

Appendix F

SURVEY OF LAND-TENURE SYSTEMS AND LIVELIHOOD PATTERNS  
OF TWENTY-ONE SOUTHERN HIGHLAND GROUPS\*

1. BAHNAR

Land tenure. Since the Bahnar are widely spread out, they are found in a variety of physical settings, and their economic adaptation differs accordingly. On the hills and slopes, they generally cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. On bottom land with available water, they have wet rice in paddy fields, and in some places they also farm dry rice in permanent fields. Their land-tenure system depends on the particular agricultural technique of the locality. Where there is permanent cultivation, the fields are the property of individuals or household groups, and right of ownership is passed on to succeeding generations by the prescribed rules of inheritance. Swiddens, whether under cultivation or lying fallow, are the property of the household group that traditionally has farmed them.

Toring, according to Guilleminet, is a traditional territorial unit belonging to the villages located within it, and the right to farm, hunt, and fish within the toring is shared by the villages. Tomoi (non-toring) people, whether they are Bahnar or not, are viewed as outsiders, and permission from the leaders of the

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\*Bahnar, Brou, Chrau, Chru, Cil, Cua, Halang, Hre, Jarai, Jeh, Katu, Lat, Ma, Mnong, Pacoh, Rengao, Rhadé, Roglai, Sedang, Sre, and Stieng.

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Agriculture. Bahnar in the hilly and mountainous areas rely on the swidden technique to produce upland dry rice, their food staple. Trees are felled and brush is cut during the dry season; when the wood has dried sufficiently, it is burned. Planting takes place after the rains have begun, and harvesting is done in November. Where the soil is fertile, the fields can be farmed consecutively for three or four years. They are then left fallow until there is a substantial new growth.

Where the land is level, the Bahnar usually have paddy fields. In the vicinity of Kontum town, the wet-rice fields are arranged on the restricted bottom land of old river beds; east of Pleiku, they cover the plain that extends to the Mang Yang pass. Bahnar paddy fields are plowed and harrowed with the help of water buffalo, and some farmers spread buffalo dung on the soil. While broadcasting of seeds is the traditional method of planting, some Bahnar are reported to have recently adopted the transplanting technique used by the Vietnamese. Rain provides most of the needed water, and low dikes and a system of canals control the water levels. Fields are weeded during the growth period, and harvesting usually begins in October or November. Only one crop is cultivated.

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\* Paul P. Guilleminet, "La tribu Bahnar du Kontum," Actes du XXI<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes, Paris, 1949, pp. 383-384.

In the vicinity of Kontum town, the Bahnar cultivate dry rice in level fields along the Dak Bla river. The soil is plowed and harrowed after the rains begin, in late April or early May. No fertilizer is used, and the seeds are broadcast. Weeding is done with a harrow-like instrument pulled by cattle. Varieties of three-month (higher quality) and four-month rice are grown. Harvesting begins in November. A dry-rice field is used consecutively for five or six years. Then a fence is constructed around it, and for at least one year the field is allowed to fallow and is used as pasturage for draft animals.

The Bahnar grow a wide range of fruits and vegetables. Along the edges of the paddy fields, they cultivate green leafy vegetables resembling mustard plants and spinach. In the swiddens as well as in the dry-rice fields, they grow maize. Manioc is grown in the fields or in separate patches. Kitchen gardens in the villages contain squash, gourds, green peppers, eggplant, ground nuts, small tomatoes, and tobacco. In the Kontum area, villagers cultivate papaya, bananas, sugar cane, pineapples, lemon grass, coconuts, and kapok trees. East of Pleiku, the farmers grow some cotton.

Commerce. There is some trading between individuals in the same and other villages. In the more remote parts, this is confined to a small area; but nearer the market centers, it extends to carrying produce to the towns for sale or barter with Vietnamese merchants. The Bahnar usually expend cash for salt, cloth, pots, and other household or personal items.

2. BROU

Land tenure and agriculture. The Brou traditionally cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. Whether swiddens are lying fallow or being cultivated, they are considered the property of the household group that first cleared them. The Brou select a new swidden by examining the vegetation and soil. They prefer black or brown soil to the red soil that predominates in some of the Brou area. Large trees indicate highly fertile soil. Where the Brou find the soil to be particularly good, they will farm fields for a maximum of three years. In most instances, however, their swiddens are cultivated only one year. Fields are left fallow long enough for the new growth to be substantial; "we don't like to cut young jungle," as one farmer put it. There are a few patches of bottom land in the Khe Sanh area where the villagers have been encouraged to make small paddy fields, but this is still in the experimental stage.

In large permanent kitchen gardens, Brou villagers plant maize, yams, manioc, beans, peas, squash, and melons; in smaller gardens, they grow lettuce, chili peppers, and tobacco. Jack fruit, papaya, coconut, orange, mango, and banana trees are cultivated in the villages. There also are occasional avocado trees, and some villagers have coffee trees.

Commerce and hired labor. Some of the villagers who have coffee trees sell the produce in the Khe Sanh. Others also sell vegetables, bamboo, firewood, and occasionally livestock, to the Vietnamese for cash, but preferably for rice, salt, or some manufactured items. Brou villagers living in the vicinity of the few French

coffee plantations around Khe Sanh work periodically, but not steadily, for cash.

3. CHRAU

Land tenure. The Chrau cultivate both wet rice in paddy fields and dry upland rice by the swiddén method. Paddy fields are individually owned, and traditional inheritance rules of the Chrau determine how the land is passed to succeeding generations. Since some Chrau have lived in proximity to the Vietnamese for a long period, they have titles to their paddy fields and can transfer title according to the procedures of Vietnamese law. Swiddens are the property of the household group that farms them. Ownership extends to swiddens lying fallow.

