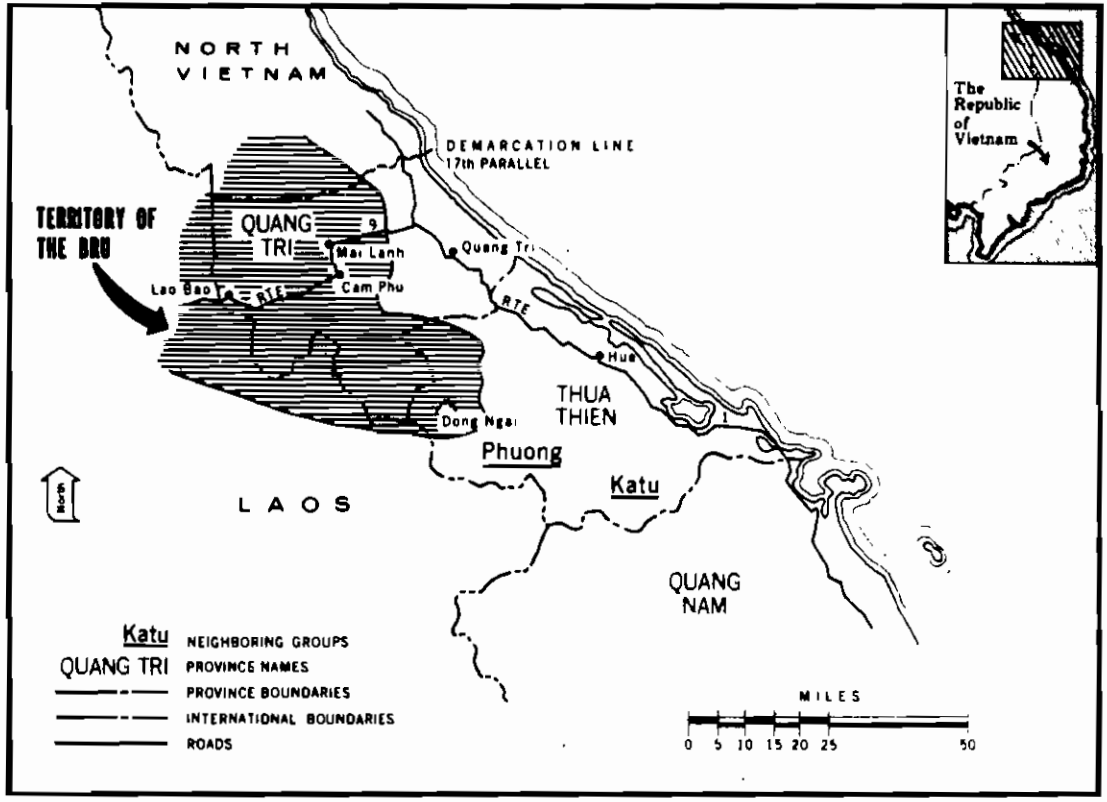
NORTH VIETNAM
DEMARCATION LINE
17th PARALLEL
The Republic of Vietnam
TERRITORY OF THE BRU
QUANG TRI
Mai Lanh
Quang Tri
Lao Bao
RTE
Cam Phu
RTE
Hue
THUA THIEN
Dong Ngai
Phuong
Katu
North
LAOS
QUANG NAM
Katu NEIGHBORING GROUPS
QUANG TRI PROVINCE NAMES
PROVINCE BOUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
ROADS
MILES
0 5 10 15 20 25 50

The Bru.

CHAPTER 2. THE BRU

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

The Bru, the most northern of the Montagnard tribal peoples in the Republic of Vietnam, inhabit an area on the borders of the Republic of Vietnam, Laos, and North Vietnam. Bru tribesmen live in isolated, autonomous villages in Quang Tri and Thua Thien Provinces, in Laos, and in North Vietnam. They have no central tribal political organization.

The Bru language belongs to the Mon-Khmer language family and is related to the languages of the Hre, Cua, Bahnar, and Sedang.

Bru society is patriarchal and lineage and inheritance follow the male line.

Name and Size of Groups

Also called the Brou, Ca-Lo, Galler, Leu, Leung, Van Kieu, and Muong Kong, the Bru are estimated to number between 40,000 and 50,000 persons.[1] Approximately 26,000 to 38,000 Bru tribespeople live in the Republic of Vietnam: 8,000 to 20,000 in the Huong Hoa District of Quang Tri Province,[2] 8,000 in the vicinity of Lao Bao[3] on the Laotian border, and about 10,000 in the area of Cam Phu.[4] Some Bru are also found in North Vietnam and Laos, but population estimates were not available for the tribespeople in these two countries.

Terrain Analysis

The Bru in the Republic of Vietnam inhabit the Annamite Mountains west of Quang Tri in the area near the 17th parallel. They may also inhabit a plateau region, Kha Leung, located to the west of the Annamite Mountains in Laos. Other Bru are found north of the 17th parallel in North Vietnam.

The Annamite Mountains are of folded limestone, with steep declivities on the eastern or coastal side and a more gentle slope on the western or Laotian side. The rugged terrain makes travel through these mountains very difficult; generally, travel routes through the montains follow the rivers.

Several high mountain peaks dominate the rough terrain of the Bru area: north of National Route 9 are Dong Sa Mui (about 5,240 feet) and Dong Voi Mep, also called Dent du Tigre (about 5,820 feet). In the southern Bru area, Quang Ngai (about 5,750 feet) dominates National Route 9.

The mountains south of the Bru region, below Hue, are overshadowed by the gigantic Massif de l'Ataouat which rises to about 6,960 feet.[5]

Two major rivers, the Bo Dien and the Han Giang, flow east from the mountains into the China Sea. In its upper reaches, the Han Giang is also known as Song Quang Tri and Da Krong. The Se Pone River flows west out of the Bru area into Laos.

National Route 9, the major road crossing the Bru area, extends inland from Dong Ha, following the Bo Dien River. At Mai Lanh, the highway turns south to follow the upper reaches of the Han Giang River, then it winds through a mountain pass just south of Dong Voi Mep; finally at Lao Bao the highway enters Laos, paralleling the course of the Se Pone River. For centuries the course of Route 9, determined by the nature of the terrain, has been the principal egress from these mountains to the coast. Part of this journey, from just west of Huong Hoa, is commonly made by water down the Han Giang River to the coast at Quang Tri.[6] In crudely made dugout canoes, the Bru navigate the many mountain streams and small rivers.

The climate of the Bru region is affected by both the summer (May–October) and winter (November–January) monsoons, which provide a regular seasonal alternation of wind. In summer, these winds blow mainly from the southwest; in the winter, from the northeast. Agriculture is greatly dependent upon the rain brought by the summer monsoon. Precipitation is high, averaging over 60 inches in the lower elevations to more than 150 inches in the higher elevations and on some slopes. Normally the weather is warm and humid, but the temperatures in the mountains are generally lower than those along the coast.[7]

The high and relatively evenly distributed precipitation gives this area rain forest vegetation of two distinct belts. At the higher elevations is the primary rain forest, where the trees, with an average height of 75 to 90 feet, form a continuous canopy. Below this canopy are smaller trees of 45 to 60 feet in height, and below this second layer is a fair abundance of seedlings and saplings. Orchids, other herbaceous plants, epiphytes, and woody climbing plants known as lianas are profuse. Little light penetrates this type of forest and there is not much ground growth. During the dry season, the forest can usually be penetrated on foot with little difficulty.

The second belt or secondary rain forest, which develops after land in the primary rain forest has been cleared and then left uncultivated, is more extensive in this area. In this forest the trees are small and close together, and there is an abundance of ground growth, lianas, and herbaceous climbers. Penetration is difficult without the constant use of the machete.

SECTION II

TRIBAL BACKGROUND

Ethnic and Racial Origin

All the highland groups of the Republic of Vietnam are part of two large ethnic groups: the Malayo-Polynesian and the Mon-Khmer. In terms of language, customs, and physical appearance, the Bru belong to the Mon-Khmer grouping.

Indochina has been a migratory corridor for centuries, and the movement of the Mon-Khmer peoples into what is now the Republic of Vietnam probably started centuries ago. The Mon-Khmer peoples are generally believed to have originated in the Upper Mekong Valleys, whence they migrated through Indochina.[1]

Language

Scholars classify the language spoken by the Bru as a subgrouping of the Katuic branch of the Mon-Khmer language family. Thus, the Bru language is closely related to that of the Katu tribe and is somewhat different from the languages of the other Mon-Khmer tribes like the Bahnar, Sedang, and Jeh.

Some Bru tribesmen speak Vietnamese or French, and recent resettlement programs have probably encouraged more Bru to learn Vietnamese. Since few Vietnamese can speak the Bru language, French and Vietnamese serve as the administrative languages in the tribal area.

Some Bru tribesmen, especially those from villages in or near Laos, can speak Laotian, and a few understand English, having learned it from U.S. personnel working in the tribal area.[2]

The Bru have never had a written language. In recent years, however, missionary groups have endeavored to design a phonetic form of writing in order to translate religious works into the Bru language.[3]

Legendary History

The Bru share with many highland tribes a complex oral tradition. All their legends, laws, customs, stories, crafts, folklore, and proverbs are transmitted orally from generation to generation. Perpetuation of this mass of information with unvarying detail suggests a highly developed skill in memorization. Stories prob-

ably have a rhymed or poetic form to aid memory or for dramatic effect.

Bru legends are usually told around the hearth at the end of the day's work. The most important Bru legend, given below, recounts the creation of man and the story of a great flood.

In the beginning God (Yuang Sorsi) created a man and a woman, who lived together very happily. Every day they hunted wild animals and looked for fruit. Only one thing troubled them—they had no children. One day, as they wandered in the woods, God met them. He promised to give them children.

God's promise was fulfilled, and the woman gave birth to eight sons at one time. Now they were more troubled than before: for as the children grew, they ate more and more, until the parents were unable to support them. In desperation, the parents took the children to a high mountain and abandoned them.

Later on, one of the young brothers acquired a precious, beautiful sword, which had remarkable powers: when the handle was grasped securely, rain would fall; when the blade was held, the sun would shine.

One day the young lad with the sword became very hungry, so he went looking for food. On the bank of a river he saw a fig tree and a civet cat was eating the figs. He asked the civet cat for something to eat. But the civet cat said, "This is not your kind of food. If you want to eat these figs you will have to become a civet cat like me." He brought out a civet cat skin, which the boy put on, becoming a civet cat, eating figs, and sleeping in the shade of the tree.

The chief of that area was Anha. One day, while his youngest daughter was paddling a canoe along the river, she came to the place where the fig tree stood and saw the civet cat beneath it. She took the civet cat home as a pet, and the animal—the boy in disguise—was very happy to go.

