



The Hroi

CHAPTER 6. THE HROI

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

The Hroi are located in the inland mountains west of the coastal cities of Qui Nhon and Tuy Hoa in the central region of the Republic of Vietnam. Numbering between 5,000 and 10,000, the Hroi, usually classified as a Bahnar subgroup, comprise two groupings: one influenced by the Malayo-Polynesian Chams and the Rhade tribe, the other influenced by the Mon-Khmer culture of the Bahnar. The dialect of the former is related to the languages of the Rhade and Cham, and the dialect of the latter resembles those of other Bahnar subgroups.

The Hroi live in autonomous villages and, although they have a matrilineal kinship system, village political authority is held by a male village chief.

The Hroi economy is based on the cultivation of dry rice by the slash-and-burn technique. Their religion is animistic, involving beliefs in spirits inhabiting all their surroundings.

Name and Size of Group

The Hroi, sometimes called Hroy or Bahnar-Cham, are considered a subgroup of the eastern division of the Bahnar tribe. The Tuy Hoa-Quy Nhon railroad divides the Hroi territory into two areas. The eastern Hroi, who inhabit the area between the railroad and the coast, have close cultural ties to the Rhade and Cham; the western Hroi, located between the railroad and Cheo Reo, are more closely related to the other Bahnar subgroups. There are no reports of any specific subgroups among the Hroi.

The Hroi are a small Montagnard group. According to one source, they number about 10,000;¹ according to another source, 5,045;² and a third source estimates that there are 6,176 Hroi.³

Location and Terrain Analysis

The Hroi are located generally east of Cheo Reo and south of A.1 Khe in an area bordered on the north by Route 19, on the east by the coastal plain, and on the south and west by the Song Ba River. At Tuy An, the coastal railroad curves inland and northwest, following the Song Cai River into the mountainous region

where the Hroi live; it emerges from the Hroi area at Qui Nhon, a large coastal town.

The Hroi region is drained by many small rivers and streams. The terrain is rugged, with the mountains ranging in elevation from 1,500 to 3,000 feet.

Although many mountains in the Hroi area are covered with secondary forest growth, there may also be sections of the area that are essentially grassland, with few trees, while in isolated parts of the Hroi region, on higher peaks and ridges, is found the primary rain forest.

The secondary rain forest, the predominant type of forest in the Hroi area, develops after land in the primary rain forest has been cleared and then left for a time uncultivated.

In this forest the trees are small and close together and there is an abundance of ground growth, woody climbing plants known as lianas, and herbaceous climbers. Penetration is difficult without constant use of the machete.

The primary rain forest, at higher elevations, has three levels. Very old and large trees, with an average height of from 75 to 90 feet, form a continuous canopy. Below this canopy are smaller trees, varying from 45 to 60 feet in height, and below this second level is a fair abundance of seedlings and saplings. Orchids, other herbaceous plants, epiphytes, and lianas are profuse. Little light penetrates this type of forest and there is not much ground growth. During the dry season, this forest can usually be penetrated on foot with little difficulty.⁴

The climate in the Hroi area is influenced by two monsoon winds—one from the southwest in the summer (May to October), the other from the northeast in the winter (mid-September to March). Agriculture is greatly dependent on the rainfall (up to 150 inches) brought by the summer monsoon. Temperatures in the mountains are lower than those in the coastal regions.⁵

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 Mon-Khmer and the Malayo-Polynesian. Although the Hroi are usually classified as a subgroup of the Bahnar, a Mon-Khmer tribe, they appear to be related, by language and customs, to both the Mon-Khmer and the Malayo-Polynesian groupings. In terms of racial origin the Hroi apparently belong to the Mon-Khmer group, but their customs, and even language, have been greatly influenced by the Malayo-Polynesian Rhade and Cham.

The Mon-Khmer peoples are generally believed to have originated in the upper Mekong valleys, from whence they migrated through Indochina.¹ Opinions vary about the geographic origin of the Malayo-Polynesian peoples in the Indochinese Peninsula. Some authorities believe that they migrated from the Indonesian area to Indochina. Others think they originated in the Indian subcontinent, migrated eastward, and then spread from the Indochinese Peninsula to Indonesia and the islands of the Pacific. Still others conjecture that the tribes migrated to Indochina from China proper. The latter theory holds that the Polynesians were originally settled in the Chinese coastal region of Kwangtung before sailing south and east.

Language

The Hroi speak two separate dialects: the Hroi in the northwestern portion of the area speak a dialect closely related to the various Eastern Bahnaric dialects, while the rest of the Hroi speak a dialect that shows strong Rhade and Cham influence.² The following list of words shows these similarities:³

| <i>English</i> | <i>Eastern Bahnar</i> | <i>Hroi (northwest)</i> | <i>Hroi (south and east)</i> | <i>Rhade</i> |
|----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| east | <i>sa</i> | <i>sa</i> | <i>bang</i> | <i>bang</i> |
| drinks | <i>ec</i> | <i>ec</i> | <i>mnhum</i> | <i>mnam</i> |
| bird | <i>sem</i> | <i>sem</i> | <i>chiem</i> | <i>chim</i> |
| horse | <i>hnan</i> | <i>hnamo</i> | <i>sang</i> | <i>sang</i> |
| grandfather | <i>bok</i> | <i>bok</i> | <i>oi</i> | <i>ao</i> |

During the last half of the 19th century, an alphabet for the Bahnar language was developed by Catholic missionaries, and recently they, along with Protestant missionaries, have taught Bahnar tribesmen to read and write Bahnar. Thus it is probable that some Hroi children have been educated with the Bahnar children. No specific information is available, however, concerning the literacy of the Hroi.