Agriculture and commerce. In practicing swidden agriculture, the Chrau select the site for a new swidden by feeling the soil; if it sticks together, it is considered good for rice crops. Following the lunar calendar, the Chrau cut the brush and fell trees in the tenth and eleventh months. The wood is burned in the second and third months of the new year. The Chrau have a wide variety of dry rice from which to choose. Men make the holes with two dibble sticks and the women follow and plant the seeds. Harvesting begins in the eleventh lunar month. Duration of swidden cultivation varies with the area, but normally ranges between three and ten years. Fallowing periods also vary, but the minimum is two years.

Preparation of wet-rice fields begins in the fifth lunar month, and a Vietnamese type of plow pulled by cattle or water buffalo is used. A Vietnamese harrow also is employed. The Chrau transplant. The first planting is done in seedbeds; when the seedlings are

about a foot high, they are transplanted into the larger fields. Harvesting begins in the eleventh month. Many Chrau farmers sell paddy to the Vietnamese and to Chrau who work for wages in the nearby plantations.

4. CHRU

Land tenure. Paddy fields in the Dran Valley are individually owned, and the Chru have a traditional procedure for transferring ownership in the absence of legal papers. The two parties involved in the transfer gather their fellow villagers in the field to be sold. It is important to have the village children participate in the event, as they will be able to bear witness to it in the future. The buyer provides jars of alcohol for the adults, and chicken and token gifts for the children. He also furnishes an animal for the sacrifice that is held after he pays for the land. (Traditionally, payment was made with animals, but nowadays most transactions are in cash.) As a symbol of the sale, a sizable stone is covered with blood from the sacrificial animal and embedded in one of the dikes.

Agriculture and commerce. Wet-rice cultivation in paddy fields is traditional among the Chru. The paddy fields are in the low, level bottom land in the valley and on terraces cut into the gentle slopes. Rain provides some of the necessary water, and the Chru also have an elaborate irrigation system, which taps water from the tributaries that feed the Dan Him river and supplies the fields through canals. Dikes help control the flow and level of the water. Every Chru village designates a "Water Chief," who, each year before the planting begins, organizes the residents into work

groups that clear and repair the canals affecting their fields. Inter-village cooperation provides maintenance for the over-all system. One prominent Chru leader, a particularly successful farmer, recently purchased five gasoline-powered irrigation pumps. He and other farmers have requested 600,000 VN\$ from the district authorities to finance construction of additional canals and dams. They also have plans for a conduit system by which to carry water to level land at higher elevations.

Three varieties of wet rice are grown: one planted in July and harvested in September, and two that are also planted in July but harvested in December. The fields are prepared in May and June. After the first plowing and harrowing, the process is repeated perpendicularly to the first rows. The Chru plow, drawn by the water buffalo, is a traditional artifact that differs from the Vietnamese plow. (Some farmers are talking of purchasing an American tractor.) Traditionally, the Chru broadcast their seeds, but in 1965 several farmers (including the one noted above) began to use the transplanting technique, which they had seen used by Vietnamese farmers, whereby planting is done in a seed bed, and the plants are transplanted to the larger fields when they are about a foot high. Some farmers have been using chemical fertilizer for several years; with more of it available through the USAID program, larger numbers are doing so.

On higher land, the Chru cultivate dry rice. These fields are plowed and harrowed, and traditionally animal dung has been used as fertilizer. Plowing is done after the rains have softened the ground, and the varieties of rice (including some glutinous rice) take from three to

six months to mature. Occasionally, the Chru resort to swidden technique to supplement their rice crops; their method resembles that used by the neighboring Cil.

Chru kitchen gardens produce gourd, cucumber, water melons, pumpkins, lemon grass, ginger, eggplant, and chili peppers. In the villages there are orange, jack fruit, lime, mango, coconut, and areca trees. Some farmers grow avocado trees as well, and there are some grapefruit and mangosteen trees. Part of the produce of these trees is marketed in Dran. Tobacco is grown by all households, and some of it is sold. Three varieties of maize -- red, black, and white -- are grown in separate fields. An increasing number of farmers are planting potatoes, which they ordered from Holland, in cooperation with Vietnamese farmers. Along with this important cash crop they cultivate onions, escarole, lettuce, cabbage, squash, beets, cauliflower, white beans, butter beans, green beans, bean sprouts, carrots, celery, radishes, tomatoes, chinese cabbage, and eggplant. A few grow artichokes. These crops are sold in the local markets, and some farmers rent trucks to ship their produce to Nhatrang and Phan Rang. One farmer recently began growing garlic, which he sells to the Vietnamese. A group of Chru farmers are organizing a cooperative, and claim that there is a potential membership of 3000 throughout the valley.

5. CIL

Land tenure and agriculture. The Cil cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. The fields, even when they are lying fallow, are considered the property of the family that cleared them. Selection of a new

swidden is done by a combination of careful scrutiny of the soil and divination. When a place where the soil looks promising is found, a few of the men sleep there for several nights. If they have "favorable dreams." they will farm the site; if not, they will select a new area and repeat the procedure. The trees are felled in January and brush is cut. In early March, fires are set; and after the rains commence, in late April or early May, planting takes place. The Cil farm the swiddens from one to three years, depending on fertility, and leave them fallow for at least ten years before re-cultivating.

Maize also is grown in the swiddens. Gourds are cultivated between rows of rice and maize and along the edges of the fields. In kitchen gardens, the Cil grow cabbage, bananas, chilies, eggplant, beans, tomatoes, and sugar cane.

#### 6. CUA

Land tenure. The Cua cultivate wet rice in paddy fields on the bottom land of the Tra Bong valley and in terraces on the mountain slopes. Those living at higher elevations grow upland dry rice by the swidden technique. Paddy fields are owned by the families that farm them, and Cua inheritance rules dictate how this right of ownership is passed down to succeeding generations. Swiddens belong to the household groups that farm them. A group's claim to swiddens, both cultivated and fallow, is recognized by other members of Cua village society.