God spoke to Anha the chief telling him that a great flood was coming and commanding him to build a boat. Although the chief tried to hire workers to help him make the boat, no one was willing, not even to escape a flood. When the boat was finished, Anha took his family into it. With him were his wife, four daughters, and two sons—eight people in all, as well as the civet cat which the youngest daughter took with her. God commanded the civet cat to grasp the precious sword by the handle several times. A violent rainstorm followed; it rained for 8 days and 8 nights. The water rose, destroying everything on the earth. The water rose up to the heavens, and the fish nibbled at the stars.

Then the flood receded and the land dried. Anha's youngest daughter fell in love with the civet cat, realizing that he was actually

a person. She asked her father for permission to marry him. At the wedding ceremony, while the buffalo was being barbecued, the civet cat removed his disguise, which his bride threw into the fire. In the place of the civet cat was a handsome young man who lived thereafter with his wife, the youngest daughter of Anha.[4]

Factual History

Prior to 1897, when they were pacified by the French, the Bru lived in relative independence in their isolated mountain villages.

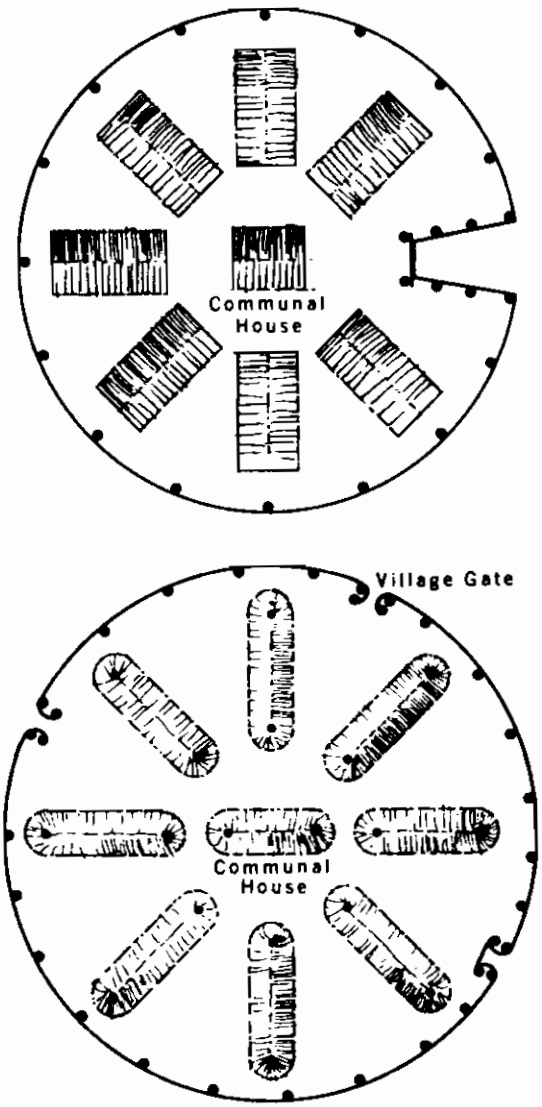

Figure 4. Layouts of Bru villages.

The Bru region was important to the French as a safe route to Laos. Under French administration Bru villages were required to pay a small tax.

Little factual information had been reported about the Bru until about 1965. In 1965, the Vietnamese Government resettled many Bru tribesmen, removing them from their remote areas to villages located in a 3-mile strip on each side of National Route 9. Thus the Bru were taken away from areas where Viet Cong pressure might force the tribespeople to assist Viet Cong forces.[5]

Settlement Patterns

Except for the resettlement dwellings along National Route 9, the Bru live in isolated mountain villages near pure water sources. From time to time, villages are moved as the land becomes worn out.

Houses in a Bru village are arranged in an oval or circular pattern around a central common house or *khoan*, which is used for religious sacrifices. Erected on pilings about 6 or 8 feet off the ground, the houses have a framework of bamboo poles covered with woven bamboo panels and roofs thatched with grass.

Bru architecture seems confined to two basic styles: the simplest style is a structure with a small entrance platform on one side, which is actually a place from which to mount elephants; the other design is a rectangular house with the platform extending from a central doorway. This platform is flanked by two other doors accessible by ladders. No dimensions are available, but each dwelling probably houses several nuclear families.[6]

Figure 5. Bru houses.

SECTION III

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Physical Characteristics

The Bru tribesmen are small, their height varying from 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches, their average weight being about 115 pounds. They are strongly built and well muscled, have high cheekbones, wide noses, dark brown eyes, light brown skin, and black hair.[1]

The faces of both men and women are tattooed and their upper front teeth are filed down almost to the gum. Earlobes are pierced and stretched to permit insertion of wooden or pewter plugs or ornaments. Sometimes large clumps of cotton are worn in the earlobe.[2]

The Bru pull their long, black hair into a chignon at the back of the head. Bru women sometimes wear the chignon in a tight spiral knob on one side of the head rolled in a colored cloth turban like a crown. One lock of hair is occasionally allowed to hang down the back.[3]

Health

The health of the Bru who reach adulthood may be described as good, since they have survived in spite of a very high infant mortality rate (7 out of 10 infants die) and exposure to many endemic diseases. Village sanitation and the tribesmen's personal hygiene practices are rudimentary.

The principal disease among the Bru is malaria—most tribespeople contract it at least once during their lifetime. Two common types of malaria are found in the tribal area. One, benign tertian malaria, causes high fever with relapses over a period of time but is usually not fatal. The other, malignant tertian malaria, is fatal to both infants and adults.[4]

The three types of typhus found in the Bru area are carried by lice, rat fleas, and mites. Mite-borne typhus is reportedly rampant among the Montagnard tribes.[5]

Cholera, typhoid, dysentary, yaws, leprosy, venereal disease, tuberculosis, and various parasitic infestations are also found in the Bru area.[6]

Disease in the tribal area is spread by insects, including the

anopheles mosquito, rat flea, and louse; some diseases are caused by worms, including hookworms; and some diseases are associated with poor sanitation and sexual hygiene.[7]

Since the Bru believe evil spirits cause sickness, they think that only sacrifices to the spirits can cure an illness. Bru sorcerers—men or women—determine through divination the spirit responsible for the illness and the kind of sacrifice necessary to cure the afflicted person.[8] A satisfactory sacrifice may be a chicken, a pig, or a buffalo, the offering varying according to the circumstances involved.

Psychological Characteristics

Within the context of their own culture, the Bru are a hard-working and intelligent people. They are, however, not accustomed to working regular hours at the same job; rather, they accomplish their tasks in sustained bursts of effort. For example, in clearing forests to prepare fields for planting, they work hard and long. These periods of intense activity may be followed by periods of idleness when nothing urgent must be done. To an outsider accustomed to regular hours of work, this pattern of activity might be interpreted as laziness, but it is actually the result of the agricultural nature of Bru life.

Like other highland tribes, the Bru are psychologically enmeshed in a strong tradition of specific rules for all aspects of human behavior. From the earliest childhood the tribesman is reared according to these rules.

The belief that the spirits will punish any violation of the customary rules adds force to the code of behavior; the Bru live in constant fear of punishment by the spirits. Each catastrophe in their marginal existence with possible fatal results, such as a crop failure or an epidemic, is regarded as punitive. During every moment of his life, the Bru is alert to pertinent omens from the spirits.

The Bru thinks in terms of the village or family rather than in terms of the individual. He considers how an action may affect his family and village before thinking of the results to himself. For this reason, he may sometimes not act or make decisions until he has consulted his family and village leaders.

SECTION IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Bru social structure is based upon the extended family and the village, not upon the clan or tribe. Bru society is patriarchal: the eldest male is the head of the family and the male members of the family inherit all property. Kinship is patrilineal—the children bear the paternal rather than the maternal name—and the residence is patrilocal—married couples live with the husband's family.

Place of Men, Women, and Children in the Society

There are the usual distinctions between the roles of men, women, and children in Bru society. The village and the family are headed by the eldest, usually the wealthiest, men, who handle all village and family affairs and fight when and where necessary. The men also hunt, fish, and clear the land.

In Bru society women must submit to the authority of the men. The women's duties include carrying water, cutting wood, cooking, caring for domestic animals, weaving cloth, and guarding the fields. They also help the men clear the land and sow, harvest and husk the rice.

Children are wanted and loved in Bru society. When they are about 5 or 6 years old, the children join in adult activities. Boys hunt and fish with their fathers and learn the names and uses of plants, the use of the crossbow, and the sounds of the forest. Girls stay with their mothers to help with the domestic tasks and look after the younger children. All children learn the traditions of the tribe and the behavior required, but the children receive very little discipline.

Marriage

Most Bru men have only one wife, but a man is permitted as many wives as he can afford. When a young man decides to marry, usually at age 15 or 16, his relatives meet the girl's parents to discuss the payment to her family—usually a number of buffaloes, pigs, and jars. When a bride price is agreed upon, the group sets a wedding date.

On the morning of the wedding day, the groom pays the bride price to the bride's family. During the marriage ceremony, animals are sacrificed and much rice wine is consumed by everyone

present. If full payment has been made by the groom, the newly married couple move into his family's house; otherwise, the couple live with the girl's parents until the entire bride price is paid.[1]

The village elders have authority to grant a divorce, which may be initiated either jointly or separately. After listening to the complaints of the couple, the elders fix payment and decide on property disposal. To obtain a divorce over the opposition of the husband, a wife must repay all or part of the original bride price. If a wife agrees to the husband's request for a divorce, the elders fix the amount the husband must pay to the wife. Adultery is seldom the basis for a divorce; however, should a divorce be granted on these grounds, the elders require the guilty party and the lover to pay the wronged spouse a large alimony. The younger children of a divorced couple remain with the mother, while the older children are sent to live with the father's family.[2]

Birth

From the first signs of pregnancy until the sacrifice following the birth of the baby, a pregnant Bru woman is forbidden to enter any village except her own. She works at her customary tasks until labor pains begin. Whether Bru women give birth in the village or in the forest is not known. One source says Bru women deliver alone in the forest. Other sources state that the women are attended by elder relatives during labor and delivery.[3]

Birth is a joyous and important event for the entire Bru village. While the woman is in labor, the villagers prepare a celebration. When the child arrives, the villagers offer a sacrifice to the spirits and drink rice wine. If delivery is difficult, sacrifices are made in the hope of getting assistance from the spirits.[4]

Childhood and Education

Children are not weaned until they are about 4 years old. Both boys and girls begin participating in typical adult activities by the age of 5 or 6. Boys hunt and fish with their fathers; they learn to shoot crossbows and to identify the forest sounds and wild plants. Girls stay with their mothers and look after younger children and learn to help with other female tasks. At an early age boys and girls learn the Bru traditions.

When young boys and girls approach the age of puberty, their upper front teeth are filed down to the gums. This painful operation marks the end of their childhood.[5]

Death and Burial

When a Bru dies, the villagers join the family in lamentations over the body, which is wrapped in cloth and tied up in a mat. For wealthy tribesmen or elders, a coffin is usually made from a section of a tree, split and hollowed out. For several days relatives and

friends lament over the body, occasionally singing funeral chants. During this time the village is taboo to outsiders.

