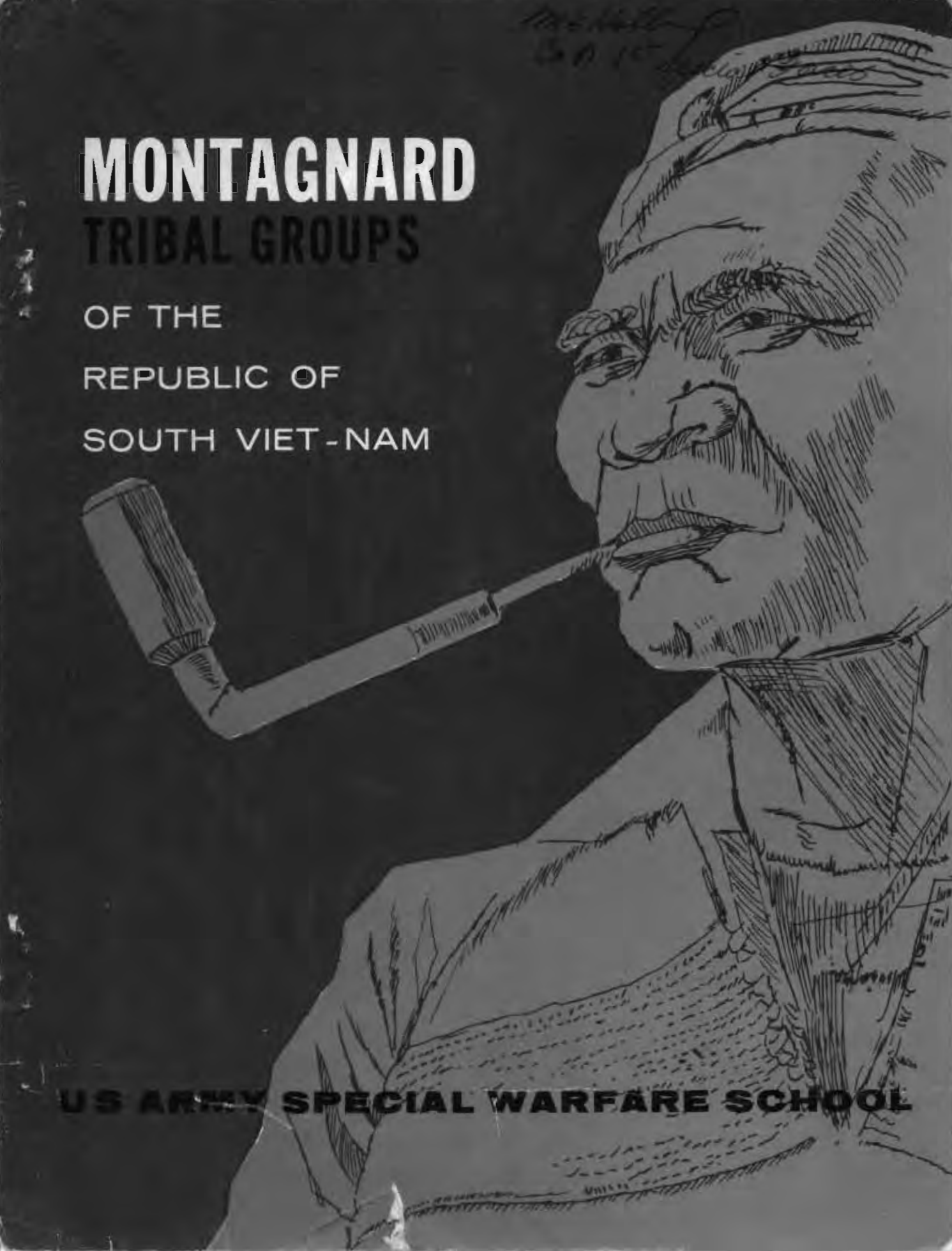
MONTAGNARD
TRIBAL GROUPS
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF
SOUTH VIET-NAM



US ARMY SPECIAL WARFARE SCHOOL

MONTAGNARD TRIBAL GROUPS
of the REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET - NAM

Prepared by
The United States Army Special Warfare School
Fort Bragg, North Carolina

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PREFACE

Depending upon which books you read, you may know that there are "nearly 50," or 37 or 22 tribal groups in the Republic of Viet-Nam. This study discusses in some detail 13 of the Montagnard tribes and would have included 16 but for the paucity of information about three. As it is, the information about three of the tribes included in the following chapters is of marginal value since so little has been reported about them.

The tribes treated in this document were selected first because there was some information available about them but also because of their strategic importance, their relatively large numbers, their location, and the size of the area that they occupy.

The purpose of this document is to assemble between two covers more information than has been previously compliled on the more important tribes, and to structure it for use by military personnel generally and special forces advisors in the high country of Viet-Nam in particular.

The study was conceived, researched, written, and published within 2 months. It could not, consequently, include information from foreign language documents because there was no time for translation. It does not include sources in Viet-Nam or in the archives in Paris: time again preventing more complete research. Sources used include special forces returnees from duty in the tribal areas of interest; libraries, either personal or of any organization admitting to one on our subject including the Library of Congress and the Southeast Asian Collection at Yale. Our sources also included anyone, civilian or military, who had been to the high country, returned, and was willing to talk about it.

This study follows a definite outline of information throughout each chapter. There are areas where information is not available or where the available information could not at this time be fully documented. In these instances, we have simply stated, "Upon completion of more thorough research and evaluation of presently available information, a report of findings will be published at a later date."

To aid you in your reading, this study has been compiled around nine basic considerations of each tribe: an introduction, geography, ethnology, history, social structure, individual characteristics, customs and taboos, health and medical, religion, economy, and political. In instances where the information was available and reliable, the studies have included four additional considerations: subversion, PSYOP considerations, civic action considerations, and paramilitary capabilities.

In reporting the available facts about each of these considerations, we recognize that there is some duplicity of material under more than one heading: for instance, certain customs and taboos might also be repeated under health and medical because of the tribe's concern with a taboo having to do with medical treatment. However, we have tried to limit such duplications; and it should be recognized that for guidance in associations with the tribes, each chapter should be treated as a whole rather than segmented parts.

Perhaps a final word of explanation is needed as to why a research project of this type, normally in the domain of cultural anthropologists, has been conducted by the Special Warfare School. 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 one of understanding. Warfare, thus directed, is warfare against ignorance and suffering. It is thus to be hoped that this book will be a step toward an understanding and alleviation of the miseries of those tribes discussed within it.

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors of this publication owe 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, to be 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; Les Populations Montagnardes du Sud-Indochinois by Dam Bo (Jacques Dournes), and the USIS pamphlet, Montagnards of the South Vietnam Highlands.

In an advisory and liaison capacity, the help of Special Operations Research Office (SORO) was inestimable. Printing was facilitated by the cooperation of the 1st Psychological Warfare Battalion, and the 66th Engineer Company (Topo), both of Fort Bragg, North Carolina. 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 works 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.

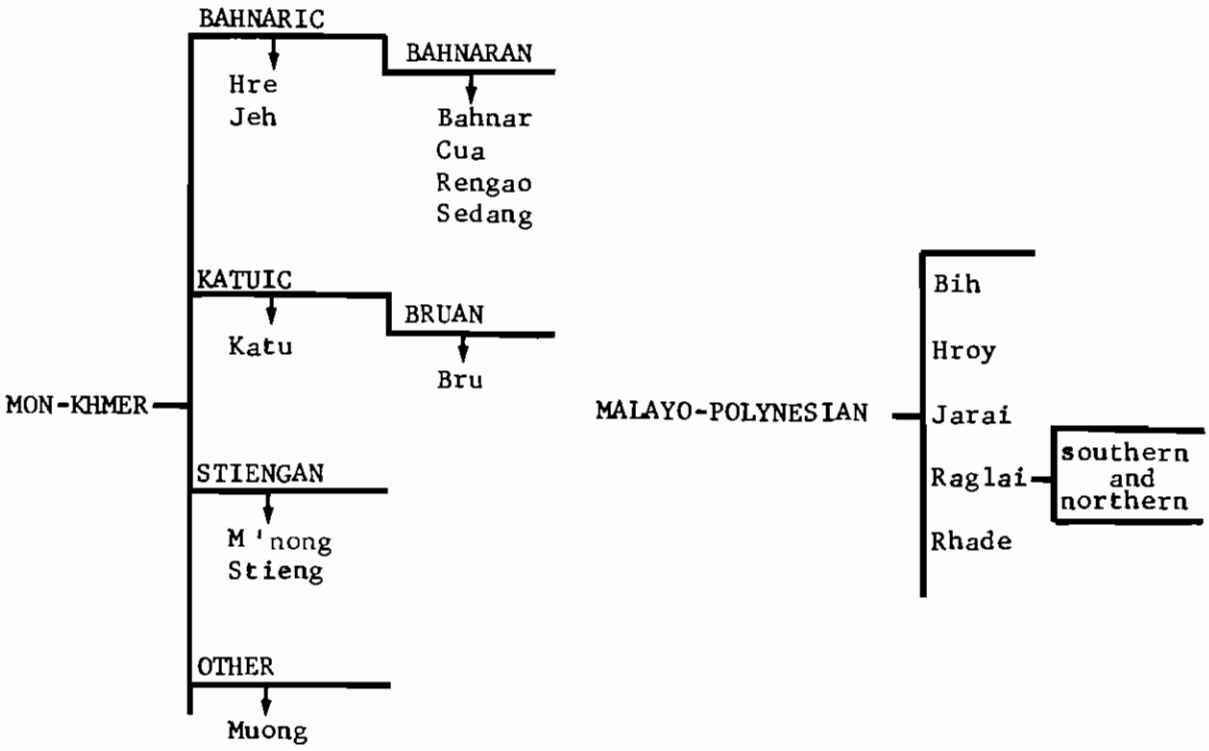
This insult to logic and classification comes about because in Montagnard life, the village and not the tribe is the important political, social, and economic unit. The villager's life is conditioned by his immediate environment; he knows that environment well--but little beyond. Thus, a really accurate 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 distinct 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 sub-groups and even sub-sub-groups. 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

Size varies considerably. The Bru have a meager 855 people, while the Jarai include 200 thousand, and the Muong somewhere 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 Mnong Nong on a valley slope, the Mnong Rolom on flat land, and the Mnong Gar of Sar Luc all present a quite different appearance. And these are all Mnong; 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, and enclosing all 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, rice, rice dominates the agricultural scene. This dietary staple is cultivated in swiddens by the old slash-and-burn method, what the Mnong Gar colorfully call "eating the forest," necessitating frequent changes in location. The swiddens (cultivated areas) 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 subtle 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, they supplement the diet. Consequently, certain tribes, like the Katu and Mnong, have become quite adept at these activities. Game traps of bamboo, rattan, or other flexible woods are used; crossbows, with poisoned arrows, are the favorite weapons. The Muong even use dogs to stalk their prey, but, strangely enough, with them 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 fruit, 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 then are the simple tools they use in agriculture, and the weapons they devise for hunting. Iron would appear to be of special value; and, indeed, among some people, like the Sedang, it has a sacred aura. The blacksmith among them 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; consequently, little trade occurs between groups, much less between different tribes. The Mnong Gar are perhaps the major exception here: they send pigs and poultry to the Mnong Rolom in return for buffalo; trade produce for valuable salt and jars with the Vietnamese and Chinese; and purchase cloth from the Rhade. Such relatively large-scale trading has introduced considerable diversity and development into the Mnong Gar culture. The Katu trade considerably 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 consitent 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 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 the same sort of life, the Gahnar have many types of specialists, everything in fact from lawyers to gong players, from string-makers to caterers.

KIN GROUPS

A Westerner must forget 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 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. This 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, and may be considerable. 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
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 to marry one another; even cousins must undergo purificatory rituals. Marriages do, however, tend to take place among people with approximately equal social standing.

Polygamy is permissible 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 make 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 nuclear families, each family

living in one compartment of the longhouse, and allied with the others through friendship or kinship. Adoption of orphans is relatively common--a price may or may not be paid.

Birth is treated as part of the natural cycle of human life; none of the fuss familiar in Western countries accompanies it. 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.

SOCIOPOLITICAL

The Montagnard village is the basic sociopolitical 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, such 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.

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 a 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. It is these spirits which 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. It is this primitive religion which, to a life full of work and pain, introduces some order and meaning.

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 sacrifical 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, fear and 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 Montagnard 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 them.

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.

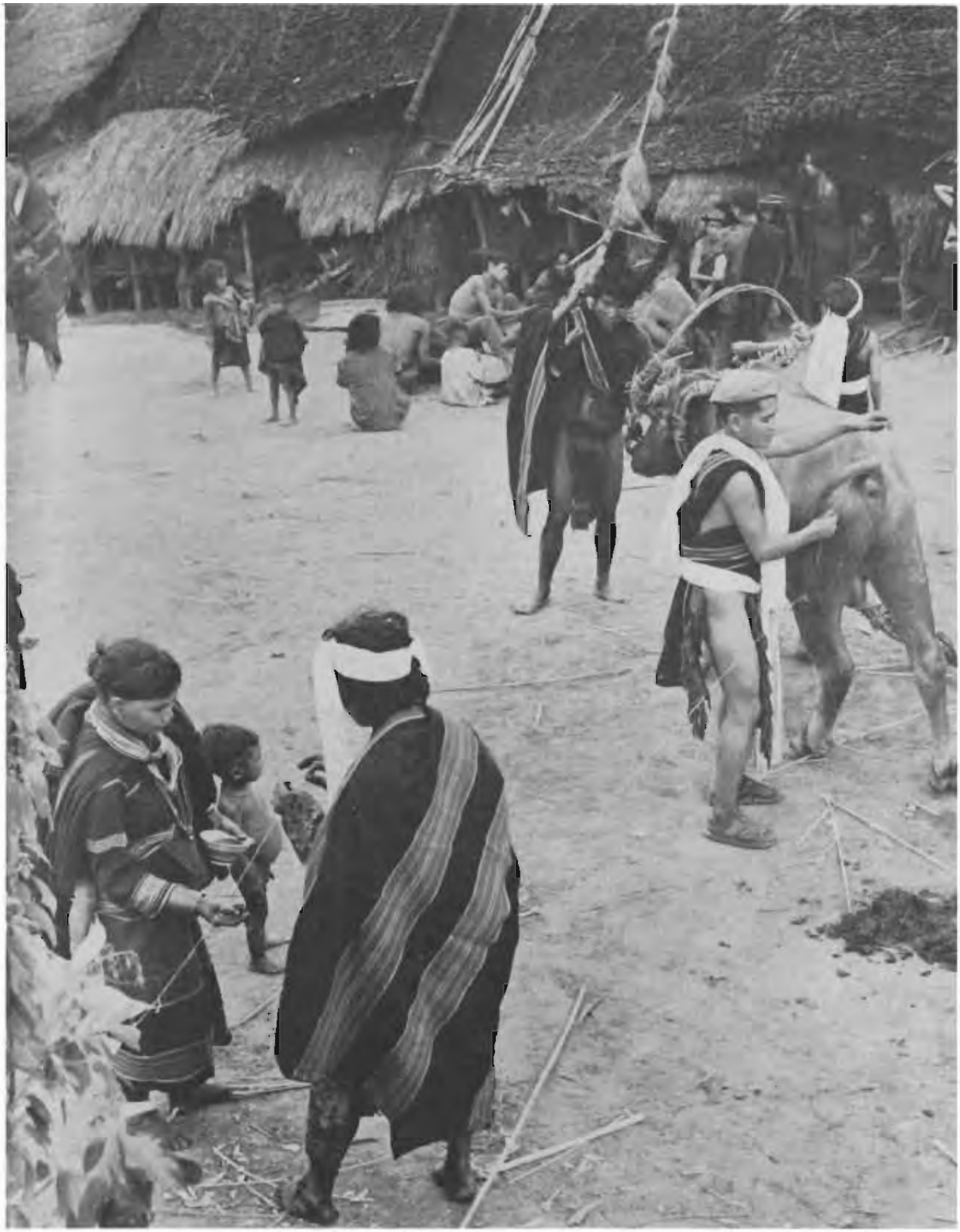
Gongs are played and rice wine drunk all night before the sacrifice

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
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 TRIBE

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Bahnar are one of the most important tribes in the Republic of Viet-Nam. No accurate census has been taken of the Bahnar. An estimate of 80 thousand was made in 1952; but other estimates have been as high as 200 thousand. 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. Though the majority of Bahnar is concentrated in Kontum province, a few Bahnar 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. For example, there is some conflict among investigators as to whether the Hroy and Rengao are part of the Bahnar since they live on the edge of the Bahnar area. Since little information exists on the Rengao tribe, they will be discussed in this section. Those subgroups considered part and parcel 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
Krem	North of Kontum; 8776* live in canton of Kannack, throughout Vinh Thanh and An Lao district of Binh Dinh province.
Bonam (Bonom)	East of An Khe; 7,100* persons live in An Lao district of Binh Dinh province.
Konkodeth	Vicinity of An Khe.
Alakong (Alakone)	North of An Khe.

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.
Alatanag	Vicinity of An Khe.
Bahnar Cham	About 5,045* persons living in Van Canh 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.
Jo Long	Northeast of Kontum.
To Sung	Four groups, known collectively as To Sung located east of Pleiku.
Ho Drong	Small subgrouping in and around Dakoba; some 30 km southeast 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.
Roh	12,080* live around An Tuc district of Binh Dinh province.
Rengao	10,000* living in Northwest Kontum province between the Sedang and Bahnar.

*1960 figures.

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

What distinguishes one group from another is not primarily the mores and customs of each subgroup, but the character, costumes and sometimes the language.

The road from Pleiku to Mang Yang is paved half of the way. It may be completely paved 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. There are no major roads through 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 Bahnars subgroup of the Mon Khea 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 group. 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 their dialect are available in the Republic of Viet-Nam. However, it is estimated that up to 95 percent of the Bahnar people don't realize 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 Hrey 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 got mad 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. He 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, 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 their traditional enemy.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Bahnar have what is known as the bilateral kinship system. A bilateral family is the type 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.

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 work beside their husbands. After a full day's work, they continue to grind rice, cook food or weave baskets. They bear their lot happily, and even when indisposed, 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 innocent prior to 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 assure themselves of their fertility, the prime requisite for winning a husband. Most of the time, they can getaway with it. But in case chickens

and pigs suddenly die and someone knows about this affair, they must pay a fine and marry each other. The fine is paid to the parents of the boy and girl. It is considered compensation to the parents who have not been consulted by their children. Depending upon the severity of the parents, fines may consist of chickens or pigs.

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

The initiative for marriage may be taken either by the man or by the woman. The marriage procedures depend on whether the young lady chooses her husband, or vice versa. If the lady chooses the husband, he must agree before her family engages in negotiations with his family. If the young man chooses, the young lady's family must be consulted at the onset. The expenses incurred by the marriage will be met by the family initiating the wedding. In the Bonam area, the boy's family sends two go-betweens to the girl's family for a talk. If the girl'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 girl's family will select marriage brokers, buy gifts and take the girl to the boy's home, where she resides until the wedding day. This is called the "Goi Con" ritual. On the wedding day the girl goes back to her parents' home to prepare a banquet. Her fiance's family also prepare for the feast. The Bonam girl'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 village elder chants out the following 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 seem to follow the same pattern as described above, with only minor deviations. Marriage brokers are required, gifts exchanged, wedding bracelets and a wedding feast or ceremony is held.

When a woman has her monthly period, she is not to sleep with her husband, nor go hunting or touch the dishes he eats. Her discharge is to be hidden from the eyes of children and men. The woman is also

forbidden to go near animals and altars. Avoiding animals during this time is more than likely 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 is to purify herself in the water of the river.

Polygamy is practiced, but is mostly confined to the wealthy Bahnar. But consent of the first wife is necessary. When a woman is pregnant, it is her duty to find 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 and the husband is free to marry another.

Individuals may not marry anyone who has the same name either of the father or mother. 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 Teu. Of course the Bahnar have their own surname from their maternal side such as Le, Tron, Nguyen, etc., but do not have clan names. Because they do have their own surnames, they are able to punish those who have committed incest.

It is preferable that cousins not marry each other, but it may be done with purification rituals. 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 they can get married. With the Roh and other subgroups, marriage between brother and sister, or between close relatives is strictly forbidden.