Agriculture and commerce. For paddy cultivation, the Cua have a system of dikes and canals by which to control the water. Rain provides part of the needed water, and

some terraces are fed by springs. Using a Vietnamese type of plow pulled by water buffalo, the Cua prepare their fields in the first month of the lunar calendar by plowing and harrowing (they use the Vietnamese terms for these activities) and spreading them with animal dung. Traditionally the seeds are broadcast, but in recent years some farmers have adopted the Vietnamese system of transplanting. Harvest is in the third lunar month. Bottom-land paddy fields are then prepared for a second crop, which is harvested in the eighth month, whereas terraced paddy fields produce only one crop.

In swidden agriculture, the forest is cut in the second lunar month and the wood is burned in the third. When the rains start, in the fourth lunar month, the planting begins. The Cua plan their crops according to the color of the soil: Black is thought to be good for maize, and red for rice. Rice harvesting begins in the sixth lunar month. Unless the soil is judged to be particularly fertile (fertility being indicated by such things as large trees with vines), the swiddens are not planted in rice for more than one year. Maize, however, can be grown in the same swidden for at least two years. Cua swiddens are left fallow for a maximum of six years before being recultivated.

The Cua plant vegetables on the edges of bottom-land paddy fields and swiddens. They grow a variety of yams and bananas to supplement their rice and maize diet.

Cinnamon, tea, and areca are Cua cash crops. "For many generations," as they put it, the Cua have been gathering cinnamon bark in the forests and also cultivating

cinnamon trees, the produce of which they sell to the Vietnamese.\* It takes four or five years for a cinnamon tree to reach maturity, and the quality of the cinnamon cannot be predicted. The bark is carried to the district town of Tra Bong, where it is sold to Vietnamese merchants. (The mid-1965 price was 120 VN\$ per kilo.) Because of Viet Cong activities, however, the amount of cinnamon being brought out of the mountainous areas has diminished considerably since 1964.

The Cua also cultivate tea, some of which they sell to Vietnamese. They also grow areca nuts, chiefly for the consumption of the families that own the areca palms, though some are sold in the Vietnamese markets.

#### 7. HALANG

Land tenure and agriculture. Upland dry rice, cultivated by the swidden method, is the food staple of the Halang. In the tradition of the past, Halang villages had no specific territory. Residents simply farmed the surrounding area, and each household group had claim to swiddens whether they were being farmed or lying fallow. With the increasing population pressure due to refugee relocations in certain Halang areas, farmers have begun to mark their swiddens with split bamboo sticks.

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\* Bourotte reports that in the seventeenth century, when in their southward expansion the Vietnamese came into contact with the tribal groups of the Central Highlands, they began to purchase cinnamon, elephants, ivory, rhinoceros' tusks, wood, wax, rattan, and betel from them. (Bernard Bourotte, "Essai d'histoire des populations montagnards du Sud-Indochinois jusqu'à 1945," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Vol. 30. Saigon. 1955, p. 46.)

When selecting the site of a new swidden, the Halang examine the vegetation to determine the fertility of the soil. Most of their traditional area of habitation has thick forests, and the soil is so fertile that they can farm a swidden for a minimum of three years. In recent years, however, some of the Halang have moved into more secure areas further south. Here, there is a predominance of grass (apparently a variety of elephant grass) which is difficult to clear, and swiddens can be farmed for only one year.

The Halang begin clearing for cultivation in February. Men fell the trees and women cut the brush. Once the wood has dried, in March or early April, it is burned, and planting takes place after the rains have begun. Normally, the Halang build shelters near the swiddens to house those whose task it is to guard the fields against incursions by birds and animals, and they also construct their granaries near the swiddens. Fallowing periods depend on the local flora, for there must be substantial new growth before refarming.

The Halang grow some maize in the swiddens, as well as tobacco, various types of tubers, yams, watermelons, eggplant, cabbage, chili peppers, manioc, and cucumbers. Many of them also cultivate these same secondary crops in kitchen gardens near their houses. Squash, pineapples, papaya, bananas, kapok, mangos, coconuts, and lemon grass are grown in the village.

8. HRE

Land tenure. The Hre cultivate wet rice in paddy fields located on the valley floors and on terraces that follow the gentle contours of the slopes rising from the

valleys. Each field is well marked and claimed by an individual or a family. This right of ownership is passed on to the next generation according to the established Hre inheritance rules. The Hre at higher elevations cultivate dry upland rice by the swidden method, and the family that first clears the swidden is considered the owner of it even when it is fallow.

Agriculture. Low dikes and a system of canals control water in the paddy fields. While rain provides most of the water in the bottom-land fields, hillside sources supply the terraced fields. When the rains come, the farmers plow, using a Vietnamese type of plow pulled by water buffalo. Some use animal dung for fertilizer. There are two harvests: one crop is planted in the fifth lunar month and harvested in the ninth; the second is planted in the eleventh month and harvested in the third month of the next year.

During the dry season, the trees on the swidden site are felled by the men, while the women cut the brush. After the wood dries, it is burned and the debris is raked into piles. When the rain has softened the soil, the men make holes with dibble sticks, while the women follow planting the seeds. Depending on the type of flora in the area, fields are farmed from one to three years before being left fallow long enough for new growth to mature.

Gardens are plentiful in Hre villages. The plants include maize, yams, green beans, chili peppers, onions, spinach, watermelons, pumpkins, pineapples, manioc, tobacco, gourds, and tea. There are some patches of sugar cane and scattered papaya, banana, mango, and

jack-fruit trees. Most families also have areca palms. and betel vines grow around the trunks.

