA. In addition, there are two powerful allies: evangelical representatives and defenders of civilian weapons. Together, these three make up the so-called BBB bank, the cow, the bible and the bullet.

Rural conflict and deforestation in the Amazon have exacerbated rural violence. The rural population celebrates Brazil's 'new moment'. They realize that they can now move freely. This means an increase in rural conflicts. According to the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), of the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB), 1079 conflicts over land arose in 2016, a record number since the beginning of the statistical series in 1985. It is, on average, 3 conflicts per day. The number of homicides, which decreased from 2004 to 2014, increased again: 61 people were killed in 2016 and 37 rural homicides were recorded from January 2017 to May 2017. Indigenous peoples are obviously victims. On April 30, 22 indigenous people were injured in an attack on gamelans in the state of Maranhão, two men of this ethnic group had their hands cut off with an axe.

The 1988 constitution declared indigenous rights "primitive", that is, it recognized that they existed before the state itself. However, the new doctrine of the "Marco Temporal" insists that only indigenous peoples who occupied their territories on the date of the 1988 constitution would benefit from the recognition of their rights. Over the years, many Aboriginal lands have been subdivided and reduced, readjusted and expanded at another time. Any decision to expand the land after October 5, 1988 could be overturned, according to the "Marco Temporal".

STRENGTHENING INDIGENOUS PARTICIPATION IN PARTY POLITICS

In recent years, Brazil's indigenous peoples have faced intense pressures that have intensified in all areas of state power. At all levels of parliament, the interests of groups that are mainly opposed to the rights of indigenous peoples prevailed.

Considering that Parliament is where the laws and regulations that bind society as a whole are created, it is necessary to see this space as a strategic space to empower our people and ensure that our struggles and agendas are effectively justified and transformed.

In this high context of interconnected forces and perpetual aggression against indigenous rights, resistance and power. The damage to town halls in towns with Aboriginal populations and legislative assemblies without Aboriginal representation is palpable.

This loss is even greater within the limits of the National Assembly, which does not even have indigenous people in its composition. This lack of legitimate representation of indigenous peoples has led to a strongly reactionary and fundamentalist agenda for economic groups, especially rural caucuses, which have historically been enemies of indigenous peoples.

In the last municipal elections, we strongly encouraged the launch of indigenous candidates throughout Brazil. This strategy yielded important results. Hundreds of indigenous candidates are running for city council and mayor in cities across the country. We have reached the historic milestone of 167 indigenous people elected to the positions of councilor and 05 indigenous people elected mayors in their cities of origin, placing the hope that they will defend a progressive and positive agenda that focuses on the struggle and claims of indigenous peoples and traditional communities, the human rights agenda, the protection of the environment and democracy. in short, a set of social policies for the subjugation of the entire Brazilian society.

However, the political system is antiquated, built on economic power and instrumentalized by the country's elite. For these reasons, it is necessary to continue to fight for political reform, which cannot be reduced to electoral reform, in order to guarantee traditionally marginalized and genuine and participatory democratic spaces of power, whether through classic party lines, differentiated electoral colleges, or organizational, autonomous mechanisms for collective decision-making spaces.

Considering that in 2018 the entire country will face elections for state and federal deputies, senators, governors and the president of the Republic, the point is that our people are no longer just supporters of this electoral process. Therefore, we call on all indigenous peoples of Brazil, from now on, at the local and regional level, to start discussions on the need to launch more and more indigenous candidates for the dispute in the next elections, encouraging warriors, willing to occupy parliament in the states and in the National Congress.

Incorporating the agenda of indigenous peoples' struggle into the political debate should be seen as the mission of every Brazilian indigenous movement. For an increasingly localized parliament.

CONCLUSION

Currently, the main difficulty that we, indigenous peoples, have is to maintain and guarantee the rights already acquired in the 1988 Constitution, in addition to fighting for the improvement of health and education policies; To fight for other rights that still need to be conquered to consolidate the ethnic perspective of the future, overcoming once and for all the threats that affect our territories today.