In case of incest, the guilty parties are usually banished from the village and fined. The Krem ask the sorcerers to break an egg and make offering to the deities for the couple. If the egg is broken, they may marry each other. Otherwise they are fined and banished. In cases of brother and sister, they will be hanged by the village entrance. In the Cham area fines for incest are as follows:

Brother and sister	3 water buffalo
Third generation cousins	2 water buffalo
Fourth generation cousins	1 water buffalo
Fifth generation cousins	1 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 must part from each other or be banished from the village.

Divorce is achieved by the husband or wife suing before the village tribunal. Some of the grounds for divorce are a criminal record, concubinage (apparently without the wife's permission), adultery, desertion, cruelty, sexual aberration, and refusal to assist in duties to the kinfolks or relations. Both families have to return gifts and money spent on the wedding day to each other, and in front of 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 will be cut by a villager. Each one normally gets an equal share of the common possessions. If the couple has children, it is difficult for them to get a divorce. If one party insists on getting a divorce, he or she has to reimburse the other party for all the money spent on the wedding day and to support the children until grown. Children will be divided among the two parties.

According to one report, a woman must respect her husband and be faithful to him. If she is caught sleeping with another man, she will be put to death. This last statement, however, does not seem to apply to all subgroups. However, the punishment for adultery seems to be quite severe. Adultery is tabooed 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 wife if she is caught and the accomplice must pay fines to the husband. Recently in the Kim Son area, a husband caught his wife committing adultery and cut her ears off. The villagers thought he was too lenient. The Krem wife has the same right, but usually is reimbursed for the wedding expenses and demands a heavy fine. Of course they part after that.

In the Roh and other subgroups, a person who commits adultery pays a fine of one water buffalo to the spouse, and the village fines the culprit. The second time, the fine is increased five or tenfold. The culprit 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. A second marriage is possible, but only after a waiting period of one-half to three years, depending upon the circumstances. A special ceremony makes one eligible for remarriage.

At any time the Bahnar must prove their courage, 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 his wife. It is a test designed to stir the admiration of the girls 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 a dead man to marry his sister-in-law.

There are three types 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. As for common property it can only be used through 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 for a period of time. Such title is inherited from father to son. Property held in common by the household goes to the surviving children if both parents are dead.

They seem to love their children very much and use little discipline on the children. They will try to pacify a child rather than let it "cry it out." In their childhood, both sexes are assigned specific responsibilities. Daughters are prefered over sons because they work more and because they work more and begin work at an earlier age.

The Bahnar do not appear to have any clan structure or organization. The Bahnar do have a spirit of unity as 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. Everybody helps a family in which there is a funeral, wedding, or a birth; all will help a newcomer build his house. On the other hand, when a family opens a jar of liquor it will invite all the villagers to come and taste it. Their mutual aid and love are very deep.

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, who, 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, but may also be given to another younger kinsman of the late kra.

Beyond the village, the larger traditional 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 fields, both wet-rice and dry. There is no "free land" as such. All of those within the Toring share these rights and tomoi people are viewed as outsiders, whether they are Bahnar or not. 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, and 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 free men 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. They are, or were, highly respected in a village. He is the medicine man in the village. A village may have many sorcerers whose skills have been transmitted from generation to generation. The Bahnar have more sorceresses than sorcerers. A person is not a sorcerer full time. He, too, must earn his living. In the Bahnar area, the origins of the sorcerer are 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. When he awoke, he saw a rock bright as a piece of jade beside him. From that time on he became a sorcerer using chicken legs and eggs to contact the spirit. When a person declares that he is a sorcerer, he has to stay in his house while the villager burns it. If he comes out alive, they will believe him.

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

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 for a less influential than the elected chief.

If there is a disagreement between the village kra and a villager, the latter may rally a number of villagers around him and go to another area to set up a new village under his 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 chief will be the head of the first family.

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 five to ten times the amount of the theft or as much damages suffered by the victim. The village chief also mediates quarrels; if this fails, then a trial will be 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 a underwater swimming contest. The one who comes up for air first, loses.

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 type 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 newly born child. To avoid passing this hex on to their child. the mother refrains from nursing the child and gets a wet-nurse to care for the child. This other woman 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 and ethnic groups for any petty reason. When they have a bad harvest, they go to neighboring areas to steal rice; as a result, the other ethnic groups don't have much affection for the Bahnar.

There is much animosity between tribes, especially the Cham and Bahnar, and also Vietnamese and Bahnar.

The Bahnar have had considerable contact with the neighboring tribal groups, the Jarai, Helang and Sedang. It is reported that they do considerable trading with groups, apparently the Sedang, to the northwest. There is considerable 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 groups and the former tribe of a daughter or son-in-law is not mentioned.

The typical Bahnar house is rectangular and measures 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 two meters in height, must have an east-west orientation. Normally there are two entrances to the house: a main one, normally facing the east, is for visitors, and the other entrance is for the family. Doors are normally in the middle of the house. Ladders, as well as stilts 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 slightly bent. They also tend to use a rope-woven ladder. In the Cham aree, roofs are straight, and doors face the south side. Usually you will find no windows in the houses and the floors will be covered by a beautiful woven bamboo mat. Normally the ground floor is reserved for the family's livestock, or small adjacent huts will be used for rice storage and raising animals. To enter a house, it is necessary beforehand to obtain permission from the kra. At times, the entrance ladder is removed to preclude visitors. It is taboo to enter a house if leaves or branches are laid across the entrance ladder. Never go into a house unless asked. One should 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 your host.

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

and for unmarried men from 10 years old, until they are married, to spend the night. 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 Konkodeth 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 the An Lao, Van Canh and Vinh Thanh area, there are chicken coops and pig sties located seven or eight meters behind the houses. In the An Tuc area, there are small houses, looking like kennels for dogs, right in front of the house for chickens and dogs. There is no stable for cows and water buffalo which are tied to trees. This place is soon filled with insects and filth.

Rarely is rice brought into the house. In the An Lao, Van Canh and Vinh Thanh area, 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.

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.

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.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Bahnar wear their hair long, to the ears, and part their hair. Boys with short hair are not considered 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 back 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 characteristic trait that distinguishes the Bahnar adult is a multitude of scars across their chests, self-inflicted during mourning. The custom of filing or knocking out one's front teeth still exists. The front teeth are worn out; many adults have no front teeth at all. The roots of the filed down teeth still remain in their gums. Some tribes stretch their ears to wear earrings.

The common characteristics of the Bahnar race are that they are liberal, freedom loving belligerent, and endowed by nature 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 at all lazy. Their children learn and grasp things quickly as all children do, but the adult male is a rather slow learner. The adult male, for example, learns to read very slowly. They will believe in your promises and will do whatever is asked. But once deceived, they will never believe again.

Upon entering a village, the visitor is greeted only by a smile and nod of the head. A representative of the village will come out to meet the visitor and invite him for a chat. If the visitor wants to see the inside of a house, the family head willingly takes him inside and really 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, however, ending 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 only evil spirits in it. On the other hand, a newborn babe that lives after birth, 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 celebration. 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 made from the "Cong" tree. The women have skirts and long-sleeved coats. The Bonam like dark blue clothes with white stripes. Skirts or sarongs with the hem at knee level are dark blue. 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, and sew it, leaving 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. Their size, and number, depends on the wealth of the person.

The Krem subgroup clothes also have a few distinctive features. The slips are black with white strips and 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 of the Phu Yen-Qui Nhan railroad. On the east side, their slips are black and have white and red stripes, on the two ends. Men and women wear the same kind of a coat. Coats have long sleeves, 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 and is black, 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 Konkadeng 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 children 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. Manioc or potato liquor is made by drying for one day, peeled and half-boiled tubercles that are placed in jars with yeast.

The Bahnar drink their liquor from a common jar, some holding over four gallons. Stoppers of leaves serve as corks for the jars. The delicate jars, made of moulded and glazen earthenware, are placed in a circle and attached to stakes. Bamboo drinking tubes are inserted in them.

They will respect an outsider who does not drink with them. But it would be better if one did to establish a good rapport. 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 8:30 to 9:00 a.m., the other from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. After the morning meal, people go to work, taking along corn or potatoes for a snack. During harvest season, they arise much earlier than the usual 8:30 a.m.

Almost all the people eat with their fingers; very few of them use bowls and dishes. Cooked rice with salt is the common dish, placed either in areca leaves, or in baskets with a bag of salt. Everybody gathers around and eats rice with their fingers. If the ball of rice is too hot, it is thrown in the air to cool.

The only unusual dishes are pickled dishes 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.

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 has to 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, and the evil spirit who makes women barren, withers growing crops, brings diseases, and allows wild game to escape the hunter. The buffalo is sacrificially offered to kindly gods to invoke their aid and assistance against the bad.

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 one sees a snake crawling from left to right, it is a good sign, but if the reverse, 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 type of 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. When a villager finds a Cong tree, it is guarded to prevent other villagers from using it. Arrows dipped in its 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 some chicken droppings to escape death. The Bahnar people 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. They use the worm's droppings to prepare the poison. The larger the worm, the more powerful the poison. No one except the owner is able to cure the victim. With the tiger "worms," one can command tigers and they will obey him.

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 and pick the child up. 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 new born 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 gather 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 and massages herself. 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 mothers 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 lead evil spirits astray, for they cannot reveal the identity of a soul to the wandering ghosts and spirits of darkness. Without this prohibition, they would be able to reveal it to them 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-spirit, and tobacco are laid for the ritual. Then the wandering spirits will be satisfied. Having had their fill, they 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 madman.

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 Van Canh 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. In the hut are placed all the belongings of the dead person; 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 in 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.

Bahnar do not drink milk without sugar in it. They are accustomed to sweetened condensed milk. If given powdered milk, they will feed it to the hogs.

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.

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. It is forbidden 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. Remember, they can read a man's heart before they read his eyes.

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

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.

When the government sprays for mosquitoes (and it is very effective) it also kills the other insects including bedbugs. Eggs previously laid by bedbugs hatch and without the other insects that maintain Mother Natures' balance, a bedbug epidemic takes place. The Viet Cong, by the way, have used this very effectively in some of their propaganda.

Medical knowledge is not widespread throughout the Bahnar. Besides, there are no drugs used. When they get sick, 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. If it is not broken, then Yang Dok causes the illness. Again 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 acquire the meat and offers it to the deity. If, after mentioning two or three water buffalo, the egg is not broken, then the deity wants the person to die. So the family lets him die. Otherwise the family looks for the meat the deity wants and offers it to him. The service of a sorcerer is not needed for this offering. The prayer is very simple, "Oh, Yang Kong, you have made him sick, we make offerings 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. Other sorcerers only advise the family to prepare gifts and offer them to 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 seems to be malaria. They also suffer from diarrhea, leprosy, and intestinal diseases. A missionary estimates 95 percent of the Bahnar children have intestinal parasites. Bahnar also seem to have a lot of sores on their body. Some have had them 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.

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-devine 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:

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 Van Canh 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 anyone touching the above-mentioned altars will die immediately of a hemmorrhage. Also 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: In the first or second month of the lunar year, they celebrate the new year with a banquet.

Krem: They celebrate three big festivals: New Years (same as Bonam), worshipping Heaven and Earth, and worshipping the village spirit. The Heaven and Earth festival, lasting four 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 seven 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: (Van Canh area): They have two big festivals: New Years and worshipping Heaven. The worship of Heaven lasts two days in which they sacrifice water buffalo.

Roh: They anually celebrate 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. 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, as 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 ceremonial place depends upon the deity to be worshipped. The biggest ritual is when a water buffalo is sacrificed. A ceremonial bamboo pole is planted at the place where the rituals will be performed. It may rise over 70 feet in height with the top left untrimmed. It is supported on either side by two stakes. The mast is painted and engraved like a totem pole. A bird of wood and feathers representing a fire bird, along with other symbols, may be tied to the mast pointing to the four compass points. The water buffalo is tied to the mast.

When the time for the festival comes, the entire village gathers around the mast. The village chief and sorcerer step on a platform built behind the pole. Gongs, tambourines, and drums are noisily played. Men and women (though possibly only men) dance around the water buffalo to the timing of music and clapping of hands. The chief and sorcerer improvise a simple prayer that may go like this: "Oh heaven, come and eat water buffalo meat. Give us peace, security, and health. Oh come and eat water buffalo meat. Help us have enough food and clothing."

At night four fires are lighted at the four points of the compass surrounding the buffalo. They are symbols of the petition to the gods.

After this dance young men slaughter the buffalo very slowly, and if its head faces the platform (or sun, one report indicates), the villagers are very happy because they believe the deity has accepted their offering. They catch the buffalo's blood in a bowl and place it along with his head on the platform. Then they prepare the meat and have a feast. After the feast, the buffalo's head is allowed to rot on the platform. During the feast elders always eat first, followed in turn by the young men, young women, and children of the village.

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 appears to be rather small. Christianity has not been received very well by the Bahnar.

X. ECONOMY.

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

Fishing and hunting supplement their 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,

corn or containing tools and utensils. The guis holding household implements have black and white flowers woven into the rattan.

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, so they 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 and similar to 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 the long-range goal, and the Viet Cong's propaganda is oriented at a level and time that the Bahnar can comprehend.

XIII. PSYOPS CONSIDERATIONS.

A few wealthy Bahnar have radios. If they listen to 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 as they 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 do it. Women do not like the water wells dug by the government even though it saves them many steps. They claim 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.

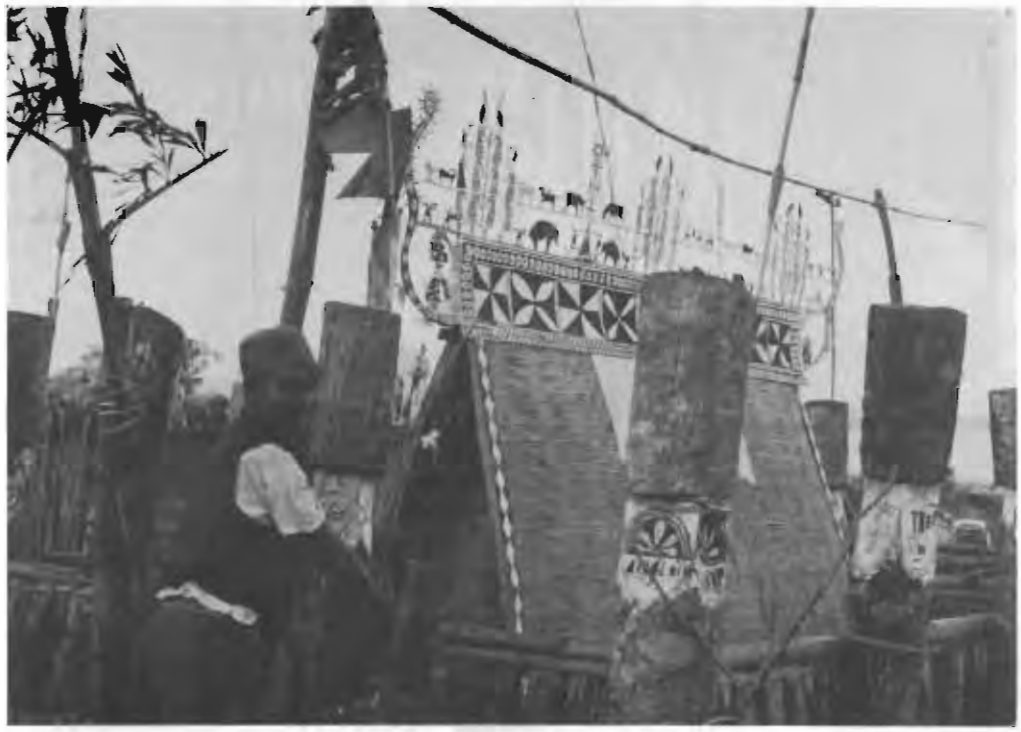
One missionary has written that it would be helpful to advise them on raising their livestock. It is also suggested that they be helped with their other agricultural problems, even though they may not accept advice readily. They are hungry just before the harvest because so much rice is used in wine. 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.

Each subgroup has its own weapons. These generally consist of crossbows, knives, spears, and rattan or wooden shields. Crossbows used by the Cham subgroup are bigger and stronger than those in other subgroups. The knives, or swords, have a straight blade with a curved hilt. The sheath of the Cham knife is almost as long as the blade. One type of spear has a blade similar to a dagger; another is pointed. The handle is two meters long. Throwing spears are special weapons of the Bonam. The blade has small hooks similar to fishing hooks. Shields are round in shape and have two straps for the arm and hand of the user.

From their history it may be concluded that the Bahnar are an aggressive, bellicose tribe. The French used some of the Bahnar in their fight against the Viet Minh. One report indicates that when they first become soldiers, the Bahnar are very conscientious. It goes on to report that organizing them for military action creates political and social problems because with training, the Bahnar become warlords. The first of these will be the refugee problem when the Bahnar attack their neighbors.

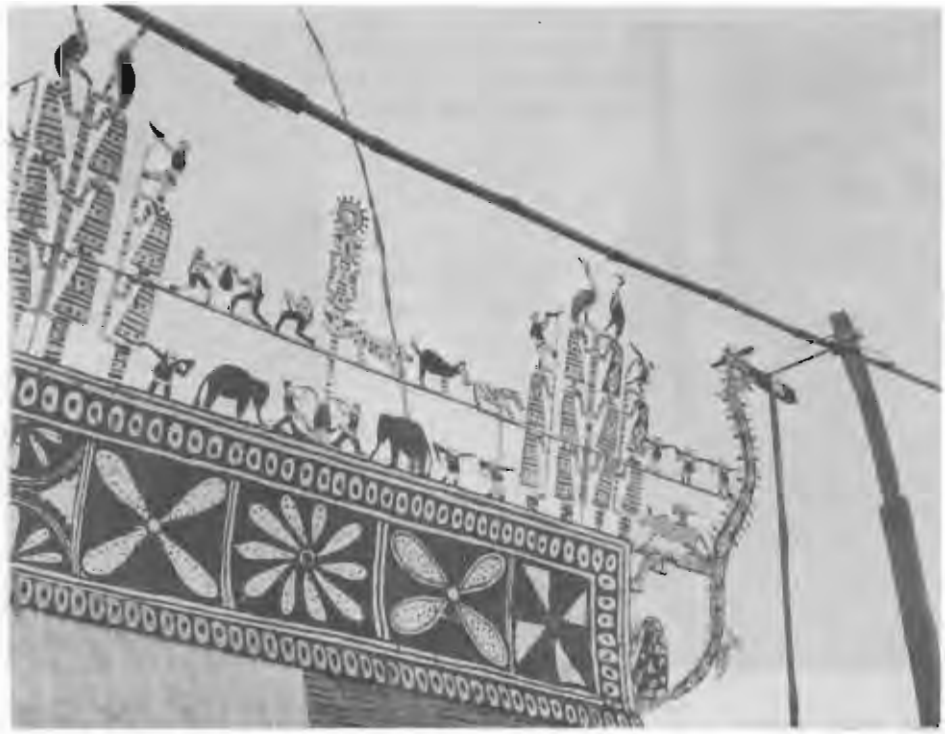
Bahnar village. Communal house center rear has peaked roof. Smaller buildings are granaries or house pigs or chickens

Bahnar men, typically dressed and armed, beside 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 head-
quarters defenses

Chapter 3--The CUA Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Cua (sometimes spelled "Khua"), including its two major subgroups, the Kor and Traw, is a fairly small tribe of approximately 20,000. It is located east and slightly north of Dak Glei 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. Indeed, many of the most intelligent and promising of the young 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. Thus, it is between the Jeh and Hrey groups, but seems 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 one 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 understand Vietnamese--they have been trained by the VC.

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. If he should die, control would remain in male hands, for his brother, or, if old enough, the eldest son would take over. As a sign of their secondary role, women walk behind the men. They work in the fields with their men, but also go home early to accomplish their domestic chores. Either party may go to the headman

and request a divorce, but the instigator must then pay the other party--this helps make divorce quite rare. Polygyny is practiced (one chief had four wives), but the first wife always remains senior and most important. The others 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 big event alone. She works right up to the time of the birth, goes out and delivers the child, and is usually right back at work the next day. Unlike some other Montagnard tribes, the Cua discipline their youngsters easily, almost always verbally. While the adults are out in the field, clearing the land or harvesting 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, at which they have become quite skillful.