9. JARAI

The Jarai are widely spread out, and their economic activities vary considerably. Swidden agriculture predominates in some areas, while paddy fields are found in others, and some Jarai cultivate cash crops. The right of ownership of paddy fields and of fields that produce cash crops is vested in individuals and is passed down to the heirs according to the Jarai rules of succession. Swidden fields are considered the property of the household group that first cleared and cultivated them. Villagers respect one another's right of ownership even of those swiddens that are lying fallow.

Agriculture and commerce. In the vicinity of Cheo Reo, all of the Jarai rely on the swidden technique to produce their staple crop of upland dry rice. In selecting the site of a new swidden, the Cheo Reo Jarai combine omens with practical signs of fertility. If the excrement of certain ground worms is found, it is an indication that the soil is particularly fertile. If a certain type of monkey abounds, however, it is taboo to farm in the area. During the dry season, the trees are felled and the brush is cut and allowed to dry. The Cheo Reo control fires by clearing the wood from the edges of the swidden to form a firebreak. After the rains begin, in April or May, they plant. One variety of upland dry-rice plant takes five months to mature, and another requires six months. Several kinds of glutinous rice are also grown.

Some farmers prefer planting maize in the swiddens first; when the plants have reached a height of about six inches, the dry rice is planted between the rows. Secondary crops include sugar cane, papaya, bananas, manioc, yams, eggplant, pumpkins, chili peppers, green beans, lettuce, mangos, oranges, and tomatoes. Indigo, cotton, and tobacco are also grown, and a few farmers cultivate saffron. Some Jarai farmers in the vicinity of Cheo Reo have begun to raise more kitchen-garden fruits and vegetables for sale in the market. With the population increase due to the influx of Vietnamese civil servants and military personnel, many of whom have brought their dependents, the demand for fresh fruits and vegetables is growing, and some of the farmers have begun producing for the market. One elderly villager proudly pointed out that he had replaced his thatched roof with a tin one and his bamboo walls with wood planks, all with his profits from selling garden and grove produce.

West of Pleiku town, the Jarai select the site for a new swidden on the basis of the vegetation. The planting technique is the same as that of the Cheo Reo Jarai. Swiddens are usually farmed for three or four consecutive years, and then are left fallow for nine or ten years. Maize, manioc, cucumbers, pumpkins, yams, bananas, pineapples, papaya, squash, and gourds are also grown in the swiddens. Kitchen gardens produce bananas, eggplant, chili peppers, pineapples, papaya, lettuce, tomatoes, carrots, cucumbers, manioc, green beans, white beans, peanuts, onions, and garlic.

In the vicinity of Plei Mrong, the Jarai cultivate numerous kinds of wet rice in paddy fields. After the rains begin, they prepare their fields: The well-to-do use plows pulled by water buffalo, while farmers with small paddy fields break the soil with hoes and hand axes. Animal dung is spread on the fields, and the seeds are broadcast. Some farmers sell rice to neighboring tea planters, many of whom are Chinese.

The Jarai Mdhur, in the vicinity of the Song Ba river, (Phu Tuc District, Phu Bon Province), also cultivate wet rice in paddy fields, using plows pulled by water buffalo, and they grow sesame and tobacco as cash crops. They set aside a patch in the middle of their paddy fields on which they plant sesame, which requires little care, as the growing plants crowd out any weeds. The sesame crop is planted in May or June and harvested in August, and after the seeds have been spread out to dry, are sold to itinerant Vietnamese merchants. Tobacco is planted in December, harvested in March, and thereafter is dried and sold.

10. JEH

Land tenure. Among the Jeh, a village or group of villages has traditional territories (sal ja) surrounding it. The boundaries of these territories are well marked and known to the village elders, who are responsible for the territory. Any outsider desiring to cultivate swiddens within the territory must obtain permission from the elders. Their jurisdiction, however, does not extend to areas where the Jeh do not farm. In addition to nonarable sections, this also would include places where there are extraordinarily large trees, for, despite

the fact that such trees indicate fertile soil. the Jeh do not farm where they are to be found. Nor does territorial restriction extend to hunting and fishing. although if one of the fishing techniques involves damming a stream, the approval of the elders is necessary.

Agriculture. The Jeh rely exclusively on the swidden technique to produce their staple of upland rice. They examine the vegetation in an area to determine the fertility of the soil (for example, large trees and a species of large bamboo, called cla, are sure signs of good soil). The cultivation period ranges from one to three years. Fallowing periods also depend on relative fertility, and the Jeh have designations for fallowing fields of one, two, three and up to nine and ten years. The planting cycle is similar to that of the Halang.

Maize, manioc, taro, various kinds of tubers, squash, pumpkins, and cucumbers are planted in the swiddens. In village kitchen gardens, the Jeh cultivate banana and papaya trees, sugar cane, tobacco, and some vegetables. A few orange trees also are to be found in the villages.

Men weave mats and make baskets as well as weapons and tools. Metal-working is a full-time occupation for those especially skilled in it. Women weave cloth, and also produce a special kind of fabric from the bark of a certain tree. After being soaked in water, the bark is twisted into a thick thread that is then woven into articles of clothing. The Jeh also purchase some cloth from the Vietnamese, but otherwise have little commercial exchange outside their own group. Such of their products as cloth, tools, and weapons they trade "among themselves."

11. KATU

Land tenure and agriculture. The Katu rely exclusively on swidden agriculture to produce their upland dry rice, maize, and secondary crops. The swiddens being farmed, as well as those lying fallow, are considered the property of the household group that first cleared them.

When selecting the site of a new swidden, the Katu inspect the soil -- their preference is for black soil, and they avoid the red -- and look for large trees as indicators of great soil fertility. Most Katu live in an area of the highlands affected by the northeast monsoon, so that, when the rains begin, in August or September, they can begin planting the swidden they cut and burned during the dry season. Maize normally is planted first, often before the rains begin, and it is well along by the time the rice is planted between the rows of maize plants. When the rice is about a foot high, the fields are weeded and the soil is turned over. The maize takes about three months to ripen, and the rice can be harvested five months after planting.

