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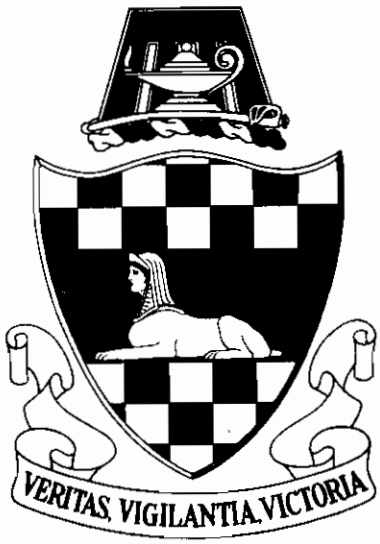

MONTAGNARD TRIBAL GROUPS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

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of the

REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM

Prepared by

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Fort Bragg, North Carolina 28307

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Preface

This publication becomes the second edition of the Montagnard Tribal Groups of the Republic of Viet-Nam, reflecting additional research and information about the 13 tribes discussed herein. There are considerably more than 13 Montagnard tribal groups; however, these 13 received specific attention because of their strategic importance, relatively large numbers, location, and size of the area that they occupy. Additionally, these are tribes among which special forces soldiers are more likely to find themselves.

Special gratitude goes to the sources that provided the bulk of information contained in these chapters: the personal and organizational libraries made available to us, the Library of Congress, the Southeast Asia Collection at Yale University; and those persons, both military and civilian, who had lived and worked among the tribes and reported their findings to us.

In reporting the available facts about the tribes, we note that there are some interrelations among major topics: for instance, certain customs and taboos may affect health and medical treatment; or health and medical treatment may affect paramilitary considerations. Therefore, it is important that you read each chapter as a whole rather than segmented parts.

The Special Warfare School has conducted this study, normally a province of the cultural anthropologist, to provide documentation on the tribes for the use of military personnel and special forces advisors in the Republic of Viet-Nam. The school has always stressed that ultimate victory consists of winning over, not fighting against, people; that the strategic struggle is for men's minds; and that the first step in such a struggle is understanding. Warfare, thus directed, is warfare against ignorance and suffering. It is hoped that this book is a step toward understanding and alleviating the miseries of the tribes discussed.

The United States Army Special Warfare School welcomes your comments and criticisms concerning this work and urges those of you who have firsthand information about this subject to share it with us. Your comments may be addressed directly to: The Commandant, United States Army Special Warfare School, Fort Bragg, North Carolina 28307, Attention: Office of Director of Instruction.

Acknowledgements

The United States Army Special Warfare School owes a debt of gratitude to many individuals and organizations, some of whom requested anonymity.

Scholastically, their greatest debt is to Messrs. LeBar, Hickey, and Musgrave of the Yale Human Relations Area Files Press for the right to use material from their book, Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia, published in September 1964. They also borrowed importantly from Condominas' Nous avons mange la foret, Cuisinier's Les Muong, Michigan State's People in the Middle: the Rhade of South Vietnam: Dam Bo's (Jacques Dournes,) Les Populations Montagnards du Sud-Indochinois, and the USIS pamphlet, Montagnards of the South Vietnam Highlands.

In an advisory and liaison capacity, the help of Special Operations Research Field Office (SORFO) was inestimable. Printing was facilitated by the cooperation of the 1st Psychological Warfare Battalion, the 66th Engineer Company (Topo), both of Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and the Third United States Army Field Printing Plant, Fort McPherson, Georgia. Current information was obtained from the 5th and 7th Special Forces Groups, whose men have recently lived and worked with the Montagnards.

Contents

Chapter 1

GENERAL

The study of any complex culture in a handbook must be approached with the greatest caution by the reader. Even the best and most painstaking of such works can only hope to indicate general considerations which will have to be modified later by future visitors to specific locations. Such work can only provide the frame of reference within which the man-on-the-scene can complete his own picture. They are a guideline for the collection of future information, not a basis for action programs in local communities.

This basic problem gains in complexity when we deal with such a segmented culture as that of the South Vietnamese highlanders. The United States Information Service has written that "Cultural anthropologists seem fairly well agreed that this mosaic of races and cultures is the world's most ethnically complex." We write in this book as though a dozen or so distinct tribes exist, each with its own individual characteristics. In actuality, however, such a classification is based merely on language considerations and does not necessarily extend to other areas. Thus, although one Jarai may speak the same language as another Jarai in a distant village, their social, religious, and agricultural customs may be quite different. In these latter areas, one Jarai may be closer to a Bahnar than to another Jarai.

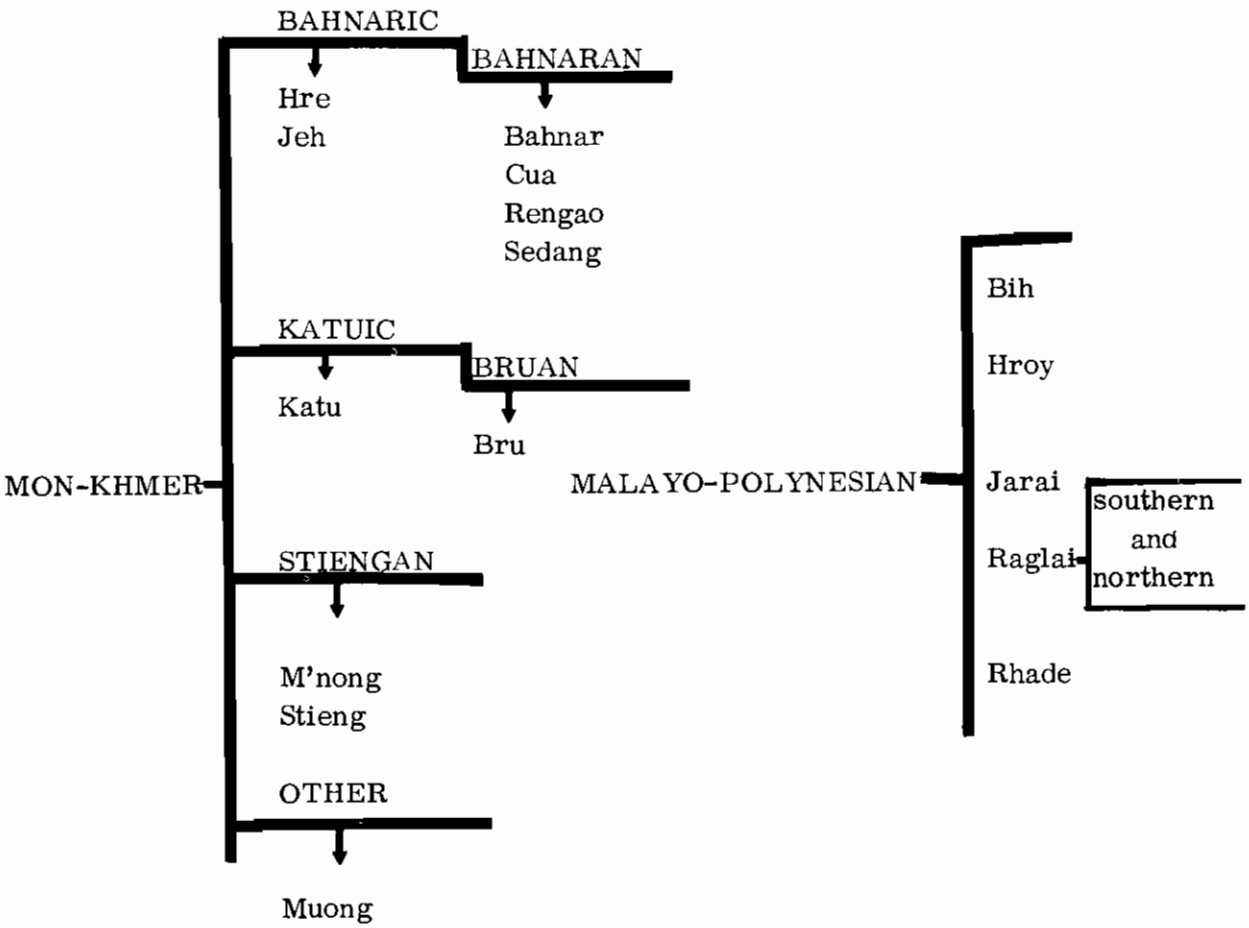
This opposition to logic and classification comes about because, in Montagnard life, the village rather than the tribe is the important political, social, and economic unit. The villager's life is conditioned by the immediate environment; he knows that environment well--but little beyond. Thus, a really accurate picture of this complex culture would not deal only with a dozen or so tribal groups, but also with the thousands of villages where these people live and make their adjustments. Such an elaborate study is clearly impossible here, for reasons of space and insufficient information. We have, therefore, made the more feasible classification: classification by tribe. We can only warn the reader that this is merely an arbitrary and convenient device and that the generalizations made possible by it must be handled with extreme caution.

Even such classification by tribe presents difficulties. Some investigators, for example, handle the Rengao as a district ethnic group, while others insist they be treated as a subgroup of the Sedang, or the Bahnar. Similar controversies surround some of the other smaller tribes. Furthermore, we speak in this book

as though these tribes are strictly South Vietnamese; this is far from true. The Muong remain a predominantly North Vietnamese tribe with only a very small minority having migrated south. The Sedang extend into southern Laos, while the Jarai, Rhade, Mnong, and Stieng are all found in eastern Cambodia. Some of these tribes are located near relatively major towns and are influenced accordingly, while others deliberately avoid such contact. The upshot of all these qualifications is once again to warn the reader against facile generalizations and to encourage his own investigation of local conditions.

LANGUAGE

As mentioned earlier, the tribal distinctions depend primarily upon language differences. Two basic language stocks, Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian, exists: each includes various subgroups and even sub-subgroups. A diagrammatic representation would be as follows:



Despite these differences, however, one tribe can usually communicate with another: basic words often resemble one another and remain mutually intelligible, and a traditional system of conventional signs has been developed. In addition to these everyday languages, a special, sacred language has grown up among the tribes for use in ritualistic ceremonies. And, finally, the more "advanced" groups, like the Rhade and Bahnar, have a considerable understanding of Vietnamese and French and have their own written language.

RELATIVE DEVELOPMENT

The Bru have a meager 855 people, while the Jarai include 200 thousand, and the Muong number between 260 and 370 thousand. The importance of a tribe is partially a function of its size. Also important is the tribe's contact with other peoples. The Bahnar have had considerable contact with all of their neighboring groups--the Jarai, the Halang, and the Sedang--and with the French, and consequently display considerable diversity and development, while the Katu, with few contacts, remain relatively backward.

SETTLEMENTS

It is especially difficult to make meaningful generalizations about Montagnard settlements, for as one observer puts it, "as the topography of an area varies, the size and form of settlements will vary." Men must both adjust to and take advantage of their surroundings. Thus, the Mnông Nong on a valley slope, the Mnông Rolom on flat land, and the Mnông Gar of Sar Luc all present a quite different appearance. And these are all Mnông; one can imagine the differences among different tribes!

The typical house is a simple bamboo and wood structure, on pilings, and roofed with thatch. A long, central corridor divides the interior, with compartments on each side; each room houses a standard, or polygamous, family, usually with its own hearth. In addition, the house contains a larger common room for family gatherings and the reception of guests.

More impressive is the village communal or bachelors' house. Large, carefully constructed, elaborate, and centrally located, it often serves as the ritual center of the village, the place where unmarried young men sleep and learn the ways of their elders, and as the mobilization center for war. Women may be taboo there.

The third and final important structure in most villages is the spirit house. Unlike the bachelors' house, it is usually small, and most often is dedicated to the spirit of the soil.

Better developed villages have personal kitchen gardens near individual houses; granaries are located at the village edge. Enclosing all of the village is some sort of protective structure, like a stockade. One last important point for strangers: villages of certain tribes usually orient their houses on particular axes. The Bahnar, for example, follow the east-west axis, while the Jarai and Rhade use the north-south.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculturally, investigators find a pervasive uniformity among the Montagnards. Rice dominates the agricultural scene. This dietary staple is cultivated in swiddens (cultivated areas) by the old slash-and-burn method, what the Mnong Gar colorfully call "eating the forest," necessitating frequent changes in location. The swiddens themselves are often chosen by divination and given spectacular identifying names, such as, "Forest of the Stone Spirit Goo." The three M's, manioc, maize, and millet, are the most important secondary crops; sugar cane is a prized delicacy.

Agricultural tools are simple and easy to use: a wooden digging stick, iron hoe, ax, adze, chopping knife (a special kind for the women), machete. The Mnong Rolom and Muong have each developed a relatively advanced wooden plow with iron blades. Fertilizers remain of the natural variety; ashes from the burned swiddens and the hearth fires, and buffalo manure. In other words, there is nothing sophisticated about their agricultural procedures; they use what they have.

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Fishing and hunting are no mere diversion for the Montagnards; rather, they contribute to survival. Certain tribes, like the Katu and Mnong, have become quite adept at these activities. Game traps of bamboo, rattan, or other flexible wood are used; crossbows with poisoned arrows are the favorite weapons. The Muong even use dogs to stalk their prey; but strangely, hunting has become more of a leisure-time activity, with fishing the important dietary supplement.

The Montagnards derive one final benefit from nature: gathering from their environment. The women especially are used for this relatively light work, gathering bamboo shoots, wild fruits, roots, edible leaves, mint, and saffron. Necessity is still the mother of invention, and the Montagnards find uses for their surroundings.

As one would naturally expect, not only vegetation, but also animals play a large role in highland life. Cats and dogs are the favorite pets. For food and

sacrificial purposes, the most important animals, in ascending order, are chickens, pigs, goats, and buffalo. The buffalo is especially prestigious. In many villages, a man's wealth is gauged by the number of buffalo he has sacrificed. A few wealthy highlanders have horses; and among the Mnong, even elephants are found, but this is far from common.

INDUSTRIAL ARTS

The industrial arts among the Montagnards serve practical purposes. They have no time for art for art's sake; what they produce, they use. Most prominent are the simple tools used in agriculture, and the weapons devised for hunting. Iron is of special value; and, indeed, among some people like the Sedang, it has a sacred aura. The blacksmith earns special respect. Of only slightly less importance among the industrial arts are those concerned with such necessities as eating and clothing the body: making cooking pots and weaving are two of the common female occupations. Jewelry, such as necklaces, ear rings, and ear plugs, is often worn and has considerable prestige value. The Mnong seem to be especially skillful in their production of rather complex musical instruments for their own use.

TRADE

As indicated earlier, the Montagnard villages are predominantly autonomous and self-sufficient; thus, little trade occurs between groups, much less between different tribes. The Mnong Gar are perhaps the major exception in this regard. They send pigs and poultry to the Mnong Rolom in return for buffalo; they trade produce to the Vietnamese and Chinese in exchange for valuable salt and jars; and, they purchase cloth from the Rhade. This relatively large-scale trading has introduced considerable diversity and development into the Mnong Gar culture. The Katu trade with the Vietnamese, especially for highly valued iron and pots. The Sedang are unusual in the extensiveness of their intervillage trading alliances.

DIVISION OF LABOR

A fairly consistent division of labor can be discerned among the various highland groups and may be depicted schematically as follows:

1. Heavy adult male tasks:

   Clearing the swidden.
   Hunting
   Ironworking.
   Woodworking.

2. Lighter, female tasks:

   Gathering.
   Planting seeds.
   Weaving.
   Cooking.
   Caring for the children.

3. Joint Activities:

   Harvesting the fields.
   Family rituals.

4. Young boys:

   Caring for domestic animals, including buffalo.

5. Orphans often serve as domestics for families.

In addition, just as we in the Western world observe growing specialization in advancing civilization, the more advanced Montagnard groups--the Rhade, Jarai, Bahnar, and Sedang--display a diversity of vocations unknown to their relatively backward brothers. Whereas almost all Cua live pretty much under the same sort of life, the Gahnar have many types of specialists from lawyers to gong players to stringmakers to caterers.

KIN GROUPS

A Westerner must forget many of his own preconceptions when he comes into contact with Montagnard kin groups. The head of the family is not necessarily the man; descent is not necessarily along the male line. The Jarai, Mnong, Raglai, and Rhade have matrilineal systems; leadership in the Sedang family goes to "the more forceful of the spouses." Within the kin group itself, there are usually taboos against marriage between close relatives; furthermore, when the group has an "alliance" with a certain animal, which is frequently the case, no member of that kin group can kill or eat that animal. In general, however, and in contrast to Western countries, kin groupings play a relatively minor role compared to the household or village, both of which act collectively in meeting the needs of the society.

MARRIAGE

Marriage customs depend largely upon whether we are dealing with a male or female dominated society. The choosing partner, boy or girl, asks his (or her) father to obtain an intermediary. The intermediary makes the intentions of the choosing partner known to the other family, arranges for a marriage discussion (usually at a meal), and often presents a symbolic gift. At the marriage meal, the two families discuss the price of the bride (or groom): this is often fixed by tribal or local law. The Stieng, for example, consider the following an adequate bride price for the wealthy: One slave, srung jar, machete, old iron spear, Djri jar, gong, silk Cambodian skirt, bowls, bracelets, and necklaces.

The engagement period varies considerably among the various tribes, lasting from a week among the Jarai up to 5 years with the Muong. Usually, rather severe restrictions are placed upon the plighted couple during this period. During the 4-year waiting period among the Jeh, for instance, the man must present valuable monthly gifts to his fiancee; but the couple is never allowed to be alone together.

The marriage ceremony itself is surrounded by its own prescribed rituals. These normally consist of the bride exposing herself to her own household gods and to those of her husband, taking leave of the one and pledging herself to the other. The groom may have to expose himself to the spirits of the village, often at the village water stream. In addition, the wrists of the new couple may be tied together with string, and spirits called upon to bless the union with health, wealth, and numerous offspring.

Incest taboos seem to be common to all the tribes. Close relatives--siblings, uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews--are forbidden marriage. Even cousins must undergo purificatory rituals. Marriages do, however, tend to take place among people with approximately equal social standing.

Polygamy is permissable among the various tribes but is rarely practiced. Usually, only the very wealthy can afford to keep more than one wife; and, even then, permission must be obtained from the first wife. Should a man marry more than once, his first wife remains dominant in the household; and her eldest son is the "eldest" son of the house; second and third wives are treated more like concubines. Some tribes also permit polyandry.

Either husband or wife may petition for divorce on a wide variety of grounds before a village tribunal. In actuality, however, it is very rarely requested because of economic reasons: if the wife desires a divorce, she may have to return

the value of the bride price; if it is the husband's wish, he often must make specified ritual sacrifices. In addition, certain restrictions are placed upon the remarriage of divorced persons.

FAMILY

The domestic unit in Montagnard society is the household: a number of patrilineally-or matrilineally-linked families, each family living in one compartment of the longhouse, is allied with the others through friendship or kinship. Adoption of orphans is relatively common.

Birth is treated as part of the natural cycle of human life. The pregnant mother continues working nearly up to the time of birth. She then goes outside and kneels over a shallow pit, either clutching a bamboo pole or being held from behind by another woman. Shortly after the birth, the mother returns to her daily chores.

Child-rearing differs greatly among the various tribes. The Cua seem lenient; the Sedang rub pepper in the eyes, in the vagina, and under the foreskin of the penis in order to teach their children discipline. However, all the tribes seem to give responsibilities to the young early. The girls play a major role in the care of infants; the boys watch over the animals, including the valuable buffalo, and, at the bachelors' house, learn about the world of men.

Rules of inheritance are surprisingly familiar to Westerners. Upon the death of the father, his eldest son normally inherits the bulk of his property; the other sons divide the small remainder. A slight variation occurs in some tribes: the property brought to the marriage by the husband is returned to his original family. Even here, however, the goods acquired after marriage go to his children. The widow normally becomes the responsibility of her adult children.

SOCIO-POLITICAL

The Montagnard village is the basic socio-political unit. The native headman, as opposed to the Vietnamese representative, is selected either by a council of elders or by the adult village population. He represents the village, officiates at rituals, leads in war, and helps administer justice in disputes between families or between his village and another. He is aided and advised by a council of elders. They form tribunals for the resolution of most village disputes, distribute the cultivable plots in the swiddens, and generally supervise land ownership. Membership in the village is usually obvious enough to be informal; although, among

the Sedang, membership is accorded only those who drink from the same water source. It is, to say the least, a loose political structure.

Within Montagnard society today, four classes can be distinguished: free men, debtors, foreigners, and slaves.

The free men make up the bulk of society. Within the class itself, certain distinctions are made: wealth and age contribute to influence and prestige. Bachelors and spinsters, on the other hand, have very low status. Wealth, it should be remembered, is not always measured by Western standards: it is not how many buffalo a man has, but how many buffalo he has sacrificed that is vital. A slave may be either the son of a slave, a prisoner of war, a captive from a family which has refused to honor a debt, or a simple purchase. Slaves are usually treated well and may often work their way to the status of free men.

RELATIONS WITH THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Tensions have existed between the Montagnards and the lowland Vietnamese since they conquered the territory now called Viet-Nam. The Vietnamese look upon the Montagnard as uneducated, primitive barbarians.

When the French conquered Indochina, they set up one administrative apparatus for the Montagnard and another for the Vietnamese. Some studies conclude that the French administrative plan was developed to protect the Montagnard from the Vietnamese. Others conclude that such a plan allowed the French to better exploit the Montagnard. Regardless of the reason, the French plan effectively isolated the Montagnard from the Vietnamese.

After the French were defeated by the Viet Minh, the country divided at the 17th parallel, and the Viet Cong threatened to overthrow the new government, the Diem regime requested and was granted American assistance. One aspect of the American aid was to assist the Vietnamese in organizing, training, and equipping some of the Montagnards so that they could provide border surveillance and protect themselves against Viet Cong attacks. Although the U.S. Special Forces personnel have been generally succesful in winning the respect and loyalty of the Montagnards, much of their animosity for the Vietnamese and unwillingness to accept domination by them still remains. This strong feeling is evidenced in such documents as the one shown below:

UNIFIED STRUGGLE FRONT[1]

PROCLAMATION

The peoples of Cham, Radhé, Jarai, Jru, Raglai, Chauma, Bishrué, Bahnar, Sedang, Hré, Kebuan, Hadrung, Mnong, Stieng, Khmer-Krom of South Viet Nam die every day under the thrusts of the Viet Cong.

Nguyen-Khanh and his servants are incapable of guaranteeing our life and our freedom and also make use of any pretext to suppress us and mistreat us.

This shows that the Vietnamese are constantly engaged in an extermination campaign against our great Race.

Not being able to support any longer Vietnamese oppression, we proclaim today the creation of a unified front of struggle whose name will be:

UNIFIED FRONT OF STRUGGLE FOR THE OPPRESSED RACE

(FULRO)

so as to liberate us from the Vietnamese yoke.

By virtue of the present declaration we make a solemn appeal to the countries of the whole world to help us to achieve our aims which are to put a stop to the plan of general extermination of our great Race by the Vietnamese colonialists.

Done in Champa, 1 August 1964
FOR THE HIGH COMMITTEE OF THE UNIFIED FRONT OF STRUGGLE OF THE OPPRESSED RACES
By order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United Struggle Front.

Anankao: Y Bham - Ponagar - Chauders

1. A translation of an original French document from Dr. Bernard B. Fall.

About 6 weeks after this declaration was prepared, a minor rebellion was launched by some 500 Rhade. They attacked Banmethnot, a province capitol, killed about 50 Vietnamese, seized a radio station, and broadcast demands for autonomy. Armed Montagnards in five training camps were prepared to participate in what might have become a full-scale revolt. Calm, courageous action on the part of U.S. Special Forces officers in these camps and that of the U.S. province advisor, Colonel John F. Freund, prevented the situation from getting out of control. Freund arranged for the withdrawal of the Rhade from Banmethnot and the presentation of their grievances to Premier Khanh. Although Khanh would not discuss autonomy, he indicated that the aspirations of the tribesmen for better schools, medical facilities, and representation in the government would be met. Action on these promises, at this writing, is not clear; but the incident demonstrates the seriousness of the Montagnard feeling toward the Vietnamese and the central government.

VILLAGE WARFARE

Certain warlike tribes were able to make formidable intervillage alliances in the past. The Sedang, in particular, mounted considerable force against neighboring groups and even against the French in the 1930's. Today, however, warfare is much more limited; a village group will avenge dishonor or crime against one of its members by a person from another village. This vengeance will take the form of a raid on the other village, an ambush in the forest, or a nocturnal kidnapping. It is decidedly small in scope. More frequently, revenge is limited to the imposition of a fine, determined by the aggrieved village's judges.

RELIGION

Religion plays a dominant role in the lives of these primitive people. They believe in a gigantic pantheon of spirits (yang): spirits associated with inanimate objects, topographical features, ancestors, birds, and animals. These spirits make explicable to these people the inexplicable. The spirits themselves may be good, bad, or neutral; they are usually ranked in some sort of hierarchy, and they are always present. They must be appeased.

Certain individuals in the village are believed to have more intimate contact with these spirits. Because of the importance of the spirits, these shaman, or magicians, attain considerable importance in their local habitats. Indeed, past sorcerers among the Jarai have reached the pinnacle of Montagnard power and prestige. It behooves any stranger to treat such religious figures with the same deference accorded them by the Montagnards.

Rituals, addressed to the spirits and led by the religious figures, occur frequently in Montagnard life. Indeed, whenever something significant happens in the natural life cycle; birth, death, harvest, drought, warfare, marriage, feast, etc., a ritual is performed. Consequently, the Montagnard never forgets his direct and immediate dependence upon supernatural agencies; his life is a constant reminder. This primitive religion introduces some order and meaning to a life full of work and pain.

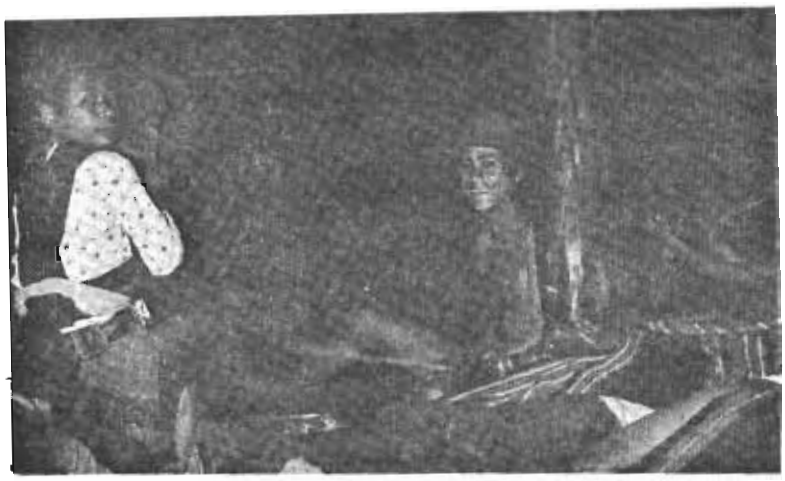
PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Religious observances are characterized for most tribes by periods of ritual sacrifices and heavy drinking. During these times, the area where the ceremonies are taking place is usually not to be entered without specific permission. On approaching a village, one may see any one of a number of signs indicating that some rite is taking place: the signs may be as obvious as sacrificial poles or masts just before or behind the village gate. They may even be a fairly casual arrangement of sticks across the gate indicating that the village is barred. Less obvious are such items as small squares of plaited bamboo placed in a road; a single bamboo pole just stuck into the ground; a rock or a tree with a twisted or knotted sheaf of grass or bamboo beside it; among more backward tribes, the sign might be a red tassel tied to a twig of a tree--in short, anything that is man-made and not a natural part of the landscape may be an indication that this is a holy site or that a religious ceremony is taking place nearby. In all such cases, it is wise to withdraw. If it is important to enter a village at that particular time, it is usually possible to do so; but permission must always be asked first, and one should try to indicate his respect for the religious ceremonies taking place. If the taboo sign appears near a spirit tree or spirit rock, or even more important, near a grave, the proper thing to do is to avoid that spot and withdraw quickly without taking pictures or standing around examining the scene.

A majority of Montagnards are timid people who live in a world of hunger, cold, and fear with the debilitation of constant disease. They should be approached whenever possible without what might appear to them as frightening, overpowering force. Or to put it in the words of one wise and knowing old priest, "Don't stomp into the village." On the other hand, if invited, a stranger should accept with joy and alacrity. Speak softly. Don't touch anyone unless and until you have to. When greeting a villager, if you are going to shake hands, try to do it their way unless you are sure he is familiar with Western customs. The Montagnards greeting is to hold your own wrist while shaking hands.

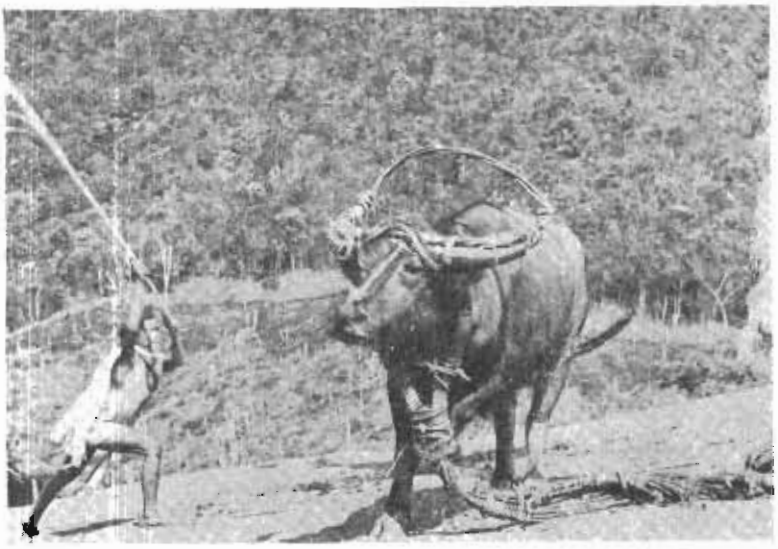
In summation, be alert and adaptive enough to understand the ways of these people and then be sensible enough not to violate those ways.

The following 17 pictures depict a ceremony in which a buffalo is sacrificed. Although the ritual took place among the Jeh tribespeople, it could have been photographed without significant differences, at least to Western eyes, in any of the Montagnard tribes.



Gongs are played and rice wine drunk all night before the sacrifice.

The sacrifice, with his trappings, at the village sacrifice pole.



With the dawn, men and children begin to lash and tease the buffalo.

Drunk and tired, participants begin to dance.

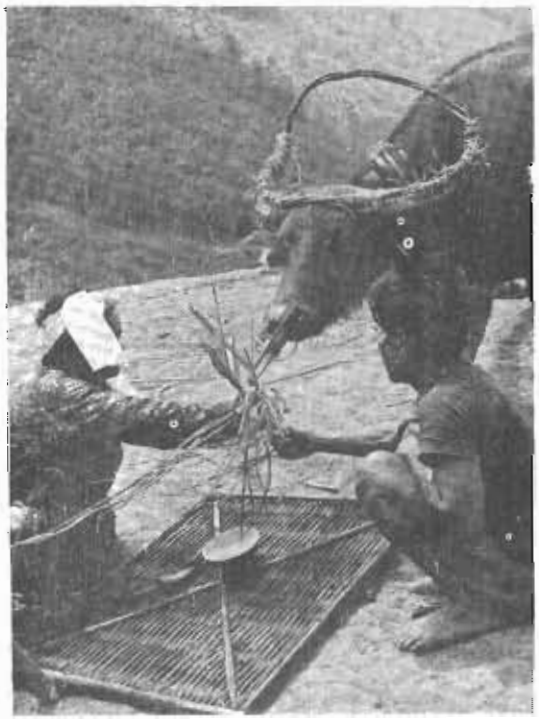
Jeh women introduce reluctant boy to rice wine.

A string is tied from tail to miniature Jeh house containing items of every day use.

Then the buffalo's nose is tied down.

The sorcerer, using a burning brand, tobacco, rice and rice wine, begins to chant.

Rice wine is offered to the spirits.



The buffalo is offered a rice plant, half of which he eats, half of which is tied to a bamboo spear.

The ceremony slows as the participants become tired and drunk.

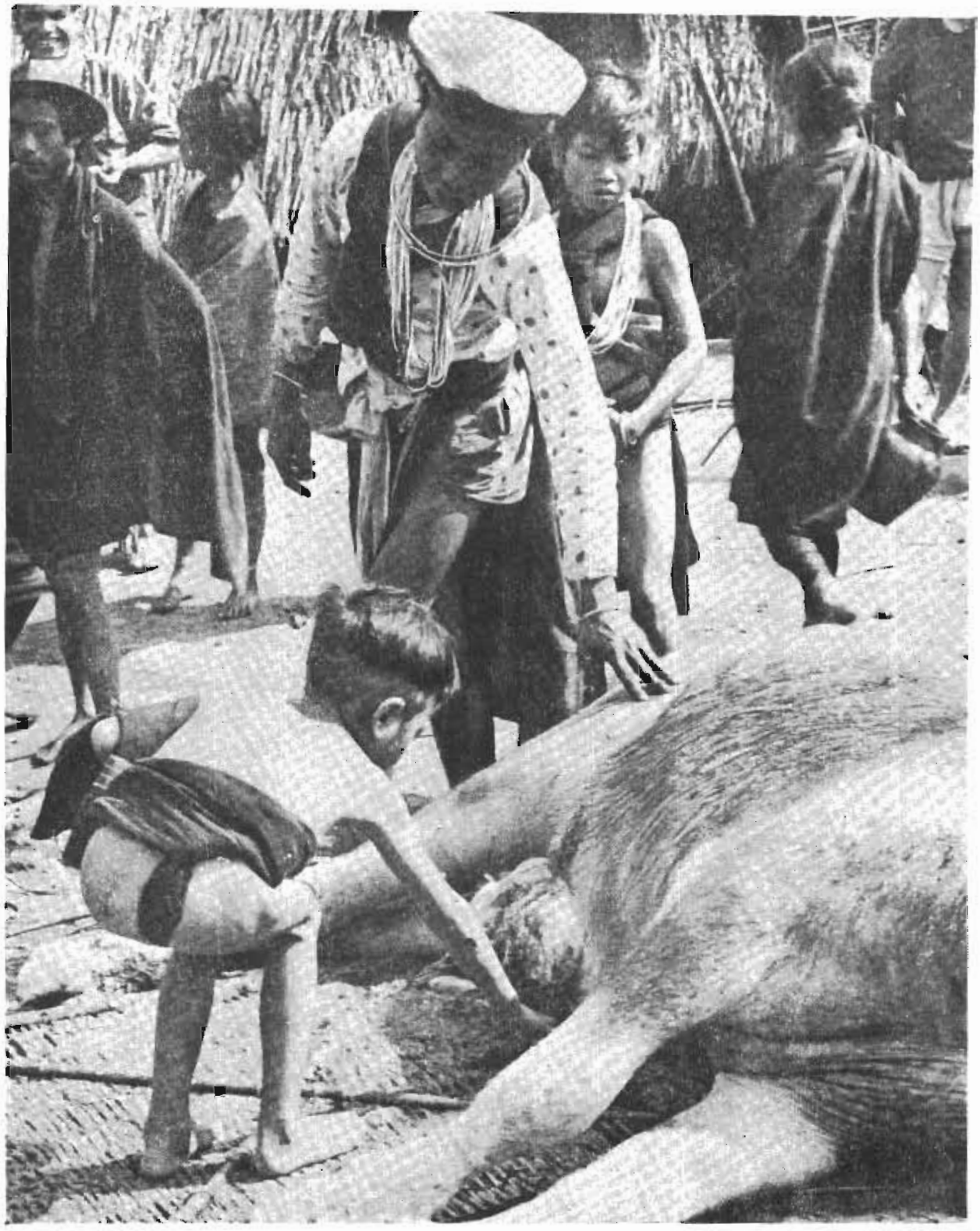
Incantations with hands over the heart of the buffalo, and spear resting on his back.

The first of many thrusts at the heart and lungs.

Again and again the spear thrusts at the heart.

As the buffalo tires, he is pulled to the ground.

This blow is not the coup de grace but to slit the stomach and expose intestines.



Child picks at contents of large intestine. The feast will now begin.

Chapter 2

THE BAHNAR

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Bahnar is one of the most important tribes in the Republic of Viet-Nam. Although no accurate census has ever been taken of the Bahnar, estimates of 200 hundred thousand population have been made. The Bahnar occupy a vast area of approximately 4 thousand square kilometers in the central highlands of Viet-Nam extending from the vicinity of Kontum in the west to An Khe in the east.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

See enclosed map. The Bahnar area includes the western part of Binh Dinh province, northern Pleiku province and southeastern Kontum province. Although the majority of the Bahnar are concentrated in Kontum province, a few are found north of the City of Kontum.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars concerning the number and breakdown of Bahnar tribal subgroups. Those subgroups considered part of the Bahnar are listed below. Some of the groups listed may, in reality, prove to be part of another Montagnard group as anthropologists intensify their studies in this area.

BAHNAR SUBGROUPS

Subgroups	Location
Alakong (Alakone)	North of An Khe.
Alatanag	Vicinity of An Khe.
Bahnar Cham **	About 5,045* persons living in Van Canh district of Binh Dinh province.
Bonam (Bonom)	East of An Khe; 7,100* persons live in An Lao district of Binh Dinh province.

Boutes	A hunting tribe confining themselves to the thickest parts of the jungle, wherever it is found within the Bahnar area.
Golar	North of Pleiku.
Ho Drong	Small subgrouping in and around Dakoba; some 30 kilometers southeast of Kontum.
Jo Long	Northeast of Kontum.
Kon Ko De	Immediate vicinity of An Khe; includes 6,008* persons living in the two cantons of Kon Kral and Kon Salam, district of An Tuc in Binh Dinh province.
Krem	North of Kontum; 8,776* live in canton of Kannack, throughout Vinh Thanh and An Lao district of Binh Dinh province.
Rengao	10,000* living in northwest Kontum province between the Sedang and Bahnar.
Roh	12,080* live around An Tuc district of Binh Dinh province.
Tolotenir (Tolo)	South of An Khe; 10,843* live in two cantons of Tolo Tonang and Tolo Tonia, district of An Tuc in Binh Dinh province.
To Sung	Four groups, known collectively as To Sung located east of Pleiku.

*1960 figures.

**The Bahnar Cham are possibly the descendents of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Champa, conquered by the Vietnamese in 1470. However, in this study, they will be discussed as though they were Montagnards of the Bahnar tribe.

The road from Pleiku to Mang Yan is paved half of the way (although, it may be completed by now). The road from Pleiku to An khe is an all-weather road. The road from Pleiku to Clay Dung, a leper village, is also an all-weather road.

The terrain in the Rengao territory is extremely mountainous, lying in the central Vietnamese highlands. No major roads traverse the area, although there are several secondary roads and trails. There are several mountain streams but no major rivers in the area.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Bahnar language is considered to be in the Bahnaran sub-subgroup of the Bahnaric subgroup of the Mon-Khmer stock. Most of the subtribal groups have the same language with regional dialects. However, the Bahnar Cham and the Bahnar Bonam have their own distinct dialects. The Bonam's dialect is similar to the Hre Ba To people in Quang Ngai and Quang Nam. Although a different language, Rengao is very similar to Bahnar: it also belongs to the Mon-Khmer stock. For rituals, a special sacred language is spoken.

A written language was devised by French Catholic missionaries in Kontum in 1861. The Bahnar script is similar to the Vietnamese romanized script. A number of Bahnar children were schooled in this new script, but anti-French movements within the tribe disrupted their education. It was not until 1883, when Father Fuealach resumed his mission post, that the Bahnar script was again remembered. This script was officially adopted in 1935 and dictionaries of the dialect are available in the Republic of Viet-Nam. However, it is estimated that up to 95 percent of the Bahnar people do not realize that they have a written language.

A number of Jarai and Sedang children in the Pleiku and Kontum area study Bahnar script because they have none of their own. The Hre may also understand Bahnar because it is the trading language in their area. Many of the Bahnar understand Vietnamese and French, and may understand Jarai and Sedang, especially those people contiguous to their tribe.

IV. HISTORY.

Each tribe has its own myths transmitted orally from generation to generation. Among the Bahnar there are several myths and legends concerning their origin, each offered (and flavored slightly) by the different subgroups. According to the Bonam "they descended from an infirm girl who was rejected by the

villagers and chased into the jungle. She was cured by a dog..." and there the story stops.

The Krem subgroup believes that when the universe was created, the earth was inhabited by deities and animals along with trees and plants. The god Yang Bot married the goddess Yang Gia and they had two sons. The older son was foxy and mischievous, whereas the younger one was very gentle and well-behaved. When they grew up, their behavior patterns were even more pronounced. The older son was fond of hunting, running, and climbing in the jungles; he was sometimes absent from home for years. On the contrary, the younger son always obeyed his parents and performed his duties. Yang Bot and Yang Gia had as much hope in their younger son as they were sad about their older son.

Because she was sad about her first child, Yang Gia became ill and died, while the older son was hunting in the jungle. The older son came home after the burial of Yang Gia. Upon seeing him, Yang Bot became angry and scolded him.

"You bad son, your mother died because of you. Why have you come back?"

Not only was the older son not sad because of his mother's death, but he talked back to his father.

"I just took a trip. What did I do to make her die?"

Yang Bot became angry and said, "You miserable son, you went away for so long that your mother became sad and ill. How can you still talk back to me?"

Yang Bot then struck his bad son with a stick and chased him away. The older son ran into the jungles and, from that time on, did not dare to return home. Yang Bot did not care to go and look for his errant son but spent his time and energy training his second son, who made rapid progress, acquired skills, got married, and started a family that was to spread all over the plains area.

When Yang Bot grew older, he was very happy to see his younger son's descendants make good progress; but he could not help being sad when he thought about his older son's descendants in the jungles.

One day, he was so worried about the future of his older son that he left his descendants in the plains and went to look for his older son. Upon meeting him, he could not help crying because the son had not made any progress in his way of

life. He was afraid that some day his descendants in the plains would become so skillful that they would oppress his descendants in the mountains; consequently, he invented a dialect for his older son and trained him to use the arrow to fight against wild beasts and to protect his descendants. Unfortunately, Yang Bot was very old and could not adapt to the climate in the mountains. He became ill and died before he could teach his older son all the advanced ways of making a living that he had taught his younger son.

From that time on, the older son and his descendants became the mountain people living in the jungles and mountains; whereas, the younger son and his descendants lived in the plains and became known as the Vietnamese people. The two brothers could not understand each other's dialects and, because of the untimely death of Yang Bot, the Montagnard society was unable to keep pace with the progress of the Vietnamese people.

Although little history, actual or legendary, has been recorded about the Bahnar, a few brief glimpses into their past are available. They reveal a proud, warlike people who are ready to fight for their beliefs and traditions. Even though the French used Bahnar functionaries from traditional ruling families in the colonial period, the Bahnar continued to draw a rather sharp distinction between their traditional chiefs and those functionaries that emerged under French rule. Lesser positions, such as canton and even district chief, were held by Bahnar.

In many areas their clothes and way of life resemble those of neighboring tribes. Historical factors and present-day trends indicate the Bahnar have been influenced by the Khmer, Jarai, Rhade, Sedang, and especially the Cham people. On the western side of Van Cah district, the Bahnar have been greatly influenced by the belligerent tribes around them. As a result, their behavior patterns have changed partly from self-defense and partly because their traditional courage and bravery have not been contaminated.

Historically, the Vietnamese have been the traditional enemy of the Bahnar.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Bahnar have what is known as the bilateral kinship system. A bilateral family is the kind of family found in Europe and the United States. Neither the male nor female side of the family is necessarily dominant; however, the male is wont to obey the orders of any female, and the ancestry of a family seems to be traced back on the mother's side. There seems to be equality between men

and women concerning most matters; they trust each other and disagreements seldom occur. The social structure of the Rengao is very similar to that of the Bahnar, except that the line of succession is matrilineal; that is, possessions pass from mother to daughter.

What distinguishes one group from another is not primarily the mores and customs of each subgroup, but the character, costumes, and sometimes the language. Daily activities are simple, consisting of working in the fields and weaving baskets.

The activities are divided according to sex. Men do heavy work, such as working in the fields, clearing land, etc. During the planting season, men work in the fields until nightfall. At home they carry their children around. They may also hunt in the jungle, get bamboo or rattan for weaving, or look for building material to erect their houses. Although their work is light, women work all day long. Early in the morning, they fetch water, grind rice (it is beneath the dignity of a man to grind rice!) and prepare the first meal of the day. During planting and harvesting, they continue to grind rice, cook food, or weave baskets. They bear their lot happily; and even when indisposed, they keep on working while their husbands sit around smoking their pipes. The wife does not ask him to help.

Work is also divided according to age. Older people have to work harder than young people, with the exception of servants. This short anecdote will help show their outlook: On the road to An Lao a man passed an old woman and man carrying many bundles of rice; a young man accompanying them carried nothing. He was the son of these old people and when asked why he wasn't helping his parents carry the rice, he replied, "They are old. Let them work. Otherwise they will die in vain." The old people smiled in agreement.

Love between man and woman is shown in their words and behavior, but rarely will one see a young man helping his sweetheart or wife. Boys and girls of the Bahnar tribe are eager and passionate when they reach marriageable age. Boys meet girls at festivals and song fests. When they are in love, boys and girls may invite each other to pick flowers, look for wood, and have a chat. Custom, mores, and heavy fines tend to keep their love chaste before marriage. The Bonam, however, are not very strict; and boys and girls may have an illicit love affair. On nights in which sacrifices are given, young girls offer themselves freely to boys of the tribe to demonstrate their fertility, the prime requisite for winning a husband. Later, if chickens and pigs suddenly die and the death of livestock is

attributed to pre-marital relations, the couple must pay a fine and marry. The fine, paid to the parents of the boy and girl, is considered compensation to the parents who had not been consulted by their children. Depending upon the severity of the parents, these fines may consist of chickens or pigs.

With the exception of subgroups in the An Tuc area, where young men have to sleep in the "Rong" house and young girls have to sleep in their parents' house, the subgroups in other areas allow the young to sleep in their parents' house. Customs require that men and women marry only after the age of 20 to 25. A missionary reported that the Bahnar practices "trial" marriages, but research has not validated this.

Either the man or the woman may take the initiative for marriage. The marriage procedures depend on whether the lady chooses her husband, or vice versa. If the lady chooses the husband, he must agree to the marriage before her family engages in negotiations with his family. If the man chooses, the lady's family must be consulted. The expenses incurred by the marriage will be met by the family initiating the wedding. In the Bonam group, the man's family sends two go-betweens to the woman's family for a talk. If the woman's family agrees to the marriage, drinks will be served and they will set a date for the engagement. This ritual is called "Ro Gai." Afterwards, the bride's family will select marriage brokers, buy gifts, and take the bride to the groom's home, where she resides until the wedding day. This is called the "Goi Con" ritual. On the wedding day the bride goes back to her parents' home to prepare a banquet. Her fiance's family also prepares for the feast. The Bonam bride's family and relatives then take her back to the groom's home. After eating and drinking, she is escorted back to her own home along with the groom and his family. In her home, they gather around the jar of ritual liquor and the village chief witnesses the exchange of wedding bracelets (copper or glass beads) between the bride and groom. While the newlyweds sip the rice wine, the village chief, a sorcerer, or a village elder chants out the wishes, "We wish you to become a good husband and a good wife, to have many children, to become rich, to have many possessions, steers and water buffalo, to harvest much rice and corn, and to live a long life."