Following the lamentations, the coffin or mat-wrapped body is buried in the forest in a grave 3 or 4 feet deep. Articles such as clothing, pipes, and jewelry are placed in the grave with the body. When the grave is covered with dirt, a sacrificial ceremony is held.

SECTION V

CUSTOMS AND TABOOS

Almost all Bru activities are regulated by numerous customs and taboos. Prescribed methods and procedures govern everything from dress to the construction of houses, from the settlement of disputes to patterns of individual behavior. The Bru have passed down these prescriptions from generation to generation until they have attained the force of customary law. Tribesmen who are in regular contact with Vietnamese and Americans may not observe their customs and taboos as closely as do the tribesmen living in greater isolation from outside influences.

Dress

Bru dress, like that of other highland tribes, is quite simple. Men wear a loincloth and occasionally such articles of Western clothing as T-shirts or army surplus jackets. Women wear embroidered skirts, wrapped around the waist and extending to just below the knees, and sleeveless jackets decorated in front with parallel rows of coins. In cold weather both men and women wear blankets over the shoulders. Much of the clothing material is woven by the women, who also prepare their own dyes. Blue is a favorite color for the designs worked into the cloth.[1]

The women wear jewelry such as coin and bead necklaces, brass-wire bracelets and necklaces, rings, ear plugs, and long earrings which may consist of as many as five chains looped from ear to ear under the chin.[2]

Folk Beliefs

The traditions governing Bru behavior fall into three groups: prohibitions against mentioning certain words or subjects; taboos or prohibitions whose violation requires sacrifices to placate offended spirits and to restore harmony; and pronouncements of the proper use of certain objects.

Taboos and prohibitions are numerous. For example, when sleeping inside a house, a tribesman must not point his feet toward any religious objects, such as statues woven of bamboo.[3]

Eating and Drinking Customs

The cultivation and handling of rice—the staple of the Bru diet

—have religious implications for the tribespeople. Each phase of the agricultural cycle is marked by sacrifices to insure the fertility of the soil and a good crop. This also applies to the unhusked rice or paddy; for example, the paddy is not allowed to burn or to fall into a fire. No one may speak while detaching the grains of rice from the stalk.[4] Every morning the women husk a fresh supply of rice with mortar and pestle.

The Bru diet includes herbs, plants, and vegetables. Vegetables grown in kitchen gardens are not considered sacred. Forest herbs and plants are gathered by the women, and at an early age each Bru learns which plants are edible or useful.

Meat and fish, though not eaten at each meal, are also important in the Bru diet. Animals, such as pigs, chickens, and buffaloes, are raised primarily for sacrifices, but the tribesmen do eat them after the sacrifice. Animals killed by hunters are shared by their families with other villagers.

Water is the ordinary beverage of the Bru, but for ceremonial occasions a fermented rice wine, brewed in large old jars, is drunk. During animal sacrifices, all tribesmen present, in order of their importance, take turns drinking rice wine through a long straw. Unless all participants drink, the sacrifice is not effectual because the spirit has been offended.

Customs Relating to Animals

The buffalo is considered to be the prime sacrificial animal, while pigs and chickens are adequate for less important sacrifices. The Bru believe that the spirits consider the buffalo to be representative of man. Buffaloes have names and are considered members of the village.

During a sacrifice, the buffalo represents the grievances or desires of the family, household, or village. The eating of the flesh of the sacrificed buffalo (which is divided among the spirits, family, and village) represents a kind of communion uniting them all.

SECTION VI

RELIGION

Religion plays a dominant role in the lives of the Bru. Their animistic religion involves belief in a host of good and evil spirits. Although details of the religious tradition may vary from village to village, the fundamental beliefs and practices are similar throughout the Bru area.

Principal Spirits

The most important spirits are the spirit of the sky, the spirit of the paddy, and the spirit of the village. Other spirits are associated with the sun, moon, earth, thunder, and such terrain features as mountains, patches of forest, and prominent rocks. The Bru believe spirits also inhabit animals, rice wine jars, the family hearth tools, an household objects. The communal house located in the center of the village is sacred to the spirit of the village. If offended by a villager violating a law or taboo, all spirits, good or evil, are believed able to cause misfortune in the form of accidents, illness, or death.[1]

Religious Ceremonies

The principal religious ritual is the sacrifice of animals. To gain favor with a particular spirit, thus obtaining more benefits from him; to placate spirits after a law or taboo has been broken, thus preventing crop failure, epidemics, and other misfortunes for the village—these are the principal purposes of the sacrifice.

Religious sacrifices vary from offering an egg to the slaying of a buffalo. Village elders conduct sacrifices affecting the village as a whole, while family and personal rites are the responsibility of the family or the individual concerned.

The sacrifices themselves involve a number of rites: an invocational prayer intended as an invitation to the relevant spirits to attend the sacrificial ceremony and as an expression of the wishes of the person making the sacrifice; the ceremonial slaying of an animal (chicken, pig, or buffalo); the offering to the spirits of the blood and flesh of the slain beast by displaying them in bowls, along with rice and other foods; and the drinking of rice wine and the eating of the sacrificial animal. The Bru believe that the spirits

partake of the offering in the bowls, the rice wine, and the cooked meat.

The best sacrifice that can be offered is a buffalo. The attendant rituals are elaborate: first, in an area near the communal house, specially decorated poles are set up and the buffalo is attached to them. Armed with lances and long knives, the Bru circle the beast, singing and dancing to the accompaniment of gongs and drums. After a while the men circling around the buffalo begin to slash at the tendons in the animal's hind legs. When the tendons have been severed, the buffalo falls upon its side.

For several hours the people keep jabbing the buffalo with their weapons, intending only to irritate, not to kill it. Then more severe blows punish the buffalo and it is eventually killed. The animal is then cut up, and parts of it offered to the spirits, while other parts are divided among the participants.

Major Bru sacrifices are associated with the agricultural cycle —clearing the forest, planting the rice, and harvesting the crops.

Religious Practitioners

Every Bru participates actively in sacrifices. Apparently there are no special practitioners or sorcerers. Invocations or prayers to the spirits are usually made by the elders of the village or elders of the family. If the sacrifice is being offered by only one or two persons, they take care of all the ritual requirements.[2]

Missionary Contact

Although both Protestant and Catholic missionaries have been active in the Bru area, few tribesmen have been converted to Christianity. Viet Cong attempts to kill one missionary couple drove them out of the Bru area. How much missionary activity is present in the resettled villages along Route 9 is unknown.[3]

SECTION VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The Bru have a subsistence economy based primarily on dry rice cultivated by the slash-and-burn technique. Briefly, this technique involves cutting down during the winter months all vegetation in the new area and burning it to clear the fields. The ashes produced serve as a fertilizer which makes the soil rich enough for 3 to 4 years of crops. Rice grown by this method depends solely on rainfall for irrigation. When the fields no longer support crops, the village moves to a new area, allowing the old fields to return to jungle. The village then repeats the slash-and-burn clearing process in the new area. Lands are controlled by the village but are cultivated by individual families.

Little information is available concerning other economic activities of the Bru. Rice production is supplemented by the cultivation of corn, and the Bru engage in some basket weaving.[1] Hunting and fishing also supplement the Bru diet.[2]

Exchange System and Trade

The Bru have traditionally bartered their goods either among themselves or with Vietnamese merchants in nearby market towns. In recent years, many Bru have been employed as laborers on coffee plantations and in U.S. military camps. These workers are paid in cash and thus are familiar with the Vietnamese monetary system.[3] The extent to which these tribesmen have introduced the use of money into their villages is not known at this writing.

In nearby market towns, the Bru use such items as surplus vegetables, fish, and baskets for trade; in return they receive salt, dried fish, eggs, rice, brown sugar, cloth, and beads.[4]

Property System

The village controls the land and allots it to families for the cultivation of crops. Game, though the property of the hunter, is customarily shared with all the villagers. Families own their houses, domestic animals, and household furnishings such as gongs and jars. Personal property includes clothing, pipes, weapons, and jewelry.[5]

SECTION VIII

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Political Organization

The Bru do not have an overall tribal political structure: the village is the highest form of political organization. Occasionally neighboring villages cooperate with each other, but this does not represent political unity, for the villages remain autonomous and unite only briefly for some common (usually economic) end.

The Bru are under the administrative supervision of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam. The Government appoints district chiefs who are responsible for tribal affairs in their area and who communicate Government policy to the village chiefs.

In the patriarchal society of the Bru, authority rests in the hands of the eldest male of each family. When a decision affects only one family, the family's own leader makes the decision. On matters affecting the whole village, the heads of each family in the village meet together as a council of elders.

The council of elders has jurisdiction over decisions concerning war, the moving of the village, great hunting parties, the settlement of conflicts between families, suitable punishment for serious violations of tribal custom and tradition, and the arrangement of the major sacrifices to the spirits.[1] When the village deals with outsiders, the wealthiest member of the council of elders usually acts as the chief and represents the village.

With the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and the creation of the Republic of Vietnam, the problems of establishing a *rapprochement* between the Montagnards in the highlands and the more culturally advanced Vietnamese in the coastal areas became acute. The French Government had supported a policy of permitting the Bru and other tribes to be separate administrative entities. Now, however, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has taken measures to incorporate the highlanders into the political organization of the nation.

Legal System

Bru laws are part of their oral tradition and are, in reality, the rules, taboos, and prohibitions of individual behavior which might offend the spirits and bring down the wrath of the spirits upon the

offenders or even upon the entire village. Because of their age and experience, the elders of the village interpret these laws and prescribe the punishment for their violation. Naturally, crimes which subject the entire village to the displeasure of the offended spirits are considered more serious than those which require the punishment only of an individual.[2]

The tribesmen believe that breaking a law upsets the harmony of the world by disturbing the spirits. Harmony can be restored only if the guilty person makes an appropriate sacrifice to the proper spirit and pays a fine to the village or to the family of the offended person.[3]

On the village, district, and provincial levels, a special system of courts was established under the French to adjudicate matters concerning the various tribal groups. In the village, a village court decided the sentences. These sentences could be reviewed on the district level. Three district court members were assigned to each ethnic group in a district jurisdiction, and these members handled only tribal matters. The district court officials selected a president to preside over the district court, which met in the house of the district chief.[4]

Under the French, those cases that could not be resolved on the village level were sent to the Tribunal Coutumier, which convened for the first 7 days of every month. In judging the cases brought before the tribunal, the chief judge relied on traditional tribal law and customs.[5] The tribunal dealt only with cases in which both parties were tribespeople. Cases involving Vietnamese and tribespeople were the responsibility of the province chief, but provincial authorities tried not to interfere with the operation of the tribunal.