The secondary crops of the Katu include squash, sugar cane, bananas, and cucumber. These are planted in the swiddens and sometimes in kitchen gardens near houses in the village.

12. LAT

Land tenure and agriculture. The Lat cultivate wet rice in paddy fields in available bottom land and in terraces on the slopes of Langbian mountain near Dalat. Individual families own their own fields, which are passed down to succeeding generations by the Lat inheritance rules.

Through a system of dikes and canals, the Lat regulate the water provided by rain and by tapping of streams and sources at higher elevations. Water is released from one terrace to another and finally to the paddy fields on the valley floor. Of eight varieties of rice, including one of glutinous rice, two take four months to mature and the remaining six take six months. After the rains begin, the Lat plow their fields, using water buffalo, and then harrow them. After this process has been repeated in a direction perpendicular to the first plowing, the seeds are broadcast.

Maize is planted in separate fields when the rains begin, in April or May, and harvested in July. In small fields near the villages, the Lat cultivate some green leafy vegetables, eggplant, chillies, pumpkins, and yams. Until ten years ago, they raised a variety of vegetables which they then sold in the Dalat market, but a vast increase in the Vietnamese gardening industry around Dalat created a competition with which the Lat could not cope.

13. MA

Land tenure. Every Ma Village has claim to a surrounding territory, which is marked by natural boundaries. This claim is recognized by neighboring villages. Each village has a Tom Bri, or "Forest Chief," who is selected by the residents of the village and he is responsible for regulating the use of the village territory, or, as the Ma put it, the "use of the forests." Any outsider who wishes to farm, cut wood, or hunt within the village territory must first obtain the permission of the Tom Bri. Within the village territory, the residents have swiddens that are either being farmed

or lying fallow. All villagers know which swiddens belong to whom, and anyone desiring to clear and farm a swidden must have the approval of the villager who lays claim to it and of the Tom Bri.

Agriculture. Upland dry rice, cultivated by the swidden method, is the staple of the Ma, though some of them have paddy fields in the bottom land near Bao Loc. During the dry season, trees are felled and brush is cut, and after the wood has dried, it is burned. Planting takes place after the rains have sufficiently moistened the soil, and the harvest is in November and December. The number of times a swidden may be cultivated depends on the fertility of the soil, and is manifest in the state of the crop. Normally, swiddens are farmed for three or four successive years, after which they are allowed to remain fallow for a minimum of fifteen years before re-cultivation. The varieties of rice grown include some early rice, which is planted in April and harvested in October, and late varieties that are also planted in April but mature in November and December. Pumpkins, gourds, manioc, cucumber, maize, and eggplant also are grown in the swiddens.

#### 14. MNONG

Land tenure. The Mngong are widely spread out, and their economic pattern varies accordingly. Some rely exclusively on wet-rice cultivation, while others farm only upland dry rice by the swidden method. Paddy fields are the property of individuals and families, and there are rules for passing them on to succeeding generations. Although it is rare, transfer of ownership is possible; among the Mngong Rlam of Lac Thien District, Darlac

Province, the buyer must pay the agreed-upon price to the seller, after which fellow villagers are informed of the transaction. Swiddens, both those being farmed and those lying fallow, are owned by the household group that works them. The Mnong Prong have definite village-owned territories in which the residents may farm; outsiders wishing to do so must first obtain the permission of the village authorities.

Agriculture. According to Condominas, the dietary staple of the Mnong Gar is upland rice farmed in swiddens, and the site of the swidden is selected by divination.\* (All forests of the Mnong Gar area have names; while Condominas was conducting his field research, the villagers were cutting swiddens in the Forest of the Stone Spirit Goo.) The cultivation period is only one year. Secondary crops include maize, bananas, beans, eggplant, manioc, taro, yams, sugar cane, cucumbers, gourds, oranges, mangos, limes, papayas, red chili peppers, ginger, and mushrooms. Cotton, indigo, and tobacco also are grown.

The Mnong Prong also cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden technique. Normally they will farm a field for three consecutive years and then leave it fallow for at least fifteen years. They also plant maize, bananas, cabbage, cucumbers, green beans, manioc, pineapples, and gourds in the swiddens.

Wet rice is the staple of the Mnong Rlam, and is cultivated in extensive paddy fields in the vicinity

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\* Georges Condominas, Nous avons mangé la forêt, Paris, 1957, pp. 21-24, 201-234.

of Lac Thien. The Mnong Rlam do not work with plows, but use hoes to break the soil and then let buffalo tread on the lumps of earth. In preparing the seed beds, which are planted after the rains begin in April or May, they repeat this process until the soil is fine. The larger fields are prepared by the same method, but only once. When the seedlings have reached a height of about one foot, they are transplanted to the larger fields. Irrigation is done by scoops and baskets, and a system of dikes and canals controls the water levels. Several varieties of regular and glutinous rice are grown, and they normally take five months to mature. Only one crop is grown annually.

Maize is generally cultivated in separate fields, but bananas, sugar cane, pineapples, papaya, manioc, and yams are grown in the paddy fields. Kitchen gardens produce chilli peppers, cucumbers, green beans, tomatoes, lettuce, and tobacco. Areca palms and betel vines are found throughout the villages.

15. PACOH

Land tenure and agriculture. Among the Pacoh, upland dry rice and maize are staples, and both are cultivated by the swidden method. Every Pacoh village has a delimited territory (cruang is the Pacoh word for it) in which the residents farm, hunt, and fish. Sites for new swiddens are selected upon examination of the soil. The rice and maize crops are planted in separate parts of the same swidden. Planting takes place in the fourth lunar month, and the rice crop is ready to harvest in the ninth month. Secondary crops include manioc, taro, yams, cucumbers, gourds, squash, sugar cane, and tobacco.