The engagement and marriage customs in the other subgroups apparently follow the same pattern with only minor deviations. Marriage brokers are required, gifts and wedding bracelets are exchanged, and a wedding feast or ceremony is held.

When the woman has her menstrual period, she neither sleeps with her husband, goes hunting with him, nor touches the food that he eats. The woman is

also forbidden to approach animals and altars. Avoiding animals during this time is probably based on the Bahnar's use of sacrificial animals, which supposedly must remain pure and clean for the sacrifice. On the fourth day of the period, the woman purifys herself in the water of the river.

Polygamy, although practiced, is mostly confined to the wealthy Bahnar and requires the consent of the first wife. During pregancy a woman obtains a concubine for her husband. On the other hand, if a woman is without child for a long time, an evil spirit is considered to be in her body and the husband is free to marry another woman.

Years ago, mandarins from the court were directed to take a census of the mountain people. Since the mandarin could not understand the Bahnar tribesmen, they put down Vietnamese names for them such as Dinh A, Mary I, etc. Y Bim for example means Mister Bim. From that time on, Bahnar have used these surnames. In An Lao and Vinh Thanh, the Dinh surname is found and the Mary surname in Van Cahn, but no surname is used in An Tuc. Of course the Bahnar have their own surname from their maternal side such as Le, Tron, Nguyen, etc., but do not have clan names. Individuals may not marry anyone who has the same name either of the father or mother.

Within the Roh and other subgroups, marriage between brother and sister or between close relatives is strictly forbidden. Among the Bonam, fifth generation cousins can marry each other. Fourth generation cousins, however, have to pay a fine of two or three water buffalo to the village before marriage.

Men and women guilty of incest are usually banished from the village and fined. The Krem ask the sorcerers to break an egg and make an offering to the deities for the couple; if the egg yolk is broken, they may marry; if not, they are fined and banished. In cases of incest involving brother and sister, participants are hanged at the village entrance. In the Cham area fines for incest are: brother and sister, three water buffalo; third generation cousins, two water buffalo; fourth generation cousins, one water buffalo; and fifth generation cousins, one pig or chicken.

These fines are paid to the village along with one sacrificial white chicken. The Roh and other subgroups require fines of three water buffalo, one goat, one pig, two or three chickens, and three jars of liquor. Those who commit incest among the Roh must part from each other or be banished from the village.

Divorce is accomplished by the husband or wife suing before the village tribunal. Grounds for divorce include a criminal record, concubinage (apparently without the wife's permission), adultery, desertion, cruelty, sexual deviation or refusal to assist in duties to the kinfolks or relations. Families of both the bride and groom return to each other the gifts and money spent on the wedding day. Before the village chief each mate pronounces, "I divorce you", and the wedding bracelets are returned to the original owner. In the Roh and other subgroups each mate holds one end of a thread which is cut by a villager. Each normally gets an equal share of the common possessions. If the couple have children, it is difficult to get a divorce. However, if one party insists on a divorce, he or she has to reimburse the other party for the money spent on the wedding day and support the children until they are grown. Children are divided between the former husband and wife.

According to one report, a woman caught sleeping with another man will be put to death. This last statement does not seem to apply to all subgroups; however, the punishment for adultery seems to be quite severe. Adultery is taboo among all the subgroups. The Bonam will try the adultress and, if found guilty, quite heavy fines are paid not only to the spouse but to the village as well. There will be no relationship between the husband and wife after the trial.

The Krem husband may kill his adulterous wife and the accomplice must pay fines to the husband. Recently in the Kim Son area, a husband amputated the ears of his adulterous wife. The Krem wife of an adulterous husband has the same rights, but she is usually reimbursed for the wedding expenses, demands a heavy fine, and the marriage is dissolved.

In the Roh and other subgroups, the husband or wife who commits adultery pays a fine of one water buffalo to the spouse, and the village also fines the culprit. The fine is increased five or tenfold for a second infraction. The culprit also has to reimburse his or her spouse for the wedding expenses. The husband, if his wife is an adultress, has the right to ask his wife's family to procure another wife for him, but only after a waiting period of 6 months to 3 years, depending upon the circumstances. A special ceremony makes one eligible for remarriage.

The Bahnar must prove their courage at any time even during a sorrowful occasion. At the death of a wife, the widower is bound to burn his breast and to make deep incisions on his thighs; four incisions for a legitimate wife, seven for a mistress. This self-torture, given willingly, proves how much the husband loved

the woman. It is a test designed to stir the admiration of the unmarried women and to prepare for the eventual second marriage. After a prescribed mourning period, the widow or widower is free to remarry. Among the Bonam people there is still a custom which requires the younger brother of the dead husband to marry the widow.

There are three kinds of property: property belonging to the husband, property belonging to the wife, and common property. Each spouse has the right to dispose of his or her property. Common property can only be disposed of by mutual consent.

Although categorized as bilateral, the rules of succession and inheritance suggest descent is patrilineal. A villager who clears unused and unclaimed land in the common village territory has title for this land, and such title is passed from father to son. Property held in common by the household goes to the surviving children if both parents are dead.

Bahnar love their children very much and employ little discipline. They will try to pacify a child rather than let it "cry" . In their childhood, both sexes are assigned specific responsibilities. Daughters are preferred over sons not only because they work more but also because they begin work at an earlier age.

Although without an apparent clan structure or organization, the Bahnar have a spirit of unity that can be seen in their daily activities. Everybody takes arms to fight against wild beasts that ravage the land; all quit work to help a family in distress; everyone helps a family in which there is a funeral, wedding, or a birth; and all will help a newcomer build his house. When a family opens a jar of liquor all the villagers are invited to come and taste it.

The village stands out as the most important social and political unit among the Bahnar. Each village is governed by a group of elders who are selected from among the oldest males in the village. The elders, in turn, choose the kra as village headman. The village elders are directly responsible for all village affairs. Each village is considered independent; however, a large village tends to dominate the smaller ones in its area. The government appoints a head of several villages who reports to the district chief. This action usually increases the importance of a large village.

The kra also functions as liaison between the district authorities and the villagers. Normally, this role remains in one family and, with the consent of the

elders and villagers, is passed to the incumbent's eldest son. Under some circumstances it may be given to another younger kinsman of the late kra.

When a new kra is to be elected, any candidate who aspires to this office must be wealthy, loyal, of high morals, and enjoy a spotless reputation. The villagers only take orders from their chief; and during his absence his assistant takes over. Moreover, it is the chief and the chief alone who receives visitors and answers their questions. The appointed government chiefs may be far less influential than the elected chief.

If there is a disagreement between the village kra and a villager, the villager may rally a number of villagers around him and go to another area to set up a new village under his own leadership. The head of a family can also take his relatives and children to an area and start a village. Other families will follow suit and, of course, the village head of the first family will be the village chief.

The kra is the judge of the village. When a taboo is violated, he must follow established customs to determine the punishment, usually a fine. When a robber or thief is caught, he has to pay a fine of 5 to 10 times the amount of the theft or as much damages as the victim suffered. The village chief mediates quarrels; if this fails, then a trial is conducted. The plaintiff and defendant each hold eggs while bowing to heaven. The person who breaks his egg loses. Or the two interested parties will decapitate a chicken and put the body in water. The one whose chicken floats and beats its wings loses. Or another trial will consist of an underwater swimming contest. The one who comes up for air first, loses.

Above the village level, the larger traditional socio-political unit is the Toring, which is comprised of several related villages and appears to function largely for the administration of fishing and hunting rights and probably also swidden rights. Within this territory, each family has its own rice fields, both wet and dry. There is no "free land" and all of those within the Toring share these rights and Non-Bahnar people are viewed as outsiders. The kra knows the limits of the Toring and exercises supervisory authority over the entire territory. If there are any land disputes, the kra is called upon to settle them. Indications are that land cannot be sold to outsiders. In any case, it appears that any negotiations for the purchase of Bahnar land would have to be made through both the kra of the village and the family holding title.

Traditionally, Bahnar society has been divided into four classes: (1) the freeman, including most of the Bahnar, in which class, age, and wealth determine

the social status; (2) debtors or dik; (3) tomoi, outsider or foreigner, i.e., non-Bahnar who live in the area but have no rights and, being supposed sources of pollution, are excluded from certain places, such as streams; (4) prisoners of war who are considered slaves.

The freemen live a simple, peaceful life. They let the village chief take care of the outside world and the sorcerers, or Bojaus, take care of transactions with the spirit world. The sorceres are highly respected medicine men of the villages. A village may have many sorcerers whose skills have been transmitted from generation to generation and among the Bahnar there are more sorceresses than sorcerers.

The Bahnar explain the origin of the sorcerer as follows: One night an ordinary man in the village was asleep; he dreamed that heaven gave him the mission of becoming a sorcerer and curing people. Upon awakening, he saw a rock as bright as a piece of jade beside him and from that time on he was a sorcerer using chicken legs and eggs to contact the spirit. When a person declares that he or she is a sorcerer, he has to stay in his house while the villagers burn the house. If the self-declared sorcerer emerges alive, they then believe him.

The debtors are servants who have to work for their creditor performing the household chores in the creditor's home. If they are unable to save enough to pay their debts, they may work for their creditor until they die.

The theme of personal alliances runs strong among the Rengao. These personal alliances may be between friends, warring villages, or between father and son, for example. The alliances are preceded by a dream and followed through by a ritual which involves the sacrifice of some animal. There are prescribed rituals for each kind of alliance, all of which may vary a great deal. They all have one point in common, however, which is the drinking of the blood-oath mixture. Refusal to drink this mixture is considered a great insult and may result in the slaying of the refusing party. After the ritual and oath, the parties to the alliance are forever sealed in an unbreakable oath of brotherhood. It should be noted that personal alliances, other than marriage, are nearly always between members of the same sex.

Another prevalent alliance is the so-called "milk-alliance." This alliance results from a supposed hex on the parents of a newborn child. To avoid passing this hex on to their child, the mother refrains from nursing the child and uses a wet-nurse to care for the child. The wet nurse is compensated for her trouble with jars of rice beer. The child, although continuing to live with his natural

parents, is considered in alliance with the nurse and assumes a new name, generally selected by the nurse.

The Bahnar are belligerent and like to fight with neighboring villages or subgroups for any petty reason. When they have a bad harvest, they go to neighboring areas to steal rice; as a result, other subgroups have little affection for the Bahnar. There is much animosity between tribes, especially the Cham and Bahnar, and also Vietnamese and Bahnar.

The Bahnar have had significant contact with neighboring tribal groups; the Jarai, Helang, and Sedang. They reportedly trade with other groups, apparently the Sedang, to the northwest. There is intermarriage within the smaller subgroups: the Bahnar-Krem and the Bahnar-Kroy, and with the Chams in the An Khe region. The Bahnar-Kroy have intermarried with the Jarai and many have been absorbed by the Vietnamese. In such cases, any grudges are forgotten between either group and the former tribe of a daughter or son-in-law is not mentioned.

The typical Bahnar house is rectangular, measuring 10 to 15 by 3 to 4 meters, with bamboo walls, thatch roofs, and whole tree trunk floors. Houses near Kontum have tile roofs. The house, constructed on stilts of less than 2 meters in height, must have an east-west orientation. Normally there are two entrances to the house: a main entrance normally facing the east for visitors, and the other entrance is for the family. Doors are normally in the middle of the house. Ladders are made of tree trunks with carved steps. Jarai houses near Pleiku resemble Bahnar houses. In the Krem area houses are shorter and walls and roofs are slightly curved. They use a rope-woven ladder. In the Cham area, roofs are straight and doors face the south side. Usually there are no windows in the houses. The floors will be covered with beautifully woven bamboo mats. Normally the ground beneath the floor is reserved for the family's livestock or, ocassionally, small adjacent huts will be used to store rice and raise animals. To enter a house, it is necessary beforehand to obtain permission from the kra. It is taboo to enter a house if leaves or branches are laid across the entrance ladder. Never enter a house unless asked, and never enter the kitchen (west end room) where the Bahnar practice the cult of a spirit called the ma ro (a spirit that protects the house). This rule is very strict; any infraction risks provoking the anger of the host.

Every Bahnar village has a communal or bachelor's house (Rong house) built on pilings. There is an indication that only the tribes in the An Tuc and Vinh Thanh area maintain the custom of building Rong houses. In the communal house, lawsuits take place; it is also a place for worshipping the village deity,

and the sleeping quarters for unmarried men from 10 years old until they are married. The communal house is easily identified by its central location in the village and its unusually high, sweeping roof. It is usually large, elaborate, and carefully constructed in a framework of large logs and beams. The walls and roofs are curved. Ladders are tree trunks with whittled steps. In the Tolo and Kon Ko De subgroups, the door is located in the middle. The entrance platform, supported by poles, may be decorated. Every few years the villagers buy a water buffalo and sacrifice it to Yang Rong, the deity in charge of the Rong house. In those areas that do not establish Rong houses, community activities are held in the home of the village chief.

In the An Lao, Van Canh, and Vinh Thanh area, chicken coops and pig sties are located 7 to 8 meters behind the houses. In the An Tuc area small houses that look like kennels for dogs are in front of the house for chickens and dogs. There are no stables for cows and water buffalo which are tied to trees. The area is alive with insects and choked with filth.

When entering a home, one sees a hearth on the right of the door used by the parents or guests. Then comes the hearth for children, located from right to left. For daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, the location of hearth is either on the left or right of the wall. On the floors, the area for stoves or hearths are more neatly covered than the other areas. There is a square wooden frame on which soil has been poured. In the middle are placed three stoves made of earth. The stove of the owner and wife is the tabooed one, which must never be moved to another place. They have no ovens.

Along the walls are wooden shelves for miscellaneous articles. The side opposite that of the sleeping area is the place for baskets, jars, and other possessions. Money and jewels are in open jars, while clothes are in baskets.

Normally, the interior is divided into three rooms: the east room for the parents and infants, the center room for the girls of the family, which also serves as a reception room, and the west room for the boys and domestics. For plural marriages, an extra east end room is constructed for the first wife and the west end for the second wife.

Rarely is rice brought into the house. In the An Lao, Van Canh, and Vinh Thanh areas, there are huts for rice built on the rice fields. In the An Tuc area, small houses for rice are built next to those for chicken and ducks.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Bahnar wear their hair parted and to the ears. Boys with short hair are considered less than handsome and will have difficulty finding a mate. Men tie their hair around their head with strings of glass beads, or bamboo or rattan strings. Bahnar-Boute women have their hair done up on the nape of their neck, showing their dignity as a married woman, while the unmarried women let their hair hang freely to the shoulders. One physical characteristic that distinguishes the Bahnar adult is a multitude of scars across their chests, self-inflicted during mourning. The custom of filing or knocking out front teeth still exists. Many adults have no front teeth at all. Some tribes stretch their ears to wear earrings.

Characteristically the Bahnars are liberal, freedom-loving, belligerent, and endowed with quiet personalities. They and their descendants will seek revenge against those who have oppressed them, hurt their pride, or infringed upon their property. They are not lazy. Their children learn and grasp fundumentals quickly, but the adult male is a rather slow learner. The adult male, for example, learns to read very slowly. They will believe your promises and will act accordingly; but once deceived, they will never believe again.

A visitor entering a village is greeted only by a smile and nod of the head. A representative of the village will meet the visitor and invite him in for a chat. If the visitor wants to see the inside of a house, the family head willingly takes him inside and shows his warm hospitality. When the visitor is seated, friends and relatives bring alcohol and invite him to drink. Visits may then be made to other homes, ending however, only when both the visitor and villagers are very drunk.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to trace the meaning or reason behind the many customs and taboos of the Bahnar. However, it would be safe to say that their belief in spirits has a great deal to do with some of their strange customs and taboos in order to protect them from supernatural, evil forces. For example, a newborn baby that dies is buried in a far corner of the jungle because they believe it had no soul but contained only evil spirits. On the other hand, a newborn babe that lives is touched with a branch to drive evil spirits away.

The Bahnar, like all the other tribes, have a passion for colors. One missionary reported that they are extremely fond of red cloth. They like to adorn themselves with silver or copper necklaces and strings of glass beads. Copper

bracelets, usually worn on the left arm, may also signify an alliance or loyalty. Pieces of cotton known as tatzeo may be tied to each wrist to ward off evil spirits. Young unmarried men wear their hair tied in a chignon, like women, and garnished with a feather for celebrations. Young men who are married, or have a mistress, generally wear a red turban.

There are, of course, also minor differences in the dress of the various subgroups. The Bonam men wear cloth slips and coats, and the women have skirts and long-sleeved coats. The Bonam like dark blue clothes with white stripes. Skirts or sarongs are dark blue with the hem at knee level. The Cong coats worn by men are made from the bark of the Cong tree, a large tree with poisonous sap used for arrows. It is not known how the Bonam rid the bark of this poisonous sap. They dry the bark, soften it by pounding, fold it in two, sew it, and leave openings for the head and arms. Women's coats are made of dark blue cloth. These long-sleeved coats are buttoned on the side; the more buttons the better. Turbans are worn on holidays only. The men wear black crepe and the women wear blue crepe turbans that are wrapped to cover all of the head. Turbans are ornamental rather than functional. They may also wear the "coolie" hat, but it is flat in shape rather than conical.

Glass bead collars and welded copper bracelets are worn by both men and women. The size and number of bracelets worn depends upon the wealth of the person.

The Krem subgroup's clothes also have a few distinctive features. The slips are black with white stripes and have embroidered flowers on each end. The men's blanket length is twice that of the average man. They are used for sleeping, warming oneself, and preventing one from being penetrated by arrows. The women have a white long coat for daily use and a sleeveless dark blue coat for festivals and holidays. The women wear a black yong which is a skirt wrapped around the body like a blanket. Men wear turbans only for festival days or market days at which time flowers and bells are pinned on them. Women wear black turbans that appear like hats with a pointed top. Besides glass beads and bracelets, they wear bells around their waist, wrists, and ankles.

The Cham subgroup differs in their clothing from one another, depending on whether it is on the east or west side of the Phu Yen-Qui Nhan railroad. On the east side the slips are black and have white and red stripes on the two ends. Men and women wear the same kind of coat. Coats have long sleeves, are open in the middle, and have buttons. White flowers with red dots decorate the body of the coat. Felt blankets are purchased at the market. The yong is handmade, is black,

and is embroidered with beautiful flowers. Women wear turbans similar to those in the Vinh Thanh area. Glass beads are worn; however, copper or silver bracelets are not usually worn.

The Cham subgroup on the west side of the railroad have slips similar to those on the east side. Their blankets are red and wrapped around the body. The women's coats are dark blue, as is their lightly embroidered yong.

The Roh Tolo and Kon Ko De subgroups are dressed just about the same as the Krem, with the exception that their bracelets are not welded together.

The normal everyday dress of a Bahnar male is a loincloth, the woman a skirt, and the child, a smile. Blankets, coats, and blouses are worn during the cool weather.

Drinking is a habit with the Bahnar. When people have leisure time, they drink for fun. Family members and neighbors gather around the jar of rice spirits for a few drinks and a chat. During holidays and ceremonies the men, women, and children drink to have the grace of the gods, or to receive full benefit of the sacrifice. They usually become highly intoxicated, except for the guards who are forbidden to drink during a ceremony. When drinking, everybody gathers around the jar with a hollow stem in his hand; the village chief or elder points at the jar with his stem and says, "Will you happily eat and drink. We all wish that we will have affection for one another and that heaven will help us..." This toast is repeated four or five times, loudly.

There are three ways of making liquor. Paddy liquor is made by soaking paddy in water, mixed with yeast, and then placing it in jars. Rice liquor is made from ground and cooked rice that is mixed with yeast. Liquor is made from manioc or potatoes that have been dried for 1 day, peeled and half-boiled, then placed in jars with yeast.

The Bahnar drink their liquor from a common jar. Some of these jars hold over 4 gallons. The delicate jars, made of moulded and glazen earthenware, are placed in a circle and attached to stakes; corks, made of leaves, are removed; bamboo drinking tubes are inserted and the individual is invited to a tube.

They will respect an outsider who does not drink; but, they may say, "If you don't drink with us, then you don't like us." However, reverse psychology can be used to avoid drinking their liquor by saying, "You must drink the tea (or coffee) we brought with us if you really like us."

Generally speaking, there are two meals a day: one from 0830 to 0900, the other from 1900 to 2100. After the morning meal, people go to work, carrying corn or potatoes for a snack. During harvest season they arise earlier than the usual 0830.

Almost all the people eat with their fingers. Cooked rice with salt is the common dish, placed either in areca leaves or in baskets with a bag of salt. If the ball of rice is too hot, it is thrown in the air to cool. Very little use is made of bowls and dishes.

The only unusual foods are pickled preparations of fish, meat, frog, and manioc leaves. These items are salted, covered with leaves, and placed on a beam in the house until fermented. The Bonam also specialize in tadpole soup. Honored guests are served boiled chicken with salt. During ceremonies, grilled water buffalo meat or pork is served. Leftovers are pickled. Since all pickled dishes are considered very precious, they are consumed only when honored guests are present.

Bahnar do not drink unsweetened milk. They are accustomed to sweetened condensed milk and if given powdered milk, they will feed it to the hogs.

The elephant is considered to be the lord of the jungle. In the Boute subgroup a boy is considered a man on the day of his first great hunt. At least once, he must track a gaur, a tiger, or an elephant by himself. If a Boute woman marries one who is not considered a man, "the other women will scorn her and the spirits will give her a yellow child that is small and weak and no braver than a rabbit." There is a tribal law forbidding the Boutes to track elephants on the Djarai plateau.

The black water buffalo is considered a sacred animal and is used as a sacrificial animal in religious ceremonies. He may, at these occasions, represent the gods of evil who permit enemies to overcome the tribes, the evil spirit who makes women barren, withers growing crops, brings diseases, or allows wild game to escape the hunter. The buffalo is sacrificially offered to kindly gods to invoke their aid and assistance against the evil gods.

Here are some specific taboos concerning animals: A village will be abandoned and the villagers will move away if a wild cock, a turtle, or a roc passes through the area. It is taboo to eat the flesh of a dog. Among the Bonam, if an owl or stork flies over the village, offerings must be made to the deities or the

village moved to another place for this is a bad omen. The Cham believe that when going to market if one sees a snake crawling from left to right, it is a good sign; but if the snake crawls right to left, it is a bad sign and one must return home. On any trip if a Cham sees a white-headed, red-bodied bird singing in front or to the right, it is a good sign; but if the same bird is singing to the rear or left, one must return home for this is a bad omen.

Poisons are available almost everywhere in the Bahnar area. The strength of the poison depends upon the person who concocts it. Poison is made from the white sap of the Cong tree and when a villager finds a Cong tree, it is guarded to prevent other villagers from using its sap. Arrows dipped in this poison will kill humans. Some subgroups mix the sap with red pepper to give it more power or even boil it before using it. It is believed that Cong sap taken on the ninth day of the first month of the lunar year is extremely powerful and no mixture is needed. When hit by a poisoned arrow, the victim must eat a frog, a worm, or chicken droppings to escape death. The Bahnar people believe that they can concoct a food poison made of tiger's whiskers placed in a fresh bamboo tube. Soon the whiskers become a worm. Monthly, blood of a white chicken is used to feed the worms; the worm's droppings are used to prepare the poison. The larger the worm, the more powerful the poison. No one except the owner is able to cure the victim.

Many of their customs and taboos deal with the birth, illness, and death of an individual.

Without any apparent outward pain or crying, a woman gives birth to her child. Midwives (normally the oldest women of the village) assist by cutting the umbilical cord with the cutting edge of a piece of bamboo. No medicines are used on this occasion. The law of elders forbids men to touch or even watch a woman in childbirth. For a man to assist a woman in difficult labor requires permission of the chief and the husband.

In the Bonam area, when a woman is in labor, her husband chooses an empty corner of the house and stretches mats around it. When birth is imminent, she assumes a squatting position to facilitate the birth. The umbilical cord is buried in the jungle by the husband. The newborn babe is washed and the mother lies down. The husband asks someone to find the roots of the Dung tree to prepare a hot drink for his wife. No one is allowed in the area except the husband and midwives. The woman rests for 2 or 3 days, then goes to warm herself by the stove. After wrapping the baby in a Tu blanket, she resumes her daily chores. She remains in her private quarters until the taboo is lifted 10 days later. A

month later, the husband and wife prepare chickens for a banquet to celebrate the birth and to thank the midwives. In case of a difficult birth,a sorcerer is sent for. He squeezes an egg and examines a pair of chicken legs. If the egg is not broken and there are nefarious signs on the chicken legs, it is believed that the deities want the mother and child to die. People then leave the expectant mother to wait for death.

The Krem subgroup gathers in the house of the expectant mother to eat, drink, and choose the name for their future relative. When the mother is in pain, she lies in a corner of the house partitioned by mats just like that in the Bonam area. When the woman gives birth, she lies down; but after the birth of the baby, she sits up. The following day the mother warms herself by the fire. During the first 3 days after the birth, she drinks salty hot water; on the fourth day she drinks a water solution of roots (only the midwife knows the name of the root); on the fifth day, the mother has recovered completely, but has to wait 10 days to make offerings to the earth deities and return to her daily chores. They make thanksgiving offerings to the deities and invite relatives and the midwife to a banquet to celebrate the birth. When there is a birth in the family, the entire family is not allowed to go to the fields for 5 days.

The Cham's birth rituals are almost the same as the other groups except they have a small house for the expectant mother. It is separated from the main house, but connected by a bridge. The house for the expectant mother is destroyed after 1 month when the taboos are over. On the east side, Cham motners refrain from eating meat for 1 month and do not have to work (unless very poor) until the baby begins to crawl.

On the day the mother leaves her bed to go to work, the father presents the child to the tribe under a false name. The parents keep the child's real name secret until the boy leaves to live in the Rong house. Girls, remaining with their mothers until the day of marriage, are not told their real names until puberty. The false names serve to mislead evil spirits for they cannot reveal the identity of a soul to the wandering ghosts and spirits of darkness. Without this prohibition, evil spirits would be able to reveal the name when the child, still not initiated to the rites, was asleep.

When the father has presented his child, the sorcerer officiates at altars raised specifically to the gods for this occasion. These normally take the form of small shelves tied to three young bamboos with the tops left untrimmed. On the shelves, offerings of meat, rice, vegetables, rice wine or beer, and tobacco are laid for the ritual. Then the wandering spirits will be satisfied. Having had

their fill, the spirits will be better able to take part in the feast to celebrate the birth, especially since the sorcerer has sprinkled the offerings with the blood of a young cock.

When a person becomes sick, the Bahnar may think an evil spirit is occupying the person. A person with fever, or one that is mad, demands respect and admiration. A disordered mind is a sure sign that the spirits have entered the man. The gods have taken him under their protection and anything that offends him will, in turn, offend the gods. Such a man is taboo. He is cared for and venerated. He is exempt from every sort of work, free to come and go as he pleases, to sleep and eat when he likes; in short, to do as he wishes without the least objection from anyone. His very presence foretells a blessing from heaven and his presence in the village is a favor granted by the gods. If he goes away or becomes angry, then something is wrong in the heavenly home of the ancestors and the wandering ghosts (spirits) who see and hear all, feel that they are being neglected and have manifested themselves in the "holy food." Something must then be done to appease the gods. Offerings and sacrifices will be made to calm their supernatural wrath and win over this madman who has been blessed. People of the village will pay him courtesy visits and presents may be given to achieve the good graces of the insane.

Each area has its own customs in the matter of funerals.

In the Bonam subgroup, the whole village helps a family in which death occurs. Young men look for timber to prepare coffins. Those who stay in the house sit around the corpse and weep; then they help slaughter water buffalo and pigs. When offerings are made to the dead person, no sorcerer is needed. People gather around the corpse and say, "Farwell to you. We offer you a part of the wealth. Take it with you. Death is decided by heaven. No one wants death. Go away, don't come back to the village to haunt us." Afterwards they eat and drink joyfully, ignoring the dead person still there. After the banquet, they begin to weep and wail all over again. As a result, many people conclude that they really are not sorrowful at all. This lasts for a few days until the coffin is ready and the dead is buried.

Among the Krem, all the villagers help the family mourn. During the banquet, they place pieces of meat and liquor in the corpse's mouth. To show their sorrow, relatives torture themselves by burning their chests and cutting their skin. This ends only with the burial.

The Chams are about the same, except they do not torture themselves while mourning.

The Roh and other subgroups place the corpse in a standing position and tie it to a column of the house. In front of it, offerings are displayed and obeisances are made. Close male relatives put a fire to their chest and thighs; females knock their heads against posts until they sometimes suffer skull fractures. Only very fierce women put a fire to their chests or carve themselves with a knife. This savage tradition is a sufficient explanation as to why Bahnar funeral ceremonies often produce additional deaths. The Roh and other subgroups believe a person who is murdered, tortured to death, or killed in combat will go to paradise, whereas the soul of a cruel person who dies of old age and disease will go to hell.

There is only one type of coffin used by all the subgroups. It consists of a hollowed out tree trunk. The corpse is placed in it along with old clothes. When burying it, the face of the dead person is turned upward. There is no lid, except in areas where the dead are buried above the ground. A coffin inside a house resting on two cross beams usually indicates an old man's house.

In the Canh Van area, a corpse is not put in his coffin inside the house. They place the corpse on a mat, take it to the grave where it is laid in the coffin and buried.

The Bonam and some Krem bury their dead above the ground. They dig a grave over which they place a frame. The coffin is put on the frame with a roof above it. Some Krem burn their dead.

The Roh, Cham, and other subgroups have graves much like a bench. There is a hole going through the coffin to the head of the corpse, it is used to put food in the coffin for the dead.

The Bonam, as well as some Krem and Cham tribes, build a hut above the grave like a wooden palisade. The stakes are sculptured on top like the inverted domes of large solid bells. Sometimes they are carved in the shape of a man. All the belongings of the dead person is placed in the hut; clothes are torn to pieces, utensils broken, and drums and gongs crushed. In other areas, a temporary roof is built above the grave. Three or four months later, they hire workers to build a new hut with a high roof with many woven flowers. Around the hut is a fence made of stakes on which are placed statues and wooden animals. After the burial, the Bonam scream farewell to the dead person. Afterwards, no one

visits the grave. The mate of the dead person will be sorrowful for a few months then, after the New Year's festival, he or she can start a new life.

The Krem also never return to the grave. All the villagers will rest for 3 days to commemorate the dead. The dead person's family will be in mourning until the New Year. The dead will be remembered only when there is sickness in the house. The sorcerer tries to squeeze an egg while calling the dead person's name. If the egg breaks, the family will make offerings to the dead person and say the following prayer. "If your soul has supernatural powers, then make your relative recover from this sickness. You want to eat, then here is food. After eating, please go away, do not make this relative sick." They perform this offering on the road because they don't want the soul of the dead person to get into their house. They also don't want to go to the grave because they are afraid of being caught by the spirits (ghosts).

The Cham's sorrow is very deep. They are in mourning 1 to 4 months for a relative, 1 year for a parent, and 2 to 3 years for a spouse. People in mourning are not allowed to wear jewelry, participate in social affairs, nor allowed to listen to singing. During the mourning period, remarriage is possible if the family of the dead spouse is reimbursed for all expenditures made on the wedding day.

Other subgroups are very meticulous in this matter of mourning. Close relatives and family take turns going to the grave daily with food and drink; they weep and put the food and drink into the grave through the hole dug for this. This ritual lasts for 3 years. The livers of the sacrificial animals are placed in the grave. The soul of an animal, in the form of the liver, will join the dead person "underground." If not, the dead person will come back to haunt them. Widows cut their hair short, wear ragged clothes, and refrain from washing or bathing. People also go to the grave to smoke, using the dead person's pipe. When smoking, they put the ashes into the hole in the grave to help the dead person satisfy his smoking habit. After 2 or 3 years of mourning (perhaps varying according to the wealth of the household), families hold a 3-day ceremony in which they make offerings to the dead person, burn his belongings as well as the burial hut, and place a stake to mark the grave. After this, they never return to the grave. Their obligations have been fulfilled. The departed is no longer thought of and no ceremony will be celebrated to his memory: oblivion is complete.

Some villagers cannot dye cloth black because of traditional taboos. They must buy it from others. When they shake hands, they hold the hand above the wrist. It is forbidden to put old rice with new rice. The main kitchen deity (hearth god) must not be moved to another place.

When rice is taken from the field to the house, the person carrying it must, when crossing a river or brook, tie a string to a tree and to the rice to enable the rice deity to cross the current.

When a village is giving offerings to its deity, no one is allowed to enter. To warn people, a branch is hung across the entrance as well as on the road to the village. This sign might be in the form of a stick with an eggshell or a puppet with a crossbow.

When the family is making offerings to deities because there is a sick person in the house, no stranger is allowed to enter; a branch is hung in the doorway as a warning.

Among the Bonam subgroup:

While hunting it is forbidden to speak to anyone. When passing a house in which people are eating, one must close his eyes and walk straight ahead. If one looks at the meal greedily, he will die and his soul remain there.

Among the Cham:

It is forbidden to drink the same water as that of another village. It is forbidden to carry rice by the village.

Among the Krem, Roh, and other tribes:

It is forbidden to dirty the Rong house; to touch the altars in any house. Before setting a trap, for any purpose, no stranger is allowed in the house for 1 day. When one goes hunting or fishing and meets a widow, one must return home. On a trip, if a person sneezes the group returns home for it is a bad omen.

If giving gifts to a village, present the gifts to the elders and kra in the presence of the entire village. Appropriate gifts would consist of salt, thread, mirrors, lighters, glass trinkets, cloth, and blankets. Show favoritism to the children. Shower them with gifts of candy. It will win their parents over. Accept the hospitality offered by the Bahnar. Avoid familiarity with women.

Don't slap them on the back in a gesture of friendship, or go into the spirit house unless invited. (The spirit house will be taller than any other house). Don't frighten the children, use a Vietnamese interpreter, or enter a tabooed house or village. One cannot fake drinking from their jars and rice alcohol is very potent.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The average life span of a Bahnar, as reported by a missionary, is 37 years. The same missionary reported that they bathe daily except when ill. This, however, is questionable.

The Vietnamese have established some clinics among the Bahnar, and missionary efforts along these lines are unknown.

Medical knowledge is not widespread throughout the Bahnar. There are no drugs used. When ill, they still rely on the sorcerer with the chicken eggs and legs. Sometimes a sorcerer uses a few roots and leaves as medicine, but the main thing is to make offerings to deities. The Bahnar believe sickness is caused mainly by the deities wanting to eat and by the curse of O Ma Lai. This is why a sorcerer is always called when illness strikes. Standing in front of the sick person, the sorcerer holds a chicken egg and says, "This sickness is caused by Yang Dok." Then he squeezes the egg. When the egg breaks, the name of the deity is known.

For example, if Yang Kong is believed to be causing the illness, the sorcerer holds another chicken egg and says, "Does Yang Kong want to eat a chicken?" This continues until the kind of food Yang Kong desires is known, and the family of the sick person then acquires the food and offers it to the diety; but if, after mentioning two or three water buffalo, the egg is still not broken, then the diety wants the person to die so the family lets him die. The service of a sorcerer is not needed for this offereing. The prayer is very simple, "Oh Yang Kong, you have made him sick, we make offering to you. Give him back his health so that he can work." The family believes that the sick person will recover, thanks to Yang Kong.

As for pains in the intestines, stomach, or liver, they are believed to be caused by O Ma Lai. Only a talented sorcerer can take care of O Ma Lai. A talented sorcerer is identified as owning a magical white stone. Realizing that a sickness is caused by O Ma Lai, he orders the family to get a white chicken. With one hand he holds the chicken tightly, while mumbling an unintelligible chant. Then he cuts the chicken's head off permitting the blood to flow into a bowl. He howls three times, drops the chicken, and puts the white stone in the blood. He then places the stone on the head of the sick person and moves it back and forth; stopping only when the person is unconscious. Some have said that under the stone may be two teeth, an arrow, or other items, depending upon the type of O Ma Lai. By this ritual performed by the sorcerer, a person is healed.

The major disease suffered by the Bahnar is malaria. They also suffer from diarrhea, leprosy, and intestinal diseases. A missionary estimates that 95 percent of the Bahnar children have intestinal parasites. Some Bahnar have had body sores for so long that it has almost crippled their legs. Venereal disease is almost unknown.

It is recommended that the sorcerer be consulted in giving medical treatment and that he be present during this period. Not only does it enhance his prestige, but it helps one's own cause at the same time.

The Frenchman used the Bahnar's supernatural belief to teach them to take quinine. They also gave the name of a spirit to each disease they treated.

Bahnar do not want to leave their village when they are sick. The worse thing that could happen to them is to die outside the village; then, their soul would not have a home.

The disease most likely to affect nonindigenous personnel can be summed up in one word: diarrhea.

IX. RELIGION.

The Bahnar like other mountain people are pantheist and pervasive animist. They believe in many deities; everything has a spirit or god, either vegetable or mineral from a rock, snake, or spring to thunder and rain. Events of the natural order to them are the seasons and planting cycles. Unexpected events include sickness, drought, and accidents. These unexpected events are attributed to spirits (Yang) or ghosts (Kiek). The relationship of the individual to the Yang or Kiek is personal and direct, resembling a father-son relationship. The Yang extends protection to those who have a contractual agreement solemnized with a gift offering. The individual must account to the Yang for any wrong doings. A satisfactory contract may be passed on for as many as four generations.

There is also a female spirit they believe in called Ya Nom. Ya denotes a half-human, half-divine creature. The sorcerer or bajaus must have a special relationship with the Ya Nom.

Offerings are made to the spirits in a prescribed form. No such formality is required when giving offerings to ghosts; in fact, substitution is possible, water for alcohol, egg for sacrificial animal, etc. Spontaneous offerings are customary.

The Rengao believe in the alliance of individuals and spirits. The spirits dwell in plants and animals alike. It is believed that one's ion tau, or interior life or soul, has contact with these spirits. Some of the plants with which spirits are associated are: bamboo, various fruits, and the sycamore tree. Some of the animals with which spirits are associated are: tigers, wildcats, dogs, elephants, rats, and toads.

In addition to plants and animals, there are a variety of other spirits with which it is believed that the human soul is allied, such as: spirits of the elements, of water, of rice, of the mountain, and of war.

The Bahnar worship many deities. They are afraid of strange, old trees and especially fear the spirit of a stranger. When they see an occidental or Vietnamese, they lick their thumb over their heart to brush away their spirit from the stranger's spirit. To them, different or strange things have very powerful spirits; for example, a helicopter. One Bahnar village poured a libation of rice wine over the wheel of a helicopter that landed near them. This was to appease the spirit of the helicopter not to steal the spirit of anyone in the village. They also believe in a creative spirit and infrequently give a thanksgiving offering to this good spirit. Some deities of the Bonam and Krem subgroups are:

Yang	- Heaven.
Yang Kong	- Mountain deity. The villagers clear the side of a mountain and worship the spirit of the mountain.
Yang Dak	- River deity. The villagers choose a nearby river and worship its spirit.
Yang Nak	- Village door deity.
Yang Au	- Village deity.

The Roh and other subgroups worship the following deities:

Bok Kei Dei	- Heaven.
Yang Ka (Gia)	- Female deity.
Yang Bok (Bot)	- Male deity.
Yang Kong	- Mountain deity.
Yang Dak	- Water deity.
Yang Rong	- Communal House Deity
Yang Hnam	- House deity.
Yang Go	- Pot deity, and many other deities according to the belief of each family.

There are also ghosts and devils which the Bahnar fear and hate. They may worship many deities, but only worship one ghost O Ma Lai. There are two types of O Ma Lai, the living and the dead; both eat the bowels and liver of people.

The living O Ma Lai lives like normal people. It marries, eats, and drinks. Unless the male is O Ma Lai, the offspring will not be an O Ma Lai. At night the live O Ma Lai goes around looking for prey. If it gets into a house and meets an unlucky person, it will eat his bowels and liver. In a gathering, if one forgets to invite O Ma Lai to smoke a pipe, it will use its magical power to put a pipe or stone in the stomach of this person. The stomach swells and the person will die if the object is not removed.

The O Ma Lai ghost is invisible and extremely dangerous. Any person it attacks will surely die. It may shoot a deadly arrow at a person from an ambush. Not all O Ma Lai are intelligent. They must follow intelligent O Ma Lai and eat their leftover bowels. But once they have eaten a few bowels, they will become intelligent.

Not long ago, a lawsuit was brought against several O Ma Lai in the Canh Van area. A child of a functionary in Canh Ha village became ill. A sorcerer told the family that an O Ma Lai had hurt the child and named an old man in the village as the culprit. The family took gifts to the old man and he said, "I did eat the child's bowels, but I was not the only one. There were a few other O Ma Lai who did it too." And he named the others, who were functionaries in other villages, but they denied it. The case was brought before the district court where the family asked the accused O Ma Lai to be put to a test of red pepper and fire. If they were real persons rather than O Ma Lai, they would shed tears when the pepper and fire were applied to their bodies. The local authorities did not conduct the test. The child died and the accused O Ma Lai was banished from his village.

Deities dwell mostly in people's heart. There seldom is a shrine for a deity. When it is necessary to worship a particular deity, they build a platform near the deity's residence. For example, Bonam worship their door deity, Yang Nak, by hanging an altar in the form of a basket at the village entrance, containing food and offerings to the deity. The Roh tribe tie an altar of bamboo with bells and containing food and liquor to the corner of the house to worship the house or communal house deity. Only the village chief is allowed to take care of the altar for the Rong house, while the head of the family takes care of the offerings to the house god or spirit. It is believed that a stranger touching the above-mentioned altars will die immediately of a hemorrhage, and relatives touching them will become sick until offerings are made to the deities.

Generally speaking, the two most important ceremonies take place at the beginning and at the end of clearing land for cultivation. There are other holidays among the subgroups:

Bonam: Celebrate the New Year with a banquet in the first or second month of the lunar year.

Krem: Celebrate three big festivals; New Years (same as Bonam), worshipping heaven and earth, and worshipping the village spirit. The heaven and earth festival, lasting 4 days, is organized before clearing of the land for cultivation. Offerings include male water buffalo, male goats, pigs and hens. The village spirit is worshipped after the harvest and lasts 7 days. In addition each family has its own holidays, worshipping the water well, Yang Dak, before the rainy season, and worshipping Yang Kong in April.

Cham (Canh Van area): Have two big festivals. New Years and worshipping heaven. The worship of heaven lasts 2 days in which they sacrifice water buffalo.

Roh: Celebrate annually the following occasions: The cleaning of graves in January or February; the Mia Rah festival when the first rains fall; the Mia-Dak-Mat-Atou festival of the dead (this is sort of a memorial day); the Phu-So-Dre festival for blessings or to drive away evil spirits; the Ming Chang festival for prosperity or to ask for good weather for the crops; the Kok-Sa-Kopo-Johai in the month of June for peace and security; and the Jojur-Sa, after the harvest, in the tenth month of the lunar year.

In addition, they make offerings to the deities of the Rong house every few years. Each festival lasts several days during which, one source reports, married couples must live separately.

The rituals seem to be the same everywhere except in the size of the offerings. The offerings run the gamut of animals from water buffalo to poultry. The biggest ritual is when a buffalo is sacrificed. This ritual is described in chapter 1.

If the offerings consist of pigs, chickens, and lesser animals, the rituals are simple. People take the offerings to the appropriate place and say the following prayer, "Give us ease and luck in our search for rice and corn. Give us a good harvest." Afterwards, they take the offerings home and eat them.

Little information has been received of the missionary effort in the Bahnar area. There has been, or is, a mission to them from the Protestant missionaries but this is rather small. Christianity has not been well received by the Bahnar.

X. ECONOMY.

The Bahnar are an agricultural people. They cultivate their fields primarily by the wet-rice method rather than the dry method. The primary crop is rice grown in swiddens, and abandoned after 3 to 5 years. Though only rice seems to satisfy them, their secondary crops consist of millet, maize, pumpkins, cucumbers, and melons. Gathering of bamboo shoots as food is also important.

Fishing and hunting supplement the diet. Boutes by the way, prefer only to trail animals, set snares, or spend the whole day fishing rather than growing rice. The Bonam use what they call a sa to catch fish. It may be a net made of a woven bamboo or in the shape of a scoop. Other tribes use a poison leaf which kills fish and the people have only to scoop them up. The women primarily do the fishing.

Among the Bahnar there are specialists in the villages in the following trades or occupations: merchants, lawyers, servants, cattle raisers, ferrymen, string makers, healers, bone setters, midwives, wet nurses, gong players, metal workers (this however seems to be declining), and caterers for festivals.

The Bahnar are adept in the following industrial arts: cooking pots, crossbows, sabers, arrows, tools and digging sticks, and rattan guis. Guis are baskets of varying size used for storing rice or corn or to contain tools and utensils. The guis holding household implements have black and white flowers woven into the rattan.

The Bahnar trade with the groups to the northwest; the Sedang and Halang.

XI. POLITICAL.

The Bahnar will carry out the government's order, but not without much complaining. They obey the orders because they know the government can enforce obedience. Local government officials working with the Bahnar usually have had no experience or authority before, misuse their power and are considered tyrants by the Bahnar.

XII. SUBVERSION.

The Viet Cong base their propaganda on the autonomous themes; that is, if they win, the Bahnar will be given a separate tribal state, much like the reputed tribal state in north Viet-Nam. The Viet Cong add authority to their psychological operations by living with the Bahnar. The Viet Cong are quick to capitalize on any government action that backfires. Viet Cong propaganda is very effective among the Bahnar because they do not see long-range goals and the Viet Cong's propaganda is oriented at a level and time that the Bahnar can comprehend.

It should be noted, however, that the Bahnar is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation of Autonomy" from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Bahnar and the Vietnamese can be anticipated .

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

A few wealthy Bahnar have radios. If they listen to the Viet Cong radio (reportedly broadcast in Bahnar), it is not done openly. The government places posters in each village, but the wisdom of this is questionable for the majority of the Bahnar are illiterate. The best means of information dissemination would be face-to-face presentations using Bahnar tribesmen.

The Bahnar's musical instruments include gongs, small bells, drums, 5-string guitars and flutes. When all of the instruments are played, they produce exciting rhythms that are in harmony with the dancer and songs of the villagers. The flutes and guitars along with a sad song make the audience melancholy. This is why some call the Bahnar music, "The music of a Lost Nation."

Almost all of their songs are sad, even for a happy occasion. When it is first heard, the melody seems monotonous, and one thinks the Bahnar are not musically inclined. In reality, each village has musicians who create their own songs and music. Only they and their villages can play their creations. They create music for each particular celebration. With the exception of Bonam and Cham, the other Bahnar subgroups are very artistic. They have songs full of melody, full of poetic expression. Songs are used to express love, wishes, even a custom or a legend; others are simply meaningless.

