~~ISN# 31234~~
~~#33~~
PN-ABP-467

TH
301.5072
T364

REPORT ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF THE HILL TRIBES IN NORTHERN THAILAND

TH
301.5072
T364

Thailand. Ministry of Interior.
Report of the Socio-Economic Survey of the Hill Tribes in Northern Thailand. Sep. 1962.
112 p.
Bibliography throughout.
Funded in part by USOM/Thailand.

1.Tribes and tribal system - TH.2.Scoiology, Rural - TH.
3.Resettlement - TH.4.Land settlement - TH.5.Poppy - TH.
I.Title.II.Socio-Economic Survey of the Hill Tribes...

Raising of opium banned in 1958

A) General Inform. on hill tribes
Poppy growing pts. p23
Cultivation pocketes p.24-6, 29
Crops p.28-3
Crop timing p. 34-5
import → & trade sys 35-41 - of poppy opium traders supply essent. goods for hill tribes
I) Basic Problems: Shifting Cult. (p.55-)
Opium Raising (p 61-)
Develop activities for hill tribes (p.102-108)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ISN83164 PNABR467

REPORT

ON

THE SOCIO ECONOMIC SURVEY

OF

THE HILL TRIBES IN NORTHERN THAILAND

BY

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR
BANGKOK, THAILAND

September 1962

REPORT

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

THE HILL TRIBES IN NORTHERN THAILAND

by

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR

Bangkok, Thailand

September 1962

LIST OF CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE: A COMPREHENSIVE SYATHESIS OF RELEVANT INFORMATION

A. SOME GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLES OF THE NORTH

1. Geographical Background 5
2. Historical Background 6
3. Total Number and Present Location 18
4. Contemporary Acculturation 20

B. ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MAIN OPIUM GROWING HILL TRIBES: MEO AND YAO, LISU, LAHU (AND AKHA).

I. BASIC FACTS

a) Economic Activities 24
b) Social Structure 41

II. BASIC PROBLEMS

a) The Problem of Shifting Cultivation 55
b) The Problem of Opium Raising 61
c) The Problem of Control in the Hills and Frontier Regions 66

PAGE

III. SOME BASIC ATTITUDES OF HILL PEOPLE 70

PART TWO. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. POLICY MEASURES

1. The Government's relations to the hill tribes should be clarified. 85

2. The position of the hill tribes in cultivating the hills should be examined in the light of the existing Land Code. 86

3. The position of the hill tribes in utilizing the forests should be examined in the light of the present forest reservation policies and practicies. 88

4. The policy toward poppy cultivation should take into consideration the prevailing uncertainties in the hills and frontier areas. 90

5. The utilization of hill tribesmen as members or associates of the security and border patrol forces may be considered. 91

6. Consideration should be given to bring hill people into participation in the Thai local and central administrative life. 92

PAGE

E. ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

1. Action regarding the hill tribes should be given priority consideration and appropriate administrative machinery could be established. 94

2. Consideration should be given as to how the communications between the Central Committee and the administrative authorities of the Provincial and District level could be made more effective. 95

3. Establishment of 'Tribal Officers' attached to District Officers or Provincial Governors. 96

4. Creation of a cadre of workers in a wide variety of technical fields including community development, hill tribes. 97

5. Training programme for above workers. 99

6. Provision of incentives for young Thai Government officials to work among hill tribes. 99

7. Establishment of a Tribal Research Centre for Northern Thailand. 100

PAGE

DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

1. Intensifying and/or changing the activities of the Settlement Projects at Tak and Chiangmai. 102

2. Approaching the hill tribes in their present mountain villages by development workers and mobile demonstration units. 104

3. New cash-crops and other economic activities replacing slash-and-burn. 106

SUGGESTION ON DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE PRESCRIBED SETTLEMENT PROJECT AREAS. 109

PART THREE: ANNEX - SURVEY REPORTS OF THE FIELD UNITS.

[illegible]

There has been a continuous historical process in South-East Asia [illegible] and tribes [illegible] the North have gradually migrated toward the South. [illegible] in the case of the Tibeto-Burman, the Chinese, the Shan-Lao-Thai [illegible]. In the hills of the entire region the southward trend of various tribal groups has not yet come to a standstill. In Northern Thailand a number of hill tribes lead a semi-nomadic way of life at an elevation of from [illegible] to 2,000 meters, often crossing the border to Burma and Laos. Estimates regarding the number of tribesmen involved run from 50,000 to 400,000

The hill-tribes present a many-sided problem to the Thai Government, on general grounds of public policy and welfare. When the Government banned the [illegible] of opium (following the Proclamation No. 3[illegible] of the Revolutionary Part of [illegible] (B.E. 2[illegible]1)) the Ministry of Interior was entrusted with the responsibility of abolishing opium cultivation. This added urgency to measures to deal with the problem of the hill-tribes. After considering various possibilities, the Government decided upon a programme of resettlement of hill peoples in properly located villages in the general area where they now live. The Council of Ministers decision of 3 June 1959 approved the project of the Ministry of Interior to set up experimental centres in various provinces.

Soon after establishing the Doi Musser (Tak province) and Doi Chiengdao (Chiengmai province) settlement projects, the Government felt the need for reliable information on the hill tribes as a basis for effective planning in a programme of resettlement of the hill people. The Department of

Public Welfare of the Ministry of Interior initiated, for the purpose, a plan for a socio-economic survey of the hill tribes. This plan received the support of organizations such as the Asia Foundation, USAM, ECAFE and the Siam Society.

As a first step, it was agreed that the Department and the ECAFE Division of Social Affairs jointly draft an observation schedule and a questionnaire in connection with the proposed socio-economic survey. The schedule and questionnaire were pre-tested leading to a revised draft for field use.

Subsequently a programme was established for the field work to obtain first-hand data for the survey. The training of field-workers from several government agencies was undertaken in September-October 1961. This training was both theoretical and practical, and was carried out with the co-operation of experienced officials and individuals.

The field survey was conducted during the period October 1961 to February 1962. In this connection, it should be stressed that the hill tribes covered in the field work are all opium growers, viz., the Lissus, Lahuz, Meos and Yaos. This was in accordance with the wishes of the Government, and also these tribes were mainly concerned in the land settlement projects. The field survey personnel were grouped into 5 teams, each team comprising one official from the Department of Public Welfare, one from the Ministry of Agriculture and one from the Border Patrol Police. Eighteen villages of the above mentioned tribes in the provinces of Tak, Chiengmai and Chiengrai were covered in the survey.

[illegible]

[illegible] January-March [illegible]

[illegible] extending [illegible] it [illegible]

[illegible] during [illegible]

[illegible] Bodies and [illegible] wishes to [illegible]

[illegible] of the survey; [illegible] Division, [illegible] officer of the Division [illegible] information [illegible] advice throughout the project, [illegible] expert provided under the current [illegible] in [illegible] control; the Ministry of Public Health, which [illegible] for the survey teams; the [illegible] Ministry of Agriculture, for [illegible] officials to work on the survey teams; Chulalongkorn University, for sending instructors to [illegible] in the project during the training

and checking periods; and to all local officials of the provinces and districts where the survey was conducted for their co-operation and help.

The Department wishes also to record its appreciation of the service rendered by the official of the survey teams who carried out their tasks under difficult and at times hazardous conditions.

PART [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

Large territories of Thailand's 14 Northern Provinces are covered with densely forested hill ranges usually sweeping in a north-south direction and with elevation of [illegible] 600 metres. [illegible] and high plateaus, which are the most favoured whereabouts of the hill tribes, in general lie at altitudes between 1, [illegible] and 1,500 metres.

The intermediate lowlands, running also in a north-south direction, seem to be narrowly squeezed in between these mountain tracts. Rarely do they extend into wider valley basins as, for instance, in places like Chieng Mai, Chieng Rai, Chieng Dao, Prao, Nan, Prae, Lampang and a few other places. Most of the streams and rivers draining this mountainous country flow accordingly toward the South. The most prominent water-courses are the Mae Ping, the Mae Wang, the Mae Yom, and the Mae Nan. All these waters coming from North Thailand's mountains ultimately empty into the two main rivers, Manam Chao Phraya and Menam Tha Chin, which drain the fertile rice plains of Central Thailand.

Since early times, the hills of Northern Thailand have primarily been regarded as the headwaters for irrigating the rice fields by the Thai peoples who inhabit the fertile lowlands and valley basins. The Thai, as a typical lowland population-similar, by the way, to the Annamites have

Previous Page Blank

analysis of their ethnic, racial, linguistic and cultural affinities can yield some valid inferences about basic features of their tribal history of the surrounding high civilizations.

The hill tribes have never been completely isolated and their fate has been linked up, in various degrees, with that of the dominating populations of the region during the past two thousand years. Since that time a large-scale southward migration of the Thai-Shan-Lao peoples dominates the entire scene of Southeast Asia. As a point of departure we may assume the year 335 B.C., when the empire of the Chu, of the Ancient Thai in Central China, was vanquished by the onrush of the Chinese who pressed forward from the plains of Northern China. The subsequent extension of the Chinese resulted in a southward drive of several tribes and peoples of the North.

The history of the early Thai in Southeast Asia is manifested for the first time in the foundation of little city-states in Western Laos in as early as the 9th century A.D. The mini-states of Fanr (860) and Fayao (1060) are the precursors of the later empires in Central Thailand. When finally in the year 1267 Kublai Khan succeeded in breaking up Nan Chao, the last Thai empire in Yunan, the bulk of the Thai people was pressed further to the South. With the founding of the empire of Sukhothai in the late 13th century A.D. One or up of them established a new stronghold in the Central plains of what is now Thailand.

After the appearance of the main body of the Thai-Shan-Lao peoples in Southeast Asia, however, the previous inhabitants, of Mon-Khmer affiliation, were either absorbed or pressed to the Southeast. Other groups were pushed back to the jungles and up to the hills. Those preceding

populations were of Austroasiatic stock. Today, we can find some descendants or remnants of these early inhabitants in the hills of Northern Thailand. These are the Lawa and the Kha, the latter in such subdivisions as the Khamu, and Htin. The retreat into the jungles and up to the hills has certainly resulted in a pauperization of the culture of these ancient peoples.[1]

The Lawa used to live in close contact with the early Mon empire of Haripunjaya, previous to the conquest of the Thai. Recently translated chronicles give a fair account of some tribal groups who lived in North Siam and West Laos at that time.[2] In these records the names "Lawa", "Lawa", "Lu-a" or "La-u-a" occur alternatively. They report that the Lawa possessed a level pod kingdom and that they ruled their own state. Repeated reference is made to the king's capital "Doi Suthep". As is well-known this name indicated today a prominent hill west of Chiang Mai, on the top of which stands a famous Buddhist temple.

It may be mentioned in passing that both, the Lawa and the Kha, have wider affinities with the Wa of Burma who, together with the highly civilized ancient Mon-Khmer, are regarded as representatives of the austroasians has not yet been clearly defined. However prehistoric, archeological, ethnological and racial evidences point to a northern origin

---

1/ For further data on this topic see:
Friedrich W. Funke: Die Stellung der Lawa in der Kulturgeschichte Hinterindiens. Tribus, No. 9, 1960.

2/ G. Coedès: Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental. Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise de L'extreme Orient. Hanoi 1925.

of this ancient population.[1]

Without we have briefly dealt with these hill tribes who can be looked upon as surviving groups of early inhabitants previous to the immigration of the Thais. Hence we will shortly discuss these groups of hill people who are relatively later migrants to this country. In fact, the latter are of much greater number and importance.

They belong without exception to the Sino-Tibetan stock and derive as well from the North. They can be divided roughly into two main streams: The first being the Yao-Meo-Patong group with close Chinese affinities, the second being the Tibeto-Burman group which is of local extraction and suggests a stronger Tibetan influence.

From the first group the Meo and the Yao are represented in Northern Thailand. Their origin is roughly in areas east of Kweichow in China and also in Yunnan, Hunan and Kwangsi. Both, Meo and Yao had been exposed to Chinese influence for several centuries before they migrated into Southern Yunnan, Tonkin, Annam, Laos, and recently also into Thailand.

The history of the Meo is fairly well known owing to the profound survey of Savina.[2] A comprehensive review of their tribal history is presented in the anthropological monograph on the Meo by Hugo Bernatzik.[3] About of these and other sources it appears that the ancestors of the Meo

---

1/ Robert Heine-Geldern: Urheimat and fruehoeste Wanderung der Austronesier. Anthropos, N. 24, Vienna 1932.

2/ F.M. Savina: Histoire de Miao. Société des Missions étrangères de Paris, 2nd edit. Hongkong 1930.

3/ Hugo Bernatzik: Akha and Meau. 2 volumes, Innsbruck 1947.

of this ancient population.[1]

Without we have briefly dealt with the hill tribes which can be looked upon as surviving groups of early inhabitants previous to the immigration of the Thais. Hence we will shortly discuss those groups of hill peoples who are relatively later immigrants to this country. In fact, the latter are of much greater number and importance.

They belong without exception to the Sino-Tibetan stock and derive as well from the North. They can be divided roughly into two main streams: The first being the Yao-Meo-Patong group with close Chinese affinities, the second being the Tibeto-Burman group which is of Indo extraction and suggests stronger Tibetan influence.

From the first group the Meo and the Yao are represented in Northern Thailand. Their origin is roughly in areas east of Kweichow in China and also in Yunnan, Hunan and Kwangsi. Both, Meo and Yao had been exposed to Chinese influence for several centuries before they migrated into Southern Yunnan, Tonkin, Annam, Laos, and recently also into Thailand.

The history of the Meo is fairly well known owing to the profound survey of Savina.[2] A comprehensive review of their tribal history is presented in the anthropological monograph on the Meo by Hugo Bernatzik.[3] About of these and other sources it appears that the ancestors of the Meo

---

1/ Robert Heine-Geldern: Urheimat and fruecheste Wanderung der Austronesier. Anthropos, N. 24, Vienna 1932.

2/ F.M. Savina: Histoire de Miao. Société des Missions étrangères de Paris, 2nd edit. Hongkong 1930.

3/ Hugo Bernatzik: Akha and Meau. 2 volumes, Innsbruck 1947.

liv[illegible] the banks of the Yellow River as early as the [illegible] millenium [illegible], at which time they offer [illegible] resistance to the expansion of the Hia, the early Chinese. Only after long struggles, in which victory and persecution alternated with each other, they were subjugated and forcefully sinicised. Many of them, however, retreated into less accessible areas and over a thousand years later, in the age of Confucius, Chinese chronicles refer to the Meo as "barbarians of the hills" and notorious insurgents. It seems that already during this early period of their ethnogeny they had become firmly established in their prevailing tribal patterns.

After all attempts of direct subjugation had failed, the Chinese emperors changed to a new tactic aiming at pacifying them by means of peaceful infiltration and administrative measures. According to their own account, however, they did not seem to succeed very well, since the same record tells that the Meo spread all over the mountains and maintained their uncompromising character. "The Mandarins, which we assign to them, exert no more authority than the Meo grant to them."

At another time a wise Chinese emperor seems to have realized that a profound knowledge of the mountain peoples might greatly facilitate the administration and finally achieve a settlement of those "savages". In order to study the life and customs of the pagans, scholars were ordered to accompany the Mandarins to the mountains. The same chronicle recording this remarkable fact, however, complains that these scholars had betaken themselves only to the nearest and easiest accessible places in order not to venture into danger. So they reported nothing back than

what was known already before.[1]

After these set-backs the [illegible] of "multiple torments", torturing and executing those [illegible] captured [illegible] rily [illegible] those who surrendered. Nonetheless, the Chinese never achieved a permanent peace in the following centuries. There are records of violent encounters with the [illegible] in 1456 in [illegible]-yun, in 1733 to 1735 in Kweichow, and in 1763 to 1775 in Setchuan and Kweichow, to list only a few. As late as 185[illegible] to 1881 the Meo tried desperately to regain their political independence.