The legal system instituted by the French still governs the Montagnard tribes, but steps have been taken by the Vietnamese Government to revise the legislative code in the tribal areas. Under the Diem regime, an attempt was made to substitute Vietnamese law for the tribal practices. This attempt was connected with Vietnamese efforts to integrate the tribespeople politically into the Republic of Vietnam.

In March 1965 the Vietnamese Government promulgated a decree restoring the legal status of the tribal laws and tribunals. Under this new decree, there will be courts at the village, district, and province levels which will be responsible for civil affairs, Montagnard affairs, and penal offenses when all parties involved are Montagnards.[6]

Village customs law courts, consisting of the village administrative committee chief aided by two Montagnard assistants, will conduct weekly court sessions.[7] When a case is reviewed and a decision reached by this court, it will be recorded and signed by the

parties involved. The procedure will eliminate the right of appeal to another court. If settlement cannot be determined, the case can be referred to a higher court.[8]

District courts, governed by the president of the court (the district chief) aided by two Montagnard assistants, will hold bimonthly court sessions. Cases to be tried by the district court include those appealed by the village court and cases which are adjudged serious according to tribal customs.[9]

At the national level, a Montagnard Affairs Section will be established as part of the National Court. This section, under the jurisdiction of a Montagnard Presiding Judge and two assistants, will handle cases appealed from the Montagnard district courts and cases beyond the jurisdiction of the village or district courts. It will convene once or twice a month, depending upon the requirements.[10]

Subversive Influences

The primary objective of the Viet Cong is to win the allegiance of the Bru and to turn the tribesmen into an active, hostile force against the Government of the Republic of Vietnam.

Generally, the subversive elements infiltrate a village and work to win the confidence of either the whole village or its key individuals. Once the villagers' suspicions are allayed and their confidence won, the next phase is an intensive propaganda program directed against the Government of the Republic of Vietnam. Then individuals are recruited, trained, and assigned to various Viet Cong support or combat units.[11]

When propaganda and cajolery are not effective, the Viet Cong resort to extortion and terror, which usually results in passive resistance to the Government or inactive support for the Viet Cong.

SECTION IX

COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUES

The principal means of disseminating information in the Bru area is by word of mouth. No information was available at this writing concerning Bru familiarity with or access to radios. Any radios in operation in the Bru area were probably brought in by military personnel.

Where feasible, short movies covering simple subjects and using the Bru language might be effective in communicating with the tribesmen.

Written communications might have some effect on the Bru. Although most Bru are illiterate, some of the tribesmen can read French and Vietnamese and could be expected to communicate information in written materials to the rest of the tribespeople. Data about the successful use of printed materials are not available at this time.

Information themes to be used among the Bru should be oriented around the principle of improving the conditions in the tribal villages. The control of disease, the improvement of agriculture, and protection against harassment from the Viet Cong are some possible themes for information programs.

SECTION X

CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS

Any proposed civic action should take into account the religious, social, and cultural traditions of the Bru. Initial contacts in villages should be made only with the tribal elders in order to show respect for the tribal political structure. The tribespeople should also be psychologically prepared to accept proposed changes. This requires detailed consultation with village leaders, careful assurance of results, and a relatively slow pace in implementing programs.

Most Bru tribesmen would probably respond favorably to ideas for change presented in terms of local or community betterment. Civic action proposals should stress the improvement of village life rather than emphasize ethnic or cultural pride, nationalism, or political ideology. The reasons for innovation should be thoroughly explained; the Bru resent interference with their normal routine if they do not understand the reason for it.

Civic action programs of the Vietnamese Government have included the resettlement of some Bru tribespeople into new and larger villages, the control of malaria, medical aid programs, agricultural assistance, and the provision of educational facilities.[1] Except for the resettlement programs in operation along National Route 9, these Government programs have not been very successful.

Creating and providing jobs for the Bru is reportedly a good method of keeping the Bru neutral or anti-Viet Cong. Gifts of rice and corn to the poorer villages have also been helpful.[2]

The following civic action guidelines may be useful in the planning and implementation of projects or programs.

1. Projects originating in the local village are more desirable than suggestions imposed by a remote Central Government or by outsiders.
2. Projects should be designed to be challenging, but should not be on such a scale as to intimidate the villagers by size or strangeness.
3. Projects should have fairly short completion dates or should have phases that provide frequent opportunties to evaluate effectiveness.

4. Results should, as far as possible, be observable, measurable, and tangible.
5. Projects should ideally lend themselves to emulation by other villages or groups.

Civic Action Projects

The civic action possibilities for personnel working with the Bru encompass all aspects of tribal life. Examples of possible projects are listed below. They should be considered representative but not all inclusive and not in the order of priority.

1. Agriculture and animal husbandry
   a. Improvement of quality of livestock through introduction of better breeds.
   b. Instruction in elementary veterinary techniques to improve health of animals.
   c. Introduction of improved seeds and new vegetables.
   d. Introduction of techniques to improve quality and yields of farmland.
   e. Insect and rodent control.
   f. Construction of simple irrigation and drainage systems.
2. Transportation and communication
   a. Roadbuilding and clearing of trails.
   b. Installation, operation, and maintenance of electric power generators and village electric light systems.
   c. Construction of motion-picture facilities.
   d. Construction of radio broadcasting and receiving stations and public-speaker systems.
3. Health and sanitation
   a. Improve village sanitation.
   b. Provide safe water-supply systems.
   c. Eradicate disease-carrying insects.
   d. Organize dispensary facilities for outpatient treatment.
   e. Teach sanitation, personal hygiene, and first aid.
4. Education
   a. Provide basic literacy training.
   b. Provide basic citizenship education.
   c. Provide information about the outside world of interest to the tribesmen.

SECTION XI

PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES

Given the incentive and motivation and provided with the necessary training, leadership, and support, the Bru can become an effective force against the Viet Cong. The tribesmen can serve as informers, trackers and guides, intelligence agents, interpreters, and translators. With intensive training and support, the Bru can be organized to defend their villages against the Viet Cong; with good leadership, they can be organized into an effective counterguerrilla combat unit. U.S. personnel who worked with the Bru reported that the tribesmen were effective and loyal soldiers.[1]

In the past, the Bru were considered capable fighters, whether fighting offensively in raids against other groups or defensively within their villages. Recently some Bru have been trained by U.S. personnel and are familiar with U.S. operational techniques as well as modern equipment.

Hostile Activity Toward the Bru and Tribal Reaction

When psychological pressures to win Bru support fail, the Viet Cong have resorted to outright brutality and terror. Frequently, the Bru yield to and cooperate with the Viet Cong; without Government training and support, they do not have the wherewithal to oppose the Viet Cong. Except for the resettled communities, Bru villages have no able organization for defense. Bru villagers with adequate training and support have shown their willingness to defend themselves and will occasionally initiate aggressive action against the Viet Cong.

The inclination of the Bru to fight aggressively is one that must be developed and supported with modern weapons and training. They defend themselves vigorously when they, their families, or their villages are threatened and when they have adequate resources and chances for success.

Weapons Utilized by the Tribe

In the past, the Bru relied upon crossbows and spears. The Bru also are familiar with the use of traps, pits, and concealed sharpened sticks used as foot traps. Some Bru have received military training from U.S. personnel and are familiar with modern weapons. Their relatively small stature limits the type of weapons the

Bru can use, but they are proficient in handling light weapons such as the AR.15 rifle, the Thompson submachinegun, and the carbine. The tribesmen are less proficient in the use of the M-1 or the Browning automatic rifle, although they can handle larger weapons which can be disassembled, carried by two or more men, and then quickly reassembled.

The Bru pride themselves upon their hunting skill and their mastery of traditional weapons; they are equally as proud of their skill and marksmanship with modern weapons. If a Bru can carry and handle a weapon conveniently, he will use it well.

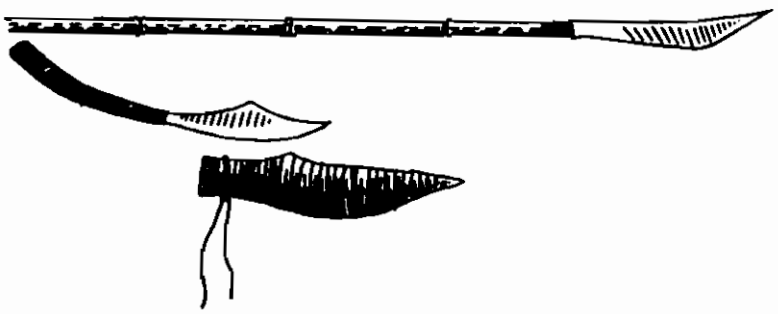

Figure 6. Bru weapons.

The Bru have difficulty handling sophisticated devices—such as mortars, explosives, and mines—as proficiently as hand weapons. They find the more abstract and technical aspects of such weapons—such as timing trajectories—difficult to absorb.

Ability to Absorb Military Instruction

The Bru can absorb basic military training and concepts. Their natural habitat gives them an excellent background for tracking and ambush activities; they are resourceful and adaptable in the jungle.

The Bru learn techniques and procedures readily from actual demonstration using the weapon itself as a teaching aid. They do not learn as well from blackboard demonstrations, an approach which is too abstract for them.

SECTION XII

SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSONNEL WORKING WITH THE BRU

Every action of the Bru tribesman has specific significance in terms of his culture. One must be careful to realize that the Bru may not react as outsiders do. The outsider should remember that a relatively simple course of action may, for the tribesman, require not only divination but also a sacrifice.

A few suggestions for personnel working with the Bru are listed below.

Official Activities

1. The initial visit to a Bru village should be formal. A visitor should speak first to the village elders who will then introduce him to other principal village figures.
2. Sincerity, honesty, and truthfulness are essential in dealing with the Bru. Promises and predictions should not be made unless the result is assured. The tribespeople usually expect a new group of personnel to fulfill the promises of the previous group.
3. Outsiders cannot gain the confidence of Bru tribesmen quickly. Developing a sense of trust is a slow process requiring great understanding, tact, patience, and personal integrity.
4. An attitude of good-natured willingness and limitless patience must be maintained, even when confronted with resentment or apathy.
5. Whenever possible, avoid projects or operations which give the tribesmen the impression they are being forced to change their ways.
6. No immediate, important decision should be asked of a Bru. An opportunity for his consultation with family and village elders should always be provided; if not, a flat refusal to cooperate may result.
7. Tribal elders and the village chief should receive some credit for civic action projects and for improved administration. Efforts should never undermine or discredit the position or influence of the local leaders.