Legendary History

Legends about the origin of the tribe, the spirits, and the world are part of the larger oral tradition of the Hroi which, with tales of heroes, anecdotes about tribal members, proverbs, and tribal laws, are handed down from generation to generation. To preserve this entire oral tradition, the stories or laws are told or chanted, in verse form, around the family hearth in the evening or during religious ceremonies.⁴

The following is a legend of the origin of the Hroi⁵ and of some of their customs.

Once upon a time, tigers could speak the human language and were the servants of man. The Emperor of Heaven saw that, despite his advice, men continued to kill one another. He then made the ocean waters rise and flood the surface of the earth.

In one family, there were a boy and his sister, and a tiger and tigress. When the waters rose, the two children got into a large drum with their furniture, and the tiger and tigress rapidly ran to the top of the mountain to escape the flood. The rising waters killed all the persons and animals that did not have time to escape.

Whirling waters dragged away the drum with the two children, and eventually it was caught in dense trees. A large fish tried to swallow the drum, but it was too big and stuck in the fish's throat. The two children still had their heads outside the mouth of the great fish.

When the flood subsided, the fish, because of its heavy prey, stayed in the narrow brook. Then the tiger and tigress came down from the mountaintop to search for food. At the brook they caught the fish. The girl spoke first:

"Oh, Mr. Tiger, do not eat the fish yet. Please save us first."

The tiger and tigress saw the children of their former masters. The tiger roared and said, "Oh, there are survivors among men. Let me kill them."

The tigress stopped her mate. "No, dear, this girl was very kind to us."

The tiger mumbled, "If we let them live, they will again become our masters."

Getting out of the drum the girl ran to them and said, "No, Mr. Tiger, we will never forget you if you let us live."

The tiger and tigress took pity on the beautiful girl. They said, "All right, we will let you live. But from now on you must behave kindly and nicely."

Just then, the boy got out of the drum, carrying his knife and crossbow. He then heard the tiger and tigress talking to his sister. Enraged, he said, "I will kill you!" The tiger and the tigress were frightened, but the girl said, "No, brother. The tiger just saved us. Why must we kill him?"

The boy answered, "I must kill these ungrateful animals. We raised the tigers since their childhood, yet he wants to kill us."

The tiger said, "Now, only you two and we are left. We must not kill one another. We will go to the jungles and help you. You two should marry each other and propagate your race." The tigress also said, "That is right. We will be on good terms forever."

The boy still wanted to kill the tiger and the tigress. The girl then took the knife and crossbow and broke them. "The tiger and tigress are right. We should not kill one another." Then, turning to the tiger, she continued, "Please stay with us. Do not go back to the jungle."

The tiger and tigress and the brother and sister returned to their village and rebuilt their houses. From that time on, men and tigers lived together until they again quarreled; then the tigers could no longer speak human language and went back to the jungles.

Following the advice of the tigers, the brother and sister married and had many children. They allowed their sons to marry their sisters. When a child was born, he took the name of the animal seen by the parents at that moment; or, if the parents were on their way to the west, the surname was West, and so on.

For a long time brothers continued to marry sisters; but their children were sickly and skinny and many died. The head of the clan, fearing that the race might eventually become extinct, instructed his relatives to offer buffaloes to the spirits.

But the buffalo sacrifices did not help. The clan headman then asked his relatives to abstain from receiving guests and from going out during 1 to 3 days after making offerings to the spirits.

In the meantime, the head of the clan dreamed that the Heavenly Emperor revealed that marriage between brothers and sisters must cease.

The next morning the clan head told his relatives his dream. After deliberation, they fixed the following fines for incest: three buffaloes for a marriage between a brother and sister; two buffaloes for a marriage between two persons with the same grandparents; one buffalo in case of a marriage between two persons having the same great-grandparents.

The customs of offering buffalo sacrifices to the Heavenly Em-

peror, of abstinence, and of incest fines have been transmitted from generation to generation down to the present time.⁶

Factual History

The Hroi area was formerly dominated by the Kingdom of Champa, which maintained good relations with many inland tribal groups, such as the Rhade, Jarai, and Bahnar, influencing their culture patterns. These tribes, in turn, provided the Kingdom of Champa with soldiers to fight the Annamese (ethnic Vietnamese) who were then moving south along the coast. The Cham, the descendants of the people of Champa, still live in and around the region inhabited by the Hroi.

In their rough mountain region, the Hroi have enjoyed a relative isolation from the Vietnamese of the coastal lowlands and have not been involved in any uprisings; they fight only to defend themselves against raiders from neighboring tribal groups.⁷

There was no information available referring specifically to the Hroi during the period of the French administration of Indochina. The French set up an administrative system under the control of a Resident General. They established plantations and various industrial, mining, and logging enterprises which soon began to thrive and to expand inland into the areas of the native highland groups. In the highland plateau areas French entrepreneurs established rubber, tea, and coffee plantations. Some regions were converted into hunting preserves.