[illegible] tribes were on a steady southward move in Tongkin and Annam during the 18th and 19th centuries. They usually took peaceful possession of the hilly tracts of the country but did not hesitate to fight back fiercefully whenever they were threatened in or deprived of their existence.[2] In 1860 they defeated the Annamite troops near Phu-Yen-Binh and only after reinforcements were drawn from the South were they brought to a stop. It seems, however, that they withdrew from the damp lowlands voluntarily, since they could not stand the tropical climate, and gradually fell back to the mountains which they continue to inhabit until today.[3]

In Vietnam and Laos the last Meo uprising were reported in 1911, in 1914-18, and in Luang-Prabang in 1921 and 1928. As is well known, at

---

1/ P.J. Amiot : Mevies concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages e.c. des chinois. Vol. 1-5 Paris 1776-1791, Vol. 16 Paris 1814.

2/ Maurice Abadie: Les races du Haut-Tonkin de Phong Tho à Lang-son. Soc. d'éd. géogr. mar. et col. Paris 1924.

3/ Hugo Bernatzik: Akha und Meau. Op.cit. p.17, 18.

present [illegible] tribes [illegible] in the [illegible] civil war where they [illegible] the [illegible] jungle fighters.

[illegible] that the Meo have migrated into Thailand only very recently. [illegible] mentions that they transgressed the Mekhong river as late as 1890.[1] Another [illegible] that only in the second half of the 19th century did they enter the highlands of North Siam.[2] At present the bulk of the Meo in Thailand is located in Chieng Rai, Nan, and Chieng Rai Provinces with strong sections having advanced as far as Tak, Petchaboon and Pitsanulok Provinces.

The Meo of Thailand can be subdivided into three main sections. The bases for these distinctions are dress and slight linguistic differences as well as the tribal names that they give themselves. The main divisions are: 1. The White Meo (Meo Khao), and 2. the Blue Meo, who in their turn subdivide themselves into the Black Meo (Meo Dam), the Striped Meo (Meo Lai), and the Flowery Meo (Meo Dawk). There is, moreover, a third division which is very small in number, the Gua M'ba Meo, who are becoming more and more absorbed by the Blue Meo.[3] The term Meo, or Miao, or Meau derives from the Chinese name for these tribes, the Meo call themselves H'moong.

The southernmost groups of the Meo have now reached an area only 300 km. far from Bangkok. If their millenium old southward migration

---

1/ J.Mc Carthy: Surveying and exploring in Siam 1894. Royal Geogr. Soc. London 1902.

2/ Wilhelm I. Credner: Siam Das Land der Thai. Stuttgart 1935.

3/ C.G. Young: The Hill tribes of Northern Thailand. USOM 1961.

should continue, they probably will cross over to the Burmese highlands in order to follow the hill ranges sweeping into the Thai and Malayan Peninsula. In fact, a few groups have moved into Burma in the last decades. However, following this route they would have to enter the tropical forest climate. As a typical cool-climate population the mountain people have difficulties in becoming easily acclimatized to a tropical surrounding, which may be one of the reasons why they have stuck to altitudes around and above 1000 metres throughout their history in Southeast Asia.

We have dealt with the history of the Meo at some length, since they are the single mountain people whose movement we can trace back in such a great detail. We know much less about the tribal history of the Yao.

The Yao are as ancient a people as the Meo, becoming established in their ethnic pattern some 2500 years ago in areas east of Kweichow. They may be identical with the Wai-Ken mentioned in ancient Chinese chronicles which refer to them, in the usual way, as very "barbaric" people and call them "dogs". It may well be that both, Yao and Meo are sometimes confounded with each other in historical records. They seem to have intermarried to great extents with Chinese people which explains their strong "Chinese" features. Moreover, their custom of adopting children of lowlanders as well as of other tribes, prevailing today,[1/] may be a very old habit. Many Yao groups remain in Southern China, especially in Kwangsi and Yunnan, from where they have migrated for centuries into Tonkin, Laos,

---

1/ compare the survey reports on the Yao of the field unit Wanat-Prayoon, enclosed in the annex of this report.

and very recently into Thailand. Today, the Yao of Thailand are concentrated in Chiang Rai Province. A few villages are to be found in Northern Nan, four villages in Lampang Province, and one village consisting of three hamlets in Amphur Fang, Chiang Mai Province.

Now we shall review briefly the mountain peoples of the Tibeto-Burman group. Their main tribal divisions represented in Northern Thailand are the Lisu, Lahu and Akha as well as the various Karen tribes. These tribals are clearly discernible from the Meo and Yao in several specific peculiarities.

It is fairly ascertained that their forefathers derive from regions to the Northwest of Yunnan-Kweichow. There is no reason to assume that they are descendants of the ancient Lolo and Ni-supeoples who, according to their own traditions, came from Tibet to Southwest China[1/] at about the same time (2nd and 1st millenium B.C.) as the Meo and the Yao formed themselves into tribes in the regions northwest of Kweichow.

The bulk of the Lisu, Lahu and Akha tribes still lives in Southern Yunnan, in the hills between the upper Salween and Mekhong rivers. Other tribes migrated into the Burmese highlands, to areas around Kentung, or into Laos. Their own tribal narrations, handed down orally, tell that they were constantly pressed southward by the Chinese and the Shan.[2/] Ultimately they poured into Northern Thailand, probably within the last century. Their southward trend continues.

1/ Alexander Slavik: Ostasien. In: Bernatzik: Neue grosse Voelkerkunde. V.1 2 Frankfurt a. Main 1954.

2/ G. Scott and F.J. Hardimann: Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. V 1 1, Part I Rangoon 1900.

Tibetan influences in racial features as well as in tribal dresses and even in rituals are considerable. Such traces seem to prevail particularly among the Lisu, but to a moderate degree among the Akha and Lahu. Besides they have customs and celebrations indicating long contacts with the Chinese culture. Not no written reports are available that would refer to the history of these tribes in a similar way as to the history of the Meo.

The Lisu and the Akha of Thailand represent each a single homogenous tribe. The Lahu, on the other hand, subdivide themselves clearly into four different main sections: The Black Lahu or Northern Lahu (Lahu Na or, by the Thai, called Mussur Dam), and the Red Lahu or Southern Lahu (Lahu Nyi or Mussur Daeng, as the Thai use to speak of them). They exhibit remarkable differences in their tribal dresses and social patterns. There are, moreover, two less important sections of this tribe, the Lahu Shehleh and the Lahu Shi, who differ slightly in dresses and dialects.[1/]

It is generally agreed that the Karen are a branch of the Tibeto-Burman stock and that they originated from regions north of Burma and Thailand. Several authors point out that there may have been numerous waves of Karen migrations into Burma from where they came into Thailand, both, in ancient times and more recently.[2/] Among some Karen groups there are apparent Austroasian influences, more specifically Mon, in their

---

1/ D.G. Young, op. cit.

2/ H. Bernatzik: Hinterindien. In: H. Bernatzik: Neue grosse Voelkerkunde. Vol 2 Frankfurt a. Main 1954.

linguistic affiliations and even in their way of dressing. This would indicate a rather early arrival of the first waves of these peoples in Southeast Asia, perhaps even before the Thai, and just after the Mon-Khumers.[1] A Lahu tradition, worthwhile to be noticed in this context, says that the Karen were their "brothers" at times long ago, perhaps in areas of Southern China.[2] Their racial characteristics represent wide differences, ranging from Neo-Mongoloid features to Paleo- and even Proto-Mongoloid characteristics resembling the original peculiarities of the Wa-related peoples.

The Karen are the largest group of Thailand's mountain peoples and are devided into four sections: The Skaw Karen, the P'wo Karen, the Bghwe Karen, and the Taungthu. The latter two sections are very small in number and are confined to Western Mae Hongsorn Province.[3]

Just in passing we mention finally a small tribe of nomadic hunters and food gatherers, the Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri, who are reported to roam occasionally in the inaccessible jungles of Nan Province.[4] As for the purpose of this report, however, they are too insignificant to be dealt with in any further detail.

Further, it should be clearified that the so-called Haw, who recently have settled in the mountains of Chieng Mai and Chieng Rai Provinces,

---

1/ Robert Heine-Geldern: Suedostasien. In: Buschan: Illustrierte Volkerkunde. Vol 2 Stuttgart 1923.

2/ O.G. Young, op. cit.

3/ O.G. Young, op. cit.

4/ H. Bernatzik: Die Geister der gelben Blaetter. Leipzig 1941.

should not be regarded as a hill tribe in the same sense as those treated above. The "Haw" are Chinese immigrants who live in the hills of Northern Thailand. Many of them derive from Yunnan but some came also from other Provinces of China. They are recruited from various occupations and from all levels of education. It may well be that several Haw have come to Thailand quite sometime ago. However the majority of them have left their homes during World War II, and during the Chinese Civil War. They came to Thailand together with the scattered fragments of the Chinese National Army after the Kuomintang incident in Burma. Most of them claim to be political refugees.

A group of "Haw", around Banyang and Mon Ang-Khang and Pha Luang, practises successfully advanced hill farming. They employ ploughs and pull oxen, and cultivate terraced and irrigated fields, as well as vegetable gardens and fruit orchards. They apply manure which is collected in specially prepared compost pits. Moreover, they practise a refined system of crop rotation, a useful example of stabilized farming in some hill regions.

Other Haw families have spread themselves all over in the tribal villages. Nowadays, Haw can be found in almost every tribal hamlet, especially in the Northern and Northwestern Provinces, Chieng Rai and Chieng Mai, but some of them have come as far south as Tak. They are engaged in all sorts of profitable business, preferably dealings in opium. An uncounted number of them now make a living among the hill tribes as shopkeepers, merchants and traders without losing their identity as Haw. We will have to deal with this people repeatedly in certain chapters of our report.

3. Total number and present location

Until today no census of the hill peoples of Northern Thailand has been taken. We rely entirely on rough estimations when speaking of the number of the hill peoples in the area concerned. Unlike such neighboring countries, as India, Burma and Indo-China, the hill tribes of Northern Thailand were never included in any Census Reports or District Gazetteers compiled by the Government.[1/] Besides, in this country, there do not yet exist any universities or colleges with anthropological Departments, in which the problems of the tribal minorities are dealt with in research and teaching.

Today, there exists a real need to remedy this omission, because of several pressing reasons which we will clearly state in this report.

It has been estimated that there are between 50,000 to 80,000 hill people, that is a variation of 300 percent. In a paper of the Department of Public Welfare, November 1, 1959, it is even stated that "the Ministry of Interior has estimated that there are more than 400,000 members of hill tribes" but this figure obviously covers wider areas than Northern Thailand. Another report estimates as of November 1960 the total number of North Thailand's tribal population to be 217,000. However, these figures are only estimations and should be treated with considerable reserve. Apparently, demographic changes perhaps occur after intervals. As an example, our survey

---

1/ As an exception, an attempt has been made, for instance, in Ta Chang Noi, Chiang Rai province.

was in a position to check figures given in the case of a few villages and some discrepancies were observed. The Lisu village of Doi Cao Muen, for instance, shows:

	No. of houses	population	persons per house
according to G. Young:[1]	60	7[illegible]	13.[illegible]
according to our survey:[2]	65 (main village)	407 (main village)	
(one year later)	+ 15 (hamlet)	+ 96 (hamlet)	[illegible].2

The Lisu village of Nalow, to give another example, shows:

	No. of houses	population	persons per house
according to D.G. Young:[3]	59	767	13.0
according to our survey:[4]	62	359	[illegible].7
(one year later)	+ 9 (Haw)		
	+ 1 (Lahu Nyi)		

For this and other reasons we wish to emphasize that much remains to be done to gather an accurate census of the hill peoples. Appropriate recommendations are submitted in the corresponding section of this report.

1/ G. Young: op. cit. p. 116

2/ Survey report of the field unit Wanat - Prayoon

3/ G. Young: op. cit. p. 116

4/ Survey report of the field unit Chalerm - Somchai

[illegible] the present location of the hill tribes, [illegible] Young's report gives a fair representation. The field units of our survey located villages are described in the report. Two units,[1] however, were able to gather additional information on the locations of Yao and Lisu tribes. It appears that the southernmost Yao villages are in Lamphang Province, Ngao District (3 villages) and Chaoh Hom District (1 village). Moreover, a considerable number of Lisu tribesmen seem to have proceeded as far as 6 days' walk south of Tak.

4. Contemporary Acculturation

Nowadays, even more than in their previous history, the mountain peoples of the North live by no means in a complete state of isolation.

There are certain hill tribes who have come in closer contact with the Thai lowland population and significant changes have affected their social, cultural and economic patterns. Acculturation of these is proceeding and has been accelerated in recent years, especially among such groups as Lawa and other Wa-related peoples who derive from ancient population strata previous to the Thai. Some Lawa groups have become completely absorbed into the Thai cultural pattern, as for instance those west of Chieng Mai city and those near Vieng Fa Pao in Chieng Rai Province. Other, in the Law Luang areas, have become assimilated mainly in economic aspects

---

1/ Wanat and Prasit.

but have modified the Thai people around them as much as the Thai have modified them.[1] The Ummai-Lawa on the Mae Chom river, on the other hand, have retained much of their original pattern.[2] Among the Kha Mu there is a definite trend towards becoming more and more absorbed by the Thai population due to the tendency of the men to move away as job-seekers in other locations. The same is true, though to a lesser degree, of the Htin.

On the other hand there are those tribes who have come into Thailand rather recently, like the Meo and Yao, the Lisu, Lahu and Akha. They definitely do not show any characteristic trend to assimilate with the Thai people or with the other tribes, nor are they inclined to move from their mountain areas to lower regions. All these tribes are slash-and-burn hill farmers, clinging to animistic religions, and carrying on with social customs practised by their forefathers.

However, even these mountain dwellers are by no means self-contained units cut off from the outside world. To an ever increasing extent their fate is tied up with the current events of the entire region.

In recent years, for instance, several tribal groups have crossed over the border from Laos because of the fights in the jungles which threatened their existence. Other village along the frontier areas of Burma were ordered to evacuate by the Japanese troops during World War II. Around Mon Ang Khang several villages of the Lahu and the Lisu as well as

---

1/ C. Young: op. cit. p. 75.

2/ F.W. Funke: op. cit. p. 141.

of the Yao have been chased away when Chinese unit, struggled their way back into these mountainous hiding-places after the Yunnintang incident in Burma. Numerous Yao, now living in Tak, recall that they had to set out on a large scale exodus fall within a decision of the provincial authorities.

Not only political and military events, however, have influenced their lives. The gradual and extensive infiltration of the Haw merchants into the tribal hill villages, where they settled down as quasiresidents, has brought a new factor into the tribal societies. The establishment of permanent shops, the exhibition and supply of commodities alien to the hill peoples has created new demands and expectations. Local people engaged in petty trades make their way into the hills.

Several of these Haw and Thai traders offer their goods on credit, resulting in gradual financial dependence of the hill people. The commercial exchange between the tribal societies and the outside world has become an economic need that can not be evaded any more by the tribesmen. In fact, they depend upon this trade to obtain supplies of consumer goods as, for instance, clothes, shoes, salt, matches, candles, torches, batteries, betel nut, and to a certain extent even implements and silver ornaments or, at least the raw material for their manufacturing. In recent times even tinned food is brought up to the hills. Last but not least, growing interest in modern arms may be noted. It is striking to observe how many of the tribesmen own fairly up-to-date arms which they use for hunting as well as, so they state, "to protect themselves".

