

Charles F. Keyes Field Notes, Thailand

August 9, 1962 – November 12, 1962

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Bangkok, Thailand.

This document is preceded by a short document consisting of notes written at Cornell prior to departure to Thailand, and is followed by notes written in Maha Sarakham (Mahasarakham) province in November and December 1962.

August 9, 1962

Bangkok

Notes from a Conversation with Bill Klausner

Klausner strongly recommends going to see a man by the name of Marsh Thompson who is Vice Consul at the American embassy. He says that this fellow is interested in what we are doing and is also interested in helping us make contacts in the government. One person in the government who is worth getting Thompson to get us an introduction to is a fellow by the name of Bunchana who is head of DTEC in the NEDB. Buchana is originally from Mahasarakham.

Klausner has written a paper for the Ministry of Public Welfare on migrations from the northeast. Be certain to get a copy of this paper.

There are sections of Bangkok which are wholly devoted to "Isan" people. There are temples which are staffed (priests) primarily by northeasterners, Sir Stafford Crips' Grandson may be at Mahasarakham teaching in a secondary school working on the English equivalent of the Peace Corps.

The fellow who is working at Nan is named Bill DeSaint. K. says that he is an inaccessible person (won't allow anyone to visit him). DeSaint is an American who is working out of LSE or SOAS.. There is also a man by the name of Lyman an American linguist from the Hague who is working among the Blue Meo. Both K. and Marv Brown have mentioned these two people.

Klausner says of the "Isan" people that they do have a marked culture - more Lao and more "conservative" than that of the Central plains. Northeasterners have somewhat of an inferiority complex (as distinct from the Northerners who are proud of their background). More migrants in Bangkok are from the Northeast than from any other section of Thailand.

Northeastern migrants do not work for *farang*. K. is very partial to the northeasterners, but then he is married to one. K. feels that there is very little political pull on the northeast from Laos though there is a lot of cultural similarity. Politically speaking, northeasterners identify with Bangkok. The old pattern of migration from the northeast was as follows: (1) return to the village for a long period of time — i.e., the harvest; (2) return to the village for short periods; (3) return to the village for festivals; (4) logically, no return to the village (this last one K. did not mention but it follows).

K. has also written a paper for the Wenner-Gren conference this summer which should be interesting to read.

K. mentioned that there is a long article in the Temple University Bulletin on migrations from the northeast by a fellow who was here about 5 years ago.

TUFEC is still operating but is on the way out because it is administered by the Department of Education and the Department of Interior now handles all the community development projects. TUFEC now just runs a training center for community development workers.

The U.S. may be establishing a consulate at Khon Kaen.

K. said that it took him about 4 months of intensive work before he could speak Northeastern Thai-living without any *farang* language spoken about him and having had two years of study on Bangkok Thai.

Talk to JoAnne Hankins about finding a tutor and about the various possibilities on language training — advanced for me, (JoAnne Hankins, 32621, 23 Soi Phiphat).

Talk with Marsh Thompson, vice-consul at the American embassy. Can be useful in recommending people to see, establishing relations with the embassy, and in getting introductions into Thai bureaucracy.

As it now stands the two possible alternatives of places to begin study in the Northeast is (1) Mahasarakham or (2) Udon. The former is the original choice for reasons well known (comp. isolation-cultural vacuum of sorts). Udon might be a good place because of its position relative to Laos and to channels of communication from Bangkok (though at an extreme point, The other consideration is that there is an USIS mission (one family) in Udon who might be of some help both in the way of contacts and in locating a village. John and Jill Hale have met this couple at an American embassy party. Ask Marsh Thompson for more information.

August 10, 1962

Bangkok

Conversations with People at the American Embassy

Short conversation with Marsh Thompson, who is Vice-consul who was interested but busy. He in turn took us to the Political section and introduced us to Weaver Gim who is in charge of Chinese affairs (Gim replaces Roy Stapleton whom R, McFarquar had told us to look up. Gim himself had studied with McFarquar at Harvard). Gim really didn't know much of anything about what we are doing but took our names and told us that he would refer us to John Reed (whom I had been referred to as someone who had studied Thai at Cornell by Jay Ingersoll). He did take the names of two Thai officials whom I would like to talk and said that he would have Reed handle it. Then we were introduced to a man by the name of Wilbur Hitchcock. Hitchcock also studied Thai at Cornell in 1958 (with John Reed) and then was sent to Laos for two years. He speaks Lao and knows quite a bit about Laotian affairs. We discussed his personal impressions of the Thai (good) and my project in some detail and Tom's in an abstract way. He said that there are really two places to get further information: (1) from Robert Lasher at USIS who is the American involved with the Thai Government program to send mobile units into the N.E. Lasher has accompanied these missions and knows quite a bit about the N.E. as well as knowing Thai officials involved with this project. (2) USOM's Department of Rural Development which is headed by Sheldon Turner (who Tom knows).

Other information from the American embassy:

The USIS Mission at Udorn is run by Gordon W. Murchie, Branch PAO, Phosri Rd.

Thompson recommended that I visit Richard Buker who is a missionary at Khon Kaen.

A Thai girl who is working in the office at the Consular section overheard my name and recognized it as someone who is looking for somebody to learn Thai from. I am supposed to visit here next Tuesday morning at 10:30 to discuss this with whomever she finds,

I am also supposed to pick up information from John Reed next Tuesday morning.

August 15, 1962

Bangkok

During the past two days I have had some contact with people at the embassy and at USIS. At the embassy, I finally met John Reed who had studied Thai at Cornell in 1958 under Marv Brown and whom had been recommended to me by Jay Ingersoll. Reed is in the political section of the embassy. He gave me several names of people he thought I should contact who could be of more use than himself in terms of my work. At USOM (on Phetburi Road, Tel, 70040), he recommended that I see Mr. Duval Stoaks in the Public Administration Division (ext. 43) and Mr. Sheldon Turner in the Community Development Section (ext, 45). (Turner is the fellow that Tom Kirsch knows fairly well). Also, he recommended seeing Mr. Robert Lasher at USIS who has worked with these mobile units which have been sent to the Northeast (I had already received an introduction to Lasher from Hitchcock at the embassy). Finally, Reed thought that Glenn Ferguson who is the field director of the Peace Corps (25 Soi 20) might be an interesting person to talk with.

Bob Lasher who is at USIS has proved to be a most helpful, interested, and capable person. He has served as liaison between USIS and the Thai Government on the establishment of "Political Communications Teams (Mobile Information Teams)" which are being sent to remote parts of Thailand (particularly to the Northeast) in order to bring the populace of Thailand into closer integration with the national government. It follows that one (if not the major covert) purposes of these teams is to help build a secure foundation which can stand against Communist infiltration (from Laos) and subversion from within. This was stated to us by Lasher himself. Because of this purpose of security there seems to be some sort of power struggle between the Bureau of the Interior (whom Lasher has worked with) and the Bureau of Defense as to who should have control of these mobile units (John Hale who works in the Ministry of Defense thought that the Minister of Interior was having nothing more to do with these units and that they were all under Defense but Lasher pointed out that Interior is still sending out units). The P.M. has set up a special committee under himself but in the Ministry of Defense to coordinate these units. Lasher felt that eventually all these units would come under this coordinating body.