Social Relationships

1. The Bru should be treated with respect and courtesy at all times.
2. The term *moi* should not be used because it means savage and is offensive to the tribesmen.
3. Outside personnel should not refuse an offer of food or drink, especially at a religious ceremony. Once involved in a ceremony, one must eat or drink whatever is offered.
4. A gift, an invitation to a ceremony, or an invitation to enter a house may be refused by an outsider as long as consistency and impartiality are shown. However, receiving gifts, participating in ceremonies, and visiting houses will serve to establish good relations with the tribespeople.
5. Outsiders should request permission to attend a Bru ceremony, festival, or meeting from the village elders or other responsible persons.
6. An outsider should never enter a Bru house unless accompanied by a member of that house; this is a matter of good taste and cautious behavior. If anything is later missing from the house unpleasant and unnecessary complications may arise.
7. Outsiders should not get involved with Bru women.
8. Teachers should be careful to avoid seriously disrupting cultural patterns.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

1. Do not mock Bru religious beliefs in any way; these beliefs are the cornerstone of Bru life.
2. Do not enter a village where a religious ceremony is taking place or a religious taboo is in effect. Watch for the warning signs placed at the village entrances; when in doubt, do not enter.

Living Standards and Routines

1. Outsiders should treat all Bru property and village animals with respect. Any damage to property or fields should be promptly repaired and/or paid for. An outsider should avoid borrowing from the tribesmen. Animals should not be treated brutally or taken without the owner's permission.
2. Outsiders should avoid entering Bru ricefields during the harvest season.
3. Learn simple phrases in the Bru language. A desire to learn and speak their language creates a favorable impression on the tribespeople.

Health and Welfare

1. The Bru are becoming aware of the benefits of medical care

and will request medical assistance. Outside groups in Bru areas should try to provide medical assistance whenever possible.

2. Medical teams should be prepared to handle, and should have adequate supplies for, extensive treatment of malaria, dysentery, yaws, trachoma, venereal diseases, intestinal parasites, and various skin diseases.

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2. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
3. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
4. Darby, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–14.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–16.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–24.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 109–13.
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3. M. Georges Maspéro, *Montagnard Tribes of South Vietnam* (JPRS: 13443) (Washington, D.C.: Joint Publications Research Service, April 13, 1962), p. 3.
4. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
5. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

V. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Maspéro, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

VI. RELIGION

1. Maspéro, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.
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IX. COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUES

No footnotes.

X. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS

1. Republic of Vietnam, Directorate General of Information, *Vietnam, Eight Years of the Ngo Diem Administration: 1954–1962* (Saigon: Directorate General of Information, 1962), p. 119.
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XI. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES

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XII. SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSONNEL WORKING WITH THE BRU

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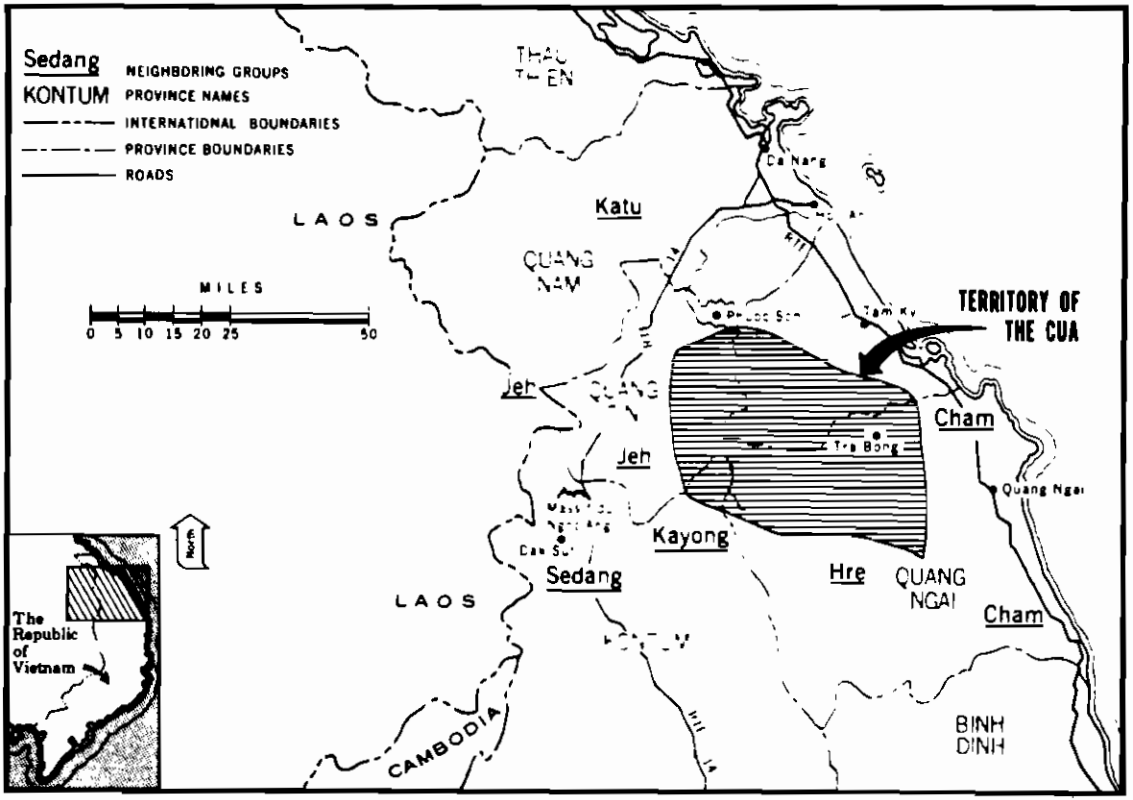
Sedang
NEIGHBORING GROUPS
KONTUM
PROVINCE NAMES
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCE BOUNDARIES
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THAU THIEN
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Kayong
Sedang
Hre
QUANG NGAI
Cham
LAOS
CAMBODIA
BINH DINH
North
The Republic of Vietnam

The Cua.

CHAPTER 3. THE CUA

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

The Cua, one of the least known Montagnard tribal groups of the Republic of Vietnam, inhabit the rough mountainous terrain of northern Quang Ngai Province and the south-central portion of Quang Tin Province. They have no central tribal political system nor governing force. Autonomous Cua villages form an identifiable tribal grouping through intermarriage and shared language, customs, and traditions.

The Cua language belongs to the Mon-Khmer language family and is closely related to the language of the Hre, the neighboring tribal group to the south.

Cua society is patriarchal, the lineage and inheritance follow the male line.

Name and Size of Group

Also known by Westerners as the Khua, Kor, and Traw, the Cua number between 15,000 [1] and 20,000 persons.[2]

The Cua should not be confused with the Cao, a subgroup of the Katu. The Katu are not contiguous with the Cua but are separated from them by the Jeh tribal group.

Location and Terrain Analysis of Tribal Area

The Cua inhabit the eastern portion of the area of the Annam Cordillera known as the Massif du Ngoc Ang. This massif is a series of rounded hills, primarily of shale, slate, and schist, with occasional isolated granite peaks, some of which are 8,000 feet high. The eastern part of the massif is flanked by a series of eroded plateaus.

East of the massif, the Cua inhabit the Tra Bong area of Quang Ngai Province and the Bong Mieu area of Quang Tin Province. These areas rise sharply from the narrow coastal plain and are cut by many narrow, steep river valleys with short and swift-flowing streams.

The Cua territory overlooks the lowland coastal regions and valleys inhabited by the Vietnamese, who are settled as far west

as the market town of Tra Bong. On the western edge of the Cua area is the Jeh tribe, and to the south are the Sedang and Hre.

The climate of the region is affected both by the summer (May—October) and winter (November—January) monsoons. In the summer, the warm, moist, and unstable winds come mainly from the southwest and cause heavy local showers and thunderstorms. In the winter, a northeasterly airflow up the eastern slopes of the Annam Cordillera causes cloudy, rainy weather. Precipitation is high—averaging 120 inches in the lower elevations and more than 150 inches in the higher areas and on certain slopes. Normally, the weather is warm and humid, with the wettest season occurring during the summer. Clouds are frequent, especially during the winter months, and thick fog is common but is dispersed by the morning sun. Temperatures vary over 15 degrees between the summer and the winter seasons. Actual surface temperatures average 60 to 65 degrees Fahrenheit in winter (January) and over 80 degrees in summer (July).

Severe typhoons rarely reach the Cua territory, although they have an important influence on the climate of the area. Mild typhoons occur between July and November and are usually preceded by high winds and cool, dry weather. When they do strike, they bring heavy rainfall that may last throughout the night and into the morning, causing floods and heavy damage, including the uprooting of forests.

Two types of rain forest, with vegetation of tropical broadleaf trees and bamboo, appear in two distinct belts. In the higher, more inaccessible regions is the primary rain forest, with tall trees that occasionally reach heights of 135 feet and form a continuous canopy. Below this canopy is a middle level of smaller trees and a third layer of seedlings and saplings. Orchids and other epiphytes, and woody climbing plants known as lianas, are also common. Little sunlight penetrates to the ground. Bamboo and rattan are particularly luxuriant along watercourses. Although from the air the primary rain forest appears impenetrable, it can be traversed on foot with little difficulty.

The lower areas and slopes to the east are covered with secondary rain forest, which develops where a primary rain forest has been cleared and then abandoned. The trees are small and close together, with heavy ground growth and abundance of lianas and other climbers. Only a few isolated high trees appear. This forest is difficult to travel, being impenetrable without constant use of the machete.

On the highest slopes of the area inhabited by the Cua, the only vegetation may be waist-high grass.

Few roads exist in the Cua area. One secondary road connects

with National Route 1 at Tam Ky and runs through the Bong Mieu region, ending at the village of Tra My, where it becomes a track eventually reaching Kontum. Another secondary road starts at National Route 1 just north of Quang Ngai and goes west into Cua country for a short distance until it too turns into a track. Both of these roads were so damaged during the Indochina War that they are little more than trails. They are full of potholes and, during rains, provides channels for rushing torrents of water.

Trails are few in number and difficult, if not impossible, to sight from the air.

Rivers are short and often run through narrow, high valleys. They are, for the most part, unnavigable, although during high water small boats and canoes can be used on some stretches. During periods of high water, however, the occasional typhoons make water transportation even more hazardous.[1]

SECTION II

TRIBAL BACKGROUND

Ethnic and Racial Origin

In terms of language, customs, and physical characteristics, the Cua are a Mon-Khmer people. Indochina has been a migratory corridor from time immemorial, and the movement of the Mon-Khmer peoples into what is now the Republic of Vietnam probably started centuries ago. The Mon-Khmer peoples are generally believed to have originated in the upper Mekong valleys, whence they migrated through Indochina.[1] The Cua are related to the Hre, Bahnar, and M'nong tribal groups.

Language

The Cua language has been classified as belonging to the Bahnaric subgroup of Mon-Khmer languages. Other languages in this subgroup are Bahnar, Sedang, Halang, Jeh, and Hre.[2] Cua appears to be more closely related to the Hre language than to any other.[3]

The Cua have no written form for their language, nor are there reports indicating such a form is being developed. The language is primarily monosyllabic, as are other Mon-Khmer languages, though polysyllabic words have been borrowed from other tongues. The language is atonal (tone does not influence meaning or grammar) but has a wide range of sounds.