The Cua are good, quick learners, especially with mechanical things. What they have been shown, they can do. They work our radios and weapons with skill. They are adaptive and retentive: two important practical considerations. They take pride in their learning; they rib 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 two, with compartments on both sides, each room housing a patrilineally-linked nuclear family. Room for animals is set aside within the house itself. As a whole, these longhouses of the village form a sort of horseshoe at the open end of which is a huge pole or tree--this is the ceremonial area at which animals are sacrificed to the spirits.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

The average man is 5' 5", stocky, and muscular, with smooth dark hair which he wears quite long. He dresses sparingly: a bare loin cloth and blue-colored beads around the neck. The women too formerly preferred the bare loin cloth, but now, under American and Vietnamese influence, are turning to fuller dresses. They take great pride in wearing beads around their neck--women can be seen with necklaces of between 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.

Militarily, the young men show great promise. They are aggressive in the field and are good on patrol. Indeed, 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.

Their chief difficulty in the field is with range estimation; they are almost always considerably off on distances. This is probably due to an unfamiliarity with abstractions; they have trouble with numerical concepts. They always try, however. While working with special forces, the Cua never deserted, never missed training, and always maintained their equipment with pride.

The Cua like and respect the French and Americans; they fear and dislike the Vietnamese. The latter formerly referred to the Montagnards as the "moi," which means "savages," and tended to treat them as such. Hopefully, the new government has recognized the injustice and the impracticability of such an attitude and has taken steps to amend the situation.

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.

The Cua heartily enjoy movies, something with which they were completely unacquainted until recently. Whole villages now come to see shows, not once but three or four times. Like most Americans, they do not go for the pure propaganda-type, but prefer cartoons (Donald Duck seems to be a particular favorite) and sports. The strange language does not seem to be a barrier to them; they concentrate on the animated picture.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

They drink their own brand of "white lightning," made from rice, and yet considerably stronger than the usual rice wine. Americans compare the powerful kick 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. It has been found advisable by American advisors to withhold rice from those individuals who refuse to wash; this has greatly reduced the scurvy problem! 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 are not illegitimate, but suffering from a vitamin deficiency, which can be easily corrected.

IX. RELIGION.

The Cua, like all the Montagnard tribes, believe in a pervasive animism. They have spirits associated with the 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 of that sacrifice.

X. ECONOMICS.

Economically, the Cua are a strictly agricultural people. Since they use the wasteful slash-and-burn method, frequent changes in location become necessary. Each family maintains its own field which it earns by reason of having cleared it; each family feeds its own old folks. Rice, as it is throughout the entire Montagnard world, 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. They have no other occupational groups.

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 the governance of the village. Today, there is also a Vietnamese district chief who tries to link up the various villages with the national government; the Montagnards, 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 eight 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.

PSYOPS CONSIDERATIONS, CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS, PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

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

Cua sacrifice pole at Tra My

Cua long house at Duong Yen

Chapter 4 --The HRE Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Hre are a tribal people variously estimated at 90 thousand to 120 thousand in number. They are found in Quang Ngai and Northern Binh Dinh provinces, in an area extending roughly from west of Quang Ngai to west of Bong Son.

To the Hre themselves, the term Hre refers only to those of their number who live along the Song Re or Hre River; other portions of the tribe are named after other rivers. But, in line with the method adopted by the French, most students of the subject apply the name Hre to the whole tribe. Other names that have been used for the tribe or parts of it are: Ba-Vach, Tava, Kare, Kha-Re, Moi Cham and Moi Dong.

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.

As a people who have been badly harassed by the Viet Cong in recent years and who had earlier (1949) mutinied against Viet Minh leadership, the Hre are a potential source of active support for counterinsurgency forces in the area. The highland Hre, especially, being a semi-nomadic people, are well acquainted with the terrain and with the other peoples of the area, a knowledge which could be useful militarily.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The area inhabited 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 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 principal 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.

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 villages in the lowlands are fairly accessible and most highland Hre villages can be reached by jeep in good weather.

Unlike most mountain tribes, a majority of the Hre are wet rice farmers. These are the Hre who live along the To and Lien Rivers. They farm fertile and extensive fields and consequently live a more settled existence than their highland brothers. They are wealthier than the highlanders and live in closer contact with other tribes, especially their neighbors, the Bahnar, with whom they carry on trade.

The highland Hre live a much poorer life, following the slash and burn method of agriculture. Their fields are few and poor; some highland villages have no fields at all. Normally, they remain in an area for only 2 or 3 years; then they move on to clear another patch of land on the rough mountainside. Five or ten years later, when the old fields have become fertile again, they may return there. The highlanders, struggling to wrest a living from the soil, have less frequent contacts with outsiders and live a more isolated existence.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

All Hre speak the same basic language: Hre, a member 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 closely 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, Hre are not generally considered by one authority to make good interpreters. Nevertheless, there have been instances of Hre tribesmen working with special forces units who served adequately as interpreters.

It is only recently that 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 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 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, but 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 culture. The area to which they confine themselves, however, 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 considerable authority in a Hre family but the Hre are not, strictly speaking, a matriarchal society. A man is free to have several wives and polygamy 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 since 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 since 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 since there is a great deal of work involved in cultivating the rice and other necessities of life, a widow with several children must consider remarrying. That is why there are so many couples that are oddly matched in age. The husband may be only 20 and the wife anywhere from 35 to 45 with five or six 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. Once the son reveals his plans to his parents, if the girl's family wants the couple to live with them, they visit the boy's family to talk it over, and vice versa. When the two families have reached an agreement, a drinking party is arranged. Both families shuttle back and forth between the houses and wine is imbibed in considerable quantities. During the party, whichever side is sponsoring the marriage 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 he must present a buffalo or some other specified item of value to the deceased wife'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 out in 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 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, on occasion, before the wedding. At such times, whichever one is responsible for the separation must pay compensation. If they are married and living together the idemnity 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 as well as wine 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, after which 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 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 boy 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 villagers by the culprits, the parents' 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, whether or not they intend to marry, 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 do. 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; but if it is difficult, a pig or chicken is killed and offered by the sorcerer.

There used to be a good deal of wife-stealing 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 decided to steal someone's wife and then repented of his fantastic idea and feared revenge, 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 or 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, but they are well taken care of and looked after in the family. Children sometimes marry at 13 or 14. It is also true that among the poor a child may be sent 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. Ordinary households do not have servants living in, they hire them if they have the means and need to do so. If help is needed, a family will call in the neighbors and then they in turn help the neighbors when necessary. In the rice growing season, however, often this cooperation is not enough and seasonal help must be hired.

Members of the tribe with great influence are the village and local chiefs. They are in most cases selected on the basis of age and experience. These men act as advisors to the average villager. The chiefs, in turn, 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 of various kinds. 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. But since it has no top and it would be relatively easy to climb out, punishment is more a kind of embarrassment for the offender. In recent years the Vietnamese have appointed the village chiefs, but it is not clear whether these centrally appointed chieftans have any more or less authority than those who are 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, and in any case 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 handle effectively simple mechanical equipment.

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. Rich families may have as many as 20 to 30 members. 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 the 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 in any fashion. Livestock are usually kept under the house, and clay pits are dug for the most important beast the family owns, the water buffalo.

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 confinment, there will be green branches on the porch doors and they will be closed.

One can get some idea of a family's means by observing the length of the house and the number of hearths 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. Rich families have several fireplaces just for cooking.

The hearth is a square or rectangular compartment with earthen walls about 10 or 15 centimeters thick and about 70 or 80 centimeters 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, but when they grow up and marry they must move to another room. Each room can accommodate a small family. Overnight guests usually sleep on the front porch.

The room which contains the sacred hearth also contains the mortar for grinding rice. This, too, is a sacred object. Although made of wood, it resembles the stone mortars used in the lowlands. When the hearth and the mortar are set up 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. Not only may no one use it for ordinary cooking, no one, with one exception, may even touch the sacred hearth stone. 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. Only the master of the house may touch the sacred hearthstone and then only for a legitimate reason.

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 have only gone away temporarily. But if the mortar has been broken, then you know

that the family has 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 5, or 6 kilograms; in a poor home, only 1 or 2 kilograms. 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, and no one may cut into it, because it is a sacrifice post. To the Hre, this post is what 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 5 or 6 centimeters 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 clothing 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.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Hre are taller than the Jarai or the Rhade. They are 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 necessarily 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 infections, leg ulcers

and the like. Otherwise, their state of health might be described as fairly good for a people who suffer from leprosy, tuberculosis, malaria, and a host of similar endemic diseases. There is very little beri-beri among Hre. Their infant mortality rate is very high and life expectancy is about 40 years. But, in comparison with other tribespeople, the Hre are a moderately healthy lot. Many Hre display considerable physical endurance. They cover ground swiftly, by comparison with ethnic Vietnamese, when in their own mountainous terrain. They suffer pain with considerable stoicism and special forces personnel who have spent some time with the Hre have commented on their ability to withstand pain and discomfort.

No one characterizes the Hre as aggressive. They tend, like most tribespeople, to be rather timid, their lives spent in a largely bewildering world governed by largely hostile spirits. Nevertheless, it is apparent that this inherent timidity does not mean that the Hre will not fight if sufficiently motivated. It seems that, like most people, they can be pushed just so far and then will turn and take a stand, as they did in 1949. At that time, they revolted against their Vietnamese leadership, engaged in some fairly extensive 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 considerably. 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 such tribes as, for example, the Sedang. This more lethargic attitude seems to be especially characteristic of the lowland Hre who have had considerable contact with the ethnic Vietnamese over a long period of time. The ethnic Vietnamese make no secret of their contempt for tribal ways and their low regard for tribal skills. Apparently this continuing derogatory critique 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 and apparently they can absorb some instruction.

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 of snakes. They are, by and large, ill-equipped to cope with tigers or snakebite and they are especially afraid of these two very real dangers in their environment.

One group which does not have the respect of a majority of Hre are those members of the tribe who have emulated Vietnamese ways and taken to speaking Vietnamese, wearing Vietnamese clothes, and following

Vietnamese customs. They are generally very much disliked and no longer accepted into the tribal community.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

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 or bandanna of some sort, as well. 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 man 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 boutht 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. The trickery of these merchants is still remembered and resented.

The Hre are essentially 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 being a sort of play on words. When you are invited for a ceremonial drink the 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. The jug of wine is fastened

to the wine post, usually by the host, while his wife brings 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 one meter long, but one of 70 or 80 centimeters is usually sufficient. These are not hollow tubes, so after they are dried, the pith 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. It is pale brown in color and could 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 amongst 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 portion. 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, 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 guest accepts things only with the right hand. Even if one is naturally left-handed, in dealing with tribal people, 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 palm 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, out of a common jug, as compared with drinking with other tribes who offer you an individual jug of wine, is that with the Hre there is no way of knowing how much anyone is drinking. Provided 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 he then 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. On the other hand many Americans have reported that although 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 four or five 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, and 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, have found that they became very flushed and extremely dizzy within a short period of time. After two stages of drinking the wine begins to get weak

because the water has diluted it. The tubes, therefore, are then moved to a spot where the water has not mixed in 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. Even 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 permissible 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 then will be offered food and if he possibly can stay to eat some, he should, because to do otherwise would be to 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. When the harvest is poor, they add potatoes, manioc and maze and even bulbs and vegetables. The Hre dislike maize and usually serve it only as a side dish, but they eat less of it than some of the other tribes. 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 such as we know it. They consider soup to be the food of abandoned souls and dead people. Occasionally the Hre will eat crab; that is, when they have caught it themselves as 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.

Few green vegetables are available because although they cultivate gardens the Hre do not know how to raise many vegetables. They usually have gourds, pumpkins, bamboo and a few herbs gathered on the mountain. 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 earthenware jars. The catch is rinsed, placed in jars, and sprinkled with salt and covered with banana leaves, without being cleaned or scaled or packed down tightly. When served shortly thereafter, it has a strong and disagreeable odor. 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 and they don't 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 50 or 60 centimeter in depth, and 2 or 3 meters in diameter. The water flows continuously and the village uses it for both bathing and drinking.

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 it. Poisoning wells is easy, but it is impossible to poison the water from the mountain streams.

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 a boiling point, it is said.

It may be well to keep in mind there are a number of kinds of poison available in the Ba To area. Some are deadly, some are not. Some have antidotes, others do not. Almost everyone, according to some reports, possesses some poison. The deadliest type is called do and 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 just keep the poison on hand just to intimidate the neighbors. A few grains of this poison under a fingernail touched to the lips, or sprinkled in food, or placed inside a drinking tube will kill a man. It is reported, although it is probably not true, that one poison is made of groundup tiger whiskers, so the first thing that is done after killing a Tiger is to cut off and burn his 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 possessions from theives. Rin is made from a leaf and there is an antidote for it, which is efficacious if it is applied soon enough. Thus, anyone who has been doing some pilfering and then finds that his eyes are smarting and his face swelling would be well advised to seek the owner of the stolen possessions and apply for the antidote promptly.

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 caught 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.

To return to some of the Hre's milder customs, a 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. Some 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 Hre boys and girls seem fairly free and easy with 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 only to speak to one of their women, especially if she is unmarried, only if she is surrounded by several other women and preferably by her family.

Travel customs and taboos which should be particularly noted include avoiding their shrines. These shrines have been described by one special forces member as looking like "bird cages." This is a good enough description if it helps to suggest the kind of thing that American troops should watch out for. A Hre shrine may be of rattan, bamboo or woven grass. It may be near a grave. It may involve a tree, a rock, or any other object which is, in their view, potentially dangerous and 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 good deal of painfully made progress in relations with that tribe.

The kinds of things which in the west can pass as ordinary behavior 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: don't rush up to them when making

first contact with a group or even in an early contact. Don't rush up to them; don't overwhelm them or, as well put by one person who spent a good deal of time there: don't stomp into the village. In dealing with the Hre one must show considerable patience and move slowly. It will take time to get his agreement and even to get his understanding. But people who have spent some time in Hre villages feel that with a careful approach, slow and quiet and patient, one can win a good number of friends. The Hre are accustomed to a very 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 far too expensive for most of them. Although obviously any contact with outsiders is bound to have 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. Foreigners or any strange, new elements coming into their villages give people whose knowledge of the outside world is so limited a sense of their own environment being out of balance.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The overall physical condition of the Hre can be described as moderately poor, 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. They chew betel nut to counteract other kinds of pain. Americans can expect to encounter the usual number and kinds of tropical diseases typical of areas in which public health facilities and sanitation are just about nonexistent. One thing to watch out for in particular among the Hre are worms. Worms are curable with American medicine but it can be a somewhat 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. These have been relatively successful if they have been followed up carefully and painstakingly by the outsiders trying to introduce the new method. 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. But the sorcerer, if he is permitted to come in and say the appropriate prayer or perhaps, in a case of a severe illness, kill a chicken or two and scatter the blood around, 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 and probably kill himself in the process, assuming that if one aspirin can cure the headache, a bottleful will cure anything that is possibly wrong with him.

Except for those Hre who have been in contact for a long time 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 is of a tribesman overdosing himself and killing himself and the reaction against the person who gave him the medicine will of course be very intense. It will also keep other members of the tribe from coming in for any kind of medical attention.

Some Hre, it has been reported, were 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 less unhealthy than other infants, this will have a salutary effect on the acceptance of Western medical practice by the entire village.

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.

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 come from far and near to 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 remain there indefinitely. Each person has his own place and the number of leaves tells the number of New Years he has celebrated.

Religion apparently does not keep the Hre from armed conflict, since so many Hre took part in the fighting in the late 1940's and again recently.

Hre graves are about the most sacred objects they have and should be avoided or treated with every appearance of reverence.

X. ECONOMY.

The Hre are predominantly wet rice farmers. 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 trade 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 or more 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 elders and other inhabitants to drink wine and witness the agreement, and the settlement is made then and there.

A Hre's wealth is measured by the size of his yearly rice crop (or the number of fields he owns), 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. Poor families may own just a fraction of an acre. A rich man may have over 200 acres, and 3 to 400 antique pots, 30 or 40 sets of cymbals and a few hundred jars.

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 80 centimeters in diameter, the smallest about 30 centimeters, and a set may be worth as much as 6 thousand 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 never sold except in 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 live, 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.

One comment by special forces personnel is that the Viet Cong force Hre to be Viet Cong and that if we can help a Hre rescue his family from the Viet Cong "mobs" the Hre will join the side of the government of Viet-Nam.

XIII. PSYOPS 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.

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 quite trainable and some of them have had some sort of military training, courtesy of the Japanese, the Viet Minh or the French.

Chapter 5--The JARAI Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

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

The Jarai are a powerful and historically a 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 military II Corps area of Viet-Nam. With this fact established, one should realize 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, cut the supply lines of the Viet Cong, and seal off the Borders of Laos and Cambodia from Viet-Nam. As it has been stated, "He who controls the mountains of Viet-Nam, also holds the fate of Viet-Nam."

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The estimated 200 thousand Jarai of Viet-Nam 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 subsisting 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 Rhades, 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 II Corps area, but these are not used to any extent for travel.

Transportation is either on foot or by the few buses that risk Viet Cong attacks. Communication is limited even though some of the larger Jarai villages have been given the HT-1 radio in order to stay in 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 and phones for mutual protection in case of attack.

The Jarai area has two climates: 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 down 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 impossible to drive on. 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. This provides the Viet Cong advance warning that a convoy is coming and lets them set up an ambush.

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; even though they do have corn and other basic foods, the Jarai will claim bad times. During this rainy season there is a drop-off in the trips made to nearby towns to trade and sell their wares.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Jarai language is related to the Malay-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; they will also speak Vietnamese. In turn, the younger Jarai will speak Vietnamese and some are learning English. Along the borders of the tribe, some of the Jarai will be 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 work. It is estimated that only some 500 to 600 Jarai of the estimated 200 thousand are able to read.

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 the languages and 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 (approximately 11 kilometers), and from this mountain came all of the Jarai people. This legend of the flood is 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 going into the mountains. Another legend relates the story of a sword in a little pool of water. A Jarai and a Vietnamese dashed for this sword, but the Vietnamese beat the Jarai to the pool. The Vietnamese got the sword, and the Jarai only got the sheath (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 follow the way of the American Indian.

A factor which had a big effect on the Jarai 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. So the Vietnamese are actually a new society for the Jarai. They find it hard to adjust to and accept this society.

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. Whereas 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, where the man takes his wife and builds his own house. This is a breakaway from the Jarai culture which has the woman as the power of the house and the husband taking the woman's name.

The Jarai do not have a set migration 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. They will remain in close proximity to this land in order to watch and to work it. So if a village does move, it will be for a reason such as an epidemic or killing disease; and then a local migration will be made, perhaps no more than 2-3 kilometers.

During the dry season, or when they are working their fields, they live strictly in the village; but, when they are working the rice fields, they will build small houses in these fields and live there. This is the extent of their movement: the village to the fields and return.

The Jarai used to cross into Cambodia using Route 19 out of Pleiku, which goes to the border. It was claimed the Jarai living in the Cambodian area were the swordmakers of the Jarai tribe. But with the advent of the Viet Cong, the Vietnamese closed the border for trade.

The Jarai have no knowledge of such a boundary or separation that we call Viet-Nam, Laos, or Cambodia. As a result of this and the terrain,

some of the Jarai people living in the mountains will cross the borders back and forth. 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.

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.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Jarai have two different types of social structure: 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. Here the man is the boss or head of the house. The houses are smaller, for his own wife and the children they may have. They do not have a family name, as such.

There is some polygamy practiced by the wealthier Jarai men. They do not have what could be called a "number 1" or "number 2" wife. Despite his 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 4-5 years old) they start to wear clothes. Jarai parents love their children very much; they try to do everything possible for their children. As a child gets 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 real 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 type of 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. Then the two villages will get together and decide the guilt of the man.

Like any society there are the rich and the respected people because of their wealth or things that they have accomplished. So 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; they 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 his wealth. Here again, this tends to follow the same lines of any society.

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

perhaps he has a way of 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 extent of laws for 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 great deal 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. This is seldom used. One particular case where capital punishment would be used is for 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, as such. 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 for being thieves, and for being ornery to the Jarai tribe. 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.

By modern standards, the Montagnard of Viet-Nam is very backward. The literacy rate is very low. The Jarai does have a numbers concept. In most cases it 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 very good ability along these lines. Many of the Jarai, who had long contact with the French, show a great deal of culture and knowledge. The Jarai are not a stupid people; they grasp things very fast when exposed. Education for the Jarai is a problem. In the Pleiku area, the Jarai does not want to go to the schools provided

by the Vietnamese. Some of the reasons for this is 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 in a classroom. Quite a few of the Jarai in the Cheo Reo area are very much interested in getting an education.