Lasher, himself, has been on several of these units in their visit to the Northeast (and on one to the North). He is very enthusiastic about their usefulness. The units show films, give lectures, distribute pictures of the king and the Pitsanuloke Buddha, dispense medical care, and

try to ascertain the needs of the people. In short, these units are an attempt to bring about direct contact between isolated peasants and the central government. In this way the central government will learn about what is most needed by the peasants, the attitudes toward the central government, the extent of communist (or anti-central government) influence. The peasants in turn get an opportunity to see films of other aspects of Thai national life, receive free medicine, and learn of the dangers of communism. (See the reports on these trips which Lasher has given me). Lasher is particularly optimistic about the success of these units because of the caliber of the Thai personnel employed. His two contacts in the program are inspectors of the Department of Interior. Both speak northeastern Thai fluently and both are willing to get out and associate with the people on an informal basis. In the village context, the members of the team drink, eat, and talk informally with the people. Lasher has volunteered to introduce Tom Kirsch and myself to these two individuals in Interior.

There are several obvious drawbacks to the program: (1) the impact of a large team which obviously includes government officials (the Nai Amphoe of the district accompany the team) on a people who though very friendly to strangers still have certain apprehensions of the encroachment of the government (demands rather than help is their expectation of the government) (2) the rather transitory help which results for the villagers and the lack of tangible commitments for help (this is being in part offset by the intention of the teams to make revisits to each area for at least one more time); (3) the rather ill-disguised purpose of ascertaining and rooting out communist (and/or anti-government) influence (one of the men from the Interior on this mission always gives lectures against communism, visit, homes of supposed or known communist-influenced families, etc. Also, the trips have been to areas which have been deemed as "security risk" areas because of their proximity to Laos or because of the fact that communism has made inroads in the area); (4) the dangers of the military running the show in the project (though Lasher says that there is a lot less fear of the army than there is of the police). There is certainly some truth in the comment that someone (I forget who) at Cornell made that someone in the Thai or American government had convinced the authorities-that-are that if one doesn't concern themselves about the northeast because of health reasons, and one doesn't concern themselves about the northeast for economic reasons, one damn well concerns themselves about the area for security reasons. There have been many public statements to the effect that the Northeast represents the area of Thailand which might be the most susceptible to communist

infiltration and eventually be fertile ground for the formation of insurgency movements. From what little I have gathered in just listening, there, are several projects underway in the northeast to discover what (as one report put it) are "the causes and symptoms of guerrilla emergence" instead of how to counteract it. For example, there is one project which is supported by the government on the aegis of the Stanford Research Institute (material from John Hale). There is the Rand project which is being headed by Dave Wilson. And it is obvious that there are several others.

Bob Lasher introduced Tom and I to a fellow by the name of Wichit...na Champassak, a Lao, a cousin of Boun Oum, and an employee of USIS in Viengchan. Wichit showed a very fascinating movie which I viewed on the hill tribes of Laos. This film was in Lao (though in educ. Lao because I could understand some of it). The film was (as the Director of USIS here said) too long, but it was very colorful and showed a lot about the various Meo groups of Laos (there were 8 different groups which were filmed in any detail). The film unfortunately ended with appeal for loyalty to King and country (with pictures of the King granting awards) and against the Pathet Lao. Nonetheless, with a little cutting, the film would make excellent showing for an anthropological classroom.

We went to lunch with Lasher, Wichit, and various other people from USIS. One person at this luncheon was a man by the name of MacCormack (sp.?) who is Deputy Director of USIS here and who is on the board at the Siam Society. He later gave us applications for membership in the Siam Society. At the luncheon I had some talk with Wichit and discovered that he has many of the natural prejudices about "primitive" peoples despite his contact with them (he speaks, he says, 14 different dialects and languages of the hill peoples of Lao as well as English, French, Lao, and Thai). He also promised to send me a copy of a book on the Lao writing system (we shall see). He and MacCormack had quite a discussion on the Phi Thôn Luang, whom MacCormack says were spotted recently again in the North and whom Wichit says that he has seen in his childhood (they eat their dead, according to Wichit).

I also met at this luncheon the radio and communications officer of USIS, a Thai who had studied at Cornell in 1956.

August 19, 1962

Bangkok

Last evening we had cocktails and dinner at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon Turner. Turner is the Director of USOM's community development program in Thailand. Also present at this affair were Tom Kirsch, Bill Klausner, John and Alice Alden, and Ken Kugle (sp.?). Alden is under Turner in the Community Development program. Kugle, who was formerly with the Bureau of the Budget is also working in USOM here. Alden was telling us about going up to the Northeast on Monday (to Ubon) to visit the community development man there. He also pointed out that USOM has community development officers in Udon, Khon Kaen, Roi Et, (and he thinks may even have one in Mahasarakham). USOM is only in charge of training Thai community development workers. Theoretically, the villagers should be the ones who determine what sort of project is carried on in the village, but because of the tradition of downward (from the central authority) policy making, this is not often the case. Also, the community development program of training the Thai officers is not all that it could be. Alden says that still the best trained Thai personnel were the ones trained by TUFEC (which no longer operates as a training center for this sort of thing). The only trouble with TUFEC is that it made no provisions for the promotion of the Thai bureaucrats and in a system where it is so important to sometime get promoted to a job in Bangkok, the TUFEC program was an anomaly.

Turner is not a trained community development person (though his son is an anthropologist at Harvard - graduate student). His field is more the administrative aspects. Nonetheless, he is vitally interested in the well-working of the projects and in keeping informed on the relevant literature. In this regard he gave to me a copy of two reports for me to keep and one for me to peruse: i.e., Moerman, Michael, A Memorandum A Northern Thai Village, Southeast Asia Survey Research Report, Bangkok: USIS, Regional Research Office, May, 1961.

Mosel, James N., "Thai Administrative Behavior," Reprinted from Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration, Indiana University: The Department of Government, 1957.

Klausner, William J., "Popular Buddhism in Northeast Thailand," Paper prepared in advance for participants in symposium no. 21, "The Determination of the Philosophy of a Culture," Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, A Burg Wartenstein symposium, September 16-26, 1962. (to be returned to Turner).

Alden makes forays to the Northeast about once a month and his wife was suggesting that I might accompany him (Alden was not all that encouraging about this). Alden says that it costs about 30 dollars (one way) to fly to Ubon. He says that this compares favorably with the train though the train ride is interesting.

August 22, 1962

Bangkok

Today Tom and I visited the International Institute for Child Study (UNESCO) which is located on the second floor of one of the buildings at the Teacher's college at the end of Prasamitr Rd. We visited with Dr. Hugh Philip who is the director of the project. Jay Ingersoll had written me about the institute, about Philip and about Tambiah, a Ceylonese who is working there: "With Hugh Philip and the Cornell-trained Ceylonese anthropologist at the UNESCO International Institute for Child Study at Prasamitr ...this was a power house when we were there."