The increasing demand for merchandise deriving from abroad has given a corresponding impetus to the raising of cash crops. There can be no doubt that the cultivation of poppy and the production of raw opium is by far the most profitable economic activity known to the hill peoples at present. Moreover, it is easily vendible and transportable. The shopkeepers and travelling merchants in the hills compete with each other to get hold of this product, readily granting credit for later sales of opium. Because of these reasons, it is quite understandable that those hill tribes, which are experienced and skillfull opium growers, are economically better off that those which are not engaged in this business. It is equally understandable, from their point of view, that they are firmly decided to carry on with the cultivation of this profitable cash crop until they have an equally valuable substitute.

Our socio-economic survey has been mainly concerned with the main opium-growing hill tribes. These are the Meo and Yao, and the Lisu, Lahu and Akha. In the further chapters of this report we include only these 5 tribes, four of which we have studied intensively and the last one we have visited briefly. The reason why our survey has been concentrated on these 4 tribes is that they are included in the areas of the Land Settlement Projects for Hill Tribes, which have recently been set up by the Thai Government, under their Department of Public Wolfare.

The survey and its recommendations have direct bearing mostly on the problems of integration and development of these tribes.

[illegible] ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MAIN OPIUM GROWING HILL TRIBES: MEO AND YAO, LISU, LAHU AND AKHA

I. BASIC FACTS

a) Economic activities

Slash and burn agriculture is the economic foundation of hill tribes under discussion. Without any exception they have not yet advanced to stabilized farming. As it will be seen that almost all the problems which the hill tribes constitute in this coutry - such as destruction of forests, opium growing, border insecurity, difficulties in administration and control - derive from this very fact. An immense progress would be made if the hill people would learn and practise cultivation in permanent fields. An approach in this direction, however, has many implications and will be dealt with in the chapter on the recommendations.

The system of shifting cultivation as practised by our hill tribes follows a certain rhythm. At the beginning of the dry season the head of the family will set out to select suitable pieces of land for the cultivation of rice, corn and poppy. In some cases a few families will join in the search of promising new cultivation areas. From January until March they will cut clearings into the jungle. The fallen trees and the underwood is then left to dry for a certain period. Between March and May they will set

fire to the clearings. Such fires may last for several days or even weeks, sometimes they are only stopped by the first showers of the approaching monsoon.

In most cases the soil for rice or corn fields is not turned by ploughs or iron hoes. At the beginning of the rainy season, from April until June, seeds are put into the soil by means of digging sticks with iron tips or sharp edges and then covered with some inches of earth. No manure is applied. The fields are not terraced or irrigated. Of course, in the first year the ashes of the burned jungle together with the original humus serves as a kind of fertilizer, and the fire has killed the weeds. In the second and third years, however, the fertility of the top soil is rapidly exhausted, the weeds spread and the yield per acre decreases.

This fact forces the hill farmers to look out for new fields. They will again select, cut and turn another suitable part of the jungle, and ultimately shift to their new farms. This system usually is followed in a 2-3 year cycle. Necessarily, the fields move farther and farther away from the village. In some few cases the farmers may be able to cultivate an abandoned field again, after 10 - 15 years, when the natural fertility is brought back to the soil by decays of the revived jungle. Then the farmers will continue to stay in the same village. However, if the whole cultivable land in the proximity is exhausted the villagers are compelled to shift their residence to a new location.

So there is a <u>double aspect of shifting cultivation</u>. In the first instance, only the fields are shifted but the residence of the hillmen

remains at the same location; in the second instance, the farmers themselves shift to a new location with all their household inventory, live-stock and agricultural implements. Yet it is not always the entire village community that moves out simultaneously, but single families or groups of relatives may leave the place one after the other. Some of them will join another village of the same tribe, others will set out to found a new dwelling in the hills.

The stability of residence of the Hill villages varies considerably. We have come across Meo villages, like Huay Luang or Meo Mae Lamow,[1] which were established more than 20 years ago and still do not show any inclination to move to another place. An outstanding case is the Yao village of Pulangar,[2] which has held out at its present site for 50 years. In general, the Meo and the Yao manage to stay longer in one place than the Lisu, the Lahu or the Akha. The Black Lahu of Doi Paka and Jele[3] report that they had lived for 50 years on Mon Ang Khang before they left the place because of repeated combats between the Chinese KMT forces and the Burmese Union troops. The Red Lahu (Mussuh Dang) usually have the shortest duration of residence. The village of Nam Ngai[4] has shifted frequently, at least once every 5 years. The Red Lahu of Doi Mea Yamin[5] only moved to their present location last

---

1/ Survey report of the field unit Huntan-Pua

2/ Survey report of the field unit Wanat - Prayoon

3/ Survey report of the field unit Nithat - Sawang

4/ Survey report of the field unit Prasit - Sawat

5/ Survey report of the field unit Nithat - Sawang

year and will [illegible] it again in the course of this year.

An estimation of the average stability of residence shows:

[illegible]	1[illegible] - 15	years
[illegible]	10 - 15	"
Lisu	6 - 8	"
Black Lahu	7 - 10	"
Red Lahu	5 - 8	"

The semi-nomadic way of life has primarily economic reasons. The exploitation of the arable land resulting from a lack of proper methods of soil conservation forces the hill farmers to move from one place to another. Moreover, there do exist some further reasons for the sudden change of residence, as for instance: factionalism within a village community, bad relations with people from neighbouring places, or even too frequent visits of outsiders which the villagers suspect may lead to interference in the internal affairs of the tribal village community in a disturbing manner. In some few cases we could even gather that certain magico-religious beliefs can cause the hill people to abandon a locality in panic. However, all these reasons are not insurmountable. The opinion studies which we have carried out in several tribal hill villages have yielded an

---

1/ G. Young: p. cit. p. 114.

interestingly enough that many tribesmen would be inclined to adjust themselves to settled farming. 1/

The main field crops cultivated by the hill peoples in their temporary clearings are rice, [illegible] and maize. However, a large variety of vegetables, chillies, spices and pulses is grown in the hills. In some areas, for instance, in Mon and Khang, potatoes grow very well. In a few villages, barley and millet are raised.

Rice as the staple plant is never grown alternately with another crop. Frequently, however, rice is planted in mixture with green melons, gourds and even sun-flowers. Rice can be cultivated for not more than 2 - 3 successive years in the same field. Hill slopes at an altitude of approximately 800 metres above the sea level are regarded as the most favourable areas.

For the planting of rice a digging stick is used to prick the ground into little holes about one foot and a half apart. Five or six seeds are placed into each hole. With their feet the farmers stamp on the hole to cover the seed. Twice or thrice the weeds and grasses are chopped off before the rice is cut by sickles. Threshing is usually done in the fields. The paddy is brought to the village by pack horses or by human labour where it is stored and ultimately milled with wooden rice pounders. 2/

1/ For detailed record of basic opinions expressed by hill people please refer to the corresponding section of this report.

2/ For all details and variations please refer to annex.

Poppy as the main cash-crop grows best at [illegible] between 1000 and [illegible] metres. A few fields can [illegible] this level but all hill tribes prefer higher grounds because the climate is cooler and the place collects plenty of dew at night. The [illegible] thrives on limy soils of blackish, reddish or yellow colour with sufficiently loose surface. The remote and inaccessible spots in the jungle surrounded by a semi-circle of lime rocks are considered to be the ideal places for poppy plantations - perhaps also because they are hidden from the police who may once in a while visit the village.

Much care is taken in the raising of the poppies. The surface of the ground is smashed to a fine powder and the poppy seeds, mixed with lettuce, parsley and other seeds, are sown broadcast. The seeds are covered lightly by gently raking the ground surface with the hands. Poppy stems rising in thick bushes will be picked off thus leaving a space of some six inches between each plant. The fields have to be weeded three times before the poppy capsules ripen and the opium can be extracted. For the tapping of the resin special brass knives with 3 to 5 curved edges are used. After the capsule is scratched in vertical incisions the resin flows down along the capsule and the stem for one day. The milky-white resin changes to a brown and finally blackish color by exposure to the air and is scraped from the plants with a halfmoon-shaped iron knife. The collected resin is the raw opium ready for the market.

There has been information that poppy can be grown for 8 - 10 successive years in the same field and in a few cases up to 20 years without notable decrease of yield.

Millet is frequently grown alternately with poppy in the same field. It is planted at the end of April together with other mixture crops in a very similar manner of cultivation as rice. The harvest of corn is around August. Shortly after that, in September, poppy is sown broadcast and the tapping is done from October through January. After the opium harvest the field is prepared for the next season.

Many mixture crops are cultivated between the main staple and cash crops. Some of the most important are: green melons, string beans, chillies, pumpkins, Chinese cabbages, parsley, lettuce, tomatoes, pot beans, lupine beans, Chinese radish, green mustard, cucumber, onions, tobacco, potatoes and sweet potatoes. Besides castor seeds, sugar cane, and fruits like banana, guava and papaya can be found in quite a few places. According to the outspoken opinion of some hill people a number of these crops could be cultivated as cash crops, if market and transport facilities could be provided.

The collection of wild jungle products is an additional source of food supply, preferably in certain seasons of the year. Eatable roots, sprouts, bamboo shoots and all sorts of forest fruits are gathered especially by women and children.

Animal husbandry is carried on by all tribes as a supplymentary economic activity. It is generally practised in the same extensive fashion as farming.

Hogs are the most important domesticated animals. There are but a few instances in which they are intensively fattened in specially prepared

h[illegible]. [illegible] only a few [illegible] following this proper method of feeding and even [illegible] them it is almost exclusively confined to the months just before the New Year Festival. For the rest of the year they take little care of their hogs, just feeding them with some left-over food, boiled corn and chopped banana trunks once or twice a day. The Lisu, and still more the Lahu, let their pigs roam about in the jungle to search for their food. Accordingly these pigs are in a half-wild state which is reflected in their slim stature, in their narrow long snouts, and in their habit of eating excrements. The Red Lahu feed their hogs rarely.

As regards poultry it was observed that the Meo and Yao generally take more care than the Lisu and Lahu. Usually one can find both native and foreign breeds of chicken in the tribal villages. Diseases and epidemics are as frequent as among the hogs. No proper veterinary treatment is known to the hillmen. The hazards involved in the raising of livestock are perhaps one of the main reasons why the hill farmers do not undertake a more intensive care in their animal breeding.

Opinion studies carried out by our survey have revealed that many of tribesmen would be interested in a more intensive animal husbandry and are quite prepared to acquire useful knowledge.[1/] Moreover we came across a number of progressive hill farmers who were already successfully engaged in piggery for marketing.

1/ For a detailed record please refer to the corresponding section of this report.

Traditionally, hogs and chickens are eaten only after sacrificing for the spirits. Without exception the hill tribes regard these animals as suitable for any kind of religious sacrifice or for preparing meals and feasts. However, this does not mean that these species would be regarded as "sacred" animals by the tribesmen, as, for instance, the cow by the Hindu. In fact, among our hill tribesmen such beliefs prevail that would render economic development too difficult.

Cattle are another species of domesticated animals that can be found in many villages of the hill tribes. They are almost never fed by the villagers but find their own food in the vicinity and come back to the village late in the evening. They are never used for dairy and only in very few exceptions for labour. They are sold to lowlanders or slaughtered in the village for consumption but usually not for feasting the spirits. Only the Meo slaughter a bow or an ox on the occasion of a death ceremony.

Horses are raised with good care in stables near the houses and usually looked after by the boys who ride them with a surprising skill without saddle to abandoned clearings for grazing. There is no car or cart in use but horses are loaded with pack-saddles and carry up to 50 kg. Most horses and mules seen in the mountains of Northern Thailand are either of local or Chinese breed. They negotiate the steep jungle trails fairly well but do not have too great a staying power.

Goats and, in some cases, bucks can be seen in but a few hill villages. Small green parrots and other gaily colored birds are frequently kept as decoys.

Hunting and trapping is carried on with fondness and passion by the tribesmen. The more common game is rabbit, wild fowls, birds, barking deer and monkey. Other wild animals such as porcupine and mountain goats, and in quite a few instances even bear, bison and tiger are chased with great enthusiasm. A successful hunter gains respect and reputation. The traditional weapons are cross-bows with sometimes poisened arrowheads, flint-lock gun, and a wide range of game traps. Nowadays, an ever increasing number of fairly modern rifles and shot-guns are used in this favoured activity.

Fishing as an additional food supply is rather insignificant. Most of the tribal villages are situated at altitudes of the spring-waters where few or no big aquatic creatures can be found. Only occasionally will they lay out eel-baskets or angle with fish-hooks in the streams flowing further down in the mountain valleys. More frequently they buy salted fish from the lowlanders coming up to the hills for trade.

As regards handicrafts we may record that iron-and silversmiths are the most important craftsmen of the hill societies. The raw material of their products has to be procure from outside the village but most of the agricultural implements and tribal ornaments can be produced by the village artisans. Nowadays, some significant changes can be observed, namely, that Haw traders are either offering or manufacturing fancy articles for the tribesmen and their womenfolk. In other cases hillmen buy their implements and adornments directly from shops in the lowland owned by Chinese, Shan or Thai merchants who at the same time may be silversmiths.

The women, however, carry on stitching and embroidering the traditional tribal designs into their folk dresses with great perseverance.

The timing of all economic activities can be represented most vividly by producing a typical agricultural calendar of the hill farmers:

January - tapping poppy and collecting opium,
weeding in the poppy plantations,
transporting poppy from the fields to the barns for rice cultivation,
selecting new clearings.

February - tapping poppy and collecting opium,
slashing and burning of clearings for rice and maize.

March - slashing and burning of clearings for rice and maize,
finishing opium harvest;
end of the main trading season

April - burning of clearings,
final preparations for the sowing season, planting mixture crops and potatoes, corn cultivation

May - rice cultivation,
planting mixture crops and chillies,
weeding in the corn fields.

June - weeding in the rice and corn fields,
planting mixture crops.

July - weeding in the rice fields,
harvesting corn,
harvesting mixture crops,
preparing the ground for poppy cultivation

August - harvesting corn,
harvesting mixture crops and potatoes,
preparing the ground for poppy cultivation.

September - poppy cultivation of early varieties,
planting mixture crops,
harvesting early maturing rice,
harvesting mixture crops and chillies.

October - poppy cultivation of late varieties,
weeding in the poppy plantations,
harvesting and drying of rice,
harvesting mixture crops.

November - weeding in the poppy plantations,
harvesting late maturing rice,
harvesting mixture crops and chillies,
threshing of rice.

December - tapping poppy and collecting opium,
weeding in the poppy plantations,
threshing of late rice,
transporting paddy from the fields
to the barns,
beginning of the main trading season.

The trade system in the hills deserves special attention. It leads to another basic problem which the hill people constitute in this country and beyond, viz. the illicit opium and opiates traffic.

As we have seen, opium is the main cash-crop of the hill tribes. It is mainly the opium that attracts the traders up to the hills and that enables the tribesmen to buy the commodities offered by the merchants. The harvest time of opium is the main trading season in the hills. The hill-tribesmen and the hill traders exist in a symbiotic relationship. Moreover, they have a common foe that strengthens their alliance: the law that bans poppy cultivation, opium production and narcotics traffic. For these reasons the trade system in the hills has in many aspects the character of smuggling.