Montagnards will 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. If a child is raised in a village that is known, say, for its basket-making ability and the economy of the village is based on this, then most of the young people will be trained to produce the village's main trade items. In cases of wealth, the child may be sent to one of the Vietnamese vocational training centers, such as the one in Hue (I Corps area). 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 were not normally open to the Montagnards of Viet-Nam.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

It is very hard to say that the Jarai, or any Montagnard, is about 5 feet so many inches tall. 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. To see a Jarai who is over 6 feet tall is rare, but the Jarai will range 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, and their hair is normally black, but you might see one with reddish black, caused from a lack of vitamins. The hair itself will run 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.

Their general state of health is by Western standards poor. Since it is a 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 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. They can use their hands for just about anything.

Their use of bamboo is outstanding. They make their homes, baskets, arrows, quivers, pipes, drinking cups, and other items from bamboo. Even their tools, as primitive as they are, can be used with great skill. When the Jarai try to participate in sports, such as playing ball and running, they are poor. They have a hard time carrying a B.A.R. or machine gun. The same is true for carrying a mortar and ammo. 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 "panjai 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 appear to have a very strong will and mind. With the proper psychological training along with military training, the Jarai will fight, and well. He loves his home, village, and lands. If he knows that he will get the backing, he will fight.

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.

Loyalty towards the family and 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 very fast. They have been exploited too many times before. Before you start to teach them the fast, modern way of doing things, be sure that their method is not according to 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 bad end of a joke.

In some places the Jarai do not want to face up to 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. Like any people there will always be one that 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 other Vietnamese. Right now the Jarai and other Montagnards are putting the Americans on trial to see if they will be like the Vietnamese or the French or better.

The Jarai has a great deal of independence within the family and in relationships with other tribes. He or she can marry in most cases as they desire, 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.

The Jarai will get very emotional under stress. Having an above average fear of death, they do not like to be in fire fights or on patrols where there can be an ambush at any time. During a time 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 not too bad, they will follow.

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 and will remain composed when the average person would display his anger by being aggressive or display it with words.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

In the folklore of the Jarai people the villain is always the hero. One example is a Jarai woman who was out working in a rice field and a rabbit came along, and he says you go in the house and prepare supper and I'll finish hoeing up your rice field here for you. So the woman goes into the house to cook supper for herself and the rabbit. In the meantime, the rabbit tears up the whole rice field and goes off leaving the rice all destroyed. This is really funny to the Jarai people because this rabbit got away with it. He was the villain and he walked away.

Another legend tells about a man who is a liar. His name is Luaar (which means liar), and his whole life is a life of deception; but he happens to be 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. Actually, 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 out of cotton and they appreciate a blanket or a heavy coat as a gift.

They do have decorative clothing for certain festivals. February and March are festival months for the Jarai. At this particular time they have sacrifices around the graves of the ancestors, and they do wear special dress at this time: the best that they have, in fact. They go to town and buy a white shirt or some shoes, or they will wear hand-woven, but beautiful, Jarai clothes that they only wear for these festival days. They 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. By the way, the women become very aggressive when drinking. 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; and, if you offend them, they can treat you with scorn. They can be very unfriendly and uncordial when you come into the village, but generally, the attitude of these people is to welcome you.

A visitor to the village is usually fed and housed by the people of the village. They are cordial to Vietnamese traders who sometimes come into the village. They bring cloth, salt, sugar, and other goods to trade 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, but their general relationships with nontribal members are good.

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 on her back or a hundred-pounds of firewood. The woman is made to work in the village and she doesn't have a very high place actually. They think a woman is stupid and that she can't learn anything. 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, the special village setup, 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; they want to stay out of it; they don't like change.

The Jarai always feed their visitors, and they will always offer you a good place to stay. Some of the food that they offer you may be hard to eat occasionally, but they will offer food and entertainment when you come into the village.

The Jarai have always been losers in warfare, and, consequently, they had rather have nothing to do with it.

The Jarai ideal is to be a great hunter. Of course, some of the larger animals in Viet-Nam are greatly feared, and they are deathly afraid of tigers. Aside from this, they are brave and skillful hunters. They eat practically anything--there are not any taboos on animals--but there are some animals that they may be afraid of and won't bother. Generally they will kill most animals and they do domesticate animals (like elephants) out of the jungle.

Cautiously observe customs and taboos when you are in contact with tribal members. Some individual 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 that enters the village and they don't want you to come in.

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, off the main roads, 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 not handle it unless you ask permission. If you get permission, it is all right to handle it; but, otherwise, some of these objects are believed to have spiritual power and the Jarai themselves are very afraid of them.

There are stones that they keep 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, so they keep these stones.

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 out with modern drugs. The Jarai know the value of the Western drugs and aid, but at the same time, do not force this help upon them. 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 into them. 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 him 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 do not like to see this in a person.

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

6. Don't fool around 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 the American is used to better items.

9. Don't give items to the Jarai without getting something in return.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The overall health of the Jarai by U. S. standards is very poor. Even by Vietnamese standards, it is poor. 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 most cases. In the cooler areas of the Jarai, 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 dies.

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 also suffer from skin diseases and eye infections. The Jarai have only two types of treatment 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 type of herb is not known.)

Due to the Jarai's lack of personal hygiene and the filth, they have bedbugs. Articles in books state that the bedbug 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

and the Jarai area, the people suffer from "goiter," due to a lack of iodine. In the months of December, January, and February, many of the people die from respiratory diseases such as pneumonia.

The Jarai do use some herbs and tree sap from the jungle to prepare home remedies for certain of their ills.

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.

Jarai shelter requirements are not peculiar to any of the other Montagnards of Viet-Nam. The Jarai house is built from bamboo and grass thatch. The house is built approximately four feet off the ground on pilings. The Jarai likes to build his house so 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.

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 the 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,have 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 they seem to cover just about everything, there will only be certain trees, houses, etc., that are affected by this.

The principal Jarai feast days are carried out during the months of February and March. This is their spring festival or "Arap." They do have other festival days but not much is known about them.

When a religious ceremony begins, all the people of the village will gather at one spot in the village. There will be playing of drums and gongs. A buffalo will be tied to a large post in the center of the area. Then it appears that selected people will ham-string the animal first. They will cut and strap the animal, but they do not try to kill it outright. Sometimes it will be shot with arrows. At a high point in the ceremony, when the majority of the people are drunk from rice wine, the animal will be killed by using a special knife or axe on the neck. Some of the people are so drunk by this time they do not know or care if they are eating raw meat or what. Certain parts of the animal will be saved and offered to the different gods. Other parts will be taken to the graves of their dead and offered. Some of the people will sit by the graves and talk to the spirits.

The Jarai also have a grave abandoning ceremony. This follows the same steps as the ceremony just described but in this particular case the grave will receive offerings of rice, tobacco, and money. At the end of the ceremony, the grave is abandoned, is never visited again, and is allowed to go back to the jungle.

Because of their anamistic religion and beliefs which call for the sacrifice of their animal stock, they become poor. The same is true for the use of rice for making their rice wine for ceremonies. By their hand-to-mouth existence, the Jarai and the other Montagnards of Viet-Nam 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 learned a trade, learned to speak Vietnamese and English, and have advanced themselves.

The sorcerer is a very important man in the Jarai tribe, and sometimes he will have the 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 that would prohibit the Jarai from engaging in the present conflict, although the Jarai is not a very aggressive

person. They do not like physical conflict, but at the same time they are brutal to animals when they kill. It may be quite possible to work this along the lines of warfare and fighting.

The influence of missionaries is very limited on 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 religion. One of the reasons would 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. The 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 great 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. Mr. Gene Evans is now working at Dalat; Miss Ruth Witting is working out of Pleiku; and The Reverend Mr. Charles E. Long, a CMA missionary, has done extensive work with the Jarai in the past, and he will be returning 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 that 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. This involves drinking rice wine, and the Montagnards will normally have a buffalo sacrifice. When this is completed, 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. It is one of the best ways to win over a group or village. At the same time, Americans do not know, nor are they aware of all the religious beliefs and, as a general rule, should not get too involved with these ceremonies. As stated before, the Jarai are anamist in their religion. They have many objects that should not be touched. At the same time they will 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.

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 things from one another with gongs and jars.

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.

The Jarai will trade with the other Montagnards around their tribal area, and they will travel to town to trade their goods for salt and other commodities from the Vietnamese.

The Jarai have a very concise 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 jugs of the type valued for rice wine. A person killing a wild pig will bring it into 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. In certain areas of the Jarai near the larger towns, the Jarai will have more items of value than their Jarai brothers in the mountains.

There is no form of taxation among the Jarai. They are called upon by the Vietnamese to cut brush and jungle along the roads, and they are suppose to receive pay. They never do, and one could say that the Jarai consider 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 give 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 to let the Vietnamese go into the area around Pleiku and farm the land; 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 a man trading in a Bahnar village and saying he got 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 Viet Cong; but the people in the remote villages are not aware of the political scene, and they do not even care. 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 put up with. Ask them if they are loyal to the government and to the Republic of Viet-Nam and they do not know what you are talking about.

XII. SUBVERSION.

Communist propaganda and subversion among the Jarai 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, "Do help us and don't help the government." The Jarai have cut trees across the roads, cut power lines, dug traps, and put "panjai" stakes on the trails. There are some villages you will visit in and around these areas that will have only the old women, old men, and the young children in them. 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 from the Vietnamese Government or to at least impair their loyalty to the government so the government cannot use the Jarai 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 people (the Jarai) who live in the mountains, would be a big step in the overall plan of the Viet Cong.

The Viet Cong have taken the young men and women from the villages and have been training them 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 have been picked up near the Cambodian border 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 towards the aims of the Viet Cong. If methods such as these do not work, the Viet Cong will go into a village, burn it to the ground, and take all the people of the village back into the jungle with them for Communist indoctrination. The Communists in the area of the Jarai have also been using leaflets written in Jarai, Vietnamese, and in some cases in English.

The Viet Cong have a good foundation for their efforts to win 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 could 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. 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 wanting to be left alone, have suffered a great deal at the hands of the Viet Cong. As a result they are leaning toward the government; and if they do have to fight, it will be for the Vietnamese Government.

XIII. PSYOPS CONSIDERATIONS.

The Communist are now, and have been, 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 are being used but 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 love to see. Here again they do not show enough of the Jarai doing things and advancing themselves. Radio methods have 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 out to the Jarai. This could be considered one of the best methods to use.

The Jarai 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).

Fear and uncertainty--None.

Diaster--None, they weep and chant.

Festivals--Rhythmic beating of drums and gongs.

Patriotism or tribal consciousness--None.

Death--Gongs, drums, and weeping.

The Jarai like the colors of red, black, and blue.

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 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, but 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 change-over 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 very good project and accepted by the people in most of the 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. It would be a lot easier to teach the people to use the river properly. The Vietnamese have started some trade schools for the Jarai and other

Montagnards, but there are not enough Vietnamese in the Jarai villages going to the Jarai and winning them on their own ground.

The Vietnamese Government has fears about the special forces in Viet-Nam. The 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 an active civic action program. These are the machines and equipment you will see in the larger towns of the Vietnamese being polished, waxed, and everything but used. Under the present rule of General Kan, in Viet-Nam, there appears to be more efforts being made by the people (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 a good agriculture program, and a better education program on 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 the 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 wany 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 the Jarai that 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 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 both 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 the military before with the French. If given the training and equipment, the ones who want to defend their village will be able to do so.

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 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.

The Jarai are mechanically inclined. If shown some procedure 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.

From an offensive position, with backing, the Jarai are willing to fight. There is no accurate information on how the Jarai would react in a defensive situation when they were sustaining heavy losses.

From an aggressive viewpoint, 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. military men 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.

Many of the older Jarai have served with the French Army, but 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 role, and they are receiving their training along these lines today from the 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.

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 Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Jeh (also known as the Yeh, Die, Jeh Derale, Jeh Brilar) people number around 15,000 and live in the northern part of Kontum and southern Quang Nam Provinces. They also spill over into Laos in some areas. The strategic importance of this tribal group lies in its location in the rugged mountainous region of the Laos - Viet-Nam border. The area is sparsely populated and has a very poor communications network, making this area one that could be controlled without trouble by the group that controls the tribes' people. Based on old road nets and existing trails, access to and from Laos is relatively easy.

The Jeh are a strong and independently minded people. They know the mountain - jungle area in which they live as any native hunter must in order to survive. They make good paramilitary soldiers, when properly trained and led, and would be excellent scouts and guides for regular units conducting CI or conventional operations within the tribal area.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

(For the area inhabited by this tribe see enclosed map). The distribution of sub-groups is not well defined at this time. 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 discrepencies 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 and sharply rising mountains with sharp ridge lines. Rivers are generally narrow, deep, and swift. The vegetation is quite thick and varied. Along the rivers bamboo thickets and many forms of tall grasses grow. On the slope of the mountains, depending on the exact area, one will encounter tropical forests of pines and hardwoods of great heights and the ground is covered with a dense undergrowth of jungle runners and ferns. In other areas there are rain forests covered with moss and plant parasites of every variety.

The road network and waterways can be covered in short order. The two main roads are Route 1, running north-south along the coast, and Route 14, running north-south through Kontum, Dak To, Dak Sut, Dat Pek

generally parallel the Republic of Viet-Nam - Laos boundary. The road presently ends in the vicinity of Dak Gle. East - west roads in the area are almost nonexistent. The ridge and valley system runs north and south, making road construction almost impossible at this time. Rivers in this area are navigable only by shallow draft native canoe-like craft, and these only on the larger streams and rivers. Most rivers and streams are paralleled by paths, thus eliminating the need for travel by boat, according to Jeh thinking. About the only time a Jeh will use a boat is for setting his 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 seem to follow more or less 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 take the same amount of time.

Modern means of communication and transportation are limited in this area. The area will not support large aircraft landing zone or drop zone, so most of the heavy supplies required must be air-dropped, air-landed by helicopters, or hauled up on one of the north-south roads that lie in the eastern and western area and then off-loaded to be man-packed or animal-packed into the less accessible areas.

The effects of weather, climate and terrain on the conduct of any military operations are great. The dry season from October to March, is a period corresponding to our fall and winter. It is dry and hot from October to December and from January to March the temperature will drop down into the high 30's or low 40's at night. During the entire dry season the winds blow at great velocity through the mountain valleys. This gives a high wind chill factor that has an adverse effect on the native troops.

The terrain is extremely rugged. Changes in elevation are great between valley floor and ridge line and precipitous to a point where footholes must sometimes be cut to climb the slopes. Due to the rugged terrain and limited road net, transportation of heavy military items is restricted. The use of pack animals or aircraft would greatly facilitate the movement of bulk supplies off main roads.

The vegetation greatly limits visibility even during the dry season. In the bamboo belt along the river systems the visibility is as low as 3 to 10 yards because of the small amount of light able to penetrate the jungle canopy and the ground level dense growth.

Higher on the slopes, light conditions are better and growth is comparatively sparse. From some of the ridge lines observation of 5 to

10 kilometers is usually possible. One is unable to see through the jungle canopy and hence cannot detect movement.

The dry season allows for operations of a type that are self-sustaining or can be resupplied. The terrain will wear down all but the toughest troops. The weather is not harsh but plans must be made for warm clothing and some form of light sleeping gear.

The wet season runs from about April to September. During this time the area receives as much as 180 inches of rain (about 1 inch a day for 6 months). This causes a serious loss of trafficability of the roads in the area and in some cases completely destroys small segments of Route 14. Air travel is unpredictable at best. A reliance on regularly scheduled resupply by road or air during this time would be risky for any extended military operations.

Crosscountry movement is greatly impeded by the rains. Most of the trails become so slick with mud that they are almost impossible to all except small units. Dense jungle growth and poor light conditions cut visibility to almost nothing except during the brightest times of the day. Mountain streams become raging torrents and are a hazard to cross-country movement.

The wet season causes some health problems for military units in the field: malaria and other fevers, colds, leeches, immersion on foot.

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 this rugged country. This causes the Jeh to clear smaller fields that they can keep cleared through 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.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Jeh language is of the basic Mon-Khmer group and falls into the Bahraric subgroup. It is grouped with the Bahnar, Hre and 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 completely and only with effort.

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 interpreters.

The Jeh are extremely isolated and tend to have little contact with outsiders and in some cases even with 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, social and political systems. It has also limited the mixing of the Jeh with other tribal groups sharing a common border.

IV. HISTORY.

At this time nothing is known about the factual or legendary origin of the Jeh people other than some of the general theories pertaining to the origin of all of the Montagnards.

The Jeh being very isolated are, therefore, not as advanced politically, economically, or sociologically as some of the tribes closer to the French-Vietnamese (pre '54) 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 army of Viet-Nam of today. This has given the Jeh some classroom education as well as some training in practical military knowledge, such as truck driving, weapons and radio. It has also exposed them to the cultural difference between their society and the more advanced French, Vietnamese, and American. It is too early to predict accurately the effect of this exposure on their culture.

Tribal migration as such does not exist. Each village will move or resettle of its own accord to establish new rice fields after they have exhausted the fertility of the area around their present village. 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 have caused villagers to move would be a famine, fire, flood, or some sort of plague attributed to the "spirits that would render the area unsafe to inhabit."

The current migration pattern of the Jeh seems to be generally in two directions, depending on the types of experience the person, family or village has with insurgent elements. Those that can be reached by the central government of the Republic of Viet-Nam will be moved away from Laos - Republic of Viet-Nam border and from remote areas in the mountains toward the relative safety of the settled area along Routes 1 and 14. The other groups are those that for some reason are in the bad graces of the government of Viet-Nam are captured by the Viet Cong and move away from government-controlled areas to areas even more remote, either toward the Laos border, actually into Laos in some cases, or deeper into the mountainous area.

Crossing of international boundaries means nothing to a Jeh. He has no understanding of the concept of governments or international law and treaties. If he has a rice field in Laos, or can find game there, he will go there. One contributing factor is the fact that the Republic of Viet-Nam - Laos border is ill-defined, at best, in the Jeh area.

Each house or family seems to own certain farm or crop land and this is respected by others and they will not move in on each others or another villager's land holdings.

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. Also efforts are being made to resettle the Jeh into safer areas out from under Viet Cong influence. This has caused the Jeh to migrate into more remote areas, at times.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Jeh would better be called a group of ethno-linguistically similar people, living in independent villages, made up of families. The family is the basic building block of their society.

Within the family there seems to be some equality between men and women. 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 four 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.

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, which is generally during the ages of 7-10 years. Then they are given tools, sometimes small-sized models of adult tools, and 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 the village of which it is a part. Each family will be composed of as many generations living under one roof as are living.

As for any loyalties to other villages, or "all other Jehs," a village will give lodging and food to a traveling Jeh and expect the same in return. 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, and water buffalo, or the amount of land (hence rice), 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: these men may only be spokesmen for the real leader, like the Iroquois talking chief.

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, or when the need for some village project arises, such as building a communal house, repairing a water source, or 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 abstract 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 between individuals or families and other members of the village, or the village itself, 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 people, 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 in contact. The borders shared with other tribes are not sharp and well-defined. The areas overlap, in some cases, 5 to 10 kilometers. There seems to be some blending of cultural patterns within the area of overlap.

The extent of literacy would be as low as one percent of the total Jeh population and that percentage would be literate in a foreign language, French or Vietnamese, as the Jeh have no written language at this time.

They have a very limited grasp of the concept of numbers. Most things dealing with numbers seem to 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. This gives 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 with a fire pit equipped with 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 who is used to them. They seem to be able to learn how to use modern equipment without difficulty and can be taught to drive trucks and cars, operate power saws, disassemble and assemble complicated light infantry weapons.

The educational system used by the Jeh is quite primitive. Both sexes are taught the 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 and the things required of Jeh women. The male children associate with the men and learn the manly 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 not only the needed skills but in the tribal lore and legend of the Jeh. If the family or 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.

The tribe has no formal educational system as we know it. All education is of an intrafamily kind consisting fundementally of survival and economic skills.

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 communal house will use a large central room in one of the longhouses as a "communal house."

Most Jeh villages have a fence around them for protection from jungle predators or human attack.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Jeh are a short (5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 10 inches), sturdily-built people. They are light brown in color with eyes that can best be described as "bloodshot brown." Their hair is black and in some cases has a reddish tint due to extreme vitamin shortages.

They tend to have wide noses and high cheekbones. The eyes are not like the oriental but more Caucasian.

Their general state of health is poor. The infant mortality rate is high. Many of the infant sicknesses we consider as mild are fatal in Jeh country. Malaria and dengue, and all forms of parasites, are common in both adults and children. Due to an unbalanced or improper diet their resistance to illness and infection is low.