Philip explained to us the present study being undertaken by the Institute. They are studying the socio-psychological background of Thai children in order to determine whether the educational curriculum which is now being used by the Thai Government is indeed suited to their needs. This study is designed in such a way that four villages chosen from the traditional areas of Thailand (i.e., the Central Plains, the Northeast, the South and the Northwest) will be studied in terms of this problem. Two questions are being asked: one, are these four areas significantly different to justify different educational programs in each area (if so, the natural question arises as to whether indeed these are the only four areas in Thailand) and secondly, whether, as above stated, the present curriculum is suited to socio-cultural and psychological background of Thai children.

So far a village in the Central Plains has been studied and a village near Udon in the Northeast has been studied. Presently, the team is looking for a village in the South as the next project. Finally, will come a village in the North. From the material on the Central Plains village, a book is presently being written on the cultural background of Thai children - i.e., the kinship patterns, the various other cultural patterns, etc.

Comparative material will be drawn from the Central Plains. Finally, on the Southern material, a book will be written on the education program and its effectiveness. Comparative

material will be drawn from both the Northeast and from the Central Plains material. The village study in the North will be used to integrate all the areas and all the foci of the study into a final comprehensive and summary book. As of yet none of the data has been written up in publishable form. But Philip has offered to Tom and I free access to the raw data.

The resources at the Institute are quite impressive. In terms of personnel there are Philip himself, Tambiah (who is very impressive physically in just the short cursory meeting I had with him) and a Danish psychologist whom I did not get the opportunity to meet. There is an IBM 101 for analyzing the data. There are twelve Thai assistants (of what background I don't know). There is a small library containing most current periodicals in Sociology, Anthropology, and Psychology (a good place to check journals if need be). There are a large number of calculating machines (again a good resource to keep in mind). There is a clinical psychological room which is used for observing children (though Philip says that not much psychological work is being undertaken in the clinical sense and that this room was the development of his predecessor in his job). There are storage rooms full of data and other material and there is a multitude of office space. In general the Institute seems quite well-equipped for such a project in the midst of Thailand.

We discussed with Philip the relative merits and the potential problems inherent in our field studies. He was rather dubious of Tom being able to find a Thai group which was little influenced by Buddhism and which was isolated. However, he said if such were Tom's intent, then it would be better to do his study in the West near the River Kwai and near the Karen area. In this area there are isolated villages in the jungle which are Thai and which have no wat and no school. Such villages are served by itinerant monks who travel more or less on a circuit. From this point of discussion, we got involved in the areas of Thailand in which field study ought to be carried out. We agreed that the West was an area which very few people ever think of (primarily because of the low density of Thai population). Nothing has been done in the South nor the Southeast. More needs to be done in the North. And finally we came to the fact that no one has really carried out any social scientific research in Bangkok itself. Philip characterized Bangkok as a city of villages which are in many ways self-contained and which would be ideal to study. People from different ethnic areas and from different geographical areas tend to group together in specific environments (a marvelously perceptive statement!). He said at present that he had two students carrying on somewhat cursory studies on a middleclass and lower class group in

Bangkok. It struck him from the preliminary findings of the study on the lower class group that almost all of those studied were from the Northeast. These studies were being carried on by Thai students.

With regard to study in the northeast, he commented that one must be aware of the fact that in the northeast, villages are much larger than they are on the central plains. He wondered aloud if my fundamental assumption that the northeast is the most alienated of all areas in Thailand is a valid one. He says that there are villages on the Central Plains which are much more psychologically isolated than those in the northeast. He did agree that Mahasarakham would probably be a valid starting point for finding a village which I wish to study. He recommended that I chose a village south of the Mahasarakham-Roi-et road rather than north (though he gave no reason). He also suggested that I might think about a village south of the Ubon-Sakon Nakhon Road. Both areas are the ones which I have considered most seriously.

We had a certain amount of discussion about field techniques. He said that he had adopted a rather complicated procedure in constructing questionnaires, First the questionnaires are constructed in English. Then a Thai connected with the Institute reconstructs them into Thai using the original English one as model. Finally, an outside person is asked to translate the Thai version back into English to see how far wrong things had gone. He is very skeptical about uses of structured methods in Thai villages (the language problem). He said that he and Jay argued at length on this. He says that one should beware of the poor data and the poor methods of Kingshill's study (Ku Daeng).

The Siam Society

I paid my first visit and paid my obeisances (in the form of joining) at the Siam Society today. The society is an interesting organization as can be discovered by a perusal of its journal. What interested us was the rather nice housing and furnishing which it has (donated primarily by Scandinavian supporters - there is a long relationship between the Scandinavian countries and Thailand). The Society has a rather nice library with a fairly good collection of books on Thailand (though minimal compared to Cornell) and a large collection of journals related to Southeast Asian studies.

Nothing apparent in the Thai language itself. There is an exhibit of Tribal peoples clothing and an exhibit of artifacts supposedly of the Phi Thông Luang, This latter exhibit is a

result of societies current interest in tribal peoples and in particular in the Phi Thông Luang, The group encountered which are supposedly the Phi Thông Luang are a group called the Khon Pa ('Forest People') who live near Nan. This group reject the name Phi Thông Luang, but the SS expedition feel that they are probably the same group. A report of this expedition will be in a forthcoming edition of the Journal of the Siam Society.

August 24, 1962

Bangkok

Conversation with Bob Kaegi

Bob Kaegi is an American by birth, and Australian by choice who is connected with the UN Technical Assistance Board here in Bangkok. His background is textiles and he says himself that his family have been in the textile business for three generations. During the war, he ended up in Australia and he stayed there after the war to get involved in several textile manufacturing firms in Australia. After a career there in several companies, he ended up working for the UN as a technical advisor in the field of textiles. In Bangkok, he works in the Ministry of Industry (*krasuang udsahakham*) and is directly responsible to the Minister himself. He supervises the various textile manufacturing government plants, the development of local textile manufactures (home industry), etc. At present he is primarily concerned with the jute gunny-bag plants which are being developed.

Kaegi is very knowledgeable about all phases of textile manufacture in Thailand. He is a close personal friend of Jim Thompson. He was telling us that in ordinary Thai silk, only the woof is Thai and the warp is Japanese silk.

Most of his conversation was devoted to Comments on Thai bureaucracy, technical assistance missions here, etc. He is thoroughly convinced about the inefficiency, the bulkiness, and the corruption of the Thai bureaucracy. He painted a picture, semi-romantically, of a police-state in Thailand (at least for those of power or of potential power). He also railed a bit at the type of American who abuses their privileges here in Thailand where they are guests and thus reflect on the whole *farang* community here. However, he himself participates in the advantages which accrue because of his position.