As a rule it may be said, that the hill tribes are self-sufficent with regard to food supply. Paddy, vegetable, chilly, corn, potatoes, live-stock are produced to the extent needed to supply home consumption. There are some exceptions to this rule, but in general the family, and

respectively the village community, consumes what is produced and receives cash from the sale of raw-opium. This "cash-product" is either exchanged for goods such as clothes, shoes, kerosene, candles, matches, torches, batteries, silver-ornaments and implements from the smiths, salt, sugar, betel, tea and even tinned food (etc.) in a barter system with the shopkeepers, or it is sold for cash to the travelling merchants. The average yearly cash-income per hilltribe family from the sale of opium is estimated at about 3000 baht. 1/

The key-men of the opium traffic in the hills of Northern Thailand are the traders who come from outside the tribal societies. Our survey has tried to make inquiries into their dealings. On the basis of our observations in numerous villages of the 4 tribes studied we have proof that the overwhelming majority of them are Haw. 2/

The Haw-traders are primarily spread over the hill villages along the Burmese and Laotian borders in the Provinces of Chieng Mai, Chieng Rai, Nan and Mae Hongsorn. They can also be met within the hills of districts having no frontier with neighbouring countries, like Prae, from where they move down to Chieng Mai, Lamphun and Lampang. We have come across Haw-traders as far South as Tak Province. In these hill ranges, however, local

---

1/ For further detail please refer to the chapter on : the problem of opium growing.

2/ For an introductionary description of the Haw please refer to previous parts of this report.

Thai merchants engaged in opium trade can be seen more frequently. South of Tak, according to reliable informants, many Karen or Yunnanese carry on with opium trade and transport. In the lowlands it is almost always the Chinese who take over the opium traffic. Local Thai opium traders, of course, are also roaming in the hills of the northern border provinces but Haw merchants definitely have greater influence in those areas.

Usually the Haw traders know each other personally, even if living in hill villages 200 km. and more apart. Most of those we encountered regard the village of Ban Yang, near Amphur Lung, as their central place. Quite a few of them will return to this place, after the closing of the trading season. Some Haw have married tribal women, others have got local Thai wives. Either by means of their wives or by direct purchase a number of them have acquired landed property in the lowlands.

The Haw traders are usually smart, cunning and reserved people. They are shrewd businessmen with an admirable social adaptability without, however, abandoning their own characteristics, which are evident and often charming indeed. There seems to be a fair understanding among all Haw in the hills and a remarkable coherence or even silent organization.

The Haw traders keep close contacts with the armed bands that dwell in fortified camps along the Burmese frontier. It is reported that they give armed convoy to opium-caravans along the jungle trails to the next reloading places. There have been also reports that opium-caravans crossing over from Burma to Thailand are at times stopped until they have paid their "fee". They then will offer their good services for further protection.

[illegible] for the places in the lowlands where the opium is transported we have [illegible] according to corresponding statements of hill people and [illegible] in Chiengmai and Lampoon [illegible] the opium-caravans are [illegible] towards Amphur [illegible] in the mountains of [illegible] district it is told that opium is transported southward along the rivers to [illegible] Another opium route in Lakon follows the hills southward along the river Klong Suan Luk to Mae Klong, Sri Sawat, Sai Yok and ultimately to Kanjanaburi. In this southward route Karen or Yang are engaged in transporting.

Definitely in the lowlands there exist secret trade organizations or syndicates, transforming, transporting and distributing the opium that is brought down from the hills. But it proved rather hard to investigate these activities right up from the hills. We have only a few observations concerning the relations between the hill-traders and these agencies. We have good reason to believe that we have come across emissaries of these backers in a few tribal villages.

The local Thai-merchantss in the hills of the northernmost districts are rather of the type of petty-traders. Only a few Thai have settled in the tribal villages to the same extent as the Haw. Mostly, they come on occasional visits offering lowland products in exchange for some raw-opium. In a few instances, admittedly, we have met lowlanders who in fact were not primarily interested in opium, but bought hogs or red chillies which they then transported and sold at profit in the next market.

Moreover, a number of local addicts make their way up to the hills

in order to obtain and smoke opium. Many a local addict [illegible] himself to the tribesmen as slave [illegible] wage-labourer, frequently only to lie down and smoke [illegible] as he has got hold of some opium or very only some ash of the "gentlemen" smokers. Others carry on with some petty trade to satisfy their addiction.

As mentioned before in districts South of Chiang Mai local Thai people dominate the trade and quite a number have established permanent shops in the hill villages in which they reside at least for the opium harvest season.

Both, Haw merchants and Thai merchants of the latter type make a fair income by their business. According to our information they make 30% to 100% profit on the [illegible] they take up to the hills and another up to 100% profit on the products they bring down. To gather detailed information has proved to be very difficult, since these people are naturally reserved and suspicious of inquiries. It is certain, however, that the hill tribes are badly cheated and exploited by the prevailing trade system. The prices of raw-opium as paid in the hills was last year between 800 and 900 baht per kg. This year in several villages the prices went down to 700 - 750 baht per kg. At the same time we got from one trader the definite information that he could sell one kg. opium at the rate of 1500 baht to a big Chinese dealer in Tak.

The traders exert financial control over the hill people. They buy their cash product and supply goods for which there is a real demand among the hill people. The money does not rest with the tribesmen, but it

[illegible] back to the Haw or Thai traders who sell these [illegible]. The tribesman [illegible] to [illegible] down to the lowland with his opium, since he is afraid of the police. So it is again the hill trader to whom he has to sell it and who will exchange it for commodities of his stock. Thereby the trader controls all financial activities in the hills. He can dictate the prices and to a certain degree even the commodities to be purchased by the tribesmen. He grants credit to the man in need before the harvest, thus forcing him to sell his opium to him. In return this tribesman has to continue to buy from him what he offers.

There are, of course, a few additional sources of cash income for hilltribesmen, such as selling a pig or some chillies, etc. But these are at present absolutely negligible when compared with opium.

Thus the tribesman is in a certain financial dependence on the hill-traders. He can not easily get out of this dependence, say, by moving to another village, since the situation is there very much alike. And in particular the Haw traders keep close communication over hundreds of kilometres and are backed by armed bands in the hills. These facts, however strange it may appear, make the hill tribes and the Haw business associates. They are knitted together by the same struggle for their existence. They depend upon each other and the one can not do without the other's co-operation.

This situation renders more difficult the attempt of the Government to substitute opium growing with other economic activities. The role and

the influence of the traders must be taken into consideration quite carefully. If the tribesmen are encouraged to cultivate replacement crops, the traders must be dealt with simultaneously lest they have to the new products. In the present context of hill life it seems to be impossible to effect changes in the economy of the tribesmen without ensuring the cooperation of the powerful traders.

b) Social Structure

The hill tribes are fairly well adjusted and advanced within their environment and their traditional economy. They are different from the lowland population in their mode of life but not thereby inferior. The hill tribes under discussion are not primitive. They are usually intelligent, industrious, aware of their present situation and conscious of what is for their own benefit. Their intellectual mobility has been noticed by several previous observers who have studied them closely. By their history and inclination they are bound to the mountains and in this environment they have not yet succeeded to make the decisive step toward settlement.

Our hill tribes have their firmly established social customs and manners as manifestation of tribal and village coherence. They have their appropriate social and spiritual authorities who watch that the accepted rules of conduct are duly observed. They have an informal education within the family, the village and the tribe that makes the growing generation attached to the society they live in. They have a certain value system

underlying their actions. They have their own means and ends to satisfy their expectations which are still largely conditioned by their traditional frame of reference. And they have their religious belief and rituals that give a supernatural sanction to any of their social institutions.

A proper understanding of their social organization is of indispensable use for any future development activities and for the administration of the hill peoples. That the tribes are responsive to modernization, there cannot be any doubt. The hill tribes can become valuable contributors to the economic growth of the country. But any attempt to integrate these ethnic minorities into the life of the nation should take into account their loyalty to their own tribal authorities.

Up to now the tribesmen have no sense of territorial nationality. There do exist certain exceptional cases in which a growing loyalty toward the Thai country can be observed, as for instance among the Yao of Pulangarn,[1/] or some outstanding tribal village headmen[2/] that have indeed developed a sort of national attachment. As for the overhelming majority, however, their relations with Thai lowlanders and Government officials are limited. Their present feelings and opinions toward the Government are highly conditioned by the Government's attempted suppression of their traditional source of income, their shifting cultivation and opium growing. The tribesmen

---

1/ Survey report of the field unit Wanat - Proyoon.

2/ For example Yao Mae Mon Luang, report of Prasit - Sawat.

[illegible] not know with what to replace it and have [illegible] far not received any advice. Therefore their prevailing attitude is to retreat into the remote parts of the jungle, thus their growing interest in armament.

The single tribes do not live in a residential unit but are scattered all over the hills, the intermediate areas may be inhabited by fractions of quite different tribes. Consequently, there is no such institution as one tribal chiftain for all the Meo or Lisu of Thailand or any wider region. The tribesmen are organized in village communities. The head of the village is the immediate authority, and the tribal village administration is the main body for settlement of disputes and resort of appeal.

There does exist a definite coherence among the members of a given tribe, say, the Lisu or Meo. This is most obviously expressed in their tribal dress, in their common language, in their specific social customs and religious rituals. Every villager is, wherever he may live, a Lisu or a Meo by his self-identification and he is regarded as such by other people. He will maintain his tribal identity as a matter of self-evidence and will marry a woman of his tribe. If he drifts out of his village he will join another village of the same tribe. There are but a few exceptions of this rule among Lisu and Lahu who in rare cases are inclined to intermarry or to reside in a village of the corresponding tribe. In recent times it can be observed that the Haw may occasionally marry women of the Lisu and Lahu tribes.

The village community and its authority-system is the basic political unit of the hill tribes. Its most important exponents are the headman,

his assistant, and [illegible] two or more informal leaders, the spirit doctor or sometimes several of them in a village [illegible] household heads. It may happen that a village headman becomes especially renowned and his influence spreads all over the hills. Even villagers of other tribes may come and ask him for advice. It may happen that the reputation of a spirit doctor spreads to other villages. Then he will be considered an outstanding shaman and may be consulted by many people of the same tribe. But their influence and reputation is based on achievement. It is equally achievement and not inheritance or family status that qualifies a person to be [illegible] a leader. If he should fail to act according to expectation his esteem will immediately decrease and he may be replaced. In general there prevails a competitive attitude toward leadership, a feature that not seldom results in village factionalism and ultimately may lead to the breakup of a village community.

<u>The headman</u> is elected by the adult male members of the village. If he retires or moves out of the village another headman will be chosen by mutual consent. He holds his position by virtue of his ability to negotiate with people as well as by virtue of his experience, age and wealth. Another factor may be that he has many relatives in the village who act as a pressure group. Usually his election will be based on public support. It seems that the support of the religious leaders is also of some importance.

The head of the village assumes all important duties and responsibilities in his person. He is in charge of administering the affairs of the village, maintaining public peace, settling disputes, accommodating visitors, selecting the sites for a new village. At the same time he is the liaison

[illegible] two [illegible] tribesmen and the Thai Government." In those villages having closer relations with the local Thai authorities he is officially approved as village headman and his immediate superiors are the head of the next Thai village (Ka Yai Ban), the head of the commune (Kamnan), and the district officer (Nai Amphur). There are even some cases in which a representative of the local administration is sent up to the tribal village to witness and to recognize the election of a new headman.

<u>One or two assistants</u> are usually attached to the headman of the village. They will work as his subordinates in all affairs concerning the administration of the village.

<u>A village advisory group</u> will be called upon whenever the headman seeks advice. This village council may become of great influence in a village and seems to be especially obvious among the Lisu. In more complicated disputes they will act as a local court. In arranging festivals with community participation they will render their services. In the making of important decisions they will duly contribute their share by discussing the issue freely and at great length. Usually experienced and old men assume the role of advisers. In several cases an adviser may be a spirit doctor at the same time.

<u>The spirit doctors</u> hold their position by virtue of the special supernatural power which they hold. This quality they acquire when becoming possessed by a spirit who enters their minds without their agency, sometimes during a dream. Thus the dignity of a shaman is usually not inherited, though a special ability of communicating with the magical world may prevail

in certain [illegible]. The number of [illegible] is [illegible] not limited, there are [illegible] spirit [illegible], whose influence and power [illegible]. [illegible] there are [illegible]. The [illegible], to which [illegible] refer to [illegible] 'sophisticated' [illegible] hill tribes, have [illegible] refined system of spirit worship. Their spirit [illegible] have to undergo a certain 'initiation' in the course of which they are instructed by older religious leaders how to invoke the spirits. They have to acquire some knowledge of Chinese characters and invariably they will keep a book containing texts for sacred recitals.

The main function of the shaman is to worship the spirits and to interpret their intentions to the tribesmen. Thereby he may gain ascendency over the social affairs of a village. In fact he may even misuse his magic - religious sanctions for political intrigues or sectarian unrests. There is the well-known case of a great Lahu shaman living South of Kengtung, Pu Chawng Luang by name, who has been responsible for a large-scale exodus of Lahu from Thailand to Burma in 1958 - 1960. By his transcendental power he claims to have acquired certain magic insignia which bear strong resemblance to the paraphernalia of Tibetan magicians (the magic hammer, the magic rope, the magic knife). This is not at all surprising, since the Lahu and Lisu culture originated from the Tibet-Chinese-Burmese region. More serious, however, is the latent danger that political agitators may utilise religious expectations of 'a coming enlightenment' (which in fact prevail among some tribes) for propagating revolutionary doctrines that promise 'a new enlightenment'. It is suspected that some Lahu groups are being indoctrinated in this way by foreign infiltrators specially

trained in subversive activities.

Usually the influence of a shaman is confined to his own village. If for instance a number of strange casualties occur, due to accidents or epidemics, he will consult an oracle and may read the [illegible] of the spirits to clear out of the locality. Then he will urge the village community to leave the place without delay. He may also ask omens for the fortune of the coming harvest.

Most frequently the spirit doctors are consulted in cases of sickness which generally are believed to be of supernatural causes. He then will invoke the ghosts to call back the soul of the sick person. An invocation of this type may last for several hours or even nights.

Animal-sacrifices, especially hog and chicken, food-offerings, preferably rice, corn and liquor, and the burning of joss-sticks and sometimes candles are part of the rituals conducted by the spirit doctors at all various occasions of community festivals, invocations of spirits, and consulting oracles and omens.

It can be said with good reason that the hill tribes we encountered are firmly bound to their traditional beliefs. Consequently their loyalty to their tribal leaders, spiritual and social, is not a purely secular concern for them. They live still in a non-secularized society, in which the socio-economic and magic religious world is viewed as a certain sanctified entity.

It is of real importance to realize this fact, especially when

approaching these people with practical development activities and administrative measures. The conclusion is that one should approach these people not against but through their own established authorities.

The family system of the hill tribes is marked by two distinctive types of families. The first being the nuclear family, the second being the extended family. Both may be either monogamous or polygynous.

The monogamous unclear family consists of husband, wife and children. In the polygynous family one husband may have two or more wives.

Among the Lahu the monogamous nuclear family is practised. Among the Meo, Yao and Lisu there are quite a number of families in which a man has more than one wife. Polygyny is usually connected with wealth and status, since each wife has to be acquired by a considerable bride-price (2000 - 3000 baht), but on the other hand she is then a welcome manpower.

The extended family is a composite form of the family. It consists of the grandparents plus their children and the wives of their married sons plus their grandchildren in the male line. The married daughters and their children belong to the families of their husbands after having left the parents' house. All the members of an extended family are joined by a common roof, a common fire-place, a common budget, a common store, and a common economy. The head of the extended family is a sovereign authority, not a primus inter pares. He may consult his grown-up sons but institutionally the making of decisions is his. After his death his eldest son will assume his commitments.

[illegible] and the Yao have a definite inclination [illegible] extended families, although there is nothing hard and fast in this regard. The prevalence of extended families is apparent to a visitor at once on entering a village of these tribes by the numerous great houses indicating joint dwellings.

The <u>fundamental rules of descent</u> among all hill tribes under discussion are patrilineal. The Meo, Yao and Lisu will inherit the surnames of their fathers. The Lahu have no surnames, they have only a forename. If a surname is found among any Lahu in Thailand, it is likely to be given to him by the Thai or by any outsider. But there is no indication of a matrilineal descent, the father is considered as the head of the family.