In 1923 the French issued a manifesto providing that the social structure of the various highland groups was to be respected; that intertribal trade and trade with the ethnic Vietnamese were to be regulated; that tribal laws were to be codified and used in the administration of justice in the highlands; and that educational, medical, and agricultural assistance would be given to the tribal peoples. The provisions of the manifesto were generally observed by the French, although some plantations continued to encroach upon tribal lands until the expulsion of the French in 1954.⁸

Settlement Patterns

The Hroi live in villages composed of houses containing several nuclear family groups (father, mother, and offspring); unlike the other Bahnar subgroups, they do not have a communal house (*rong*) located at the center of the village. Among the Hroi, communal activities take place in or near the house of the village chief. Their villages also contain chicken coops, pig sties, and granaries.

The Hroi house, built on pilings above the ground, is rectangular and from 30 to 60 feet in length. All doors face to the south. A porchlike platform is usually built out from the main door of the house, and access is by means of ladders from the ground. The

sides and floors of the houses are of woven bamboo; light is admitted through small openings in the loosely woven walls.

The interior of the house is divided into compartments separated by bamboo screens. The hearth of the owner is to the right of the main entrance; the married children all have their own hearths. Tools, baskets, and jars are kept in the compartments where the couples sleep. A house is usually inhabited by the owning couple, their unmarried offspring, and their married daughters with their husbands and children.⁹

SECTION III

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Physical Characteristics

The Hroi are a short—5 feet 1 inches to 5 feet 6 inches—sturdy people with light brown skin. Their average weight is about 115 pounds; their hair is black, usually long, and tied into a chignon on the back of the head. Generally the upper front teeth are filed down almost to the gum line, although in recent years this custom has been dying out. At an early age earlobes are pierced and the opening is progressively enlarged until the earlobes may even touch the shoulder. Reportedly this custom is also no longer favored by the younger tribesmen. The chests of adults are scarred from self-inflicted cuts, a mourning custom which is observed at the funeral of a relative.¹

Health

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

The principal disease among the Hroi 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.²

The three types of typhus found in the Hroi area are carried by lice, rat fleas, and mites. Mite-borne typhus is reportedly rampant among all the Montagnard tribes.³

Cholera, typhoid, dysentery, rheumatism, yaws, leprosy, venereal disease, tuberculosis, and various parasitic infestations are also found in the area.⁴ Communicable diseases occasionally sweep through the tribal area in epidemic proportions.⁵

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.⁶

Nutritional diseases are widespread in this area. Although intake of calcium and iron is apparently satisfactory, deficiencies in the intake of thiamine, riboflavin, and vitamins A and C have been reported.⁷

Dental diseases are common and severe, causing loosening and loss of teeth.⁸

Like other highland tribal peoples, the Hroi believe that illness is caused by the activities of evil spirits and certain people called O-Ma-Lai with special evil power. Illnesses caused by spirits are believed to be punishment for the violation of traditional law or taboos.

The Hroi sorcerer, the practitioner of tribal medicine, divines the spirit causing the illness and prescribes appropriate placating sacrifices.

Sorcerers also handle illnesses caused by an O-Ma-Lai—ailments associated with the intestines, stomach, and liver—recommending the kind of gifts the O-Ma-Lai requires from the family of the sick person.⁹

The divinations of the Hroi sorcerers vary according to region. To determine the spirit involved, the sorcerer often holds a chicken egg in his hand and says, "This sickness is caused by Yang Dak." Then he squeezes the egg; if the egg breaks, indicating Yang Dak is the responsible spirit, the sorcerer then designates the appropriate sacrifice. Animal sacrifices are conducted by the members of the family of the sick person.¹⁰

Psychological Characteristics

The conduct of the Hroi is closely associated with their religious beliefs; all activities have religious implications. The influence of the spirits must be considered before any action is initiated, for the simplest activity may require elaborate preparation. Moreover, the tribesmen are not accustomed to thinking as individuals: decisions are made on the basis of the family or village group—not on the basis of the individual.

The Hroi in the area between the railroad and the coastal plain were characterized by one source as very lazy.¹¹ This source noted that when during a famine a village of this group was offered rice, to be fetched from another place, the villagers asked that the rice be brought to them.¹² This incident may, however, have indicated the extent of physical damage the famine wrought, rather than the laziness the author implied.

The eastern Hroi are reportedly very peaceful and reluctant to engage in fighting.¹³ In the region west of the railroad, the Hroi are reportedly much more active, vigorously defending their village against raids.¹⁴

Another difference between the two Hroi groups has been ob-

served—their attitude toward visitors. The Hroi near the coast greet a visitor with very little attention. If he goes to a house, someone will nonchalantly spread out a mat for him. If the visitor asks a question, he gets a short answer; the tribesmen make no effort to entertain him and, if he needs something, he must ask for it.

On the other hand, the inland Hroi receive a visitor much more warmly. He is greeted and invited into the village for a chat; he is asked what his needs are, and every effort is made to satisfy those needs. The tribespeople take turns conversing with him; if he wants entertainment, the Hroi organize it to please him.¹³

SECTION IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Hroi social structure is based on the family and the village, a society similar to that of the other Bahnar groups. Although village chiefs are male, both men and women share authority within the family and hold property. Descent is matrilineal, with the importance of females manifested in other ways. While relations with neighboring tribes are not always friendly, a non-Hroi tribesman marrying into the Hroi group is promptly absorbed into Hroi society.¹

Kinship System and Tribal Structure

In the matrilineal kinship system of the Hroi the family surname is passed along the female line, and a newly married man resides for at least 3 years, if not longer, with his wife's family. Some surnames are not native to the area but were arbitrarily assigned by earlier government functionaries for administrative convenience. For example, *mang*, meaning "savage," is a common surname in the Van Canh area.