Kaegi himself Is an interesting character with an indomitable personality. It is obvious that he has his own way pretty much of the time. He rather is a strange individual who regards

himself as focus of a great political drama. Political, not only in the sense of the dangers of coups, revolutions, etc. (though there is a bit of this in him), but mostly his sense of political drama comes in his interactions with his superiors. He likes to feel that he has inside roads to loci of power, likes to feel that he can tell off the boss without recrimination, etc.

For a man dealing in such an item as textiles, his aesthetic sense seems almost undeveloped. His house (or small bungalow) was stark and lacking in any (even cloth covered cushions) which any cultured person might desire to make the place more attractive.

His own clothing, his manner, his speech all contribute to the collage of a rather uncultured, semi-successful business man who has by virtue of a very specialized knowledge become involved in a position of responsibility (though he probably doesn't differ from bureaucrats in other systems much in this regard).

(The following from EJK.)

Kaegi, though American by birth, is Australian by adoption, and it was through my brother in Melbourne that we made his acquaintance. Bill knew him through his work on the textile industry, and sent us a letter of introduction, adding as an aside to us that Kaegi was rather an odd bird. He is probably around 55, but may be younger, as he struck me as being in poor health, and it could be that a combination of illness plus a rather poor physique makes...

August 25, 1962

Bangkok

JoAnne (Mrs. N. Reeve) Hankins

JoAnne Hankins, a former Ford Fellow who had studied Thai linguistics, is now one of the directors of AUA's Thai-language training program. (Her husband is with BIS - head, I believe). Though JoAnne was connected with the big (6) group of Ford Fellows who were here at one time - B. Textor, M. Brown, H. Phillips, Melvin Wachs (who was a political scientist whom I have heard only vague mention of), Dave Wilson and herself - she has now got out of contact with most of the current academic research which is being carried on.

She mentioned that AUA has developed some good colloquial Thai conversations which she will try to get for me. She also had some comments on how Marvin Brown was wasting his talents (a hue and cry which I have heard more than once).

August 27, 1962

Bangkok

Robert Kaegi

Last Saturday evening Jane and I went to Kaegi's for dinner. There were two other guests there - both *phuying*. One whose name was Ard (*āt*) was a secretary for Dr. Schaff (Mekong River Project) at ECAFE and knows Umphon Phanacet who was at Cornell with me. The second was named Margie and she works for the UN (Technical Assistance Bureau). The latter will leave in a fortnight to go to work at the UN Headquarters in Geneva.

August 29, 1962

Bangkok

A Lesson in Economics

In America I had always pooh-pooed people who used to advocate a "Buy American Policy" as being rather of a political sort without much economic basis. Though I still feel that there is more political content in America in such a policy, I have after living in Bangkok for several weeks began to realize what such a policy can mean for a country which belongs to the so-called "underdeveloped" sphere of nations. Thailand is just beginning to come into its own with a realization that to develop a nation, that nation must not depend upon imports from other countries, but must attempt to procure as many of her requirements as possible. With this in mind there has been great stimulus through the Department of Industry and through other concerned ministries for local entrepreneurs and farmers to begin producing both manufactured goods and food-stuffs other than rice which the country needs and uses. It is obvious, therefore, that at the beginning when such newly produced commodities are expensive because of the natural inefficiency inherent in inaugurating new industries and produce, that the government must place tariffs or in other ways restrict imports of similar products to those being produced within the country. Tariffs are appealing in their monetary implications but in some cases even tariffs cannot be utilized to prevent disastrous competition to home-produced commodities. The reason for this rests with the fact that the home-produced commodities may be so inferior when they first appear as to make the consumer prefer foreign products despite the disparity in the cost to the consumer. Thus, the government sometimes has to make outright prohibitions against the

import of certain commodities in order to give nascent home-industries an opportunity to get beyond the take-off point.

Returning to my original comment on "Buy American," it stands to reason that the government of Thailand which is more in need of developing products in which foreign goods compete on the local Thai market with home produced goods (tariffs notwithstanding). Obviously, for the majority of the Thai people, they can have no choice but to follow such a policy because of the prohibitive cost of foreign-produced competing commodities. There are, nonetheless, several groups within the Thai society for whom such a policy of "Buy Thai" would have beneficial results if such a policy were adequately carried out.

The first of such groups which comes to mind is that of the Thai elite. Because of the status-consciousness of members of the Thai elite, one finds that there often exists a preference for purchasing foreign items which, though produced in Thailand at a cheaper cost for the consumer, are of real or supposed inferior quality and thus should not be utilized. Obviously, an unyielding application of a "Buy Thai" policy (similar to policies adopted by such governments as India) would have marked ramifications in social behavior of the Thai elite, but would have the positive result of bringing home the economic facts of life to the majority of the Thai elite.

By far the largest group in Thailand which almost completely evades the "Buy Thai" policy is the foreign (*farang*) community. Eight or nine months ago the number of *farang* working in Thailand was put at 6000. When one includes the families of these *farang* as well as those who would not be included in the list because of the way such a census was made (primarily of all the official agencies and major corporations) it is safe to say that at present there are somewhere near 15,000 *farang* in Thailand - most of whom live in Bangkok. When one considers the standard of living by which these *farang* live, one realizes that their potential economic importance to the Thai economic system far exceeds their actual numbers. [Later, think these figures are inflated.]

Notwithstanding the potential economic position of this community *vis-à-vis* Thailand, the *farang* community employs a consumer policy which is almost completely antithetical to a "Buy Thai" program. There obtain for the *farang* certain economic privileges which permit - nay, actively encourage the *farang's* purchase of consumer items outside of the Thai economic system. The most insidious of the mechanisms which permit *farangs* to do so is the American PX (Post Exchange). Since by far the vast majority of all *farang* in Thailand are Americans and

since the majority of these Americans enjoy PX privileges, it serves to substantiate my point to look at the PX system first.

The PX exists for the stated purpose of allowing Americans living in a foreign country of enjoying the majority of consumer items he had in America at a price which often is even lower than normal consumer prices in America itself. The PX imports almost all of its stores from sources outside of Thailand without import restrictions or tariffs. Thus, the PX has, in economic terms, proved to be a satisfactory means of completely circumventing the economic protections which Thailand has drawn around its production system. One discovers in American homes in Bangkok that foodstuffs which are either of better quality or are of kind not produced in Thailand come from the PX. This means that almost all meat, almost all cereals, almost all package foods, almost all beverages are purchased from outside the Thai economic system. In fact what is left for purchase within Thailand is almost a negligible portion of the food budget of the normal American household in Thailand.

Certainly there are goods in the PX which are not available in any form in Thailand, but these are few compared to the goods which if purchased in Thailand would either contribute to the growth of nascent industries or would provide needed dollars from the excise on the imports of these commodities, The PX, and the similar commissary privileges which obtain for other groups of *farang* in Thailand, thus almost directly refutes the stated policy of most of the agencies which are working in Thailand - namely that of developing the country.