Legends are the oral literature of the Bahnar. Bahnar legends reflect their belligerent nature and contain details of killings and bloodshed. There are many Bahnar legends, but few people can tell them now.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

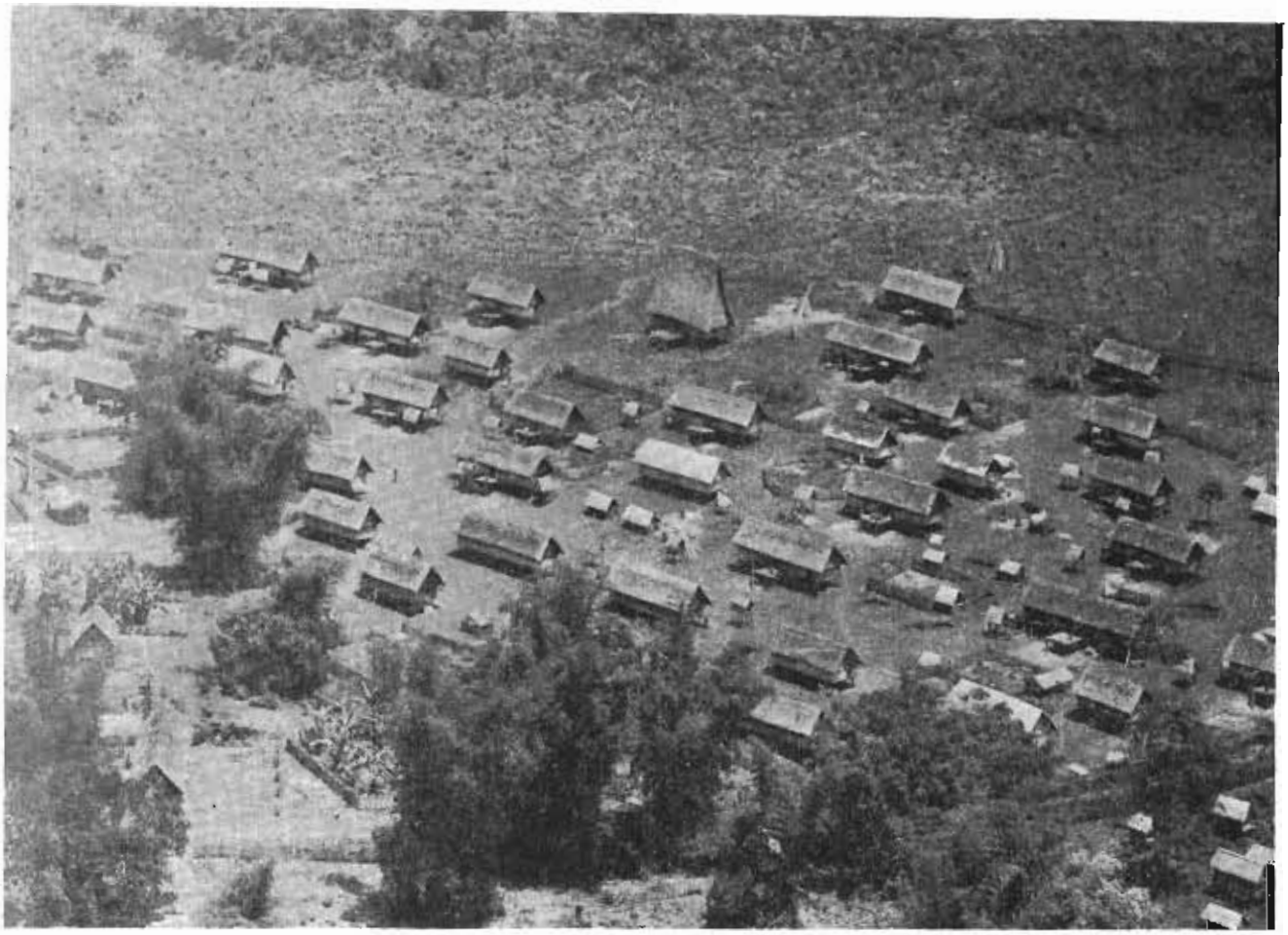
Bahnar generally will not accept advice on agricultural improvements. One village, when advised to plant two crops of rice rather than one, even though this was feasible, would not. Women do not like the water wells dug by the government, even though it saves them many steps, claiming the water smells like oil; however, the men and children like the well and use its water. The Bahnar are also afraid to use inorganic fertilizer, but they can be taught to use organic fertilizer.

One missionary has written that it would be helpful to advise them on raising livestock. It is also suggested that they be helped with their other agricultural problems, even though they may not accept advice readily. They are hungry just before the harvest because so much rice is used in wine. Increasing the yield of their rice crop would perhaps overcome this since there seems to be no point in suggesting less wine. A French soldier found that advising them about the irrigation of rice fields was fruitful.

XV. PARAMILITARY POTENTIAL.

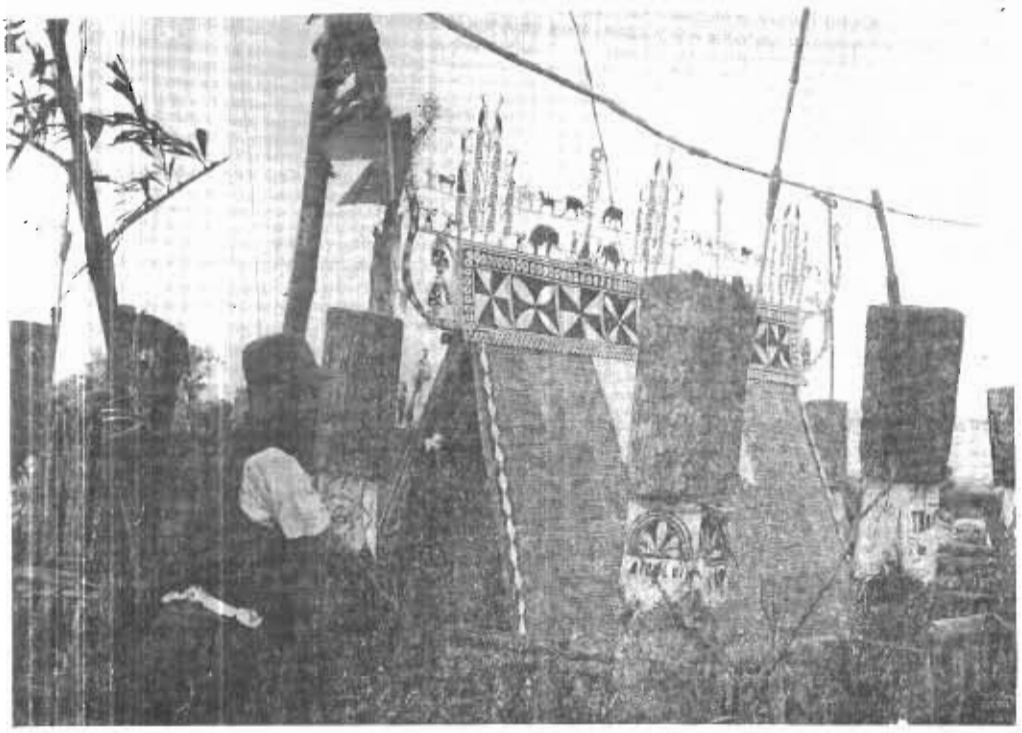
The Bahnar, historically, have been a freedom-loving, proud, warlike people ready to fight for their beliefs and traditions. They resent any effort aimed at supplanting their loyalty to their own leadership with non-Bahnar leaders. Nevertheless, with proper consideration given to these traits, the Bahnar would, if properly motivated and if convinced that the government will permit them some degree of independence and voice in the control of their own affairs, be a potent paramilitary force.

As the village appears to be the most important social and political unit to the Bahnar, it would appear that the Bahnar could be organized to defend themselves against any encroachment by the Viet Cong, provided the government can attract the loyalty of the Bahnar. This is complicated by traditional animosities that have existed between the Bahnar and neighboring tribes and Bahnar and Vietnamese.



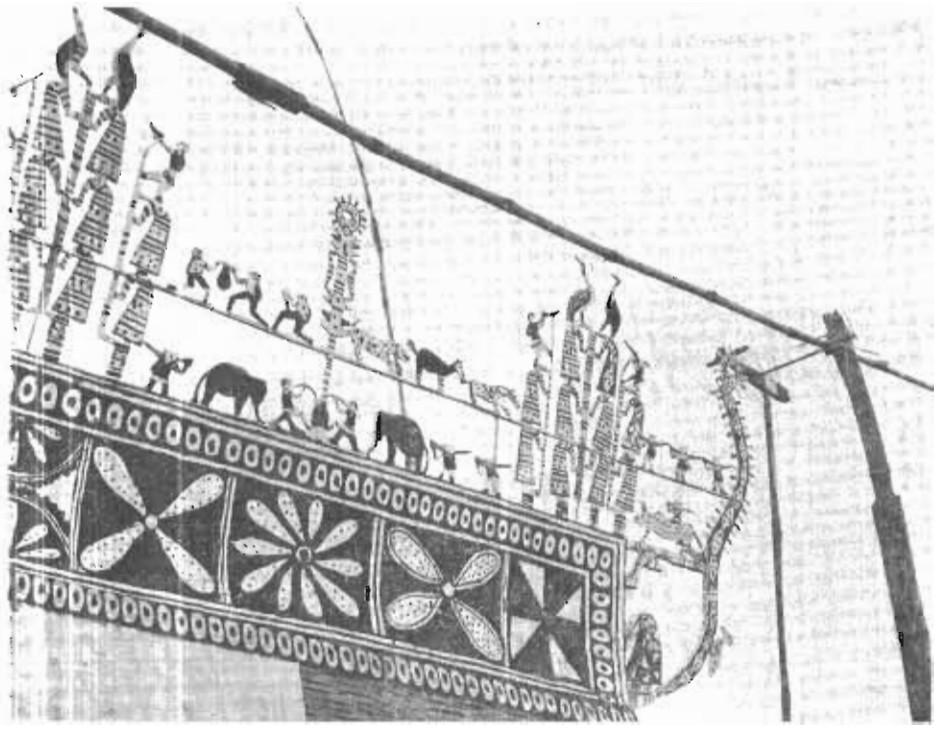
Bahnar village. Communal house center rear has peaked roof. Smaller buildings are granaries or house pigs and chickens.

Bahnar men, typically dressed and armed, beside the road near AN KHE.



Above, Bahnar tomb at PLEI BREL.

Below Bahnar tomb decorations, near PLEI BREL.



Diefied rice wine jars, with hollow bamboo straw.

Bahnar young man, near PLEI BREL.

Bahnar man taking a break while digging district headquarters defenses.

Chapter 3

THE CUA

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Cua (sometimes spelled "Khua") and its two major subgroups, the Kor and the Traw, is a fairly small tribe of approximately 20,000. It is located east and slightly north of Dak Glé in an area inland and northwest of the coastal city of Quang Ngai in central Viet-Nam. The Viet Cong control large sections of this tribal area and obtain vital agricultural supplies from the people. Many of the most intelligent and promising of the young Cua men have been trained in Hanoi.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The tribe occupies the Trabond area of Quang Ngai province and the Bong Mieu area of Quang Nam province in the area designated on the accompanying map. The Cua territory lies between the Jeh and the Hrey groups but the Cua seem to have had little contact with either. Evidence of old French roads remains, but trails and waterways are the major means of transportation, especially along the Tru Bon River. Otherwise, this is mountainous (approximately 2,000 feet), swampy, heavy jungle country, perfect both for the Cua and Viet Cong. The single relatively large town is Tra My.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Cua language is part of the Bahnaran sub-subgroup of the Bahnaric subgroup of Mon-Khmer. This makes it extremely close to the languages of the Bahnar, Rengao, and Sedang. It is strictly an oral means of communication. Drawings (in wood) seem to be made only for ceremonial purposes. Neither French nor English is comprehended by the tribespeople; the brighter young men, having been trained by the Viet Cong, seem to understand Vietnamese.

IV. HISTORY.

Upon the completion of more thorough research and evaluation of presently available information, a report of findings will be published at a later date.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The man is the head of the household; he has the only hammock in the house; he disciplines the children. On his death, control will remain in male hands, for his brother, or, if old enough, the eldest son becomes the head of the house. As a sign of their secondary role, women walk behind the men, work in the fields with their men, but return to the home early to accomplish their domestic chores.

Either husband or wife may go to the headman and request a divorce, but the instigator must then pay the other party. Divorce is quite rare. Polygyny is practiced (one chief had four wives), but the first wife remains senior and the more influential. The other wives are somewhat like concubines.

Birth is treated with a naturalness and simplicity unknown to more advanced civilizations. During her first birth, a woman has the services of a midwife; afterwards, she handles the event alone. She works up to the time of the birth, bears the child, and is usally back at worh the next day. Unlike some other Montagnard tribes, the Cua discipline their youngsters gently, almost always verbally. While the adults are out in the field clearing the land or harvesting the rice, the children care for the animals, including the valuable water buffalo. The children enjoy games and are quite friendly; there is a tendency among Americans to spoil them. The old people are kept busy making crossbows, spears, and beads; a craft at which they have become quite skillful.

The Cua learn quickly, especially mechanical skills. What they have been shown, they can do. They operate radios and weapons with skill. They are adaptive and retentive: two important practical considerations. They take pride in their learning; they tease slow learners.

The typical Cua village consists of a series of longhouses, simply constructed of bamboo and wood, on pilings, and roofed with thatch. A long central corridor divides the interior in half with compartments on both sides, each room housing a patrilineally-linked family. Room for animals is set aside within the house itself. As a whole, these longhouses of the village form a sort of horseshoe with a huge pole or tree at the open end. This is the ceremonial area where animals are sacrificed to the spirits.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The average man is about 5 feet 5 inches tall, stocky and muscular, with smoooth dark hair which he wears quite long. He dresses sparingly: a bare loin cloth and blue-colored beads around the neck. The women formerly preferred the bare loin cloth; but now, under American and Vietnamese influence, they are turning to fuller dresses. They take great pride in wearing beads around their neck. Women can be seen with necklaces of betweeen 30 and 40 strands. Brass rings around the waist complete the ornamentation. No one likes to wear shoes; consequently, they have extremely hard calluses on their feet, so hard that leeches cannot draw blood through them.

The Cua like and respect the French and Americans; they fear and dislike the

Vietnamese. Cua rarely show emotion. One American who lived with them a year witnessed excitement among the Cua only once: when they saw an elephant. They are strong people and can carry a great load for their size but for only rather short distances by special forces standards.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

They drink their own type of alcoholic beverage made from rice, which is stronger than the usual rice wine. Americans compare the effects to that of "moonshine whisky." Beer has no apparent effect upon the Cua and is, in fact, unpopular among them.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

Health conditions are extremely poor by Western standards. Tuberculosis, worms, and especially scurvy seem to abound among the Cua. Once a Cua gets over the first 10 precarious years of existence, he can look forward to a life span of between 40 and 50 years. The young people with reddish-brown hair suffer from a vitamin deficiency.

IX. RELIGION.

The Cua, like all the Montagnard tribes, believe in a pervasive animism. They have spirits associated with crops, with fish, with health and sickness; indeed, with every significant aspect of the life cycle. Such spirits provide an explanation of the universe to these primitive people, and a way of influencing this universe, for spirits, unlike natural events, can be appeased. The Cua, therefore, always conduct sacrificial rituals during any significant event in human destiny: birth, death, harvest, etc. It is especially praiseworthy for a man to sacrifice a valuable buffalo; the spirits are thus more honored. One sacrificial peculiarity seems to distinguish the Cua from other Montagnard tribes: the family making a sacrifice at a funeral cannot eat the meat of the sacrificial animal.

X. ECONOMICS.

Economically, the Cua are a strictly agricultural people. Because they use the wasteful slash-and-burn method, frequent changes in location become necessary. Each family maintains its own field, earned by clearing it, and feeds its own aged. Rice, as it is throughout the Montagnard tribes, is the dietary staple; the Cua also produce potatoes in quantity and consider sugar cane a rare delicacy. The Cua are unique among the Montagnards in their plentiful production of cinnamon.

XI. POLITICAL.

The allegiance of the family goes not to the tribe, but to the local village. Each village remains, for all practical purposes, autonomous. The chief represents the village and settles disputes between families; his eldest son usually succeeds him. He retains the aid of a council of elders in governing the village. Today, there is also a Vietnamese district chief who tries to link the various villages with the national government; the Cua, however, generally prefer their old ways.

XII. SUBVERSION.

The Communists have been very active in the Cua territory. They have taken the bright, promising young men, trained them for as long as 8 years in North Viet-Nam and then sent them back among their village people. While in the North, these young men undergo a rigorous propaganda and basic training program. Back in the village, they preach the doctrine of American and South Vietnamese destructiveness: a doctrine difficult to counter when these primitive people see strange planes and helicopters. In addition, the Viet Cong send occasional patrols to the villages to instill fear into the populace and to remind them of their power. Many of the Cua consequently need protection or even relocation.

It should be noted, however, that the Cua is one of the tribes supporting the Proclamation on Autonomy from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Cua and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

Psychological themes stressing the necessity for closer communication between the Cua and the Vietnamese, supported by appropriate projects from the government level, must be implemented to overcome the fear and dislike the Cua have for the Vietnamese. In the past the Vietnamese have referred to the Cua and the Montagnards in general as moi, which means savages, and have tended to treat them as such. The government has begun to recognize the injustice and impracticality of this attitude and has taken steps to correct this situation.

The Cua heartily enjoy movies, which is a completely new experience for them. This medium should be given emphasis as a vehicle through which information, education, and propaganda is disseminated. Like most Americans, the Cua do not care for the pure, propaganda-type movie but prefer cartoons and sports. Language does not appear to be a barrier since they concentrate on the animation.

The Communists have been very active in Cua areas, particularly among the young men. Additionally, Viet Cong patrols have been used to instill fear among the Cua and to remind them of their dominance in these areas. Any propaganda effort, therefore, to be successful, may require providing the Cua with protection against reprisal.

The village is considered the primary social and political unit and the allegiance of the Cua family group is based more on loyalty to the village unit than to the tribe.

Upon completion of further research and evaluation of presently available information, a report of findings will be published.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

The Cua, being good, quick learners, particularly adept in mechanical matters, and noted for their adaptability and retentiveness, should be able to accept projects designed to improve their general welfare with comparative ease.

Due to the important role played by the village chief, civic action projects should be introduced through him to insure maximum acceptance and success.

Civic action projects should be designed to improve their agricultural methods. Additionally, diversification into other occupational areas should be encouraged in order to increase the self-sufficency of the Cua. Their ability to grasp mechanical training increases the chances for success in non-agriculturally oriented civic action projects.

XV. PARAMILITARY POTENTIAL.

Militarily, the young men show great promise. They are aggressive in the field and are good in small-unit actions such as patrolling. The Cua are considered outstanding teachers, and they are probably the best in Viet-Nam in this field. Experienced U.S. advisors have been impressed by the teaching ability of the Cua.

The Cua have some difficulty in the field with range estimation, being considerably off in estimating distances. This is probably due to their unfamiliarity with abstraction, and with numerical concepts.

The Cua are the finest trackers in Viet-Nam: they have a great sense of direction and know their environs intimately. They can tell you where trails lead, how many people are on a trail, whether they are traveling fast or slow. Experienced American soldiers have been awed again and again by the uncanny tracking ability of the Cua.

While working with special forces, the Cua never deserted, never missed training, and always maintained their equipment with considerable pride.

The Cua like and respect Americans which should facilitate the acceptance of any training received through military advisory effort.

The importance of the village as the center of allegiance of the Cua, should facilitate the formation of paramilitary forces designed to protect these villages.

The effective organization and use of paramilitary forces among the Cua, if they are to be loyal to the government, must be accompanied by effective psychological operations designed to overcome the fear and dislike that exists between the Cua and the Vietnamese. Because the Communists have been active to a considerable degree among the Cua, particularly among the young men, caution must be exercised in organizing Cua paramilitary forces until such time as their loyalty and allegiance to the government has been adequately established.

Upon the completion of further research and evaluation of presently available information, a more detailed report of findings will be published.

Cua sacrifice pole at Tra My.

Cua long house at Puong Yen.

Chapter 4

THE HRE

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Hre are a tribal people variously estimated by different authorities to number between 90 and 120-thousand. They are found in Quang Ngai and northern Binh Dinh provinces.

To the Hre, themselves, the term "Hre" refers only to those of their number who live along the Song Re or Hre River. Other groups of the tribe are named for other rivers: Ba-Vach, Tava, Kare, Kha-Re, Moi Cham, and Moi Dong; however, most students of the subject apply the name Hre to the whole tribe. There are three principal groups of Hre: Highlanders, found along both banks of the Hre River to the north; a middle group who live along the To River; and lowlanders found along the Lien River.

The highland Hre call the group living in the Son Ha district the Kre; actually, the Kre are a subgroup of the Hre and their dialect is almost identical with that of the highlanders, the principle difference being that of accent. Toward Tra Bong there is another small tribal group known as the Thuong Qua, whose language and customs are different from those of the Hre. In An Lao, the Ba Nam occupy the high regions and some Hre are found in the lowlands.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The area inhabitated by the Hre begins approximately 25 kilometers west of Route 1 and extends west to Chuong Nghia and Son Ha, north to Minh Long, and south to An Lo in Binh Dinh province. This is a mountainous region, crossed by the Hre, Kra No, Ba To, and Vo rivers and the Hre are found largely in the valleys along the banks of these rivers. The Hre of the Ba To area inhabit both banks of the Hre River below Gia Vut: there are many more of them on the east bank of the river than on the west.

The terrain inhabited by the Hre is largely mountainous, seamed with rivers which flood in the rainy season, washing out or covering the bridges. The Hre lowland villages are fairly accessible and most highland Hre villages can be reached by jeep in good weather.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

All Hre speak the same basic Hre language, a subgroup of the Mon-Khmer language group. The dialect varies from village-to-village but not enough to impede communication between villages. The Hre language is especially related to Bahnar, the principal trade language of the area which is spoken in Pleiku, Kontum, Binh Dinh, and Phu Yen provinces. It is also related to the languages of Kontum and southern Quang Nam provinces.

In spite of the fact that many of the Hre who engage in trade can communicate in Bahnar, one authority considers the Hre poor interpreters. Nevertheless, there have been instances of Hre tribesmen working with special forces units who served adequately as interpreters.

Only recently a beginning has been made at developing a written language for Hre. This work has been done by English-speaking missionaries and currently there are available a thesaurus and a glossary of Hre terms translated into English and Vietnamese. There is also a brief set of materials comprising an introductory course in basic Hre.

IV. HISTORY.

The Hre like many tribal people of Southeast Asia, have a version of the flood story as part of their legendary history of their tribal origins. According to the Hre, a fire destroyed the surface of the earth and was followed by a flood which covered everything but two mountains. On the east mountain were a hundred Vietnamese who had been in boats when the flood came; on the west mountain there was only a woman and a dog. The woman and the dog had a son who together with his mother became the parents of the Hre tribe. Even this primitive creation story contains references to the hard life led by the founders of the Hre who had to struggle for survival, living on roots. By contrast, the Vietnamese were not only foresighted enough to have been in boats during the flood but were surrounded by frogs for food, a delicacy much enjoyed by Hre and Vietnamese.

Information about the actual origins of the tribe, as opposed to its legends, is practically nonexistent. Very little is known even now about the tribe's history in modern times, except for recent years when the Hre, like many other tribespeople, were drawn into the struggle between the Vietnamese and the French and then into conflict between north and south Viet-Nam. Their contacts with ethnic Vietnamese expanded rapidly in the late 1940's when the Vietnamese partisans

occupied the countryside throughout the provinces inhabited by the Hre, leaving the French bottled up in the cities. Several Hre chieftains apparently allied themselves with the Vietnamese at that time, and Vietnamese villages were established near every Hre settlement to cultivate the land and reap the harvest. The Hre were kept in check by the Vietnamese by a combination of propaganda and force. By 1949 relations between the Hre and the Vietnamese had deteriorated so badly that the northern Hre mutinied and massacred a reputed 5,000 Vietnamese men, women, and children. The Vietnamese swiftly mounted a retaliatory attack,and it might well be said that the Hre have had more contact with the Vietnamese in the past 15 years than for centuries before and that the effect of these relations has been essentially negative.

Periodic migration is limited almost exclusively to the northern Hre, forced by their slash-and-burn agriculture. The area to which they confine themselves is well within South Vietnamese national boundaries and the problem of their crossing the borders into North Viet-Nam, Cambodia, and Laos does not arise.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A married woman has significant authority in a Hre family but the Hre are not, strictly speaking, a matriarchal society. A man is free to have several wives and polygyny is fairly widespread among those sufficiently well-off to support additional families. When a young couple marry, they are free to move in with either family of in-laws; but because only the well-to-do can afford to accept a daughter-in-law, they usually live with the bride's parents. The Hre, accordingly, think it is luckier to have a daughter than a son.

A widow loses her social status. Local custom permits her to remarry after a year; but because most young, well-to-do men want young wives, most widows marry poor men if they remarry at all. If an older widow does remarry she may then look forward to the arrival of a young second wife who will share the couple's life and help with the work in the fields and do the heavier work in general. Since only a very few Hre can afford to hire help, and because of the labor involved in cultivating the rice and obtaining other necessities of life, a widow with several children must consider remarriage. This results in many couples that are oddly matched in age. The husband may be only 20 and the wife anywhere from 35 to 45 with 5 or 6 children by a former husband.

Boys and girls meet at drinking and dancing parties where they sing to each other to reveal their sentiments and to find out if the other has any previous ties.

These courtship songs generally exchange inquiries about whether their parents are still living, whether they are married, their genealogy, age, character, etc., and finally whether they are attracted to one another. If this introductory conversation paves the way to a closer acquaintance and if the young couple then agree to marry, they will decide which family to live with and will seek their parents' counsel. Wedding customs are extremely simple. When the two families have reached an agreement on the marriage, a drinking party is arranged. Both families shuttle back and forth between the houses and wine is consumed in quantity. During the party the sponsoring household must offer the other family certain commemorative items in the form of clothing, necklaces, and the like. For the wedding the whole village is invited to several days of drinking. Then the young couple moves in with the family and no other gifts are necessary. If either spouse is widowed and wishes to remarry, a buffalo or some other specified item of value must be presented to the deceased spouse's family.

The Hre have a custom of making family alliances before their children are born. A future marriage may be arranged between two young couples and sealed with a drinking party in the presence of many relatives. Henceforth, the two couples help each other in the necessity of daily life. There are cases when such alliances have been made, but one family may have a daughter while the others do not have a son for some years, causing a great disparity in age between the couples. Partly because of inequality in ages and partly because the young people are not asked for their consent, they sometimes decide to separate very soon after or even occasionally before the wedding. At such times, whichever one is responsible for the separation must pay compensation. If they are married and living together the indemnity consists of one or two buffalo according to the family's position. If they are not yet married, indemnity is usually one or two pigs and wine must be provided for the whole village to announce the separation. The offspring who are to be united in prearranged marriages are generally asked for their consent. Many young people agree to marry without the consent of their parents. In that case, there is no ceremony or drinking party. They usually go to their own home in the forest and live alone and independently. Sometimes the newly married couple moves in with the wife's parents and remains there until one or two children are born, then they establish a home of their own. Sometimes three or four children may be born but do not live, in which case a couple may move to their own home because they think it necessary to escape an evil spirit in the parent's home that is causing the trouble. Because young couples generally move into their own homes when their children arrive, many parents who have five or six children are ultimately left completely alone in their old age.

The Hre have very severe penalties for incest. Hre custom forbids a daughter-in-law to eat from the same platter as her father-in-law and for the son-in-law to eat with his mother-in-law. In addition, it prohibits marriage between members of the same ancestral family. Formerly, incestuous relations resulted in death for both parties, but now the punishment is less severe. The offenders are heavily penalized and are publicly disgraced. The Hre believe that such a union will not only bring misfortune on the persons concerned but will sow disaster throughout the village. Therefore, the first thing to do is to perform a ceremony imploring pardon from the spirits and ancestors. Wine and a white chicken, or goat, are brought to the banks of the stream where the local sorcerer offers them in sacrifice. Then the male offender must take a sharp stick and stab the sacrificial animal, pouring its blood into the stream and onto the ground. The elders then take the stick and stab the animal while asking the spirits and ancestors to forgive the village, to grant it peace and welfare, favorable rains and winds, and a bountiful harvest. In order to compensate for the ill repute brought upon their village by the culprits, the parent's property is confiscated and divided among the villagers. Afterwards the villagers gather and make the offenders apologize publicly and eat from the trough used by the pigs. Then, they are expelled from the village.

Matrons are distinguished from unmarried girls by the fact that a married woman need no longer wear a blouse or bodice in public, as unmarried girls must. Hre women go into their houses to have their children and are assisted by midwives following ancient traditions. The mother receives no medication except for a few roots and leaves from the forest, and after 5 days she returns to her usual tasks. If a woman dies in childbirth, the child is placed with a wet nurse. If there is no wet nurse available, the infant is fed soft rice. If the birth is a normal one, no offering is made; if it is difficult, a pig or chicken is killed and offered by the sorcerer.

Wife-stealing used to be common among the Hre. This led to innumerable family feuds; and, if the wronged husband died early in life, his children and grandchildren would continue the feud. If a man stole another's wife and then repented he could redeem himself. He would invite the elders and villagers to a feast with wine where they would witness his apology and gift of 3 to 5 buffalo, as demanded by his adversary. After that, hostilities abated and the two families were again at peace with each other.

Children begin to work at a comparatively early age, and sometimes marry at 13 or 14. Among the poor a child may be offered by his parents as security,

if they are unable to repay a debt. If the debt is never repaid, the child remains in service for the rest of his life. Most Hre do not have hired help; only the well-to-do can afford it. Instead, families often take turns working for each other in order to save the cost of hiring labor. If help is needed, a family will call in the neighbors and, in turn, help the neighbors when necessary. In the rice growing season, however, this cooperation is not enough and often seasonal help must be hired.

The village and local chiefs have great influence. They are, in most cases, selected on the basis of age and experience. The chiefs speak for the villagers to merchants and other figures from the outside world who come into a Hre village.

Disputes among the Hre are settled, generally, by the payment of fines. Usually a fine consists of so many buffalo, or pigs, or chickens, or goats, or perhaps a set of gongs and sometimes sacred jars. Law enforcement tends to have a moral character; for example, a village will build a small, barbed wire enclosure for a jail. It has no top and it would be relatively easy to escape, making punishment more of an embarrassment than punishment for the offender. In recent years the Vietnamese have appointed the village chiefs, but it is not clear whether these centrally appointed chieftans have more or less authority than those who have been selected by the villagers as their leaders in the past.

Another important figure in the village is the head sorcerer. It is generally believed that the village chief outranks the head sorcerer; therefore, the chief is the person to be approached when first entering a village.

The Hre have casual, largely trading relationships with other tribes in the area, principally the Bahnar.

There is no formal educational system as such among the Hre. Education is conducted essentially within the family. Hre who have attended Vietnamese schools have learned to read and write the national language. Special forces personnel have reported that some Hre showed the ability to operate simple mechanical equipment.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Hre are taller than the Jarai or the Rhade. Although lighter in skin color than many other tribespeople, their hair and eyes are dark. Their hair is straight and worn long; old people wear it tied up. When working in the fields, both men and women usually wear a cloth covering on the head. The custom of filing the

front teeth is dying out, especially among the younger Hre, but one may still encounter many members of the tribe whose front teeth have been filed down or broken off. It is also reported that some Hre put ceremonial scars on their legs, a kind of self-mutilation in times of mourning.

Standards of cleanliness among tribespeople are not those of the Western world; but, as tribespeople go, the Hre are relatively clean in their personal and daily habits. Nevertheless, they suffer from a variety of ailments generally associated with living in conditions of filth; for example: eye infection and leg ulcers.

No one characterizes the Hre as aggressive, since, like most tribespeople, they are rather timid and spend their lives in a largely bewildered world governed by hostile spirits. However, it is apparent that this inherent timidity does not prevent the Hre from fighting if sufficiently motivated. In 1949 they revolted against Vietnamese leadership, engaged in revenge including the massacre of a large number of women and children and then reported for duty with the French.

Reports on the Hre's willingness and capacity to learn vary. Some observers have found the Hre eager and industrious students, but the majority opinion seems to be that the Hre are less ambitious and less willing to learn than for example the Sedang. The lethargy seems to be especially characteristic of the lowland Hre who have had contact with the ethnic Vietnamese over a long period of time. The ethnic Vietnamese make no secret of their contempt for the tribal ways and their low regard for tribal skills. Apparently this attitude has had its effect; and many Hre take little pride in their weaving or other crafts, feeling that their skills are of little consequence by comparison with those of the more sophisticated Vietnamese. In spite of this rather negative self-appraisal, the Hre are considered to be honest and cheerful; it is believed that they can absorb some instruction.

One group which does not have the respect of a majority of Hre are those members of the tribe who emulate Vietnamese ways, to speak Vietnamese, wear Vietnamese clothes, and follow Vietnamese customs. These converted Hre are generally disliked and rejected from the tribal community.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

A Hre village is generally built along a stream. The houses are arranged according to the contour of the land and do not follow a rigid pattern. In the lowlands, there may be anywhere from 10 to 20 houses forming a village. Lowland

villages tend to be densely populated, with from 6 to 15 members to a family. In these lowland villages, houses are surrounded by areca, palm, banana, jackfruit, orange, and grapefruit trees, and there may be small vegetable gardens with maize and manioc. The trail approaching the village is often sunken with low stone walls lining it on either side.

In the highlands, houses are more scattered and few of them have gardens. The villages are much smaller and sometimes will consist of as little as two or three houses. The villages are also much farther apart; one can sometimes walk for as long as 10 days without seeing a community. Many of the houses stand alone, on the steep sides of the mountains, with grass growing up to the floor level. To approach one of these houses, one usually must climb the slope and struggle through thick, waist-high grass to find the only path leading to the house.

Hre houses, in the highlands and lowlands, are relatively small, each designed to hold a single family. They are normally on stilts, the roof sloping down on two sides not quite to the ground. The house is constructed of bamboo and rattan, and often there is a straw shrine to the side or front of the house. These shrines have been described by one American soldier as looking like bird cages. Whatever they may look like to an American, they are sacred to the Hre and should under no circumstances be touched. Livestock is usually kept under the house, and clay pits are dug for the water buffalo, the most important beast the family owns.

At the front of the house is a covered porch, usually about 3 or 4 meters long, called ban chin, where guests are entertained and where much of the family's life and social activities are centered. In the homes of the well-to-do, there may also be a back porch--ban gioang--which serves as a work room and recreation area for servants. Although roofed over, these porches have no walls and they connect with the interior of the house by a door of bamboo or thin wood strips. In wealthy homes, these doors may be made of handsomely carved wood panels. In addition to the ladders which lead up to the porches, Hre houses generally have stairways at either end; but these are reserved for members of the family, and guests do not use them. Visitors are almost never invited into a Hre house but remain on the front porch even if staying for the night.

Since the porch is the social center of the house, it is also the place where ceremonial and social wine drinking takes place. In most homes, the wine jug is tied to a corner post of the front porch; in wealthier households, it may be an elegantly carved post set in the center of the porch.

Although visitors may not enter the house, it is possible to see past the door of bamboo strips separating the porch from the interior. If a woman of the household is in confinement, there will be green branches on the porch doors and they will be closed.

The hearth is a square or rectangular compartment with earthern walls about 5 to 7 inches thick and about 30 to 40 inches wide with a wooden frame. The pots rest on three stones arranged in a triangle. Regardless of the number of fireplaces in a house, the one in the room next to the front porch is the sacred hearth. There is only one sacred hearth in a house and only the master and mistress of the house may sleep in the room with that hearth. If the head of the house has a second wife he must build a separate hearth for her, and if he has servants they must sleep by other fireplaces built in the inner room. Small children may sleep with their parents by the sacred hearth. Each room can accommodate a small family.

The room which contains the sacred hearth also contains the mortar for grinding rice. The mortar is also a sacred object. Although made of wood, it resembles the stone mortars used in the lowlands. When the hearth and the mortar are constructed a sacrifice is offered. God is known as the Ong Tao; of the three hearth stones, the middle one is the Ong. The sacred hearth is used only for cooking the food for sacrifices, and no one may use it for ordinary cooking. Only the master of the house may touch the sacred hearthstone and then only for a legitimate reason. If anyone, even the wife or child of the head of the house unintentionally overturns or moves the sacred hearthstone, he is punished and must sacrifice a pig to the sacred hearthstone so that the god will not become angry and afflict the members of the family with a disease. If a member of the household or a guest cook something at the sacred hearth, he must offer a sacrifice.

Both the mortar and the sacred hearth are immovable. If you enter a Hre house and see the mortar and the sacred hearthstone and two cords hanging over the fireplace you know that the family has gone away temporarily. But if the mortar has been broken, then you know that the family has permanently moved away. Along with the sacred hearth there are sacred pots used to cook the food for festivals and to make the cakes for the New Year. These may not be used for other purposes or placed on another hearth. If members of the household or guests should violate these rules they are punished by the head of the house. When the head of the house dies, these pots will be distributed to the unfortunate or taken to his grave. Ordinarily they are kept in a corner behind the sacred fireplace.

In every house there is also a sacred sack of salt. In a rich household this may weigh some 12 to 14 pounds; in a poor home, only 2 to 4 pounds. This sack hangs over the hearth. This salt is used only for festivals and it is never mixed with ordinary salt. If the supply of everyday salt runs out, the family buys, trades, or borrows more, but never uses the sacred salt.

The post on the right front of the fireplace is also sacred. To the Hre, this post is as important as the altar is to the Vietnamese. Halfway up the post is a bamboo tray about 40 inches square where the sacrifices are placed. On some feast occasions the sacrifices are offered in the courtyard, but at ordinary feasts they are offered at the sacred post. When a sacrifice is offered, a small reed with the last 12 to 14 inches shredded or frayed to make a brush is attached to the sacred post. If a chicken or pig is killed the blood is smeared on the post. In the corner near the sacred post are placed the sacred gui, which belonged to the head of the house and his wife. These are their personal properties, containing clothes and belongings. If they go away they take these with them; and when the couple die, the gui will be placed on the grave so that they may be used in the next world.

In the more isolated villages and communities, the normal dress for Hre men is a loincloth and for women a skirt. Unmarried girls usually wear a bodice. Those who live closer to large towns and come more in contact with ethnic Vietnamese and foreigners wear more clothes: the women add a jacket to their costume, the men wear shirts and shorts or trousers. Distinctive features of Hre dress include the unusual light blue color found in much of the cloth they weave for their clothing. The women's jackets are generally dark blue or black but some of the younger ones wear white. On the whole, Hre women seem to like very bright colors. Those who have the means for more than one jacket have one for feast days with rows of red and white embroidery on either side. Their skirts are two-tiered with rows of red and white embroidery around the bottom.

Necklaces made of French coins or of brightly-colored beads are very popular with Hre women. Almost every woman has at least one necklace made of such coins. Well-to-do women will sometimes wear silver collars as much as 20 inches in diameter. Poorer women wear one or two necklaces of colored wooden beads. When colored glass marbles first appeared in the markets near Hre villages, some merchants bought them, pierced them to make beads, and took them up to the Hre to sell them as jewelry. Each marble was traded for a chicken because the Hre girls were convinced that the marbles were precious stones. These merchants are still remembered and resented.

The Hre are a betel-chewing rather than a tobacco-smoking people. Even among tribespeople, most of whom chew betel, the Hre are noted for their addiction to betel. When they want to describe how long it takes to get someplace, they will say it takes so many chews of betel, each chew being about one-half hour.

Like most tribespeople, the Hre do a great deal of drinking of a locally-made variety of fermented rice wine. This drinking is done in connection with a variety of social and spiritual obligations and ceremonies. Wine is ca ro in their language. The village chiefs are ca ra. So if one goes to have a ceremonial drink with a village chief one goes for ca ro with the ca ra. The Hre are conscious of this play on words. When you are invited for a ceremonial drink, Hre will prepare drinking tubes and wine; but before you are invited to drink, your host will ask the ancestors and the spirits to bring you good luck, and his wife will bring a bundle of tubes, some water for washing, a pot of clear water, and a large bowl. The host will blow the dust off the jug and remove the layers of banana leaves from the mouth of the jug. The drinking tubes which the Hre use are not the narrow bamboo reed used by tribes farther north, but the stem of something called a trieng, which is often used as kindling. These long stems are dried out and then used to make drinking tubes. They can be as much as 3 feet long, but one of 30 to 34 inches is usually sufficient. These are not hollow tubes, so after they are dried, the pitch is removed, leaving a long, slightly curved tube suitable for drinking wine. To make sipping wine easier, three or four holes are put into the tube at the lower end. Tubes are pale brown in color and can easily be mistaken for brass. The host will pour water in the jug until the wine is level with the mouth of the jug. This is part of the ceremony. If the jug is not full, the guests are not honored. Some leaves are also put into the jug so that when water is poured in, the rice which lies at the bottom of the jug will not be disturbed. The host then takes a tube in each hand, lowers them into the wine, and stirs the wine drawing out the leaves that he has placed in there. Gradually, he lowers the tube to the bottom of the jug checking carefully to make sure that the proper end of the tube is what is going into the jug. It is very rude among the Hre to hand a guest the wrong end of the drinking tube. If you do so deliberately, this is a sign of contempt and is interpreted as a deliberate provocation. The host places all of the tubes to be used in the wine jar. He then rinses his mouth with fresh water and tests each tube by sipping a bit of the wine, which he then spits on the floor. If a tube is obstructed, he draws it out, blows through it to clear it and, if necessary, cuts off any damaged portions. Then when all the tubes to be used by the family and guests have been tested, a straw of dry thatch from the roof is taken and dipped into the wine. This straw symbolizes the drinking tube consecrated to the spirits, and to the ancestors. The guest of honor will be handed a tube first by the host. This is handed to him with the right hand palm down, and the

left hand supporting it, and the guest is supposed to put out his right hand to take the tube. It is important to remember that among the Hre, as with most people in Southeast Asia, a guests accepts things only with the right hand. Even if one is naturally left-handed, one should only use the right hand. There are a variety of reasons for this but the important thing to remember is to use the right hand and among the Hre, apparently, one uses the right hand palms down. It is rude to extend the hand palm upward when serving or accepting something.

When all the guests have tubes in their hands the host and his chief wife will place their index finger on the mouth of the jar and take turns uttering an incantation or prayer which roughly translates as "may this wine bring you good health." They then take their tubes and drink; but first, each drinks one mouthful and spits it on the floor. This derives from old traditions in which the host was protecting his guest against the possibility of being poisoned. In former times, some tribes poisoned their guests, not by putting poison in the wine, but by placing it inside the tube that the guest was to use. If the guest drank without first spitting out the first mouthful, he might be killed by the poison. When the drinking begins, the floor around the jug may be covered with wine and saliva but everyone goes on drinking and chatting. The big advantage of drinking with the Hre through a trieng, from a common jug, as compared to drinking with other tribes who offer you an individual jug of wine, is that there is no way of knowing how much anyone is drinking. If you keep the end of the tube in your mouth and pretend to be drinking, you can give that impression as long as the level of the line in the jug is going down. Hopefully, this is being done by your host and members of the family. As the level of the wine goes down the host pours in more water. After a few rounds of drinks both host and guests put down their tubes, partly to rest and partly to converse. This first round of drinks has been only the beginning. Then comes a very important part of the ceremonial drinking. The host asks you to put your tube into the jug and then he takes up a jug of water and starts pouring it into the jug of wine. The host urges you to go on drinking so that he can pour the whole bowl of water into the jug, without making the contents overflow. That means that by the time you have helped him empty the jug of fresh water, you have drunk a whole bowl full of wine. One by one the other guests will invite you to go through the same ritual. Sometimes one has to drink four or five bowls of wine during the second stage of the ceremonies. Custom requires that you then invite the host and the others to drink. It is difficult to avoid doing this without risking offending your host, although many Americans have reported that one can refuse to drink on grounds of personal conviction. It helps to cement relations if one can join in and participate fully in this drinking bout. It is possible to beg off after

several bowls of wine, or even after the first or second, without unduly offending one's host, providing it is done with great care and with a show of genuine respect for the importance of wine drinking as a sacrificial, ceremonial, religious ritual.

The ca ro is lighter than the rice wine drunk in the lowlands. Its alcoholic content is relatively low because it is fermented usually only 4 or 5 days before water is poured into it; and it is not distilled. Although it is possible to drink it after such a short period of fermentation, it is much better if left for a longer time. Some connoisseurs among the Hre bury it in jugs for a year before drinking it. Nevertheless, in spite of this low alcoholic content, ca ro can have an appreciably strong effect in a relatively short period of time. Most foreigners who have drunk it found that they became very flushed and dizzy within a short period of time. After the two stages of drinking, the wine begins to get weak because the water has diluted it. The tubes are then moved to a spot where the water has not mixed with the wine, and the third stage of the ceremonial drinking party begins. The host fits two or three tubes together, sips a mouthful of wine and spits it into the bowl. Then he invites his guests to drink. The circle of guests then invites each guest to drink just as in the previous stage. By this time the average guest is probably extremely dizzy. If he isn't, it is preferable that he appear drunk. This shows that he has proven himself a sincere friend and has not held back in giving honor to his host. If one really becomes drunk, it is perfectly permissable to lie down on the floor. The host is happy to see his guest "throw himself" into his wine jug in this fashion. The Hre serve wine on many family occasions of reunion and other celebrations as well as on village occasions. Thus, about half of the rice they harvest is set aside for making wine. Both men and women drink.

After the long drawn out ritual of drinking, a guest will be offered food; and if he possibly can stay to eat some, he should. To refuse would offend his host. The usual method of eating is with the hands. Only in fairly well-to-do and upper-class homes does one find bowls and chop sticks. The principle item of diet is rice; but when the harvest is poor, they add potatoes, manioc, maize, and even bulbs and vegetables. The Hre dislike maize and usually serve it only as a side dish. In times of real shortage they will mix green jackfruit with the rice. When they are ill, they still live on rice; if they are too ill to eat it in its usual form, they will drink a kind of rice gruel, but they never take soup as we know it. They consider soup to be the food of abandoned souls and dead people. Occasionally, the Hre will eat crab when they have caught it themselves, for they seldom have money to buy it. Only on feast days and only among those who are better off does one see pork or chicken. It is a sign of great respect to serve a guest with ivory chopsticks, because ivory chopsticks supposedly will react quickly to poison. If they are placed in poisoned food, the food will start to bubble like water at the boiling point, it is said.

Few green vegetables are available; although they cultivate gardens, because the Hre do not know how to raise many vegetables. They usually have gourds, pumpkins, bamboo, and a few herbs. These, garnished with a little salt, are added to the family meal. The women and girls fish for crabs, catch snails, and net crawfish and salt them down in earthernware jars. The catch is rinsed, placed in jars, sprinkled with salt, and covered with banana leaves, and packed down tightly without being cleaned or scaled. They have a strong and disagreeable odor when served shortly after packing. Most Hre eat frog in great quantity.

The usual beverage consumed with meals is plain water. Only the rich can afford tea. The water is stored in jars, and the supply is replenished every day or so. Water is carried or stored in big bamboo tubes or earthenware jugs. It is the work of the women and girls to fetch the water. The Hre like the water from streams that flow from the mountains. They do not like well water such as the lowland people use. They say that water from the inner mountain streams is sweet and fresh. Every season they offer sacrifices to the water spirit. Usually every village has one or two wells. Sometimes they drink spring water or well water, but they do not honor these places with sacrifices as they do the mountain streams and wells. When they find a spot where a mountain stream originates, they put in a pipe made of bamboo and pave the area with stones to make a basin about 18 to 20 inches in depth, and 6 to 9 feet in diameter. The water flows continuously and the village uses it for both bathing and drinking.