In the minds of our rulers, indigenous peoples are still seen as primitive, transitory beings that will someday cease to exist, either through natural processes or induced by intervention policies. They are those who still hinder Brazil's economic progress and advances. The struggle of the Organized Indigenous Movement is to face the challenge of confronting the economicist, developmental ideas driven by the agribusiness and mining industry, with the government's chancellery, through the socio-legal or citizenship conditions - to ensure space, to ensure the indigenous populations their sovereignty within the national state, of contemporary Brazilian society, without the need to give up what is proper to them: cultures, traditions, knowledge and values.

As an organized political movement, we must not lose sight of the cultural elements that guide social organization, the collective relations established among indigenous peoples. The hierarchical model of formal membership committees creates power struggles within Aboriginal communities, as well as social and economic disparities, undermining the value of horizontal democracy, where decision-making is an inalienable right of all individuals, who are the groups that make up the Community.

Political organizations, representatives of indigenous peoples, need to show maturity, adaptation to the new contexts in which more presence, coherence, and power of articulation with their organizations and base are required; strategies and negotiating power vis-à-vis the national state; the ability to deal with the legal-administrative apparatus of the State, using them in the defense of our rights. To reconcile the different logics, rationalities and operational forms of decision-making, distribution of goods and products, organization of different tasks and responsibilities, the notion of authority, power, service and political representation, as an apparatus, structures, structuring, constituting organizational forces, propelling the collective interests of indigenous peoples.

As for the issue of party politics, it should be clear that although it is necessary to have indigenous representation in the federal, state and municipal parliament to guide and approve

matters of our interest, political parties and the Brazilian political system are bureaucratic instances, notarial bodies of the state, constituted to endorse protectionist policies to their ideas, privileging common interests of the economic and political elites. Thus, although it presents itself as an alternative of struggle, legitimizes as anxiety and hope, the party structure curbs and controls indigenous candidacies. For obvious reasons, electing indigenous people is not of interest in the division of powers. Exception to municipal elections, in municipalities with lower electoral density and that have, for the most part, indigenous voters.

In fact, the Political Parties, on the one hand, launch indigenous candidacies, aiming only to gather votes, increase the votes of the party, constituting electoral density to elect candidates for majority positions; on the other, to curb and control the minimal possibilities of victory of the indigenous candidates. Its decorations and adornments that illustrate its pro-indigenous regiments are nothing more than dead and ineffective letters, just illusions that animate naivety and feed the party chiefs, personal interests and those of the groups that are completed with these strategies and concealments.

In this context of idealizations, control and manipulations, we will find serious indigenous people convinced in their ideas, hopeful until the last vote is counted; There will be others, already much more cunning, who have absorbed and adopted the strategist of non-indigenous people, manipulate and organize themselves to complete themselves individually. These, knowing and understanding very well the rules of the game, have already learned to bargain for all kinds of crumbs, strengthening the control of political spaces in the microsystems and microsystems in which they operate.

Therefore, it is important that the Indigenous Movement has a more critical look at Political Parties and Indigenous candidates. In advance, carry out sieves and control over indigenous people who intend to take advantage of the symbolic capital that indigenous societies and organizations have to legitimize their candidacies. There are "Indians and Indians" in the electoral race. Ethnic-political-collective candidacies and ethnic-political-personal candidacies. Two directions that should guide the indigenous electorate.

Proponents of indigenous interests in Brazil, cannot be held hostage to partisan or personal interests, present in ancient times, which produced deviations in the conduct of the movement, deviations of conduct, weakening of the indigenous political movement in Brazil. The times remain difficult, sober and dark because they hide, disguise the strategies that the national state uses today to pacify and integrate indigenous peoples into the civilizing, Western model of capital and consumerism.

The Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon - COIAB, together with the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB), has led important mobilizations not

only of indigenous peoples, but of other peoples and sectors, including support for Afro-descendants, refugees, participating in broad social mobilizations of workers, unions and universities.

Currently, there are groups on standby, vigilant about any action by the government and the ruralist caucus that comes to attack indigenous rights. This was the case in the weeks leading up to the session of the Supreme Court on August 16, 2017, which would pronounce in favor or not of the Time Frame, about 4000 indigenous people from approximately 200 ethnic groups, in Brasilia. In front of indigenous activists were the Chamber of Deputies, the Federal Senate, the presidential palace and the Ministry of Justice, commanded by politicians who antagonize them, being walled in by the Organized Indigenous Movement. "We, indigenous people, are few, but we are organized."

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