And what is the argument against the withdrawal of the privileges for the *farang* community. One is that if such privileges were not granted people would not come here to work. Personally, I doubt this and if it were true in some cases it is because the person involved has no interest in his job. On the contrary, one sees the system of privileges which the *farang* working in an official capacity as being an enticement for people to live at a standard much above that which they would ordinarily have at home. The system of bureaucratic missions to Thailand exist, according to official Washington policy, for the benefit of Thailand not for the benefit of enhancing the personal standard of living of the members of those missions who come to live here. One cannot help but be astounded at how even the lowliest western secretary lives in Bangkok. Her talents could never reward her so magnificently were she living in the States.

Another argument which is employed is that because America is pouring so much aid in her help of the economic situation in Thailand, the contribution which a "Buy Thai" Policy for

farang living in Thailand would have would be almost negligible. Such an argument misses the point. The point is that in terms of the system which exists in Thailand, every contribution to the development of the economy is going to be of value. Aid is merely the injection to a weak body. Home consumption is the life blood of a sound economy. Aid from the outside helps in the inauguration of new industries. Home consumption keeps them going.

It is hard to hold any truck with individuals of the bureaucratic missions in Bangkok who spend their off-hours in further trying to circumvent the last of the few economic restrictions which Thailand places upon them. And there are many of these kind - who worry about how a package should be sent from abroad so that it doesn't have to pass through Thai customs, etc. There is a further ramification of the privilege system such as the PX. In addition to helping the *farang* circumvent the Thai economic system, it also serves as an encouragement for helping others who do not share these privileges in circumventing the system. The "blackmarket" danger of the privilege system is one of which Washington is not unaware. The government, from President Kennedy down, has tried to provide restrictions which make operation of a black market system impossible. Nonetheless, it is obvious, even to some in Washington, that the only way in which black-marketing can be fully curbed is to remove the source of its existence -i.e., do away with the PX and related privileges. Thus, as long as the privileged economic system operates, it will operate for a far greater number of people than those who are entitled to share in it. And such sharing further undermines the economic system of Thailand.

August 30, 1962

Bangkok

The Reverend Horace W. Ryburn

This afternoon, I had a conversation with the Rev. Horace W. Ryburn, Commission Representative, The Mission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the USAF Thailand Office, 138 Sathorn Road, Bangkok. First I went to the office at about 1:30 and was told that Rev. Ryburn would return at 2:30, So, I also returned at 2:30. His secretary told me that Rev. Ryburn was on the phone and I would have to wait a few minutes. An hour later the Rev. Mr. Ryburn finally saw me (one expects long waits with Thai and thus sets himself for such eventualities but when one goes to see a Westerner, then he expects some semblance of Western efficiency—this is a false illusion in Bangkok).

I had had a letter to Rev. Ryburn from a man on the board of missions in America who had met my father while visiting Idaho Falls. This letter more or less explained my position: Cornell, anthropology, Ford Grant, etc. It further established me as member of the Presbyterian Church of Idaho Falls. Thus, immediately, Rev. Ryburn in his Tennessee accent proceeded to explain how and when it was best to go to the International Church in Bangkok. I was filled in on all the details of who goes there, why it is better to go to the 5 in the afternoon service rather than the 8:30 in the morning one (the morning one is held in Bangkok), what denominations participate in this "ecumenical" church which is "the largest English-speaking protestant church in Bangkok." Before I could explain to him that Jane and I were not really church-going people, he nearly had our children-to-be signed up for Sunday school. When finally I did get an opportunity to say that "my wife and I are not very regular church-goers," he looked somewhat taken aback and sat back in his chair with somewhat a look of resignation to this world of unbelievers and backsliders.

He then proceeded to explain to me about what he knew about the Cornell program here and that he was aware of its work because of several members of the Presbyterian mission being involved in Cornell programs (i.e., Larry Judd and Konrad Kingshill). On request he gave me Larry Judd's address (L.C. Judd, 88 Charoen Prades Road, Lampang).

We then proceeded to a discussion of how long I would be in the country and what (in a very general sort of way because he really wasn't interested) I was going to do and finally what he could do for me. I explained that I was interested in any mission program that was going on in Mahasarakham or near there. He explained that the Christian and Missionary Alliance had, he thought, a missionary up there (I recall now that there has been more or less a division of labor among Protestant sects here in Thailand). He gave me a short description of the background of the Christian and Missionary Alliance: "Somewhat like the Baptists"; "grew out of the Scandinavian covenant movement." He then called their office (they also have a guest house) and discovered that indeed there is an ordained minister in Mahasarakham who at the moment is working with Lao groups in Vietnam. They will return to Mahasarakham, however. Their names are Mr. and Mrs. C.R. Dreger. He also heard from CMA that there is someone "doing research" in Mahasarakham (horrendous thought).

Then we tried to make conversation. He couldn't really think of anything to talk about and wandered about discussing Cornell, workers in Thailand (he mentioned that there was

someone by the name of Hamilton, from Michigan he thought, who had been in an isolated village in the North – M. Moerman perchance). He then began telling about his visit to Idaho Falls (he really hadn't been there but had been to Twin Falls, instead, but any attempt on my part to clear this fact up was in vain). About his father's sister who had married a man and moved to Orofino. She died. Her husband also died. Orofino had seemed like the moon. Then he told about how he had come from Eastern Tennessee where his family were old democrats (in Eastern Tennessee people are half democrat and half republican) and how his family had been democrats since the Civil War when some ancestor of his had fought on the side of the Confederacy.

Finally, with a rather embarrassed atmosphere when it became obvious that I wasn't interested in his family history and I wasn't interested in being told about the glories which the church was bringing to Thailand, nor in what activities I could partake of if I wished, I excused myself and left. With a final parting note, he said, "Come back and see us again if there is anything we can do for you." A comment which obviously implied that we had carried through about as much as we could no matter how much longer we knew one another.

My attitude towards the church mission program was not tremendously enhanced today - particularly considering the "administrative head."

September 2, 1962

Bangkok

On the Town

Last evening we took the Hales to Nick's No. 1, a restaurant of high repute in Bangkok. Nick, a Hungarian, is known to be an old rogue and has decorated his restaurant accordingly. Indeed the atmosphere is very central European - somewhat Bohemian (in the American sense). All that was missing was the gypsy violinist. The food really was excellent and the prices were a match to the quality. After leaving Nick's we went to the Kings N-joy in the Kings Hotel (right next to Sathorn Court). I was rather taken aback by this nightclub by the rather shoddy modernistic decor which is cheap and by daylight would be repulsive. The club has as entertainment a Filipino band (which is not bad as Filipino bands go) and two singers. One was a negress who probably comes from the States and who was a good singer. The other was a Thai or Filipino who could not sing very well. Drinks were about the same as all over town - about 20 baht no matter the drink.

Today we spent part of the day at the Phra Mane ground market (which is known as Sanam Luang in Thai) near the Grand Palace (Phra Bommahaaratchawang). The Phra Mane ground market is the best market in town in terms of price. It is only held on Saturday and Sunday. It is said that for most things which one buys at this market one does not question the price because it is already lower than anywhere else (though there are some things which one bargains on). This is an extremely fascinating market in which one can buy almost anything one wishes.