16. RENGAO

Land tenure. The Rengao employ both the wet-rice and the swidden technique of cultivation, and they also farm permanent dry-rice fields. Paddy fields and permanent dry-rice fields are owned by individuals or families. Families traditionally cultivate the same swiddens, and those who clear an area are considered owners of the swidden, whether it is being farmed or is lying fallow.

Agriculture. When selecting the site of a new swidden, the Rengao inspect the color of the soil; they prefer a greyish soil to any other. Trees and brush are cut during the month of February, and the wood is left to dry for one month before being burned. Debris is gathered together and taken from the field in baskets. Planting begins after the rains have sufficiently moistened the soil. Some early types of rice are ready for harvesting in August, but the peak of the harvest is in November. Swidden use and fallowing periods vary with the soil. Near Kontum, the Rengao use a field for a maximum of three years, and then leave it fallow until a substantial new growth has appeared. In the vicinity of Dak Kong Peng, some 25 kilometers north of Kontum, however, the bamboo that predominates the flora grows very rapidly, permitting recultivation in alternate years.

In the vicinity of Kontum, some of the Rengao (like the neighboring Bahnar) farm permanent dry-rice fields along the banks of the Dak Bla river. With the help of cattle, they plow the fields after the rains have begun. Four-month rice is planted between rows of three-month maize. No fertilizer is used. The harvest begins in September.

Rengao paddy fields are few and small. Rain provides most of the needed water, and low dikes and narrow channels control water levels. The farmers prepare the fields with plows, using either cattle or water buffalo, and, after harrowing, broadcast the seeds.

In addition, the Rengao grow some manioc and green leafy vegetables, and also onions, papaya, and gourds, in garden plots adjacent to the dry rice fields. In the village, they cultivate cabbage, manioc, yams, and tobacco in kitchen gardens.

17. RHADE

Land tenure. The Rhadé have a matrilineal system, wherein the children take the family name of their mother and are members of her lineage, or matrisib, which is identified by a family name (e.g., Nie Kdam, Enoul, and H'dok). Subsibs, i.e., sections of the larger kin group, have traditional claim to given territories in the Rhadé area. Title to the subsib's territory rests with the eldest female of the senior line, who is called the po-lan (po meaning "proprietor; lan, "land"). Under Rhadé law the land is inalienable, and anyone desiring to cultivate within the territorial limits of a subsib must obtain the permission of the po-lan. Other responsibilities of the po-lan as guardian of the territory include periodic sacrifices and annual visits to the boundaries of the territory. In addition, she prescribes expiatory ritual sacrifices for violations of the territory, such as cutting wood without permission, which may anger the souls of the ancestors and cause misfortune. If it happens that there are no daughters in the direct line to inherit the role, a male may become po-lan, but his daughter will succeed him.

The rights and responsibilities of the po-lan are outlined in the Rhadé laws codified by Sabatier (1940). an outstanding Resident of Darlac province (a post corresponding to that of a Province Chief today). Although the po-lan system has broken down in some places -- for example, in the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot -- the Rhadé still consider it their traditional land-tenure system.

Agriculture. Where there is available bottom land, the Rhadé make paddy fields, some of which are sown in December and harvested in May or June. They are irrigated, but, when the rains begin, the excess water prevents a second planting. Other, higher fields are inundated by the rains, and are therefore planted in June or July, and harvested in November or December. Some Rhadé employ a plow and team of buffalo to prepare their fields, while others simply use a hoe to break the earth and then have buffalo trample on the soil to crush it. Low dikes and channels control the water levels. Seeds are germinated prior to planting by being soaked in water for four days. While most Rhadé broadcast their seeds, some have begun using the transplanting technique.

According to one French source, the cultivation of upland rice by the swidden technique accounts for 80 per cent of the Rhadé's subsistence.\* The same source describes the selection of a new swidden by a combination of signs and omens; for example, the cry of a wild goat is a good omen. Rhadé villagers also report that they inspect the soil; red soil is thought good, while sandy soil is

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\*A. Maurice and G. Proux, "L'âme du riz," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Vol. 29. Saigon. 1954, pp. 129-258.

to be avoided. The felling of trees and cutting of brush take place during the dry season, between December and March, and the dried wood is burned in March. In the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot, three types of upland rice are cultivated: two that mature in three to four months, and one type that matures in five months. Planting is done after the rains begin, in April or May. After the rice is planted, secondary crops may be planted between the rows of seedlings or in a section of the swidden. The Rhadé Kpa cultivate their swiddens for from two to eight years, depending on the fertility of the soil. Each year, however, they cut and burn a new swidden, so that a family may farm up to five simultaneously, leaving them fallow as they manifest soil exhaustion.

The four varieties of rice that are considered the best are grown in new swiddens during the first year, because the Rhadé believe that they need particularly fertile soil. Only one type is grown in the second year, and the two varieties usually cultivated in the third and succeeding years are considered better for jar-wine preparation than for eating. The fallowing period for swiddens normally is from six to eight years.

Maize is grown in the swiddens and in the village gardens. The latter also produce yams, manioc, chili peppers, pumpkins, eggplant, cucumbers, gourds, lemon grass, and a variety of green leafy vegetables. Villagers also cultivate sugar cane, pineapples, jack fruit, guava, limes, bananas, areca, betel leaves, coconuts, coffee, and papaya. In their kitchen gardens they grow manioc, onions, long beans, and tobacco.