Very few Cua have any knowledge of other languages. The tribesmen who trade regularly with the Vietnamese are reported to have a good speaking knowledge of Vietnamese.[4]

History of the Cua

No information was available concerning the legendary history of the Cua, and little is available on their factual history. It is known that the Cua have long inhabited the mountains and plateaus of central Vietnam. At least as early as the 11th century, they came under the domination of the Kingdom of Champa and figured in the perpetual wars between Champa, Annam, and Cambodia. Not until the reign of Le Thanh Ton of the Tran Dynasty of Annam (1471), when the Cham were decisively defeated by the Annamese (ethnic Vietnamese), did this domination relax. The Annamese had little to do with the tribal groups and only in the most peripheral way. Guard posts and military colonies were established in

Cua areas bordering the plains inhabited by the Annamese, and the Annamese engaged in some trading to obtain luxuries from the tribal area, such as medicines, herbs, aphrodisiacs, and elephants. Although the trade was for luxuries as far as the Annamese were concerned, it was a necessity for the Cua tribesmen, who were wholly dependent on their settled neighbors for salt, iron, buffalo, jars, metal pots, and gongs.[5]

A yearly tribute was exacted by the Annamese Court, which assigned special traders, called *cac-lai*, to a specific tribal territory to collect the tribute. Occasional punitive expeditions were sent into Cua country in response to tribal uprisings, but these expeditions were not successful in completely securing the area.

Early in the 19th century, when Gia Long acceded to the Annamese throne, the tribal areas took on added importance and the Annamese seriously undertook to pacify the tribes. Additional military forts were built, and the frontier area inhabited by the Cua was devastated in the fighting that ensued between the tribal peoples and the Annamese. As part of the Annamese pacification attempts, the border area was included in a new and special administrative unit, governed by the Annamese Court, which was not abolished until the French gained complete control over the tribal areas.

Settlement Patterns

The Cua usually build their villages along the slopes of hills. This is probably done both for protection and to escape the high humidity of the valley floors.[6] Cua villages practicing wet-rice farming—and these are but a small minority—are located at the foot of the slopes near their flat fields.[7]

All villages are near a stream or other source of water. The houses, built on piles, may measure over 70 feet in length. Beams

Figure 7. Cua house.

are usually of wood, the roof of a heavy bamboo thatch tied with rattan, and the walls and floor of braided bamboo.[8] In areas where the Viet Cong are active, houses are badly constructed and decrepit-looking, because new houses are inevitably burned down by the Viet Cong.[9]

Cua houses are entered by means of a notched pole which serves as a ladder. A long common room runs the length of one side of the house; the other side is divided into many small rooms, each occupied by a separate nuclear family. Each room has an open mud firebox which is used for heating, cooking, and smoking meat.[10]

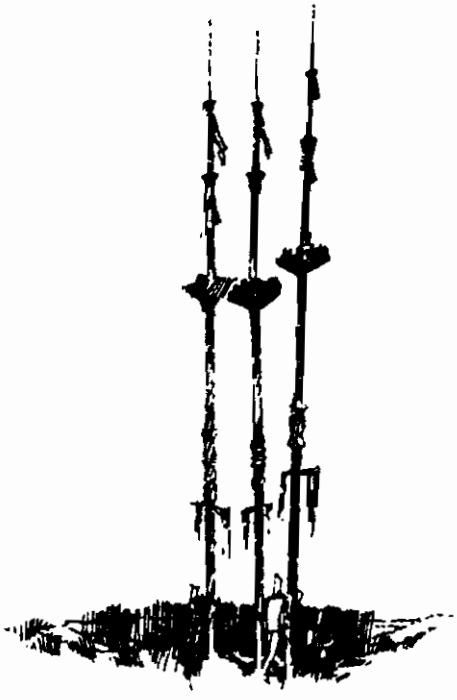

Figure 8. Cua sacrificial poles.

Household utensils are kept either in the common room or in the individual family rooms. Wine jars stand against the wall, spears and crossbows hang from the roof, and dried meat hangs in the smoke over the fireplaces.[11] Other household items include baskets, trays for sifting rice, hammocks, and gongs.[12]

The area below the house is used both as a storage area and as a place to keep livestock.[13]

In the center of Cua villages stand tall sacrificial poles. These are usually of stripped bamboo, sometimes painted with very ornate

designs.[14] On ceremonial days, they are embellished with pennant-like ropes which are trimmed with white cotton.

Since most Cua practice slash-and-burn agriculture, they are semi-migratory; their villages periodically change location, but the moves are usually within a given area. Ordinarily the tribesmen remain in one place for 2 or 3 years—until the fertility of their fields is depleted—and then move to a nearby forested area where the land has regained its fertility. Village moves related to the clearing of new fields are always made within a given area, as the tribesmen return to reforested fields every several years.

Cua superstitions, especially those concerning epidemics and deaths, may also necessitate the abandonment of villages and the building of new ones at different sites. These moves are usually still within a given area but are less predictable than the regular shifts to new fields.

The Vietnamese Government's strategic hamlet program and military operations of subversive forces have also caused movements of the Cua population.[15]

SECTION III

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Physical Characteristics

The Cua have a decidely Mongoloid appearance and a lighter colored skin than most other Mon-Khmer tribespeople. Their faces tend to be round, with full cheeks and wide-bridged noses, although long- and thin-faced tribesmen are seen.[1]

They are stocky and short in build; it is unusual to find a Cua more than 5 feet 2 inches tall.[2] They have black, deep-set eyes. Their heavy black hair, usually cut in straight bangs across the forehead, hangs to their shoulders in the back or is rolled up into a big bun held with a homemade comb. A few Cua have tangled curly hair. The hair is never washed, as these tribesmen believe they would die if they washed their hair.[3] Many Cua chew betel, which results in a dark discoloration of the teeth.

Health

The general state of health of the Cua is poor. Disease in the tribal area is spread by insects, including the anopheles mosquito, rat flea, and louse; some diseases are caused by worms, including hookworms; and some diseases are associated with poor sanitation and lack of sexual hygiene.[4]

Malaria is endemic in the Cua area; almost every tribesman has had the disease at least once during his lifetime. Two common types of malaria are found in the tribal areas. One, benign tertian malaria, causes high fever with relapses over a period of time, but is usually not fatal. The other, malignant tertian malaria, is fatal to both infants and adults.[5]

The three types of typhus in this region are carried by lice, rat fleas, and mites. Typhus is reported to be frequent among most of the tribes.[6]

Cholera, typhoid, dysentery, yaws, leprosy, tuberculosis, veneral diseases, and smallpox are common in the tribal areas. Dysentery and yaws are significant causes of infant mortality.[7] Parasitic infections and various fungus diseases are prevalent.[8] Angular lesions (and resulting scars), goiter, and cheilosis (abnormal condition of the lips) are also common among the Cua.[9] Periodontal diseases are common and severe, resulting in the loss of teeth or in the teeth becoming too loose to be functional.[10]

There is widespread incidence of nutritional diseases, many indicated by distended stomachs, which are frequent among the Cua. A deficiency of thiamine, riboflavin, and vitamins A and C has been reported; but niacin, calcium, and iron intakes are reportedly satisfactory.[11]

The Cua believe illness is associated with evil or angry spirits and that treatment consists of various religious ceremonies and sacrifices. The details of such ceremonies apparently have not been reported.

Endurance

Like other mountain groups, the Cua display good endurance and can cover mountainous terrain swiftly on foot, although they are poor runners. The men can easily travel 40 kilometers a day on foot over difficult terrain carrying up to 20 kilograms. Under special circumstances, they can cover as much as 60 kilometers a day. The Cua are noted porters and commonly carry large loads:[12] from childhood on they carry huge bundles of green tea or cinnamon bark to sell in nearby market towns.[13]

Psychological Characteristics

The Cua are a most hospitable people and are not known to be especially warlike.[14]

They do not seem to be as attached to their villages as other tribesmen and may travel long distances from their villages.

Both men and women exhibit a certain flamboyance, as revealed in their choice of personal jewelry.[15]

SECTION IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The family and the village are the important social units among the Cua. There is no social organization at the tribal level. Very little information is available concerning the Cua society except very general statements.

Cua society is patriarchal; the women are considered to have lower status than the men. The extended family is the household unit, headed by the eldest male of the family. This household or family head also owns all the family property.

No information was available concerning Cua marriage customs. However, it is probable that the young bride goes to live with her husband's family, that marriage is not allowed between blood relatives, that the marriage ceremony is quite brief and simple, and that the Cua inter their dead.[1]

There is likewise no information regarding clan or class structure, birth and child-rearing practices, and burial customs.

SECTION V

CUSTOMS AND TABOOS

Dress

Clothes worn by the Cua may be either of the traditional kind or copied from Vietnamese and Western-style apparel.

Traditional dress for the man consists of a loincloth, an upper garment somewhat like a T-shirt but open at the back, neck bracelets and collars, often of beads, and perhaps a scarf or cloth wound around the head.[1]

A few men, especially those who live near Vietnamese settlements or who trade with the Vietnamese, wear ordinary Vietnamese clothing, including shorts, a white shirt, or a black tunic.[2]

The traditional dress of Cua women consists of a short, dark knee-length skirt or a fancier Cambodian-like *sampot* and a halter-like blouse reaching from the neck to the waist, leaving the underarms and back exposed. Occasionally, a cloth cape is worn around the shoulders. Many Cua women wear a cotton headband and a wide belt of beads around the hips. The belt is not unlike a Grecian girdle—wide at the back and tied in front.[3]

Cua beadwork is most unusual even among the Montagnard tribes. The women's bead necklaces are blue and are strung on string or circles of stiff wire. They are worn by the dozens, tier upon tier. Similiar beads of varied colors are worn around the ankles and encircling the hair. The wide belts are made of tiny, multicolored beads, usually composed of hundreds of strings.[4]

Men, too, wear beads around the neck. They also wear collars of polished or turned metal, as do many women.[5]

Both sexes wear earrings. The men wear long pointed earrings of pewter and fine black wire.[6]

Folk Beliefs

Because the world of the Cua is inhabited by innumerable spirits, a portion of them evil, the tribesmen have recourse to thousands of superstitious practices: they may be divided into two main classes —omens and taboos.

Omens exist in uncountable numbers and occur in the form of dreams or signs. All are supposedly warnings from a good spirit. Specific omens for the Cua are unknown. Incantations and invoca-

tions may be addressed to ancestors to prevent anticipated misfortunes.

Taboos are proscriptions directed at the village, the house, the fields, and the Cua themselves. Designed to prevent misconduct against both good and evil spirits, the proscriptions also include specific defenses against evil spirits. These taboos serve, essentially, to preserve traditional tribal customs. Taboos probably vary from village to village, but no specific information was available at this writing.