After leaving the Phra Mane grounds we walked along the river until we reached Wat Po (the Wat of the Reclining Buddha). This wat with its many buildings was a fascinating place. Thai architecture certainly is something to behold no matter how many pictures one has seen of it. It certainly compares with other major architectural achievements in the world and is, in my opinion, one of Thailand's greatest contributions to civilization, to culture. The intricacy of inlaid work, which was obviously brought from China, is masterfully done. Wat Po, known as such because of its famous Bo tree, is a mass of buildings of schools, of workmen, of paint cans, of activity. We wandered through an area which was obviously a food area (for monks?), past monks (or novices) who not only wore shoes and were unshaven (on heads) but were also speaking with girls. They were there, it seemed, more for ornamentation than for activity because they would pose in pictures for *farang* to photograph. We walked by lines seated Buddhas, all of which were not of great excellence. And we saw the reclining Buddha himself, a rather impressive character if not a masterpiece of art. Wat Po is also known for its most famous bas reliefs from which almost all the temple rubbings in Thailand are done. We even had the opportunity of observing an artist (or artisan) in action. She was first using a yellow oil (on rice paper, though she says that she also uses Chiang Mai handmade paper occasionally). She first uses the yellow, and then uses red on top of that to give an orange effect to the product. It takes her about twenty minutes, she explained, to make one painting. She spends all day doing this. She promised to show Jane how to do this if Jane wished to come and attempt temple rubbings herself.

September 4, 1962

Bangkok

"David" - House Agent

Last Saturday and again last evening we had some contact who is known by the trade name of "David." This young man is a real estate agent. The thing that impressed us with him and that which set him off from other real estate agents is that he was well-organized and at least gave us an impression of efficiency. He enquired as to what qualities we wanted to a house and then the location. Once armed with this information, he said that he would discover what he had available and show us around at a later time. Last evening he returned. Though he wasn't as well prepared as he might have been because we had changed our appointment, he was organized. He took us to two houses, the first of which we want if we can negotiate the proper price (฿2500 per month).

During our contact, we discovered (not surprisingly) that he is Chinese and speaks Teochiu and Mandarin in addition to Thai and English. He studied for five years in Sydney (at a Technical College). During his stay in Australia, he drove a taxi to make extra money. He returned here and discovered that his job as an assistant bank accountant did not pay enough (฿3500/month) to suit him. Thus, he became an entrepreneur.

We were very impressed by his manner, his knowledge, and his way of business. He is obviously going to be a success.

September 15, 1962

Bangkok

Rank and Status in Bangkok

Many writers have commented on the fact that social relations in Thailand were "loosely structured" (Embree, Sharp, *et al.*). However, from very cursory observations in Bangkok, it would seem that a case could be made for more structured relationships - at least within the capital (further, from my reading of Thai history, it would seem that a case could always be made for structured relationships in Bangkok or in whatever city was the capital - see Mosel). The following things have struck me as possible indicators - though these things are form and not content - of greater structure within the Thai social system.

1. Uniforms. Everywhere one turns in Bangkok, there are always a multitude of uniforms.

There are army uniforms, school uniforms, boy scout uniforms, uniforms for door watchmen (who are almost inevitably Indians), other military uniforms, officials uniforms, etc. On the

military uniforms one often sees a large collection of badges which considering the lack of action which the Thai military have seen must indicate other achievements. Whereas school uniforms minimize the social differences between students, they accentuate the differences between students and non-students and between schools. Boy scout uniforms seem to be the regular costume of those who are within this group.

2. Titles. There is effort made among Thai people as well as in Thai-*farang* relationships to make people aware of the proper titles of individuals. Titles are prominently displayed on calling cards, address placards, in newspapers, etc. Further, there seems to be a greater proliferation of titles than simply those possessed by members of the royalty.
3. Language. The Thai language has built into an intricate set of relationship patterns which if followed consistently would spell almost as great a complexity in deference and superiority relationships as exist in Japan. However, my Thai instructor points out that these relationships are or are not insisted upon depending on the family. In some families, there is heavy emphasis on these relationships. It would be interesting to find out which families. Further, it is obvious that most of the time the status-indicating parts of speech are ignored in conversation. For example, pronouns are little used. It would also be interesting to discover when one must use these terms.

Deference of a Taxi-driver

Yesterday, I took a taxi out to Thammasat University. As we were passing the Grand Palace (and a certain part of the Palace, though I am not sure which part), the taxi driver doffed his hat, laid it on the windshield, and made a *wai* with his head bowed and his hands in position of extreme respect.

September 22, 1962

Sara Buri, Lop Buri, Korat (Nakhon Ratchasima)

Trip to Korat

Today we went with Umphon Phanacet, Julie and Dwight Perkins (a couple who have just completed an economic study in Hong Kong of Communist China under a Ford grant and are now returning to Harvard to take up a position in the economics department there), up to Khorat via Sara Buri, Phra Phutthabat, and Lop Buri. We rented a car (B500 for driver, car and

gas for 24 hours). Several things struck us along our way up there. For one, there are rather strange rock formations and mountains which just suddenly appear out of the very flat plains. Dwight and Julie commented that the fields looked so open and unbroken by land demarcations compared with China or other parts of Southeast Asia. The land is really a composite of greens. The green fields of young rice, the foliage, the trees, the shrubs, the densely covered hills. One is struck in a way by how unoriental the area looks because the palm trees do not dominate the scene and what trees do look as though they could be in England, New England, the Northwest of the US. The road we took led us to the Friendship Highway, a really well-kept and good road between Saraburi and Khorat. The landscape is broken only by this stretch of paving, a few brightly colored buses (more as one gets closer to a town), farmers and farm children with or without their water buffalo and near to Lop Buri and Khorat signs of military activity (Lop Buri is the home of the Thai Second Army, whereas Khorat is where a large American detachment is located). In general the panorama gives a sense of peace and solitude with the sun glimmering on the bright greens and the water. We did see signs of road working, particularly in those areas which had been washed out by the rain. And I even saw my first work-elephant.

At Wat PhraPhutthabat complex in Sara Buri province, there were several interesting things which caught my eye at least. For one, the complex is built in such a way to make use of the natural rock formations which exist there. This gave the appearance of much more what I would consider an oriental setting than the rather flat places which are used as wats in most areas of Thailand. This wat could be out of a picture of China or Japan. Further, I noticed that there were a large number of new buildings in the area of the wat which Umphon explained were either as an experimental resettlement area or were for the use of pilgrims coming to worship at the most important times at this monument. The most important times for coming to worship are during the Thai New Year's (when the shrine is open for one week) and during Chinese New Year's (when the shrine is open for two weeks). Umphon explains that "Foot of the Buddha" shrines are more important for the Chinese than for the Thai. Evidence for this (other than the disparity in time of celebrations at the shrine at the two new year's) is the existence of a large number of *salas* which are strictly for Chinese (or at least the fact that they have only Chinese characters at the entrance would so indicate).