<u>The rules of postnuptial residence</u> are in the case of extended families patrilocal, and in the case of nuclear families usually neolocal. Among the Yao there occurs temporary matrilocality, that means the young husband has to live in the house of the father of his wife, if he is unable to pay the bride-price at once. After having served his time and contributed to the economy of his father-in-law to an equivalence of the bride-price agreed, he will shift with his wife to his father's house. The custom of paying a bride-price to the parents of the wife (as a rule between 2000 - 3000 baht) prevails also among the Meo and Lisu. The Lahu, however, have no such custom, they have a somewhat complicated system of postnuptial residence. After marriage a Red Lahu men will shift to the house of his father-in-law for 2 years, after which time the young couple will move to the father of the husband for 1 year, this 2 year and 1 year alternates

residence is repeated 3 times. Only after that period are they allowed to live in a new residence of their own.

The notion of private property is fairly developed among the hill tribes. We have observed repeatedly that a tribesman states quite clearly that a particular cross-bow, household article or any other material commodity is the property of his brother, etc. We were told to wait until the owner returned, if we wanted to know whether we could buy this article and to negotiate about the price of it.

The customary rights of landed property are of great relevance in all further administrative and development activities. We have observed that the tribesmen have a clear conception of the rights connected with pieces of land which they have cleared. It is the family, either in its nuclear or in its extended form, and in particular the head of the household that claims all titles to this land. Moreover, the hill tribes have an unwritten law that even an abandoned clearing must not be taken under cultivation by any one else than the original proprietor. If the clearing can be cultivated again, say, after 10 years of fallow, only the family that has cleared and tilled it before is entitled to cultivate it again. However, if all the clearings are abandoned due to exhaustion of soil and the villagers shift to a far distant place the claims to these fields will necessarily cease.

The question of inheritence of landed property will arise when the hill people become stabilized farmers. It is obvious that rights of inheritence of landed property are connected with the cultivation of permanent

fields. Consequently, the hill tribes present too much concerned with it at present. However, it will be of utmost importance to decide upon this question within the foreseeable future and to take the customary law of the hill people into consideration.

The family is the production unit, either in its nuclear or in its extended form. The development of the hill economy should be implemented with a view to utilize this well-established and properly operating socio-economic institution. No hasty attempts at creating collective farming or co-operatives should be undertaken. In the course of further development the use of farming production committees and farmers' associations may become evident to the hill people by itself. Likewise we do not think that the hill people are inclined to exchange their rural family economy for wage labour.

The attachments to the family and the gratitudes to the parents are strongly developed. Among all tribal societies the original functions of the family are still in full operation. These functions are in matters of sex, reproduction, education, religious worship, recreation, social status, and economic activities. It is important to keep in mind that the tribal families are still full operational units, especially for educators, administrators and advisers coming from outside. The functional family is a stabilizing factor that makes it rather difficult to affect the young generation with new ideas from outsiders. Therefore an indirect approach, e.g., through the head of the house-hold, might yield more promising results.

The [illegible] of the family, either [illegible] or extended, is [illegible] respected authority [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] has the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the household, the family and the ancestral spirits. Thus [illegible] [illegible] has supernatural sanctions. [illegible] [illegible] that the well-established social institution should not be [illegible], especially when introducing schools or youth-organizations into tribal villages.

Besides the family, the village and the tribe, there is no further social grouping among our hill societies. The lineages are based on actual genealogical connections, thus being consanguineal kin groups.

The symbiosis with the Haw traders, and in a [illegible] what reduced sense with the Thai traders, is another important factor in the social structure of our hill tribes. Nowadays, the traders, shopkeepers and merchants in the hills have to be regarded as factors in the tribal life almost in the same way as are the headman and the spirit doctor. In fact, they have become a normal feature in the daily routine. Their impact on the life of the hill villages is remarkable.

The hill traders are a factor of social change. Their impact is the strongest cause for acculturation that has affected the hill tribes up to now. And actually they have brought about considerable economic and cultural changes into the tribal life.

Social change is a re-ordering of social relations. In other words there are changes not only in custom and habit but in the structure of the

[illegible] including the creation of new statuses. And this is exactly what these traders have [illegible] the tribals as quasi-residents. They are [illegible] the tribals [illegible] factor in their social relations. They have penetrated into the social structure and exert influence from within. Their continuous influence is [illegible] result in further changes. Taking this into account we wonder whether the traders could be utilized in bringing about certain economic changes, like the profitable marketing of new cash-crops. If possible, one should not work against the traders but through them.

<u>The relations with Government officials</u>, on the other hand, are still rather of the kind of contacts with the outside world. According to the official Thai administrative system the situation is as follows: the Province (Changwat) is the primary administrative unit, and each Province is divided into a number of Districts (Amphur), each District into Communes (Tambon), and each Commune into Villages (Mu-Ban). The supreme authority of the primary administrative unit, of the Province, is the [illegible] Wa Rajagan Changwat (Governor).

The <u>Local Government</u> includes all agencies and divisions below the provincial level. The head of the District is the Nai Amphur (District Officer), the head of the Commune is called Kamnan, and the head of the village is a Pu Yai Ban (literally 'the big man of the village'). The legal administrative system ends with the Thai village.

As for the villages of the ethnic minorities in the hills, they seem

[illegible] at least [illegible]. [illegible] tribal [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] situation is [illegible] different [illegible] [illegible].

Again we have to mention the exceptional case of the [illegible] of Phu Langa, where a tribal chieftain has been officially recognized as the head of the Commune.[1] This Commune, it is true, is [illegible] exclusively of Yao and Mo. The significant experiment of [illegible] regional autonomy [illegible] attention and evaluation. A refined system of partial self-government of tribal communes is already operating successfully in some South-Asian countries.[2]

For the majority of the hill tribes, however, the contacts with authorities of the local government or border patrols are [illegible] and usually rather of the character of occasional interviews. [illegible], the latent suspicion due to continual [illegible] and forest destruction naturally strains their relations.

1/ Survey report of the field unit Sanat - Krayon.

2/ Hans Manndorff. Akkulturation der Einwohnerkonstanzen von Indien. In: Aktuelle Volkerkunde. Muenchen 1962.

[illegible]

[illegible] shifting cultivation

The destruction of [illegible] rivers is the first and [illegible] reason why shifting cultivation constitutes a basic problem for this country. The disturbing effects of [illegible] on the natural water supply are well known. All waters irrigating the rice fields of the central plains originate in the hills of Northern Thailand. It is estimated that 1[illegible] to 2[illegible]0,[illegible] rais [illegible] to 32,[illegible] [illegible] of hill sides are cleared of trees. But for this effect on the water-supply for the lowlands, the cutting of trees in itself [illegible] constitute to great a problem, since the hill forests have not been economically exploited. Moreover, there does not seem to be urgent demand to fall back on these inaccessible resources.

We have referred to this situation in order to make clear our point: the hill tribes should be assisted to progress toward stabilized farming but there is no economic reason to drive them out of the hills. On the contrary, they have been the first pioneers who have cleared this wilderness and have conquered the territory for cultivation.

The obvious troubles for administration and control are the second reason why shifting cultivation constitutes a problem for this country. As we have seen, the unstable residence of the hill people is primarily a result

[illegible] ... hill tribesmen ... [illegible]

[illegible]

Thirdly, [illegible] ... can hardly ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... the fact that [illegible] ... the hill tribesmen, in general, [illegible], physically and mentally healthy, sportly, [illegible] ... majority. Their customary [illegible] ... resistance. [illegible] ... the [illegible] ...

[illegible] ... agricultural [illegible] ... hill [illegible], if they are not [illegible] ... [illegible] ... whether [illegible] ... can be solved is a question for agricultural experts. The majority [illegible] ... we have [illegible] ... optimistic. Besides, there is the illuminating experience of the Naw Hill-farmers of [illegible] ... who, in fact, practise stabilised farming, even without the

[illegible]

[illegible] <u>[illegible]</u> [illegible] 1. the villages should be kept in a permanent residence, 2. the surrounding fields should be cultivated in a rotational system, allowing the fallow-land to rest for a [illegible] period; 3. the fallow-period should be abridged gradually until the fields can be cultivated permanently.

<u>The introduction of technical innovations</u> to the tribal societies is by no means a purely technological matter. It is as much a social and psychological matter, [illegible] the tribesmen, in particular [illegible] anthropological advice in the [illegible] activities, therefore, will [illegible] inevitable.

Previous experience with tribes in other parts of the world has shown that technical solutions of certain problems were actually found. Their implementation, however, failed due to "human factors" or social factors. Impassivity and lack of co-operation on the side of the tribesmen, [illegible] quiet resistance and silent sabotage, rendered futile all the attempts of the technicians and administrators.[1] This is not due to the

---

1/ Alfred Métraux. Applied anthropology in government: United Nations. In: Anthropology Today. Ed. Kroeber. New York 1953.

[illegible] It [illegible] think [illegible] firmly [illegible] [illegible] cut [illegible] the contrary, [illegible] and [illegible].

Establishing operative communications between the technical experts and the tribesmen, therefore, is the second basic requirement for implementing the attempted [illegible] transition. During our survey we have heard the frustrated utterance of Thai authorities: "They don't believe us". Significant as it is, this remark reveals the problem emphasis distinction between "they" and "us", and a lack of mutual confidence. For all that, it is no reason to be discouraged. At the beginning it is only too natural that difficulties of this sort turn out, when societies of quite different patterns meet. Of essential importance will be to keep on with a patient and considerate approach drawing on the previous experience as well as on the experience derived from other parts of the world. Our opinion is, that the application of techniques of fundamental education based on a profound understanding of how the tribal society operates will yield visible results. Each pilot project operating along these lines should be encouraged.

The existing Government projects for the Settlement of Hill Tribes have a basically sound conception. It is only that until today they work with an efficient resources in both agricultural advice and anthropological understanding. Yet it is just the right time to develop these aspects and

[illegible]

<u>[illegible] Settlement</u> [illegible] well [illegible] for [illegible] stabilized farming [illegible] according to our observations the hill tribes prefer [illegible] the high plateaus and slightly rolling lands at altitudes between [illegible] and [illegible] feet. We infer this from the fact that exactly these flat ground in the highlands bear all signs of a long-lasting cultivation. It is primarily the [illegible] grass, a terrible weed growing in the clearings, that drove the hill people out of the preferred high plateaus. With their traditional agricultural implements and techniques they are unable to fight these weeds. So they moved more and more into the steep slopes.

<u>The rehabilitation in the high plateaus</u>, therefore, would meet three objectives: 1. to confine the hill tribes settlements to already cleared areas; 2. to settle them in areas suitable for modernized farming; and 3. to rehabilitate them in areas which they originally preferred.

<u>Tak Settlement has a promising extension area</u> in the long-stretched and slightly rolling valley in the proximity of Huey Luang village, 12 km. outside of the prescribed project area. It shows the same signs of a long previous cultivation, but the [illegible] living there cannot anymore cultivate the valley either. This place offers an ideal opportunity for experimenting with mobile demonstration units. In the final analysis it will be of minor importance whether the hill tribes settle within prescribed project area or remain in their villages which may be outside the project. It seems to us

that th[illegible] in th[illegible] wh[illegible] [illegible] transplant[illegible] the hills. This [illegible] may [illegible] in the [illegible] hills [illegible]. The basic [illegible] for the development activities among the hill people should rather consist in strategically located key villages which are [illegible] (for these key villages [illegible] their communications).

<u>The hill tribes prefer their own villages as demonstration grounds.</u> According to our observation they are not likely to be inclined to come to the [illegible] where agricultural demonstrations are carried on. They would be much more ready to learn, if they are approached in their own villages (refer to opinion studies pp. [illegible]-56). This points to the inevitable use of mobile demonstration units. The mountain village is the ground where the government can meet its tribesmen. There is no need for building up any offices, at least not at the beginning, if the development workers pack their horses and settle among the tribesmen, it will be enough. In our recommendations we will further discuss this approach. Suitable villages for development should be selected. During our survey we [illegible] a number of promising territories. These are for instance: 1. the wide mountain basin of Ban Ang Kham (altitude [illegible] m.); 2. the slightly rolling highlands between Long San Muen, Phun Khrang and Huey [illegible], stretching for appr. [illegible] km. (altitude 1[illegible] m.); 3. the hills of [illegible] villages (900 m.); 4. the Huey Luang valley ([illegible] m.). In the villages of these localities combined efforts should be envisaged.

[illegible] thnic conflict [illegible], if this [illegible] and the tribes are left to [illegible] themselves according to their own inclinations and preferences. If different tribes are indiscriminately [illegible] in [illegible] may turn out that certain dislikes and ill-feelings arise. [illegible] that the different tribes are [illegible] to each other, but there [illegible] strong adherence among the members belonging to the same tribe and in general we have observed that the different tribes avoid to live too close to each other. This should be taken into consideration when allotting land to families of certain tribes. The wisest policy might be, in this case as in other, to draw upon the advice of the tribal leaders and the opinion of the tribesmen.

b) The Problem of Opium Raising

Opium was legally banned in Thailand in 19[illegible] ([illegible]). The Ministry of Interior was entrusted with the responsibility of abolishing opium raising. As a part of the Government's overall plan for the hill-tribes, the Department of Public Welfare has established Settlement Projects for Hill Tribes in Tak and Chiang Mai Provinces in 1960.

Hence a description of the present opium situation in the hills is given, with a special view on its financial implications. As we have seen, opium is still the basic cash-product of the hill tribes concerned. So the enforcement of the law leads directly to the question of a new means of

[illegible] wing tri[illegible] such as [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible]

The pium production per manpower is [illegible] 1 kg. [illegible] per year, as an average. [illegible] cultivate between $\frac{1}{2}$ rai to 1 rai of [illegible] poppy depending whether it is intensive or less intensive cultivation. $\frac{1}{2}$ rai of intensive cultivation yields about the same as 1 rai of less intensive cultivation, 1 kg. per year.

The pium production per family is approximately [illegible] kg. raw pium per year, as an average. One family cultivates usually [illegible] rai of poppy, depending whether it is mainly intensive or less intensive cultivation. We take the average size of a family roughly as 6.5 to [illegible] members, 4 of which can be regarded as manpower. This [illegible] true since in pium fields even the young ones will be engaged. It [illegible] to make any basic difference whether the type is one of the nuclear family or of the extended family. There are some nuclear families having more than 4 rai of poppy under cultivation; however, they will have to engage hired labour at the harvest time.

The cash-income from pium per family is approximately 3200 - 3600 baht per year, as an average. The price of 1 kg. raw-pium in the hills varied in the last year between [illegible]-970 baht.

We have checked this information in sample-villages. One of these

[illegible] with [illegible] population [illegible] [illegible] rai [illegible] roughly by [illegible] even weeks, since [illegible] in the surrounding mountains, many hours' [illegible] acreage. In terms of money it means that this single village [illegible] an average annual cash-income of [illegible] Baht. - Similar surveys in other villages, like [illegible], Huay Nam [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] Mae Yamin, etc., support our view that the sample of Nal [illegible] is fairly representative.

The [illegible] cultivation [illegible] Northern Thailand can be calculated on the basis of our sample villages. We refer to the population figures as presented in the report of G. [illegible] (pp. 113, 11[illegible]). According to [illegible] North Thailand's hill tribes population is 217,[illegible]. In our calculation we include only the 5 main opium growing hill tribes. About the other hill tribes, like the Karen (who reportedly are engaged in opium growing, though to a lesser degree) we know too little, [illegible] in our calculation. The total population of the main opium-growing hill tribes is, according to the same source, estimated at [illegible] families.

