

Posto Kretire,
National Park Kingu.
13th April, 1975.

CEDI P. I. B.
DATA 24/03/95
COO. P. D. 68

Dear Olympic,

A boat from Diauarum is expected today and so I thought I would take this opportunity to let you know how we and the Kreen-Akarore are getting on. Please excuse us writing in English, but it is much easier for us and you said that you did not mind.

We eventually arrived at Diauarum on 28th February after a month wait at Leonardo for a boat. Claudio's reception this time was a lot more friendly and we left for Propuri village the next day. When we arrived we were very surprised at the situation there. We were accompanied by the infermeiro from Diauarum and went round the tribe on a medical examination. The state of health of the K.-A. was bad with virtually all the people suffering from various combinations of malaria, gripe and pneumonia. One man (incidentally he was the last adult male of one of the four clans) had to be sent to the post where he died the following morning. As far as we could see medical attention had to that date been one Kayabi infermeiro - without facilities for injections - and the spasmodic visits of the Sao Paulo medical teams and the infermeiro from Diauarum. However, the situation improved soon afterwards with the arrival of a qualified Funai infermeiro, who had treated the Kreen-Akarore at Paixoto. During their first two months at their new village five Indians have died, which now leaves a total of seventy-four (74) people.

Another major problem at Propuri was food. When we arrived some six weeks after the Kreen-Akarore the food situation was becoming critical. The plantations were not sufficient for seventy people and had already run out of maize, bananas and sweet potatoes were in short supply. Their agricultural diet was already being supplemented by 'imported' farinha and later milho. Hunting and fishing in the immediate area was extremely poor and did not yield enough for a regular diet. This and the deaths was creating a lot of tension and arguments among the Kreen-Akarore groups. This generally depressed atmosphere increased towards the end of their stay there with visits from other Indian groups who wanted Kreen-Akarore artifacts - these people also being a probable source of some of the disease.

Shortage of food, the death of five people, and continuous outside interference led considerable tensions among the Kreen-Akarore groups and eventually talk of fission. In view of all this a plan was announced, that the Kreen-Akarore were to be moved again - undoubtedly that was necessary. This time to a "much better" place to the Txucahamei village where they would have more isolated conditions, more food from the larger Txucahamei plantations, and on 29th March due to the worsening situation at Propuri the move was carried out. Everything went well and we arrived here the following day. The Kreen-Akarore with mixed feelings of wanting food and some fear, as the Txucahamei have always been their traditional enemies.

On arrival at the new Kreen-Akarore village there was again something of a shock. The village which the Txucahamei kindly built for them turned out to be two small houses in a hastily cleared area some 300m from the main Txucahamei village - obviously unsuitable for a tribe of 74 people. As a result of this the Kreen-Akarore were paired off with the Txucahamei families, split into groups of about 5 people each and taken to sleep in their houses. This situation still exists today. The two houses originally built for the Kreen-Akarore have since been taken apart and the wood used for building a new house for Rauni. Claudio Villas-Boas stressed to Rauni, that the Kreen-Akarore must have a separate village, fields, and way of life in general. At the moment it would appear that

Rauni intends to build them a new village in something like two months time, but he seems to desire the two tribes to remain together (junto) in their present position. The reaction to the loss of independence by the Kreen-Akarore is mixed. Food has been bountiful and the Txucahamei have been to great lengths to make them feel wanted and at home. The young boys seem to enjoy living with the Txucahamei as they have more friends and a functioning mens house etc. The reaction of the adult males is mixed and it is really only the married women, who have lost their power as heads of households, and the unmarried girls who have considerable attentions from the Txucahamei males, who seem to object to the position. Therefore, in terms of the Kreen-Akarore welfare there has been a revival of spirit and a decrease in illness, but in terms of culture, and that includes our reaction, there is considerable danger that the Kreen-Akarore as a tribe will rapidly disappear.

The Kreen-Akarore culture is extremely simple and their main concern at the moment is survival as individuals and food. If the Txucahamei satisfy these conditions then the Kreen-Akarore will probably have no objections to remaining with them. The Txucahamei desire young women, for some reason there is a marked absence of them here and the Kreen-Akarore have women to spare and also adult warriors due to the threat of the road and the other Txucahamei village. Thus the situation appears to be one of exchanging people for security and subsistence. Perhaps when the post has a radio and out-board motor, both of which are being repaired in Sao Paulo at present, this situation will be changed by Claudio, but at the moment we have great fears that time will make a change impossible.

As far as we, and studies, are concerned the situation is extremely difficult. The Kreen-Akarore are interested in all the new things here, that is to be expected but they are also being chaperoned by the Txucahamei who seem to regard us with a great deal of mistrust - in part at least because ~~xxxxxx~~ Rauni knows that he is not following the instructions of Claudio and that we know what these instructions are. Their life, as it was at ~~Peixoto~~ Peixoto and Prepuri, has also disappeared under the cultural pressure of the much stronger Txucahamei way of life. This leaves us with solely linguistic work but again this is difficult with us living at the post away from the village and the continual presence of Txucahamei when we are with the Kreen-Akarore. At the moment all of our instincts say go and study a different tribe but we will wait for one or two months to see if the situation improves. We want to continue studying the Kreen-Akarore but at the moment feel that conditions do not allow the studies that we wish to do. If they have no independent village by that time we will abandon work with them and try and start somewhere else.

I do not know the position of Funai in all of this so I don't know whether the situation is as depressing for you as it is for us from the point of view of work. In terms of food, hunting and fishing the situation is very good for the Kreen-Akarore, but in terms of culture I fear that the position could become disastrous and irreparable in a very short time, particularly in view of their constant moves over the last four years and their decimation by disease.

We will come and see you on our way back to Rio, probably some time in late June or July. Until then I hope that this piece of information has been of some use to you and that all is well with you and your staff at Funai,

Yours sincerely,

Richard and Kay Hoelas

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