Use of surnames facilitates the avoidance and detection of incestuous marriages.² Fines for incest are expensive, ranging from three buffaloes in the case of brothers and sisters, to one buffalo for fourth-generation cousins, to a pig and chicken for fifth-generation cousins. In addition, one white chicken must be offered to the spirits. Thus it appears that the immediate kin group extends only to the fifth generation of common ancestry.³

There is no overall tribal structure superimposed over the villages, and ties between villages are limited to those of intermarriage and other social relationships. Each village has four classes, ranked in order of importance: functionaries, sorcerers, common people, and servants. The village unity exists for mutual defense, mutual aid, or celebrations.

The principal village functionary is the chief. When a village is founded the chief is elected; thereafter his office is hereditary. Although the chief's orders require strict obedience, a dissident village—especially a family head—may persuade friends and relatives to move with him to another area, there establishing himself as a new chief.⁴

Although they live like other Hroi, the typical sorcerers are highly respected and considered to belong to a class higher than that of the average tribesman.

Debtors become servants of their creditors, performing whatever tasks are appropriate to their sex. Unless they save enough money to pay off their debt, indentured servants remain in their creditor's household for life.³

Place of Men, Women, and Children in Society

Although men and women have clearly defined roles, both share family authority and both can own property, either individually or jointly. Each spouse has the right to dispose of his or her private property; common property can only be used or disposed of by mutual consent.⁴ Work is allocated according to sex; even servants perform chores on the basis of sex. Older people are expected to work harder than young people—except those who are servants—lest they “die in vain,” or die without having done their part for family and village.⁵

Men have specific responsibility for the heavy work of clearing the fields and raising the crops; they also find the building materials and construct the houses. Men hunt, fish, and collect bamboo or rattan for basketweaving. During festivals they gather to slaughter the buffaloes and prepare the banquet.

Women are responsible for the lighter agricultural tasks and for household chores. For female-designated tasks women do not seek or expect the help of male servants. The tasks restricted to women are carrying water, grinding rice, preparing meals, and weaving baskets. It is customary to prepare food for only 1 day; rice is ground only once a day. During the planting season, women also work with their husbands in the field.⁶

Children are assigned specific responsibilities according to their sex: heavy work for boys and household assistance for girls.⁷

Marriage

Marriage is initiated by the man's family through marriage brokers. A man may marry into another village if he can persuade members of that village to assist him. Then two villagers, selected by the boy's family, approach the girl's family, and if an agreement is reached, a wedding date is set.

A Hroi marriage ceremony consists of feasts in the houses of both families, offerings to the spirits, and an exchange of wedding bracelets. The bride's family, accompanied by five marriage brokers striking gongs, goes to the groom's house in a procession. The bride herself must wear very ragged, dirty clothes, while everyone else is colorfully dressed. After eating and drinking with the groom's family, the procession regroups and proceeds to the bride's house. The family of the bride walks at the head of the line, fol-

lowed by the groom, his best men, and his family. The groom's hand is tied to that of one of his brothers-in-law until they reach the bride's house, where they have another banquet. Under the direction of the sorcerer and the village chief, offerings are then made to the spirits. The bride and groom exchange wedding bracelets. Still another feast is eaten by the families while the bride pretends to hide; eventually the marriage brokers find her and bring her to her husband.¹⁰

Generally, the husband resides with his wife's family; however, in some areas he reportedly must build his own house after 3 years.¹¹ Information is not available about what goods, other than bracelets, are exchanged during the marriage proceedings.

Premarital sexual relations are discouraged by fines and the knowledge that any village misfortune, such as the sudden death of some animals, will be blamed upon the guilty lovers. Those guilty of premarital sexual relations are penalized with fines payable to both the village and their parents (compensation for not consulting them). The couple are also required to marry. The parents determine the severity of the fines, which may consist of chickens or pigs.

Divorce

The Hroi permit divorce, which is arranged through a trial conducted by the villagers. For a divorce by mutual consent, the couple return the wedding bracelets to each other and divide the common possessions equally. If a partner refuses to consent to divorce, the complaining spouse may apparently obtain a divorce by reimbursing the other for the entire cost of the wedding.¹²

Pregnancy and Birth

The Hroi east of the railroad build a small house on stilts, attached to the main house by a bridgelike structure, just large enough for the pregnant women and the midwife. Any pregnant women in the family move to this small house at the first sign of labor pains. Among the other Hroi, the separate house for pregnant women adjoins the main house, sharing a common roof and connected simply by a door.¹³

During labor, the Hroi mother is assisted by a midwife; in difficult births, a sorcerer is called. The sorcerer divines, by squeezing an egg, what the spirits want to eat. If the egg is broken, pigs, chickens, or buffaloes are slaughtered and offered to the spirits. If the egg does not break when squeezed, the Hroi consider the case hopeless, do nothing more, and let the mother wait for the spirit of death to come for her.

After giving birth, the mother must drink solutions derived from roots and leaves. If the mother and child are safe and healthy,

offerings are made to the spirits. In the eastern or coastal Hroi area, the new mother must refrain from eating buffalo, goat, or pork for 1 month. She need not work, at least until her baby can crawl; only in very poor families are mothers obliged to work after only 1 month of rest.