There are a number of poisons available in the Ba To area. Some are deadly, some are not. Some have antidotes, others do not. According to some reports, almost everyone possesses some poison. The deadliest kind is called do which exists in both powder and liquid form. The powder is stronger than the liquid and usually comes in a small container sealed with wax. It is yellowish-gray in color and has a somewhat nauseating odor. The Hre do not know what it is made of. Only the Bahnar of Kontum know the secret of its preparation. The Hre chieftains go to Kontum to buy it. Some people keep the poison on hand just to intimidate the neighbors. A few grains of this poison under a fingernail touched to the lips, sprinkled in food, or placed inside a drinking tube will kill a man. It is reported that one poison is made of groundup tiger whiskers. The first thing that is done after killing a tiger is to cut off and burn the whiskers so that no one can use them to make poison. Another type of poison is called rin and is used to protect one's possession from thieves. Rin is made from a leaf and there is an antidote for it, if it is applied soon enough.

Just how much poison is actually used and just how much is talked about is debatable, but there are reports as recent as 1962 of local villagers apprehended with large amounts of poison in their possession.

The Hre often use poisoned arrows when hunting. The poison employed is extremely potent and has only to draw blood in order to kill a man in ten minutes. The poison is made from resin from a tree called cam. There is no known antidote for this poison but it is perfectly safe to eat animals which have been killed with the poisoned arrows.

A Hre form of amusement which is very popular is eating contests. One man will challenge another to match him in eating handfuls of rice, rather like an American pie-eating contest.

The Hre seem no more or no less unfriendly toward outsiders than other tribespeople. The Hre have had a somewhat longer history of contacts with the Vietnamese and the result has been a fairly cool relationship on both sides. It is well to move warily in dealings with tribespeople and not to assume a degree of acceptance that may not be justified.

Although the Hre boys and girls are free and easy in their relationships with each other, the Hre do not like to have outsiders become friendly with their unmarried girls. Excessive friendliness to the Hre may be the simple act of a young man talking to an unmarried girl when she is alone. It is well to speak to one of their women, especially if she is unmarried, only in the presence of other women and preferably in the presence of her family.

Avoid Hre shrines. These shrines have been described by one special forces member as looking like "bird cages." This is a good description. A Hre shrine may be of rattan, bamboo or woven grass; it may be near a grave; and it may involve a tree, a rock, or any other object which is, in their view, potentially dangerous or threatening. To spend too much time looking over a shrine, or worst of all, touching any object near the shrine, would antagonize them and might well undo a painfully made progress in relations with that tribe.

Behavior, which in the west passes as ordinary, may be frightening and unpleasant to such timid tribespeople as the Hre. For example, speaking loudly is likely to frighten them. The very strangeness of a foreigner's appearance is really sufficient, in a way, to intimidate them. And it is well to move slowly in approaching them. This is meant literally: do not rush up to them when making first contact with a group or even in an early contact. Do not overwhelm them or, stomp into the village. In dealing with the Hre one must show considerable patience and move slowly. It will take time to acquire Hre agreement or even to get Hre understanding. But people who have spent some time in Hre villages feel that with a careful slow, quiet, and patient, approach, one can win friends. The

Hre are accustomed to a quiet and routinized kind of life. They rise early, work in the fields until fairly late in the morning, then halt for their first meal of the day, followed by a siesta from about 11 to 2, the hottest part of the day. They retire for the night soon after sundown, since oil or candlelight to see by is too expensive for most of them. Although any contact with outsiders has a disrupting effect, every effort should be made to disrupt their routine as little as possible. The less the disruption, the less likely they are to become confused.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The overall physical condition of the Hre can be described as poor by U.S. standards, with high incidence of leprosy, tuberculosis, and malaria. They have their own tribal remedies for different diseases and ailments. They paint crosses of lime on their heads for headache and chew betel nut to counteract other kinds of pains. Americans can expect to encounter the usual number and kinds of tropical diseases typical of areas in which public health facilities and sanitation are almost nonexistent. Worms, particularly evident among the Hre, are curable with American medicine but it can be a debilitating experience. There have been efforts on the part of the Vietnamese Government and by certain missionary groups to introduce better standards of public health and better sanitation facilities in Hre villages. The Hre are willing to cooperate in such matters; but they do so to please, for example, the American Special Forces people and not because they understand the relationship between such things and their own state of health. The more normal thing for the Hre is to use the village sorcerer as his medical advisor. The sorcerer doesn't seem to object too much to outside interference by American medical personnel. Once the Hre find that a specific Western cure works on a particular ailment, they ignore the sorcerer. The problem in treating tribespeople is that one cannot give a man an aspirin to relieve his pain and then hand him a bottle of aspirin and say take one every hour, or one every so many days, because the tribesman, feeling that one aspirin cured his headache, will proceed to take the entire bottle at once; assuming that if one aspirin can cure a headache, a bottleful will cure anything that is possibly wrong with him.

Except for those Hre who have long had contact with Westerners and who have been observed in action around a hospital or a clinic, one should never,never leave medicine with the tribes. The danger of a tribesman overdosing himself and the resultant reaction against the person who gave him the medicine will be very undesirable. It will also keep other members of the tribe from coming in for any kind of medical attention.

Some Hre have been taught to sleep under mosquito nets. It is better, whenever possible, to teach a number of people in a given village some new method of

preventing or curing disease than to try to teach it to a single person. That individual, unless he is a leading figure in the village and highly respected for other reasons, will not be listened to, and will probably be laughed at for doing things differently. If, for example, five or six women in the village are taught more sanitary methods of infant care and their babies live and show that they are more healthy than other infants, this will have a salutary effect on the acceptance of Western medical practice by the entire village.

There is very little beri-beri among Hre. Their infant mortality rate is very high and life expectancy is about 40 years. Compared with other tribespeople, the Hre are a moderately healthy lot. Many Hre display physical endurance. They cover ground swiftly, by comparison with ethnic Vietnamese, when in their own mountainous terrain. They suffer pain stoically and special forces personnel who have spent some time with the Hre have commented on their ability to withstand pain and discomfort.

Death by poison is fairly common among the Hre. The region where the Hre live is reputed to be the source of several kinds of poisons. One village may decide to wipe out another simply by poisoning the village well.

IX. RELIGION.

Despite an outward appearance of simplicity, the Hre have a highly complicated religious life, filled with deities, rituals and taboos about which very little is known by outsiders. There are a number of gods to be placated, found in the local surrounding terrains. In the house, the sacred hearth is the dwelling place of the fire god and the hearth god and the whole room surrounding the hearth contains sacred objects. It is best never to touch anything in the room with the sacred hearth without first asking the host's permission.

The Hre live in a world filled with unfriendly, dangerous, or downright malevolent spirits. Some of their fears are well-grounded in reality, for example their fear of tigers and snakes. They are ill-equipped to cope with tigers or snakebite and they particularly fear these two very real dangers in their environment.

A major religious festival occurs at New Years. The celebrations go on for days or weeks, each family acting as host in turn for relatives and friends. Guests eat, drink, and sing. Rice cakes, wrapped in leaves, are prepared for each member of the family. The leaves are peeled off and tied to the roof over the main floor and remains there indefinitely. Each person has his own place and the number of leaves tells the numbers of New Years he has celebrated.

Religion apparently does not keep the Hre from armed conflict, in view of the fact that many Hre took part in the fighting recently and in the late 1940's.

Hre graves are the most sacred sites of the tribes and should be avoided or treated with every appearance of reverence.

X. ECONOMY.

The Hre are wet rice farmers predominately. They also produce and sell some hemp and broom straw. They have no stocks of gold or precious stones and never have much money on hand. They prefer to barter rather than sell for money. Since most Hre tend to prefer new bills, itinerant tradesmen have taken advantage of them by buying from them for much less than market value and using new bills. Ordinarily the unit of exchange is a buffalo for large transactions; a moi bay, a pot that holds seven servings of rice, for medium-sized transactions; and a small rice pot for small ones. As of 1962, a field might be traded for one to five buffalo, depending on the size and fertility of the field. The method of transaction is simple but ceremonial. In major transactions, when both parties have agreed on a price, they invite the village and other inhabitants to drink wine and witness the agreement; and the settlement is made on the spot.

Hre wealth is measured by the size of the individual's rice crop (or the number of fields owned), his buffalo, and his real property which consists of large serving pots, cymbals, and jars. Eighty percent of the lowland Hre own their own fields. Although poor families may own just a fraction of an acre, a rich man may have over 200 acres, and 300 to 400 antique pots, 30 or 40 sets of cymbals, and a few hundred jars.

One can get some idea of a family's means by observing the length of the house and the number of hearth's it contains. The rich have longer houses and more fireplaces. Those of average means have three or four hearths and the poor only one or two. One can tell the number of hearths by counting the posts which pierce the floor, as each fireplace has four supporting posts. When their children grow up and marry, but remain in the parents' home, another hearth is set up for each of them.

Although buffalo are used for plowing the fields, most of them are used for sacrifices, and in epidemics they die off fast because there is no local knowledge of vaccine. Therefore, buffalo are not considered stable, real property. Only copper pots, cymbals, and jars are considered valuable. A Hre never sells those left him by his parents but rather tries to add to their number.

The Hre call their cymbals chinh. Each set consists of 3 cymbals, the largest measuring 24 inches in diameter, the smallest about 8 inches, and a set may be worth as much as 6,000 piasters.

Their antique jars are always kept buried because of the danger of fire in the house and the risk of losing a jar by burning or dropping it. The antique jars may be as much as 300 years old and some are made of Chinese glass. Since it contains valuable healing and spiritual properties, a Hre jar is sold only on direst need. It is used only on special festival occasions.

XI. POLITICAL.

Most Hre are well aware of the existence of the central government and a number of them have had the experience of being resettled by the central government. Whatever their feelings about being forced to leave their fields and villages, it is clear that the resettlement experience was a sour one because the Viet Cong promptly came in and killed off the central government-appointed officials in the new settlement. This heightened dislike of the Viet Cong but it also heightened dislike of a central government which was unable to protect the people it had placed in a vulnerable position.

Many younger men in the tribe have been forced into service by the Viet Minh, the Japanese before them, and the Viet Cong since. Most of these men, or of those who survived, have returned to their families. Little is known of the effect of this experience on them.

It is difficult to determine whether there is any genuine or significant alignment of a majority of Hre with one side or the other in the present conflict. Both sides have alienated large numbers of Hre by this time and it appears to most recent observers that the average Hre is still concerned almost entirely with his own welfare and that of his relatives. Hre have been heard singing laudatory songs about the central government, but these are simply songs which government teams taught them, and which became popular because the verses were set to Hre music.

XII. SUBVERSION.

In both Binh Dinh and Quang Ngai provinces, where the Hre lives, some Communists stayed behind in 1954 instead of going north. As a consequence there has been considerable Viet Cong activity in the area.

Although there have been some Communist attempts at influencing the Hre, at subverting them, by broadcasts in Hre over the radio from the north, one might

say that they have been more the object of coercion rather than subversion. The Viet Cong have burned down Hre villages and have systematically liquidated any government-appointed officials among the Hre. As a result, the Hre are quite familiar with what the Viet Cong offer. Whether they relate Viet Cong behavior in their area with the Communist government in the north is unknown.

In communities where the Viet Cong have been active, there is apparently strong opposition to Viet Cong subversive elements, but the more generalized reaction found is a kind of antiethnic-Vietnamese outlook, since to most Hre, the source of trouble is this outside battle between Vietnamese which is of no real meaning to the average Hre.

Special forces personnel originally felt that if we could help a Hre rescue his family from the Viet Cong "mobs" the Hre would join the government of the Republic of Viet-Nam. However, it should be noted that the Hre is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation on Autonomy" from the Vietnamese, reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Hre and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

There are apparently some radios to be found in Hre communities; otherwise, the North Vietnamese would presumably not bother with broadcasts in Hre. However, what radios exist must be few and far between. Few Hre are literate in Vietnamese. Their principal means of communication appear to be storytellers and apparently they are also fond of making up verses, usually humorous or satirical, about events of the life around them. They have a high regard for men considered good storytellers.

Having only recently been introduced to a written form of language, the psychological operations effort would be facilitated by dissemination of information and propaganda through the media of pictorial and graphic methods.

The colors which might best appeal to them are the special light blue found in so much Hre cloth, and also the bright red and white favored by their younger women for their dress.

Gifts that they would like are salt, cloth, and car springs, which they use for making knives.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

It is likely, from the reports on missionary/public health efforts among the

Hre that, carefully introduced and nurtured, civic action programs could be successfully introduced among them. So far, there has apparently been very little in the way of actual civic action undertakings. There have been small, isolated attempts by privately-backed individuals at improving public health and large-scale village resettlement, but not real civic action projects as such.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

They obviously know how to fight, in fairly primitive style, as indicated by their 1949 activities. Special forces personnel have reported that they appear trainable and some of them have had some military training, courtesy of the Japanese, the Viet Minh, or the French.

Chapter 5

THE JARAI

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Jarai tribe (sometimes spelled Jarais) has an estimated population of some 200-thousand, including subgroups and is considered the second largest tribe in the Republic of Viet-Nam.

The Jarai are a powerful and, historically, bellicose group found mainly in the plateau areas of Viet-Nam in the provinces of Pleiku (II Corps, military headquarters), Kontum, and Darlac. Other Jarai are located near Phu Yen and Khanh Hoa. Due to the present military situation in Viet-Nam, the larger Jarai villages will be found near the towns of Pleiku and Cheo Reo.

The Jarai are the largest group of Montagnards in the II Corps area of Viet-Nam. With this fact established, one should realize that the Jarai not only live along the established roads, but also in the mountains and along the trails and routes to and from Laos and Cambodia.

The Jarai's value to the counterinsurgency effort in Viet-Nam is of prime importance. An ever-increasing effort is being made to train the Jarai to defend themselves and their villages; to develop their full potential in the overall program to keep these roads open, to cut the supply lines of the Viet Cong, and to seal off the borders of Laos and Cambodia from Viet-Nam.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The Jarai are dispersed over a very large area (see inclosed map). The Jarai area extends over the southern part of Kontum, over almost all of the province of Pleiku, the northern part of Darlac, northwest Phu Yen, and north Khanh Hoa.

The Jarai are subdivided into three groups: the Jarai Arap, the Jarai Kbuan, and the Jarai Haroi.

The Araps and the Kbuans have almost disappeared, with the exception of a few dozen Arap elements still in southeast Kontum and in the region of the three frontiers (Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia). Elsewhere, the contact between the Jarai and Rhade tribes has had the effect of creating two mixed elements: the Haroi and the M'dhur. The Jarai are south of the Bahnar tribe and north of the Rhade tribe. From the point of view of dialect and customs, the M'dhur are closer to the Rhade, while the Jarai influence is preponderant with the Haroi.

The area inhabited by the Jarai goes from the extremes of mountains and thick jungle, to the plateau and rolling open country around Pleiku.

Roads in these areas were constructed by the French and would be classified as secondary by U. S. standards. Once you leave the towns of Pleiku and Kontum, the roads are in a poor state of repair. Viet-Nam's secondary roads in this area are dirt. The Jarai use the area's many trails to travel to and from Pleiku, Kontum, Darlac, Phu Yen, and Khanh Hoa. Many of these trails have been used for years and can be found on French maps.

There are several rivers in the Jarai area, but these are not used to any extent for travel. Transportation is either by foot or on the few buses that risk Viet Cong attacks.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Jarai language is related to the Malayo Polynesian language group. Other Montagnards such as the Rhade, Raglai, Chru, and Chrao, located in and around east Dalat and near Nha Trang, also come under this grouping. The Jarai have a written language which was recorded by the French, and some are able to read and write Vietnamese. The Jarai language follows the Vietnamese system of diacritical marks for vowels. The language has many sounds that are foreign to English-speaking people, such as the trilled "R," glottal stops, and different vowels such as "U" and "O". The only way to learn these sounds would be by direct contact with the Jarai. Some of the older Jarai speak French and Vietnamese. The younger Jarai speak Vietnamese and some are learning English. Along the borders of the tribe, some of the Jarai are able to speak with neighboring tribes. The Vietnamese have a program to teach the Jarai to read, write, and speak Vietnamese; but few Vietnamese speak Jarai. The largest percentage of Vietnamese who speak Jarai are the merchants in the markets who have learned the language for business reasons. A point that should be made: The Vietnamese have used printed material for their propaganda, but it is estimated that only some 500 to 600 Jarai of the estimated 200 thousand are able to read that language.

A factor which had a big effect on the Jari was the coming of the French to this plateau area of Viet-Nam for their tea and rubber plantations. The French also kept this area as a hunting preserve and kept the Vietnamese out, except those used as servants. During this time, it took written permission from the government to go into the area. As a result, the Jarai had very little contact with the Vietnamese. The Jarai learned to speak some French and learned some

of their customs and advancements. When the French were forced to leave Viet-Nam, a flood of Vietnamese rushed into the Jarai plateau area to take over the plantations. Consequently, the Vietnamese are a new society for the Jarai. They find it hard to adjust to the Vietnamese.

There has been an extensive cultural exchange between the Jarai and the Bahnar. The Jarai tombs near the Bahnar area follow the Bahnar pattern: that is, they bury singly, or at least small numbers, in the tombs. Conversely, the Jarai in the central area of their tribal location may bury as many as 60 to 70 people in one big tomb. The sociological development of the tribe has resulted from the proximity to the Bahnars, who are perhaps more advanced. The Jarai follow the Bahnar marriage pattern, with the man taking his wife and building his own house. This is a breakaway from the Jarai culture wherein the woman is the power of the house and the husband takes the woman's name.

By modern standards, the Jarai is backward, and the literacy rate is very low; but the Jarai have a numbers concept which, in most cases, does not go past 100. This inability to figure and count creates quite a problem when the Jarai go to trade with the Vietnamese merchants in the villages. They are often cheated and given the wrong change.

The Jarai has a very good mechanical ability. He may not know what a certain item or machine is, but when he is shown how to run a machine or take an item apart, he will show marked ability along these lines. The Jarai are not a stupid people; they grasp things very fast when exposed to them. Education for the Jarai is a problem, and in the Pleiku area, they do not want to go to the schools provided for them by the Vietnamese. Some of the reasons for this are a dislike and distrust for the Vietnamese and improper training in the Vietnamese languages. Another barrier to education is the Jarai way of life. They are somewhat lazy and prefer to be in the woods, hunting and drinking rice wine, rather than to be in a classroom. Quite a few of the Jarai in the Cheo Reo area, however, are very much interested in getting an education.

IV. HISTORY.

There is quite a bit of controversy over the tribe's origin. It is believed that they may have come from the Polynesian people of the Philippines and Indonesia. There are some relationships between those languages and that of the Jarai. With no recorded history, people have used legend. The Jarai have such a legend claiming there was a great flood that covered the entire world. Before this flood, a Jarai man and his wife got into a very huge Jarai drum. When the

flood waters receded, they landed on Hodrung Mountain, just south of Pleiku. From this mountain came all of the Jarai people. This legend of the flood was claimed by the Jarai long before Christianity was introduced. The Jarai also have a legend of how they fought with the Vietnamese and were driven into the mountains. This legend could backup the account of the Jarai having come from the Polynesian peoples, landing on the coast of Viet-Nam, and being driven into the mountains. Another legend relates the story of a sword found in a little pool of water. A Jarai and a Vietnamese dashed for this sword, but the Vietnamese beat the Jarai to the scabbard; therefore, the Vietnamese have always had the upper hand with the Jarai because they got the sword and the Jarai the sheath.

Today, under present conditions of war, expanding Vietnamese population, and Vietnamese Government land programs, the Montagnards face new and different problems. The Vietnamese Government has programs to resettle the mountains; to clear the jungles; and to establish coffee, tea, and rubber plantations that will be operated by the Vietnamese people along the coast. If this program is effective and can be carried out under present conditions, the Jarai and other Montagnards will lose their tribal hunting lands and perhaps go the way of the American Indian.

The Jarai do not have a set migration pattern from one area to another. Occasionally, due to flooding or weather factors, they will change the location of their village. Their land has been handed down from family to family for farming, and they will remain in close proximity to this land in order to watch and to work it. Therefore, if a village does move, it will be for pressing reasons such as an epidemic. Even then only a local migration will be made of perhaps no more than 2-3 kilometers.

During the dry season, or when they are not working their fields, they live strictly in the village; but, when they are working the rice fields, they will build small houses in the fields and live there. This is the extent of their movement from the village to their fields and return.

The Jarai used to cross into Cambodia over Route 19 out of Pleiku. It was claimed that the Jarai living in the Cambodian area were the swordmakers of the Jarai tribe. With the advent of the Viet Cong, however, the Vietnamese closed the border for trade.

The Jarai have no knowledge of national boundaries separating Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, and as a result some of the Jarai living in the mountains will

go back and forth across the borders. There are no controls on movement exercised by the tribe itself, although clans will tend to remain in one area. This tendency stems from the Jarai religious belief that anyone who dies outside his own village cannot be buried in his village.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Jarai have two distinct social structures: one for men and one for women.

In the Cheo-Reo, or southern and southeastern area of the Jarai, the oldest living woman member of a family is in charge of family affairs. As an example, a grandmother has granddaughters who get married. When they do marry, the husband comes into the woman's house and takes on the mother's family name. He becomes a part of that family. Even the houses are different. The Jarai houses here are longhouses. As more women in the family get married and take in their husbands, the house is extended in length until it accommodates approximately 60-70 people.

The male Jarai appears content with this matriarchal system. He is still able to exercise his will and opinion to the fullest extent, and may be, in fact, the "decision maker."

Up in the southwestern edge of the Jarai area, and near Pleiku, the Jarai have taken on some of the cultural aspects of the Bahnar. Here the woman does not enjoy the high place in the Jarai society. The man is head of the house. The houses are smaller, accomodating only the wife and children of the head of the house. They do not have a family name, as such.

There is some polygyny practiced by the wealthier Jarai men. They do not have what could be called a "number 1" or "number 2" wife. Despite the husband's wealth, each wife must tend the field and watch the buffalo; each must work as hard as the other.

Jarai parents hardly ever spank a child. They will allow the children to go free and learn the things around the house. When children are old enough to put a loincloth on by themselves (about 4 to 5 years old) they start to wear clothes. Jarai parents love their children very much; they try to do everything possible for them. As a child grows older, he or she will start working in the fields or tending the buffalo. There are quite a few cases of the male being raised too

closely to his mother and the home. As a result, he will become completely oriented to the woman's side of the home. He will act like a woman and even dress like one. The Jarai try to have many children. Whenever a woman is physically able, she will have a child. With the very high death rate, the place of the children in the community is very high. The children are taught to smoke and even drink from the rice wine jugs at a very early age.

There is no close tie in clan structure between the villages. If two villages are close to each other, there may be close ties by marriage. Other than this relationship, the Jarai do not have what could be called clans. In the village the family has to answer to a tribal authority. If someone is charged with a crime, such as adultery or stealing, the village will have a conference of elders who will decide whether or not the person is guilty; but all of this will take place in the village. The Jarai do not have any real tribal unity. The only time that they might come close to this is when a man from one village will commit a crime in another village. The two villages will then get together and decide the guilt of the man.

Like any society there are those who are respected because of wealth or things they have accomplished. In the Jarai society, as in any other, there is the statement, "My daughter is too good to marry that fellow." The old people of the Jarai society are respected to a degree; but, in general, the younger people tend to feel that the aged have lost their value to the tribe and their ability to think with a clear mind. When they become very old and senile, many people will make fun of the aged. The Jarai also have slaves; and, even though they are slaves, they will live with the family and are not mistreated. Normally, the slaves (they are actually called slaves by the Jarai) are orphans taken in by a family.

The methods of placement in the Jarai social structure comes first from birth into a rich family, and second from personal accomplishments. The man born into wealth will tend to remain in a very good position all his life. Being an only son and marrying into another clan or family will improve the clans position if he brings wealth.

The method of selecting leaders among the Jarai does not follow any set pattern. Any man can rise to the ranks of a leader, or very important person, by such things as his physical stature, his appearance, or by his talent for contacting the spirits. A man in the Jarai society becomes known by the things he does. The village elders will usually pick a village headman. Because of the present Viet Cong problems in Viet-Nam, it is not always the best man nor actually the most powerful man of a village that is introduced as the headman. There

have been too many cases of the village headman being killed by the Viet Cong for not following their orders.

The laws of the Jarai are quite extensive. They have the normal laws for marriage, divorce, relationships with other tribes, and others; but none of these laws are written down. A number of special laws could be called taboos. These laws and taboos have been passed down from village elder to village elder. The Jarai even have capital punishment, but it is seldom used. One particular case where capital punishment would be used is the people the Jarai call soul eaters. This enters under a religious belief, but a person who is convicted of "soul eating" will be put to death. The methods of enforcement are not too hard. A person convicted of a crime will pay the fine of buffalo, rice, or other items of value rather than be forced to leave his village and his lands. The methods of settling a dispute between individuals does not rely as much on the law as on the ability of the men presenting their claims. There is quite a bit of rice wine drinking during the settling of a claim. Sometimes the issue will be carried on for years with a grandson receiving the decision of a dispute for a grandfather who has died years ago.

There are no tribal alliances, even though the Jarai have mixed with the other tribes along the border areas. There are some tribal enmities. The Bahnar have a reputation for being warriors and thieves and for being hostile to the Jarai; therefore, the Jarai suspect the Bahnar and this creates some enmities between the two groups. Since there is some degree of change in social custom and some language difference between the different tribes, there is not much intermingling with the other tribes.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

There is quite a bit of difference between the northern Jarai and ones that you will find in the southern part of the tribal area. Occasionally you will see a Jarai who is over 6 feet tall, but, generally the Jarai will range in height from 5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 8 inches. They are generally a very strong people with strong calves, well-developed chests, and strong arms. Their feet are usually quite wide. Their skin pigmentation is normally from a light brown to a very dark, almost black. The coloration of the eyes is usually brown to what you might call bloodshot brown. They have very wide noses. Their hair is normally black, but you might see individuals with reddish black hair, caused from a lack of vitamins. The hair itself varies from straight to curly. The men and women both will put holes in their earlobes and then stretch the ears with ivory ear plugs. This is not too popular with the younger people around the larger Vietnamese villages.

The endurance of the Jarai has to be measured by two standards. They are very good for walking over the mountains and trails; but, for lifting heavy objects or running, they are poor. If they do not have two good meals a day they will claim they are too weak to work or do anything. Their manual dexterity is very good. Their use of bamboo is outstanding. They make their homes, baskets, arrows, quivers, pipes, drinking cups, and other items from bamboo. They can use their tools, primitive as they are, with great skill. When the Jarai try to participate in sports, such as playing ball and running, they are poor.

Loyalty toward the family and toward other Jarai is very strong. Their society is based on the village and family, so they know they must work together in order to survive. The Jarai level of intelligence will vary from the Pleiku area to other areas. The Jarai are not stupid, but at times they do not want to learn. It may take quite a bit of repeating of a subject to teach the Jarai; but if he is shown something several times and then given actual work, he will grasp the idea much faster. Things like pictures and maps do not make very much sense to the average Jarai. A practical, individual approach is a very good teaching method.

To win the confidence and trust of the Jarai, be "honest." The Jarai do not warm up to strangers quickly. They have been exploited too many times. Before you start to teach them the fast, modern way of doing things, be sure that their method is not connected with religion and that your way is not breaking a taboo.

The Jarai is a very primitive man in many respects, but he does understand friendship and honest people. If you give your word, keep it. Don't play favorites. Know their taboos. Don't be afraid to joke and laugh, and, if necessary, be the butt of a joke.

In some places the Jarai do not want to face the modern approach; they want to live with the old ideas, old concepts, drink the rice wine, and refuse to face the future. The degree of trust or suspicion in dealing with others, both within the tribe and outside will vary. Normally, the people in the village are very honest and very trusting of each other. As with any people there will always be some who cannot be trusted. Outside the village is different in many respects. Dealing with a village down the road that makes blankets, a Jarai will try to trade his wares with honesty; but dealing with another tribe, such as the Bahnar, the Jarai may try to get the better of the deal. The Jarai do not trust the Vietnamese in the markets and are very suspicious of them. Right now the Jarai and other Montagnards are putting the Americans on trial to see if they will be like the Vietnmaese or the French or better.

The Jarai have a great deal of independence within the family and in relationships with other tribes. In most cases they may marry as they desire and come and go as they want; but their customs and taboos are very strong. Their personal feelings will dictate how rigidly they observe the taboos.

It is very difficult to tell what a Jarai is thinking because he will indulge in a fit of anger for something he has done or over some minor matter, yet will remain composed when the average person would display his anger.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

In the folklore of the Jarai people, the "villain" is always the hero. One example is the story of a Jarai woman who was out working in a rice field. A rabbit came along and said, "You go in the house and prepare supper and I'll finish hoeing up your rice field for you." So the woman went into the house to cook supper for herself and the rabbit. In the meantime, the rabbit tore up the whole rice field and departed leaving the rice destroyed. This is really funny to the Jarai people because this rabbit escaped any punishment for his mischief.

Another legend concerns a man who is a liar. His name is Luaar (which means liar), and his whole life is one of deception, but he is a hero because he is cunning and can deceive others. There is a rich heritage of tribal legend and folklore.

The Jarai are strictly utilitarian. The men wear loin cloths and the women wear skirts. When it becomes so cold that they do not have enough clothes to wear, they shiver and sit around little fires trying to keep warm. They make very thin blankets of cotton and appreciate a good blanket or a heavy coat as a gift.

They do have decorative clothing for certain festivals. During festivals they make sacrifices around the graves of the ancestors, wearing the best clothes that they have. They may go to town and buy a white shirt or some shoes or they may wear handwoven, but beautiful, Jarai clothes reserved for these festival days. Many wear a special shirt with red decorations on it. The children, too, are dressed in decorative clothes for festivals.

Alcoholic beverages among the Jarai people are associated with spirit worship. They drink rice wine on every occasion: when they make a sacrifice to evil spirits, or when they make a sacrifice to their dead ancestors. This is a

very important part of their spirit worship and their spirit ceremonies. At weddings, at funerals, and all similar occasions, rice wine flows freely and they expect all present to indulge, including visitors. The women become very aggressive when drinking; but, normally, they will not even speak to you unless spoken to. They like for you to actually become drunk on these festive occasions because they believe this pleases the spirits.

The general attitude toward nontribal members is usually cordial. If you enter their village, they will gather around you and begin to ask questions. They enter into conversation with you unless you have offended them. If you have offended them, they can treat you with scorn and occasionally, be unfriendly when you visit their village. A visitor to the village is fed and housed by the people of the village. They are cordial to Vietnamese traders who sometimes come for chickens and pigs. The Jarai are suspicious of the Vietnamese soldiers and feel that they are not adequately paid for the chickens or pigs that the soldiers may take.

The woman is the worker in the society. She cuts the firewood; she works in the rice fields; she cooks all the food; and she does most of the work around the house. The man, in the meantime, will take care of the children while she does all the work. In fact, it is nothing to see the man walking home from the rice fields carrying the baby while his wife carries a hundred-pound sack of grain or a hundred-pounds of firewood on her back. The woman is made to work in the village and she does not have a very high place in society. They think women are stupid and incapable of learning. The women feel that they are absolutely inferior to the men, even though they have a matrilineal system and the man takes the wife's name when they marry.

There is a change taking place right now with the special warfare and the New Life Hamlet program. The local village has been the main center of Jarai culture. Now these villages are being moved into larger groupings with other villages. For instance, one village may now contain what used to be six separate villages. In the past, the Jarai didn't even like to go to another village to spend the night. They claim that some of the other villages were inferior to their own, and now they are all being thrown together. This is one of the problems: they don't want to get involved in the war; and they don't like change.

Cautiously observe customs and taboos when you are in contact with tribal members. Some tribal villages have what they call prohibited days; days when no one should enter the village. You will generally know this because they will lay a bamboo gateway across the entrance into the village. Most of the people

will stay in their homes or at least in the village on this particular day. Usually they will allow a Westerner or someone who is a complete foreigner to enter the village. They would not allow anyone else from another village or another Jarai to enter. If a village has a taboo day, they will pile big bamboo bushes across the village trail. This is a sign that they do not desire anyone to enter.

Some will not want you to take photographs because they believe you will steal the spirit of the person whom you photograph and that you will take that spirit back to America. When you do, this person will grow weak or will be sick and die. It is not a widespread belief, but one should be careful about it, especially in places that are isolated where there has been little contact with Westerners or with the Vietnamese.

If you see a strange or odd object, observe from a distance; do no handle it unless you ask permission. If you get permission, it is permissible to handle it. Some of these objects are believed to have spiritual power, however, the Jari themselves are very afraid of them.

There are stones kept in their houses which are sacred to them for they believe these stones have a spirit. They are associated with an event in somebody's life or something that happened years ago.

Respect is the key word in winning the approval of the Jarai, and there are many acts which will further your acceptance. The Jarai have a lot of sickness, so respect the cures given by a local (village) doctor; but, if possible, help him out with modern drugs. The Jarai know the value of the Western drugs and aid, but do not force this help upon them.

The Jarai ideal is to be a great hunter. Of course, some of the larger animals in Viet-Nam are greatly feared. They are deathly afraid of tigers; but aside from this, they are brave and skillful hunters. They eat practically anything, since there are no taboos on animals, and they will kill most animals except for those they fear. They do domesticate animals from the jungle such as elephants. The Jarai man loves to hunt with modern weapons. If possible, aid him along these lines. Kill a wild pig or deer with him and show an interest in his affairs without prying. Accept gifts or offerings of food, and accept invitations to take a walk or to see some particular item or person. A refusal constitutes an effrontery and your host will feel slighted and will bear a grudge.

Listed below are some important points of conduct:

1. Don't be arrogant with the Jarai.

2. Don't laugh at a Jarai or make fun of him for trying to accomplish a serious task.

3. Don't be too persistent when it is shown that you are unwanted at that particular time.

4. Don't show disgust; they dislike this in a person.

5. Don't drink enough of the rice wine to become intoxicated.

6. Don't become involved with their women.

7. Don't put your hands on people or children unless you are sure that it is all right.

8. Don't praise everything they give or show you. They know that an American is accustomed to better, and they suspect insincerity.

9. Don't accept gifts from the Jarai without giving something in return.

The Jarai house is built from bamboo and grass thatch. The house is built approximately 4 feet off the ground on pilings. The Jarai likes to build his house so that he will have the rising sun hit the front door. He will have a log with steps carved into it for a ladder leading from the ground into the house. Inside the house there will normally be only one type of bed reserved for the head of the house or for older people and guests. Some of the homes will have two places to build fires and some only one. They do not have windows, but will vent the house on either end with doors and eave-vents. The houses are very poor for ventilation and light.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The general state of health among the Jarai is poor, by Western standards. Since it is a matter of survival of the fittest from the day they are born, the sickly do not live too long. Almost all suffer from vitamin deficiency, or some type of ear or eye trouble. The Jarai who live near the larger towns, or near the coast, appear to be in better physical health. The Jarai do not have a long

life span; only the very strong will live to an average of 50 years old. An estimated 10 percent of the 200 thousand have leprosy. Malaria, bedbugs, and rats are all a part of the Jarai life. Sanitation is very poor. Animals live in all the villages under the houses. The Jarai do not have latrine facilities, and they take a bath perhaps twice a week. In the cooler areas of the Jarai territory, some of the people will take a bath only once a year.

There are many government programs to improve public health standards being tried, but these seem to fail for many reasons. The lack of trained people to continue the program when it is left under Jarai control is one; and fear and taboos concerning doctors and medicines is another. There are agencies like the World Health Organization, with its DDT spray program, working toward improving general health conditions. The Jarai do not want to suffer and will accept medical aid in most cases, but they are very reluctant to go to the Vietnamese hospitals. There are reported cases of a very sick Jarai having gone to the hospital in Pleiku, only to be left lying on a bed unattended until he died.

The Jarai customs of heavy drinking, eating improperly cooked food, and ignorance of personal hygiene are the big factors of poor health in different villages. Very strict rules have to be used when administering medical aid to the Jarai. They themselves do not want medical aid or treatment during a festival or at a sacrifice time.

Many of the Jarai develop a "taste" for certain drugs and will return time and time again for more without being sick.

Principal diseases affecting the tribe are: malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, dysentery, worms, trauma, malnutrition, liver ailments (sclerosis), and hepatitis. About 90 percent of the Jarai suffer from some type of dysentery. This covers the other internal parasites such as round worms, hook worms, tape worms, and pin worms. About the same percentage of them suffer from skin diseases and eye infections. The Jarai have only two treatments for their ailments: professional treatment in the larger towns, by doctors; or a diviner or sorcerer to offer sacrifices to the spirits for the sick person. However, they do have some herbs from the jungle that they use on skin diseases. (The exact herb is not known.)

Bedbugs, caused by the filth and lack of personal hygiene, may carry as many as 30 different diseases. The water in Viet-Nam is full of parasites which cause dysentery and other diseases. Along the western border of Viet-Nam in the Jarai area, the people suffer from goiter, due to a lack of iodine. In the

months of December, January, and February, many people die from respiratory diseases such as pneumonia.

The Jarai lack vitamin A and, in general, suffer from some malnutrition. There is also a lack of vegetables in their diet.

During the cold months of December, January, and February, the Jarai, living in the Pleiku area and in the mountains, need warm clothes. The Jarai living near the Cheo Reo basin do not require the warm clothes because of the warmer weather.

Should it become necessary for you to offer medical aid or advice to a tribesman, remember that varying situations demand varying rules. If there is a question of saving a life, this would be decided on the spot and the people would not object too strongly. However, there are the exceptions to any rule. Don't go against superstitions. Don't give medicine to anyone who does not want it, except to a small child whose parents want the child to have it. Don't try to treat chronic illness. Sometimes the Jarai will expect immediate results from taking drugs. If the Jarai trust you, and if you have shown them you can help them, they will accept your medical aid and advice.

These are some health and personal hygiene "do's" and "don'ts" to be followed when living among the tribe. Don't drink any water in Viet-Nam without boiling it. Don't drink the rice wine made by the Jarai or eat their food if you can avoid this without offending. Avoid any of the eating and drinking establishments in any of the towns. Watch your own cooks in camp like a hawk. Wash and boil everything, if possible. Keep flies away from food. These precautions and normal, personal hygiene may save you from illness.

Amoebic dysentery, worms, hepatitis, and malaria are the diseases most common to non-indigenous people.

IX. RELIGION.

The Jarai are animistic in their belief: that is, they believe everything around them, trees, sky, land, houses, has a spirit. Their principal deities are the spirits of the sky, the mountains, the water, the trees, the dead, the land, and the houses. Although this seems to cover just about everything, there will only be certain trees, houses, etc., that are affected. The principal Jarai feast days are carried out during the months of February and March in their spring

festival or "Arap." They do have other festival days but not much is known about them. When a religious ceremony begins, the people will gather at one spot in the village and the ceremony generally follows that described in chapter 1 with the sacrifice of a buffalo.

Because of their anamistic religion and beliefs which call for the sacrifice of their animal stock, they become poor. The same is true concerning the use of rice for making their rice wine ceremonies. Because of their hand-to-mouth existence, the Jarai have not been able to advance. Some of the Jarai near the coast and the larger towns have left the villages and gone to the towns. They have learned a trade, learned to speak Vietnamese and English, and have advanced themselves.

The sorcerer in the Jarai tribe will sometimes have religious control of several tribes in an area. He is also able to sway the thinking of the people any way he desires.

There are no religious tenets prohibiting the Jarai from engaging in the present conflict, although the Jarai are not very aggressive. They do not like physical conflict; but, at the same time, they are brutal to animals that they kill.

The influence of missionaries is very limited among the Jarai. There are Catholic, Protestant, and other missionaries working in the area. The Jarai do not seem to want to change or accept the Christian religion. One of the reasons seem to be the fact that they would have to accept some responsibility and stop drinking rice wine.

The French Catholic priests, in 1936 or 1937, established the first missionary contact with the Jarai. These priests were the first to transcribe the language of the Jarai. Since this time many missionaries have gone into the area and worked with the Jarai, but none of them have met with any success. At the present time, due to the Viet Cong situation, very few of the missionaries venture into the distant villages or live with the Jarai.

A great deal of translation work is being done by the Vietnamese Protestant Church. Also, Mr. Grady Mangham worked with the Jarai from 1947 until the fifties. At this writing, Mr. Gene Evans is now working at Dalat; Miss Ruth Witting is working out of Pleiku, The Reverend Mr. Charles E. Long, a CMA missionary, has done extensive work with the Jarai in the past, and he plans to return to the Pleiku area in the very near future. There are other groups and organizations that have people in and out of the area from time-to-time. There are several French priests who work throughout the entire area.

It is a very popular thing for U. S. Special Forces in the Montagnard areas to be initiated into the tribes of the area where they work. The Montagnards will present the men with brass braclets to wear, showing that they are brother of the Montagnard and members of that particular tribe. There is nothing wrong in this by itself, since it is one of the best ways to win over a group or village. At the same time, Americans are not aware of all the religious beliefs and, as a general rule, should not get too involved with these ceremonies. They may decide one morning that a certain trail or path is taboo. This would be very hard to keep up with even if you could understand the language.

X. ECONOMY.

The economy of the Jarai is basically agricultural. Rice is the principal crop; both the wet and dry varieties. They also raise squash, beans, corn, and peanuts. Animals are normally raised for sacrifices and not worked. Some of the villages will make blankets or bamboo baskets to trade or sell with others.

Economy of the tribe is affected by the weather in several ways. The making of rice wine makes quite a drain on their stores of rice. Thus, during the months of July and August, before other crops mature, they are hungry. In spite of the fact they do have corn and other basic foods, the Jarai will experience bad times. During this rainy season there is a drop-off in the trips made to nearby towns to trade and sell their wares.

The Jarai use the Vietnamese piaster as monetary exchange with approximately 75 piasters equals one U. S. dollar. At times they trade or use a value system. They will trade or buy items from one another with gongs and jars.

The Jarai are quite industrious, they work very hard around the village tending their crops and animals. The Jarai look down on the lazy, and laugh at them. They always appear to be trying to do their best on a job. This type of pride shows in their homes, in their work in the army camps, and in their upkeep of uniforms and weapons. Most of the Jarai are occupied with the planting and harvesting of the rice fields. As part-time occupations, some of the Jarai are blacksmiths, basket-weavers, and blanket and cloth makers. The Jarai are not noted for any special skill or ability in the arts. Their baskets and blankets are of inferior quality when compared to those of other tribes in Viet-Nam.

Jarai receive their vocational training or skills based upon the desires of the parents, the economy of the village, and on the wealth of the family. If the

parents are known in the village for some particular skill, such as iron working, the sons of that family will also be trained in this skill. A child raised in a village will be trained to produce the village's main trade items. Among the wealthy, children may be sent to one of the Vietnamese vocational training centers, such as the one in Hue. Many young men today are finding jobs working in the different army camps in the area. They are learning to be cooks or assistant cooks, to maintain certain machines, or to perform other skills that are not normally open to the Montagnards of Viet-Nam.

The Jarai have a very precise system of property ownership, but none of it is written down. The deed or ownership of their property and valuables is passed down from one generation to the other. The Jarai take a great deal of pride in property ownership.

Within a village, the wealth will be distributed quite equally. There is always a person who will own more gongs or more valued jugs for rice wine. A person killing a wild pig will bring it in to the village where it will be cut up and each family will get an equal share of all the parts, although this is not done with a very small animal. The Jarai near the larger towns will have more items of value than their brothers in the mountains.

There is no taxation among the Jarai. They are called upon by the Vietnamese to cut brush and jungle along the roads, and they are supposed to receive pay; but they never do, so one could say that the Jarai considers this a form of taxation by the Vietnamese Government. If the village has a village project, then everyone is expected to contribute something to the construction of this project; but the Jarai do not pay money into one specific place for the use of the entire tribe.

XI. POLITICAL.

The Jarai do not have a harmonious relationship with the Vietnamese Government today. They object to the programs which allow the Vietnamese to go into the area around Pleiku and farm the land; and to the attitude of the Vietnamese, who look down on the Jarai, cheat them in the markets, move them into Vietnamese controlled villages, and in many cases force them into the Vietnamese Army. This feeling is more severe in some areas than in others. During the period of French control, many Jarai were forced to work on the French plantations but the relationships were more harmonious. The Jarai gained many benefits from their contact with the French.

The major part of the Jarai tribe gets along very well with neighboring tribes. There will be normal friction such as an individual trading in a Bahnar village and saying that he had been cheated.

The French had a great deal of influence on the Jarai attitude towards the Vietnamese; and, at the present time, the Americans are exerting a great deal of influence with the Jarai. The Jarai prefer to speak to Americans in French or attempt to speak English rather than use Vietnamese.

Some of the villages near the larger towns are aware of the present government problems and the conflict with the Viet Cong; but the people in the remote villages are not aware of the political situation, nor do they care about it. It may be necessary to have a Vietnamese flag flying in the village and have some Vietnamese soldiers in the village, but this is something they know they must endure. Ask them if they are loyal to the government and to the Republic of Viet-Nam, and they will not know what you are talking about.

There have been extensive efforts made by the Vietnamese Government to control the Montagnards. The main effort has been to issue identification (I.D.) cards to the Montagnards. Another project is to build controlled villages along main routes. In turn, the Viet Cong will take these I.D. cards away from the Jarai and destroy them. This creates a problem for the Jarai, since they are stopped by the security checks going into market to trade, and they cannot receive medical aid or other benefits without this I.D. card. The same thing holds true for the villages. The Viet Cong attempt to destroy the villages, forcing the Jarai back into the jungle where the Viet Cong attempt to use them for building their own defenses and to furnish food. There have been cases where the Viet Cong will attack and destroy an entire village, then take from 150 to 300 Montagnards back into the jungle with them.

XII. SUBVERSION.

Communist propaganda and subversion among the tribe has been influential along the western edge of the Jarai area near the Cambodian border and near Buon Blec in the southwest part of Cheo Reo. In these areas the Jarai have heard the Communist plea, "Help us, and don't help the government." The Jarai have cut trees across the roads, cut power lines, dug traps, and put "panji" stakes on the trails. In villages there are only the old women, old men, and the young children. The people claim they do not know where the young people are. If the village is staked out, you will see some of the young people coming back to the village to visit at night.

One of the main Communist objectives is to win the tribe's loyalty away from the Vietnamese Government or to at least impair their loyalty to the government so the Jarai cannot be used to control the mountains, roads, and trails outside the large towns. Communist control of the area around the Cambodian border would open a supply route for Viet Cong weapons and supplies into Viet-Nam. To gain the loyal support of some 200 thousand Jarai who live in the mountains would be a big step in the overall plan of the Viet Cong.

The Viet Cong have been training the young men and women in the jungle training areas. These students are being trained to conduct raids and ambushes and, in general, to terrorize any other villagers who do not go along with the Viet Cong efforts. The Viet Cong have not tried to incite the Jarai to conduct actual warfare, and it is felt by people who have worked in the Jarai area that the Communists are training them for future work.

The psychological orientation of the Jarai is the number one program of the Viet Cong at the present time. Propaganda is conducted by oral talks to the people in the villages, sometimes at gun point. Radio stations near the Cambodian border have been heard sending out propaganda in the Jarai language. Communist agents have been sent to live with the Jarai, to learn their ways, their language, and to influence them to support the Viet Cong. If these methods do not work, the Viet Cong go into a village, burn it to the ground, and take the people into the jungle for Communist indoctrination. The Communists have also been using leaflets written in Jarai, Vietnamese, and in some cases, English to further their aims.