The shrine, which was opened especially for us, is interesting because the floor mat is made entirely of weaved silver (which was made within the last twenty years). The footstep itself

was rather unimpressive considering all the trouble gone through to set it off, but then I don't pretend to understand these things.

Around the major shrine are the largest number and variety of temple bells which I have yet seen. There was one which Umphon pointed out especially because it was an ancient Chinese one (which dynasty, however, I didn't catch). [Ch'ing - EJK. It was made around 1850].

Near the major *wihān*, and at the foot of an interesting rock formation was a pool of green water of some special significance. All around this rock formation above this pool were carved or placed some of the strangest animals I have seen. Inside a small building was a Chinese shrine which made the most of a natural water formation. This water was supposed to be holy and we duly, at the insistence of the Chinese caretaker (who spoke only a few words of Thai – *dī dī cing cing*) sprinkled water on our faces for good fortune.

In the area are a tremendous number of small *chedis* which have been constructed as merit-making means of many lay persons. For a further description of this shrine and its significance see Luang Boribal Buribhand, *The Buddha's Footprint in Saraburi Province* (translated by Luang Suriyabongs, M.D.), 1955.

After leaving the shrine we travelled on to Lop Buri. Lop Buri, so history relates, was one of the first capitals of the Khmer empire, before it was moved to Angkor. There are still some ruins remaining which testify to a Khmer-Indic civilization in this area. The remains, or at least of what we saw of them, are rather sparse and in disrepair (naturally). The most important was the three Pagodas, (*prangs*) which appear on some Thai currency.

Most of our time in Lop Buri was spent at a kind of central square which is built up around some ancient ruins and includes the shrine of the God of Misfortune and a million or so monkeys. Someone, in order to ward off evil or some other portentous endeavor, had commissioned a *like-lakhon* group to perform in a little open pavilion near the ruins. This group, so Umphon told us, were all of one family, There were musical instruments - drums and an xylophone-type instrument, the dancers-players in bright costumes with bands of silver, and the onlookers. All seemed to be young and boys of 8 or 9 were playing the drums and xylophone. In fact it seemed a play of being players rather than a serious endeavor.

Most interesting of the occupants of this area are the monkeys. They literally swarm around the place and no area is free from their meanderings. One can, as we did, buy peanuts to feed these creatures. Once they realize that you have them, they will not leave one alone. One old

bull of a male which by far outweighed the rest caught on to my pants and would not be satisfied with one or two peanuts. When I tried to push him away, he bit me and barred his teeth. Finally I had to throw him a whole handful... These monkeys (gibbons, perhaps) were engaged in swinging on tire swings, picking each others' lice, and in chasing one another over the shrine. Umphon informed us that the railroad, which runs right nearby, used to have problems with these monkeys hitch-hiking in groups up to the north where they would spend a few days and then come back.

In addition, the ubiquitous monkeys were a few goats who were also beggars. I felt rather attached to one who was blind in one eye and kept looking at me pleadingly.

The shrine here is interesting because it is dedicated to the God of Misfortune (or some such). People come to worship in order to placate him and thus keep him away from their lives. Within the *sala* which houses the idol of this god, are several other idols including one or Buddha. The major idol is one which has four arms (two of which were amputated during the Burmese invasion in the 1760's). It is obviously a Hindic idol of what origin I could not ascertain. All the idols, but especially the major one, were well-covered in gold leaf. In the *sala*, in addition to the seller of *thūp* (incense) and *thian* (candles) were two musicians with a drum and xylophone (man and wife I would guess). At the foot of the stairway leading to the *sala* were several beggars.

Lop Buri is also noted for a palace which was built at the time of King Narai (or at least used by him) remodeled by Mongkut, and now serves as government house. We caught only a glimpse of this.

We ate lunch at Lop Buri (Chinese food) and then preceded back to Saraburi where we picked up the Friendship Highway to Khorat. Our brief drive around the third largest city in Thailand revealed little more than a rather pleasant little city. We really only spent a few moments here and then returned to Bangkok.

For some general information on Lop Buri, Phraphutabat, and a bit on Khorat, see pages 30, 31, 36, 37, and 38 in the Bangkok World's "See Thailand in 61."

September 27, 1962

Bangkok

Bangkok - Bureaucracy

We shipped from Ithaca 9,000 keysort cards and about 15,000 blank 5 x 8 cards to use for data keeping. When these arrived by ship in Bangkok, I employed ETO International (a government agency) to handle the clearance for me. The invoice read printed matter and so I thought that it was sufficient. However, when the customs people opened the case and saw the blank cards they accused ETO of cheating and said that they would charge 27.5 Baht/kg. duty. When the ETO man explained this to me he said that because he was employed by a government agency he couldn't use the 'normal' procedure of bribing. For the keysort cards, however, the customs people said that they would charge 10 per cent of the cost, which the fellow at ETO declared to be fifty dollars. In the end, he felt that he could get the duty lower. However, first I must pay the "deposit" of what amounted to ฿300. He said that after the customs officers looked over the report, I would receive a refund.

Also, in the line of customs, my mother sent me a small package containing 10 checkbooks from my bank in New York. I had to open this package in front of the customs officers at GPO. At first they were going to charge me duty - it was in the book. However, when I appealed what I felt was a rather strange rule, some higher officer ruled that the amount was too small to be concerned with (the duty would have been ฿3).

October 2, 1962

Bangkok

Khun Noot and the Girlings

This evening Khun Noot, my Thai informant, took us to a Thai restaurant for dinner with herself, her husband, and a couple by the name of Girlings. Noot was at her best, talking away a mile a minute. But her husband was very quiet and it was explained later that he doesn't speak English very well despite the fact that he understands quite well. Noot's husband comes from Chiang Mai and is, I believe, an engineer. Both he and Noot attended missionary schools in their younger days (Noot in Lampang and her husband in Chieng Mai at Prince Royal's College). Both are children of government officials.

The couple which we joined are named John and Nina Girling. He works for SEATO (tel no. 25601, x 34) in the information branch. He strongly recommended that I come out and see what information is available that I might be interested in. He is English and his wife is French

(though we think that she might be of Polish extraction). They are a highly interesting couple and it was a most pleasant evening. They know Sir Stafford Cripps grandson who is working with International Voluntary Service in Mahasarakham and the teacher's training school. They informed us that he will be leaving at the end of October to return to England to return to school. We hope that we might be able to contact him on his way through.

The Girlings home address is 43 Soi Pranang, Rajanithi Road (sp.?).

Bangkok - Chinese House Agent

In locating a house for both ourselves and the Wyatts we had contacted several house agents. One we called was named Benz. Instead of Benz, or one of his employees, coming around to see us, he sent another house agent with whom he has a mutual-help arrangement. This fellow goes under the name of David (see notes of September 4, 1962). We understand that a house agent normally gets one half of the first month's rent of the house he rents. David explained to us that under the mutual arrangement with Benz, he sometimes has to share this fee. As far as we could gather, house agents rarely charge *farangs* anything unless they actually rent a house.