A broken taboo always calls for the propitiatory sacrifice of a chicken, pig, or buffalo, depending on the gravity of the violation.[7]

Eating and Drinking Customs

The staple food of the Cua is rice, supplemented by yams, manioc, corn, and edible plants gathered from the forest. This diet is varied with meat and birds hunted in the forests. Domestic animals (pigs, chickens, and buffaloes) are rare items in the Cua diet and are only eaten during sacrifices on special occasions.

Rice wine plays an important part in Cua life; it is drunk at all events, including festivals, sacrifices, and family reunions, and is customarily offered to guests.

SECTION VI

RELIGION

The spiritual life of the Cua is very complicated despite an outward appearance of simplicity. It is believed that spirits, both good and evil, dwell in the objects of the physical world as well as in persons both living and dead. The problems of daily life are often associated with these spirits, which must be appeased with offerings. These religious beliefs are expressed in formal ceremonies and in the routine acts of daily life.

Certain trees, animals, and other natural objects are held in reverence because the tribespeople believe the spirits residing in these objects can affect their lives. The Cua appease these spirits to remain on good terms with them, thus making daily life easier.

The Cua may also appeal to the spirits if they want something. Although it is not known which spirits are good and which are bad, the tribesmen consider it dangerous to deal directly with any of them. Since it is impossible to tell what a spirit's reaction might be, an intermediary—a sorcerer—is used. The sorcerer knows the rituals necessary for communication with the spirits; thus he knows when festivals and sacrifice days should take place. He presides over and manages all ceremonies and regulates their dates. The sorcerer also plays a principal role in those rituals marking the stages of an individual's life cycle. Some sorcerers are expected to foretell life, death, and future events and to calm the spirits in order to cure illnesses.[1]

Little is known about the religious practices of the Cua. Many ceremonies, including those pertaining to the life cycle, and especially the placating of spirits, involve the sacrifice of chickens, pigs, or buffaloes. The buffalo is the principal sacrificial animal and is usually slaughtered at the village sacrificial pole, with the entire community participating in the ceremony. Every ceremony is accompanied by dancing, wine drinking, eating, and invocations.

Missionary Contacts With the Cua

There are no reports to indicate that the Catholic Church ever tried to establish a mission in the Cua area or to convert the Cua. The Christian and Missionary Alliance, however, has several ethnic Vietnamese preachers working among the Cua.[2]

SECTION VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The basis of the Cua economy is agriculture, supplemented by gathering, raising domestic animals, hunting, and fishing. The village, rather than the family, is the important economic unit.[1] Although Cua villages are basically self-sustaining, there is considerable trade in cinnamon and tea. Rice is the principal crop and is cultivated both in permanent wet ricefields and by the shifting slash-and-burn method. A few settled Cua grow wet rice in the level areas in valleys; they have a rudimentary irrigation system which utilizes water from the seasonal rains.[2]

Most Cua, however, grow dry rice by the slash-and-burn method. Under this system, a field is farmed until the soil has become depleted. Then it is abandoned to regain its natural vegetation and nutrients. Its cultivators move to other fields, returning to the overgrown plots at a later time. A field may be cultivated for 3 or 4 successive years, depending on its fertility. These fields are not necessarily close to the village, some being as far as a full day's travel away. After exhausting all possible field sites in the vicinity of the village, the Cua move their settlement to another area where fresh land is available. Such moves probably occur every few decades.

New dry fields are chosen by the headman, together with the village elders and the sorcerer. In addition to inspection of the natural vegetation, certain divination rites are used to determine if the land will be fertile.

The preparation of a new field involves the felling of the trees and the cutting of dense forest floor vegetation early in the dry season or late in the wet season. The vegetation is dried in the sun before burning time, usually a month before the heavy rains begin. The field is burned with care to prevent the fire from spreading. After a field has cooled, the Cua clear the debris, leaving only boulders and stumps.

The layer of fine ash from the burned vegetation is washed into the soil by the rains and serves as a fertilizer. After the first rains loosen the soil, the planting begins. The men make holes for the seed rice with dibble sticks; the women follow, planting and covering the seeds. Except for some weeding during the growing sea-

son, the plot is left without further attention until the harvest, usually near the end of the rainy season.

The Cua also have small gardens in which they grow corn, cotton, and some tea.[3]

To supplement their diet, the Cua hunt and collect edible jungle products. Cua men are skillful hunters, using crossbows and traps. The game is either cooked and eaten immediately or smoked for future use. The women collect herbs and edible roots, shoots, leaves, and fruits in the jungle.

The Cua raise chickens, pigs, and buffaloes. These animals are seldom slaughtered strictly for food but are eaten when they are sacrificed during religious rituals.

Special Arts and Skills

The Cua are not particularly known for their craft work, but they do produce unusual pewter articles and beadwork.[4]

Basketmaking is practiced in every Cua village, but the articles produced are primarily for domestic use. Bamboo, rattan, palm leaves, and wood are used for making various types of containers, house walls, mats, pipes, traps, and weapons.[5]

Cua women also weave coarse, colorful cloth of cotton, using a light weaving loom. The cotton fiber is grown locally, but the Cua have recently been obtaining thread through trade with the Vietnamese.[6]

Exchange System and Trade

Although they have long been acquainted with the monetary system of the Vietnamese, the Cua continue to depend upon barter for evaluating prices and for trade. The values of goods are still often fixed in terms of buffaloes, jars, gongs, and various other objects.

The Cua area is considered the source of the best cinnamon bark in the Republic of Vietnam; there is constant trade in this commodity between the tribespeople and the ethnic Vietnamese. It is common to see the Cua—men, women, and children—carrying enormous loads of cinnamon bark to the Vietnamese market town of Tra Bong.[7] Another product traded by the Cua in Tra Bong is green tea.[8]

Tin for the pewter made by the Cua comes from Laos on a regular basis,[9] but no further information was available concerning this particular trade channel.

SECTION VIII

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Political Organization

The Cua have never achieved political unity on a tribal level. Allegiance is normally given only to the village, led by a village chief.

Each village, independent of its neighbors, has its own chief. The village chief is generally the richest (in rice paddies, buffaloes, jars, gongs, etc.), most influential, and most reputable man in the village. He is skilled in the arts of war and hunting and knows thoroughly the traditional customs of the village. Since a man's holdings, at least in ricefields, are normally proportionate to the size of his family, the chief often comes from the largest family in the village. The position of village chief is likewise usually hereditary.

In addition to the village chief, the elders of each extended family also serve certain political functions, although it is not clear how much importance their decisions have at the village level. Within the family, the elders are consulted on all questions; their authority stems from the family's respect for their age, wisdom, experience, and knowledge of tribal customs and laws.

With the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and the creation of the Republic of Vietnam, the problems of establishing a *rapprochement* between the Montagnards in the highlands and the more culturally advanced Vietnamese in the coastal areas became acute. The French Government supported a policy of permitting the tribes to be separate administrative entities. Now, however, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has taken measures to incorporate the highlanders into the political organization of the nation.

Legal System

The Cua have no written language and thus no written traditional code of law. However, nearly all Cua behavior is strictly governed by unwritten tribal laws expressed in terms of taboos and sanctions. The failure of a Cua, or even of a stranger in some instances, to adhere to the traditional codes may result in severe punishment.

Authority to punish depends on the crime. An offense of no consequence outside the immediate family of the wrongdoer (for

instance, a child striking his father) is settled within the family itself. If the culprit's actions have harmed the entire extended family, then the elders and headman of that family will determine what sanctions are to be applied. When an offense affects all the extended families of a village, the matter requires general consultation by the chief and elders of the separate families. In serious cases, the offender's entire family may be held responsible for his actions.[1]

On the village, district, and provincial levels, a special system of courts was established under the French to adjudicate matters concerning the various tribal groups. In the village, a village court decided the sentences. These sentences could be reviewed on the district level. Three district court members were assigned to each ethnic group in a district jurisdiction, and these members handled only tribal matters. The district court officials selected a president to preside over the district court, which met in the house of the district chief.[2]

Under the French, those cases that could not be resolved on the village level were sent to the Tribunal Coutumier, which convened for the first 7 days of every month. In judging the cases brought before the tribunal, the chief judge relied on traditional tribal law and customs.[3] The tribunal dealt only with cases in which both parties were tribespeople. Cases involving Vietnamese and tribespeople were the responsibility of the province chief, but provincial authorities tried not to interfere with the operation of the tribunal.

The legal system instituted by the French still governs the Montagnard tribes, but steps have been taken by the Vietnamese Government to revise the legislative code in the tribal areas. Under the Diem regime, an attempt was made to substitute Vietnamese laws for the tribal practices. This attempt was connected with Vietnamese efforts to integrate the tribespeople politically into the Republic of Vietnam.

In March 1965, the Vietnamese Government promulgated a decree restoring the legal status of the tribal laws and tribunals. Under this new decree, there will be courts at the village, district, and province levels which will be responsible for civil affairs, Montagnard affairs, and penal offenses when all parties involved are Montagnards.[4]

Village customs law courts, consisting of the village administrative committee chief aided by two Montagnard assistants, will conduct weekly court sessions.[5] When a case is reviewed and a decision reached by this court, it will be recorded and signed by the parties involved. This procedure will eliminate the right to appeal to another court. If settlement cannot be determined, the case can be referred to a higher court.

District courts, governed by the president of the court (the dis-

trict chief) aided by two Montagnard assistants, will hold bimonthly court sessions. Cases to be tried by the district court include those appealed by the village court and cases which are adjudged serious according to tribal customs.[7]

At the province level, a Montagnard Affairs Section will be established as part of the National Court. This section, under the jurisdiction of a Montagnard Presiding Judge and two assistants, will handle cases appealed from the Montagnard district courts and cases beyond the jurisdiction of the village or district courts. It will convene once or twice a month, depending upon the requirements.[8]

Subversive Influences

Factors contributing to the vulnerability of the Cua to subversion are geographic location, historical isolation, and traditional suspicion of the Vietnamese. Effective Government presence and control in the Cua area was seriously eroded by Viet Cong activity during the early 1960's. According to one 1965 source, the Cua had been heavily infiltrated by the Communists at that time. The same source stated that an unknown number of Cua had received indoctrination and training in North Vietnam, and that these tribesmen had then assumed positions of importance throughout the Cua tribal area.[9] The Cua territory also reportedly served as a supply route and a refuge area for the Viet Cong.[10]

The principal objective of Viet Cong subversive activity among the Cua is to win the allegiance of the tribesmen and develop them into a hostile force against the Republic of Vietnam.

Still other important Viet Cong objectives are the maintenance of their supply lines through the Cua area, the prevention of movement of Central Government forces in the area, the destruction of any Government strongholds in the region, and the protection of the Viet Cong refuge area.

Generally, the Viet Cong infiltrate a village, attempting to win the confidence of the whole village or its key individuals. The Viet Cong usually have a thorough knowledge of tribal customs and they are known to adopt Cua dress to identify themselves with the tribespeople.[11]

When suspicions of the villagers are allayed and their confidence won, the Viet Cong begin an intense propaganda campaign against the Central Government with the ultimate purpose of recruiting and training the Cua tribesmen for various support or combat missions.