The Viet Cong have an advantage in winning over the Jarai: the Jarai's dislike for the Vietnamese. At the same time, the Jarai do not really care what is going on one way or the other if they can just work their land, hunt in the jungle without fear of being shot by a patrol, and just be left alone. The Vietnamese Government and the Viet Cong have been pulling and tugging for the loyalty of the Jarai, but the Vietnamese have not resorted to the harsh methods of the Viet Cong. The Jarai, who may have ignored the Viet Cong not from loyalty to the government but from a desire to be left alone, have suffered a great deal at the hands of the Viet Cong; and, as a result, they are leaning toward the government, so if they do have to fight, it will be for the Vietnamese Government.

It should be noted, however, that the Jarai is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation on Autonomy" from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Jarai and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

The Communists are using a great deal of paper propaganda. One leaflet to a loyal Jarai out on patrol stated, "Don't shoot us out here in the jungle, we are your brothers. Turn around and shoot the Americans and the Vietnamese who have caused you to leave your homes and loved ones." This type of leaflet will have some effect on the people since the patrol is, for the majority, Jarai and the people out in the jungle are Jarai.

The efforts of the Vietnamese Government along these lines have been very poor. Leaflets used are in the Vietnamese language. The themes are not timely and do not cover points the Jarai can understand: his land, the fields, and other points. There have been some efforts to use movies which the Jarai enjoy. Here again they do not show enough of the Jarai doing things and advancing themselves. Radio has been employed by the Viet Cong, but not by the Vietnamese. The Jarai do not have many radios, but they are very much impressed by hearing a fellow Jarai speaking over the radio asking the tribe to follow the efforts of the Viet Cong. The use of "storytellers," and minstrels is a very good method of getting "the word" to the Jarai, since folklore is a Jarai favorite. They love to sit by a fire and have someone tell them stories of the past, or just a good story.

The Jarai like the colors of red, black, and blue and have certain likes and dislikes which should be followed when using music, drama, and folklore. The emotions listed are associated with the indicated types of music:

Happiness--the Ko-ni (a one-stringed instrument).

Disaster--weeping and chanting.

Festivals--Rhythmic beating of drums and gongs.

Death--Gongs, drums, and weeping.

The psychological approach to winning the Jarai begins by treating them on an honest and fair basis. The Viet Cong are taking some of the Jarai and sending them to school to become doctors and school teachers. This opportunity is not available to the Jarai in Saigon or any other place. There is no way to make the Jarai think that he is getting an equal chance, except to give him one.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

The Jarai are not very willing to accept any change unless they are sure that it will be good for them, or that it is not opposed to their religious beliefs and taboos. The Jarai should receive a complete indoctrination before they are accepted to perform some duty. Their changeover to a new idea would be a lot faster and more complete this way.

One of the large projects in the news is the civic action project of putting in wells for the people of Viet-Nam. This is a good project accepted by the people in most areas. However, there have been cases of putting in a well next to a river that runs fast enough and deep enough to provide the people with water the entire year, when it would have been easier to teach the people to use the river water properly.

The Vietnamese have started some trade schools for the Jarai and other Montagnards, but there are not enough Vietnamese going to the Jarai and winning them on their own ground.

The Vietnamese Government has fears about U. S. Special Forces in Viet-Nam. These Americans have been able, in a very short time, to win over the Jarai and other Montagnards in Viet-Nam. The Vietnamese have equipment and machines that would be of great value in a civic action program that you will see in the larger towns being polished, waxed, and everything but used. Under the present regime there seems to be more efforts being made by the Vietnamese to win over the Jarai and to conduct a good civic action program.

An expansion of the education programs and more medical aid by the Vietnamese would be the most beneficial civic action for the Jarai. Others would include more literature in the Jarai language to reach the ones who can read; and a good agriculture program teaching the proper way to raise chickens, pigs, and cows. Well-conducted programs such as these would do more to win over the Jarai if they were conducted in a sincere manner by the Vietnamese.

As stated before, if the Jarai can see that a project will do them some good, they will gladly accept it. A sick man knows when someone makes him well; but, at the same time, the Jarai does not want anything forced on him.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

The Jarai have become the pawns in a deadly game being played in Viet-Nam. The Viet Cong have killed large groups of people for not following the Communist

line, and many Jarai who have joined the government forces have been killed in combat actions against the Viet Cong. The Jarai are either being moved by the government troops into central villages, or the Viet Cong are moving them into the jungle. One way or the other the Jarai have to fight or be killed in the efforts being made to control the country. The Jarai have always been losers in warfare, and, consequently, they had rather have nothing to do with it.

The Jarai do not like war, and they fear death more than the average person. The people in the government-organized villages are not receiving enough training and weapons in order to defend themselves. Many of the Jarai have left the Viet Cong and the government and are trying to go deep into the jungle and avoid both sides of the issue.

The Jarai are receiving limited training in weapons and tactics. They are being issued weapons and a very limited amount of ammunition. When these people are put into a village to protect it, they are being overrun by the Viet Cong. In a camp with both the Americans and the Vietnamese, the Jarai are able to defend the camp and themselves in a very professional manner. One must remember that a large percentage of the Jarai have been in military service previously with the French. If given the training and equipment, the ones who want to defend their village will be able to do so.

They have difficulty carrying a BAR or machine gun. The same is true for carrying a mortar and ammunition. The best weapons for the Jarai are the .45 caliber SMG's and the .30 caliber M-1 carbine. The "BATTA BOOTS" being issued to the Montagnards may save their feet from "panji stakes," but experience has shown that the majority of wounds from these are in the upper leg and not on the bottom of the foot. The Jarai are not accustomed to wearing shoes or boots; and, at times, they prove more of a problem than a help. Issuing a jungle uniform, boots, pack, web gear, weapon, and ammunition to people who have lived all their life in nothing more than a loin cloth can present problems. The Jarai have a very strong will and mind. With the proper psychological training combined with military training, the Jarai will fight, and fight well. He loves his home, village, and lands. If he knows that he will get backing, he will fight.

The Jarai are familiar with their native weapons, such as the spear, crossbow, and knife; and the Jarai who were in the French Army are familiar with the French weapons. Today a large percentage of the Jarai in the army are becoming familiar with American weapons including the 60-mm mortar and the 57-mm recoiless rifle.

The Jarai are not what you could call excellent shots with any of our weapons, but they know how to care for most of them and are able to field strip practically all of them. If time were taken, the Jarai can be taught to use the M-4 sight and the 60-mm mortar.

With their mechanical inclination, if the Jarai are shown some procedures and actually given a chance to work with a weapon, they show average to above average skill. They are not afraid of explosives and great care must be taken to keep them from staying too close to an exploding charge. They like grenades and other such devices of war.

The Jarai may become quite emotional under stress. Having an above average fear of death, they do not like to be in fire fights or on patrols where they may be ambushed at any time. During times of stress, it is sometimes hard to get them to react. If someone will assume leadership and can get them to agree that something is acceptable, they will normally follow. The Jarai do not like to go out and look for the Viet Cong. They will not go out of their way to look for trouble. Their actions are not aggressive during a fire fight. There are occasions when they have the upper hand and will show aggressiveness. The Jarai need more training and combat action before they will become aggressive. This will vary from village group to village group. It seems that they will be more aggressive if they are going after Vietnamese Viet Cong and not Montagnards who are working for the Communists.

The Jarai have been compared by U. S. advisors in Viet-Nam to basic trainees in the States. They seem to make the same mistakes and errors. They are slower to absorb some of the training because of their lack of education. Many of the subjects have to be repeated time-and-time again, but they can and do learn. In many cases, they will apply themselves harder than an American soldier.

One of the problems is the language barrier. The U. S. instructor will speak in English to a Vietnamese. The Vietnamese will speak to a Jarai who understands Vietnamese, and then the third man will speak to the class in the Jarai language. Sometimes there are no words to cover the subject being taught. It is a slow process.

Although many of the older Jarai have served with the French Army, their training has been more along the conventional warfare lines. Many of the recruits that show up in the camps for training will be wearing items of French military

wear. The Jarai are well suited for the unconventional warfare role, and they are receiving this training from U. S. Special Forces who are working with the Jarai and other tribes.

Normally, the Jarai who have had a great deal of experience with the French will be in the leadership roles today. Sometimes it will be a Jarai who has been accepted in his village even if he has not had military experience. The Jarai do not have any type of organization along military lines.

If necessary, the Jarai can pack up their few possessions and become quite mobile. They would lose the lands that they have used for years and years; but, if necessary, they could move. The method of movement would be on foot, using some of the animals from the villages; but either the people or the animals would have to carry all the items that they have.

The Jarai, living in the mountains, the jungle, and along the borders of Viet-Nam, have a great potential for counterinsurgency. They have more complete knowledge of this area than anyone else, and they are able to live off the land, requiring only rice from another source. The Viet Cong are trying to the best of their ability to win over the Jarai and have them help the Viet Cong in their war of aggression.

Communication is limited even though some of the larger Jarai villages have been given the HT-1 radio in order to maintain contact with the district chief in case of Viet Cong attack.

Some of the more distant villages along main roads have been installing their own telephone lines for mutual protection in case of attack.

The Jarai area has two seasons: the rainy and the dry. In Pleiku, the rainy season begins in May and continues through December. An average rainfall for these 6 months measures around 180 inches. During this rainy season in Pleiku, it is dry in Cheo Reo. About October, the coastal rainy season will set in at Cheo Reo, Song Cau, and Tuy Hoa. Even during the rainy season around Pleiku, the rains do not affect the use of primary Vietnamese roads; however, the majority of secondary roads become almost impassible to vehicles. Even the trails become very hard to travel, especially in the mountains. During the heaviest part of the rainy season, there has been a marked decrease in military operations by the Viet Cong. It is during this period of time that the Viet Cong will gather food stores, weapons, train new men, and, in general, rest. Rivers in the area are swollen by the excessive rains and even normally small streams will present a tactical problem. Aircraft are affected by the rain, low ceilings, and fog. One problem presented by the dry season, particularly around Pleiku, is the dust. It is impossible to travel a road or trail without announcing your arrival by a cloud of red dust.

Above and below Jarai man,
Plei Kly.

Jarai man drinking rice wine.

Jarai Long House.

Jarai Communal house, Cu Ty

Jarai Tomb.

Chapter 6

THE JEH

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Jeh (also known as the Yeh, Die, Jeh Derale, Jeh Brilar) number around 15,000 and live in the northern part of Kontum and southern Quang Nam Provinces. They also occupy territory to the west in Laos, thus they are strategically located in the rugged mountains on the Vietnamese-Laotian border. The group that controls the Jeh can easily control the area they occupy. Old roads and trails from Laos make access from the west relatively easy.

The Jeh are a strong and independently minded people. They know the mountain and jungle area in which they live. When properly trained and led, they make good paramilitary soldiers and would be an excellent source for scouts and guides for regular military units conducting operations in the area.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

(For the area inhabited by this tribe see enclosed map.) The distribution of subgroups is not well defined. There seems to be some differences between the Jeh that live on the eastern side of the main, north-south ridge line that divides the area and those that live on the western side. There are a few symmetrical discrepancies in the language and some differences in dress. The young girls on the eastern slope will wear brass bands around their hips, but this is not seen very often on the western side. It is believed that the differences are slight.

The area inhabited by the Jeh is some of the most rugged in the Republic of Viet-Nam. Altitudes range from 2,000 feet to over 6,000 feet. The area is characterized by narrow valleys, steep slopes rising sharply to razor-back ridge lines. (The slopes are so steep that footholds must sometimes be cut in order to climb the slopes.)

Rivers are generally narrow, deep, and swift. The vegetation is thick and varied. Along the rivers bamboo thickets and many forms of tall grasses predominate. Depending upon the area, the slopes may be covered with forests of pine and hardwood trees with dense undergrowth consisting of ferns and other jungle vegetation; elsewhere, there are rain forests covered with moss and plant parasites of every variety. The vegetation greatly limits the visibility. In the

bamboo belt along the river the visibility is reduced to as little as 3 to 10 meters because of the small amount of light which penetrates the jungle canopy and the dense undergrowth. On the higher slopes visibility improves slightly. From some of the ridge lines, observation of from 5 to 10 kilometers is possible. It is impossible to see through the jungle canopy and detect air movement.

The only main road in the area is Highway 14 which runs through Kontum, Dak To, Dak Sut, Dak Pek, and ends in the vicinity of Dak Gle. This road generally parallels the Vietnamese-Laotian border. East-west roads in the area are almost nonexistent due to the ridge and valley system running north and south. Further road construction in the area is impractical at the present time.

Only the larger rivers and streams in this area are navigable and then only by shallow draft, native, canoe-like craft. Paths parallel most rivers and streams, eliminating the need to travel by boat. About the only time the Jeh use boats are in setting their fish traps.

The trail network in the Jeh tribal area is extensive. Ninety percent of the travel is done by foot within the tribal area and to nearby market areas. The years of movement from village-to-rice fields and village-to-village have worn thousands of miles of good trails in the jungle. These trails follow generally straight lines between points. A Jeh would rather go straight up a 2,000 foot mountain and then straight down the other side than take a circuitous route that would be easier and require the same amount of time.

Modern means of communication and transportation are limited in this area. The area does not lend itself to the economical construction of large air strips nor are there any large drop zones in the area. Most supplies must be air dropped, brought in by helicopter, or hauled in by truck, and then packed by personnel or animals to the desired location.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Jeh language is of the basic Mon-Khmer group and falls into the Bahnaric subgroup. It is grouped with the Bahnar, Hre, Cua, and Sedang linguistically. The Jeh have no written language. Some of the educated Jeh have learned to speak French, Vietnamese, Rhade, or Bahnar, depending on the source of their education and their location in relation to other tribes or peoples. The Jeh language is somewhat intelligible to other tribes in the Bahnaric subgroup, but not in its entirety.

The possibility of learning Jeh by any means other than direct contact is almost impossible. Also, the number of tribesmen who know both Jeh and either French, Vietnamese, or English is very limited, causing a problem in getting intepreters.

The Jeh are extremely isolated and have little contact with outsiders, including other Jeh villages that are difficult to reach. This has limited the efforts of the government of Viet-Nam to control and effectively integrate these people into the Vietnamese culture. Contact of the Jeh with other tribal groups sharing a common border is also limited.

IV. HISTORY.

The factual or legendary origin of the Jeh people is not known, other than some of the general theories pertaining to the origin of all of the Montagnards.

Because of their isolation, the Jeh are not as advanced politically, economically, or sociologically as some of the tribes closer to the French-Vietnamese (pre-1954) or the present Vietnamese cultures. Some of the men have been exposed to the "outside" world through their service in either the French colonial army or the Vietnamese army. Military service has also exposed them to the differences between their society and the more advanced French, Vietnamese, and American societies. It is too early to predict accurately the effect of this exposure on their culture.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The family is the basic unit of their society. Within the family there seems to be some equality between men and women.

Property ownership seems to be by the entire family and not by individual members of the family. This means that property is not passed from one member of a family, on his or her death, to another. It just means that the family has changed its size or structure.

The children are cared for by the mother except when she is unable to do so because of work. Then one of the older children or another grown member of the family will look after the children. The children will go with the family to the field or will play in the village under supervision. This is done until each child is old enough to work, generally between the ages of 7 to 10 years; they are given tools, sometimes small-sized models of adult tools, and then are expected to do their share of work.

There seems to be no clan structure among the Jeh. Each family is loyal first unto itself and then to its village. The entire family lives together under one roof. A village will give lodging and food to a travelling Jeh and expect the

same in return, but this appears to be the extent of their loyalty. As far as a central power for law, religion, or any other form of authority, the Jeh do not recognize any above the village.

Stratification in the social structure seems to be by wealth measured in gongs, jars, water buffalo, or the amount of land (hence rice) that the family holds.

Social mobility is fairly easy within the village. A young man who gets some formal education is shown great respect, much like that given the old. Wealth and leadership in the military leads to a higher social level.

Little is known about the selection of leaders within the village structure. In recent years the ability to communicate with either the French, Vietnamese, or Americans seems to have some influence on the selection of leaders; however, these men may only be spokesmen for the real leader.

The power of the village chief seems to come into play only when an outsider comes in and causes a decision to be made that will affect the whole village; when the need for some village project arises, such as building a communal house or repairing a water source; and when a dispute occurs that cannot be settled by the parties involved.

The restraints placed on people by village authority are based on what is good for the family and the village and not an abstact concept of law. The method of law enforcement seems to be in the form of economic sanctions against the offender or his family. The forfeit will be in the form of livestock or food and will be consumed by the village; except, of course, for the family being fined.

Disputes seem to be settled by the village leader or a group of elders. They consider the case and render a decision that is binding on the parties involved.

The Jeh, because they are isolated and scattered, tend to act as a village and not as a whole tribe. There appears to be neither alliances nor animosities between the Jeh and any neighboring tribe or group, and they appear to get along well with the other tribes with whom they come into contact. The borders shared with other tribes are not well-defined and the areas overlap 5 to 10 kilometers in some cases. There seems to be some blending of cultural patterns within the area of overlap. There is no overall united effort above the village level in consolidating the tribe.

Literacy is as low as one percent of the total Jeh population and that literacy is in a foreign language, French or Vietnamese, since the Jeh have no written

language. Their concept of numbers is limited, since most of their dealings involve either "few" or "many" of one thing or the other. The number range covered by either "few" or "many" is very vague and varies between users. They seem to be able to give a fairly accurate count on small numbers by using their fingertips and all joints of their fingers, giving them a total of 38 as opposed to the American system of counting each finger alone.

The Jeh are not very sophisticated in the use of tools or machinery. They make and use simple hand farm tools such as hoes, axes, and knives of all shapes and sizes. These are often forged by a member of the village using a fire pit equipped with a crude bellows. They also make some weapons such as spears, knives, and swords. These things are all crude by our standards but work effectively in the hands of a Jeh. They can be taught to use modern equipment without difficulty and can learn to drive trucks and cars, operate power saws, assemble and disassemble complicated, light infantry weapons.

The Jeh educational system is quite primitive with no formal system as we know it. Both sexes are taught basic skills by example in the family group. As the children grow older the education becomes more practical and sex-oriented. The female children work with the women of the family and learn domestic skills required of Jeh women. The male children associate with the men and learn the male skills of hunting, trapping, fishing, and farming. As boys reach puberty they move into the communal house, where all of the unmarried males live, and are further educated in the needed skills and the tribal lore and legend. If the family of someone in the family develops a special skill such as iron forging or a special type of weaving, it is generally passed on to the children of the family through an apprenticeship-like training.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Jeh are short (5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 10 inches) and sturdily-built. They have light brown skin with eyes that can best be described as "bloodshot brown." The eyes are not L shaped like the oriental but more Caucasian. Their hair is black and in some cases has a reddish tint due to extreme vitamin deficiency. They tend to have wide noses and high cheekbones.

The Jeh seem to have amazing endurance when it comes to things that they do in their everyday life. They seem to be able to walk indefinitely with heavy loads on trails, but moving with the same load cross-country will wear them down rapidly. Their legs and backs are very strong but their arms will tire quickly from carrying a rifle at port arms on patrol through the jungle. After a week or two of steady operations in the field, they will tend to run down and become weakened, losing what little natural resistance they have to sickness or infection.

The Jeh are a comparatively aggressive tribe. They produce a number of weapons such as swords and shields, strictly for battle. They play a combative game with bamboo swords and their goatskin shield. The object is to hit the other player on the ankle with your sword while protecting your own ankles. The shield is held low and the player must jump and maneuver with great agility in order to protect his ankles.

The Jeh are quite industrious considering the climate, terrain of the area, and their general state of health. They build things to improve their living conditions: If the water source for a village is quite far from the village, they will construct an aqueduct, or sluice, of large bamboo sections with the stops removed to form a crude pipe, running the water into the center of the village to form a common watering point.

Jeh absorption and retention of instruction is quite good. After a slow and repetitive learning period, the subject is rarely forgotten. The suggested method of instruction is based on the Jeh's ability as a mimic. In one village a wooden copy of a jeep was found. It had wooden wheels and body and cloth side curtains. Villagers would take turns riding and pulling each other about in their "car." After a demonstration, they will be able to repeat your exact actions; but, because they do not understand the principle involved, they will also repeat your mistakes. The Jeh have a desire to learn things that will be of some practical value to them. Anything that will materially benefit the individual, or that he can see a need for or be shown a need for, he will study and learn. Anything else is of little interest except for news of other areas brought in by strangers.

The concept of time and distance and the relation between them during travel is incomprehensible to them. (They have no understanding of such things as bacteria causing sickness, the relationship of the planets, or even the exact causes of conception and childbirth.)

The Jeh are generally friendly people that react well to fair and honest treatment. Those who deal with them in any other manner can expect the Jeh to react against them or to withdraw from contact altogether. They treat nontribal people well and show them hospitality as long as they reciprocate.

The Jeh are a people of many fears and superstitions. They believe all things in the jungle have spirits and that they are all bad. They fear things that they do not understand and are especially fearful in times of stress, as at present in Viet-Nam. Many withdraw to the rice wine jar and dream of the past; but, fortunately, the majority will accept help that is offered to them and work toward securing their own safety and well-being.

The Jeh respect material wealth, knowledge, people in positions of power within or out of the tribe, and especially those who claim to have some control over or knowledge about the spirits.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The Jeh build their villages on the sides of mountains and atop ridge lines or knolls. One side of the house will be on the ground facing the slope; the other side on stilts above the ground. The height of the back of the house will depend on the slope. The houses are generally long and have a central hall running the length of the house with compartments on either side for the different family units. One house was reported to be over 100 yards long and occupied by approximately 200 people. This type of house will have a communal room in the center. They have windows on the backside (facing away from slope) and a movable triangular section of roof on the slope side of the house.

Some villages have a communal house built in a rectangular shape consisting of one room with a sand box fireplace in the center. There is a space between the wall and the roof forming a window that goes around the entire building. In this communal house will be hung the skulls and tails of sacrificed buffalo and other objects connected with the spirits.

Other villages that do not have a separate communal house will use a large central room in one of the longhouses as a "common house."

Their dress is quite practical. They do not weave their own cloth, except for blankets, but trade for it with other groups. One item of distinctive clothing is a cloth legging worn by women. This garmet is worn for two reasons: it protects from the cold and it protects the legs from land leeches found in that part of the country. They will trade for Western style shirts and trousers with the Vietnamese, and they are always in search of warm clothes.

Tribal migration does not exist. Each village will move or resettle of it own accord to establish new rice fields after they have exhausted the fertility of the area around their present villages. These moves will generally be very short, from 5 to 10 kilometers up or down a valley, or to the other side of the ridge. Other factors that causes villagers to move are famine, fire, flood, or some sort of plague attributed to the "spirits that would render the area unsafe to inhabit."

The Jeh drink a rice wine that is made from rice, yeast (either produced by the Jeh or traded from the Vietnamese), and water as part of their religious activities and sacrifices. This wine is also consumed on the occasion of visits by outsiders and some social drinking is done.

The Jeh are a very moral people and do not appreciate outsiders showing personal or amorous attention toward their women. The best policy is to treat women with respect and not permit any opportunities for physical contact to develop.

A custom violated by the central government involving the relocation of a Jeh village serves to emphasize the significance of their belief. The central government desired to relocate a village from point A to point B. The village refused to move to point B for the following reason: The tail and skull of the water buffalo are saved after a sacrifice. They believe that if the water buffalo tail is transported across a river, sickness and death will come to the village. The government was either ignorant of this fact or the situation did not allow for its consideration. The government tried to move the village against its will; and as a result, the villagers packed up and moved further into the mountains, crossing no rivers, and escaping government control.

The Jeh attributes all sickness and health problems to the "spirits" that are visiting the individual, family, or village. The only way to get rid of the offending spirit is to sacrifice some animal to appease the spirit. The size of the sacrifice will depend on the degree of sickness. The sacrifice can be as small as an egg (which represents a chicken) or include one or more water buffalo. If the sick person gets better, the spirit has been made happy and goes back where he came from; if the person dies or the sickness spreads, the spirit simply has not been appeased. No other steps are taken to aid the sick person beyond the sacrifice. This can bankrupt an entire family if the sickness is contagious or a number of people were exposed to the source. To combat this practice, the first step is to educate the people about the causes of sickness, then steps can be taken to prevent illness or cure it after it has developed.

They spend much time building immense barrier systems for animal trapping. They will construct a fence, a meter or a meter and a half high that will run from one ridge line down into the river valley and up the other side to the next ridge line. This fence is in the shape of a giant V with two upper tips of the V on the the ridge lines and the apex in the valley. Along the fence in the area of the apex, traps and snares are built. On the day of the hunt, the best hunters of the village are positioned along the fence and the rest of the village population line up between the tips of the V and drive toward the apex chasing any game within the V to move toward the traps and hunters. However, they fear the predatory animals, tigers and leopards, that live in the same environment. They will carry a tiger tooth as protection and avoid areas that are frequented by these animals.

The Jeh's reaction to nonindigenous personnel who violate a custom or taboo is difficult to predict since knowledge of their customs and taboos is limited. The best course for strangers is to follow what the Jeh do.

Courtship and marriage are long drawn out affairs. After the marriage has been arranged, a 4-year waiting period is required during which the prospective groom must give a monthly gift to his future bride. The couple is not allowed to be alone during the entire 4-years. This waiting period is climaxed by a symbolic bride-capture on the eve of the marriage. The newly married couple reside with the man's family after a stay in the bridal hut which, during their occupancy, is taboo to all except the bridegroom's mother.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The general state of health is poor. The infant mortality rate is high. Many of the infant illnesses that we consider mild in the United States are often fatal to a Jeh offspring.

The principal diseases among the Jeh are about the same as those found throughout Viet-Nam: malaria and other fevers, dysentery, leprosy, skin ulceration, tuberculosis, and a wide range of internal parasites. Their low resistance to illness and infection is caused by an unbalanced or improper diet and by vitamin deficiency. The vitamin and dietary deficiencies are so great in some areas that children suffer malformation of bone structure and hair color changes result. The Jeh are also in the Asian goiter belt. An increase in meats, fish, salt, and vegetables in the diet to supplement the rice would help improve the general health of the tribe.

Sanitation and personal hygiene of the Jeh are poor. The Jeh rarely wash and almost never bathe during the colder months. During the cold season they stay in their houses near the fire and emerge almost black with caked soot and grime. They do not clean their hands before eating or preparing food.

The notable exception to their lack of cleanliness is the great care that they take to keep the village water source clean. The spring or stream used as a water source for the family is never used as an area to dump waste or to water their animals.

The south Vietnamese government has tried to raise Jeh health standards by training province and district public health workers in the basic principles of hygiene, sanitation, and first aid. With the U.S. Special Forces' help, this effort has been extended to the village level; however, this is a long-term project that will take years to complete.

The few missionary efforts that have been made have been well received by the Jeh and have resulted in some improvement of the health standards of villages receiving this help. The difficulties encountered in improving health standards relate directly to their lack of knowledge and to their animistic belief. The Jeh believe implicitly that a spirit causes sickness and that the afflicted will get well only when this spirit has been appeased; however, the tribespeople react to medical aid with gratitude.

IX. RELIGION.

The religious beliefs of the Jeh people are generally referred to as "animistic" or "spirit worship."

They believe that most of the things around them have spirits that are capable of doing harm if they are not kept happy. These spirits reside in hills, trails, trees, rivers, and the jungle animals.

The Jeh appear to have no particular days set aside as religious or feast days. They will sacrifice an animal as the need arises, such as for funerals, illness, and unexplained happenings that cause the people to believe that the spirits are working against them. They will also make a sacrifice before they start something that might offend some spirit. An example would be the sacrifice of a dog to pacify the spirit of the river before building a bridge across it.

The religious rituals of the Jeh are not well known or understood. Most of the rituals seem to be in the form of sacrifices. The picture sequence at the end of chapter 1 describes the Jeh buffalo sacrifice near Dak Pek in northern Kontum province.

X. ECONOMY.

The Jeh are predominantly farmers who produce only for their own needs and not for commerce. They also hunt and fish to supplement their crops and produce various things that aid them in their everyday life. They produce dry land or mountain rice as their main crop and also grow some vegetables and fruits in individual gardening efforts.

The weather seems to effect the economy of the Jeh in the following manner: The rice crop is limited by the amount of land that can be cleared for cultivation and then kept clear during the growing seasons which is difficult to do in rugged country. This causes the Jeh to clear smaller fields that they can keep cleared throughout the growing season.

The lack of good routes of communication limits the amount of trade with outsiders because of the difficulty of transporting crops or goods to and from market areas.

The system of exchange is one of barter within the tribe; the principle items of trade are gongs, jars, and livestock. All of these items have a spiritual value and, hence, may take on a monetary worth far greater than their real value.

In their trade with the Vietnamese, they have learned the value of the local currency and will work for money in order to be able to purchase goods in the markets. The more isolated Jeh will not value paper money as much as the Jeh who have greater access to the Vietnamese markets.

The farm work is done by the entire family. When not engaged in farming or gardening, the men will hunt, fish, and search the jungle for herbs and edible plants.

The Jeh do some weaving of cloth, mostly for blankets, and make a very high quality basket of bamboo or rattan. They also do some crude forging of iron to make tools and weapons.

Almost everything they use in their day-to-day life is made in the village. Everyone has well-developed skills in the area of house construction (thatching and wood working), weaving of baskets and packs, and the general production of the simple things needed to live.

The amount of trade between the Jeh and other tribes is not great. Between the Jeh and the Vietnamese, there is quite a bit of trade. The Vietnamese sell gongs, jars, livestock, salt, cloth, and many other items to the Jeh. Most of this trade is carried out in Vietnamese currency.

The distribution of wealth among the people of a village appears to be fairly equal; however, a few Jeh will be measurably richer than the rest of the group. They will generally be the educated ones who are working for the government, or those who have been converted to Christianity and have given up drinking rice wine and sacrificing.

There appears to be no system of taxation within the village.

XI. POLITICAL.

The Jeh have almost no political awareness. They are concerned about the

job of living and have no concept of the governmental structure in the Republic of Viet-Nam. They may have some contact with the local district chief or his "surete" and they will apply for an identification card if directed. Above this there is no "political" activity. As each government comes into and goes out of power in Viet-Nam, the Jeh adapt themselves to the situation. One Jeh who had served with the French Army told this author, "When the French are here we work with them, when the Americans are here we work with them, when no one is here we work with the Viet Minh (Viet Cong)."

The current migration pattern of the Jeh seems to be influenced by the political situation and the experience of the person, family, or village with insurgent elements. Those who can be reached by the central government of the Republic of Viet-Nam will be moved away from the Vietnamese-Laotian border and the remote areas in the mountains toward the relative safety of the settled area along Routes 1 and 14. The other groups are those who for some reason, are in the bad graces of the government of Viet-Nam. They are captured by the Viet Cong and moved away from government-controlled areas to even more remote areas, either deeper into the mountains or toward the Laotian border, or in some cases, into Laos itself.

The international border of Viet-Nam and Laos, which is poorly defined in the Jeh area, is of no concern to the Jeh since they have no understanding of the concepts of governments, international laws, treaties, or boundaries.

The population control measures taken by the government of Viet-Nam are roughly the same as for other Vietnamese: ID cards and village census. Each village chief or the head of the household is supposed to account for all of his people on demand.

Relationships with other tribes are peaceful. They overlap and mix with them in areas where they share common boundaries. They can communicate with most of their neighbors verbally.

Outside influence upon the Jeh has varied. In the years before 1954, the French administered to all of the tribespeople. They educated some, and introduced medical care, and also expected the tribespeople to do some work for the government. They used them to work on the roads and in the harvesting of crops from the French plantations. The French, in general, treated the Jeh people well.

After 1954, the Vietnamese moved into the mountain areas and settled there for the first time. With the problems of establishing a government and building a

strong state, the Vietnamese paid little attention to the Jeh. Medical aid and education slowed and little was done for the Jeh. After the present situation developed, the Vietnamese Government took a renewed interest in the Jeh when a relocation program was started. Also with American aid and advisors, a program of military training was begun. The Americans have influenced the Jeh considerably with the introduction of modern weapons, medical aid, and military training.

XII. SUBVERSION.

Indications are that Communist agents infiltrated in the tribal area sometime before the French defeat in 1954. These agents joined the tribe, married Jeh girls, and have lived with the tribespeople to this day. Their aim is to convince the Jeh that the Viet Cong have a good program for the tribespeople, that the Vietnamese and Americans want to take their land and otherwise mistreat them. These agents stress the autonomous regions created in North Viet-Nam for the hilltribes there and also how the North Vietnamese Army has units composed of tribespeople to include officers. The Communist agents come unarmed and take no hostile action against the tribe, so there is little opposition to them. After they have won over a village or group of villages, the military agents move in and begin military training.

It is noted that the Jeh was not a signatory to the "Proclamation of Autonomy" discussed in chapter 1. One might infer that this tribe is more inclined to favor the government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

The Jeh have a slight knowledge of radios and movies. The lack of electrical power, radios, and isolation make these items relatively ineffective in their area.

There is no written language among the Jeh.

The method that the Jeh use to pass on their history, stories, customs, and taboos is through legend by means of storytelling.

The men of the village frequently will get together in the communal house and talk about the problems they have and how to solve them.

There is little known about the aesthetics that the Jeh enjoy or what their music and ritual means in connection with their sacrifices.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

The Jeh will accept innovation that will improve their life. These new ideas will have to be basic and simple in order to insure continued use and long-term success. These projects should be in the area of improving the standards and techniques of farming and stock raising, sanitation and village health.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

The Viet Cong have carried out hostile activities for years against those elements of the Jeh people that have not joined their side.

The tribespeople have reacted in a number of ways. Some have moved from their remote villages to areas under government control and protection. Others have endured the hardship of having their rice taken by the Viet Cong and constant propagandizing. Still others have joined the Viet Cong, either out of conviction or fear.

The Jeh place their villages in relatively defensible terrain out of long habit dating back years before even the French arrived. The weapons normally used by the tribe are crossbows, spears, and knives.

The defensive tactics are very crude. The approaches to the village are "mined" with bamboo panji stakes and pit traps. The only line of defense is a system of fences around the village that includes bamboo lancets woven through the fences and bamboo spikes between the fences.

The Jeh are skilled hunters with their crude weapons, and when taught to use modern military weapons, they are quite good with them. They are capable of mounting and firing the 60-and 80-mm mortar after a short period of instruction.

No limitations on the use of any weapons or other military equipment can be attributed to physical characteristics. In providing supplies for the Jeh, remember that they are considerably smaller than the average American and must have extra short, small size clothing, with boot sizes as low as 4.

The Jeh are aggressive and appear to have a history of fighting. Missionaries that were in the area when the French first arrived in Jeh country say that it took some effort to "pacify" them.

The Jeh grasp instruction on military subjects of a practical nature: weapons training, raids and ambushes, patrolling, and related subjects. Instruction must

be repetitive with much practical work to insure a good understanding of the subject by the students.

The French used some Jeh tribespeople in the Indochina war, and the Vietnamese are using them in the current struggle. U.S. Special Forces have trained many tribesmen as village defenders and as members of regular strike forces under the Civilian Irregular Defense Group program from 1962 until the present.

There is not a well developed leadership base or ready-made organization for paramilitary activities among the Jeh. Each village has its leaders, and they do not recognize any other chief over them with the possible exception of the Republic of Viet-Nam district chief. With isolated villages and the natural hierarchy among village chiefs, it becomes a problem to organize a unit that would bind the villages together.

There are two seasons in the Jeh areas; the dry season and the wet season. The dry season extends from October to March. During the months of October through December it is dry and hot; the temperature may reach 90 degrees at midday. From January to March the weather cools considerably and the temperature drops into the high 30's or low 40's at night. During the entire dry season the wind blows at great velocity through the mountain valleys, thus creating a high wind-chill factor that has an adverse effect on troops.

During the dry season military operations of short duration or those which can be resupplied are conducted. Other than the high wind-chill factor, the weather is not harsh, but warm clothing and light sleeping gear must be provided.

The wet season extends from approximately April to September. During this period the area receives as much as 180 inches of rain (about 1 inch per day for 6 months). During this time trafficability is significantly reduced on all the roads. In many places small portions of Route 14 are completely destroyed.

Air travel is unpredictable. Regularly scheduled resupply by road or air during this time would be unreliable for extended military operations.

Cross-country movement is greatly impeded by the rains. Most of the trails become so slick that they are almost impassible to all except small units. Visibility is reduced to almost zero except during the brightest times of the day. Mountain streams become raging torrents and are a hazard to cross-country movement.

With good leadership the Jeh make excellent soldiers, if they are used within their limitations. With their knowledge of the jungle, and aggressive spirit, they are the key to control of the tribal area in any situation.

The best approach toward gaining the confidence and trust of the Jeh people would be to achieve empathy, practice kindness and patience. If aid and advice are offered in a sincere and honest manner, and can be followed without violent change in the traditional way of life, the aid and advice will generally be accepted in good faith and acted upon. If, however, the Jeh feels he is being exploited or is being forced to do something, he will pack up and go further back into the hills to avoid any further contact with the offending element.

Jeh long house, west of TRA MY, over 100 yards long, housing approximately 200 people. Note sacrifice poles to right of picture.

Jeh woman; note distinctive leggings-bracelets.

Rice wine for drinking during ceremony.

Jeh village elders chant during sacrifice ceremony.

Chapter 7

THE KATU

I. INTRODUCTION.

The name Katu means "savage," and is applied to the tribe by most of the other tribes of the area adjacent to the Katu. The Katu themselves identify themselves by village.

Although there are no accurate population figures available on the Katu, estimates from antropologists and province officials vary from 20 to 30 thousand. A factor to be given consideration in this figure is the subgroups associated with the Katu tribe; if they are counted, the larger estimates probably are accurate.

The area inhabited by the Katu is located both north and south of the 17th parallel, to the west of the coastal cities of Faifo and Tourane (Da Nang) in Quang Nam province, and extends to the border of southern Laos. The largest percentage of the Katu are located on the slopes of the valleys along the Song Giang, the Song Cai, and the Song Buong Mountains.

At the present time there has been very little contact with the Katu tribes. The U.S. Special Forces have tried to establish an advisory relationship; but, thus far, they have had trouble making contact. This tribe is very important because of their location along the 17th parallel and along the Laos border. At the present time, the Katu are presumed to be largely under the Viet Cong control.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The Katu area is the highland interior of central Viet-Nam, as generally outlined on the enclosed map. This includes the An Diem region, particularly on the slopes of the valleys along the Song Giang, the Song Cai, and the Song Boung mountains.

The Katu are associated with several subgroups: the Attouat, Kao, Khat, Thap, Ngung Ta, and the Ngung Huu Montagnards. These subgroups are associated with the Katu by location and customs. Sometimes there will be slight differences in their dialects. The actual location of these subgroups is not definitely known because of their continuous movement from one area to another.

The area of the Katu is very mountainous, thickly forested, and dissected by river valleys whose slopes tend to be rocky. This area is generally considered to be inaccessible except by foot or river. The roads were originally secondary dirt roads built by the French, but now they have been reclaimed by the jungle. Some of the rivers support shallow-draft craft to get into and out of the area. Communications are limited to radio: The TR-20, TR-35, and HT-1. There are no communications lines from the coastal towns to the interior.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Katu do not have any form of written language. The spoken form is from the Mon-Khmer group. The Katu have had little contact with the French, Vietnamese, or Americans; and very few speak French or Vietnamese. Some Katu today may know a few words of English, but they cannot carry on a conversation. Interpreters are normally Vietnamese who have had contact with the Katu during their infrequent visits to Vietnamese markets. The number of interpreters worthy of the name is limited.

The Katu have had very little contact with any of the other tribes, even those on the edge of their area. Some of them will travel to the coastal towns to trade for such items as salt, iron, blankets, and jugs for their rice wine.

IV. HISTORY.

Very little is known about the tribal origin of the Katu Montagnards. Their customs and religions are related to the northern tribes of Laos and Cham tribes. The Katu have a history of being aggressive.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Katu do not have social, political, or economic relationships with tribes to the south of them.

The husband is considered the head of the Katu family. The wife does not enjoy as much freedom as some of the Montagnard women in other tribes. The woman does all the hard chores, and the male takes care of the hunting and what little trading is carried on. The family structure is developed acccordingly.

The newly married couple may move in with the husband's family until they can build their own house; all property is also owned by the men. Marriage for the Katu is patrilineal. A Katu boy who has selected a girl informs his father,

who obtains an intermediary to arrange traditional details. The families of both share a daytime meal during which they discuss the price to be paid for the bride; the agreed value usually being paid in gongs, pots, jars, buffalo, and cloth. For the actual ceremony a sorcerer cuts off the foot of a cock, interpreting from the contraction of the claws the disposition of the spirits toward the marriage. There is a feast and sacrifice of an animal. The items of value for the bride are exchanged, and the marriage is complete.

Premarital affairs are common. If a young couple is discovered making love in the forest, the boy's family must pay the girl's family a fine of a pig or buffalo which is to be eaten at a communal house feast. If the girl is pregnant before the marriage, she goes into the forest with the boy for 6 days while the parents agree on a fine for the boy's family before they are married.

The Katu practice some polygyny, but this is rare.

The Katu children enjoy a very high place in the community of the tribe. The death rate with young children is very high; as a result, the Katu, like all Montagnards, love their children very much. The Katu family forms a fundamental socio-economic unit, quite typical of most Montagnard families. All work the land of the clan. The aged have a somewhat more prestigious position among the Katu than among other tribes. The oldest son of a family will inherit the bulk of the family property upon the death of a father. Other sons will divide the rest.

The Katu also have divorce and rules for it. If the wife is the cause, all of the original price paid for the bride is returned. If the husband is at fault, only half is returned. If the wife is adulterous, the original price for the bride is forfeited and the other man is fined one or two buffalo.

The Katu village has a headman for its leader. He is normally selected by the village elders and may also be replaced by the village elders if he brings misfortune on the village. The village elders also administer village justice.

The Katu have no formal education system; children are taught by example by their parents. They do not read or understand very much Vietnamese or any other language.

The Katu house is constructed from bamboo and grass matting. The village is normally built on a mountain slope to escape the heavy humidty of the valleys. Normally the village will vary from 5 to 10 houses, built in a circle, around a communal house. The village will be surrounded by a stockade. The house itself will vary although it is normally built on pilings, with a central pillar (tanal)

supporting the frame. Some of the roof edges will have poles with carved edges to represent animals, men, or phalli. The communal house is similar but more elaborate. In the center of the village there will be a large open space with a carved pole in the middle for sacrifice of animals.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Katu are normally 5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 6 inches in height and very muscular. They have a very dark skin and black hair. Eyes are normally brown. A large majority of the Katu are tattooed on the face, chest, arms, wrists, and above the knees. The most common tattoos will be a dancing woman on the forehead, a sun motif on the chest or forehead, or a swastika (less common). The endurance of the Katu is good for walking and climbing mountains, but they are very poor at running and lifting heavy weights.

Not much is known about the emotional state of the Katu. He does not appear to be affected by fears and superstitions to the extent it hurts his ability to make war.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The male normally will only wear a loincloth. The female will wear a short skirt. The woman, before marriage, will wear a top to the dress which she discards after marriage. Both the male and female wear strands of beads around their necks. Some of the women wear earplugs of ivory in the earlobes.

The Katu do not trust nontribal members. In some areas where the Katu are not as warlike as in others, they will accept medicine and food from Americans. In general, they do not trust the Vietnamese.

The tribe still practices human blood sacrifices. A victim is selected by the village headman and village elders and then is kidnapped by a raiding party and carried into the jungle where he is speared to death. The young men dip their spears into his blood and return to the communal house for a ritual sacrifice.

Little is known about the customs and taboos of the Katu. Like other Montagnard tribes, they have many taboos. They like to drink their rice wine and have celebrations. Along with their distrust of other people, the Katu have poor relations with other tribes. The Katu send out quite a few raiding parties to other villages; at times they will raid villages of their own tribe!

The Katu should be treated with respect and care should be exercised to avoid violating any known taboos. Many of the Katu do not know the difference between the American and the Frenchman.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The overall conditions are very poor by U.S. standards, and will vary from village to village. The people are not clean and make no effort to improve either themselves or their environment. The Katu suffer from a lack of salt and vitamins. Many of them suffer from skin diseases and eye trouble. The Katu will accept medical aid when they are convinced of beneficial results.

IX. RELIGION.

The Katu worship both the good and evil spirits, and they have a large collection of these spirits. Typical of all the Montagnard tribes, they have a large communal house as their religious center. They consider certain places the sacred dwelling place of the souls of ancestors who have died a good death. They fear a bad death which results from murder, an enemy raid, an attack by a tiger, or some other means where the person does not die a peaceful death. They believe that everyone has a good and bad soul, and only the good survives after death. Their religious beliefs call for the frequent sacrifice of so many valuable animals that the tribal economy suffers. There are stories told of missionaries years ago trying to enter the tribes and live with the Katu. The story always ends with the missionary killed or run off.

X. ECONOMY.

The Katu are mostly farmers with their economy agriculturally based. The land is very poor and the Katu have a difficult time raising enough food to live on. Their poor farming methods force them to move frequently in search of good soil. For this reason most of the tribe can be found in the mountain valleys. Ancient and inefficient farming methods have caused the tribal economy and culture to suffer.

They have three staple crops, upland rice, manioc, and maize, which are cultivated in swiddens. Small, kitchen-size vegetable gardens produce some food which the Katu supplement with wild fruits, roots, edible leaves, and other edibles from the jungle.

The domestic animals are pigs, buffalo, chickens, and goats; however, most meats for food is derived from hunting using traps and crossbows with poisoned arrows to fell their game.

Their primitive industrial arts development consists of making crossbows, traps, and woven articles. The Katu trade spears, wood, betal leaves and medical roots for iron, salt, cloth, and other items from the Vietnamese.

The Katu care for orphans by employing them as domestics for a family. These orphans live with the family and are allowed many freedoms, including marriage; but they do not share the family's wealth.

The Katu have no form of taxation and they recognize no other government's taxation system.

XI. POLITICAL.

The Katu have never had any close relationship with the Vietnamese Government; and because of their nearness to the 17th parallel, they are largely under the influence of the Viet Cong. They have been increasingly aggressive towards neighboring tribes. The Katu are not aware of the political situation in Viet-Nam, nor do they understand the effect the Viet Cong is having on the tribe.

Like many of the Montagnards of Viet-Nam, they do not know of the existence of national boundaries, to say nothing of their location.

The government of Viet-Nam has not been able to control the Katu. The thick jungle, lack of roads, and the Katu desire for privacy explains the lack of control. Whenever possible, the government is trying to wrest the Katu back from the Viet Cong and into government-protected villages in the lowlands of the Katu area.

XII. SUBVERSION.

The Communist Viet Cong have almost complete control of the Katu tribe. There are a few small villages that come under some Vietnamese control, but all the young men and women have disappeared from these.

There is no evidence that the Katu signed the "Proclamation of Autonomy," discussed in chapter 1, despite the evident Viet Cong influence.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

The best method for disseminating information at the present time would be actual contact; showing the Katu you can help them without making them fight. They do not read any language nor speak enough Vietnamese to make the effort of targetting with leaflets or broadcasts worthwhile.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

To hope for success with any civic action program among the Katu would require face-to-face discussions with them, convincing them of the benefits of such a program. A basic first aid and field medical program would probably offer more hope of success.