That means the total area under poppy cultivation should be 75,700 rai, the total production of raw-opium appr. [illegible],700 kg., the total cash-income appr. [illegible] Bht (equal to [illegible]); all that taken per

annum. The last figure holds perhaps a slight modification. Our consideration is connected with the question.

What proportion of the opium production gets out of the internal economy of the tribes? The percentage of opium sold as against opium consumed is different among the various hill tribes. According to our observation there is, for instance, very little opium addiction among the Lisu, Villagers of this tribe (the app. number of which is estimated 17,[illegible] people) will sell not less than [illegible] to [illegible] of their total production to outside-traders. The same holds true with the Black Lahu (whose app. number may be around 9,000 people). The Red Lahu, on the other hand, are usually heavily addicted to either opium smoking or chewing. We have seen Red Lahu villages in which more than 40 % of the adult population were notorious opium smokers. From these villages probably not more than 60 to [illegible] of the opium production will get out of the internal economy to rest of the country. (There are, however, scarcely 3,000 Red Lahu in Northern Thailand). The Meo, (who are numerically the strongest of the opium-growing hill tribes with all their sections amounting to more than 45,000 people) are as well as the Yao (appr. 10,000 people), in general, moderate opium consumers, somehow in between the Lisu and the Black Lahu on the one side, and the Red Lahu on the other. It would be probably no miscalculation to assume that 80 to 90 % of their total production is sold as a cash-crop.

Besides our tribals, there are other people who smoke their opium in the hills. These are local addicts, some of the Thai and Haw traders, and some of the illicit liquor distillers dwelling in the hills.

So, taking into view all these various facts, we arrive at the conclusion that approximately [illegible] of the total production gets out of the internal economy of the tribal hill villages and not less than [illegible] is transported down to lowland. - Therefore, the actual total cash-income of our hill tribes may be modified from the previous figure (60,560,000 baht), with a reduction of appr. 10 % due to their own consumption, to the final figure of appr. [illegible],000,000 baht.

If we calculate the profit of the hill-traders, who sell the raw-opium to the next reloading place or morphine factory in the lowland, at say, only 50 %, the total cash-value of the opium economy for the hill people e.g., the hill tribes plus the hill-traders, will amount to an estimate of 82,500,000 baht (equal to $ 4,125,000).

The significance of these findings for future plans and budget-making are clear. Any programme aiming at the replacement of the poppy-opium production in the economy of these 5 hill tribes in Northern Thailand (including the associate hill-traders) should take into account that it is necessary to find a substitute for economic activities which are worth appr. 82,500,000 baht per year.

In other words, a [illegible] cash-income of 3000-3300 baht per hill-tribe family should be ensured by the new cash-crop replacing opium. If it is more, it will certainly provide a mighty incentive to the hill tribes. Moreover, the hill-traders should not be ignored in any further considerations.

The organization of [illegible] and transport facilities [illegible] closely connected with the problem of [illegible] cash-crops. There is no point in encouraging the cultivation of any product that can not be sold. The hill people will continue to cultivate opium for the next years, at least as reassurance against a setback in the market conditions of the replacement crop.

Last but not least, the present trade-system in the hills should be carefully taken into account. The power of the ubiquitous Haw ring rear-covered by armed bands in the hills and backed by syndicates in the lowlands should not be underestimated. Unless this combine is decartelized it may prove rather hard to solve the problem of opium production in the hills of Northern Thailand. - This problem, however, we only mention here and it needs much more competence than ours to draft a policy for its solution. Probably it can effectively be approached only on a regional basis.

c) The Problem of Control in the Hills and Frontier Regions.

We wish to emphasise in advance that we do not presume to discuss the question of border security as such, which is the exclusive realm of competent government authorities. If we have to touch the question of control in the area concerned it is only in relation to the problems which the hill people constitute. We will restrict ourselves to presenting some few relevant observations made in the course of our survey.

[illegible] control in the hills [illegible] by [illegible] the national authorities. An attempt to dis- [illegible] caravans with [illegible] route to [illegible] hill [illegible], there is a rather unsettled border situation at altitudes above [illegible] metres. In fact, it seems to be virtually impossible to control effectively the innumerable jungle trails in the countries with the present means of inspection. The [illegible] infiltration [illegible] still [illegible] in the present context of hill life. By all means, a patient and considerate approach to the hill people [illegible] advisable in view of the prevailing political situation.

Extension of effective administration into the hill villages seems to be required nowadays. If the national authorities would not take care of the hill people, somebody else would take care of them. This may render more difficult their attempted integration into the economic and social life of the nation, to say the least. It is the declared government policy, that one of the objectives of the Settlement Projects for Hill Tribes is "to demonstrate, in a practical way, that their welfare and uplift are a concern of Government". If this principle is to be fully realized, activities of other agencies, societies and missions should be subordinated to the national policy. The implementation of administrative measures demands dexterity as well as knowledge of the actual social situation.

[illegible] of urgent events. [illegible] [illegible] transmitting [illegible] [illegible] station is located near Vientiane, and broadcasts [illegible] from [illegible] to [illegible] hours. [illegible] government station, the Pathet Lao having so far no regular broadcastings. However, series of broadcasts are transmitted from mainland China. The Meo understand very well and respect Chinese language, especially Yunnanese. It is surprising to hear Meo tribesmen speak freely of the East-West conflict, the situation in Laos, and nuclear tests. Even the Lisu and Akha understand Yunnanese to a surprising degree, the Lahu in general to a lesser extent. Many a tribesman owns a transistor. Moreover, the Haw merchants listen frequently to news in Chinese. An evaluation of these broadcasts and of their reception by hill people would be desirable.

The increasing armament of the hill people deserves close observation. It will hardly be possible to stop them. If openly prohibited it would continue secretly, since the tribals have a preference for arms and they claim to need them for self-defence. They will usually hide their fire-arms from outsiders and will be prepared to show them only after appropriate rapport has been established. In general, our hill tribes do not exhibit any aggressive or warlike tendencies; it seems to us that their prevailing attitude tends to be rather to live peacefully and independently; if they feel annoyed, their first reaction is seemingly to retreat into the deeper parts of the jungles; in emergencies, to be sure, they would fight back as they

[illegible]

VII. [illegible]

[illegible] from part of the popul- ation. If they are conducted with scientific methods, based on selected samples and statistically analysed they may even allow certain "predictions", or let us rather say, probable expectations, of future decisions and be- haviour of a population in given circumstances. As such, they may be of great use to policy makers, planners and executors who are going to launch a development project. We do not pretend to having carried out systematic opinion studies. But we have inquired into the opinion of hill people in a casual manner on the basis of random sampling. We wish to reproduce some significant responses to our inquiries.

SAMPLE ONE: Ying [illegible] headman of [illegible], Tak Province; influential leader; highly [illegible] villages; [illegible], married, 2 wives, [illegible], lives in the extended family of his father Saruadh.

Question 1: In the case you could not carry on with poppy-opium produc- tion what else would you think of as a cash-income?

Answer: He says that red chillies, especially the small variety sold in dried form, are a profitable cash-crop. Red chilly yields even more cash per rai than opium.

Question 2: What could you earn from cultivating red chilly as a cash- crop?

Answer: If the price remains steady he will get about [illegible] baht from selling red chilly. He will dry red chilly in his village and will sell it in dried form, this facilitates storage and

[illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: Yes, he would very much like to learn, if anybody would come to train and to demonstrate it in his own village.

Question: How many villagers would [illegible] training and demonstration rendered by [illegible] demonstration units in your village? - (the exact meaning of this question was explained to Ying in [illegible] detail).

Answer: [illegible] and listen, [illegible]

Question [illegible] pre-[illegible]

Answer: [illegible] is diffi-[illegible] it, [illegible] further [illegible] transport [illegible].

Question 10: [illegible] anything [illegible] you could think [illegible] cash-inc[illegible]?

Answer: [illegible] cash-[illegible] not need any further [illegible], then it is ready for [illegible] without any further [illegible] ever. [illegible] castor beans [illegible] per kg. [illegible] for 3 [illegible]. However, [illegible] it all away. [illegible] how to pre-[illegible]

Question 11: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] the output [illegible] mixture with other [illegible] castor beans [illegible] total [illegible] castor beans were [illegible].

Question 12: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] However, [illegible] invested, [illegible] fully [illegible], however, epidemics of [illegible] are [illegible]. [illegible] poultry [illegible] quite the same, [illegible] are destructive. [illegible] treat them. [illegible] could [illegible] cattle, [illegible], they graze freely in the [illegible].

Question 13: [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Question [illegible] that they themselves may improve their living conditions?

Answer [illegible] the clearing of the [illegible] of the valley that have been [illegible] by the [illegible] cultivation [illegible] project [illegible] authorities of [illegible] Settlement Project, since [illegible] in earlier [illegible] of this report.

Question 3: [illegible]

Answer [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Answer: [illegible] flat grounds in the [illegible] valley. [illegible] shorter intervals.

Question: Why [illegible] your fields?

Answer: [illegible] check [illegible] wing. He says that [illegible]

Question: If [illegible] weeds, could your fields in the high valley be then [illegible] permanently?

Answer: Yes, certainly. [illegible] convincing to us, since stabilized farming depends on a combination of several soil conservation methods.

Question: Have you ever heard of manure or compost?

Answer: He affirms that he has and that he knows that it increases the yield of the fields. However, he has three problems: 1. How to prepare [illegible] manure, 2. How to apply it correctly to the fields, 3. How to transport it to the fields, which are by now 2 hours and more walk from the village, and for which there are no [illegible].

SAMPLE THREE: [illegible] village, [illegible] District, [illegible] in Northern Thailand, is frequently dressed in khaki trousers and shirt, even in his native hill village; age [illegible], married, [illegible] wives (in two separate houses), several children, lives

[illegible]

[illegible]

Answer: [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] it. But [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] village is [illegible] there is [illegible]

[illegible] Dai Ma[illegible] [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] lived at [illegible] ugh. [illegible] years [illegible] up in [illegible]

[illegible] was [illegible] fields. [illegible] extent as [illegible] output per [illegible] need [illegible]

Question: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] that [illegible] and Burmese [illegible] Haw, referred [illegible] report.

[illegible]

Answer: [illegible]

Question [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] kg. [illegible] years [illegible] [illegible] built [illegible] [illegible] market in a [illegible] expedition. There they [illegible] profit.

[illegible] days [illegible] family [illegible] [illegible] hill paths. However, the majority [illegible] have [illegible] Epidemics [illegible] hazard.

[illegible] in the further discussion [illegible] that he could [illegible] in the [illegible] for his household by raising and selling [illegible] would have to [illegible] about 25-30 [illegible] He reckons that he [illegible] that number per year, with an average weight of [illegible] kg. [illegible], and could [illegible] approx. [illegible] baht, then he could very well [illegible] without [illegible] growing.

However, his [illegible] about 3[illegible] bushels of [illegible] for feeding his [illegible] for this year he expects [illegible] only [illegible] bushels. [illegible] diseases.

Question [illegible]: What did you earn from [illegible]?

Answer: In his household he has harvested [illegible] kg. [illegible] pigs. He has [illegible] in his family. During the harvest [illegible] hire [illegible] (family [illegible] baht per day!) and local addicts (baht per day). The price [illegible] year was [illegible] baht per kg., this year [illegible] baht per kg. [illegible] last year approx. [illegible] baht and this year approx. [illegible] baht. Nobody of his family [illegible] pigs. He is very much concerned about this slump. His opinion is: If the [illegible] in price [illegible] like this, [illegible] baht per [illegible] 300 baht per kg. then nobody [illegible] would [illegible] any more!

Question 9: So what would you do then?

Answer: He explains his dream [illegible] about 3[illegible] and to dedicate himself to pig-[illegible]. Then he would [illegible] all right and [illegible] well off.

Question 10: Would all people do like that?

Answer: [illegible] or villa[illegible] [illegible] in h[illegible] [illegible] -cr[illegible] than [illegible]

Question: [illegible] production [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] and [illegible] fried in [illegible] stirred occasionally. [illegible] of linen [illegible] in a [illegible] which are [illegible] little [illegible] oil the [illegible] will [illegible] it.

Question: [illegible] oil?

Answer: [illegible] since there [illegible] occasionally [illegible] mill [illegible] certain quantity. [illegible] wing [illegible]

Question: 14. [illegible] output [illegible] oil [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] that [illegible] which [illegible] plum [illegible] litres [illegible] litres). [illegible] know. [illegible] produces the [illegible]

Question: 14. If the price of [illegible] oil were [illegible] than the [illegible] price of [illegible] plum, [illegible] production [illegible] oil [illegible]

Answer: "Sure, I would [illegible] course, that [illegible] it.

[illegible]

[illegible] Mind a Study [illegible] Yunnan in the village. [illegible] study.

The questions used in the study are [illegible] the following headings:

- What would the villagers do if poppy cultivation is absolutely prohibited?
- What possible substitute crops for cash-income have they in mind?
- What is the general attitude towards the number of village officials?
- What kinds of "standard farming" do they have?
- What are their salt needs?

Poppy cultivation has been a far more profitable substitute crops than other sources

[illegible] plus [illegible] has been the [illegible] area of income here as elsewhere and it [illegible] the [illegible] saying of the government officials that plus, true, is ill-[illegible], nevertheless the villagers have not suffered materially from any real enforcement of such government regulations. Consequently, there has not yet been any need to find suitable substitute crops for the poppy income from other crops.

Sui Chan-hsiang:

"If we can't grow poppy or clear new ground, I suppose we can grow rice and keep pigs and chickens as we have always done. Of course, cash income will fall out we will have enough to eat. As for other substitute crops I myself cannot think of any at the

[illegible]ent. I'll have to [illegible] out about the possibilities of various marketable crops first."

Wang Siew (An assistant headman and the [illegible] of the most influential member of the village, the [illegible] Su): "True, [illegible] cultivation [illegible] not guarantee [illegible]. In a [illegible] year a husband and wife working [illegible] may get as much as 100-150 tamlung weight of a pink [illegible] price 3 [illegible] per tamlung or 40 [illegible] for a cash income of [illegible] baht, but in a [illegible] year they may get only [illegible] baht. Yet opium is our only main source of income and if we are not allowed to grow it, frankly I cannot think of any other source of comparable income in my present state of knowledge."

Che Chua (Lao Su's third son, generally regarded as the most able young man of the village): "We have heard that the Mussur (in the Project area) have been growing coffee for the past four or five years but they have not become any richer. On the contrary, some of them have come to work for us as wage labourers. (From our inquiry nobody has tried coffee-growing here. There is only one coffee-plant in the village in front of the headman's house-planted there for ornamental purposes rather than for anything else).

A young man of the village once came to us with a handful of green mustard seeds and asked us whether this could be marketed. On being asked where he got them from he told us that an acquaintance in Chiengmai had been growing seeds for some Thai buyers, so he got some seeds from him and grew seed-lettuce and green mustard hoping that perhaps he could make this a source of his income. Now this is an area for further investigation. Since if there is a suitable market for seeds the villagers can easily grow them.

Whether pigs and fowls could be raised commercially is problematical. So far Thai traders from the lowland have bought only small pigs worth about 40-50 baht each which they take back for fattening in the lowland. Full grown pigs would be too much of trouble to transport and most of them would not be fat enough by the lowland standard. So far the Mao are not worried if they cannot sell their pigs since they themselves have enough occasions for the killing and consumption of the pigs at such times as the propitiation of spirits causing sicknesses, [illegible], funeral, New Year Celebration, etc. The villagers' comment is, "If the Thai want to buy more of our pigs and fowls we shall keep enough to sell them, but so far they have bought very little, and we cannot take the pigs down to the market in town by ourselves."