Death and Burial

After a death, the whole Hroi village joins the family in its mourning rites. Young men find timber for a coffin; others mourn over the corpse and then help slaughter buffaloes and pigs. For offerings to a dead person, no sorcerer is required; the tribespeople merely gather around the corpse and say:

Farewell to you. We offer you part of the wealth.
Take it with you. Death is decided by Heaven.
No one wants death. Go away, do not come back
to the village to haunt us.¹⁴

After the offerings to the dead are made, liquor and pieces of meat are placed in the mouth of the corpse,¹⁵ Now the mourners eat and drink joyfully and then weep and wail again.

The corpse is taken to the grave in a mat; at the gravesite the corpse and old clothes of the deceased are placed in the coffin, the face of the person being turned upward. After the burial a tube is forced through the loose dirt to the coffin; food is placed in it for the dead person.¹⁶ When they return to their families, all mourners except the immediate family of the deceased feel they have fulfilled their obligations to the dead person.¹⁷

A hut with carved pillars is sometimes built above the grave. Here the personal belongings of the dead person are placed, after having been torn or crushed. In some villages, a temporary roof is built above the grave.

Three or four months after the burial, hired workers build a new hut with a high roof with many woven flowers and a high stake fence, on which statues and wooden animals are placed.

Family mourning periods are extensive: 1 to 4 months for any relative, 1 year for a parent, and 2 to 3 years for a spouse. Hroi in mourning are forbidden to wear bracelets or collars, to participate in social affairs, or to listen to singing. During the mourning period, widows or widowers wishing to remarry must reimburse the family of the dead spouse for all the expenditures pertaining to the original wedding.

Daily Routine

When not engaged in hunting or housebuilding, Hroi men work in the fields and the women in the village. Although there are only two meals a day, the women spend much time preparing food. During the busy agricultural season, the men wait for the first meal

of the day, then go out to work the fields until nightfall. At other times, they hunt or fish, weave baskets, play with the children, or simply sit around smoking or talking. All transactions with the outside temporal world are left to the village chief; all transactions with the spirits, to the sorcerers. Periodic festivals, marriages, and funerals break the routine.

SECTION V

CUSTOMS AND TABOOS

Almost all Hroi activities are regulated by numerous customs and taboos. There are prescribed methods and procedures governing everything from dress to the construction of houses, from the settlement of disputes to patterns of individual behavior. The Hroi have passed down these prescriptions from generation to generation until they have attained the force of customary law. Believing that the world around them abounds in both good and evil spirits, the Hroi are constantly trying to avoid actions, activities, and contacts with objects or animals that they believe might displease the spirits. Tribesmen regularly in contact with outsiders may not observe the tribal customs and taboos as closely as tribesmen living in greater isolation.

Dress

Hroi dress varies according to location. Among those who live in the region between the railroad and the coastal plain, the men wear a loincloth made of a length of black material having white and red stripes across each end. Women wear a black skirt which is decorated along the seams with embroidered white flowers and red dots; the front of the skirt has a large woven flower design, and on the back of the skirt is another embroidered flower.¹

Both men and women wear dark blue long-sleeved coats, open at the front and decorated with white flowers and red dots. Women's coats are somewhat longer in front than in back.

In the winter, as protection against the cold mountain air, both men and women wrap felt blankets around their shoulders.

Both sexes also wear turbans and necklaces of glass beads. Few tribesmen wear copper and silver brackets and necklaces.²

The tribespeople in the western portion of the Hroi area wear clothing somewhat different from that mentioned above. Here, the men wear loincloths of white material with stripes lengthwise along the edges and down the center. The women wear blue skirts with only small designs on the front. There is no embroidery at the seams.³

Here the women wear dark blue hip-length coats. Jewelry for this group consists of strings of glass beads and copper bracelets.⁴

Tribal Folklore

Traditional Hroi legends, proverbs, and riddles are transmitted in the form of poetry from generation to generation and exert a great influence upon the tribespeople. From childhood, the Hroi hear the legends, stories, laws, and proverbs of their particular group.

Folk tales and legends are customarily told in the evening, around the family hearth—long, poetic tales of the origin of the world, of legendary and human heroes, of the spirits, and of animals (like Aesop's fables).⁵ An example of a Hroi folk tale is as follows:

The Story of the Rice Plant

In the early days, there was a strange big flower on earth, around which hungry men gathered twice a day; the men smelled the flower and were fed.

One day, a spirit came down, gave men a rice seed, and taught them how to plant it.

Soon the rice seed became a rice plant. Men smelled it and felt comfortable. But they did not dare to eat it. Meanwhile, the rice plant produced many rice seeds, which in turn produced many rice plants.

The smell of rice was pleasant. Men deliberated and decided to boil the leaves from the rice plant and drink the solution. Now they felt even more comfortable. Gradually, they experimented further with the rice plant. They ground the rice seed into a kind of flour and ate it, finding it tasty, but the husk choked them; then they got rid of the husk and steamed the rice. Luckily, it turned out to be delicious as well as nutritious.

From that time on, man has known how to plant and eat rice.⁶

Eating and Drinking Customs

The Hroi generally eat two meals a day: the first, at about 8:30 or 9:00 in the morning; and the second, between 7:00 and 9:00 in the evening. A light snack of corn or potatoes may be eaten in the middle of the day while the tribesmen are working in the fields.⁷

Rice with salt is the staple of the Hroi diet. Vegetables are used in soups and meat is eaten after sacrifices.