Cash crops: coffee In the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot, many of the Rhadé villagers cultivate cash crops, some of them on small estates. One of these is in the village of Buon Kosier, some three kilometers from the town. It is owned by a Rhadé named Y Ju Nie Kdam, who worked on the large Roussi coffee estate for twenty-two years, and for several more years as a male nurse in the province hospital. In 1945, with his savings, he bought land (the deed specified five hectares, although it was unsurveyed) from Y Ut Nie Buon Rit, a well-to-do resident of Buon Kosier, who was considered a local leader and had served as a member of the National Assembly during the Diem regime. (Y Ut was killed in a 1961 Viet Cong ambush.) With the purchase of coffeeplant seedlings of the robusta variety from his former employer and banana trees from villagers, Y Ju began his own estate. The fast-producing banana trees yielded some income until the coffee trees began to produce. At the present time, the estate has around 5,000 coffee trees and a large number of banana trees, as well as some pineapple plants. Because of limited funds, Y Ju must rely on members of his family to help the four hired female laborers tend the estate, and pick, dry, and husk the coffee berries. The entire crop is then sold to a Chinese merchant in Ban Me Thuot (who, in turn, transports most of it to the Saigon market). As part of a land-title distribution program in Buon Kosier in August 1965, Y Ju received a new title to his land, which specified three hectares, 600 metres. His ambition is to acquire more land so that he can enlarge the estate, and to find some means of transporting his produce to the Saigon market himself.

Petty commerce. There are Rhadé-owned small shops in some villages in the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot, and this kind of economic activity appears to be increasing. In 1959 a villager, upon returning from military service, opened a shop in Buon Ki, where he sells cooking oil (in small polyethylene bags), tobacco, cigarettes, dry cookies, candy, laundry soap, canned sardines, dried fish, nuoc mam, beer, rum, and soft drinks, and also notebooks, pens, and pencils for school children. Three other villagers soon opened similar shops, stocking the same line of goods. And in the first five months of 1966, three new general-goods shops were started by Rhadé residents of Buon Kosier. One proprietor is a former member of the Special Forces Strike Force; another is a refugee hamlet chief from Buon H'drah who owned no rice fields and therefore turned to petty commerce.

18. ROGLAI

Land tenure and agriculture. The staple of the Roglai is upland dry rice, cultivated by the swidden method. Roglai villages are relatively far apart, so that, as observers have pointed out, there is no need for village territories. Each household group farms its own swiddens, the size of which depends on the number of people in the family and the adjudged fertility of the soil. Fields usually are cultivated for three consecutive years, followed by very long fallowing periods.

Men fell the trees and women cut the brush. In the fourth lunar month, after the rains begin, rice planting is started, and it continues into the fifth and sixth months. The Roglai use no fertilizer. When the plants are about a foot high, the women weed the fields, and all

members of the household group join in the harvesting activities.

Maize is planted in separate swiddens or in a section of the rice swidden. Vegetables are grown on the edges of swiddens, sometimes between the rows of maize, and in kitchen gardens within the village. Vegetables include squash, gourds, and several kinds of beans. The Roglai also cultivate papaya, pineapple, jack fruit, and sometimes coconut, areca palms, and betel vines.

Commerce is little known. In villages at lower elevations, some of the Roglai occasionally carry bamboo and rattan to Vietnamese settlements, trading them for such essentials as salt, cloth, metal basins, and other household items.

#### 19. SEDANG

Land tenure. Traditionally, the Sedang have territories (cheam beng) that belong to the villages located within them. Anyone desiring to practice agriculture within the territory must obtain permission from the elders of the village where he resides. A swidden is considered the property of the family farming it, and anyone wanting to farm a field that is lying fallow must seek the approval of the village elders and then compensate the owner.

Agriculture. The Sedang cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden technique. They look for black or greyish soil (in preference to red soil) and for places where the vegetation is thick. Men cut the trees, women and children cut the brush and grass, and the villagers assist one another with the burning so as to keep the fire under control. During the growing period, the fields are weeded several times. Harvesting, which involves all able-bodied

members of the family, usually begins in November. In addition to rice, the Sedang also cultivate maize, yams, bananas, sugar cane (planted in patches), pineapples, watermelons, and squash. Fields are farmed for two or three consecutive years, after which they lie fallow for a minimum of seven years, and usually ten years or more. Cotton is grown in separate fields. Kitchen gardens in the villages produce the vegetables and fruits listed above as well as eggplant, chili peppers, beans, and tobacco.

Specialization. Men make the tools, weapons (cross-bows, knives, and spears), farm tools (hoes, axes of various sizes), mats, and baskets used by the family. Women weave cloth. Metal-working is a specialization practiced by some men in every village, but only a few find sufficient demand for their products to make it a full-time specialization.

20. SRE

Land tenure. Where the Sre practice wet-rice cultivation, paddy fields are owned by individuals and families, and transmission of ownership rights is governed by the rules of inheritance. Where the swidden technique is used, the fields are considered the property of the family group that farms them, whether they are being planted or lying fallow. The Sre village has claim to a surrounding territory in which the residents enjoy the exclusive right to farm, hunt, and fish. Every village selects a Tom Bri (similar to the Tom Bri of the Ma people), who regulates the use of the land within the territorial boundaries. Thus, any outsider who desires to farm within the territory must obtain his permission, and any villager who wants to

clear a new swidden must ascertain from the Tom Bri that he is not encroaching on a fellow villager's fallow swidden.

Agriculture. In the vicinity of Di Linh (Djiring), the Sre have extensive paddy fields along the Donnai River. After the rains have softened the earth, the fields are plowed and harrowed twice with the aid of water buffalo, and the seeds are then broadcast. The Sre grow numerous varieties of wet rice, both regular and glutinous. In the eastern part of Lam Dong Province, some of them have begun transplanting their wet rice, a method they may have learned from Thai-speaking people who settled in the area after coming south as refugees in 1955.