The Jeh seem to have amazing endurance when it comes to things that they do in their every day life. They seem to be able to walk indefinitely with heavy loads on trails, but moving with the same load cross-country will wear then down quite 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.

No limitations on the use of any weapons or other military equipment can be attributed to physical characteristics. In support of operations with these people it is noted that they are considerably smaller than the average American and must have extra short, small size clothing and boot sizes running as low as 4.

The Jeh are a comparatively aggressive tribe. They produce a number of weapons that are strictly battle weapons, of no value in hunting, such as swords and shields. They also have a combative game played with bamboo swords and their goatskin shield. The object of the game 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 also seem to put up some type of protective fence around their villages, partly to protect their village against jungle animals, but also from human attacks. Most of the villages are located in defensible terrain on hilltops and ridge lines.

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, and will run this water system into the center of the village to form a common watering point. They will also 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 ridge lines and the apex in the valley. All along the fence, and in 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.

The individual is socially oriented mainly toward his own family group, and then to the village in which he lives. There is some awareness of the Jeh as a total group. A Jeh from one village can expect food, lodging and good hospitality from other Jeh villages as he passes through on his journey. Villagers are eager to hear news of other areas that the outsider carries. United effort at any level above the village either among Jeh villages or with other tribes is extremely rare.

This tribe has intelligently developed a number of relatively complex things within their society: Irrigation and water supply systems, systems of land ownership, to name two. They have the ability to learn technical skills, such as driving, weapons, basic tactics, the operation of hand or power tools.

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

The best approach toward gaining the confidence and trust of the Jeh people would be to achieve empathy, practice kindness and patience.

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.

The Jeh are generally friendly people that react well to fair and honest treatment. Those that deal with them in any other manner can expect the Jeh to react against that individual or to withdraw from contact with the individual altogether.

The Jeh are very independent in their actions. Each family carries on its own routine without interference from any village authority. Any decision by a husband to go off on a trip is most important; most of the time the entire family will go along.

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 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. 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.

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

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

Little is known of the tribal folklore or history, partly because of the lack of record and partly due to the small number of nonindigenous people that know the language and have studied the tribe. One tale heard quite often is that to insure getting a wife, a young man should capture an enemy and chop off his hands and hang them in the communal house.

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

The Jeh treat nontribal people well and show them hospitality as long as they reciprocate. If the visitor offends the Jeh by dishonest dealings or flagrant abuse of taboos, then the attitude changes. They will expel the offending individual if possible or withdraw from contact if necessary.

Little is known about the customs and taboos of the Jeh people. The following are some specific examples: 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 these women with respect and not permit any opportunities for physical contact to develop.

We have one good example of a taboo connected with movement of a village from one location to another: The central government desired to relocate a village from point A to point B and the village refused to move, the reason given was this: Two parts of the water buffalo, the tail and skull, are saved after a sacrifice. They are very important to the Jeh and 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 was such that it did not allow for consideration of this fact and tried to move the village against its will. The result was that the villagers packed up and moved further into the mountains, crossing no rivers, and out from under government control.

There is a fear of the predatory animals, tigers and leopards, that live in the same environment as these people. They will carry a tiger tooth as protection and avoid areas that are frequented by these animals.

There seem to be no taboos against warfare--they have combative games within their culture and take an interest in hand-to-hand combat.

The effect of the actions of nonindigenous personnel that may affront the customs and taboos of the Jeh is difficult to predict. Existing knowledge on the customs and taboos is limited and tends to vary from village-to-village. The best course for strangers is to be cautious and learn from observing what the Jeh do and do not do.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The general state of health, sanitation, and personal hygiene of the Jeh can be summarized as generally poor.

The government of the Republic of Viet-Nam is taking steps to raise the health standard of the Jeh and to educate them in the basic principles of hygiene, sanitation, and first aid by training province and district public health workers, and with the help of U. S. Special Forces, are training health workers in first aid and public health skills down to village level. This is a long-term project that will take years to complete.

What few missionary efforts that have been made have been well received by the people and have resulted in a marked change in the standard of the villages concerned.

Problems encountered in bringing about changes in the health standards of these people stem from their almost complete lack of basic knowledge, and their animistic beliefs that a spirit is causing the sickness. The Jeh believe implicitly that the person will get well only when this spirit has been appeased with a sacrifice. The reaction of the tribes people to medical treatment is one of general acceptance and gratitude.

The Jeh people seem to have no set rules of hygiene or public health with one notable exception--the village water source. They generally take great pains to keep clean the section of a stream or the spring where they get water for family use. They use it only as a water source and not as an area to dump waste or water their animals.

The superstitions and religion of 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 the steps can be taken to prevent illness or cure it after it has developed. Ignorance and their animistic beliefs are two of the three main deterrents to good health standards.

The third factor is the habit of filth. The Jeh rarely wash and almost never bathe during the colder months when they stay in their houses, close to the fire, for extended periods in order to keep warm. By the end of the cold season they are almost black with caked soot and grime. They do not clean their hands before eating or preparing food.

The principal diseases to be found in the tribal area are not much different than those found elsewhere in Viet-Nam: Malaria and other fevers, dysentery, leprosy, skin ulceration, TB, and a wide range of internal parasites. No particular tribal cure or treatments were noted. This is due largely to the animistic belief that the spirits are the cause of the ailment.

One of the principal causes of disease in the area is the lack of personal hygiene. The lack of knowledge about the steps that can be taken to prevent disease and the Jeh's mode of living contribute to the causes of disease.

The diet of the Jeh has a profound effect on their health which is not balanced and leaves much to be disired. Vitamin shortages are so great in some areas that they cause structural defects in children and changes in hair color. (This area also lies in the Asian goiter belt.) An increase in the amounts of meats, fish, salt, and vegetables that supplement the rice would help to improve the general health of the tribe.

The clothing and shelter requirements in the tribal area are influenced by the extreme daily variation in weather. During the dry season temperature can vary from 90° at noon to 40° at midnight.

During the wet season the problem is of another kind--heat and rain.

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 the 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 sacrifice before they start to do 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 following refers to the picture sequence at the end of chapter 1 and is a description of a buffalo sacrifice near Dak Pek in northern Kontum province: The buffalo was tied to a stout pole about 20 feet high that was decorated with long strands of fine bamboo shavings and on top were a number of figures that varied from geometric shapes to birds. It was tied with a 15 foot rope made of crude hemp, and jungle vines were secured around his neck. It could move around the pole without much difficulty.

The activities began when a group of elders appeared draped in new cloth robes, escorting three young children, one girl and two boys, ages 8 to 10, to where the buffalo was tied. They were also accompanied by men playing on gongs and chanting. They placed a board on the ground in front of the buffalo and as the elders held the buffalo one of the boys passed a cup of rice wine around the buffalo's head. One of the children had a rice stalk tied on his head. Then the buffalo was forced over on his side and the children touched his side at certain points with swords decorated with rice stalks and other types of branches. Then the animal was allowed to stand again. At this time the youngsters repeated the "touching" pattern over again. All of this was done under the close supervision of the elders. At all times the men were playing the gongs and chanting. The rest of the villagers were drinking rice wine. Three boys between the ages of 8 and 12 spent about 2 hours tormenting and torturing the buffalo by hitting it with bamboo poles or throwing sticks and rocks at it. They took particular delight in attacking the eyes, spine, leg joints, and exposed sex organs. All of this was observed by the villagers. Rice wine was being consumed by everyone in the village: men, women, and children, accompanied by much chanting and gong playing. The elders reappeared, after about an hour of chanting and talking in one of the houses, armed with spears. One was a piece of green bamboo that had been sharpened back about a foot from the point and the others had iron spear heads on what appeared to be rattan shafts. It took them about 10 minutes to kill the buffalo, using repeated stabs into the area of the heart and lungs.

After the buffalo died it was gutted and the intestines placed on a bamboo mat. The blood from the chest cavity was saved in small containers. A very crude job of butchering was performed. By this time most of the villagers were quite drunk and they took parts of the animal and did about a half-way job of cooking it before eating. The festivities lasted for about 2 days. They gorged themselves with meat and rice and drank great quantities of rice wine. When the celebration died down about all that was left of the buffalo was the tail and skull, saved for religious reasons, while the bones were discarded and the hide would be used to make drum heads. Economically speaking, a run of illness or other misfortune can cause a family to sacrifice all of the animal stock from chickens to water buffalo, leaving them in a state of bankruptcy. Along with the sacrificing goes the drinking of large amounts of rice wine by all members of the village. This sometimes causes a serious depletion of their rice stores up to the point where they will go hungry for want of rice before their next crop is harvested.

There seems to be no religious tenets against warfare or physical conflict.

Knowledge about the customs and taboos is meager and, therefore, it would be difficult to give any specific rules on how to behave toward them. A good course of action would be not to do anything unless you are asked to. If you are invited to participate in an event, you should attempt to find out what is happening before doing so.

X. ECONOMY.

The Jeh are predominantly farmers that produce only for their own needs and not usually 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 system of exchange is one of barter within the tribe, the principle items being 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 predominant occupation is farming. The farm work is done by the entire family, including the children. 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 type of basket and pack out 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.

A system of property or land ownership exists, but little is known about it. The Jeh respect the property right of other Jeh and seem to have a system of leasing land to one another.

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 to. 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 as required. 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 Mihn (Viet Cong)."

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 with or for the Jeh. After the present crisis had begun to develop, 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 the Viet Cong infiltrated agents into 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, and that the French, and now 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 hill tribes there and also how the North Vietnamese Army has units composed of tribespeople to include officers. The Viet Cong 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.

XIII. PSYOPS 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 storytellers. 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 panjai 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.

The Jeh are aggressive and appear to have a history of fighting. They have combative games in their culture; missionaries that were in the area when the French first went into 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.

The Jeh, as it has been stated earlier in this chapter, are a foot-mobile people that move about extensively in the conduct of their farming, trade, and hunting and fishing.

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.

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 leggins-bracelets

Rice wine for drinking during ceremony

Jeh village elders chant during sacrifice ceremony

Chapter 7--The KATU Tribe

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 anthropologists 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. This is the highland interior of central Viet-Nam, to the west of the coastal cities of Faifo and Tourane (Danang) in Quang Nam province, to the borders 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 Boung 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 even making contact. This tribe is very important by the fact 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 is the highland interior of Viet-Nam and is generally considered to be inaccessible except by foot or river. The roads were originally secondary dirt roads built by the French but have been reclaimed by the jungle. Some of the rivers support shallow draft craft to get in and out of the area.

Communications are limited to the radio: The TR-20, TR-35 and HT-1. There are no communications lines interior from the coastal towns.

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 and the lack of roads force a reliance on air support. During the rains the roads are almost impossible. The thick jungle restricts the movement of troops to the trail and paths. Here a unit is a prime target for ambush. The alternative, cutting a new trail, is very slow and time-consuming.

The Katu are for the large part farmers. They produce both wet and dry rice. They also raise manioc, maize, and some vegetables. The land is very poor and the Katu has a hard time raising enough food to live on. This is the main reason the majority of the tribe can be found in the mountain valleys. The Katu methods of producing food is ancient and inefficinet: consequently, the crop yield is very poor. As a result, the tribal economy and the culture of the tribe has suffered.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Katu do not have any form of written language. The spoken form is from the Mon-Khmer group. The Katu never had very much to do with the French and very few people speak French, or Vietnamese for that matter. Some Katu today may know a few words of English, but 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 had very little contact with the French, Vietnamese, or Americans. This holds true with their contact with other Montagnards in this area of Viet-Nam. By being so close to the 17th parallel, the Katu have been influenced, and perhaps even come under the control of the Viet Cong.

The Katu, like many of the Montagnards of Viet-Nam, do not know of the existence of national boundaries, to say nothing of their location. The poor methods of farming used by the Katu force them to move from worn-out soil to good quite often.

The government of Viet-Nam has not been able to control the Katu. The thick jungle, lack of roads, and the propensity of the Katu for privacy, explain 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.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Katu do not have social, political or economic relationships with tribes 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 accordingly. The newly married couple may move into the family of the husband 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 value of whom is usually 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 towards 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. Pre-marriage 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 to be eaten at a communal house feast. If the girl is pregnant prior to the marriage, she goes into the forest with the boy for six 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 the Montagnards, love their children very much. The Katu family after marriage form a fundamental socioeconomic unit, quite typical of most Montagnard families. All work the land of the clan. The aged of the Katu have somewhat more prestigious position among the

Katu, than among other tribes. The oldest son of a family will inherit the bulk of family property upon the death of a father. Other sons will divide the rest.

The Katu also have divorce and rules with it. If the wife is guilty, all of the original price paid for the bride is returned. If it is the husaband's fault, only half is returned. But if the wife is adulterous, the original price for the bride is forfeited and the man she has been with 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 do not have intertribal relationships. The Katu have very rare contacts with other tribes of the Montagnard group. At the present time the Katu are reportedly largely under the influence of the Viet Cong.

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 humidity of the valleys. Normally the village will vary from 5 to 50 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 build 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 still 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 normally 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 tattooing will be a dancing woman on the forehead, a sun motif on the chest or forehead, or a swastika (less common). The general state of health of the tribe by U. S. standards is poor. The endurance of the Katu is good for walking and climbing mountains. They are very poor at running and lifting heavy weights.

The Katu has a history of being aggressive. The tribe still practices human blood sacrifices. A victim is selected by the village headman and 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 in his blood and return to the communal house for a ritual sacrifice.

Not much is known about the emotional state of the Katu. However, he is agressive, and has been fighting the Vietnamese in his area. 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 neck. 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 medical and food from Americans. In general, they do not trust the Vietnamese.

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 used not to go against any known taboos. Many of the Katu do not know the difference between the American or the Frenchman.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The Katu villages in their area will vary. In general, the overall conditions are very poor. 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, such as murder, enemy raid,

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 economy is agricultural. They have three staple crops, all cultivated in swiddens. These are upland rice, manioc, and maize. Small kitchen-size gardens are found in the villages. The domestic animals of the Katu are pigs, buffalo, chickens, and goats. In addition to the food raised, the Katu gather wild fruit, roots, edible leaves and other items from the jungle. Most meat is received from hunting and the main methods used incorporate traps and crossbows with poisoned arrows. The Katu have a fetal industrial arts development, consisting of the making of crossbows and traps, and weaving. The Katu trade spears, wood, betal leaves, and medical roots for iron, salt, cloth, and other items from the Vietnamese. The Katu take care of orphans by employing them as domestics for a family. These orphans live with the family and are allowed many freedoms, such as marriage, but do not share in the wealth of the family. The Katu do not have any form of taxation in their system and do not recognize any other government's taxation system.

XI. POLITICAL.

The Katu have never had any close relationship with the Vietnamese Government. At the present time, they are largely under the influence of the Viet Cong and 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.

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.

XIII. PSYOPS CONSIDERATIONS.

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

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

Civic action considerations must be based on talking with and convincing the Katu, face-to-face. The most hope for success could be expected from a basic first aid and field medicine program.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

The Katu are very aggressive, and have been helping the Viet Cong. The Katu have both French and American weapons in unknown but probably small numbers. Their leadership appears to be hard-core Viet Cong. They have not 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.

Chapter 8 --The KOHO Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

The general term Koho does not indicate a distinctly separate tribal group in the same way as the names Rhade, Jarai, Bahnar, and others. Instead, it 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. Due to a lack of time and valid sources, 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, 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 and extending south of Djiring and then to the west near Talai. The largest city in this area, and probably one of the most significant, is Dalat. One source said 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 considerably. However, they can still be traveled by jeep in most cases. If jeep travel is impossible, horseback and walking are the only means left. 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. However, there are some minor variations in pronunciation of words. No information was available on the background of the Koho language nor on the dialect spoken by the tribe.

It was pointed out that the people from other tribes in direct contact with the Koho understand their language and that any conversing done with the Koho is done in their language. The Koho seem to be ignorant of the languages spoken by these tribes around them.

The Koho possess no written language.

IV. HISTORY.

Our sources revealed nothing about the history of the Koho but indicated that they have inhabited their present location for the past 100 years.

It was pointed out that 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. When this migration takes place, it involves a distance of only a few miles. They never move a great distance. 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, he will consult his wife. 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 one man, the so called 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, if he should die, it is customary that his 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; and should he refuse, he must smooth her ruffled feelings with the "gift" of a pig or something of similar value. If he accepts her offer, he will go with her to her village if they come from different villages. If they come from the same village, she will accompany him to his house.

The Koho have no furniture in their houses and only a few cooking utensils. Possession of copper pots, buffalo (but not elephants), ancient jars, and gongs are looked upon as signs of wealth by the Koho. (It was noted that although a family might have a number of ancient pottery jars in their possession, they refuse to use them and use jars bought from the Vietnamese for such things as brewing rice wine and cooking.)

A typical Koho village consists of several longhouses arranged in two long rows or more than two shorter rows if space dictates. A small pond or well is usually located near the rear of the village at a

distance sometimes as great as 1 kilometer. The rows of houses are not laid out in any specific direction (east to west or north to south, etc.); but no matter what, the entrances face away from the well or pond.

The houses themselves 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 meters long but average about 60 meters 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.

Inside, the houses are divided into family areas: one area for each family. In the 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 platform about a foot high that is used for sleeping. 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 will get together and help another family that finds itself in dire straits. Any loan of rice or cloth or wine is paid back at the earliest possible opportunity. The families also go 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.

There is no partition or line on the floor that separates one family area from another. One may cross into another family area for conversation (or for anything else for that matter), but he returns to his own area upon conclusion.

Each family maintains its own schedule of meals, sleep, and work regardless of another family's activities.

The Koho day begins at approximately 7 o'clock in the morning when they arise and eat a rather large breakfast. After breakfast both the man and his wife go out into the forest to clear the 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, engage in conversation, drink some 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, and then doze lightly again. This is a repetitious process that continues all night.

The Koho continue to clear the land for about 15 days and then quit for a few days to let the trees dry. When the trees dry, they burn them on the spot, using the ashes for fertilizer. After burning, the Koho wait until the first rain comes and immediately after that first rain, they plant their crops of corn, cucumbers, tobacco and, for the most part, rice.

After the planting, they wait until the young plants begin to show above ground and then they 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 their village where they remain rather inactive until time to plant again.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

In general, the Koho enjoy very good health. 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. A Koho, when asked to carry in his hands a full 5 gallon container, is capable of carrying it only 40 or 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 very 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 what he learned to change a tire for. 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.

The Koho people 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 very 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 consort with them.

The Koho tribe, just as in all other Montagnard tribes, drink rice wine in large quantities. The rice is fermented in pottery jars, and water is added to the rice to make the wine. The wine is then consumed by means of straws inserted into the pot itself. The men imbibe in large quantities and when they are through, then and only then may the women drink. Not only must the women wait until the men are finished, they must drink from bowls for drinking through a straw is considered a sign of strength and is, therefore, for men only.

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.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

As was pointed out before, the Koho enjoy very good health in general. However, malaria, beri-beri, and venereal disease run very high among these people. They know what quinine is and they buy it from the Vietnamese to fight malaria. Syphilis is usually fatal to these people, for they have no means of curing it, but gonorrhea is not. To rid themselves of gonorrhea, they eat a jungle fruit that induces a high fever which, in turn, kills the germs.

The Koho have some leprosy and isolate lepers like all other Montagnard tribes, but they do nothing to treat it.

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 of contagion. 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 don't segregate the sick from the well except for leprosy.

The Koho will not go to a hospital when they get sick because they feel lonely and abandoned and are afraid that they will die away from their village.

IX. RELIGION.

The Koho do not worship a multitude 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 does not know from whence came this pair but that the Koho do 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.

It has been noted that 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 enploy a cut-and-burn method of agriculture as was mentioned in section V. They cut down trees, let them dry where they fall, and burn them where they lie. Corn, rice, cucumbers, and tobacco make up most of the Koho crops. These crops are harvested and used mainly for their own consumption, thereby reducing the need to look elsewhere for staples.

The Koho hunt small animals such as deer, monkeys, and birds which, in addition to domestic animals like cows, buffalo, pigs, and chickens, supply the meat for their diet.

The women weave all of the cloth used by the tribe and dye it with native vegetable dyes. They use this native cloth for clothes and blankets. The women also weave baskets and make pottery. Cloth, baskets, and pottery alike, have colored designs because the Koho does not like objects of one color.

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.

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 for several reasons.

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 captain or leader remains outside the village.