Improvement of their agricultural methods, producing increased yields, might also be beneficial.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

The Katu have both French and American weapons in unknown but probably small numbers. Their leadership appears to be hard-core Viet Cong. They do not have the ability for sustained fighting at the present time (July 1964) but have become more active and accomplished in warfare in the past year. All movement of the Katu and their equipment is made on foot along the trail and rivers. They have the ability to absorb military instruction, and it is reported by special forces returnees that many of the Katu have been sent to North Viet-Nam for more training by the Communists.

The Katu area is affected by two rainy seasons. One will affect the coastal area of the tribe, and another the mountainous area. Normally, the climate is very warm and humid. The rains and bad weather in the mountains adversely affect flying and resupply by air. The lack of roads force a reliance upon air support. During the rains the roads are almost impassible. The thick jungle restricts the movement of troops to the trails and paths, making a unit a prime target for ambush. The alternative, cutting a new trail, is very slow and time-consuming.

Chapter 8

THE KOHO

I. INTRODUCTION.

The general term Koho is an all inclusive name, subsuming under itself several specific tribes: the Chil, Sre, Maa, Noup, Rion, Lat, and Tring.

These various tribes all speak approximately the same language, their habits are quite similar, and they are located in the same general area; therefore, they are all placed in the general category, Koho. They will be treated in this chapter as one tribe.

The Koho number approximately 100-thousand and are predominately within Tuyen Duc and Lom Dong provinces, with some located in Binh Tuy and Long Khanh provinces.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The area inhabited by the Koho is a large one. It is of a reverse L shape (see map), starting in the north near Chu Yong Sin, extending south of Djiring, and then to the west near Talai. The largest city in this area, and the most significant, is Dalat. One source stated that in his travels among the Koho, he became familiar with the people and the countryside in an area that would be covered by two overlapping circles, each having a radius of 40 kilometers: one having Dalat as its center, the other having Djiring as its center.

The two principal rivers in the area are navigable by canoe and flat bottomed boats only. The roads in this area were built under Prime Minister Bao Dei (middle 1950's) and have deteriorated, but they can still be traveled by jeep in most cases. Many villages are built within 6 or 7 miles on either side of the roads and can, for the most part, be reached by jeep.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

There is no variation of language or dialect among the various villages of the Koho. There are, however, minor variations in pronunciation of words. No information is available on the background of the Koho language nor on the dialect spoken by the tribe.

People from other tribes in direct contact with the Koho understand their language and conversation is in the Koho language. The Koho seem to be ignorant of the languages spoken by the tribes around them. There is no written Koho language.

IV. HISTORY.

It is believed that the Koho have inhabited their present location for the past 100 years.

The Koho will move an entire village when the old one is considered to be of no further use or when it is thought that the old village is being frowned upon by the gods. This migration involves a distance of only a few miles. Also, these "migrations" may involve dismantling the buildings in the old village and reassembling them on the new site or merely abandoning the entire old village and constructing a completely new one at the new location.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Koho family is headed by the male; however, before any final decision is reached on a matter, the wife is consulted. In other words, although the man is the acknowledged head of the household, any decisions are made by mutual consent of the man and wife. If no mutually agreeable plan can be reached, the man has the final say so in the matter.

The political and religious leader of the village is the village "elder" (referred to as village elder, even though he is not necessarily old) who acts as judge, mayor, and priest. He is elected by the villagers and, on his death, it is customary that a son or, if he has no son, his eldest brother is usually unanimously accepted by the people as his successor.

In marriage, the woman chooses the man; if he refuses the marriage proposal, he must provide a peace offering such as a pig or something of similar value. If he accepts the offer, he accompanies the woman to her village; if they come from the same village, she accompanies him to his house.

The families join together to help the old people in the clan. As a couple grows too old to cultivate their own land or to provide for themselves, the others all take part in maintaining the elderly one's affairs as well as their own.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The average Koho is approximately 5 feet 2 inches tall and weighs approximately 110 pounds. They are very dark skinned and have very dark brown or black eyes and straight black hair.

The Koho have exceptionally strong legs and backs and very weak arms. When asked to carry in his hands a full 5 gallon container, a Koho is capable of carrying it only 40 to 50 feet at a time. However, they are capable of carrying loads of 100 pounds or more on their backs through mountainous terrain at a rate of 15 or 20 miles a day!

The Koho are not intelligent as a whole and find it extremely difficult to grasp abstract ideas or technical processes, nor is their thinking logically oriented. For example, one may spend countless hours teaching a Koho how to change a tire and achieve some success; however, when a tire on a vehicle goes flat, it never occurs to him that this is the time to apply his earlier acquired knowledge. In other words, he knows how to change the tire but cannot remember why or when it should be changed. They learn best through patient, constant repetition by the instructor.

The Koho are a very frank and honest people with a good deal of loyalty for those who treat them fairly and kindly. They respond well to authority, but being inherently lazy, they will respond more quickly to firmness than they will to cajolery and pleading.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The Koho are friendly people; and the friendlier attitude you display towards them, the more they are inclined to like you. A pat on the back, a warm handshake, and a ready smile are the most valuable assets an outsider can have. In addition, it is important to always offer a cigarette to all the villagers present. If the chief or village elder is present, make no special acknowledgement of his position in the presence of others; however, later, when you pay him a visit in his hut, it is diplomatic to leave him a package of cigarettes for his private use.

Upon entering a village as a stranger, it is important to avoid all contact with married women. If you spend an evening with a married couple and see the wife the next morning, make no attempt to engage her in conversation. That

privilege will come later when you are no longer a stranger. Instead, acknowledge her presence with only a friendly wave or a nod in passing. There are no restrictions on unmarried women in the village and one may safely converse with them.

Upon entering a village you will be offered food and drink (rice wine). The food may be refused; however, to refuse to drink is the supreme insult to the Koho and will immediately alienate them.

A typical Koho village consists of several longhouses usually arranged in two long rows. A small pond or well is located near the rear of the village. The rows of houses are not laid out in any specific direction (east to west or north to south, etc.); however, the entrances always face away from the well or pond.

The houses are raised several feet above the ground, and the eaves of the roof come to the ground. The area under the house is closed in and is inhabited by the pigs and chickens. The Koho's long-house may be as much as 100 yards long but average about 60 yards in length. As many as 10 families may live in these houses: the assembled families being of one clan; and each house quartering a different clan.

The houses are divided into family areas: one area for each family. In each family area, at one end, is a loft or large basket used for storing rice or cloth, etc. At the other end of the family area is a raised sleeping platform about a foot high. In the center of the room is a small round fireplace where the women do the cooking.

Although each family has its own area in the house and its own provisions, all the families join in a community effort to help another family that finds itself in dire straits. Any loan of rice, cloth, or wine is paid back at the earliest possible opportunity.

Each family maintains its own schedule of meals, sleep, and work regardless of another family's activities. The Koho day begins at approximately 7 a.m. with a rather large breakfast. After breakfast both the man and his wife go out into the forest to clear land for cultivation. The woman helps with the work and carries lunch (cold rice and water) with her. At the close of the day (about 6 p.m.), they return home where they eat a hot dinner, drink rice wine, and retire early. The Koho do not sleep heavily nor do they sleep for long periods. They doze for an hour or two, awaken, smoke a cigarette, talk quietly from their beds, then doze lightly again. This is a repetitious process that continues all night.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The Koho enjoy generally good health. However, malaria, beri-beri, and venereal disease run very high among these people. They are familiar with quinine which is purchased from the Vietnamese for malaria control. Syphilis is usually fatal to these people, for they have no cure. To rid themselves of gonorrhea, they eat a jungle fruit that induces a high fever which, in turn, kills the germs. Leprosy exists among the Koho; and, like all other Montagnard tribes, the lepers are isolated but they are not treated. There are many cases of worms among the Koho, attributed mainly to the fact that they don't cook their meat well enough.

Oddly enough, stomach ulcers are quite common among the Koho. Ulcers result from the copper decorations they put on their teeth. Since they do not brush their teeth, the copper corrodes and this tarnish turns to acid in their stomachs which, in turn, creates ulcers. (These copper decorations are in lieu of knocking teeth out and filing others down, which is found in many other tribes.)

One of the biggest health problems among the Koho is that they are not cognizant of the fact that diseases are contagious. They think that disease is the result of disfavor in the eyes of the gods and, therefore, they do not segregate the sick from the well except for leprosy.

The Koho will not enter a hospital when sick because they feel lonely and abandoned and fear that they will die away from their village.

IX. RELIGION.

The Koho do not worship a miltitude of spirits as do many of the Montagnard tribes. Instead, they worship only two deities known as "The Big Man" and "The Big Woman," roughly translated. One source said that he did not know the origin of this belief but that the Koho offer sacrifices to them. He also said that when something happens, be it rain, shine, calamity, or illness, the Koho dismiss it with the generalization that the "Big Man" (or Woman) wanted it that way.

There are several villages that have been converted to Catholicism or Protestantism by French priests and American missionaries.

In many cases, the Koho have followed the French priests more readily because the American missionaries have tried to make them quit their drinking

orgies while the priests tolerate it. More recently, however, the priests have tried to do away with animal sacrifices and the Koho are now leaning towards Protestantism. Sometimes when these people profess Catholicism or Protestantism, they pray and perform the various rites without really understanding to whom they pray or for what reason.

X. ECONOMY.

The Koho employ the slash and burn method of agriculture, cutting timber and brush, letting it dry for about 15 days where it falls, then burning it on the spot, using the ashes for ferterlizer. The Koho then wait for the first rain to come and immediately after they plant crops of corn, cucumbers, tobacco, and predominately rice.

When the young plants begin to show above ground, the Koho move to temporary shelters near the fields to protect their crops from elephants, monkeys, birds, and other pests. There is little else for them to do until the harvest. When the harvest is over, the people return to the village where they remain rather inactive until the cycle begins again.

The Koho hunt small animals such as deer, monkeys, and birds which supplements the supply of domestic meats in their diet. They raise cows, buffalo, pigs, and chickens.

The women weave all the cloth used by the tribe and dye it with native vegetable dyes. Native cloth is used for clothes and blankets and have colored designs because the Koho dislike objects of solid color. The women also weave baskets and make pottery.

Possession of copper pots, buffalo (but not elephants), ancient jars, and gongs are looked upon as signs of wealth; but the Koho have no furniture in their houses and have only a few cooking utensils. Although a family may have a number of ancient pottery jars in their possession, they refuse to use them and will buy jars from the Vietnamese to use for brewing their rice wine and for cooking.

XI. POLITICS.

The Vietnamese Government has appointed province chiefs and district chiefs to administer in the tribal area, but there is no tribal apparatus for governing

the tribe. Each village is entirely autonomous and the village elder or chief is the ruler in the village and acts as mayor, judge, and priest.

XII. SUBVERSION.

The Koho are almost 100 percent sympathetic towards the Viet Cong because the Vietnamese have treated these people very badly, calling them filthy and unclean, denying that they are citizens of Viet-Nam, stealing their food and animals, and insulting them by sending a private or corporal into the village to question the people while the officer or leader remains outside the village.

The Viet Cong, aware of Vietnamese ill treatment, will go into a village (barefoot if the villagers have no shoes), pass out cigarettes, drink wine with the villagers and sleep in their huts (the Vietnamese are horrified by this thought). The Viet Cong treat the Koho as equals, buy animals and food from them , and treat them humanely. The Koho like being treated this way and quite naturally sympathize with the Viet Cong.

It must be emphasized that the Koho like to be made to feel important so it is imperative that the leader of any patrol or advisory group make the first entrance into the village personally and must, himself, initiate any conversation or dealings rather than send an envoy of lesser rank.

You will note that the Koho were not signatories to the "Proclamation of Antonomy" discussed in chapter 1. However, because of the Viet Cong domination one can expect continuing resentment toward the established government.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATION.

The only way available to communicate with the Koho is by messenger. Radios and the ability to read are for all intents and purposes nonexistent. They like music and love to play their gongs, flutes, and simple stringed instruments.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

Medical assistance would seem to be appreciated by the Koho, especially medication to control malaria. Control of syphilis, gonorrhea and other contagious diseases by modern methods of medicine and public health should be approached cautiously, since the Koho do not understand the germ theory of disease.

The deteriorating roads that were built under Boa Dai's reign might be a focus of civic action. If the Koho feel that good roads give them prestige or if the roads are used to a great extent, they should be eager to have the roads repaired.

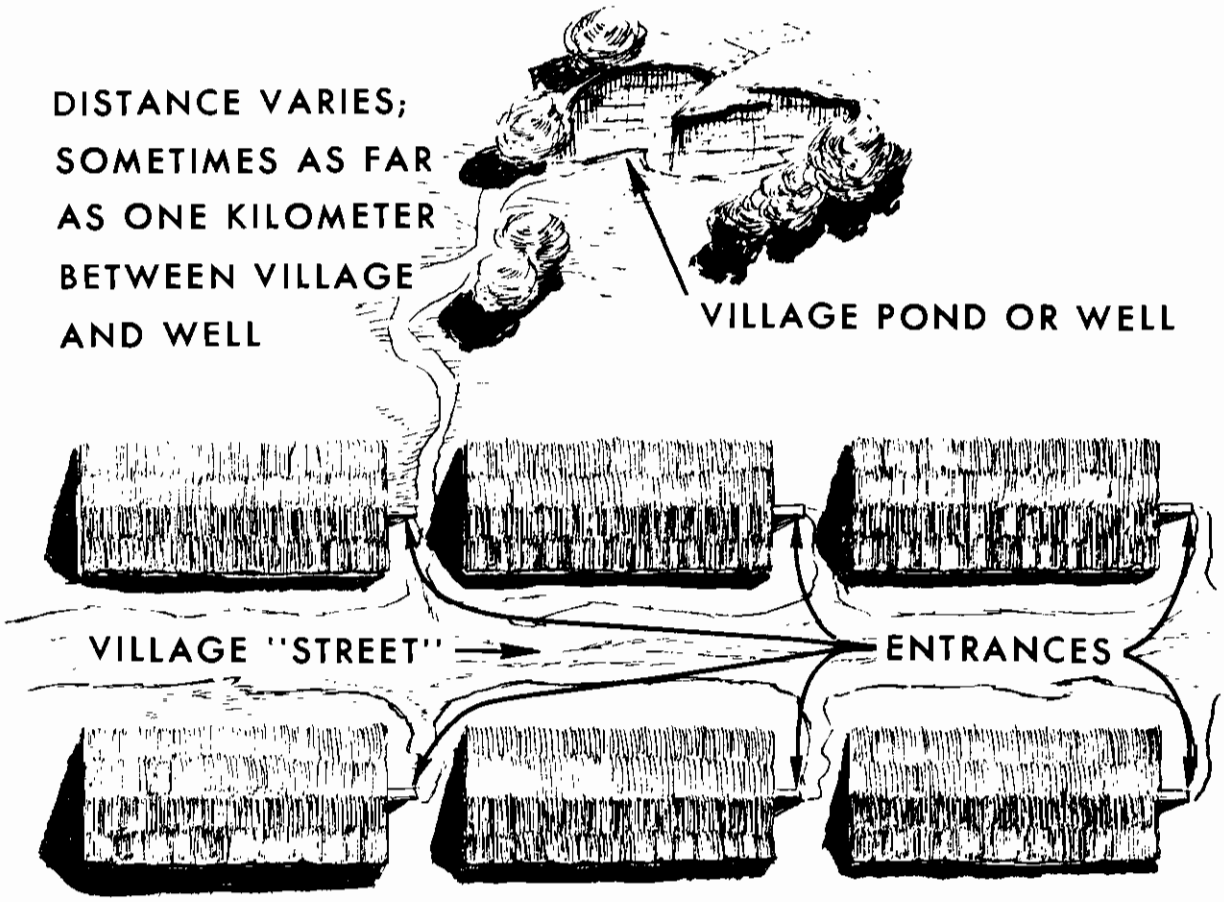
The slash and burn method of agriculture can be very inefficient. It is possible that the Koho would appreciate instruction that would increase their yield of crops or reduce their exertions.

XV. PARAMILITARY CONSIDERATIONS.

The Koho are peaceful to an extreme. One would be quite hard pressed to entice them to fight. They have no fighting experience with modern weapons, and they use only light spears and crossbows for small game hunting.

The Koho are excellent trackers and, as such, could be used to trail ambushers and perform reconaissance. It would be difficult to persuade the Koho to collect and report intelligence, however. When Viet Cong activity began, Koho tribesmen were known to walk as far as 50 miles to report local VC activity to the Vietnamese authorities. Upon arrival, they were made to wait long hours and were then interviewed by a minor official or clerk (in violation of the idea that to make him happy, the Koho must be greeted by someone of importance). The clerk would then take his information and dismiss him with no thanks or remuneration being offered. To make matters worse, more than once the clerk was, himself, a Viet Cong agent and the poor tribesman would lose his life on his way home.

As a result of these and other misfortunes the Koho have become distrustful and will give information only to those whom they know and trust implicity.



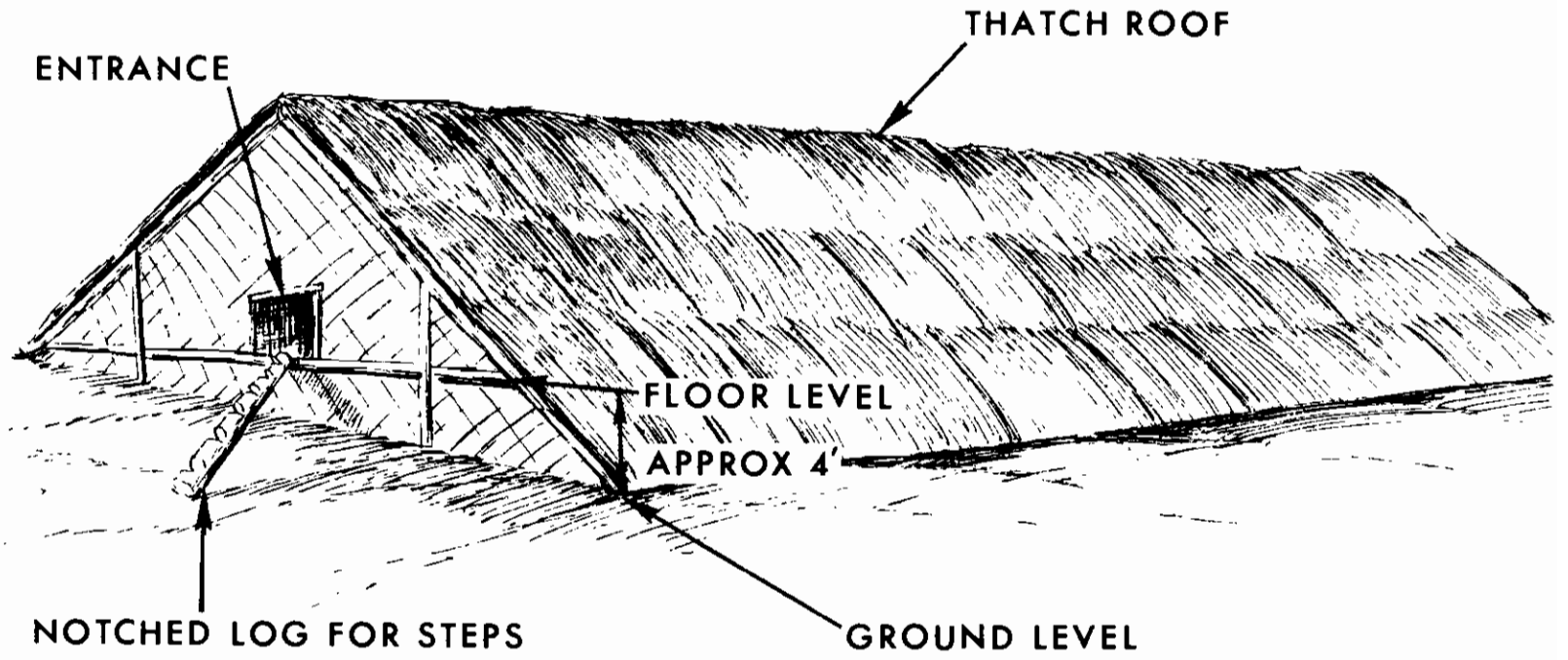
TYPICAL KOHO VILLAGE LAYOUT

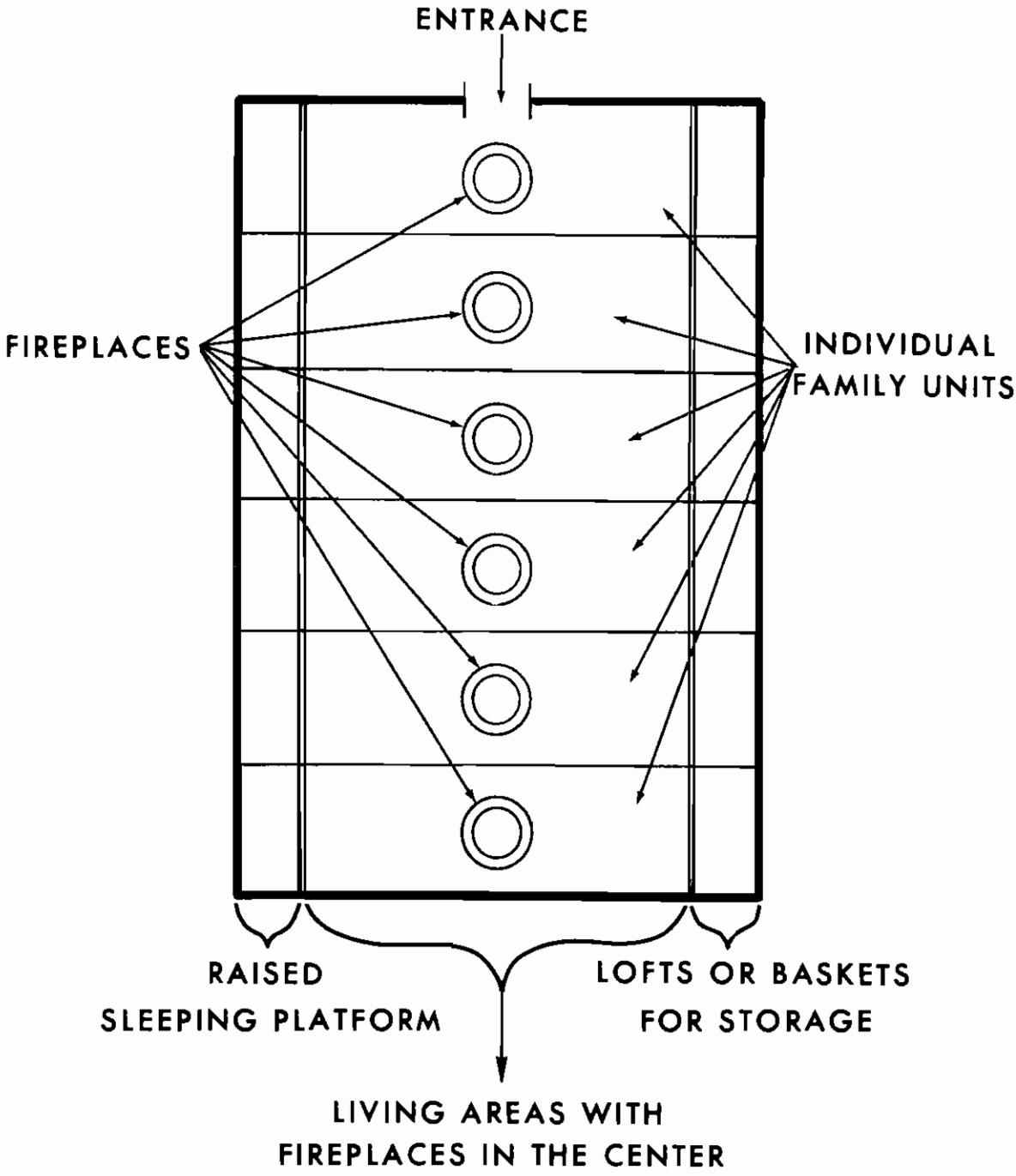
NOTE: 1 THESE HOUSES MAY BE AS MUCH AS 100 METERS LONG AND SHELTER AS MANY AS 10 FAMILYS

2 HOUSES ARE ELEVATED ABOUT 4 OR 5 FEET ABOVE GROUND

TYPICAL KOHO LONGHOUSE (Exterior)

NOTE: ① AREA BENEATH THE FLOOR LEVEL IS ENCLOSED FOR ANIMALS
② EAVES EXTEND ALL THE WAY TO THE GROUND





TYPICAL KOHO LONGHOUSE (Interior)

Chapter 9

THE MNONG

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Mnong tribe is a large tribe, numbering approximately 40 thousand people. The Mnong tribe also includes a large number of subgroups that include the Pnong, Biet, Gar, Preh, Rolom, Nong, Bunur, Rohung and, according to some authorities, the Bih.

The Mnong cover a large area southwest of Ban Me Thuot. They are principally found in the province of Quong Duc, with scattered villages in the provinces of Darlac, Lam Dong, and Phuoc Long. In addition to the Mnong in Viet-Nam, there are estimates that some 12 thousand Mnong live across the border in Cambodia.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The Mnong occupy a large area and are in contact with several other tribes. To the north the Rolom occupy a vast swampy area and are in close contact with the Rhade. The Bunur and others are in contact with the Stieng; and the Kil, in the high country near Dalat, are in contact with the Raglai to the east and the Koho to the south.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Mnong language is spoken with some variation among the various subgroups. It is of Mon-Khmer stock and is closely related to Koho. Although there is some subgroup variation in dialect among the Mnong, they are able to communicate. The Mnong Gar are the hardest to communicate with as their language varies the most from the other subgroup dialects. Some tribesmen are known to speak other languages including Koho, Rhade, and Vietnamese.

There is no written language among the Mnong, but there is a legend that explains this absence of writing. The legend has it that long ago the gods called all the people of the world together to give them their language. The tribesmen, having no access to paper, wrote their language on buffalo hides with stones. On the way home the tribesmen grew tired and lay down to rest. While they were sleeping, someone came and stole the hides with their language on them, thereby depriving them of written language.

IV. HISTORY.

Until just a few years ago the Mnong were regarded as the most savage and bloodthirsty of all the Montagnard tribes. Anyone who dared venture into Mnong territory could expect to be massacred. The few survivors of Mnong attacks told tales of bloodcurdling experiences with the Mnong. In recent years contact with progress, civilization, and other tribes, notably the Rhade, has affected a change in Mnong attitudes, and docility has replaced savagery.

The Bih group in the north has direct contact with the Rhade and is thought to have been a part of the Rhade tribe at one time.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

In the Mnong society the woman is the dominant member of the family. This does not mean that the woman's word is absolute law, but it does mean that she is more powerful than the male.

There is a legend dealing with the woman's dominance that follows: In the beginning, the gods created man, placing him in the mountains; and the woman, placing her by the seashore. The man became lonely and sought the woman. When the gods found them together, they punished the man, telling him that he would have to live with woman forever under her dominance.

Marriage among the Mnong is predominately monogamous with some sororal polygyny mixed in among the wealthiest tribesmen. Sororal polygyny allows the man to marry his wife's younger sister. Another tendency of wealthy Mnong is that they tend to intermarry, thereby perpetuating their elite roles.

The family is the principal social structure among the Mnong people. The family, in turn, is part of a clan structure. The family has its own compartment within a longhouse, usually with other families of the same clan. The head of a clan, as in the family, is the woman. The children take the name of the mother's clan and are considered to be related to the mother's clan but not to the father's.

It is interesting to note that while the head of the clan or village is a woman, there are "judges" who are men, and they occupy a position of great importance. These judges are consulted on many matters and their decisions carry much weight.

If the husband dies, all goods acquired after his marriage are divided among his children and his wife; or, if she dies, her family divides the property.

Among the Mnong, wealth is important and is measured by the number of buffalo that a family sacrifices, not by how many it owns. Possession of slaves, jars, and gongs are other measures of wealth.

The son of a slave is born a slave; however, it is possible that he may win his freedom through various means.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The average Mnong is about 5 feet 5 inches tall and weighs about 110 pounds. They have black hair that is quite often curly.

The Mnong are said to be only mediocre in their ability to learn and follow instructions. They seem resistant to the idea of sending their children to school. However, both the young and old, who have accepted Christianity, have been most anxious to learn to read.

Even today the Mnong are crude and care little for courtesy. A visitor to a village is received, however, with frankness. Formerly, the warlike nature of this tribe resulted in bloody wars with other tribes, notably the Rhade. Fortunately, this habit has disappeared.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The marriage customs of the Mnong are simple in that the couple express their desires to their parents and the parents negotiate the terms of the marriage. The exchange of gifts between the two families is very important, with the prospective husband's family giving more than they receive.

After marriage, the newlywed couple usually build their own house, living with either one's parent-in-law until the new home is built. Among some tribes, such as the Gar, custom dictates that the newlyweds will go and live with the woman's family and build their house near her parents. In the event that the bride's parents are poor, the newlyweds will reverse the process and dwell with or near the husband's parents.

The size and form of Mnong settlements varies among the different subgroups. For instance, the Nong village is built on a valley slope with three longhouses arranged in a triangle. The houses are located immediately adjacent to their land, which is usually planted with tobacco.

The Rolom villages are a collection of longhouses with individual gardens nearby. The Rolom villages resemble Rhade villages although the houses are not on a north-south axis.

The Gar live in longhouses, some 40 meters long, and collectively cultivate fruit trees. They also have a clearing around their village as a protection against tigers.

Footpaths connect Mnong villages and log and bamboo suspension bridges are built over streams and ravines.

The Mnong houses are generally 10 to 100 meters long, with wooden framework, bamboo walls, interior partitions, and thatched roofs that extend almost to the ground.

There is some variation in the placement of the entrances among the Mnong. The Biet places the entrance at one end of the houses, while the Preh put an entrance on the long side of the house. The Nong tribe goes even further, placing an entrance in one end and an entrance on the long side.

Usually Mnong houses are built on the ground, but one end will be raised on pilings if the house is constructed on a hillside. The Mnong Rolom is an exception; they build their houses completely on pilings.

The Mnong Gar build the most unusual houses, employing rounded ends instead of square ones, and instead of a large door they have only a narrow slit for an entrance.

Most Mnong houses are divided into family compartments, each being independent of the other. The compartments contain a raised platform at one end for sleeping, a hearth in the center, and a loft for storing food and other goods. The Gar however, place large rooms at each end of the house to serve as a household granary rather than use individual lofts.

In addition to their longhouses, the Mnong employ a number of temporary shelters placed in the woods or near their cultivated plots. When they go out to hunt or to harvest their crops they live in these shelters.

Should you visit a Mnong house, you would likely enter by a notched pole ladder leading up to a wide veranda constructed of logs. This is a longhouse, almost identical to all others, perched atop 7 foot, log pillars from which the bark has been peeled. On close inspection you will note that the logs are of Sao hardwood:

a valuable commodity. The houses range from 200 to 300 feet long, and have thatched roofs. You will also appreciate the beauty of the construction for they are well proportioned, with rattan lacings neatly and strongly tying the framework. Hours have been devoted to weaving the diamond design, green and white split bamboo wall and floor matting. The Mnong use only knives and axes as construction tools.

The Mnong women keep the floor swept clean; but there is the slightly unpleasant odor of smoke from the fire for there is no chimney.

Partitions at the back of the communal room provide space for the many different families sharing the longhouse to eat and sleep. Each family area has its own cubicle and mud firebox. Personal possessions, such as musical instruments, spears, and bows and arrows, are kept in the framework of the roof.

Because these are heathen houses, strings of chicken feathers and blobs of cotton are found hanging across the doorways. These are regarded as special charms to keep out evil.

The Mnong are great lovers of folklore. They have many many legends and poems that take the place of written history. One generation tells another and in this way the history of the tribe is passed on.

The Mnong still dress quite simple. The men as well as the women wear only a belt a meter long. At the present time, the Mnong women are wearing a short skirt (yeng), in imitation of the Rhade.

Their finery consists of copper rings and necklaces: the number worn indicates the wealth of the wearer. With their filed teeth, their ears stretched by a bit of wood or ivory in the form of a circle, the Mnong are still called the Montagnards "with filed teeth and stretched ears."

The Mnong cut or file children's second teeth near the gum line. This takes place in a rite marking the child's passing from childhood to adulthood. One who does not have his or her teeth filed is considered a coward and will never get a mate.

For festivals, the men wear a simple collarless shirt, and the women wear navy and scarlet wraparound skirts.

The Mnong, as it has been pointed out, do not welcome outsiders in their territory. In the past, intrusion meant war and more often death for the trespasser; but these bloodthirsty habits have faded away. In the past, anybody outside the

tribe was forbidden to settle, hunt, fish, or prospect in their territory; if this rule was broken, then war was declared with spear and crossbow unless a friendly solution was adopted by the elders of each village.

Wars among the Mnong were usually between families or clans and their friends, rather than between villages or tribes, usually over unpaid debts or alleged sorcery. The family bolsters its own strength by friendship alliances. A recent example of a friendship alliance between groups occurred in 1949. It involved a sorcerer who informed one family it was being bewitched by another. Through friendship alliances the accusing family gained a large following and sought revenge. Friendship alliances also are a means of gaining prestige; they must be made between individuals of equal affluence and are marked by the exchange of buffalo sacrifices.

The Mnong women never eat with the men, because a woman can draw down the anger of the spirit which shows itself in certain dishes.

They also refuse to carry away the dead bodies of alien tribespeople for fear that evil spirits will haunt them.

The Mnong welcome such gifts as mirrors, embellished drinking glasses, needles, thread, soap, rock salt, rice, eggs, fresh corn, chickens, and firewood and would, no doubt, be more inclined to deal with someone who comes bearing gifts rather than someone who comes emptyhanded.

The Mnong have taboos and customs like the one that says certain days are not for work, or that a certain kind of meat or fruit is not to be eaten. The peculiar thing about these taboos is that they hold true for certain clans and not a village or tribe.

The Mnong have no festivals or holidays as such; however, every 3 years, two or three villages gather to amuse themselves. Buffalo are butchered for the feast, while the villagers dance and sing to the rhythm of the music. The expenses of the feast are paid by one of the villages. The feast will be held at the expenses of another village the next time, with the same guests and so forth.

The Mnong also have an elaborate series of sacrifices in connection with funerals. There is a sacrifice for each step of burial: the preparation of the corpse; placing of the corpse in a bier with some of the deceased's personal effects; arrangement of the tomb; and the subsequent abandonment of the tomb.

A sacrifice is occasion for music making. Boys making the music will sit along a bench with gongs suspended from a roof beam. At the end of the bench

will be a boy with a large drum. As the ceremony begins the men will begin a quick rhythm and the boys will strike the small gongs, called chars, with padded mallets. After every few beats they will deaden the sound with their hand. The large and valuable bronze gongs that sometimes measure 3 feet across are called ching lao and are played with one regular, continuous stroke. It lends pulsating accompaniment to the chars. The sorcerer will come in and begin to offer his incantations to the rhythm.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The women of the Mnong tribe give birth in a small hut built on pilings, set apart from the main house, especially built for this purpose by her husband. Once birth is completed, she returns to the house with her baby and tends to her work as usual.

Since the gods are blamed for illnesses, the Mnong do not isolate sick people, thereby making it easy to spread disease. They do not understand contagion. One exception is leprosy. The Mnong are terrified of leprosy and isolate it whenever they see it.

IX. RELIGION.

The Mnong are polytheistic by nature, recognizing spirits of inanimate objects, topographical features, and ancestors. They have spirits of the soil, rice paddy, water, fire, forest, stones, sites, paths, moon, sun, dead heros, magic plants, beans, tigers, birds, dragons, and many others. Some of these spirits are good; others are evil. All spirits must be satisfied by sacrifices as directed by the sorcerers, the religious leaders of the village.

Any illness or misfortune is attributed to the gods, and sacrifices of pigs, chickens, ducks and water buffalo are begun immediately under the direction of the sorcerer.

The Mnong have sacrifices for many purposes. Some are: propitiation of the gods; consecrating goods and people; agrarian sacrifices; and sacrifices for purification, welcome, and protection.

There has been some attempt at conversion among the Mnong, with some success. Apparently once converted, they become good Christians, eager to learn more of Christianity and anxious to become educated.

X. ECONOMY.

A simple comparison with the other high plateau tribes is enough to affirm the backwardness of the Mnong. They make their living with difficulty by means of traditional farming methods which produce very little and which require a semi-nomadic life. Nevertheless, it is fitting to do justice to this tribe: It has taken a great step down the road of progress by comparison to conditions 50 years ago.

The Mnong people depend on an agricultural economy with some hunting and fishing and industrial arts such as the manufacture of weapons, jars, and pottery. The Mnong Rolom also make fine canoes.

The principal crops are rice and corn grown in swiddens that are chosen by divination and named after a spirit. (Swidden agriculture is the practice of cutting the jungle growth, letting it lie where it falls, burning it as it lies, and using the ashes for fertilizer.) In addition to rice and corn, the Mnong raise maize, beans, eggplant, manioc, toro, yams, cucumbers, sugarcane, gourds, oranges, mangos, limes, papayas, red peppers, ginger, mushrooms, cotton, indigo, and tobacco.

The most common implements used by the Mnong in their farming are wooden digging sticks, iron hoes, axes, adzes, and chopping knives.

The Mnong keep a number of domestic animals. Among these are pigs, dogs, ducks, cats, goats, horses, buffalo, and elephants.

Hunting and fishing are important to all of the Mnong tribes. The Mnong Gar are the most adept at these pursuits, employing numerous methods that they have devised among themselves. Besides fishing, the Mnong hunt birds, deer, monkeys, and other small game.

Among the items that the Mnong gather are bamboo shoots, mint, and saffron.

The Mnong engage in some industrial arts: weaving and basketweaving, and making jewelry, musical instruments, and weapons.

The men do all the swidden clearing, hunting, basketmaking, and some iron-working. The women plant seeds, gather wild plants from the forest, and do the weaving. The men and women join together for harvesting and fishing.

The Mnong people trade plants, animals, and products, among themselves as well as among the Vietnamese and other tribespeople.

XI. POLITICAL.

The Mnong are not now and never have been friendly to outsiders. It is possible, however, to enter the area now without fear of opposition.

XII. SUBVERSION.

It is said that there is some Viet Cong activity among the Mnong, primarily by Viet Cong agents who have settled in the Mnong area to trade and establish contact with the Mnong.

It should be noted, however, that the Mnong is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation on Autonomy" from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Mnong and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

The best means of getting information to the Mnong is by demonstrations and repetitious instruction. The Mnong have no radios and do not understand the written word.

Caution must be taken lest any part of the instruction or demonstration go against any local taboo. If this occurs, the effort is doomed.

They do love music and singing and occupy themselves quite often in the art of creating melody.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

The Mnong do not welcome change and often go to some effort to resist education and new ideas.

This is illustrated by the following example given to us by a returnee in an interview:

> "One mistake that was made was moving these people out of their villages into larger villages in order to get them out of their dirty houses. They brought as muny as 8 to 10 villages together and made a community of 600 to 800 people. (The average Mnong village is 80 to 200 people). They were made to live in houses built on stilts, ones that they could not keep clean and in neat rows. They were made to put their cooking house in a separate house from which

they lived. The people moved in but left most of their belongings back in their own village or buried them out in the jungle. They were just there as long as they were forced to be there and what usually happened was that they lived out in the little cook houses on the grounds.

"This program fell through and the Viet Cong realized the failure. Their propaganda to the people was that they were being forced to do this, and the best thing to do was to burn the village down. They did not object to Viet Cong coming in and burning the village, and in some cases they burned the villages themselves."

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

The majority of Mnong hostilities has been between families or clans rather than tribe-versus-tribe or village-versus-village. It would probably be difficult to align these people for a conflict of ideals that they do not understand.

The Mnong use spears, crossbows and poisoned arrows, machetes, and knives for their hunting and warmaking. They have no training whatsoever in the use of modern weapons. One source indicated that these people might be trained to use modern weapons, providing they were first assured of support when it came time to employ these weapons.

Chapter 10

THE MUONG

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Muong are a large tribe that are found mostly in north Viet-Nam. Their population has been estimated between 260 and 370 thousand people.

There are two refugee tribes known to be settled near Ban Me Thuot and Pleiku. Two other tribes have also settled in south Viet-Nam. These four tribes that have migrated into the south are believed to number around 10 thousand.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

See the enclosed map for the location of the Muong tribes.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

Muong people have a written language that is related to Vietnamese. Their language is called "Mol," and means the language of the people. Although it is related to Vietnamese, the Muong cannot understand the Vietnamese people.

They have a Tibeto-Chinese dialect which came from the north. Communication between the tribal groups is possible.

IV. HISTORY.

The Muong that have migrated into south Viet-Nam have very little information about their history. They emigrated to the south to flee Communist rule of the north.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Muong woman takes her place in society by performing her duties in the family and tribe. In the division of labor between men and women, she carries water and gathers all the needed plants, herbs, and wood. She assists in the harvest as does everyone. The weaving of cloth for garments is also performed by the women. The man prepares the land for the crops and goes hunting and fishing.

The male is the head of the family, and the children take his name. The overall family structure or organization is the extended family. Only one family will live in a house, but the extended family will be somewhat grouped together and will occupy the same village.

Polygyny is permitted among the Muong tribes. It is somewhat customary among the highest classes. The first wife is predominant in the household and the "mother" of all sons born to the husband, her eldest son being the eldest son of the family.

Among the peasants, inheritance division is not common unless it is sufficently large enough to share among all the sons. Among the higher classes, the eldest son of the first wife inherits prerogatives, house, and bulk of the property. Other sons of the principal wife may inherit some land.

Divorce is rare in the Muong people. The wife may separate by making an "extended" visit to her parents. The husband may repudiate his wife on a wide variety of pretexts, but cannot if she is old, or has no family, or is in mourning, or in poverty.

Adoption is relatively common among the Muong. To adopt a son to become head of a family is a complicated process. The boy must be of the same physical configuration and personality as the father and cannot be adopted if he is the eldest son in his own family.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Muong women are easily recognized for they have distinctive characteristics. They have an average height of 4 feet 8 inches. Their skin is usually lighter than the male. The skin is fine-grained with a dull, nonshiny color.

Female facial features show a forehead with a low, narrow, concave shape; cheek bones are very prominent and high. The eyes have little or no slant and are brown or slightly golden in color. The nose is almost always flattened against the face. Lips are thick with a distinctive, large mouth that has large, healthy, irregularly aligned teeth. They seldom lose or pull their teeth until 45 years of age. Their ears are pierced, but earrings are seldom worn. They have a very distinctive rounded chin.

The men are generally squattish and massively built. The wrist and ankles are rather heavy. Their hair is black, straight, coarse, stringy, and sparse. They are not handsome but they are very intelligent. Usually, the men are taller than the women and average 5 feet 3 inches. They are not muscular, but have good health and stamina. Their arms are longer than average and their jaws are narrower than the women's.

Both men and women have similar skin texture, hair, teeth, and ears. The male's eyes are somewhat slanted, and those who shave do so every 3 or 4 days. The male's hair may turn grey at an early age. It is rare, but there have been a few white-skinned Muong reported.

They are an honest, hospitable, and gentle people who are slow in showing emotion.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The Muong settle mainly away from the main lines of communications. Their settlements are near rivers and are accessible by footpaths only.

The village itself surrounds the house of tho lang, or headman. Farmhouses are scattered along the banks of the river or on the slopes of the hills. An important structure of the village is the temple of the spirit of the soil.

One particular village that has been visited, Hoadinh, has about 200 houses; a little larger than the normal village.

The houses consist of four walls of split bamboo or planks and have thatched roofs. They are off the ground on two or three rows of pilings sunk into the ground. The pilings are at intervals of about 5 feet at a height of 3 to 6 feet above the ground. They are joined by beams which serve to support the floor, and the floor joists rest upon their upper extremities. They use no nails or pegs; all framing members are trunks of trees, either with the bark on or crudely squared, simply resting in mortises and tied together with vegetable fibers. The roof will extend far beyond the house and may come down to or below the levels of the floor on the long sides of the house. The floor will generally project in front and back of the house beyond the walls, making two uncovered platforms.

One door is cut into each of the shorter sides, or ends of the house. The rear door is reserved for family members. These doors give access to two main

rooms of the house divided by a crosspartition. The first room is the room of honor where travelers sleep on bamboo camp beds. It has a table with sticks of incense representing the ancestor's altar. The family spends most of their time in this room. The second and larger room is the family apartment where the women stay. The room may sometimes have a small compartment with a hole in the floor used for a latrine.

If animals are not kept under the house, they will build a shelter near the house for them. Granaries will also be built near the house on pilings.

Marriage is usually a family-arranged affair. The boy or girl has no choice in the matter. Recently instances have been reported when the young couple will rebel and make their own choice.

The age of marriage for a young male of the highest class is from 15 to 20 years of age. Males of peasantry marry at the ages of 18 to 25 years. Females get married when they reach the age of 16 to 18 years. Once the girl has been chosen, the boy's parents initiate the arrangements. An intermediary is chosen who brings gifts to the girl's parents.

The length of the engagement is from 1 to 5 years. The groom will spend one or two years at the house of his parents-in-law before the marriage is officially consummated. The bride's parents adopt the new son-in-law to give him part of their belongings as an inheritance.

Two significant marriage rituals take place at the houses of the bride and groom. One ritual takes place before the altar of ancestors in the bride's house to signify her departure from her family.

Before the altar of ancestors in the groom's house, the second ritual takes place during which the bride has to bow several times to the ancestors and the guests. A member of the groom's family calls their names off, and the bride and her attendant bow to the altar on which food has been placed.

The different tribes have varying tastes; the Muong will accept beads of any color, but only white cloth.

There are taboos associated with the New Year period, but these are not known well enough to report. It has been said that they will break no soil for planting for the first 3 days of the first lunar month.

The extended family of Dinh have a taboo against eating monkey meat, while the Quach extended family will not eat dog meat.

After a birth there is a sign placed at the entrance of the house to keep strangers out. These signs also refer to sickness in the house. The signs are usually burning straw or bamboo and will vary from village to village in the number of days it is displayed.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

Upon completion of more thorough research and evaluation of presently available information, a report of findings will be published at a later date.

IX. RELIGION.

The Muongs share almost all the basic religious concepts of the early primitive Vietnamese. They have a large pantheon of supernatural beings. There are spirits of the mountain, of agriculture, and a spirit of the hearth honored in communal and familial cults. Individuals maintain a cult of living souls, and cults of the protectress of the soul and the protectors of the body.

A ritual performed by a high priest of the tribe at a death is to capture the soul of the person. When it is believed the person is taking his last breath, the priest puts a piece of cloth over his mouth, thus catching his soul. The person also may be taken from the cot and put on the ground until he is dead and then put back on the cot. This is to return his soul to the ground, for they believe that his soul comes from the ground when he is born.

Following group hunts, a ritual is performed offering game to the spirit of the forest and of the mountain.

Rituals honoring ancestors are held on anniversaries of their death and during the lunar new year period. There are a number of rituals associated with the agricultural cycle. At the celebration of the lunar new year, there is a special ritual that honors the rice spirit.

X. ECONOMY.

The economy of the Muong is based on agriculture. The staple crop being nonglutinous wet rice. Their terraced fields are cultivated by a technique learned from Lao-Thai, Vietnamese, or Chinese.

One farmer works his own crops to support his own family. It is not known if he shares his crops with the extended family. Some families will go out and work elsewhere to supplement their needs.

Fishing is an important means of supplementing their diet. Hunting is usually done in large groups with trained dogs to aid the hunters.

They have domestic animals such as pigs, cattle, buffalo, chickens, and ducks which represent both wealth and food. Cats are few and very much desired. Dogs are used in hunting and for watchdogs and pets.