Water is the usual beverage of the Hroi, but at sacrifices they drink rice wine brewed in antique pottery jars. In the order of their importance, all celebrants drink the rice wine through long straws. A sacrifice is considered ineffectual and the spirits are offended if any Hroi abstains from drinking rice wine during a sacrifice.

The Hroi usually eat with their fingers; very few use bowls or dishes. The cooked rice is placed either on areca leaves or in

baskets with a bag of salt. All Hroi gather around and eat with their fingers, rolling the rice into little balls. If the rice balls are too hot to put into their mouths, the Hroi throw them into the air to cool them.⁸

Customs Relating to Poisons

From the sap of the *cong* tree, Hroi tribesmen make a poison that is mixed with red pepper. They believe that this sap is extremely powerful if taken from the tree on the ninth day of the first month of the lunar year. The traditional antidote for this poison is to eat a frog, a worm, or some chicken droppings.⁹

SECTION VI

RELIGION

Like the other Montagnard peoples, the Hroi have an animistic religion which dominates their daily lives. Good spirits, evil spirits, rituals, ceremonies, taboos, and sacrifices—all these form the Hroi religion.

Unlike the neighboring Bahnar groups, the Hroi worship one major spirit or *yang*: however, minor spirits are also respected and mentioned in prayers for the sick.

Spirits, cruel or benevolent, are believed to inhabit all animate and inanimate objects as well as geographic features and natural occurrences such as lightning, thunder, rain, and wind.¹

The Hroi hate and fear the O-Ma-Lai (ghosts and devils), which they believe feed on human bowels and livers. Two kinds of O-Ma-Lai menace the Hroi: the living O-Ma-Lai and the ghosts. The living O-Ma-Lai may be man, woman, or child, even though the essential quality of being O-Ma-Lai can be inherited through male descent only. Thus the children of a female O-Ma-Lai will not be O-Ma-Lai unless their father is also. They live essentially like normal people, but by other tribesmen they are considered devils who wander about at night in search of prey. Should an O-Ma-Lai get into a house and come upon some unfortunate person, he will eat his bowels and liver. Some O-Ma-Lai are believed to be more powerful than others.

There is only one O-Ma-Lai ghost, invisible and very dangerous, who waits in ambush at night in a tree, ready to shoot an arrow at anyone coming within its range. The victim will die immediately and the O-Ma-Lai will eat his heart, liver, or bowels. When threatened by an O-Ma-Lai, a person may be helped either by the O-Ma-Lai itself or by a skilled sorcerer.²

Religious Ceremonies

Many Hroi religious ceremonies are associated with the agricultural cycle; these include major sacrifices to the spirits before and after clearing the land for cultivation. Two important festivals occur during the year: one corresponding to the Vietnamese New Year (the first or second month of the lunar year) and one in June or July in a two-night celebration to worship the spirits.³

For festivals, a platform or altar is set up in the middle of the village. Since the most important ceremonies involve the slaughtering of a buffalo, bamboo ceremonial poles to which the buffalo is usually tied are planted near the altar.

The villagers gather, gongs and drums are played noisily, the village chief (and at times the sorcerer) intones prayers, and the people sing and dance. When the buffalo is slaughtered, its blood is poured into a bowl on the platform, its meat is prepared for the feast, and its head is placed on the platform, where it is left to rot. Much rice wine is consumed and the festivals often continue into the second night.

For lesser ceremonies the rituals are simpler, the offerings consisting of pigs or chickens, and it is permissible to take the offerings home to be eaten.⁴

Religious Practitioners

The ceremonies of the agricultural cycle and important special celebrations are conducted by the village chief, sometimes accompanied by the sorcerer or *bojau*.⁵ Healing ceremonies, however, are the unique responsibility of the *bojau*. While in a state of trance, the *bojau* determines the nature of the illness, identifies the evil spirit responsible, and determines appropriate sacrifices for the cure.⁶

The *bojau*'s skill remains a family specialty, transmitted from generation to generation.⁷

Missionary Contact

Roman Catholic missionaries have had missions in the general area of the Ilroi since the middle of the 19th century. How much they have accomplished is not clear, for even converted villagers have only modified their tribal rites, not abandoned them. The Ilroi consider missionaries to be Western sorcerers.⁸

SECTION VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Type of Economy

The Hroi have a subsistence economy based upon the cultivation of dry rice by the slash-and-burn method of agriculture. Rice cultivation is supplemented by vegetable gardens, fishing, hunting, and basketweaving.¹

Slash-and-burn dry rice cultivation is the principal occupation of the Hroi. Briefly, this technique involves cutting down all vegetation in the new area during the winter months and burning it to clear the fields. The ashes produced serve as a fertilizer which makes the soil fertile enough to permit crops to be grown for 3 to 4 years. When the fields no longer support a crop, the Hroi move to another area, allowing the old fields to return to jungle, and repeat the slash-and-burn clearing process in the new area.

The Hroi tribesmen plant their rice seeds in holes poked in the soil with sharp pointed sticks (dibble sticks). No plow is used; the root structure is thus undisturbed and erosion is minimized. The summer rains maintain the crop during the growing season. The plot is weeded periodically, and the rice is harvested in the late fall.²

The Hroi believe that the entire agricultural cycle requires a succession of sacrifices to promote fertility and to avert crop failure (considered to be a punishment for infractions of tribal laws). Sacrifices are dedicated to the spirit responsible for the current phase of the agricultural cycle and involve the sacrifice of animals, such as chickens, pigs, and buffaloes.