The Viet Cong observed this and used it to their advantage. The Viet Cong leaders will go into the village (barefoot if the villagers have no shoes) pass out cigarettes, drink wine with the villagers, sleep in their huts with them (the Vietnamese are horrified by this thought), treat them as equals, buy animals and food from them and, in other words, 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.

Some sources have indicated that the alledged aggressions of Vietnamese soldiers against this and other tribes that were witnessed 2 years ago are true; but with the advent of the new Vietnamese Government, such actions have no doubt ceased.

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.

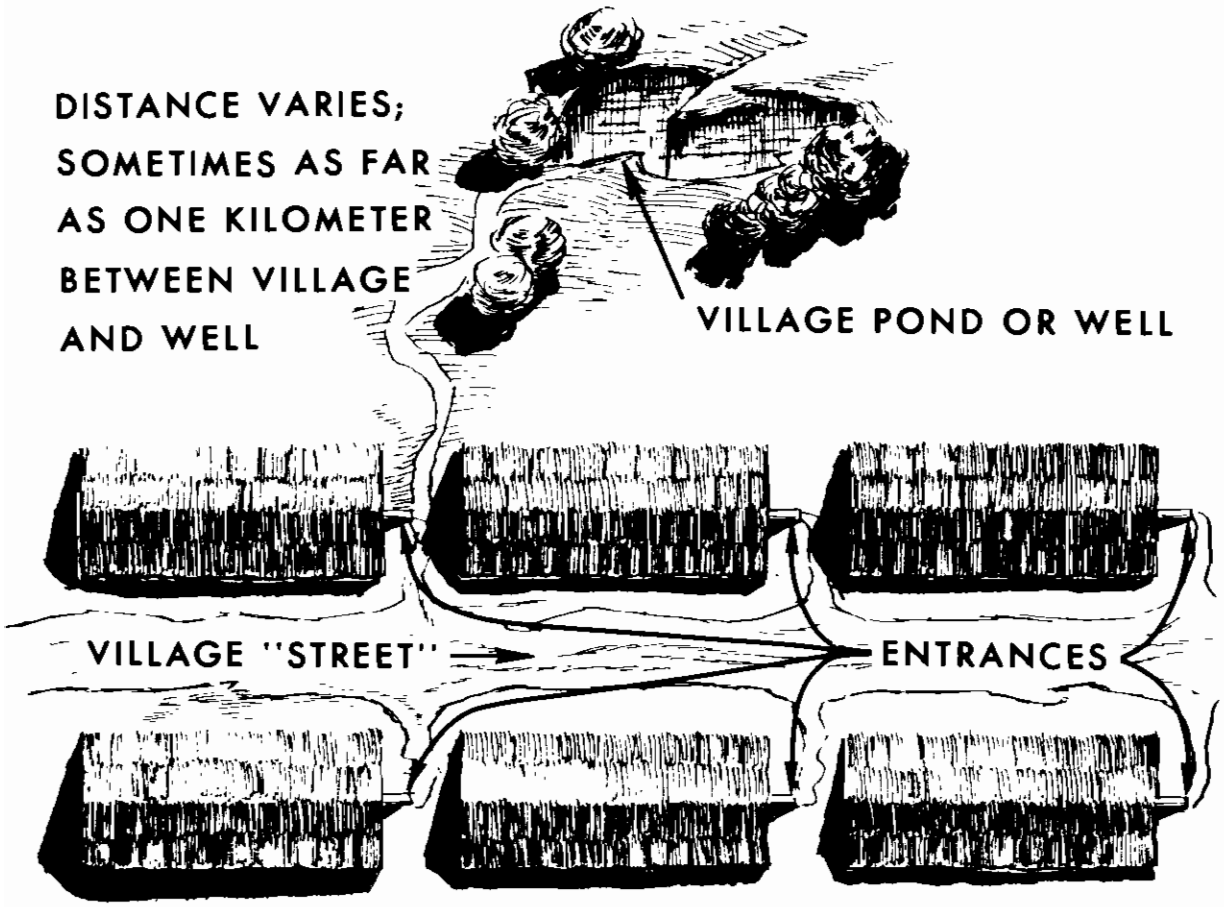
Upon the completion of more thorough research and evaluation of presently available information, a report of findings will be published at a later date.

XV. PARAMILITARY CONSIDERATIONS.

The Koho are very peaceful even 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 that they know well and trust implicity.



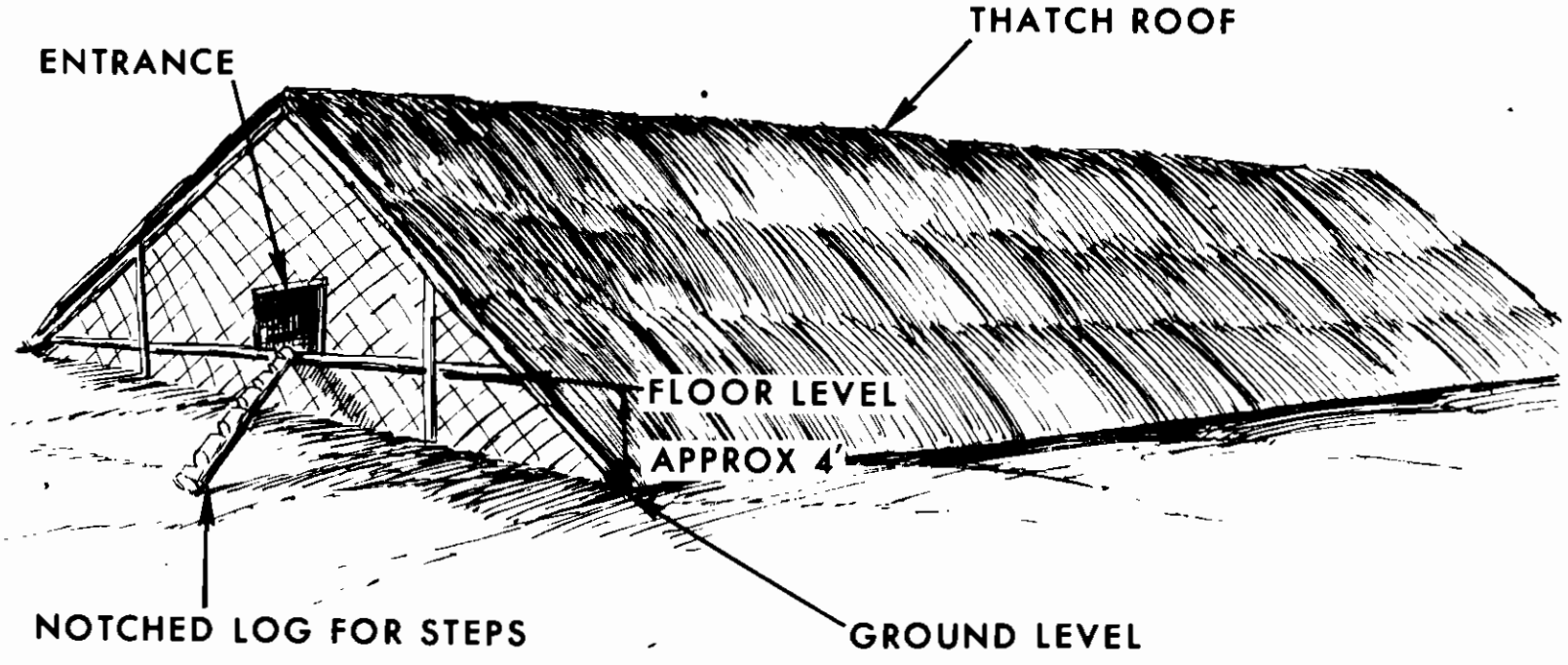
TYPICAL KOHO VILLAGE LAYOUT

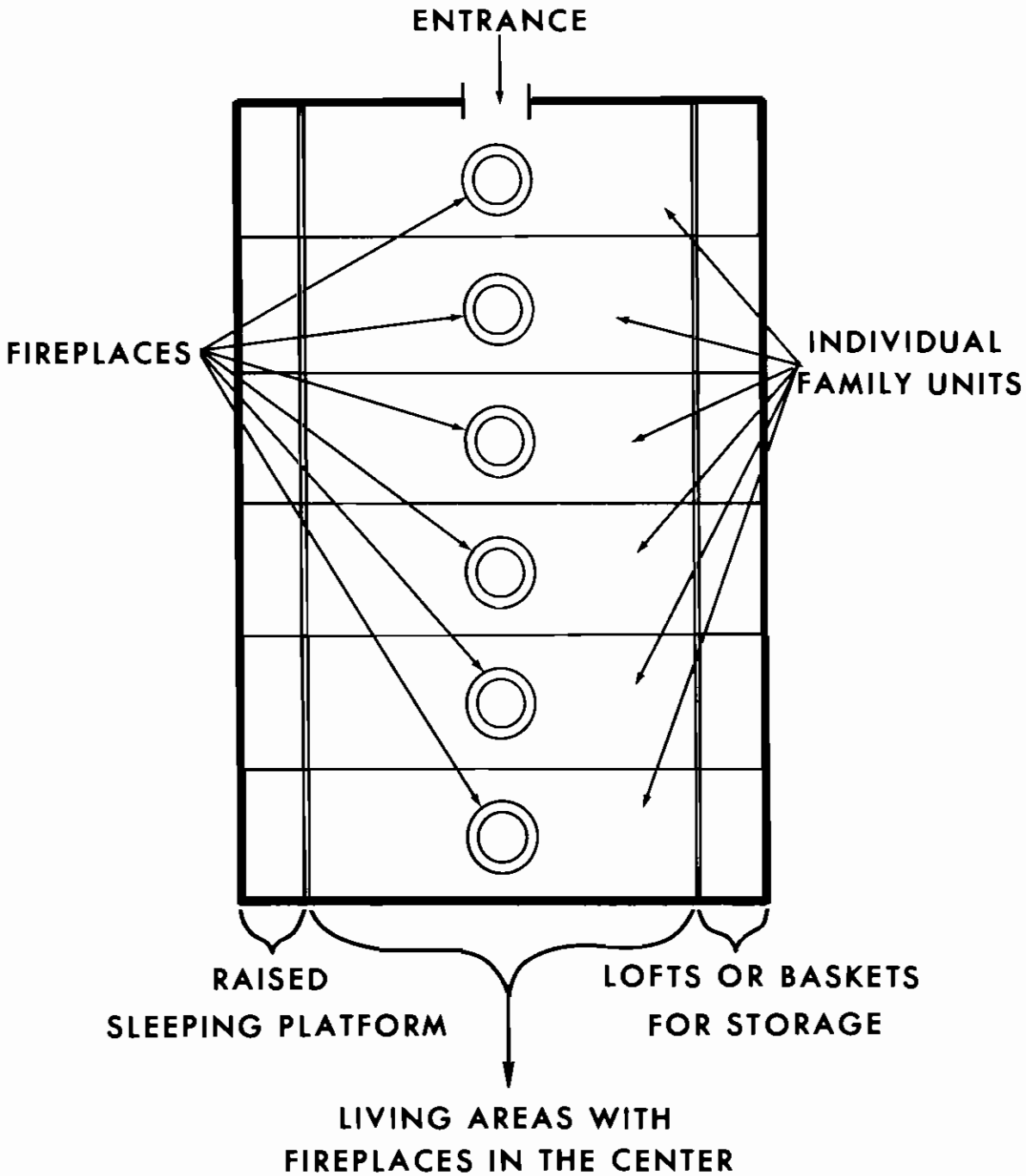
NOTE: 1 THESE HOUSES MAY BE AS MUCH AS 100 METERS LONG AND SHELTER AS MANY AS 10 FAMILYS

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 M'NONG Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

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

The M'nong 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. It has been estimated that, in addition to the M'nong in Viet-Nam, there are some 12 thousand M'nong across the border in Cambodia.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

The M'nong cover a lot of ground 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 Steing 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 M'nong 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 M'nong, they are able to communicate.

The M'nong Gar are the hardest to communicate with as their language varies the most from the other subgroup dialects.

Some M'nong tribesmen are known to speak other languages including Koho, Rhade, and Vietnamese.

There is no written language among the M'nong, 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 languages. 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 M'nong were regarded as the most savage and bloodthirsty of all the Montagnard tribes. Anyone who dared venture into M'nong territory could expect to be massacred. The few survivors of M'nong attacks told tales of bloodcurdling experiences with the M'nong. It is noted that in recent years contact with progress, civilization, and other tribes, notably the Rhade, has affected a change in M'nong 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. It is believed that it was through strong influence over a long period of time that the Bih left the Rhade and were taken into the M'nong tribe.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

In the M'nong 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 domination.

The marriage customs of the M'nong 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.

Marriage among the M'nong 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 M'nong is that they tend to intermarry, thereby perpetuating their elite roles.

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 family is the principal social structure among the M'nong 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 clan.

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 decision carries much weight.

In case the husband dies, all goods acquired after his marriage are divided among his children and his wife, or, if she is dead, her family.

Among the M'nong, wealth is important and is measured by the number of buffalo that a family sacrifices, not by how many it has.

Possession of slaves is another measure of wealth as are the possession of jars and gongs.

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

The size and form of M'nong 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 being 40 meters in length, and collectively cultivate fruit trees. They also have a clearing around their village as a protection against tigers.

Footpaths connect M'nong villages and log and bamboo suspension bridges are built over streams and ravines.

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

There is some variation in the placement of the entrances among the M'nong. The Biet place 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 M'nong houses are built on the ground, but one end will be raised on pilings if the house is constructed on a hillside. The M'nong Rolom is an exception, however; they build their houses completely on pilings.

The M'nong 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 M'nong 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. An exception to this floor plan is that of the Gar. The Gar 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 M'nong employ a number of temporary shelters placed in the woods or near their cultivated plots to live in, when they go out to hunt or to gather or to harvest their crops.

Should you pay a visit to a M'nong 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 seven 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 2 to 3 hundred feet long, with thatched roofs. You will also appreciate the beauty of the construction for these are well proportioned, built with only knives and axes, 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 M'nong women keep the floor swept clean and there is the not too unpleasant odor of smoke from the fire for there is no chimney.

Partitions at the back of the communal room provide space to eat and sleep for the many different families sharing the longhouse. Each family area has its own cubical and mud firebox, and 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 to be found hung across the doorways. These are regarded as special charms to keep out evil.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

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

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

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

Their finery consists of copper rings and necklaces whose number 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 M'nong are still called the Montagnards "with filed teeth and stretched ears."

The M'nong 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 M'nong, 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.

The M'nong women never eat with the men, because a woman can draw down the anger or the spirit, which shows itself in certain dishes.

Wars among the M'nong 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 M'nong refuse to carry away the dead bodies of alien tribespeople for fear that evil spirits will haunt them.

The M'nong 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 M'nong 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.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

The woman of the M'nong tribe gives 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 little baby and tends to her work as usual.

Since the gods are blamed for illnesses, the M'nong do not isolate sick people, thereby making it easy to spread disease. They do not understand contagion. One exception is leprosy. The M'nong are terrified of leprosy and isolate it whenever they see it.

IX. RELIGION.

The M'nong 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 and all 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 M'nong have sacrifices for many purposes. Some are: propitiation of the gods, consecrating goods and people, agrarian sacrifices, and sacrifices for purification, welcome and protection.

The M'nong have no festivals or holidays as such. However, every three years, two or three villages gather to amuse themselves. Buffalo are butchered for the feast, during which 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 expense of another village the next time, with the same guests and so forth.

In addition, the M'nong have an elaborate series of sacrifices in connection with funerals. There is a sacrifice for each step of burial. They are the preparation of the corpse; the placing of the corpse in a bier with some of the deceased's personal effects; the arrangement of the tomb; and the subsequent abandonment of the tomb.

There has been some attempt at conversion among the M'nong, 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 M'nong. They make their living with difficulty by means of traditional farming methods which produce very little and which require a seminomadic 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 M'nong people depend mainly on agricultural economy with some hunting and fishing, and industrial arts such as the manufacture of weapons, jars and pottery and, in the case of the M'nong Rolom, fine canoes.

The dietary staples are rice and corn. They are grown in swiddens that are chosen by divination and named after a spirit. (Swidden agriculture is the practice of cutting the jungle growth down, letting it lie where it falls, burning it as it lies and using the ashes for fertilizer.)

In addition to rice and corn, the M'nong raise maize, beans, eggplant, manioc, toro, yams, cucumbers, sugarcane, gourds, oranges, mangoes, limes, papayas, red peppers, ginger, and mushrooms. Three important tertiary crops are cotton, indigo, and tobacco.

The most common implements used by the M'nong in their farming are wooden digging sticks, iron hoes, axes, adzes, and chopping knives.

The M'nong keep a number of domestic animals. Among these are: pigs, dogs, duck, cats, goats, horses, buffalo, and elephants.

Hunting and fishing are important to all of the M'nong tribes. The M'nong Gar are the most adept at these pursuits, employing numerous methods that they have devised themselves. Besides fishing, the M'nong hunt birds, deer, monkeys,and other small game.

Among the items that the M'nong gather are bamboo shoots, mint,and saffron.

The M'nong engage in some industrial arts including weaving, basket-weaving, jewelry making, musical instruments,and weapons. The materials used in these crafts are either cultivated by the M'nong or are to be found growing wild.

The men do all the swidden clearing, hunting, basketmaking, and some ironworking. 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 M'nong people trade plants, animals, and products among themselves as well as with the Vietnamese and other tribespeople.

XI. POLITICAL.

As has been pointed out, the M'nong 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 M'nong, primarily by Viet Cong agents who have settled in the M'nong area to trade with and establish contact with the M'nong.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The best means of getting information to the M'nong would be the use of demonstrations and repetitious instruction. The M'nong have no radios and do not understand the written word.

Caution must be taken lest any part of 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.

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 a pulsating accompaniment to the chars. The sorcerer will come in and begin to offer his incantations to the rhythm.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

The M'nong 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 many as 8 to 10 villages together and made a community of some 600 to 800 people. (The average M'nong village is 80 to 200 people). They were made to live in houses built on stilts, ones that they could 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 house on the ground.

"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.

It has been pointed out that the majority of M'nong hostilities has been between families or clans rather than tribe versus tribe or village versus village. It would therefore probably be difficult to align these people for a conflict of ideals that they do not understand.

The M'nong 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 Tribe

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 went into 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 labor division between men and women, she carries water and gathers all the needed plants, herbs, and wood. She assists in the harvest period as does everyone. The weaving of cloth for garments also is performed by the women.

The male is the head of the family. His children take his name. He prepares the land for the crops and goes hunting and fishing.

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 occupy the same village.

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.

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. He can't, if she is old, or without a family, or during a mourning period, and in proverty.

Adoption is a relatively common happening 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 the eldest son in his own family.

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.

Their houses consist of four walls of split bamboo, or planks, with roofs of thatch. They are off the ground on two or three rows of pilings sunk into the ground. The pilings are at intervals of about 1.5 meters at a height of 1.2 to 1.8 meters 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, in 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 some type of shelter near the house for them. Granaries will also be built near the house on pilings.

The house and property will be owned by the individual family. Research has found that extended family groupings will build their houses near one another.

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 a lighter complexion 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 that 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 squatish and massively built. The wrist and ankles are rather heavy. Their hair is black and straight, coarse, stringy and sparse. They are not handsome but very intelligent.

Usually, the men are taller than the women and average 5 feet 3 inches in height. They are not muscular, but have very 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 but are slow in showing emotion.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The different tribes will have a varying taste; the Muong will accept beads of any color, but only white cloth.

There are taboos associated with the new year period; but they are not known well enough to report. It has been said that they will break no soil for planting for the first three days of the first lunar month.

The extended family of Dinh have a taboo against the eating of monkey meat. The Qu'ach extended family will not eat dog meat.

After 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 the burning of straw or bamboo and will vary in the number of days it is displayed from village to village.

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, a spirit of 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 death is that of capturing 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, this catches his soul. The person also may be taken off the cot and put on the ground until he is dead and then is 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 some 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 mostly 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 - XV.

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

Chapter 11--The RHADE Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

For many decades the Rhade have been considered the most important and strategically located of the Montagnard in the highlands of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

The name Rhade is the French variation of the Montagnard name Ete. 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.

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.

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.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

(See Map)

III. ETHNOTOGY.

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 thirty 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 thereby setting up specific clan areas and boundaries.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

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 secondly, the perpetuation of the line.

In regards to family structure, the man is the "breadwinner" of the family, although all property is owned by his wife.

Legend and tradition dictates that certain family groups should not intermarry. However, if two members of the same clan do 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 affairs and thereby bringing shame on herself. Most girls, however, do not get married until sixteen 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. Prior to 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, then he if he likes 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 up to 2 - 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.