When we asked what else they had been able to sell for cash, the answer was [illegible]. Fresh vegetables that they grow for home consumption such as lettuce, cabbage, chili, have no marketable value and they did not think that these vegetables would bring any significant income.

[illegible]

[illegible] the village [illegible] of necessity [illegible] circumstances [illegible] the government [illegible] if the [illegible] tired [illegible] with them. The [illegible] that it is not a pleasure to have. But it is the only thing [illegible] with their present knowledge and ability to farm. They do not know the use of plough and animal but apparently follow the idea explained to them that if, for example, the hill slopes could be terraced, a more permanent cultivation on the same piece of land would be possible and the saving of human labour with the use of animal-drawn ploughs could be introduced. But all these are novel ideas which they have never experienced in real life and they wonder how they can terrace the hills with their existing implements. An ox-drawn plough could be used also on a naturally level piece of land, but such kind of land is not easy to find in the present locality. Although the Meo need bullocks for funeral sacrificial rites, in this village they do not keep them and if they were to keep any it would seem more likely to be mead-cattle which may not be suitable immediately for work in the field.

On felt needs: when asked what were the things that they would like to have most at present, the answers most readily given were: medical facilities, school and roads.

Medical facilities: both young and old people gave this answer. The villagers here know the efficacy of modern medicine through the Thai petty traders and itinerant "doctors" who came up regularly in the dry season and less frequently in the rainy period, and through the medical officer of the Tak Pilot Settlement who visited the village occassionally. While the Meo may make offerings to the spirits in time of sickness they are also aware that severe illnesses can only be cured by pills and injections of "modern" doctors, and that such minor ailments as headache, fever, stomach troubles, etc., unless they become chronic, are not caused by spirits and can be easily and quickly cured if they could only get hold of modern medicine in time. A few villagers even mentioned that severe illnesses are beyond the power of the spirit doctors to cure, and can be remedied only by modern medicine.

The villagers buy their medicine from the traders or from medical practitioners (unlikely to be properly

[illegible] in [illegible] visit [illegible] the village [illegible] when they [illegible] trader [illegible] in the [illegible] well known [illegible] including [illegible] all-purpose [illegible].

Schools: [illegible] (-3) have [illegible] Thai schooling and can still read and write [illegible]. They were taught Thai reading and writing when [illegible] Thai teacher at their former village. The [illegible] provincial authority, but has [illegible] closed.

[illegible] the [illegible] opportunity [illegible] their [illegible] strongly [illegible] to ask the [illegible] with a school. This feeling is universal [illegible] Sai-Sang, the headman, [illegible] the feasibility of setting up a school in his village, and is strongly supported in this request by [illegible] Siew, [illegible] of his assistants, who is also very proud of his third brother, [illegible] Chua, who is one of those still able to read and write a little Thai. All [illegible], however, [illegible] that schooling facilities should [illegible] only [illegible] boys.

The first [illegible] reason given in favour of literacy in Thai is that it is an [illegible] and the [illegible] would then [illegible] their economic opportunities.

The [illegible] literary education would find [illegible] wider [illegible] of occupations like the Thai already have in the towns.

The third [illegible] by the villagers is that they have heard from the radio broadcast in Mee from Laos that the Mee there are now given proper schooling which has "opened up an entirely new world to them". They, therefore, think that they too in Thailand should have the same opportunity. (In the opinion of the survey team, this may in fact have been the primary cause of all their enthusiasm for schooling. The village has the radio set and people listen to them regularly when the Mee broadcast is on the air).

Road: The villagers also feel that better roads would greatly improve their present standard of living and would provide an outlet for their farm products in [illegible] cultivation [illegible]. However, the survey team feels that they [illegible] this idea from the road that has been built by the Tak Settlement Project authority to the Black Meo's village of Pan Mai, which is at a walking distance of two hours from Huay Khanun.

Question [illegible]

Answer [illegible]

Question 2: What would happen if the government prohibited?

Answer [illegible]

Question: What would happen if the government [illegible]

Answer [illegible]

Question 3: What [illegible]

Answer [illegible]

Question 4: What [illegible] buy from the [illegible]

Answer: Salt, [illegible], [illegible], silver ornaments, iron [illegible], agricultural implements, [illegible], [illegible], dry batteries, electric [illegible], and such [illegible] as salted

[illegible]

Question [illegible] cultivation.

Answer: [illegible] in this area, [illegible] three [illegible] generations [illegible] business that we [illegible] like [illegible] unless [illegible] necessary, such as when there are [illegible] many deaths in the village or a death from child-birth. However, we have noticed with some concern that many [illegible] into this area, and this might cause a shortage of land for cultivation as well as a decrease in supply of forest foods.

Question [illegible]: Have you heard of the use of [illegible] terrace-farming?

Answer: [illegible] of course, we have seen the [illegible] practice this, but we have [illegible] the experience [illegible] think it is practical [illegible]. We [illegible] terrace-farming.

Question [illegible]: If you are taught these practices which will help you to improve your land, would you try them?

Answer: [illegible] Yes, of course.

Question [illegible]: What do you think of the benefits of schooling?

Answer: It may be a [illegible] thing, but we don't know if we really need it.

(It was observed that the general attitude of most villagers we interviewed on this matter was rather indifferent).

SAMPLE SIX: [illegible] Lahu [illegible] Sai village, [illegible] District, Chiengrai province, ([illegible] households). [illegible] us blacksmith, most respected by all the [illegible] Lahu in the area, and direct descendant of the first Lahu head that led the first group of Lahu into the present area three generations ago.

Question 1: What is your experience with the government officials?

Answer: My grand-father who was officially appointed headman was once wrongly accused of stealing a rifle from a Thai official

[illegible]

Question [illegible]: What are [illegible]

Answer: Medicine. It is difficult [illegible] proper [illegible] there when [illegible] Sometimes [illegible] "doctors" [illegible] and [illegible] injections [illegible] very high [illegible] villager sitting [illegible] injections. [illegible] Government's Health clinic in [illegible] very far away.

Question 3: [illegible]

Answer: [illegible] such work [illegible] the climate [illegible] fairly [illegible] and [illegible] very few [illegible] care [illegible] the lowland [illegible] sick after their return, [illegible] (1[illegible]) - a year when there were [illegible] Buddhist celebrations throughout Thailand to mark the beginning of a new century in [illegible] era) this general fear has diminished [illegible] people now visit the lowland towns.

[illegible]

[illegible] Government of Thailand [illegible] for the administration, welfare and development of the hill people. In consequence, appropriate measures should be taken to fulfil this [illegible] it is important that they be taken urgently in view of the growing uncertainties in the region. On the basis of our survey we submit the following recommendations to the Thai Government.

A. POLICY MEASURES.

1. The Government's relations to the hill tribes should be clarified.

(a). The competent Government authorities should decide upon the legal position of persons of tribal communities.

Due consideration should be given to such questions as: - are members of hill tribes to be considered as full citizens of Thailand? - or are they to be considered as temporary residents without any defined citizenship, e.g., stateless residents? - should any special provision be made for members of hill tribes to acquire full legal citizenship? - should any special laws be enacted for members of hill tribes to facilitate the integration of these people into the Thai nation?

(b). The competent Government authorities should decide upon the

[illegible] hill tri[illegible] with [illegible] cultural [illegible]

[illegible] ethnic minoriti[illegible]

[illegible] granted [illegible] inform the hill people [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The position of the hill tribes in cultivating the hills should be examined in the light of the existing land [illegible].

The existing land [illegible] the highlands. [illegible] taken literally the hill [illegible] outlaws [illegible] any [illegible] which [illegible] result from such measures, ways and means should be thought [illegible] existence for the hill people. The question of land property [illegible] farmers will [illegible] imminent when these semi-nomadic shifting cultivators [illegible] stabilized farming. Nowadays, they have definite concepts of individual or family land, but such questions as inheritance of land [illegible] the absence of permanent fields.

The hill peoples should be settled in areas of their choice. The [illegible] are the high lands. It is to the credit of the Government that the establishment of settlement projects for hill tribes in the highlands has [illegible] the needs of the hill people.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] with the settlement [illegible] agricul-
ture. [illegible] can [illegible] in [illegible] (a) [illegible]
[illegible] of the hill [illegible] settling, [illegible] settling,
the [illegible] in situ within the [illegible]
[illegible] with the [illegible] of [illegible]

The first [illegible] this [illegible]
[illegible] fields
[illegible] the
rural [illegible] in [illegible]
[illegible] within the [illegible]
[illegible] the hill
tribes [illegible] willing [illegible] attempt
[illegible] dislocation [illegible] flight
into [illegible] hill [illegible] jungles.

[illegible] settlement in situ, [illegible]
[illegible] hill [illegible] This is in accordance with
the [illegible] Ministry
of Interior. [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] frontier [illegible].

[illegible] than [illegible] at present. [illegible] the hill people [illegible] in this context [illegible] cultivation.

[illegible] with [illegible] policy it will [illegible] to take strong action [illegible] traffic, particularly [illegible] effective [illegible] along which hill traders transport [illegible], it will greatly [illegible] the problem. [illegible] may be given [illegible] extent the [illegible] with this responsibility. [illegible] sufficient [illegible] strength and [illegible] with [illegible]. This [illegible], [illegible] gradually.

[illegible] recommend:

(a) at present, there should [illegible] the policy towards the hill people cultivating [illegible];

(b) [illegible] measures [illegible] in [illegible] against the [illegible] trade and [illegible] traffic;

(c) the present means [illegible] the frontiers and jungle trails should [illegible] strengthened and tightened.

[illegible] of the [illegible]

[illegible] hill tribes [illegible] only [illegible] [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] in this regard. [illegible] in the hills. In fact, their communication among each other are amazing. [illegible] their [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible] members of hill tribes [illegible] informants, [illegible] [illegible] these tasks [illegible] especially briefed. We have learned that programme of this kind [illegible] by the border patrol. We recommend that it should [illegible].

[illegible] hill tribes [illegible] in the [illegible] and file of the [illegible] authorities. [illegible] with the hill tribes [illegible] any [illegible] [illegible] the border [illegible] in the hills of northern Thailand. However this may be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] any [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in traditional hill areas.

We recommend that there should [illegible] compulsory [illegible] of hill tribes [illegible] military service in the near future. They [illegible] not yet [illegible] for a function of this kind. Abrupt [illegible] with

[illegible] technically and climatically, would likely [illegible] their [illegible] thics, with- [illegible] them to strike [illegible] their re- [illegible] leaders, [illegible] their new acquisitions as qualifications for tribal leadership.

Likewise at this time we recommend that any civilian organization such as [illegible] should take account of the above factors.

[illegible] should be given to bring hill people into participation in the Thai local and central administrative life.

It is the declared policy of the Thai government to integrate the hill people with the life of the Thai nation. If this objective is to be achieved it is of importance to clarify the conception of integration. By all means, the process of integration is two-way traffic. The ethnic minorities that are [illegible] integrated with the economic, cultural and political life [illegible] have a fair say in all decisions concerning their own affairs.

This may [illegible] implemented by increasingly bringing tribal representatives into the administrative and legislative bodies.

The first step in this direction may be to grant them the right of co-determination in the local government. In areas with strong tribal minorities representatives of the hill tribes may be asked to attend meetings of the commune and district authorities. They should freely give their advice and vote in all those decisions which may have any bearing on their

[illegible] consideration [illegible] whether the same rights and duties should be [illegible] tribal village [illegible] headman of [illegible] Thai village. There is the further question as to whether the tribal headman should be subordinated to the headman of the next Thai village or whether he should be granted with the full legal authority over his village, being subordinate only to the Kamnam and Nai Amphur.

A further step, to which consideration should be given is whether delegates of the hill people may be sent to the National Assembly. It is up to the competent Government authorities to decide upon how they may be elected and recognized and what rights and duties may be given to them.

On the basis of our experience with hill people, we believe that policy measures of this kind would greatly facilitate creating loyalty toward the Thai nation. It would consequently facilitate implementation of effective administration and control in the remote regions of this country. It would finally facilitate carrying out of development activities among the hill tribes and their making meaningful contribution to solving the problems which these ethnic minorities constitute for this country.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

1. Action regarding the hill tribes should be given priority consideration and appropriate administrative machinery should be established.

In 1959 the Government of Thailand set up a Central Committee on Land Settlement among the hill tribe people, in order to acquire close cooperation among the government agencies concerned. It consists of the Minister as chairman, and the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Interior; as Vice Chairman, Directors-General of the Police Department, Land Department, Department of Public Welfare, Department of Interior, Department of Agriculture, Department of Forestry, Department of Livestock Development, Department of Internal Trade; representatives of the Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Communication. The Secretary of the Central Committee is the Chief of the Land Settlement Division, Department of Public Welfare, who at the same time is a member ex-officio. This Central Committee has assumed responsibility for the overall planning and supervision concerning the settlement of hill tribes.

There is a sub-committee of this body consisting of the Director-General of the Public Welfare Department as Chairman and representatives of the Departments of Police, Agriculture, Forestry, Livestock, Land and Interior. This sub-committee has been entrusted with the task of selection of land for the settlement projects and has made investigations on the spot.

[illegible] the Governor and [illegible] Provincial Officers who co-operate with the Central Committee in the hill tribes [illegible].

In view of the importance of settling the hill tribes, we think that the Government should consider establishing a continuing body to supervise and guide all efforts directed towards the hill tribes. These functions might best be undertaken by the sub-committee mentioned above to report to the parent body as at present. The sub-committee, would [illegible] position to undertake wider function than at present performed by it and it should be given the necessary means to carry out its task; among which could be for instance, the implementation of the recommendations of this survey, decisions on matters such as transport, marketing, fundamental education, etc., [illegible] in consultation with national or foreign experts, and development of special channels of contact and operation with the provincial and district administration.

2. Consideration should be given as to how the communications between the Central Committee and the administrative authorities of the Provincial and District level could be made more effective.

In 1959 Provincial Committees on Land Settlement for Hill Tribe people have been set up, serving as subcommittees to the Central Committee. They consist of the Governor of the Province as Chairman, and Chief Provincial Officers as members. They assume the direct responsibility for the operation of the project concerning the settlement of hill tribes.

During our stay in the field, we felt that for many people there [illegible] understanding and concern about the hill [illegible] uncertainty about the Government's policy toward them. [illegible] that it was the policy of the Government to bring the hill tribes down to their [illegible]. [illegible] there admitted that they had little contact with the populations of the hills, and had little information concerning their whereabouts and numbers. As an example, we were told several times that since there was a law on opium prohibition, there was no poppy cultivation by the hill people. Some explained that their current activities gave them little, if any, time to know a great deal about the hill people.

The prevailing obscurities among responsible authorities of the province and district level result in a lack of co-ordinated approach toward the hill tribes of northern Thailand and, still more frequent, in the absence of any effective administration. Taking this situation into consideration, we submit some further recommendations for administrative measures.

3. Establishment of 'Tribal Officers' attached to District Officers or Provincial Governors.

In areas with large tribal minorities a special administrative post should be established. It may be held by a fully authorized Government official whose special responsibility is to be in charge of all affairs concerning the tribal minorities. He may be attached either to the Governor of the Province or, in those territories with the numerous tribesmen, to the District Officers; that means that there might be several tribal officers in a

[illegible]

[illegible] tribal [illegible] [illegible] education, [illegible] training in anthropology, [illegible] public administration. [illegible] should [illegible] physical health [illegible] ability to endure hardship [illegible] conditions, since his assignment will keep him out in the field for long periods. Candidates should be selected with special view to their social adaptability and qualities such as establishing effective human relations, he should have sensibility, sympathy and tolerance to different ways of life. Knowledge in tribal languages should be desirable and should be acquired in the course of his work.