In addition to sacrificing animals, the Hroi observe a number of taboos in connection with dry-rice cultivation. For example, objects used to grind or carry rice may be touched and used only by the members of the family cultivating the rice. When rice is taken from the fields to the house, the person carrying the rice must, when crossing a river or stream, tie a string to a tree and to the rice so that the spirit of the rice will be able to accompany the rice across the stream. It is believed that the rice will be washed away by the current of the stream if it cannot cross by means of the string. If the spirit of the rice were washed away, there would be a crop failure the next year. Also, rice can only be carried into a Hroi village; it cannot be carried past the village.³

The Hroi raise vegetables in gardens (which are not subject to religious considerations), fish, hunt, and weave baskets; they fish by using baskets to scoop fish out of the streams.⁴

Hroi men and women weave baskets (*sui*) for storage, for backpacks, and for use in trapping fish. The basket for food storage has a small bottom and a large round opening in the top, is woven of thin bamboo strips, and has a handle. Another loosely woven type is used to store tools and utensils.⁵

Exchange System and Trade

Ordinarily, the Hroi engage in barter, either among themselves or with Vietnamese traders in local markets. Exchange and legal fines have been fixed in terms of buffaloes, jars, gongs, weapons, clothes, and other objects.

The Hroi probably have limited intervillage trade, and they trade with Vietnamese shopkeepers in towns near their area. Items they would buy include gongs, jars, cloth and salt; items they might sell would include vegetables, fish, and baskets.

Property System

Three types of Hroi property are property of the husband, property of the wife, and common property of husband and wife. Property includes such goods as animals, jars, gongs, weapons, jewelry, and clothing. Each spouse may dispose of his own personal property; however, mutual consent is required for the disposal of common property.⁶

The information available did not indicate the system of land ownership among the Hroi. It is probable that the village owns the land and allots it to the various families for cultivation.

SECTION VIII

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Political Organization

Like other Montagnard groups, the Hroi have no overall political structure uniting their villages. The highest form of political organization among the Hroi is the autonomous village. Although neighboring villages will cooperate with each other, this does not represent political unity.

Village leadership is provided by a village chief. When a village is established, a chief is elected by the villagers; thereafter the position is hereditary.

The heads of the various families in the village serve, because of their position, wisdom, and age, as a council of elders when they meet informally to discuss village interests. The elders serve as a check on the power of the chief.¹

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 Hroi and other tribal groups 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.

The Vietnamese Government supervises intertribal relations, assigning an official to administer a group of seven or eight villages. Above this administrative level are district and provincial chiefs, completing the administrative hierarchy of the Central Government in tribal areas.

Legal System

Hroi laws are handed down from generation to generation and are, in reality, taboos and prohibitions upon individual behavior to prevent punishment by the spirits. A respected village elder is responsible for judgment and application of the traditional law.²

According to Hroi law, a robber or bandit is punished by a fine five or ten times the value of the original theft. If the culprit cannot pay the fine, then he becomes a servant for the victim until his fine is paid.

In a quarrel between two villagers, the elders attempt to mediate the dispute. Should this mediation fail, the parties submit to one of the following trials. The plaintiff and defendant each holds an egg while saying prayers to the spirits. The first egg to break designates the guilty person. In another trial, each party holds a live chicken, then cuts off the chicken's head and puts the chicken in water. The person whose chicken goes to the bottom wins, while the loser is the tribesman whose chicken rises to the top and beats its wings.³

On the village, district, and provincial levels, a special system of courts was established under French colonial administration to adjudicate matters concerning the various tribal groups. In the village, a village court decided the sentences, which 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 tribal practice. 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 is 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.⁸

District courts, governed by the president of the court (the district chief) aided by two Montagnard assistants, will hold bi-monthly court sessions. Cases to be tried by the district court include those appealed by the village court, "all minor offenses," 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

Their isolation and marginal subsistence make the Hroi susceptible to the subversive activities of the Viet Cong. The primary objective of the subversive elements is to win allegiance of the Hroi and to turn the tribesmen into an active, hostile force against the Republic of Vietnam.

Generally, the Viet Cong infiltrate a village and work to win the confidence of either the whole village or its key individuals. Usually a slow process, this is achieved by providing community services and medical aid and by adopting tribal mores and customs.

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.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 active support for the Viet Cong.¹²

SECTION IX

COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUES

Principal Means of Information Dissemination

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

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

Effectiveness of Written Communication

Written communication might have some effect on the Hroi. Although most Hroi are illiterate, some of the tribesmen can read Bahnar or Vietnamese. The literate tribesmen could be expected to communicate information contained 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 Hroi should be oriented around the principle of improving conditions in the tribal villages. The control of disease, the improvement of agriculture, and protection against Viet Cong harassment 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 Hroi. Initial contacts in villages should be made only with the village chief and the elders in order to show respect for the tribal political structure. The tribespeople should also be psychologically prepared to accept the proposed changes. This requires detailed consultation with village leaders, careful assurance of results, and a relatively slow pace in implementing programs.