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.

There are other customs associated with marriage. For instance when 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.

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 her by his family. If the wife is caught she is also fined. However, if the 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.

To insure that a girl rarely becomes pregnant without having a husband to lay claim to, a boy and a girl having a private affair exchange bracelets in secret. Any denial of this secret marriage would result 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.

The Rhade tribesmen are organized into matrilineal lineages. The oldest female owns the house and animals. The married man lives with his wife's family and is required by custom to show great respect

for his mother-in-law, and therefore 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.

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 the girl may pay off her dowry when she cannot make full payment at the outset. This period may last up to three years.

Joking within the family household is considered improper although children and older people are exempt from this rule. However, elders are still treated with respect. You can joke with members of other clans but not with clan brothers.

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. Both family and guests may 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 footsteps, the male entrance, to assist in reaching the main floor level which is about four feet above the ground. The female entrance is usually a flat carved ladder with twin breasts and a crescent appropriately sculptured at the top. The women use the porch (Bhok-gah) 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,

or guest room, for use 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 references indicate that generally houses may be large, some photos indicate that some houses are much smaller and perhaps house only a nuclear family or two.

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.

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, makes the traditional red, black, yellow and blue cotton thread of the Rhade. Both men and women work together in planting, harvesting and in raising livestock.

Children from nine to eleven help their parents with chores around the house while those, five to eight, 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.

Authority in the Rhade family 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 on a limited basis. There exists a lack of 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.

As was previously mentioned, because of the dialect differences between tribal languages, most of the tribes do not intermingle.

Where it is permissible, marriage is one way in which there would be a merging of any degree between two tribes.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

According to most reports, the average Rhade is between 64 and 66 inches in height, has a brown complexion and is usually built quite sturdily and is very broad shouldered.

The Rhade general state of health is poor. In regards to endurance and manual dexterity, because their work mostly includes farming and building, the Rhade seems 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. There are a great many feasts held to court or appease the spirits.

The majority of these feasts stem from a religious activity on events directly concerned with religion, such as birth, marriage and death.

Drinking, and in most cases excessive drinking of alcoholic beverages, is quite common among the Rhade. By consuming large quantities of rice wine, the tribesmen become quite happy, thereby 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 for 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, which is holding the child down on the ground, placing a rock or stone under their front teeth and then proceed to file or hack 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 his or her teeth were.

Dreams play an important role in determining the activities or future of the Rhade tribespeople. 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 severely 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.

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.

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.

Nonindigenous personnel when in the company or area of a Rhade 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.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICINE.

According to visiting village health officials and special

forces returnees, 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.

The contributing factors causing these poor health conditions are ignorance of modern health and sanitation practices and the unavailability of proper medicines.

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, that is, belief in spirits. They also believe in a god (Ae Die) and a devil (Tang Lie).

The Rhade call for 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 pertaining to religion take place such as birth, marriage and death.

The rituals performed in accordance with the various events that take place, 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 circumstance and type of ritual being held. For example, a ceremony honoring the water god would be held near the water.

A number of religious beliefs and ceremonies are associated with planting, harvesting, and storing of 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 insure a good growing season. Other spirits are called on to bring rain and protect the growing rice from insect damage. There is also a planting sorcerer who is responsible for sacrifice and the spirits connected with the growing rice.

X. ECONOMY.

Rhade agriculture is very primitive and also destructive. It is based on a Lam Ray slash-and-burn, or shifting agriculture. The great fertility of the soil, however, allows the tribesmen to survive. This shifting type of agriculture has generally resulted in migratory rather than permanent village communities.

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 five 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. However, if the sow dies, the piglets are divided equally.

There is neither a strong desire nor a traditional or cultural value placed on saving, and saving only occurs 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, wime, 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 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 Mongtagnard 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 approximately 5 to 6 thousand Rhade left and 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 into these villages by taking participation in the 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 wear Rhade clothes to gain the confidence of the villages.

In general, the propaganda of the Communist agents is antigovernmental in nature. The issues that the agents emphasize are those concerning the government's lack of respect for the mountaineers, and 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.

XIII. PSYOPS CONSIDERATIONS.

The psychological approach is most fruitful when trying to get a Rhade to do something, In order to obtain his most enthusiastic response, it is necessary to appeal his imagination and make him believe the spirits approve the endeavor.

Due to the high rate of illiteracy among the Rhade, leaflets should be printed using signs and drawings as the intended message as opposed to written appeals.

There are some radios in the various villages but not enough to make their employment a primary means of use in conducting psychological operations.

As a rule the Rhade is resistant to any form of routine work. He does, however, enthusiastically contribute his energy to community projects. Therefore, propaganda and psychological warfare themes should indicate a picture of one helping his village as well as pleasing the spirits.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATIONS.

As was previously mentioned, Rhade tribesmen respond to ideas and acts only when they believe that it will please the spirits or better the community. Therefore any civic action program that is to be followed or accepted should take those factors into consideration.

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 another language 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.

In general, 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.

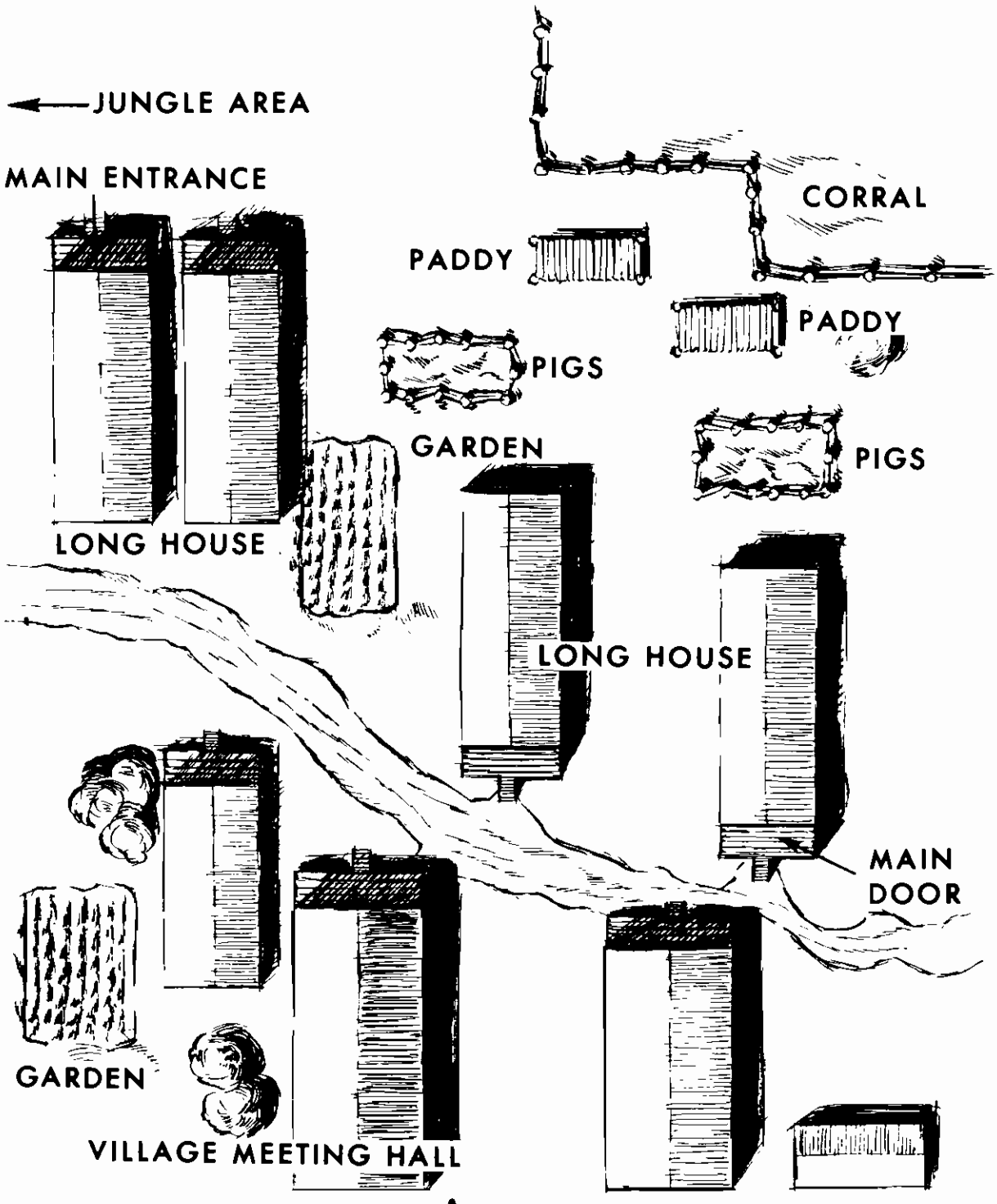
XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

As far as can be determined by special forces returnees there are no signs of activities within the tribe that would indicate massive subversion by Communists or extreme reluctance to support actions against the Communists.

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.

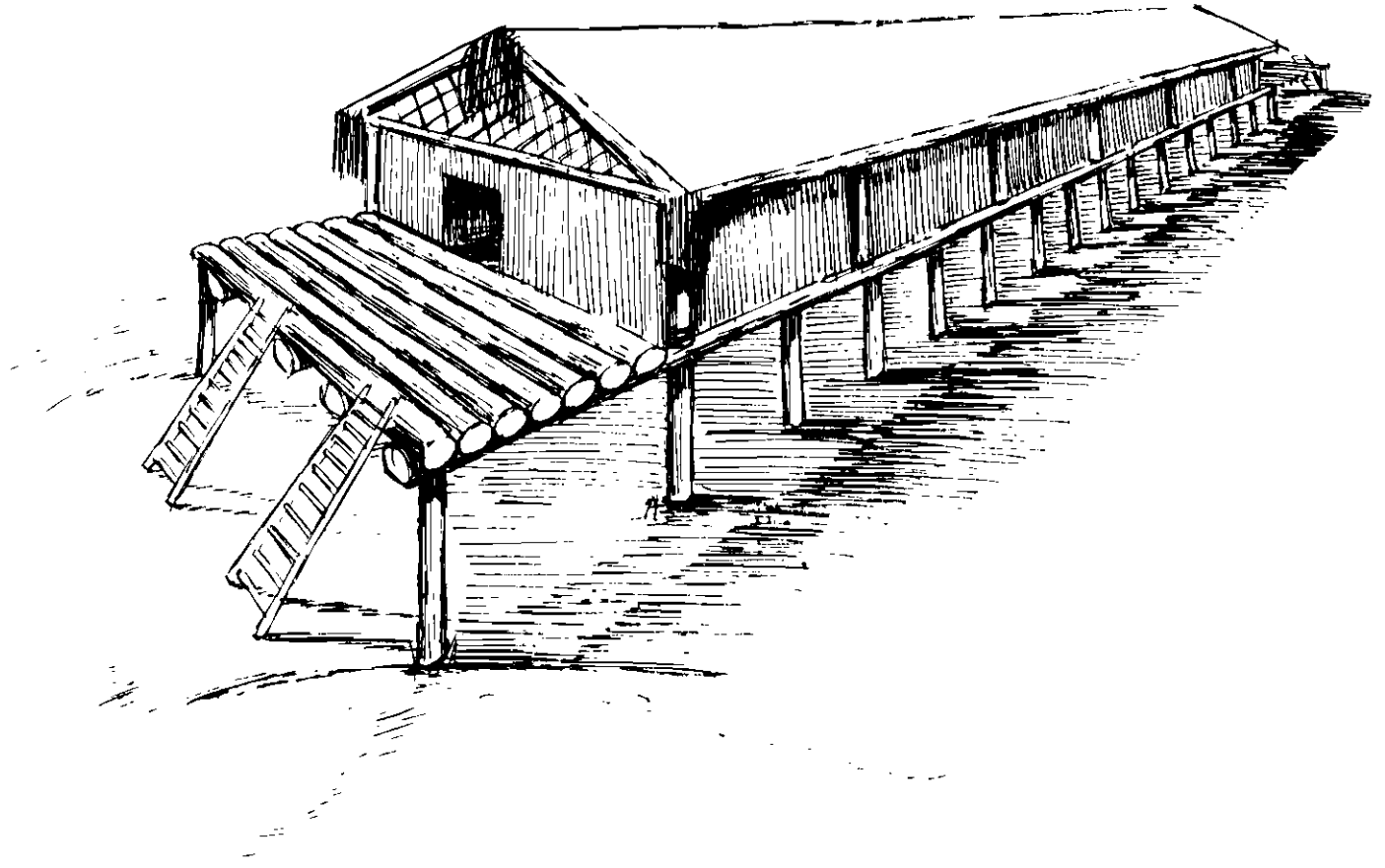
The ability to absorb and put to use any military instruction and training is limited but worth developing.

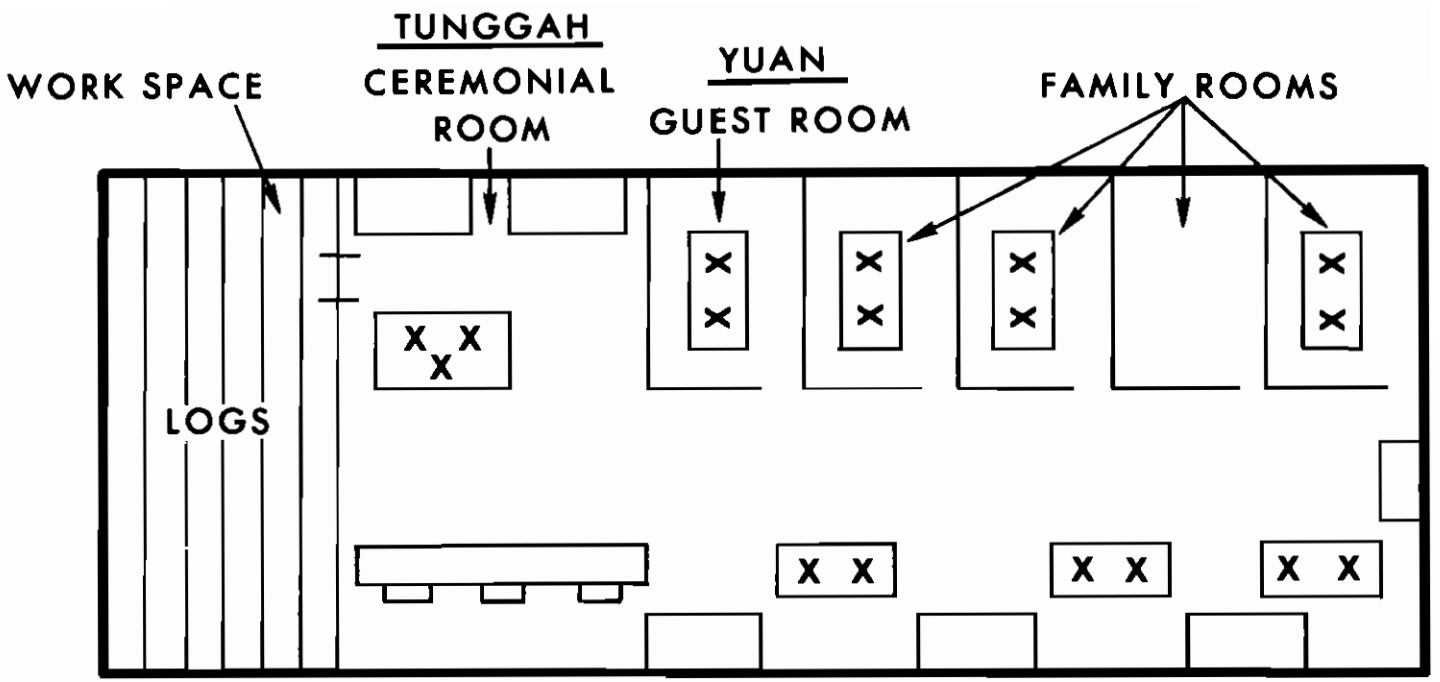
The Rhade, because of their knowledge of the mountain area and terrain and the people who live there, could be useful in aiding troops.



RHADÊ VILLAGE

THE LONG HOUSE OF THE RHADÊ





RHADÊ LONGHOUSE

Chapter 12--The RAGLAI Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Raglai is a relatively small tribal group, descendants of a mixture of Cham and Rhade on the one hand and Cham and Koho on the other. The tribe is separated into a northern and southern group with a population of Cham speakers situated between the two groups. The Raglais are subdivided into three small tribes: the Agglai, the Tring and the Lre. The mores of the Raglais have been strongly influenced by the Cham, the Koho and the Rhade. It has been estimated that there are between 31 thousand and 40 thousand of these people divided equally between the northern and southern settlements. They live in scattered little villages in southwest Khanh-Hoe, northern Bink-Thuan, and northeast Lam-Dong. Another source describes their location in terms of the northern and southern groups, the northern group being in the mountainous area inland from the coastal city of Nhatrang and the southern group inland from Phan Rang city, south of Dalat.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

See map for location of tribe in relation to other Montagnard tribes.

III. LANGUAGE.

The language of the Raglai is Malayo-Polynesian, apparently with northern and southern dialects. The language is mutually intelligible with some of the dialects of the Radai and the Jarai. Some of the tribes can speak French or Vietnamese. A description of the language structure is impossible because no written language exists for these people and therefore the possibility of learning the language other than by direct contact would seem unlikely.

IV. HISTORY.

Factual information concerning the tribal origin is unavailable due to the lack of written records. However, legendary accounts state that in the beginning there was a great flood and only one man and one woman survived. The story is similar to our own biblical accounts of the great flood. According to one source the Raglai seem to have been influenced very little by close proximity to other tribal groups. Even 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 two years in succession in the same plot. They will, however, return to the plot after a period of five or more years. This seems to indicate that the tribe will migrate

back and forth in relatively the same general area.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Raglai are rarely grouped in agglomerations or hamlets. Each family occupies a hill, and the houses are separated from the others by approximately 500 to 700 meters. Several houses may also be built on the bank of a brook or stream and constitute a village, which elects its own chief. The Raglais have a matrilineal type family structure. What is curious, however, is that the marriage initiative is taken by the male, who is free to choose his wife. A young man enamored of a girl can live openly at his love's house and work with her, and her parents may not oppose this decision. After a certain 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 equals her consent. At this point, the girl informs her parents of her decision to marry the man who pleases her, and talks between the two families with a view of marriage can be started. The nuptial ceremony follows and the expenses resulting from it must be paid by the husband. As with all matriarchal systems, the man must live with his in-laws and work for the benefit of this family. Precocious marriages are frequent in the region of Phan-Ly Cham in the province of Binh-Thuan and sometimes assume an excessive and 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 still unborn. However, the Raglais consider this phenomenon to be a form of happiness. Death is also a ceremonial occasion for these people. When a death occurs, the deceased has the right to a coffin made from a tree trunk 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 with the other Montagnard clans, the grave is preserved for a certain time, after which an abandoning ceremony puts an end to all preservation work. From then on the deceased is forgotten.

The question of inheritance is settled according to the matriarchal system, which recognizes the importance of the female sex. Therefore, in each family the oldest daughter is the legal heir to all the wealth and property. The boys, once married, no longer have any rights in the family into which they were born. If the oldest daughter dies without a legal heir, her husband must marry her sister to regulate the transfer of wealth and property. Any refusal on the part of the widower automatically assures his rapid departure. He has the right only to take with him a hatchet and a basket, which are usually the objects which he brought with him when he moved in under the roof of his in-laws.

On a larger scale, a village is usually made up of one family group, each household being related to the other. The people of 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 themselves 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 of the people of the Raglai tribe have dark skin and black hair. They are of medium height, about 5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 9 inches, the female, of course, being shorter than the male. They have discontinued the practice of filing the front teeth down, but the women still pierce their ears to hold massive ear rings. One source indicates that the Raglai can out-work the Vietnamese; they can carry a heavier load and are quick to learn. The best method of presentation is visual in order that they may imitate the instructor's actions.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

The Raglai like other Montagnards, have certain special ceremonies and festivals. For them, there is only the season for drinking rice alcohol, which takes place from December until April of the following year, following the harvest. During this period of merrymaking, collective meals are organized on an intravillage level, and it is not surprising to see the people of an entire village go to amuse themselves in another village many miles away. For 4 months, their major ambition is to drink, get drunk, and stay that way. The drinking season is also the occasion during which tribal ceremonies are more intensely practiced. At this time everyone gathers to dance to the rhythm of chants and music. A buffalo is butchered, then everyone who can hold a knife in hand, cuts a slice and grills it over the fire. The musical instruments used are trumpets and gongs. The larger orchestras containing nine gongs, are rarely used except for ceremonies of the greatest importance.