The introduction of Tribal Officers as a cadre within the administrative system of Thailand's 14 northernmost provinces could facilitate the desired integration of the tribal minorities. In fact, it can hardly be expected that District Officers, Forest Officers, etc. who are already fully occupied with their own duties bring along with them all those qualities required for dealing properly. The Tribal Officer may act as a liaison at the administrative level.

4. <u>Creation of a cadre of workers in a wide variety of technical fields including community development, who will be dedicated to live and work with hill tribes.</u>

According to the policy of the Thai Government, the hill tribes should be enabled to become active contributors to the country's economic growth. Our survey leads to the conclusion that the problem lies primarily in developing human resources. The mobilisation of human resources in the

[illegible] well-trained [illegible] workers [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] work with the hill tribes.

At present, no such task force exists and it has [illegible] from the beginning. All previous experience of land settlement and agricultural development is confined to the lowlands. It is important to understand that as regards the hill people we have to learn a new. Therefore, specially trained staffs and extension workers for the settlement projects in the hills are required.

Consideration should be given as to what types of development and extension workers are to be produced: a single-skill or multi-purpose field workers. Fields of competence should be: agriculture and livestock; health and village sanitation; transport and marketing; literacy and fundamental education. It may turn out that both, single-skill and multipurpose field workers should be trained, the first type primarily to be employed inside the Settlement Project Area, the latter type preferably in extension works outside the prescribed project area.

Consideration should be given as to the recruitment system and qualifications required of these workers. As a first cadre, in this corps the field workers of the socio-economic survey in the hill tribes may be considered. At least some of them could become the hard core of this task force, since they have in fact gained unique experience. They could gradually be put in charge of organizing and guiding field training and actual extension work.

Special attention should be paid to the qualities of character of the selected extension workers and to their attitude toward work. These

[illegible] under her [illegible] their task [illegible] health and [illegible] They would [illegible]

5. Training programmes for [illegible] Workers.

[illegible] We recommend that the principal training of these workers in different fields should take place in the hill areas where they can come into contact with the hill tribes. [illegible] of training may be carried out at the Tribal Research Centre, when established. [illegible] Refer to Part [illegible] of recommendations [illegible] field training, we recommend that the existing settlement projects at Tak and Chiang [illegible] serve this purpose. (Refer Part [illegible] 1. of recommendations).

6. Provision of incentives for young Thai Government officials to work among hill tribes.

Within the frame of regulations for civil servants certain incentives for officers working among hill people may be considered. Inducements such as prospects for promotion and adequate remuneration may be decided upon by competent authorities.

[illegible] We recommend that officers dedicated to tasks in the hills should be granted special hill allowances and other allowances for separation, education, etc., as applicable. They may further benefit from special arrangements such as long leave, leave accumulation and reduced fares in

[illegible] the [illegible] place. [illegible] that a high level of prestige [illegible] attached to [illegible] authorities [illegible] the most effective way to establish high level prestige.

[illegible]. Establishment of a Tribal Research Centre for Northern Thailand.

In order to facilitate effective work in connection with the tribal minorities in this country, social studies should be inaugurated and co-ordinated. We speak in this context primarily of applied research. That means the studies should have the practical purpose of preparing a basis for formulating realistic plans directed towards the improving of social and economic conditions. In the second place, they may contribute to increasing knowledge about the peoples of the region, their ways of life and their history. We may mention in passing that the one can not easily be separated from the other.

We recommend that a Tribal Research Centre should be set up in northern Thailand, preferably in the town of Chiengmai, on account of its central location.

Any possible association of the Centre with the University of Chiengmai (which is about to be inaugurated) may be considered. Co-operation with other National Universities or with the Siam Society should equally be considered. Possible assistance of international organizations may be investigated.

The Tribal Research Centre should serve as a [illegible]

(a) centre for studies in applied anthropology,

[illegible] fairly th[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] for tribal officers, extension workers, administrators, educators, specialists in agriculture, livestock, transport and marketing, being concerned with development activities among hill tribes.

(i) Centre for providing advisory services to the Government on hill peoples problems.

It is plausible to conceive that this Centre may be of value to neighbouring countries with similar hill tribes problems. At a later stage, the Centre might well be utilised for co-ordinating regional efforts in regard to the hill tribes.

[illegible]

1. <u>Intensifying and broadening the activities of the Settlement projects at Tak and Chiengdao.</u>

On the basis of the experience gained during our survey, we are of the opinion that the policy of the Government in attempting to settle the hill tribes in locations fairly suited to them is a sound one. We are convinced that every effort should be made to ensure that the existing settlement projects fulfil their purpose and provide the necessary experience for undertaking similar projects in other parts of the country for settling the hill people.

We noticed that to date little effective work has been done at the existing settlements at Tak and Chiengdao to encourage the hill people in stabilizing cultivation or in finding alternatives for the cash crop opium. This is understandable as the two settlements have only recently been established and their officials, who have had experience of land settlement in the lowlands, are still feeling their way in a relatively strange environment.

We propose that the Government consider programmes to intensify and broaden the activities of the two existing settlements. We think these settlements should be considered as development blocks incorporating different kinds of activities, as follows.

(i) Experimental stations for cultivating cash crops, improving staple crops, refined methods of hill farming, manure, compost preparation and application, irrigation and terracing, plough cultivation, possible use of heavy agricultural machinery, etc.

(ii) training centres for hill farmers who may be encouraged to come in from the neighbouring villages. In the initial stages, it would be necessary to have teams of extension workers proceeding to the villages of the tribesmen and great care needs to be taken in developing relations and toning down suspicions and hostilities.

(iii) marketing and reloading centres for staple and cash crops, vegetables, etc., which may be obtained from neighbouring tribal villages for distribution to towns and consuming areas.

(iv) training centres for development workers among the hill people in the several fields of economic and social activities.

(v) hill bases for mobile demonstration units and development.

In view of the several aspects of work envisaged above, it is important that very close co-operation be maintained between the central and provincial administrations and the settlement centres' officials.

We recommend that the Government give urgent consideration to expanding the activities of the Lak and Chiengkam centres as soon as possible. If need be, application should be made to international and other aid agencies to participate and collaborate. We believe that with the proper direction and drive, the existing settlements can demonstrate in a short while possibilities for achieving stabilized cultivation in the hills and an economic substitute for poppy growing among the hill people.

In any case, we recommend that no further settlement projects should be encouraged until there has been sufficient time to evaluate the effectiveness of the two existing settlements in their broadened activities. All resources available should be directed to that end, for any failure of these two centres would have tremendous adverse repercussion for the Government's policy in settling the hill people and to ban opium cultivation.

As for Tak, we recommend an improvement of the co-ordination between the Settlement project established by the Public Welfare Department and the Agriculture Experimental Station established by the Agricultural Department. Both are located close to each other. Because of the importance of the hill tribes project, we recommend that the Agricultural Experimental Station include in its work experimentation with those crops and vegetables that can easily be cultivated by the hill people. It should experiment with improved seeds which may be distributed to the tribesmen, with methods of preparing compost suitable to them, with techniques to fight weeds, with inventing simple irrigation systems, with refining field and garden implements, etc., - everything adapted to hill tribes conditions. The competent authorities should co-operate to develop these aspects that could greatly contribute to the success of the Tak Settlement Project.

2. <u>Approaching the hill tribes in their present mountain villages by Development Workers and Mobile Demonstration units.</u>

The Settlement Projects at Tak and Chiengdao have only three and two tribal villages respectively within their prescribed project area. As for the large number of tribal hill villages outside the present project areas,

suitable provision should be made. It would be unrealistic to expect, that the [illegible] tribes scattered all over northern Thailand would [illegible] migrate into the sphere of the settlements. It would be equally unrealistic to assume that they could easily be ordered to leave their present whereabouts to join the projects. If so ordered, they might rather decide to go into the inaccessible hills or, if unduly pressed, they may even fight back. We have discussed this situation in several parts of our report. We recommend, therefore, that allowance should be made for the intricacies of the tribal situation lest more dangers arise in the hills. The basic objective of the Government is: to settle the hill tribes. Such a policy means stabilized farming, abolition of opium growing, and implementation of administration and control in the hills.

We should co-operate with their tribal authority system, with their present social structure, with their prevailing attitudes, all deeply rooted in their history and past experience. That means we should approach the hill tribes in their own villages and should work through their own established authorities. This means we should 'go to them', we should meet them in their own world, inside their own social and physical environment. The hill village is the place where the Government can meet the tribesmen. It is not enough to have Settlement projects, even if they are in the hills, if that means waiting until they come. It is likely that they may not come at all. Everything possible should be undertaken to prevent that the Settlement Centres become 'towers' inside which officials reside, with the hill tribes on the outside.

The Settlement projects and the prescribed project areas have been

defined as 'development blocks' that is, areas of intensive development activities. Moreover, they should [illegible] hill [illegible] for development work. The superintendent, [illegible] development officer in charge, should investigate promising villages in suitable areas for extension activities. As we have pointed out in this report, the 'concept of rectangular project areas' as prevailing in the lowland settlements seems to be out of place in the hills. The proper concept should rather consist in selecting 'strategically located key villages serving as centres of services for the hill people'.

3. New cash-crops and other economic activities replacing opium-growing.

The determination of the proper replacement crop or crops for opium is of primary importance. It is a problem rendered more complex by the fact that it involves not only the technical factors of soil, climate and water supply that ordinarily determine lowland crops but also, as we have found in our survey, additional socio-economic factors related to the special state of affairs in the hills and to the custom of the Hill peoples. Because of these factors, we believe that there is no one crop or universal crop to substitute for poppy.

Various replacement crops have been mentioned including coffee, tea, chillies, potatoes and cassava. All these crops are found growing in various parts of the highlands. We leave to the agriculture specialists after a thorough study of conditions in the hills and discussion with the hill tribesmen to decide which of these crops or other crops should be grown by the hill tribes. But we submit that in this determination, the following findings of our survey should be given careful consideration:

1. [illegible] field surveys [illegible], it has been estimated that the average annual [illegible] cash [illegible] from growing opium is from approximately [illegible] to [illegible] baht. In substituting any crop [illegible] for opium, [illegible] at least the same real income [illegible] this cash to and hill tribe family as present. The real income of the hill tribe family from opium is low because of the traders' profits of up to 100%. If a properly planned trading system is introduced simultaneously with the replacement crop, less gross income will be needed.

2. The hill tribes, by and large, have very limited or no experience in raising or processing, perennial crops such as coffee and tea, and in advanced agricultural techniques such as artificial irrigation, terracing and ditching, manuring, sunshading, use of insecticides and pesticides, etc.

3. They have competent experience in raising annual crops such as chillies, potatoes, vegetables, corn and semi-perennials like castor bean. (Refer to our list of staple and mixture crops pp. 28 - 30; and to the livestock raised by the hill people pp. 30 - 32; more on this subject can be found in Annex, survey reports of the field units; refer also to our opinion studies pp 70.)

4. They have experience in raising pigs and poultry but need advice in such matters as modern veterinary methods, breeding etc.

5. They have indigenous skills which can be further developed and utilized to promote village handicraft industry.

6. They have a concept of private property and landed property and there is a pre-empted privilege of a family unit recognized by all others

[illegible] remains in the vicinity.

[illegible] They [illegible] taken, [illegible] there is [illegible] without [illegible] to live [illegible] activity.

8. The problem of [illegible] and transport must be given serious consideration whatever substitute crop [illegible] introduced. We think that the solution of this problem will greatly enhance the acceptability of the replacement crops.

9. The hill people who cultivate [illegible] are not firmly bound to it, but they do it because it provides them with the cash they need badly for their livelihood. They would accept a change provided that it is done gradually, it fits or can be made to fit their [illegible] life and it will result in their betterment.

[illegible]

[illegible]

As for Tak, we have mentioned previously that the high valley of Meo Huey Luang village seems to be an ideal expanded development area for the 'Tak Development Block'. At a given time, one or two well trained multi-purpose development workers should set out for Huey Luang and settle down among the Meo of the village. They should explain their objectives to the formal leaders of the Meo, Ying and Saranan, and should ask for their opinion and advice. They then should undertake a 'basic survey' to define the needs of the village, both the 'real needs and requirements' and the 'felt needs of the villagers'. It is of importance to take the felt needs into consideration since only by making allowances for the expectations and desires of the people one can count on their collaboration. Besides, the people themselves usually know best what they need. At the same time they should try to understand the authority system and the social structure of the community. This is of importance in order to know the channels of communications through which new ideas may be introduced.

After having established good rapport, they may start with some demonstrations of useful improvements, at the beginning on a very modest scale. If possible, they should wait for an appropriate occasion, or until they are asked. Nothing that is absolutely new to the villagers should be attempted. Every new technique, crop or implement to be demonstrated should

[illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] tri[illegible].

It [illegible] that [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] advice. If the multi-purpose workers [illegible] it, they should arrange for a specialized extension worker to [illegible]. Thus the tribesmen will gain confidence and the credit of the project will increase. It will [illegible] to make too high promises, since any hot-back may give arguments to sceptics who invariably will occur.

It may turn out that there are [illegible] farmers exhibiting one [illegible] interest in useful innovations. They should be assisted with all available means of expert advice, credit facilities and market arrangements. However, the reactions of the rest of the villagers, and in particular of the leaders, should carefully be observed. The latent possibility of evolving factions has to be permanently evaluated.

At a later stage it may appear that some sort of a 'committee' should be formed. For instance, three or four farmers wish to make a trial with red chilly cultivation as a cash-crop. They want information, advice, perhaps seeds, and guarantees for transport and market facilities. The extension worker may suggest that they make up their minds among themselves and may offer his services as a liaison to the Tak Settlement Project which, on his turn, will arrange everything with the Tak market. The formation of such a 'production committee' inside the village may be of inevitable use. In fact, it may serve as a bridgehead for spreading new ideas and practices.

However, it should never be [illegible] that [illegible] the [illegible] operation. Dexterity in his relations [illegible] villagers [illegible] of the [illegible] relations [illegible] their respect from the extension worker.

He should also pay due attention to the village traders. If possible, he should try to draw them into the process of transportation and marketing cash crops other than opium. He should try to get in good terms with them and to ensure their collaboration, since they know all the artifices of the local market and silently control the trade in the hills. Their opposition could possibly bring to a collapse many of his attempts.

In an advanced stage of successful collaboration and development, the use of farming any working association may be considered. However, they should not be created artificially, they should be let to grow by themselves if a real demand occurs. If this is in fact the case, the extension worker should advise how to organize it. If necessary, he should ask for advice from project authorities. By all means he should pay attention to the advice of the village leaders.

One village, for instance may be inclined to form an organization comparable to the Young Farmers Club (4 H - Club), as practised in Thai lowland villages. Or some farmers may show interest in co-operative arrangement. The extension worker should not urge the propagation of such groupings and may restrain from indiscriminately propagating them. He may just drop the idea at suitable occasions. If any association is coming to shape, the extension worker should never be the chairman, but rather the secretary. In other cases he may take only the role of advisor. In no case should he be an exponent, he should rather work behind the scenes.

[illegible]

[illegible] utilized for implementing the policy of the Thai Government.

We have been told by tribal authorities that, if the benefit of collaborating with Thai officials can visibly be demonstrated, they may be inclined to believe [illegible] follow. The father of the headman of Huey Luang, Saranan, [illegible] that [illegible] in him if success can be proved.

We are aware that the approach which we recommend is very exacting. Organization, training and, after all, qualified personnel is required. However, on the basis of our survey, we are convinced that this approach is the most promising way to success.

We wish to make a final point. If the existing Settlement projects can be turned into effective pilot projects, acting inside the 'development block' as well as outside in their 'extension areas', the experience gained may be evaluated and composed into a 'Manual for development and extension workers among hill tribes' and be utilized in the further activities among the hill people of Northern Thailand.

.....