The Muong are apparently not interested in trade; returnees report that they have seen no village market places, and those places that might be markets were never in use.

XI. POLITICAL.

The chief of a village is a Muong who has been picked by the Vietnamese. Normally, he is of a hierarchy that came from the north and the job is hereditary in his family. It seems that being chief of a village is not a job aspired to by the villagers.

XII. SUBVERSION.

It is doubtful that the Viet Cong subversive efforts would meet with any success among the Muong who have migrated to the south in an effort to escape Communist rule.

It might be inferred that the Muong could be influenced to support the Republic of Viet-Nam government since they were not a signatory to the proclamation referred to in chapter 1.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

The Muong have a written language that is related to the Vietnamese; however, they cannot understand the Vietnamese language and psychological operations may have to work through interpreters or acquire the necessary language facility to deal directly with these people.

It would appear that white has some special significance to the Muong since they will accept only white cloth, even though they will accept beads of any color.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

Reports indicate the Muong are noted for their health, stamina, and intelligence. It would appear that they are capable of absorbing instruction designed to better their welfare and their environment.

Civic action projects in the agricultural and fishing sectors might prove beneficial as the Muong economy is primarily based upon agriculture. Additionally, fishing is of importance to the Muong as a means of supplementing their diet.

Civic action projects designed to initiate exchange of products or designed to stimulate trade might be worthy of consideration. Reports indicate, however, that the Muong are apparently not interested in trade and that few if any village market places have been noted.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

Properly motivated, the Muong would be a valuable asset as a paramilitary force, as they did flee North Viet-Nam in order to escape rule under Communist domination and apparently have little sympathy for the Viet Cong.

Although reports indicate that the Muong are a gentle people, they are noted for their stamina and intelligence. These characteristics indicate that a capability to stand up under field conditions exists and that the Muong are capable of absorbing the training required to produce effective paramilitary forces.

Chapter 11

THE RHADE

I. INTRODUCTION.

For many decades the Rhade have been considered the most important and strategically located of the Montagnard tribes in the highlands of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

The name Rhade is the French variation of the Montagnard name, Ete. There are no records available pertaining to the exact number of Rhade at the present, but it is estimated that the entire tribe numbers between 100,000 and 115,000 with 68,000 of this total registered in Ban Me Thuot. One of the principle reasons for the lack of a more exacting count is that a great many of the Rhade do not bother to declare the births and deaths in their families; and a few, mostly those in the army, have legally become Vietnamese.

The Rhade have lived in the high plateau for centuries, adapting themselves to their natural environment and making use of the natural resources in simple ways. They usually choose a place where their livelihood can be secured easily, locating their houses and rice fields near rivers and springs and grouping together according to kinship ties.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The Rhade tribe is centered around the village of Ban Me Thuot, and can be found in the provinces of Darlac, Quang Due, Phy Yen, and Khanh Hoa. (See Map)

III. ETHNOLOGY.

Language in the highlands is the means by which the greatest distinction can be made between tribes. With few exceptions, each dialect is mutually unintelligible to members of other tribes.

The Rhade are related to the Malayo-Polynesian group. The dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian origin is one of the most widespread linguistic families in the world. They are polysyllabic, nontonal, and are spoken in the Indochinese Peninsula, in the Malayan Peninsula, and in the Philippines.

Since the dialects of the hill tribes are numerous, signs are used as a common means of communication. Triangles, hexagons, and other geometric forms,

about 30 inches in size and made of bamboo or rattan, are hung in prominent places such as the outskirts of a taboo village to warn travelers of impending danger.

IV. HISTORY.

The Rhade have no written history; therefore, not much is known about them until their contact with the French in the early 19th century. Various authorities contend that the largest percentage of the Rhade migrated from greater China, while the remainder came from Tibet and Mongolia. Legend has it that each clan of a family group laid claim to specific natural features, such as land, trees, mountains, bamboo, streams, forest, and the like, setting up specific clan areas and boundaries.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Rhade community life is organized around the kinship bonds which offer the people a sense of warmth and security. Recently, however, the Rhade way of life has been disturbed mostly through Vietnamese migration.

The basic structures upon which the Rhade organizes his society consists of the family, the household, the group of kinsmen, and the village, in the order of descending importance.

The main purpose of marriage and founding a family is twofold. The first is to satisfy the human desire for company in life, and the second is perpetuation of the line.

The Rhade tribesmen are organized into matrilineal lineages with the wife owning all the property, even though the husband is the "breadwinner." The married man lives with his wife's family and is required by custom to show great respect for his mother-in-law. He should avoid any behavior which could be construed as intimate. The proper relationship is one of distant respect. Any infraction of this relationship requires that the po-rice yang, or shaman, prescribe a sacrifice of a pig "to wipe away the bad blood with a branch." In this society it is the woman who proposes marriage to the man, and it is the eldest daughter who inherits her parents' property. All Children take the first name of their mother; and, when calling for a member of a family, it is customary to ask for the father or mother by calling the daughter's or son's name.

If a man or a woman has no children, each is called by his or her own name.

Joking within the family household is considered improper although children and older people are exempt from this rule. Elders are still treated with respect. You can joke with members of other clans but not with clan brothers.

Authority in the Rhade family, however, is maintained by the father or grandfather. It is he who makes the decisions, consulting with his wife in most cases. The male is responsible for seeing that his decisions are carried out.

In general, the underlying principles of the Rhade kinship system are lineage, generation, sex, and seniority.

Education among the Rhade is limited, lacking books and proper teaching equipment. A great majority of the books and aids are supplied by the students themselves. Also, there is a great need for more qualified teachers.

Because of the dialect differences between tribal languages, most of the tribes do not intermingle; and where it is permissible, marriage is one way where two tribes would merge to any degree.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

According to most reports, the average Rhade is between 5 feet 4 inches and 5 feet 6 inches tall, has a brown complexion, and is usually built quite sturdily with very broad shoulders.

In regards to endurance and manual dexterity, the Rhade seem to be able to endure a great amount of physical strain. It is also reported that they are able to run better than average distance without stopping or showing signs of fatigue.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The Rhade are a very superstitious tribe. They believe in good and evil spirits, and there are a great many feasts held to court or appease these spirits. Excessive drinking, of alcholic beverages is quite common among the Rhade. By consuming large quanties of rice wine, the tribesmen become very happy, believing that the spirits are in the same condition or frame of mind.

Their clothing and nature of dress, except for people of higher importance or social prominence, consists of a standard loincloth, usually blue or scarlet, and an iron neck ring worn by the men. The women wear either a skirt or callico pants and a sweater or vest, which may or may not have sleeves. In some more remote areas the women are barechested.

Some of the tribal customs practiced are outright disgusting to Western observers. For example, when a youngster reaches the age of about 12 to 14, the Rhade believe that they are ready for adulthood. Therefore, a "Rite of Passage" from childhood to adulthood is performed, holding the child down on the ground, placing a rock or stone under their front teeth, and filing or hacking the teeth to the gum line. The child then runs off to the woods like a wounded animal and returns with two black stumps where the teeth were.

Dreams play an important role in determining the activities or the future of the Rhade. To cite a few instances: a dream concerning a mishap is a warning to remain home and avoid an inevitable accident. Dreaming of an eggplant means that people will be severly critical of you. A pregnant woman dreaming about a knife or cross bow will have a boy; whereas, a dream about a basket indicates a girl. A dream about a red blanket forecasts trouble.

Nonindigenous personnel should be courteous, relaxed, and tolerant while learning the native customs and taboos, making sure not to predict or promise anything because this is left to the gods. Also visitors shouldn't become involved with the native women because this will create jealousy and violence.

Legend and tradition dictates that certain family groups should not intermarry. Should two members of the same clan marry and thereby offend and anger the spirits, a wild buffalo must be sacrificed.

Young girls are encouraged to marry as soon as they are old enough; one purpose is to prevent a young girl from having premarital relations, bringing shame on herself. Most girls, however, do not get married until 16 years of age. Once the girl selects the boy, the girl's parents call a conference with his uncles and brothers to see if his family accepts the idea. If the boy's uncles and brothers agree, then a meeting is arranged with the boy and his parents. A wedding day is set and everyone from the bride's and groom's families assemble at the boy's home. Before this time, the boy and girl are counseled by a wise man about their coming marriage.

The marriage takes place in the boy's house in the ceremonial room. The bride and groom sit opposite each other on a mat and each places a bracelet in the center. The girl indicates she desires the boy by picking up his bracelet; if he desires her, he picks up her bracelet and the marriage ceremony is complete. The boy's parents, however, then ask for a dowry from the girl. The dowry (ghan mnu) varies and depends upon the social status of the boy. The dowry could be a large, flat gong worth as much as 20,000 piasters for a state official, or a buffalo or 5,000 piasters for a boy of good standing. If the girl has no family or cannot pay the dowry, she can live in the home of the boy's parents until she accumulates the amount, a period that may last from 2 to 3 years. At the end of this period, the families assemble, the wise man speaks for the marriage, a buffalo or pig is sacrificed, and then the couple move in with the girl's family.

When boys marry they move in with their wifes' family but may, if they desire, work a separate field. The boy's family may request that the girl stay with them until a second marriage ceremony. This is usually done so that the girl may pay off her dowry when she cannot make full payment at the outset. This period may last up to 3 years.

There are other customs associated with marriage. If, for instance, a wife dies, the husband either marries another available woman in the family or returns to his own family. His children, however, remain with the family of his wife and are the responsibility of his wife's brothers. If the husband dies, the wife continues to raise the children and may remarry.

Although divorce is rare among the Rhade, it does happen and specific rules are adhered to. If the husband breaks the marriage, he must pay his wife double the dowry she paid for him, plus a fine for each child. If the wife breaks the marriage, she must pay the husband the same amount as the dowry she gave his family for him. Since the one who breaks up the marriage must pay, divorce among the Rhade is uncommon.

The Rhade have rules concerning adultery. If the wife catches the husband with another woman, she levies a fine against him which must be paid to her by his family. If the wife is adulterous she is also fined; however, if the "other" man is unmarried, he pays the husband. If both are married, the man must pay his own wife and the woman her own husband; but, in this case, the money passes on to his parents.

A girl rarely becomes pregnant without having a husband to lay claim to, for a boy and a girl having a private affair exchange bracelets in secret. Any denial of this secret marriage results in a heavy fine.

If a man can afford it, he may have more than one wife. In each case, however, he must get the approval of his first wife's brothers since they have the power of correction in all family matters. Women are limited to one husband at a time.

Building a house is a family enterprise. All members of the family who desire to live together pitch in and build a longhouse in accordance with the size of the family. The house is largely made of woven bamboo and may shelter many families. The reward for members of the clan who assist in the construction of a house is participation in the feast given by the family when the house is completed. The Rhade houses are long and narrow, sometimes as long as 400 feet, with an entrance at each end. Family and guests use the front entrance, but only the family may use the rear. The Rhade house is nearly always built running north-south. The houses are also interesting from another standpoint: at the front entrance there is a round pole with steps to assist in reaching the main floor level, about 4 feet above the ground , and is the male entrance. The female entrance is usually a flat, carved ladder with twin breasts and a crescent appropriately sculptured at the top. The women sit on the porch (Bhokgah) to pound their rice with a long pole and a wooden mortar.

A visitor is usually received by the head man of the house in the main room, or tung-gah. The tung-gah is the main sitting room and is used for receptions and ceremonies. You can usually find in an appropriate place in the tung-gah, weapons, tools, ceremonial devices for summoning the spirits, a long hardwood bench, a large buffalo-skin drum, gongs, wine jugs, poles for holding jugs, and a carved bed for guests. Adjoining the tung-gah is the tung-yuan, a guest room used by a female guest or a married couple. Male guests usually sleep in the tung-gah.

The family lives in the rear of the house in a series of private rooms called the adir-pit. The compartments are usually open and face the corridor which leads to the rear entrance. Along the corridor opposite the family quarters are the open fireplaces which are used by each family to prepare its own sa-boh-go (rice pot). The last compartment of the adir-pit is the domain of the elders. A guest, of course, should not enter any part of the adir-pit or pass through the rear entrance.

The size of the house described above appears to be the rule although there are also small houses to be found. Three sources indicate that houses generally are large, while some photos indicate that some houses are much smaller and perhaps house only one or two basic families.

It is the custom, on receiving a guest, to show him to the sitting room near the fireplace and to provide him a mat, the warmth of the fire, and some tobacco. A guest of high standing is offered a drink of rice wine.

Nontribal members and visitors are treated well by the Rhade. It is their custom to furnish their guests with food and drink and they are always welcome until they commit an act that, in Rhade eyes, displeases the spirits or arouses some sort of suspicion.

Children from 9 to 11 help their parents with chores around the house while those, 5 to 8 care for the younger children. Children are taught to be honest, to respect property, livestock, the fields, and the forest. They particularly are taught to respect elders and to refrain from speaking disrespectfully of people or spirits.

The young child grows into adulthood following the same patterns that were followed by his grandfather and father; but, at the same time, he is influenced by prevailing forces from outside the family and village.

The household is usually composed of a grandmother, her husband, her daughters and their husbands and the children of the daughters. Ordinarily a household does not exceed three generations.

Animals are constantly being offered as a sacrifice by the Rhade. Being an animistic tribe, worshipping mostly trees, thunder, flowing water, and the like, the Rhade offer a buffalo or a chicken or another animal to please these spirits. An example is the procedure followed in the feast after a burial. A buffalo is caught, his legs are hacked off at the knees, and after he wobbles around on his stumps for awhile, he is slowly tortured until dead. His head is then cut off and cooked and offered to the spirits. Then the tribesmen rip apart the remainder of the body, and proceed to eat the raw meat very crudely while the blood of the buffalo drips from their mouths.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICINE.

According to visiting village health officials and special forces retrunees, health conditions are poor in Rhade villages. No statistical records are kept on

the rate of mortality and the causes; however, the diseases that most frequently affect adults are malaria, enteritis, diarrhea, smallpox, and leprosy. Childrens' diseases are mainly dysentery, malaria, and whooping cough.

Ignorance of modern health and sanitation practices and the unavailability of proper medicines are contributing factors causing poor health conditions. Medicine is received on a limited basis and some tribespeople are taught how to adminster these medicines.

Tribal clans include a shaman (or witch doctor) who supposedly has the authority or power to cure the sick. Although the shaman is the specialist for prescribing cures, some family remedies are used. For instance, all sores are cleaned with hot water and painted with tree or plant medicines. Boils are allowed to come to a head then punctured and drained. If the boil does not begin to heal, a small hole is burned into the boil with a heated piece of metal.

It is common belief that diarrhea in small children is caused by teething. The remedy for prolonged diarrhea in children requires that a jar and a chicken be sacrificed. Older children and adults are given medicine derived from the bark, roots, or leaves of local trees. If the patient passes blood, he must be given the urine of a scorpion. The concoction is given secretly since very few, if any, will drink scorpion urine voluntarily.

Various medicines prepared from plants are used for coughs, rashes, and to wash out infected eyes.

There are strict rules for lepers which require that they live outside the village limits. Severe action is taken against anyone who shelters a leper. When a leper dies, his house and belongings are burned to the ground.

Both the U. S. Government, through special forces, and missionaries have taken an active part in trying to better health conditions; but of course, their supplies and manpower are limited and, consequently, so are beneficial results.

IX. RELIGION.

In general, the Rhade religion can be described as animistic; tnat is, belief in spirits. They also believe in a god (Ae Die) and a devil (Tang Lie).

The Rhade ask the spirits for help during times of stress and illness in the

family. A Rhade records his promise to the gods by the number of brass bracelets he wears and the number of cuts in his bracelets. The number of cuts indicates the number of rice wine jugs he has promised to sacrifice.

There are no principle religious holidays among the Rhade. Feast days occur when events, such as birth, marriage, or death, take place.

The rituals performed are in accordance with the various events that take place and must follow an exact routine if the spirits are to be pleased. The type of ritual and the wealth of the family determines the sacrifices in most instances. In the case of sickness, the sorcerer determines what is needed for the sacrifice. Naturally, the more serious the illness, the more animals that must be sacrificed.

The worship sites differ according to the circumstance and the ritual being held. For example, a cermony honoring the water god would be held near the water.

A number of religious beliefs and ceremonies are associated with planting, harvesting, and storing the crop. The spirits of Bao and H'bia are considered the keepers of the rice seed and are called on to protect the rice and to insure a good growing season. Other spirits are called upon to bring rain and protect the growing rice from insect damage. There is also a planting sorcerer who is responsible for the sacrifices and the spirits connected with growing rice.

X. ECONOMY.

The tasks of the man and woman of the family are divided somewhat similar to those in our society. The man cuts trees, clears land, weaves bamboo, fishes, hunts, builds houses, carries heavy objects, conducts business, makes coffins, buries the dead, stores rice, makes hand tools and weapons, strikes gongs, and, last but not least, puts the water in jars of rice wine (like mixing martinis). The woman draws water, collects firewood, cooks food, cleans the house, mends clothes, weaves, washes clothes, and makes the traditional red, black, yellow, and blue cotton thread of the Rhade. Both men and women work together in planting, harvesting, and raising livestock.

The Rhade, in their village system, move to a new area when they have used up the vitality of the old area. They look for a good location on virgin soil or on land that has been unused for at least 60 years. Being superstitious, the Rhade evaluate the visions in their dreams before finally selecting a new area. A dream about a small horse means rice will not grow on the new land and that the family will suffer misfortune. A monkey in a dream foretells sickness for the man clearing a new field.

The Rhade recognize the value of wood ash as fertilizer and burn cut material in the fields for 5 days. At the beginning of the rainy season, they plant corn, squash, potatoes, cucumbers, eggplant, and bananas. When these crops are all in the ground, they plant the rice.

There is a village code, the Buon, which establishes the rules for borrowing and caring for animals. Stud fees for bulls are the first and third calves and the fee for a boar is three piglets. If the sow dies, however, the piglets are divided equally.

There is neither a strong desire nor a traditional or cultural value placed on saving, and saving occurs only when there is an unforseen excess of production over consumption. On the average, the largest shares of saving are used for ceremonial and prestige purposes rather than productive activities. If money is available, it is used to buy gongs, drums, wine, jugs, cows, or elephants. These objects are all symbols of wealth and prestige.

The only tax enforced is a tax against the family owning an elephant.

XI. POLITICAL.

Towards the middle 1800's Europeans began to settle in the highland plateau. The Rhade and other mountain people resisted these forces to about the same degree as the Indians resisted the coming of the white man in North America. The French Government then instituted a Domaine de la Counne, where the French planters came in to exploit the resources; and the Vietnamese were practically barred from settlement.

Following the peace treaty of 1862, the French divided the plateau area into a number of provinces, each with a French administrator. The French mainly concerned themselves with the economic development of the area.

With the Geneva Conference of 1954 and the establishment of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the problems of establishing a rapprochement between the Montagnard and the more culturally advanced Vietnamese in the coastal areas became acute. The government has taken measures to incorporate the highlanders into the political organization of the new society. It is evident, however, that the southern highlanders resent the Vietnamese.

XII. SUBVERSION.

After the Geneva Conference in 1954, it was estimated that five to six thousand Rhade joined the Communists. Also, nearly 75 percent of the Rhade doctors left to join the Communist Party in North Viet-Nam.

There have been reports of Rhade and Vietnamese Communist agents in the villages. They gain acceptance by taking part in village activities. Naturally, Rhade agents are rather easily accepted, while the Communists from the north have been known to file off their teeth to comply with the Rhade custom and to wear Rhade clothes to gain the villagers' confidence.

In general, the propaganda of the Communist agents is antigovernmental in nature. The issues that the agents emphasize concern the government's lack of respect for the mountaineers and the promises made by the government which the agents claim will never be carried out. They point out that in the north the government has formed an autonomous state for each minority, and they promise to do the same for the mountaineers in the south if they help support the Viet Cong.

Rhade succeptibility to Viet Cong propaganda and infiltration tactics may be reflected in the incident concerning the Rhade attack on Ban Me Thuot. (See chapter 1, Relations with the Central Government.) Without question, this revolt was in part prompted by natural grievances against the Vietnamese; but there are some indications that the Viet Cong were instrumental in bringing the Rhade to the boiling point and planned the rebellion. In this connection, it was noted that during the revolutionary activity, there were no Viet Cong attacks on the camps involved.

It should be noted, however, that the Rhade is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation of Autonomy" from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Rhade and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

The psychological approach is more fruitful when trying to get a Rhade to do something. To obtain his enthusiastic response, it is necessary to appeal to his imagination and make him believe the spirits approve the endeavor.

Signs and drawings, as opposed to written appeals, must be used in leaflets becuase of the high illiteracy rate among the Rhade.

There are some radios in the various villages but not enough to make radio a primary means of conducting psychological operations.

As a rule the Rhade are resistant to any form of routine work. They will, however, enthusiastically contribute energy to community projects. Propaganda

and psychological warfare themes should indicate a picture of one helping his village as well as pleasing the spirits.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

Any civic action program that is to be followed should take into consideration Rhade superstitions and beliefs.

The Vietnamese Government has made efforts to induce a change in the habits and customs of these tribespeople without regard to the consequences. Since November 1963, the central government has apparently become concerned with the effects these changes will have on the attitude of the people.

Currently, the government has approached the Rhade concerning their attitude in learning other languages such as French, English, and Vietnamese. The Rhade response indicated acceptance of the idea of sending their children to school to learn a foreign language.

The attitude of the local population toward aid and technical assistance, which appears in the form of new supplies, organizations, and personnel from the outside, is generally favorable.

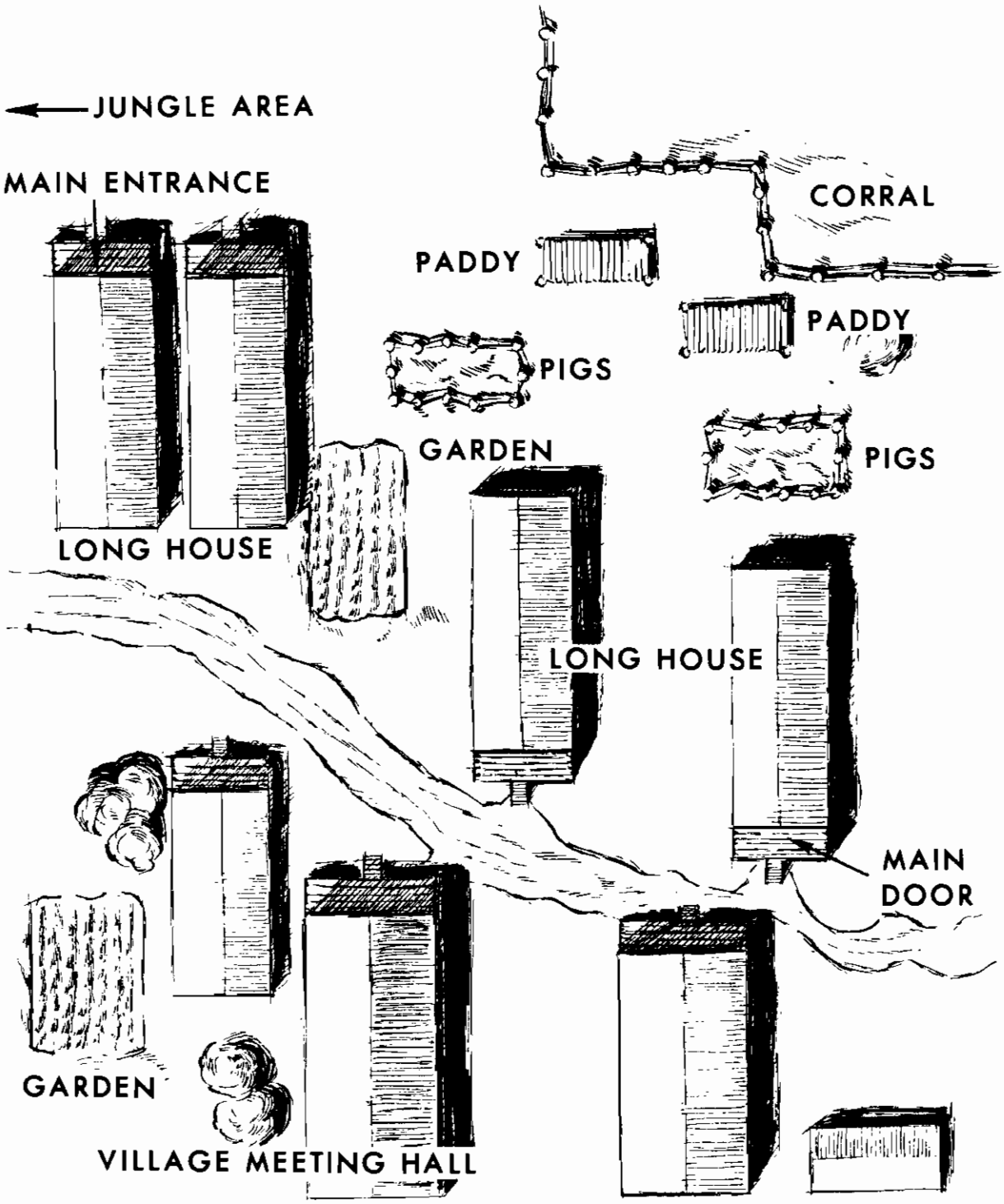
The Rhade are favorably inclined toward some changes which could be the beginning of their ultimate acceptance of a partnership in the development of a stable, safe, and free Republic of Viet-Nam.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

Some hamlets employ a courier responsible for reporting the presence of any strangers who may be sneaking into the village. This courier receives no pay and carries no weapon.

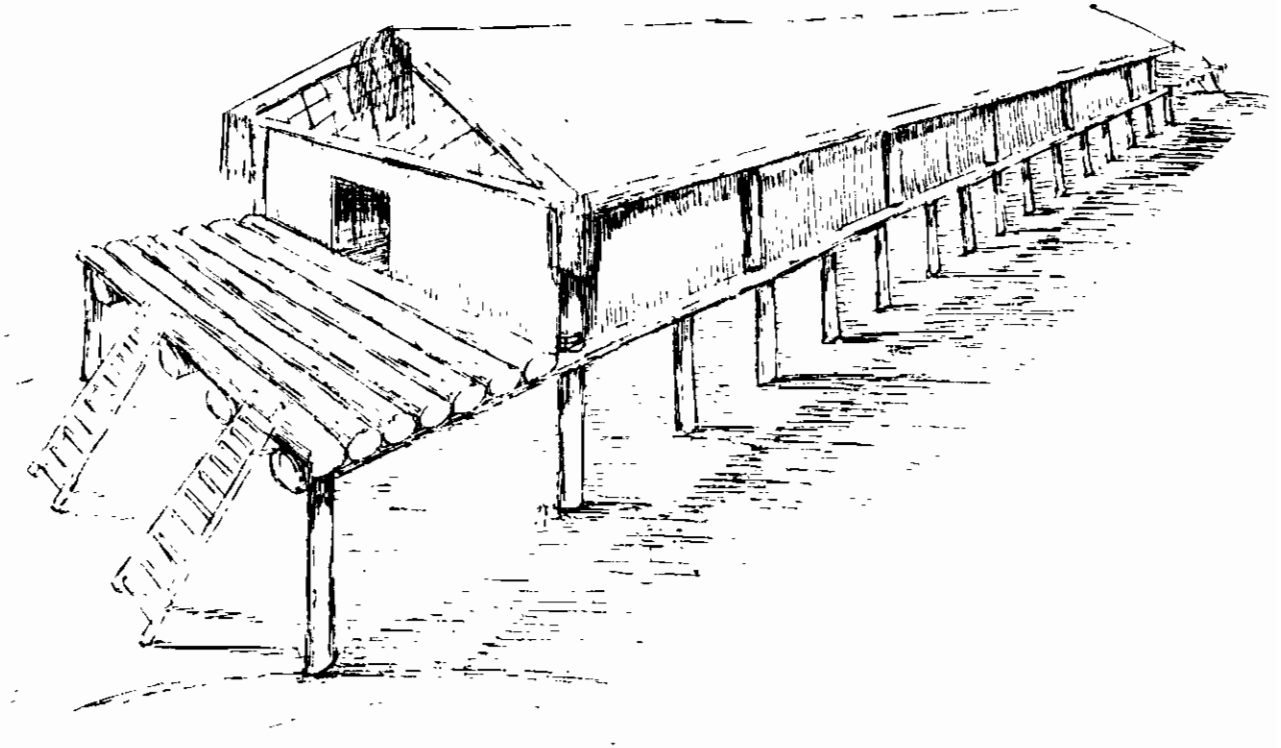
The ability to absorb and put to use any military insturction and training is limited but worth developing.

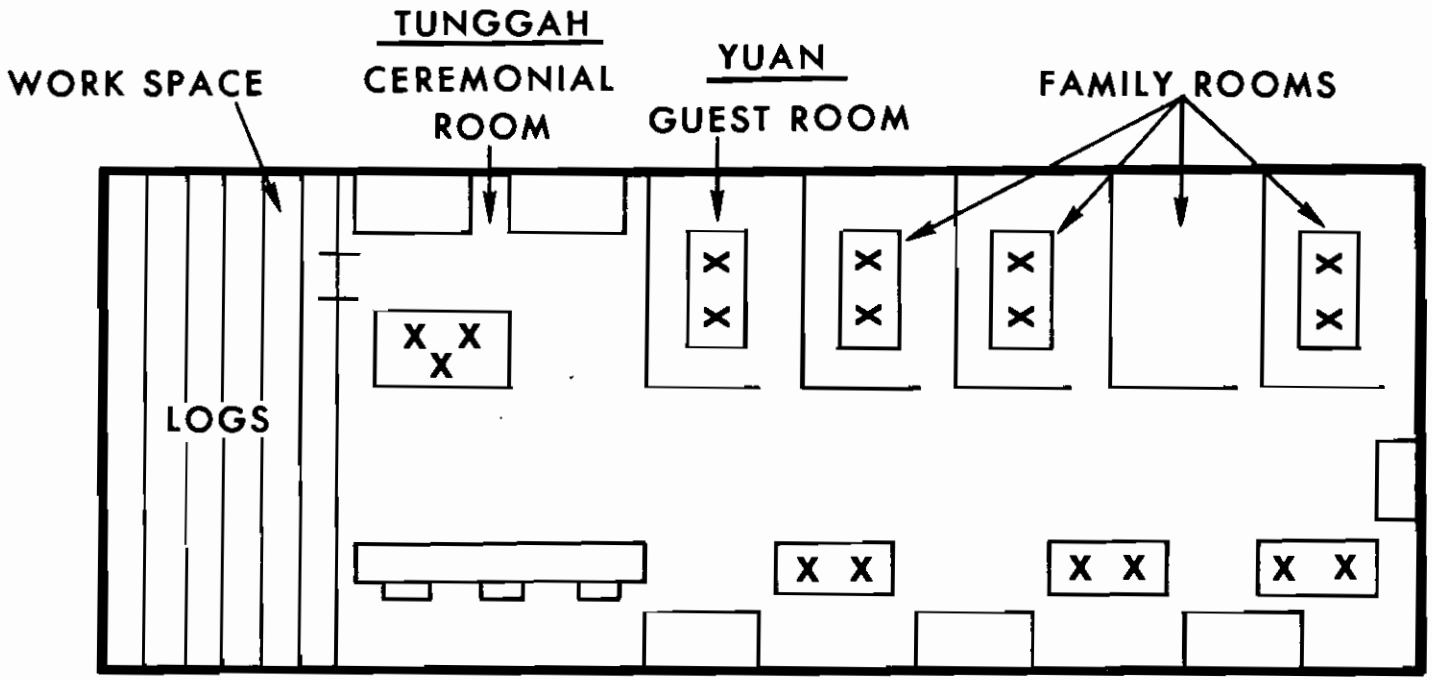
The Rhade, because of their knowledge of the mountain area and terrain and the people who live there, could be useful in aiding troops.



RHADÊ VILLAGE

THE LONG HOUSE OF THE RHADÊ





RHADÊ LONGHOUSE

Chapter 12

THE RAGLAI

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Raglai is a small tribal group related to the Cham, Rhade, and Koho tribes. The tribe is separated into a northern and a southern group with a Cham-speaking group between the two. The Raglais are divided into three subtribes: the Agglai, the Tring, and the Lre. The mores of the Raglai have been strongly influenced by the Cham, the Koho, and the Rhade. There is an estimated 31 to 40 thousand of these people divided between the northern and southern settlements. They live in scattered little villages in southwest Khanh-Hoe, northern Bink-Thuan, and northeast Lam-Dong, with the northern group being in the mountainous area inland from the coastal city of Nha-Trang and the southern group inland from Phan Rang, south of Dalat.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

See map for location of tribe in relation to other Montagnard tribes.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The language of the Raglai is Malayo-Polynesian with northern and southern dialects. The language is mutually intelligible with some of the dialects of the Rhade and the Jarai. Additionally, tribes speak French or Vietnamese. A description of the language structure is impossible because no written language exists.

IV. HISTORY.

There are no written records of the tribal origin; However, legend states that in the beginning there was a great flood and only one man and one woman survived, originating the tribe.

In resettled, mixed villages the Raglai seem to hold to their own customs and traditions. It is interesting to note that a major factor in tribal migration is the fact that the Raglai will not plant crops 2 years in succession in the same plot. They will, however, return to the plot after a period of 5 years or more. This seems to indicate that the tribe will migrate from and return to the same general area on a cyclical basis.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Raglai have a matrilineal family structure. The male lives with his in-laws and works for the benefit of his wife's family.

Inheritance follows the matrilineal system also. In each family the oldest daughter is the legal heir to all the wealth and property. Married men of the family have no rights of inheritance in the family to which they were born. Should the oldest daughter die without leaving a legal heir, her husband must marry the deceased's sister to regulate the transfer of wealth and property. Should the surviving husband refuse to marry the sister, he is cast out with only a hatchet and a basket: the usual objects brought by a husband into the in-laws household when he married.

On a larger scale, a village is usually made up of one family group, each household being related to the other. The people in the village elect a chief and he becomes the leader of that group. The village has its own set of tribal laws which the people enforce. Most of these villages have little knowledge of the other village locations, even of their own tribe.

Formal education is very limited among these people. Schools are found only in the resettled villages created by the Vietnamese Government or in the Christian villages where a missionary is on hand. Education in the normal Raglai village comes from imitation of the parents by the child. The child learns the responsibilities and duties assigned to either a female or male.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Most Raglai have dark skin, black hair, and are of medium height: about 5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 9 inches, with the female being shorter than the male.

One source indicates that the Raglai can out-work the Vietnamese, carry heavy loads, and learn quickly. The best method of instruction is visual in order for them to imitate the instructor's actions.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The Raglai are rarely grouped in hamlets. Each family occupies a hill, and the houses are separated from the others by approximately 500 to 700 yards. Several houses may also be built on the bank of a brook or stream and constitute a village.

The marriage initiative is taken by the male, who is free to choose his wife. A young man can live openly at his love's house and work with her, and her parents may not oppose this decision. After a time judged sufficient to become acquainted with each other, the man declares his love officially by offering the girl a present. The acceptance of the present constitutes her consent. At this point, the girl informs her parents of her decision to marry the man, and talks about marriage are begun between the two families.

Precocious marriages are frequent in the region of Phan-Ly Cham, in Binh-Thuan Province, and sometimes assume an absurd form. It is difficult to imagine a young boy of 17 to 20 years of age marrying a 2-year old child or making a marriage proposal when the child is yet unborn; however, the Raglai consider this phenomena to be a form of happiness.

When a woman is pregnant, the husband goes into the forest to find leaves and roots of a medicinal (to him) plant. He dries this in the sun and serves his wife a tea made from it. The husband takes personal charge of the childbirth. After giving birth the wife is allowed only 3 or 4 days rest and then she returns to her daily work as usual.

Death is a ceremonial occasion for these people. When a death occurs, the deceased has the right to a coffin made from a tree trunk only if he is a member of the village chief's family. This privilege, however, is not extended to the simple villagers who, at death, are wrapped with a blanket made from the bark of trees. The burial itself is very simple and, as in other Montagnard tribes, the grave is preserved for a certain time, after which an abandoning ceremony puts an end to all preservation work. After the abandoning ceremony the deceased is forgotten.

The Raglai, like other Montagnards, have special ceremonies and festivals. For them, there is only one season for drinking rice alcohol, and it occurs from December until April following the harvest. During this period of merrymaking, collective meals are organized on the intravillage level, and it is not surprising to see the people of an entire village amuse themselves in another village many miles away. For 4 months, their major ambition is to get drunk and stay drunk. The drinking season is also the occasion when tribal ceremonies are more intensely practiced. At this time everyone gathers and dances to the rhythm of chants and the music of trumpets and gongs. The larger orchestras containing nine gongs, are rarely used except for ceremonies of the greatest importance. A buffalo is butchered, then everyone who can hold a knife cuts a slice and grills it over the fire.

The Raglai clothes and finery have recently undergone a change which brings them closer to the Vietnamese in one aspect: a taste for striking colors. The housing is similar to other tribes in that they are built on pilings, but the houses are no more than 4 feet in height. They are narrow and filthy for the most part. The Raglai also know how to use bowls and dishes for their meals, except for a minority who use little sacks woven from a kind of cane.

The Raglai are an innocent people and, in dealing with nontribal members, they are very hospitable and surprisingly frank. The visitor is often received with great courtesy and invited to take part in the family's meal. Each individual ration usually consists of a bowl of vegetable soup, and each member eats alone consuming his portion. The visitor is invited to drink some rice alchohol at ritual ceremonies; this he must accept for fear of insulting his host. Those who do not know how to drink or cannot drink are required to furnish some good explanation to the village chief and then, despite protestations, he must drink the glass offered him.

The Raglai have several taboos. They abstain, for example, from using the iron plow or "coupe-coupe" (cut-cut) knives for breaking the soil. They believe that a god named Nhang reigns supreme in the fields and should not be threatened with cutting. The transportation of the dead or sick across the fields is forbidden. Gathering of firewood is done only after the harvest, when the granaries are already filled. Some interesting details which might be of importance in dealing with these people are: Never place the basket, normally used as a kettle support, on a child's head for fear that the child will later be devoured by beasts. Never use a family's kitchen utensils to prepare a meal in another home. Do not serve food contained in pottery kitchen utensils. During a feast, if you are offered a glass of alchohol, you must return a glassful to the person who did you this honor. Abstain from bathing or doing the wash in a stream when downstream there are women performing the same work.

They have discontinued the practice of filing the front teeth, but the women still pierce their ears to hold massive earrings.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

As in all Montagnard tribes, health and medical problems are tremendous. Only in the resettled village are there any provisions made for medical care. Some nurses have been trained and sent to various villages; but on the whole, the people rely on age-old remedies based on the preparation of leaves and herbs which have been handed down from generation-to-generation. Missionaries who

operate in the various areas are training bright tribesmen to work as nurses among the people. According to reports, the Raglai are very receptive to medical assistance when it is sent to the tribal villages, but not if they must travel some distance to a dispensary.

IX. RELIGION.

The religious customs of the Raglai are similar to that of the other Montagnard tribes. "Nhang" or "Yang" is, for the Raglai, a kind of god who controls the tribes destiny. Everything that happens on earth depends on him and him alone; and this is why, with every incomprehensible phenomenon, with each simple everyday occurrence, or with each calamity which ravages the village, there is but one thing to do: beg for his blessing.

Until recently, the Raglai believed in the power of sorcerers as do the other tribes, but the practice of consulting sorcerers is almost nonexistent now. The Raglai also worship their ancestors and have a great respect for their elders. They consider certain objects as gods and carry these objects around with them in a basket for protection. These people have no special events which would cause them to worship together in large groups. Worship tends to be an individual or family matter.

X. ECONOMY.

Each village of the Raglai tribe is, for the most part, self-sufficient. The basic crops are rice and corn, and each family is responsible for its own share of the crops. Within the village is one man who is the blacksmith. His job, in addition to growing his rice or corn, is to make the tools needed by the people. The tools are either paid for with money or through barter. The Raglai do not weave cloth; therefore, this is one of the few items obtained through intervillage trade.

XI. POLITICAL.

Before the resettlement of the tribes began, the people of each village elected their own village chief who conducted the affairs of the village. Now the central government chooses a village head man to conduct the affairs of the village. In some instances, there are two village chiefs. The one whom the people elected and the one chosen by the government. The chief chosen by the central-government soon over-shadows the other because the people have to deal with him in matters concerning the central government, and he is more directly associated with material assistance. In the line of authority, the village chief answers to the district chief. On the whole, the people care little about what goes on outside their village.

XII. SUBVERSION.

There is insufficient information at present to indicate whether or not, or in what degree members of the Raglai are sympathetic to or actively supporting the Viet Cong.

It should be noted, however, that the Raglai is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation on Autonomy" from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Raglai and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATION.

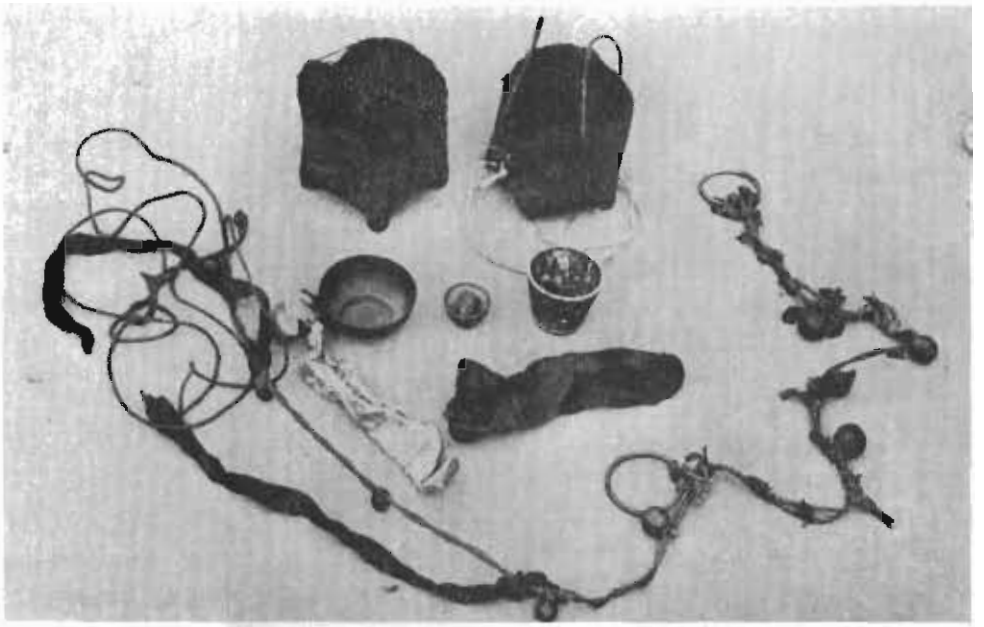
Illiteracy among the Raglai makes radio or personal contact the only effective means of disseminating information. In the resettled village there is a radio provided for communication with the central government, but it is doubtful if those villages which have not been relocated have any radios.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

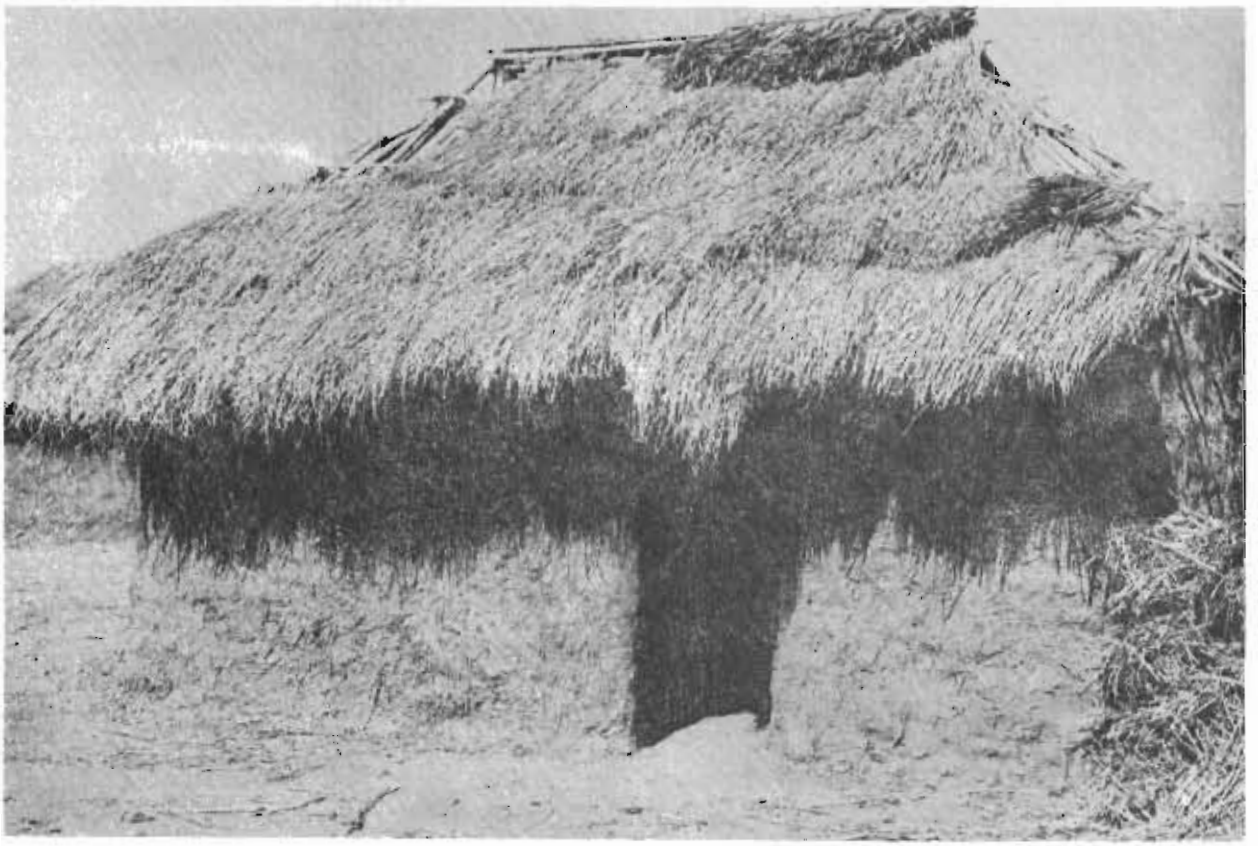
The Raglai are willing to accept innovation and help. There are various programs which could be instituted dealing with sanitation, medical care, and school construction. One program started in Vietnamese villages teaches the villagers how to breed chickens and hogs to build up the economy; this could also be done among the mountain tribes.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

Returnees report that the Raglai would make good soldiers. They accept training and are willing to follow instructions. Their knowledge and "feel" for the mountain areas would be indispensable to troops operating there. Until recently tribes fought with each other in order to settle disputes. This would indicate that they accept battle as a means of satisfying certain problems; that they are not afraid to fight; and that they would probably be effective if they had the weapons and were organized.



Unknown objects above are worshipped as dieties by Raglai.



Single-family Raglai house, usually on pilings.

A young Raglai man, with load of fire wood on way to market.

Chapter 13

THE SEDANG

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Sedang, estimated at between 40 thousand and 80 thousand, living in Kontum, Quang Nam, and Binh Dinh Provinces, are about fourth in size among other tribal groups. Ohe tribe calls itself HA (rl) NDEA (rg).