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 utilize bowls and dishes for their meals, outside of a minority

which uses 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, each having his portion. On occasion of ritual ceremonies, the visitor is invited to drink some rice alcohol; 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, 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, believing that a god named Nhang reigns supreme in the fields and should not be threatened with cutting. The transporting of the dead or sick across the fields is forbidden as well. The 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. In a feast, if you are offered a glass of alcohol, 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.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICAL.

As with all Montagnard tribes, health and medical problems are tremendous. When a woman is pregnant, the husband goes into the forest to find leaves and roots of a medicinal (to him) plant, which he dries in the sun and from which he makes a tea to be served to his wife. The husband takes personal charge of the childbirth. During this period the wife is allowed only three or four days rest following which she returns to her daily work as usual. 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 destinies. Everything which happens on earth depends on him and him alone, and this is why, with every incomprehensible phenomenon, with each simple everyday action which takes place, 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, these items must be obtained through trade with other villages. This is one of the few items which are 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 the people elected and the one chosen by the government. The chief chosen by the central government would soon over-shadow 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, who answers to the province chief, who reports to the central government. On the whole, however, the people care little about what goes on outside their village.

XII. SUBVERSION

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

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

Due to the extremely high rate of illiteracy among the Raglai, the

only effective means of information dissemination would be by radio or personal contact. 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, such as programs dealing with sanitation, medical care and school construction. One program which has been started in Vietnamese villages is to teach 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 will accept training and are willing to follow instructions. Their knowledge of and "feel" for the mountain areas would be indispensible to troops operating there. Until recently tribes fought with each other again and again 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 deities 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 Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Sedang, estimated at between 40 thousand and 80 thousand live in Kontum, Quang Nan,and Binh Dinh Provinces. They are about fourth in size among other tribal groups. The tribe calls itself HA(rl)NDEA (rg).

The tactical importance of the Sedang lies in their knowledge of the jungle-mountain area they live in and 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-Cambodian border.

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.

For the area inhabited by this tribe, see the inclosed maps.

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 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. There are some east-west roads branching off from it, but they generally go only short distances. Most roads in the area are trafficable the yearround except in the northern part of the tribal area. In the Dak To district, there is a large broad plateau normally referred to as the Dak To Plateau that provides about the only areas for large drop zones and landing zones in the Sedang area. There is an air strip at Tanh Canh, large enough to

handle C-123 aircraft.

Transportation in the area is by commercial truck or bus up and down Route 14. Most Sedang travel by foot either by road or on the well-developed trail net that covers the majority of the area.

About the only communications within the area are those which the central government have put in to support its operations and governmental subunits. These systems are not available to the public.

III. ETHNOLOGY.

The Sedang language is 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.

The Sedang that border on other tribal areas can communicate with the other group to some extent. Some Vietnamese tradespeople know Sedang.

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. This was done through service in the army or at special schools run by the French. Some also know Vietnamese through their contacts with them after 1954. These people are the village chiefs and the more aggressive traders or men who have served in the army of the Republic of Viet-Nam. This language skill is not widespread, and what there is, 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 to the present time.

It is known that Sedang were quite a warlike tribe and engaged in intervillage warfare and attacks against other ethnic groups in the past. They also 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, mostly to the benefit of 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 area 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 there is any restriction on movement placed by the tribe or village on the movement of individuals or groups within the tribal area.

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 supposed to reside in his house.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

The Sedangs 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 the seeds.
   c. The whole family participates in the harvest.

2. Nonagricultural duties
   a. Men

1. Woodworking.
2. Basketry.
3. Hunting and fishing.
4. Blacksmithing.
5. Young boys tend water buffalo and cattle.

b. Women
1. Cook.
2. Weave.
3. Care for children.
4. Care for small domestic animals.

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 of livestock to the village to be used in a sacrifice to appease the spirits.

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. Polyandry and polygyny are permissible in the Sedang culture but are rarely practiced because the first spouse must approve of the arrangement.

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 desires to leave the house they are living in, they must make a ritual sacrifice and buy their way out.

Divorce is permitted but rare.

Each person can own his personal objects such as tools, gongs, jars, livestock and the like. The mountain dry rice and other dry cereal fields are "sacred" and are owned by the family while maize and wet rice grown in the river valleys can belong to an 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.

Childbirth is done outside of the house while the woman kneels over a shallow pit and clutches an upright bamboo pole. After the child is

born the afterbirth is buried and the umbilical cord is cut. 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.

The older children of the family play a major part in the care of the infant children. 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 the water buffalo or a small girl might carry water, clean and help care for the younger children. There are children's games, some involving sex play. 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 the girls stay at home and learn the required skills of cooking, cleaning and tending to the small animals of the family.

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 as this would be an indirect form of cannibalism, presuming that the animal would eventually be eaten.

The family is responsible to the village in matters concerning the whole village. There seems to be no power or governmental structure higher than the village among the Sedangs. A village consists of all who drink from one water source.

The placement within the social structure seems to be by birth. That is being born into a wealthy family or the family of a chief. Wealth and education give a person a great deal of mobility within the village.

The method of selecting leaders is not known at this time.

The village chief is the seat of the strongest power among the Sedangs as they recognize no central power among all the Sedangs. The chiefs represent the village to other villages and outsiders, officiate at rituals and are the village war leaders. They are the final authority within the village for settling disputes among families and if they feel that a sacrifice is needed to atone for a sinful act, the effects of which would fall on the whole village, they can order the member or his family to do this. The whole village will participate in the sacrifice. If the individual or family refuses to abide by the chief's judgment, they can be expelled from the village and forced to live alone in the

jungle.

There are no tribal alliances or enmities. There is a certain amount of overlap and mingling between the tribes with contiguous borders.

The Sedang can be considered illiterate because of the simple fact that they have no written language, with the exception of a few people with some education from outside the tribe.

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 and subtracting.

They have no training in the use of complex tools and machinery because their culture has none. They can learn to use and operate tools, weapons and vehicles very skillfully without understanding the principles involved.

Their educational system is based on an oral tradition 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, and by people with special skills such as iron forging, to youngsters in an apprentice-like position.

There is no formal system of education within the tribe.

The Sedang live in longhouses built on wooden pilings up 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 of guests 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, being held sacred, is prepared in the "upper" house, before it is 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 type fireplace in the center of the woven bamboo floor. The room is surrounded by a low wall that leaves an opening wall and the roof all around.

The bachelors sleep in the 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 used as a command post during intratribal wars.

The village will generally have a defensive fence around it for protection against jungle beast and human attack.

VI. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Sedang are short, well-built people, light brown in color. They have "bloodshot brown" eyes with no Asian features.

They are generally in a poor state of health. They suffer from dietary deficiencies, malaria and other fevers, all varieties of internal parasites found in southeast Asia, TB and many types of skin diseases.

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. However, they tire quickly when doing what is not common to their life, such as running, rope climbing, etc.

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 have good coordination in such things as throwing a ball or grenades, running, and other activities not common to their culture.

They do not appear to have any physical characteristics that could limit the types of weapons or military equipment they could use.

The Sedang have a history of fighting. They were known to have fought among their own tribal group and on occasion against neighboring tribes. They violently resisted the French efforts to settle in their tribal area as late as the 1930's.

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 social orientation is to the family, and then to the village. They recognize no clan or tribal structure.

The general intelligence level seems quite high, but they lack any formal education to develop this potential. They have the ability to grasp and retain instruction if it is presented in a careful method. The Sedang have a talent for imitating. This can be used to an advantage by teaching in small groups, using repeated demonstrations and repeatedly covering the main points of the instruction to insure that they are understood, and then allowing the students to try their hand at doing whatever is desired of them. This method will generally bring satisfactory results.

The Sedang have the ability to grasp any abstract concepts that can be demonstrated. One example cited by a source was of a 17-year old Sedang girl who understood the Copernican system when it was demonstrated with a candle.

These tribespeople have a thirst for any knowledge that they can use to better their way of life.

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.

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 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.

Spiritual things and seemingly unexplainable occurrences are greatly feared, and this anxiety should be handled with great care by people working with them.

They seem to respect material wealth, people with obvious power at their command, age, and education.

VII. CUSTOMS AND TABOOS.

Little is known of the tribal folklore primarily because of the lack of outsiders who understand the language and have learned the legends.

The dress of the Sedang is utilitarian in nature. The strict tribal dress is loin cloth for the males and a wraparound skirt for the females. 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 with the men. Bit parts of French uniforms can still be seen. Warm clothing is particularly sought after.

The Sedang have no taboos against the drinking of alcoholic beverages, in fact they tend 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 seem to be no taboos about the place of women in their society, with two possible exceptions. They are not allowed to go into the 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.

Another custom is the infrequency of baths. A Sedang will bathe only once a year and then only after the sacrifice of a buffalo, so to speak, to appease the "river spirit" for the terrible thing that will happen to it when the entire village goes in for its annual bath.

Any nonindigenous person who will be working closely with the Sedang should attempt to find out what the significance is of any ceremony or sacrifice they are invited to participate in, to insure that they are not getting into a situation they will regret. One should not barge in uninvited or stay unwanted when sacrifices or tribal ceremonies are going on.

VIII. HEALTH AND MEDICINE.

By modern standards the health, sanitation and hygiene practices, of the Sedang are exceptionally low. They seem to have no cultural rules protecting their health. 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 types, leprosy, skin ulcerations, extreme eye infections and many more things too numerous to mention. There seems to be no tribal cure for these maladies as the Sedang contribute them to the spirits and will sacrifice in order to appease the spirit and end the sickness.

The central government, with U. S. aid and advisors, and the missionaries are attempting to correct this situation through a program of treatment and education. These programs are meeting with much success among the tribespeople. The Sedang react to medical treatment very well and soon learn that it is a better system than the sacrifice of animals.

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. Much education is needed on personal hygiene and first aid that can be learned by members of the village to use items on hand or readily-available simple drugs. All factors considered, education is the biggest factor in raising the health standard of the Sedang.

There seems to be a very low resistance to diseases and infection among the tribespeople. A good share of this can be attributed to the poor diet they have and to a lack of a preventive immunization program on a scale large enough to cover the tribal area.

The clothing and shelter requirement of the area varies from the 40° of the dry cold months to the 100° plus of the wet 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 can be supplemented by a sweater or light wool shirt and light warm sleeping gear for the field.

About the only rule for people giving medical aid would be not to force it where it is violently opposed. It would be better to try and convince the village chief that your medicine will not harm the people, but help them, and if he is convinced he will get the other people to submit to treatment.

The best rules for nonindigenous personnel to follow are simple. One would be to make full use of all preventive medical measures before entering the area, i.e., shots, malaria suppressants, physical examinations, etc., and the other would be to follow the rules of good personal hygiene and sanitary food preparation as rigidly as possible.

IX. RELIGION

The Sedang religion is animistic, or spirit worship, in nature. They believe that all things around them have spirits that reside within the objects and are capable of causing harm to them if the spirits become angered. Anything that cannot be explained is attributed to the spirits.

There seem to be three significant religious times for the Sedang, two in March and one in May of every year:

The celebration called "From the Drop of Water."

Toward the month of March, the villagers proceed with the repairing of the troughs which collect water from distant sources for the village. These troughs sometimes cross mountains and hills, like true pipelines. The ceremony connected with this maintenance is called "From the Drop of Water." This occasion could not be more solemn. The Montagnard villagers have pigs, buffalo, cattle, and poultry killed for the feast, and while eating they have people dancing to the rhythm of traditional music played on gongs.

The fire festival, during which the forest is burned to obtain new "rays" (new mountain rice fields) takes place annually about the month of May. This is yet another occasion to offer sacrifices and to consume heavy meals.

In the third principal celebration, the Sedangs have a tradition of repairing the tombstones during the month of March.

Funeral ceremonies among the Sedangs assume a complicated character which defy all rules of hygiene. 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,

whose lid resembles the roof of a house. The cadaver is kept for three to five days according to whether the family is rich or poor. During this period, buffalo and cattle are killed as offerings, and following this, meals are placed next to the coffin, the contents of which are naturally beginning to putrefy.

Interment is done 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 Sedangs abstain from doing their daily work and remain at home for three days after the burial. Entrance into the village is forbidden for strangers.

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 happenings 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, starting 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.

With respect to the religion, customs, and taboos of the Sedang, be sure you understand what you are getting involved in and do not get involved unless you are invited.

X. ECONOMY.

The Sedang economy is 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, sweet potatoes, 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 sacrifice. These animals are water buffalo, cows, pigs, dogs, and chickens.

The Sedang will barter among themselves using gongs, jars, drums, and other things with spirit value as items of exchange. In their trade with the Vietnamese, they use the national currency. They sometimes get

cheated in this trade because of their lack of understanding of the currency system.

The main occupation of the Sedang is farming. There are some members of the villages that may spend their time engaged in other work such as basket weaving or iron working.

The Sedang extract, smelt, and forge iron in a crude and limited way. They forge spear points, knives, farm tools, and other small items they need in every day life. The working of iron has some sacred aura to it, and the man who forges iron is believed to have some magical powers. The soul of a buffalo killed with an iron spear goes to the spirits while the soul of a buffalo killed with a bamboo spear accrues to the soul of the man performing the sacrifice.

They make excellent baskets in all shapes and sizes for use in farming and carrying products to and from the markets.

They do a large amount of decorative work on their houses and village gates.

The majority of people have skills in basket weaving and decorating, but there are only a limited number of iron workers.

The Sedang trade from village-to-village among themselves and with other ethnic groups that live near them. This trade is mostly barter, except with the Vietnamese where they must use currency. Among the tribespeople they trade for tools, cloth, livestock, gongs, jars, and weapons. From the Vietnamese they buy cloth, salt, trinkets, tobacco, and dried fish.

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 the land. Any decision to sell or rent the land would have to be approved by the village.

The distribution of wealth seems to be quite equal among the villagers. Some individuals may be able to accrue more wealth than others but most of each families wealth will go into buying jars, gongs, and other things for spirit worship that have no real value. One group that seems to be able to accrue some wealth are those people who leave the village. The reasons for leaving are usually to get some education and work for the government or they are expelled for breaking taboos. The one difference between these groups is that the one group doesn't consume their rice crop and livestock in drinking and sacrificing and hence become more prosperous than the other group that 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 Sedangs. The only thing

close to a tax is when a village is afraid that the spirits are angry because of the actions of an individual or a family and they must provide the animal for the sacrifice to the angry spirits.

The Sedang have a history of resisting the control of outside groups over them. They fought the French until they were defeated by military action and then continued to resist by burning bridges and sabotaging the roads.

In the 1880's the Sedang, Bahnar, and Jarai were united in a loose federation by a Belgian 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 as Mayrena went back to Belgium in 1889 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 adminstrative 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 the government controlled areas where they can be armed and trained to defend themselves from the Viet Cong. By the same token, the Viet Cong have been trying to draw the tribes people away from government control. This leaves the Sedang very confused by the conflicting political pressures.

XII. SUBVERSION.

The Viet Cong have had agents working in the Sedang area presumably dating back to 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. 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 in the present conflict they have helped their cause greatly.

XIII. PSYOPS CONSIDERATIONS.

The principle means by which the Sedang disseminate information is by oral communications between the members of a village or between villages. The Sedang would get very little from having radios and movies unless they were presented in their own language. The problem of language almost completely rules out the use of written material.

The Sedang have a great fondness for music. They make a very interesting type of rhythmic music with their gongs.

About the best psychological warfare approach with the Sedang would be to use a system of face-to-face contacts in the form of a storyteller. They would have to know the language and the tribal culture to be effective.

XIV. CIVIC ACTION CONSIDERATION.

The Sedang will accept innovation if it will bring them a better standard of health or farming.

At the present time, the government has programs designed to give training in public health, hygiene, and sanitation down to village level with the help of the U. S. aid and advisors. There are also agricultural programs to improve livestock and farming techniques. These programs are very well received by the Sedang.

XV. PARAMILITARY CAPABILITIES.

The tribe has been subject to propaganda, armed attacks, and terrorism for many years. If they have the means to resist, they will, just as they have always resisted outsiders.

The Sedang fortify their villages by placing traps and punja stakes on the approaches and building a system of fences around the village.

The Sedang use spears, swords, and crossbows as weapons for defense. Of course they are no match for modern weapons. They have also had some training in modern weapons from the French and the current government. Large numbers of the tribesmen have been trained under the CIDG program by the Vietnamese aided by U. S. Special Forces.

The tribesmen have a natural ability with shoulder weapons based on their training as hunters with the crossbow. They can also learn to use crew served weapons without too much trouble. They have no fear of handling weapons or explosives.

The Sedang have always been fighters. They fought the French pacification. They have made war on other villages and tribes. If they are trained and well led, they will fight the Viet Cong aggressively and on their terms: ambush and raid 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 with relative ease in the jungle and survive for long periodsof time off the jungle if forced to by the situation.

The Sedangs have a high potential in any situation of insurgency or counterinsurgency 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 Tribe

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. They are a fairly large group, 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. Stieng is also similiar to Bahnar, but to a lesser degree than to Muong and Koho. Bible translator groups are currently attempting to make Stieng 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

legends concerning their origin which are well known by the people.

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 concerning the Stieng language is 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:

1. The notables.

2. The villagers.

3. 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 <u>in toto</u> and settle elsewhere. The old chief will retain control of the loyalist villagers.

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 as 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.

As in most patriarchal societies, the man remains the head of the family and may make his own free choice of a wife. 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. One servant (a slave).

2. One "Srung" jar, for rice wine.

3. One saber and one javelin (worth one buffalo).

4. One gong (worth one buffalo).

5. One very old "Djri" jar (worth two buffalo).

6. One skirt called a "sarong" or a 5-meter copper wire.

7. Ten large bowls.

8. Twenty small bowls.

9. One copper bowl.

10. One large glass-beaded necklace.

11. One small glass-beaded necklace.

12. One copper necklace.

13. One spool of thread.

Polygamy 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 custom 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 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.

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.

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 ten to twelve 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 perogatives 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.

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.

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 predominate 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.

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 them 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 accepts 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 Stieng follow the patriarchal system. The oldest member of a married clan is considered as the head of the family. Each family lives together in a large thatched house like those of the Maa and the Muong. Unlike these latter two, the Stieng houses are 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 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.

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.

Outside of 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:

1. The festival of the genie Netta. This holiday takes place around the first month of the lunar year. Each family must make an offering in the village pagoda.

2. The Chung Mieu is a festival held in the communal pagoda.

3. The Pha-Bao is a festival during which an offering is made to plead for exceptionally good luck in fishing. The villagers devote a great deal of time yearly to fishing in order to better their daily diet.

4. The festival of the good harvest is held around the twelfth month of the lunar calendar. It is the year's principal festival. Sacrifices of forty to sixty 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:

1. When an iguana or poisonous snake happens to enter a rice field, even at harvest time, the land is immediately abandoned.

2. If the oldest son of a family dies prematurely, the family must never again eat turtle-doves or salted fish.

Another striengent 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 is also a number of important taboos against entering a household or a village. These are:

1. Strangers are forbidden to enter a newly moved village for 7-days after its construction.

2. It is forbidden to bring in jars of paddy, alcohol, and other specified foods for 7 days after constructing a new village.

3. 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 of 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.

The patriarchal system ascribes property rights and furniture possession the 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.

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, it is easy to confuse it with the others.

Vistors 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 vistor 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 embroys 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.

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 inadvertant 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.

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 the rate of skin diseases. In many villages there are native "doctors." Anyone can become a "doctor" if the right spirts move him, but there is not necessarily one in each village. In case 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. These 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 socerer. A devination 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 ritual is repeated before each adult member of the household. When the divination stick again indicates which member of the household is 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 bring the wrath of the spirts 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 most 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 will be occasionally 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 amount 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.

Again, as has been mentioned, there is a tendency for the villages to separate when disputes arise which cannot be settled. Another aspect of this

separation is that the villages may regroup when they feel it is necessary or when the passion that caused the separation have subsided.

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 leinious crime.

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.

XIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CONSIDERATIONS.

The Stieng are individualistic and independent. They hold the entire family responsible for the wrongs of any one of its members. The Stieng were formerly hot-blooded and warlike but have recently settled down and live rather peacefully. A visitor to a Stieng village is normally courteously received and is lodged and fed during his visit.

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 its 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 South 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 concensus of returnees that drafting Stieng for a paramilitary organization would not invoke a strong negative reaction among the tribesmen.

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