Back in the hills, the Sre cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. They clear and burn the area during the dry season and plant after the rains begin. Cultivation and fallowing periods depend on the relative fertility of the soil.

## 21. STIENG

Land tenure and agriculture. The Stieng cultivate upland dry rice exclusively and by the swidden method. Fields, farmed or fallow, are the property of the household group that works them. The site of a new swidden is based on examination of the soil, and its size depends on the manpower available in the household group. When the rains come, the Stieng first plant maize in the swidden, and, when the maize plants begin to bud, they plant rice in alternating rows. Maize requires three months to mature. As for upland rice, the Stieng cultivate at least ten varieties, with growing periods of between three and five months. They judge the fertility of the soil by scrutinizing the first crop. As they clear a new swidden every

year, it is not uncommon for a household group to work three swiddens simultaneously. At the first sign of diminishing productivity, a field is left fallow. In addition, the Stieng grow manioc, pineapples, bananas, sugar cane, peanuts, sesame, and a wide variety of leafy green vegetables, both in the swiddens and in kitchen gardens.

Appendix G

Republic of Vietnam                      Saigon. November 24. 1964  
Rural Affairs Ministry  
No. 16.601b-BCTNT/HC/TC 3

CIRCULAR

Rural Affairs Minister to All Province Chiefs

Subject: Adjustment of illegal appropriation of public lands of private use for farming.

Reference: Our circular No. 13.157-BCTNT/HC/TC3. dated September 7. 1964.

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Sirs:

Following our referenced letter, you are requested to carry out the following procedures on the regularization of illegal use of public lands for farming:

1. Provincial Administrative Office

To advise the population of the adjustment of their illegal use of public lands for farming by means of providing them concessionary ownership within the provincial abilities.

To explain thoroughly to the people the Government appropriation policy in their behalf.

Adjustment forms will be given by villages to concerned people (form enclosed), who have to place landmarks by themselves around their illegally cultivated lands.

To set up a time schedule, and inform villages thereof, for convoking involved farmers to contact directly the Land Survey Council, whose composition is defined as follows:

- a. Survey Team Leader - Chairman
- b. Village Councilman (1) - Member
- c. Representative of Involved Farmers (1) - Member
- d. Land Survey Team Member (1) - Secretary  
(No right to decide)

The survey team will receive applications at the village and go out to the field, in the presence of involved farmers, following land marks for surveying.

Survey reports should contain the following:

- a. Actual cultivation or building areas; whether the land has been reclaimed by the concerned party, or whether the clearing and planting labor was duly bought, as well as other details relevant to the land involved. Land survey councilmen must write a report and submit it, along with adjustment requests and maps of land involved, to the province.
- b. Reports will be posted in the village for a two-month period in order that any protests can be duly registered in the complaint book. Reports must be written at the beginning and at the end of the notification period. People living in neighboring villages will be informed of the above notification by the district and province concerned.

The Provincial Appropriation and Clearing Council will hold meetings to consider every case. The Council's proposals and report will be submitted to the province for approval.

The province will be authorized by the Rural Affairs Ministry to sign decisions for free grant of concessions regarding illegally cultivated lands under 10 ha (decision form enclosed). These decisions will be submitted to the Rural Affairs Ministry for review prior to final approval.

2. The Land Survey Service

The Land Survey Service will be in charge of measuring public lands which have been illegally appropriated for farming, and of drawing maps. The Survey team leader will be chairman of the Land Inspection Council.

Land survey and map-drawing procedures will follow those used at Land Development Centers (Circulars No. 78-DD/CC/DB/TT, dated November 1, 1962, and No. 10,675-DD/CC/DE/CT1, dated September 11, 1963, of the Directorate General of Land Survey).

3. Rural Affairs Ministry

With regard to illegally cultivated lands of more than 10 ha, after the procedures defined in aforesaid items 1 and 2 have been carried out, the provinces must send dossiers of ensuing opinions and proposals to the Rural Affairs Ministry. These lands will be subject to grant of concession due to payment (after being sold either by mutual consent or by auction).

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We call your attention to the following:

A. In case of illegal land appropriation for farming in reserved forests, the local Forestry Service must report to the Forestry Directorate in order to perform necessary reclassification procedures. The adjustment of illegally cultivated lands will be carried out only when reclassification is authorized by higher authorities.

B. The adjustment of the illegal use of public lands for farming is aimed at providing people with property ownership. Consequently, regularization must be based on the word of honor of the applicant requesting land concession. If the party concerned already has 5 ha of concessionary land, free concession will be made only for 5 ha more in his behalf. Areas of more than 10 ha each will be subject to grant of concession due to payment.

C. Attention should be paid to the people's taking advantage of this occasion to widen their illegally cultivated areas. Provinces are requested to issue a stern communiqué to prevent any attempt at increasing their land areas, and to refuse consideration of those cases of illegal public land appropriation for farming which occur after the issuance date of this circular.

D. The adjustment of illegally cultivated lands, mentioned in this circular, applies only to privately used rural lands belonging to the national public lands which have actually been cultivated or turned into living quarters plus garden. This circular does not apply to the illegal appropriation of lands for farming pertaining to public lands of public use, private lands of individuals, villages, provinces, municipalities, towns, and lands requisitioned on a provisional or definitive basis.

E. This circular cancels earlier Circular No. 4461-BCTNT/DD/CC/DN.1, dated April 11, 1963, on adjusting the illegally cultivated lands by letting them out to misappropriators, and Circular No. 4095-BCTNT/HC/TC3/TT,

dated March 25, 1964, regarding the paragraph dealing with the grant of provisional land concessions to misappropriators.

Yours truly,

/s/ Ngo-Ngoc-Doi  
Chargé d'affaires of the  
Directorate General of Land Survey

/s/ Nguyen-van-Trinh  
Land Survey Engineer

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