The tactical importance of the Sedang lies in their knowledge of the jungle-mountain area where they live and in their ability to move easily about the jungle. They would make excellent guides and scouts for conventional units or good paramilitary soldiers if trained and well led.

Strategically they are located in the rugged country that makes up the Republic of Viet-Nam-Laotian-Cmabodian borders. These people are the key to holding this area in any counterinsurgency effort and would be of great help in any conventional military situation in that area.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The area inhabited by the Sedang is part of the rugged central Anamite Mountain chain that runs north-south through central Viet-Nam. This area is characterized by narrow river valleys and steeply rising mountains with sharp ridge lines.

The rivers are deep and swift; there are many rapids and waterfalls. This makes the rivers navigable only to shallow draft native dugouts.

Route 14 is the main north-south road in the area, and there are some east-west roads branching from it. These generally go only short distances. Most roads in the area are trafficable the year-round except on the northern part of the tribal area.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

There is some argument among the experts on the subgroup of the Sedang. Some say that the Rengao, Hanang, and Hre are part of the Sedang tribe, while most say they are not.

The Sedang divide themselves into Danja, To Drah (''those that live in the sparse forest''); the Kmrang (''those that live in the dense forest''); the Quong; and the Cor (also known as the Ta Cor).

The Sedang language is one of the basic Mon-Khmer group. It falls into the Bahnaric subgroup with the Jeh, Hre, Cua, and Bahnar. There is no written language with possible exception of some work by the missionaries in developing a written language so the Bible can be printed. This is a long-term project involving constructing the language and then teaching it to the tribespeople through a school system.

There are no tribal alliances or enmities, but there is some mingling between tribes with contiguous borders. The Sedang that border on other tribal areas can communicate with the other groups to some extent. Some Vietnamese tradespeople know the Sedang language. The possibilities of learning the Sedang language without direct contact with the tribe would be slight. It would take long months of careful study among the people to understand the construction and pronunciation patterns before someone could be effective with the language.

A few of the Sedang learned French before 1954, while serving in the French Army or at special schools run by the French. Some have learned Vietnamese through their contacts with them after 1954. These people are the village chiefs, the more aggressive traders, or the men who have served in the Army of the Republic of Viet-Nam. This language skill is not widespread and is generally limited to spoken and not written Vietnamese.

There are no known interpreters who can translate from English to Sedang. There is generally at least one extra step involved, say from English to Vietnamese and then by another interpreter from Vietnamese into Sedang. This type of interpretation has certain comic overtones, but great caution should be used to insure that the word gets through with the meaning intended.

IV. HISTORY.

Little is known of the factual or legendary origin of the Sedang or of their growth and development. It is known that the Sedang were a warlike tribe and engaged in intervillage warfare and attacks against other ethnic groups in the past. They violently resisted the movement of the French into their tribal area during the pacification period of the 1930's.

The Sedang remained isolated from the French and Vietnamese until the 1930's. Up to that time they resisted any cultural, economic, sociological, or political influence from the outside. There was a mingling and overlap among the Sedang with the other tribes adjacent to them.

After the 1930's the French and Vietnamese came into the area. The contacts between the two divergent cultures increased: benefiting the Sedang culturally and the French and Vietnamese economically.

The Sedang migrate only to the extent necessary to procure new ground for farming. These migrations are local in nature and do not often occur. The central government is causing an artificial migration by attempting to resettle the Sedang from the more isolated areas into areas that are controlled and protected by the government. The Sedang tribal areas does not lie in close proximity to any present national boundaries, and their movements are not extensive enough to carry them across any international boundaries.

It is not known if the tribe or village restricts the movement of individuals or groups within the tribal area.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Sedang observe neither the patriarchal or matriarchal system in the family relationship. The division of labor in everyday life is roughly as follows:

1. Agriculture.

   a. Men prepare the fields and make holes with digging sticks.
   b. Women plant seeds.
   c. The whole family participates in the harvest.

2. Nonagricultural duties.

   a. Men.

The extended family is the basic unit in the Sedang culture. The family owns property and land and they buy and sell things to other families. This family is made up of all older parents and unmarried children, and they share one house. The house chief is a male and his wife is the ritual chief of the house. A system of kinship does exist to some extent. No kinsman may eat of the flesh of an animal paid for by a fellow kinsman as this would be cannibalism. Kinsmen cannot fine one another with livestock for this would be an indirect form of cannibalism, presuming that the animal would eventually be eaten.

The Sedang are quite dependent on the family in matters of important decisions that deal with economic matters or the well-being of the group. They are quite independent in their dealings with outsiders and have the ability to live alone in the jungle or apart from their families, if the need arises.

The placement within the social structure seems to be by birth: being born into a wealthy family or the family of a chief. Wealth and education give a person a great deal of mobility within a society.

The family is responsible to the village in matters concerning the whole village; but they recognize no power or governmental structure higher than the village chief. A village consists of all who drink from one water source.

The method of selecting leaders is not known but, the village chief is the seat of the strongest power among the Sedang. The chief represents the village to other villages and to outsiders, officiates at rituals and is the village war leader. He is the final authority within the village for settling disputes among families. If he feels that a sacrifice is needed to atone for a sinful act, the effects of which would fall on the whole village, he can order the member or his family to do this. The whole village participates in the sacrifice. If the individual or family refuses to abide by the chief's judgement, they can be expelled from the village and forced to live alone in the jungle.

Each person can own his personal objects such as tools, gongs, jars, and livestock. The mountain dry rice and other dry cereals are "sacred" and are owned by the family while the maize and wet rice grown in the river valleys can belong to the individual.

Items that belong to the entire family are not affected by the death of individual members of the family. It appears that items that belong to an individual pass to the family upon his death.

Cultivated land and land lying fallow is the property of the family that cleared the land. Uncleared land belongs to the village. If a family desires more land they would have to get permission from the village before they could clear it. Any decision to sell or rent the land would have to be approved by the village.

Marriage negotiations are initiated by the boy through his parents and an intermediary. After the arrangements have been made, the parents give a feast, during which the promise of marriage is announced and both parties drink from the same jar of rice wine. The actual marriage feast is at the groom's house.

The groom may go to the bride's house to live and while there he must work for her family without charge and even has to buy his wife's milk to suckle their children. The bride could also move into the groom's house and work for his family and have to pay them for her own milk to suckle their children. There is a great desire on the part of both families to have the new couple move into their house as to get the extra economic power and manpower of added members.

If the couple desire to leave the house they are living in, they must make a ritual sacrifice and buy their way out.

Divorce is permitted, but it is rare. Polandry and polygyny are permissable in the Sedang culture but are rarely practiced because the first spouse must approve of the arrangement.

The Sedang permit love-play, short of intercourse, during childhood and adolescence. Homosexuality and bestiality are permitted without punishment. If a couple is discovered or confesses to having intercourse before marriage, they must pay a fine in livestock to the village to be used as a sacrifice to appease the spirits. There are children's games, some involving sex play.

The older children of the family play a major part in the care of infants. Discipline is early and harsh. Parents have been known to rub pepper into the eyes, vagina, or foreskin of the penis. As soon as the children are able they are given responsibilities. A boy of three might help watch water buffalo; or a small girl might carry water, clean, and help care for the younger children. The children are taught the responsibilities and skill of their sex starting early in life. The boys go to live in the communal house and are taught male skills such as basket-making, fishing and hunting, and jungle craft while girls stay at home and learn the required skills of cooking, cleaning, and tending the small animals of the family.

The Sedang can be considered illiterate because they have no written language, with the exception of some few who have learned other languages. They have a slight grasp of the concept of numbers. They can count small numbers but are very vague about larger numbers and have almost no concept of simple arithmetic: adding or substracting. They can learn to use and operate tools, weapons, and vehicles skillfully without understanding the principles involved.

There is no formal system of education within the tribe: but they demonstrate the desire to learn anything that will improve their way of life. Their education consists of oral instruction passed from one generation to another. All of the economic and survival skills necessary for life are passed on by members of the adult family to their children. People with special skills, such as iron forging, teach youngsters in an apprentice-like position.

The general intelligence level seems quite high, and they have the ability to grasp and retain instruction if it is presented in a careful manner. The Sedang have a talent for imitating that can be used to an advantage in teaching small groups, using repeated demonstrations and insuring that instructions are understood. Then allow the student to try their hand at doing whatever is desired of them: this method generally brings satisfactory results.

The Sedang may have the ability to grasp abstract concepts if they can be demonstrated. One source cited the example of a 17-year old Sedang girl who understood the Copernican system after it was demonstrated with a candle.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Sedang are short, well-built, with light brown skin. They have "blood-shot brown" eyes with no Asian features.

They have a great deal of endurance in accomplishing the tasks needed in every day life: walking, with or without heavy loads; chopping, pounding rice, and the like. They tire quickly when doing what is not common to their life, such as running or rope climbing; but they have good coordination in such things as throwing a ball or grenades, running, and other activities not common to their culture.

The Sedang are very good with their hands. They can weave very fine designs in cloth or bamboo. They have great skill in working with the products of the jungle in producing items needed for survival.

They do not appear to have any physical characteristics that could limit the types of weapons or military equipment they could use. Considering the rugged terrain and the climate, the Sedang are quite industrious. They build many decorative things for their villages and go to great lengths to build and maintain bamboo pipe systems to carry water for their crops and villages.

The tribesmen are generally trusting people until one person, group, or ethnic group have dealt with them dishonestly or in any other way mistreated them.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The Sedang live in longhouses built on wooden pilings off the ground. The house can be entered from either end by use of a log that has been notched to make a crude ladder. On the end of the house is a platform that is used for pounding and winnowing rice. As you enter the house you go into a large common room where the house hearth is located. This is where the cooking and entertaining is done. Further back in the house are compartments where the individual families live. The house is divided into two sections: the "upper" house, which is sacred; and the "lower" house. Rice, considered sacred, is prepared in the "upper" house before being carried to the "lower" house.

The Sedang communal house is, comparatively, a magnificent structure. It has a giant roof with concave sides and ends that rise to heights of 100 feet or more. The interior is one large room with a sand box fireplace in the center of the woven bamboo floor. The room is surrounded by a low wall, leaving an opening between the wall and the roof. Bachelors sleep in the communal house, and the village treasures are kept there. Its walls and ceilings are hung with drums, gongs, and other sacred things. The communal house was usually a command post during intratribal wars.

The village will generally have a defensive fence around it for protection against jungle beast and human attack.

The dress of the Sedang is utilitarian in nature. The strict tribal dress is a loin cloth for the male and a wraparound skirt for the female. During the cold weather a crude shirt is sometimes worn by either sex. The Sedang have rapidly adopted some parts of Western dress. Shirts and pants are popular among the men. Parts of French uniforms are still worn, and warm clothing is particularly sought.

The Sedang have no taboos against the drinking of alcholic beverages, in fact they seem to lean toward the other extreme about drinking. It is part of their religion that rice wine be consumed at all sacrifices. There appears to be a great deal of social drinking among the men and they welcome any excuse to sit down and drink.

There seems to be no taboos about the place of women in their society, with two possible exceptions. They are not allowed to go into a communal house where the bachelors live; attention toward a woman by outsiders is resented.

One taboo or custom that is peculiar to the Sedang is that he will sit by and watch his house burn to the ground and make no attempt to put out the fire. He will extend a red cord around the fire, if the fire stops, all is well; if not, the spirit being manifested by the fire is still angry, and will subside only when "it" is no longer angry. This belief often leads to entire villages being wiped out, while the inhabitants sit by and watch.

Childbirth occurs outside of the house while the woman kneels over a shallow pit and clutches an upright bamboo pole. After the child is born the umbilical cord is cut and the afterbirth is buried. Until the mother suckles the child it is considered inanimate and may be killed. This is often done with illegitimate children. If the mother dies at, or shortly after childbirth, the child will generally be killed and buried with the mother.

Another custom is the infrequency of baths. A Sedang will bathe only once a year and then only after the sacrifice of a buffalo. This is to appease the "river spirit" for the terrible thing that will happen to it when the entire village goes in for its annual bath.

Funeral ceremonies among the Sedangs assume a complicated character which defy all rules of hygeine. They believe that death is not the end at all and that the deceased continues his life elsewhere, perhaps in another world. This explains why their funerals are always preceded by an equitable sharing of goods and furniture. When an individual dies, his corpse is placed in a tree trunk carved in the shape of a coffin; the lid resembling the roof of a house. The cadaver is kept for 3 to 5 days according to whether the family is rich or poor. During this period, buffalo and cattle are killed as offerings, and meals are placed next to the coffin. Internment is in the least frequented corner of the forest: the coffin is laid either on trees or on four stakes firmly driven into the ground. The Sedang abstain from doing their daily work and remain at home for 3 days after the burial. Entrance into the village is forbidden to strangers during this period.

Any nonindigenous person, working closely with the Sedang, should attempt to find out the significance of any ceremony or sacrifice in which they are invited to participate. This may avoid becoming involved in a regrettable situation. When tribal sacrifices or ceremonies are being held, one should not barge in uninvited.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

By modern health standards, the general health, sanitation, and hygeine of the Sedang are exceptionally low. They seem to have no health improvement practices. The tribespeople are affected by most of the tropical diseases found in Southeast Asia. They have malaria, dengue, and other fevers; internal parasites of all kinds; leprosy; skin ulcerations; extreme eye infections; and many other ills too numerous to mention. There seems to be no tribal cures for the maladies other than sacrifices to appease the spirits whom they believe cause the illness.

The central government, with U.S. aid and advisors, and the missionaries are attempting to improve health through programs of treatment and education. The Sedang react to medical treatment very well and soon learn that it is a better system than the sacrifice of animals.

Resistance to disease and infection among the tribespeople is very low. This can largely be attributed to their poor diet and the lack of a preventive immunization program sufficient to cover the tribal areas.

Clothing and shelter requirements vary with the season: the range is 40 degrees in the dry cold months to 100 degrees plus in the wet hot season. This means that a shelter should provide relief from the harsh tropical sun and torrential rain as well as the chill of the cooler months. Light tropical clothes should be supplemented by a sweater or light wool shirt and light, warm sleeping gear.

About the only rule for giving medical aid is: Do not force it where it is violently opposed. It is better to try and convince the village chief that your medicine will not harm the people, but help them. If he is convinced he will get the other people to submit to treatment.

The best rules for nonindigenous personnel to follow are simple: Make full use of all preventive medical measures before entering the area, follow the rules of good personal hygeine and sanitary food preparation as rigidly as possible.

IX. RELIGION.

The Sedang religion is animistic, and they believe that all things around them have spirits residing within the objects, capable of causing them harm if the spirits become angered. Anything that cannot be explained is attributed to the spirits and causes fear among the tribespeople. This anxiety should be treated with great caution by people working with the tribe.

There seems to be three significant religious times each year for the Sedang: two in March and one in May.

Toward the month of March, the villagers hold a celebration called "From the Drop of Water." This occurs when they repair the troughs that collect water from distant sources for the village. These troughs sometimes cross mountains and hills like true pipelines. This occasion could not be more solemn. The villagers have pigs, buffalo, cattle, and poultry killed for the feast; and while they are eating, they have people dancing to the rhythm of traditional music played on gongs.

The Sedang also have a ceremony of repairing tombstones during the month of March.

The "Fire Festival" occurs during the month of May when the forest is burned to obtain new "rays" (mountain rice fields). This is another occasion to offer sacrifices and to consume heavy meals.

The spirit worship of the Sedang is one of the biggest stumbling blocks to their progress. The constant drinking of rice wine and sacrificing of livestock drain away the economic life blood of the village and prevents them from accruing any wealth with which to improve their lot.

The idea of spirit "causes" for all happening has hindered the advancement of learning up to a point where the culture is not moving forward; it may in fact be regressing.

The Sedang have no known religious prohibition on warfare or physical conflict.

There has been some missionary contact which began in the 1930's after the French pacification of the Sedang. Both Catholic and Protestant groups are working with the tribe and are having some success with their religious and medical work.

X. ECONOMY.

The Sedang economy is agricultural and based on one primary crop: rice. They cultivate upland (dry or mountain) rice and practice paddy cultivation where bottom land is available. Millet is an important secondary crop. Each house generally has a "kitchen garden" where they raise maize, onions, yams, and leafy green vegetables. They also hunt and fish in order to supplement their diets. They raise a variety of domestic animals and use some for food but most for sacrifices. These animals are water buffalo, cows, pigs, dogs, and chickens. There are some villagers who may spend their time in basket weaving or iron working.

The Sedang will barter among themselves and from village to village using gongs, jars, drums, and other articles having spirit value as items of exchange. Among the tribespeople they trade for tools, cloth, livestock, and weapons. From the Vietnamese they buy cloth, salt, trinkets, tobacco, and dried fish using the national currency. They are sometimes cheated in trading because they do not understand the currency system.

The Sedang extract, smelt, and forge iron in a crude and limited way. They forge spear points, knives, farm tools, and other small items needed in every day life. Iron working has some sacred aura to it, and the man who forges iron is believed to have some magical powers. They make excellent baskets in all shapes and sizes for use in farming and carrying products to and from the markets.

The distribution of wealth seems to be quite equal among the villagers. Some may accrue more wealth than others, but most buy jars, gongs, and other things

for spirit worship that have no real value. One group who seems to accrue some wealth are those who leave the village to seek an education or government employment. The difference is that one group doesn't consume their rice crop and livestock in drinking and sacrificing and the other group kills most of their livestock needlessly and drinks up one-third of their rice crop.

XI. POLITICAL.

There is no system of taxation among the Sedang. The nearest thing to taxation occurs when an individual or a family is required to provide an animal sacrifice to appease some spirit they are believed to have angered.

The population control measures placed on the Sedang by the central government are the same as for any Vietnamese. Identification cards and village census require that heads of household be able to account for all of the people that are suppose to reside in his house.

In the 1880's the Sedang, Bahnar, and Jarai were united in a loose federation by a Belgium adventurer named Mayrena. He attempted to establish an autonomous area in the highlands and declared himself "Marie I, King of the Sedang." The affair was short lived when in 1889 Mayrena went back to Belgium and the French denied him permission to return to Indochina.

Outside influence of a political nature on the Sedang has been recent. The French administration attempted to tie the villages to the French administrative structure and later drew them into the Indochina war where they fought on either side. After the French defeat in 1954, the government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has been trying to draw the Sedang into government controlled areas where they can be armed and trained to defend themselves against the Viet Cong. By the same token, the Viet Cong have been trying to draw the tribespeople away from government control.

XII. SUBVERSION.

The Sedang are troubled by the stresses put upon them by both sides during the present conflict. They seem to react well in combat if they are well-trained and led. They will take orders from those in command. The Viet Cong have had agents working in the Sedang area presumably before the French defeat in 1954.

These agents joined the tribe, married, and live among them. They act as political organizers and go from village to village telling the people what the Viet Cong can and will do for them as opposed to the current government of the Republic of Viet-Nam. These agents have won over many of the remote tribesmen, and

behind them come the military agents to organize and train the converted tribesmen to fight against the central government. If these agents can do no more than keep the Sedang neutral, they have helped their cause greatly.

It should be noted, however, that the Sedang is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation on Autonomy" from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Sedang and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

Oral communication is the principle means for disseminating information between the members of a village or between villages. The Sedang would benefit very little from having radios and movies unless broadcasts and films were in their own language. The problem of language almost completely rules out the use of written material except for cartoons or pictures.

The Sedang have a great fondness for music. They make interesting, rhythmic music with their gongs.

Face-to-face contact by a storyteller would be the best psychological warfare approach with the Sedang. He would have to know the language and the tribal culture to be effective.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATION.

The Sedang will accept innovation if it brings them a better standard of health or farming.

There are also agricultural programs to improve livestock and farming techniques. These programs are very well received by the Sedang.

The largest portion of any medical program with the Sedang should be education in simple sanitation principles for the handling of human wastes, food preparation, and water purification. More training is needed in personal hygeine and first aid, teaching members of the villages to use items on hand or readily-available, simple drugs. Education is still the biggest factor in raising the health standard of the Sedang.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

The tribe has been subject to propaganda, armed attacks, and terrorism for many years. Given the means, they will resist any outside influence.

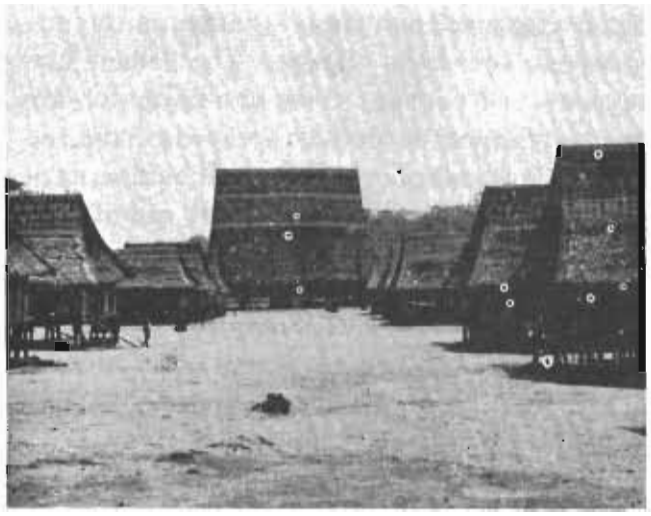
The Sedang fortify their villages by placing traps and punjai stakes on the approaches and by building a system of fences around the village. The Sedang use spears, swords, and crossbows as weapons. Of course, these are no match for modern weapons. They have also had some training in modern weapons from the French and from the current government. Large numbers of the tribesmen have been trained under the CIDG program by the Vietnamese with the aid of U.S. Special Forces.

The tribesmen have a natural ability with shoulder weapons based on their training as hunters using the crossbow. They can also learn to use crew-served weapons with proper training. They have no fear of handling weapons or explosives.

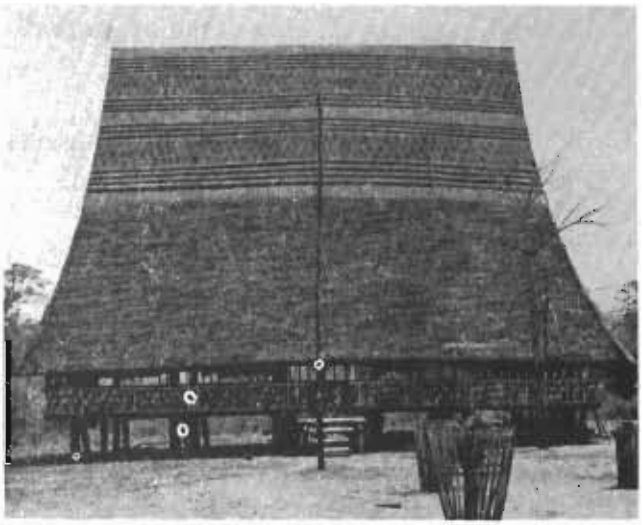
If they are trained and well-led, they will fight the Viet Cong aggressively and on their terms: raid and ambush and by seeking him out in his safe areas and bases. There is almost no organization or leadership among the Sedang above the village level.

The tribesmen can move and survive with relative ease in the jungle for long periods if forced to by the situation.

The Sedang have a high potential in any insurgency or counterinsurgency situation within their area; in fact, they are the controlling factor if their tribal area is to be secured under government control.



Sedang village, DAK SUT, KONTUM, 1960, with communal house centrally located in the background.



A close up of the above communal house. Note fish traps in foreground.

Inside the communal house for unmarried men.

Sedang boy, vicinity of DAK SUT district headquarters.

Sedang woman and child
at Kon Bring.

Sedang man in his finest ceremonial
clothes, KON BRING.

Chapter 14

THE STIENG

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Stieng constitutes one of the more important tribes in the southern portion of Viet-Nam, being the fifth most significant of the highland tribes, numbering some 23,000 in Viet-Nam alone. There are also approximately 40,000 tribesmen of the Stieng in Cambodia.

The Stieng are concentrated in some 650 villages in the provinces of Binh-Long, Phuoc-Long, and Quang-Duc near the Cambodian border. Subgroups of the Stieng are called the Budip, Budeh, Bulach, and Bulo. In addition, there are some Stieng in Bien Hoa and Thu Dau Mot, although they call themselves Tho or Ta-Mun.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The terrain in the Stieng territory varies from low foothills in the northeast to flat grasslands in the southwest. The mountains are covered with jungle growth. The lowlands are comparatively open and cultivated. Formerly French-owned rubber plantations are scattered throughout the south and western portions of the Stieng territory.

National Route 13 runs north-south in the west near the Cambodian border, and National Route 14 runs southwest to northeast in the east through the mountains. Small roads and trails are generally lacking.

Numerous rivers and streams are in the west and mountain streams are prevalent in the east. The principle river in the area is the Song Be.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The spoken language of the Stieng tribe is Stiengan, which includes the Budip, Budeh, Bulach, and Bulo dialects. This is not a written language and is limited to only a few thousand spoken words. It belongs to the Mon-Khmer language group and is similar to the languages of the Muong and Koho tribes. In some cases, Stieng tribesmen can communicate with the Muong and Koho even when each is speaking his own language. Stiengan has some similiarity to Bahnar, but

to a lesser degree than to Muong and Koho. Bible translator groups are currently attempting to make Stiengan into a written language.

Because many Stieng tribesmen formerly worked on French rubber plantations, French is fairly well known within the tribe. Generally speaking, there are one or two tribesmen per village who can speak French. Cambodian is also spoken, but to a lesser degree than either Vietnamese or French.

IV. HISTORY.

There is little history available on the Stieng tribe, but there are many well known legends among the people concerning their origin.

The Stieng refer to all of their paternal ancestors as their "grandfathers." The original grandfather, according to their legend, was a dog. The "grandfather" dog married a woman and from this union sprang the Stieng tribe. There is no explanation as to where the original woman came from or how she was created. Peculiarly enough, dogs receive neither special consideration nor hold an exhalted position, even though the Stieng are supposed to have descended from them.

Another legend concerns the Stieng language. It relates that one day all the men in the world were on a raft floating down a large river. The raft was overturned and each man drifted a different way and each landed at a distant point from the others. Out of this separation grew the different languages of the tribes and of all peoples.

There are other legends concerning the origin of man, one of which substitutes an elephant for the "grandfather" dog.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Each Stieng village is divided into three groups: the notables, the villagers, and the slaves.

The village chief, called the Ca-Zep, enjoys unanimous respect, admiration, and deference from the villagers who consider him as their father. In some cases, the village chief may control more than one village but normally his power is limited to his own village. He is directly responsible to the administrative authority of the Vietnamese Government for the administration of the village.

The administrative authorities--the district or province chiefs--are always Vietnamese. In rare cases, the tribal chief may be hand-picked by the Vietnamese Government.

When there is a dispute between the village chief and the notables which cannot be resolved, a new chief will be picked from among the notables. This new chief will take over leadership of the dissident faction which will leave the village in toto and settle elsewhere. The old chief will retain control of the loyalist villagers.

The jural authority stems from the family. The head of the household has legal jurisdiction over all members of his family. Disputes between families, however, are handled by the traditional heirarchy of the village tribunals. There are two types of village tribunals; those of the first degree and those of the second degree.

First degree tribunals are composed of the village chief and two village elders. These tribunals judge cases where the punishment amounts to the equivalent of two buffalo or less. In case the contending parties are from separate villages, both village chiefs must preside. No kin of the contending parties may be on the tribunal and there must be no partiality shown by the members of this tribunal.

Second degree tribunals are composed of two members from heads of households and by an unspecified number of other older men of good character and known integrity in the village. These tribunals are convened to judge cases where the punishment amounts to the equivalent of more than two buffalo.

The court meetings are normally run by the injured party rather than by a judge. The court discussion is normally centered around punishment rather than the degree of guilt. Stealing is considered to be a particularly heinous crime.

Slavery remains one of the more unique characteristics of the Stieng society. The formation of the slave group is rather interesting. There are four sources from which slaves may come:

1. When there is a fight between two villages, all prisoners for whom ransom is not paid by their families will become slaves. As such, they can also be sold.

2. The inhabitants of a village who are taken as hostages are considered slaves unless they are immediately redeemed.

3. Orphans may be sold as slaves by their grandparents or by their uncles and aunts to pay off indebtedness.

4. Persons convicted of witchcraft may become slaves.

The slaves must work to enrich the property of their owner without hope of payment. In some cases, the slaves are given a pittance for their work. In the present day, slaves are sometimes treated as simple servants or as members of the family. Formerly, slave-hunting expeditions were conducted into the neighboring regions; but this custom is disappearing rapidly.

The Stieng have a patriarchal society, and the man remains the head of the family and may make his own free choice of a wife. Polygyny was formerly practiced a great deal in this region. The husband could take as many concubines as he wished, provided, of course, that he first obtained his legitimate wife's permission. If the wife's permission was not granted and the husband nevertheless took a concubine, the wife had the right to institute divorce proceedings and the husband would be required to return all of the wedding presents.

A Stieng allows divorce for those couples who cannot remain on good terms with each other. This privilege is withdrawn when the couple have children, although divorce can still be granted under other customs even if the couple have children. The divorce is announced in the presence of the two marriage witnesses and in the presence of the two families concerned. The husband must institute the divorce proceedings under this custom. Even if the wife gives her consent to the divorce, the husband must pay a compensation valued at one pig and one jar of alcohol. In addition, the husband must pay the wife a sum of 500 piasters. This indemnity is called the tam ndruh or damages for lost virginity. If the wife provokes the separation, she must return half the wedding presents to her husband's family. If the wife asks for the divorce, she is required to make full restitution of the marriage presents and must, in addition, pay a compensation valued at one pig and one jar of alcohol. In this case, the care of the children is given to the husband. Because of the damages which run to a rather high cost, the wife's parents nearly always refuse the divorce. On the whole, divorce is rare because of the prohibitive cost.

If the husband abandons his family to marry another woman, he will be brought to justice and must pay damages to his first wife. In this case, the wife would keep any children born of the marriage.

In Stieng communities, infidelity is a crime subject to harsh punishment. The punishment depends on the circumstances under which the crime was committed and on the traditions of each region. It is interesting to note, however, that the husband's infidelity cannot be grounds for a divorce. The guilty husband must pay his wife one rooster or hen in damages. Opposed to this, if the wife is caught in the act of adultery, she must pay a fine which is determined in consideration of the locale where the deed was committed. For example, if adultery were committed in the forest with a known man (from the same village), the fine is 10 to 12 thousand piasters plus one pig and one jar of alcohol. This fine is doubled if the partner is a stranger. If adultery is committed in the house of the wife, she is considered as a slave and loses all her rights and preogatives in the household. Her partner is required to pay the husband four buffalo and pay the village one jar of alcohol.

Any boy convicted of seduction and impregnation of a minor must pay a fine of 10-thousand piasters if he refuses to marry her. He is also compelled to maintain her at his expense until the child's birth. If the boy is not capable of paying the imposed fine, he will become the slave of the girl's family.

The patriarchal system ascribes property rights and furniture possession to the man. The distribution of the inheritance upon the husband's death, however, depends essentially on the settlement he made during his lifetime of the debts due on the wedding "presents." If these debts have been settled, the inheritance will be divided among his grown children who will be required to support their mother. In case the children are still minors at the time of their father's death, administration of the inheritance will be confided to the wife, under the control of the husband's family. On the other hand, if the husband did not settle these debts, the wife has the right of ownership of the goods bequeathed.

In general, the Stieng society allows the widower or widow to remake his or her own life. However, the widow is allowed to marry again only if her husband failed to make full payment during his lifetime for the wedding presents. In case all payments were made, the widow is compelled to marry the brother of her deceased husband, even if this means relegation to the rank of concubine. A refusal to follow this tradition automatically requires full restitution of the dowry to the family of the husband.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The average Stieng is about 5 feet 4 inches tall and has dark brown skin, black hair, and deep brown eyes. Some Stieng tribesmen have been found who were 5 feet 8 inches tall, but these were the exception rather than the rule. Many Stieng have tatoos on their bodies; this is especially noticeable near the Cambodian border. The tatoos have no special significance other than a decoration. Stieng who have lived close to the Vietnamese wear their hair relatively short; those who live further back in the jungle have long hair.

The males are muscular and well-built and have exceptional endurance. They work long, hard hours which contributes to their endurance.

Psychologically, the Stieng are a happy-go-lucky people and get things done without hurrying. Generally speaking, they are slow and methodical; and it is nearly impossible to make then hurry. For the most part, they keep their feelings to themselves and very rarely will there be any show of personal emotions. The Stieng are also uncomplaining and accept their lot in life without a great deal of fuss, bother, or emotion. They are extremely loyal to each other with village loyalty being considered more important than tribal loyalty.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The oldest member of a married clan is considered as the head of the family. Each family lives together in a large thatched house, divided into compartments to lodge individual households of the family. In some instances, however, there will be two or three families per house. These long houses are more prevalent in the western portion of the Stieng territory. Further to the east, there are small, individual houses.

In the village resettlement program, entire villages have been built by the Vietnamese for the Stieng. These village houses are built directly on the ground. The Stieng resent this and prefer to have their traditional houses well off the ground on stilts.

In some cases, marriages take place at a very early age; but the couple will not live together as man and wife until the male is able to support a family. When a marriage is being considered, talks between the two families concerned are begun through intermediaries. If the girl's family accepts the proposal and the conditions of the wedding ceremony, each family selects a witness who is

well-versed in the marriage customs and mores of the tribe. In the marriage ceremony, a string is wound around the fist of the husband and of the wife; this gesture symbolizes the good which must forever seal the couple's union in the presence of the genii. The spirits are also asked to bless the union with health, wealth, and numerous offspring. A feast is then held in which all of the village participates. This ends the ritual ceremonies. The fare served at the feast depends upon the wealth of the groom's family: the rich have buffalo and pigs butchered and buy several jars of alcohol; for the poor, a few pigs and one jar of alcohol must suffice.

If a man marries a slave, he is required to obtain three additional pigs as offerings for the wedding feast.

After the wedding ceremony, presents are given to the newlyweds. These "presents." however, must be paid for by the husband sometime during his lifetime. They usually consist of: 1 servant (a slave); 1 "Srung" jar, for rice wine; 1 saber and 1 javelin (worth 1 buffalo); 1 gong (worth 1 buffalo); 1 very old "Djri" jar (worth two buffalo); 1 skirt called a "sarong" or a 5-meter copper wire; 10 large bowls; 20 small bowls; 1 copper bowl; 1 large glass-beaded necklace; 1 small glass-beaded necklace; 1 copper necklace; and 1 spool of thread.

In the case of polygamous families, each wife will have a separate living compartment within the house. Each wife cooks for herself and her own children. There are generally two or three cooking places within each house. These cooking facilities are normally on the ground with access through a hole in the floor. In most houses the beds are built along the wall of the room and sometimes run the entire length of the room.

The tribesmen wear loin cloths while they are in their villages or in the jungle; when they go into a Vietnamese village they wear clothing similiar to that worn by the Vietnamese. The predominant colors of the loin cloths are red, white, and black. The Stieng wear bracelets and beads, but none are used to distinguish them from other tribal groups of the Montagnards.

Childbirth is attended by a midwife. She receives no reward from the family which she has served; this work is done in the spirit of fellowship.

Abortion by the expectant mother, either planned or accidental, may lead the husband to sue for divorce. The guilt is placed on the wife who must return the wedding presents and pay a fine valued at one pig and one jar of alcohol. The

inadvertent death of a newborn child has the same consequences as an abortion. The wife must, in addition, pay a fine of one jar of alcohol and one buffalo to the village.

There is generally one specific place within the village designated for sacrifices. Alcohol jars are normally located near the sacrificial area. Other than this, there seems to be no pattern of organization within the villages. Nearly every village is marked by a warning sign to scare away outsiders. This sign is generally a split stick with a piece at the top, made in the form of a cross. The signs are located on the primary approach to the village.

Except for a relatively advanced minority, the majority of the Stieng do not yet know how to use bowls and chopsticks for their meals. Their preferred dishes are grilled and sometimes food is eaten uncooked. To satisfy a basic need for salt, the Stieng eat marine salt dissolved in boiling water, brine purchased at the market, or vegetables and frogs which they cook in salt water.

Like the Cambodians, the Stieng practice the cult of the genie, NETTA, whose statue is placed in the pagoda at the entrance of the village. There are no socerers; only mediums who watch over the worshipping.

Annual holidays are numerous: there are four principal ones which are celebrated with a great deal of ceremony. These are: the festival of the genie Netta, taking place around the first month of the lunar year with each family making an offering in the village pagoda; the Chung Mieu, a festival held in the communal pagoda; the Pha-Bao, a festival during which an offering is made to plead for exceptionally good luck in fishing in order to better their daily diet; and the festival of the good harvest, held around the twelfth month of the lunar calendar. It is the year's principal festival. Sacrifices of 40 to 60 buffalo, plus pigs, are common. Neighboring villages are also invited.

Superstition remains the principal cause of taboos for the Montagnards of the Stieng tribe. These practices remain the cause for the lack of progress and even the regression of these tribes.

The Stieng taboos are generally the same as those found elsewhere among the Montagnards. Two peculiar ones are to be noted:

First, when an iguana or poisonous snake happens to enter a rice field, even at harvest time, the land is immediately abandoned; and second, if the oldest son

of a family dies prematurely, the family must never again eat turtle-doves or salted fish.

Another stringent taboo is that of incest. Marriage between brothers and sisters, uncles and nieces, and aunts and nephews are strictly forbidden. Marriage between cousins is also to be avoided.

There are a number of important taboos against entering a household or a village. These are: strangers are forbidden to enter a newly moved village for 7-days after its construction; it is forbidden to bring in jars of paddy, alcohol, and other specified foods for 7 days after constructing a new village; for 7 days after the construction of a new house, all food must be cooked under the house and a number of specified foods are forbidden to be taken into the house.

An interesting custom of the Stieng's is the manner in which a death is handled. When a death occurs, the striken family has pigs and poultry slaughtered in preparation for a meal to which all the villagers are invited. Once the feast is ended, all leave in search of a tree trunk suitable for hollowing out into a coffin. The mortal remains are kept in the house for 2 days. During this time the family continuously eats and drinks alcohol. After the 2 days of eating and drinking, the burial takes place. The grave is covered with a roof of leaves supported by four pillars.

There are several other customs and taboos which should be noted. When a visitor enters a village the first thing he should do is to pay his respects to the village chief. Because the village chief's house is no different from the others, is is easy to confuse it with the others.

Visitors should be especially watchful for signs or indicators outside of dwellings which would indicate sickness in a family. An indicator of sickness might be a certain vine or plant hung by the entrance-way.

If the father of a family has recently died, words which rhyme with the father's name should not be used in the presence of the family.

A visitor should never accept an invitation from a female to enter a Stieng home; the invitation should come from a male, even if the head of the household is not present. Before entering the home, the shoes should be removed.

It is perfectly acceptable for an outsider to pat children on the head, but children must be treated with a great deal of respect. Visitors should also show a great deal of outward friendliness towards children.

Some other customs and taboos which might be of interest to outsiders are:

1. If someone sneezes in a house, no one can go outside of the house immediately or he will encounter some evil spirit.

2. Entering the house of a sick person may cause his death.

3. Children cannot eat black rice-birds or their parents will die. There is no taboo, however, against grown people eating these birds.

4. Three or thirteen pigs or chickens born of one litter cannot be raised. These numbers are considered bad luck in this connection, but there is no other evil connotation implied by these numbers.

5. If chickens spend the night outside of their cages, they must be destroyed the next day.

6. Egg embryos are considered quite a delicacy, but they are not to be eaten by young women.

7. Cats cannot be bought, but money may be given before or after they are accepted. This is done to "fool" the former owner of the cat so that the cat will not return to him. Cats are considered as valuable as a small pig.

8. In speaking to a husband, one should never mention the names of persons in the wife's family. The third person singular can be used, however, such as "the brother of your wife," "the mother of your wife," etc.

9. Parrots flying over a village indicate that an attack by an enemy tribe is imminent.

10. Stieng believe that the world is flat, the sky is solid, stars are hung in the sky by string, and that the moon and the sun are guided across the sky by ropes.

11. It is believed that all rivers run to an end, which is a great hole in the ground. There are people who are always on guard at this hole to prevent it from becoming clogged. If the hole becomes clogged, there will be a flood.

12. When a baby dies, it's forehead is marked with ink or ashes. When children with birthmarks are born to other families, these are the marked dead children come back to life.

13. A wasp's nest will be hung by the doorway of a home to scare away evil spirits.

14. Certain trees, deep in the woods, are haunted. The Stieng will take large detours to avoid these trees. Trees of the same kind, located in a village, however, are not haunted.

15. Waterfalls are also haunted and every effort will be made to avoid them.

16. Yellow termites cause skin disease. If the nest of termites can be discovered and destroyed, the disease will be cured.

17. Several curses that should not be used are: "May a tiger bite you," "You are a son of a tiger," "You are a son of a witch." These curses are used only against violent enemies.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The most prevalent diseases are malaria, pneumonia, leprosy, and impetigo. The mosquito control program has apparently not reached into the depths of the Stieng territory because malaria is still rampant. Pneumonia is probably caused by a combination of climatic conditions and lack of suitable clothing.

There are no special tribal remedies, other than superstitions, which are used for curing sickness. Bathing is a relatively new innovation among the Stieng; and personal cleanliness has helped to lower the disease rate, especially skin diseases. In many villages there are native "doctors." Anyone can become a "doctor" if the right spirits moves him, but there is not necessarily one in each village. In cases of illness, the "doctors" are called upon to perform sacrifices and sing their chants. Special chants are used to drive away the "spirits" of the disease. The chants are known to and used only by the "doctors" and may go on for hours on end until the "doctor" swoons and faints away as in a trance.

IX. RELIGION.

The religion of the Stieng tribe is based on the belief in a number of spirits, some of whom live in bamboo thickets. The practice of religion is centered in the family group which performs all of the religious rituals.

Of particular importance among the Stieng is the fear of witchcraft. A person guilty of witchcraft is called a cak and is said to eat the liver of his or her victims, thus causing death. Upon the unexplainable death of a person, or upon the death of a person suspected to be the victim of witchcraft, an exhaustive search for the sorcerer is started. All of the close kin of the victim and the household heads of the village meet in the forest. There they conduct a special sacrifice and include special prayers to assist in the capture of the sorcerer. A divination ritual takes place before each house in the village. A bamboo stick with a small weight attached is used for this ritual. When the divination stick indicates that a particular household harbors the cak, the punishment will be imposed on all members of the household. If the cak is a male, he may be executed and his children sold into slavery. Witches are also very often tortured.

Another method of determining witches is by dropping burning lead into the palm of the suspect's hand. If the lead burns all the way through, then the suspect is determined to be guilty.

Another particular fear of the Stieng is that of the lah cang rai. A lah cang rai is one who is guilty of bringing the wrath of the spirits on the village. This is generally caused by violating some taboo. As soon as the guilty party is found, he must immediately make expiatory sacrifices or be guilty of all of the subsequent misfortunes that the village might incur. In case the suspect refuses to make the required expiatory sacrifices, he is subject to severe punishment.

The cow has an exhalted place in Stieng society, but they are not considered sacred.

X. ECONOMY.

The economy of the Stieng is extremely primitive. Rice is cultivated upland in swiddens, a remote marshy region. Hunting and fishing are the main sources of livelihood. Fishing is generally conducted year round, but it is important during the rainy season. In some areas, poison arrows are still used for both hunting and fishing.

Each individual has his own property for farming. The clearing of the land for farming is done by the men. The women and older children are used in the planting and harvesting of the crops. The 8-to-10-year old children stay home and take care of the very young while their parents are working in the fields. Those crops that are not consumed in the village are sold to the Vietnamese at the nearest market. Rice, fish, berries, and fruits are among the items sold. Cattle will very seldom be sold because they are an indication of great wealth and are a prestige item.

Everyone does every day jobs so there is no need for specialized occupational groups, except perhaps for the weavers and pottery makers. Baskets are woven primarily for the use of the tribesmen; they occasionally will be sold to the local Vietnamese. These baskets are used as containers or as carrying devices. Other baskets are woven for hunting purposes and for fish traps.

Vietnamese currency is used in trading; but animals are considered more valuable than money and, therefore, are more often used in buying and selling.

A man's wealth is also measured by the number of slaves and the number of sons which he has.

XI. POLITICAL.

The Stieng have a definite political organization within their tribes. As has been mentioned, each village is controlled by a village chief, called the Ca-Zep. The village "parliament" consists of the heads of the autonomous households of the village. These households are most often inter-related and have common interests and goals.

The Stieng villages are not tied together by any political organization. Occasionally, one village chief will control more than one village; but this is not common.

The Stieng question the village resettlement program. They claim not to understand the reason behind it and prefer to be left alone to conduct their own lives the way they see fit. There is an apparent need to explain the reasons for their resettlement. Most realize that they have very little earthly riches now, but they seem philosophical about their fate and have no real aspirations to better themselves. Their primary needs are to have adequate water, nearby fields where they can farm without having to go long distances from their village, adequate food to carry them over in case of crop failure, and, more recently, sufficient medicine to keep their death rate down.

XII. SUBVERSION.

Most of the Stieng villagers appear to be ignorant of the aims of the Viet Cong and have no understanding of the meaning of the conflict going on in Viet-Nam today. For the most part, the Stieng consider this war to be just another of the many wars among the Vietnamese and want no part in it.

The Stieng tribe has not been greatly influenced by the Viet Cong and there are few indications that tribesmen have joined them. Most of the Stieng feel no obligation to join either side, preferring to let the Vietnamese carry on their own war. They appear indifferent as to the outcome.

There has been little evidence of successful propaganda by the Viet Cong directed against the Stieng.

It should be noted, however, that the Stieng is one of the tribes supporting the "Proclamation on Autonomy" from the Vietnamese which is reproduced in chapter 1. Strained relations between the Stieng and the Vietnamese can be anticipated.

XIII. PYSCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

Villagers respect wealth and large families. There are no colors which should be avoided, but red and black are those which are preferred.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

There are two specific fields of civic action which have been attempted in dealing with the Stieng: an attempt to improve their sanitary and health facilities, and an attempt to educate the people.

Sanitary conditions among the tribesmen are generally deplorable which is one of the primary causes for their relatively short life span. Attempts have been made to teach better ways of sanitation; but, in many cases, the tribesmen are so accustomed to their own habits and customs that it is nearly an impossible task to make them change their ways. Wells have been dug with the assistance of USOM, but the Stieng still persist in using contaminated water sources. Medicine has been readily accepted, but there are few Stieng who understand the application.

Schools have been set up in many remote areas among the Stieng villages. Enrollment has been small and there have been quite a few drop-outs. These

drop-outs are due primarily to the fact that the children are badly needed to help the tribal families earn a living. It is the concensus of returnees that if the Stieng can be given at least 2 years of education, a great deal can be accomplished. This small goal, however, is far from being realized. Several Stieng have been trained as teachers and are being used very effectively.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

Although the Stieng are now a relatively peaceful tribe, they were once very fierce and warlike. Being strong, hardy, and rugged out-of-doors people who like to hunt and fish, they have a good potential as paramilitary forces. They have an excellent knowledge of the terrain in their respective regions and a good sense of direction. Physical fear is practically unknown to the Stieng; their only real fear is of the tiger.

Occupying a key position along the Cambodian border, the Stieng are in a good position to interdict Viet Cong infiltration routes into the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Perhaps the most important single problem in making the Stieng into an efficient and effective paramilitary force is their lack of motivation. It is the consensus of returnees that drafting Stieng for a paramilitary organization would not invoke a strong negative reaction among the tribesmen.

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