Should propaganda and cajolery fail, the Viet Cong will resort to extortion and terror to coerce the Cua into refusing to cooperate with the Central Government. They may also intimidate the Cua into actively supporting the Viet Cong as laborers and sources of material.[12]

SECTION IX

COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUES

The principal means of disseminating information in the Cua area is by word of mouth. The Cua probably have no access to radios: any radios in the area have been brought in by outsiders for military use.

Short movies covering simple subjects and using the Cua language might be an effective means of getting messages to the tribespeople.

Written communications will have little effect on the Cua, since there is no written form of their language. Very few Cua tribesmen can read Vietnamese; however, these people could be expected to pass to the other tribesmen any information contained in materials written in Vietnamese. No information about success in the use of printed propaganda materials was available at this writing.

Information themes used among the Cua should stress the improvement of conditions for the villagers. If the tribesmen do not believe a particular program is explicitly for their benefit, they will not cooperate in making it a success. Possible themes for information programs are the control of disease, the improvement of agriculture, and protection against Viet Cong harassment.

SECTION X

CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS

Any proposed civic action should take into account Cua religious, social, and cultural traditions. Because of the Cua political structure, all initial contacts should be made only with the tribal elders. It is also essential to psychologically prepare the Cua to accept the proposed changes. This requires detailed consultation with village leaders, careful assurance as to results, and a relatively slow pace in implementing programs.

Because they are village oriented and prefer to remain isolated in their traditional way of life, the Cua respond most favorably to ideas for change presented in terms of local community betterment. Civic action proposals should stress the resulting improvement of village life rather than emphasize ethnic or cultural pride, nationalism, or political ideology. The reason for an innovation should be thoroughly explained; the Cua resent interference in their normal routine if they do not understand the reason for it.

The following civic action guidelines may be useful in planning and implementing projects or programs.

1. Projects originating in the local village are more desirable than suggestions imposed by a remote Central Government or by outsiders.
2. Projects should be designed to be challenging but should not be on such a scale as to intimidate the villagers by size or strangeness. Projects using familiar materials and products as much as possible are more easily accepted by the tribesmen than projects requiring the use of strange materials or devices.
3. Projects should have fairly short completion dates or should have phases that provide frequent opportunities to evaluate effectiveness.
4. Results should, as far as possible, be observable, measurable, or tangible.
5. Projects should, ideally, lend themselves to emulation by other villages or groups.

Civic Action Projects

The civic action possibilities for personnel working with the Cua encompass all aspects of tribal life. Examples of possible projects

are listed below. They should be considered representative but not all inclusive and not in the order of priority.

1. Agriculture and animal husbandry
   a. Improvement of livestock quality through introduction of better breeds.
   b. Instruction in elementary veterinary techniques to improve health of animals.
   c. Introduction of improved seeds and new vegetables.
   d. Introduction of techniques to improve quality and yields of farmland.
   e. Insect and rodent control.
   f. Construction of simple irrigation and drainage systems.
2. Transportation and communication
   a. Roadbuilding and clearing of trails.
   b. Installation, operation, and maintenance of electric power generators and village electric light systems.
   c. Construction of motion-picture facilities.
   d. Construction of radio broadcast and receiving stations and public-speaker systems.
3. Health and sanitation
   a. Improve village sanitation.
   b. Provide safe water-supply systems.
   c. Eradicate disease-carrying insects.
   d. Organize dispensary facilities for outpatient treatment.
   e. Teach sanitation, personal hygiene, and first aid.
4. Education
   a. Provide basic literary training.
   b. Provide information about the outside world of interest to the tribesmen.
   c. Provide training designed to develop occupational skills.
   d. Provide basic citizenship training.

SECTION XI

PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES

The Cua are not particularly noted as warriors, although one source credits them with being aggressive in the field when they are well trained and well led.[1] The Cua do pride themselves on their skill as hunters; with intensive training, support, and leadership, they might become effective in jungle warfare. At present, the Cua are capable scouts, trackers, and guides.

When the psychological pressures or conversion to subversive activities fail, the Viet Cong have resorted to outright brutality and terror. Frequently, the Cua yield and cooperate with the Viet Cong. The isolated Cua do not have the wherewithal to oppose the Viet Cong and need Government training and support. Cua villages have no able organizations for defense except those equipped, trained, and organized by the Government.

Weapons Utilized by the Tribe

The Cua have traditionally used spears and crossbows with poisoned arrows. They are well acquainted with the use of traps, pits, and concealed sharpened sticks (used as foot-traps). Presumably, some of the Cua have been trained in the use of modern weapons by both the Government and the Viet Cong.[2]

Their relatively small stature limits the modern weapons the Cua can use; but they are proficient in handling light weapons such as the AR.15 rifle, the Thompson submachinegun, and the carbine. The tribesmen are less proficient in the use of the M-1 or the Browning Automatic Rifle, although they can handle larger weapons which can be disassembled and quickly reassembled. If a Cua can carry and handle a weapon conveniently, he will use it well.

The Cua cannot handle sophisticated devices, such as mortars, explosives, and mines, as proficiently as hand weapons. They find it difficult to understand the more abstract and technical aspects—such as timing trajectories—of such weapons.

Organization for Defense

Photographs show Cua villages have no outside defenses against surprise attack. However, houses and villages are usually built in relatively inaccessible and easily defensible locations. Formerly, the villages were surrounded by stockades, but these were replaced

with fences during the French colonial period. As military action in Cua areas intensifies, perimeter defense may again be employed.

The Cua inclination to defend themselves is strongly influenced by their estimated probable success. If faced with an enemy with vast numerical and weapons superiority, the Cua will capitulate rather than fight.

Ability to Absorb Military Instruction

The Cua can absorb basic military training and concepts. Their natural habitat gives them an excellent background for tracking and ambush activities; they are resourceful and adaptable in the jungle.

The Cua learn techniques and procedures most readily from actual demonstration, using the weapon itself as a teaching aid. They do not learn as well from blackboard demonstrations; such an approach is too abstract for them.

The Cua who have received some modern military training are invaluable in training the younger tribesmen.

SECTION XII

SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSONNEL WORKING WITH THE CUA

Every action of the Cua tribesman has specific significance in terms of his culture. One must be careful to realize that the Cua may not react as outsiders do. The outsider should remember that a relatively simple course of action may, for the tribesman, require not only divination but also a sacrifice.

A few suggestions for personnel working with the Cua are listed below.

Official Activities

1. Initial contact with a Cua village should be formal. A visitor should speak first to the village chief and elders, who will then introduce him to other principal village figures.
2. Sincerity, honesty, and truthfulness are essential in dealing with the Cua. Promises and predictions should not be made unless the result is assured. The tribespeople usually expect a new group of personnel to fulfill the promises of the previous group.
3. Outsiders cannot gain the confidence of Cua tribesmen quickly. Developing a sense of trust is a slow process, requiring great understanding, tact, patience, and personal integrity.
4. An attitude of good-natured willingness and limitless patience must be maintained, even when confronted with resentment or apathy.
5. Whenever possible, avoid projects or operations which give the tribesmen the impression they are being forced to change their ways.
6. Tribal elders and the village chief should also receive credit for projects and for improved administration. Efforts should never undermine or discredit the position or influence of the local leaders.
7. The Cua fear leaving their villages at night except in large numbers. This is largely because of their great fear of tigers.

Social Relationships

1. The Cua should be treated with respect and courtesy at all times.

2. The term *moi* should not be used because it means savage and is offensive to the tribesmen.
3. Outside personnel should not refuse an offer of food or drink, especially at a religious ceremony. Once involved in a ceremony, one must eat or drink whatever is offered.
4. A gift, an invitation to a ceremony, or an invitation to enter a Cua house may be refused by an outsider, as long as consistency and impartiality are shown. However, receiving gifts, participating in ceremonies, and visiting houses will serve to establish good relations with the tribespeople.
5. Outsiders should request permission to attend a Cua ceremony, festival, or meeting from the village elders or other responsible persons.
6. An outsider should never enter a Cua house unless accompanied by a member of that house; this is a matter of good taste and cautious behavior. If anything is later missing from the house, unpleasant and unnecessary complications may arise.
7. Outsiders should not get involved with Cua women.
8. When helping the Cua learn new techniques, methods, and concepts, be careful to avoid seriously disrupting traditional cultural patterns.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

1. Do not enter a village where a religious ceremony is taking place or a religious taboo is in effect. Watch for the warning signs placed at the village entrances; when in doubt, do not enter.
2. As soon as possible, identify any sacred trees, stones, or other sacred objects in the village; do not touch or tamper with them. The Cua believe these sacred objects house powerful spirits. For example, if a sacred rock is touched without due ceremony, the village may have to be moved or expensive sacrifices may have to be made.
3. Do not mock Cua religious beliefs in any way; these beliefs are the cornerstone of Cua life.

Living Standards and Routines

1. Outsiders should treat all Cua property and village animals with respect. Any damage to property or fields should be promptly repaired and/or paid for. An outsider should avoid borrowing from the tribesmen. Animals should not be treated brutally or taken without the owner's permission.
2. Learn simple phrases in the Cua language. A desire to learn and speak their language creates a favorable impression on the tribespeople.

1. The Cua are becoming aware of the benefits of medicine and will request medical assistance. Outside groups in Cua areas should try to provide medical assistance whenever possible.
2. Medical teams should be prepared to handle and have adequate supplies for extensive treatment of malaria, dysentery, yaws, trachoma, venereal diseases, intestinal parasites, and various skin diseases.

FOOTNOTES

I. INTRODUCTION

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2. Laura Irene Smith, *Victory in Viet Nam* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1965), p. 41; E. H. Adkins, *A Study of Montagnard Names in Vietnam* (East Lansing, Mich.: Vietnam Advisory Group, Michigan State University, February 1962), p. 6.
3. Irving Kopf, Personal Communication, September 1965. [Ph.D. candidate, Columbia University; extensive U.S. Government service in tribal areas of Vietnam.]

II. TRIBAL BACKGROUND

1. Georges Coedès, *Ethnography of Indochina* (JPRS/CSO: 6757-DC, Lectures, 1950) (Washington, D.C.: Joint Publications Research Service, 1950), pp. 1–16.
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12. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
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14. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

III. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
4. H. C. Darby (ed.), *Indo-China* (Cambridge, England: Geographical Handbook Series, 1943), pp. 109–31.
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8. *Ibid.*, pp. 118–24; Norman Lewis, *A Dragon Apparent: Travels in Indo China* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1951), p. 113

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V. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS

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2. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

VII. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

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2. *Ibid.*
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4. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
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X. COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUES

No footnotes.

XI. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS

No footnotes.

XII. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES

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XIII. SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSONNEL WORKING WITH THE CUA

No footnotes.

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