Most Hroi tribesmen would probably respond favorably to ideas for change presented in terms of local community betterment. Civic action proposals should stress improvement of village life rather than emphasize ethnic or cultural pride, nationalism, or political ideology. The reasons for innovations should be thoroughly explained: the Hroi resent interference in 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 Hroi tribespeople into new and larger villages, the control of malaria, medical aid programs, agricultural assistance, and the provision of educational facilities.¹

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

Hroi 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 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 rudimentary vocational training.
 - c. Present information about the outside world of interest to the tribesmen.
 - d. Provide basic citizenship training.

SECTION XI

PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES

Given the incentive and motivation and provided with the necessary training, leadership, and support, the Hroi could become an effective force against the Viet Cong. The tribesmen could serve as informers, trackers, and guides, intelligence agents, interpreters, and translators. With intensive training and support, the Hroi could be organized to defend their villages against the Viet Cong; with good leadership they could, particularly the western group, be organized into an effective counter guerrilla combat unit.

In the past, the western Hroi were considered capable fighters, whether fighting offensively in raids against other groups or defensively within their villages. These tribesmen reportedly take great pride in their hunting and fighting abilities. The eastern Hroi, on the other hand, are a very peaceful people with no reported experience in warfare.

When psychological pressures to win Hroi support fail, the Viet Cong have resorted to outright brutality and terror. Frequently, the Hroi yield and cooperate with the Viet Cong; without Government training and support, they do not have the wherewithal to oppose the Viet Cong. Hroi villages have no able organization for defense except those equipped, trained, and organized by the Government.

Weapons Utilized by the Tribe

In the past, the Hroi relied upon crossbows, spears, swords, knives, and wooden shields. Hroi knives have a straight blade with a slightly curved hilt almost as long as the blade. Hroi crossbows are larger and stronger than those of most other Montagnard tribes. Arrows are bamboo with one end sharply pointed; the other end has a leaf tied to it. Circular wooden shields, about 3 feet in diameter, have two inside straps for the arm.¹ The Hroi are also familiar with the use of traps, pits, and concealed sharpened sticks used as foot traps. Some Hroi may have received modern military training from the French, but there was no documented information on this question.

Their relatively small stature limits the type of weapons the Hroi 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.

Ability to Absorb Military Instruction

The Hroi 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 HROI

Every action of the Hroi tribesman has a special significance in terms of his culture. One must be careful to realize that the Hroi 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 Hroi are listed below.

Official

1. The initial visit to a Hroi 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 Hroi. 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 the tribespeople 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 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 Hroi 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 Hroi ceremony, festival, or meeting from the village elders or other responsible persons.
6. An outsider should never enter a Hroi 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 Hroi women. This could create distrust and dissension.
8. Teachers should be careful to avoid seriously disrupting cultural patterns.

Living Standards and Routines

1. Outsiders should treat all Hroi 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 Hroi dialects. A desire to learn and speak their language creates a favorable impression on the tribespeople.

Health and Welfare

1. The Hroi are becoming aware of the benefits of medical care and will request medical assistance. Outside groups in Hroi 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.

FOOTNOTES

I. INTRODUCTION

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2. Moc Huong [Lam Ngoc Trang], *Customs and Mores of the Bahnar People* (Hue: U.S. Department of the Army Translation 1-1330, 2198515, 1960), p. 2.
3. Frank M. LeBar, et al., *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1964), p. 249.
4. H. C. Darby (ed.), *Indo-China* (Cambridge, England: Geographical Handbook Series, 1943), pp. 82-84.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-71.

II. TRIBAL BACKGROUND

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3. Huong, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
4. Dam Bo [Jacques Dournes], "Les Populations montagnardes du Sud-Indochinois," *France-Asie* (Special Number, Spring 1950), pp. 1046-47.
5. Huong, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
8. Joseph Buttinger, *The Smaller Dragon: A Political History of Vietnam* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), pp. 198-244, 325-85.
9. Huong, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

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2. Darby, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-14.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-16.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-24.
5. Dam Bo, *op. cit.*, pp. 1026-29.
6. Darby, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-13.
7. U.S. Department of Defense, Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense, *Republic of Viet-Nam: Nutritional Survey, October-December 1959* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., July 1960), p. 100.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

9. Huong, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

IV. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. Huong, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-38.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*

V. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS

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2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Dam Bo, *op. cit.*, pp. 1046-52.
6. Huong, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

VI. RELIGION

1. Huong, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
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6. Dam Bo., *op. cit.*, pp. 1177-79.
7. Huong, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
8. Guilleminet, *op. cit.*, pp. 452-55.

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2. Pierre-Bernard Lafont, "The 'Slash-and-Burn' (*Ray*) Agricultural System of the Mountain Populations of Central Vietnam," *Proceedings of the Ninth Pacific Science Congress of the Pacific Science Association*, VII (Bangkok: Secretariat Ninth Pacific Science Congress, Department of Science 1959), pp. 56-59.

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4. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
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VIII. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
3. *Ibid.*
4. John D. Donoghue, Daniel D. Whitney, and Iwao Ishina, *People in the Middle: The Rhade of South Vietnam* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1962), pp. 69-70.
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6. Gerald C. Hickey, "Comments on Recent GVN Legislation Concerning Montagnard Common Law Courts in the Central Vietnamese Highlands" (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation Memorandum, June 8, 1965), p. 1.
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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.

XI. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES

1. Huong, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

XII. SUGGESTIONS FOR PERSONNEL WORKING WITH THE HROI

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