The house we rented, through David, is owned by a Naval-Lt. *cum* architect (who designed part of the house). The father of the wife of the owner is the head of the Thai Provincial Bank and has been at various times either a minister or in a top government post. David's family are at least quasi-friends with the family who owns the house.

Yesterday, David came to see us to see if everything in the house was in order - a fact, in itself, which is a little outside the line of duty of a house agent. Then he asked us if we had ever had any personal dealings with Benz other than the initial conversation on the telephone. We said that we hadn't and then asked David if he was going to have to pay part of his commission to Benz. He said that he didn't think so and in fact he had received no commission. We asked in a surprised way, why? He explained that this particular job had been done as a favor to his father. He further explained that his father had asked him to do this favor for he felt that perhaps he might receive some advantage - a government contract - by this act on somewhat of a *quid pro quo* basis. David had, of course, willingly done this.

October 3, 1962

Bangkok

People

This morning Mr. Turner (USOM Community Development) took Tom and I to meet Luang Chart (sp.?) who is Deputy Secretary of State for the Ministry of Interior (and the highest civil service person in the Ministry). The building in which the ministry is housed is quite an old building in somewhat a state of disrepair (there was bamboo scaffolding on the stairway), but Luang Chart's office was extremely nice and was air conditioned. He, himself, was quite pleasant and promised that he would contact the provincial governors of the provinces in which we wish to work. He inquired about the nature of work, the time which we wish to spend in the villages, the sort of conditions under which we will be operating. He said that not only would he talk to the governors, but would further provide us letters to the important officials in the provinces, and would see that we got housing (what this means I am not certain. The interview was short (perhaps 15 minutes) and though formal, was also cordial (probably due to the relationship between Luang Chart and Mr. Turner). I felt that the interview went well.

Last evening we had another dinner chez Turner which, as always, was well-organized for us to meet people who might be interested in our work. There was Hans Platenius, Adviser to the Northeast Committee, NEDB from the World Bank. A Mr. and Mrs. Long who are from Vanderbilt (she is English, graduate in sociology from LSE) who have a year's appointment at Kasetsart. He is an economist interested in discovering the economic conditions of peasants in the province of Khon Kaen. And there was (somewhat oddly) a man who is engaged in building up the 4-H program here and his wife. The Longs were quite interested in having me look at the questionnaire which they are proposing to use (they have already done the pre-testing in Khon Kaen Amphoe Muang. Platenius is helping the Longs to draw up the questionnaire.

October 5, 1962

Bangkok

Community Development

This noon I was at a lunch sponsored by Mr. Turner who is head of the Community Development program of USOM. At this luncheon were an English man, former World Bank man by the name of G.H. Bacon who is now Agricultural Advisor to the NEDB. There were also

three Thai: Dr. Vinut (sp.?) who has a Ph.D. in economics from Geneva (Switzerland) and is an employee (of two weeks) of the NEDB and was a former instructor in economics at Thammasāt; Mr. Sane (sp.?) who is head of the research and evaluation sector of the Community Development program in the Department of Interior; and Dr. Paitoon Cruagao (Ph.D. Cornell, Rural Sociology) who teaches at Kasetsāt and advises the community development sector of the Department of Interior. Paitoon is presently giving a graduate seminar for government officials on Community Development. I brought up the subject of what the Community Development people wish to do which is distinctly their province as compared with other departments connected with local development. Paitoon threw a lot of theory at me and then said that it wasn't his responsibility to develop practical programs. Turner went to explain that as he saw it the most important thing for Community Development was to discover what was most needed in the villages and then serve as a coordinating group for overall development. He further pointed out that Community Development people should be aware of the objectives and methods of other development programs. What Community Development can provide according to Turner is coordination and "a method". Vinut then said that CD was the local manifestation of the overall development program of the country, a general program which encompasses all facets of development. I then asked if such programs didn't lead to overlapping of programs, duplication of efforts, and haziness as to responsibility. All agreed that it did. This was further brought out in Paitoon's criticism of the "Development and Information teams" which are presently being sent primarily to the NE.

Turner said that he thought that the most fundamental objective of any development program on the local level was the strengthening of the amphoe office. Unless the amphoe office is given the money, the facilities, and the encouragement to go into the villages, the amphoe office is always going to remain a weak link which will undermine development. Bacon threw in the comment that there ought to be incentive to make the mark of a good Nai Amphoe that of his contact with the villagers in the amphoe. As it is, the Nai Amphoe is merely interested in his advancement through the conventional means and channels - one of which is not really helping or knowing the villagers but, rather, the writing of good reports.

October 7, 1962

Bangkok

Professor Prasert Yaemklinfung อาจารย์ ประเสริฐ แย้มกลิ่นฟ้า

This afternoon Tom and I had a prolonged conversation with Prasert Yaemklinfung. Khun Prasert had studied at Cornell in the Public Administration School and then had gone to Berkeley to study for his Ph.D. in sociology at the University of California. He has completed all requirements for his Ph.D. save his dissertation. Ācān (Ajarn) Prasert was most helpful. He recommended strongly that we get in touch with Robert Kickert, who is at the Coordination Center of SEA Studies, Soi 1, Saladaeng [ซอย ๑ ศาลาแดง] Tel. 32198. Kickert is an anthropologist who is quite up on things (according to Prasert) and used to be with TUFEC.

Khun Prasert was also interested in our having wider contact with the Thai academic world. As for himself, he said that he would try to organize a meeting of Thai students from the Northeast who are studying at Chula and have us meet them. Further, he suggested that we do see Paitoon at Kasetsat and a Prof. Thrombley, a visiting professor from Indiana, who teaches research methods at Thammasat's Institute of Public Administration.

We had a long discussion of Khun Prasert's survey of economic conditions in Khon Kaen Amphoe. He and his graduate students have collected quite a bit of information, used structured questionnaires, on standard of living, etc. of villagers near Khon Kaen. He gave us copies of the research outline presented to the Dean and the questionnaires (all in Thai). The survey was carried on in March-May, 1962.

He further recommended that I, particularly, go to visit the NEDB (National Economic Development Board), the National Research Council, and the Central Statistical Office which would have people familiar with the Economic Development Plan for the Northeast and also would have the published materials on the 1960 Census.

Because of heavy rainfall outside, we three launched into a long discussion of conditions in the Northeast, the social factors underlying economic development, and the position of the Chinese. I proposed that upcountry, perhaps, the saying that the Chinese controlled the economy was really tautological because Chinese there would be assimilated in every way except that they were entrepreneurs. "Chinese are entrepreneurs because entrepreneurs are Chinese." Prasert

didn't agree, though he granted that such Chinese were far more assimilated than are Chinese in Bangkok. Our further discussion wandered too much to give really any substantial account.

Prasert impresses me as a person who has been exposed to a certain way of things inherent in Western Behavioral Sciences but does not have the resources nor time to fully exploit his knowledge. How jealous he must be of scholars such as I with our Ford grants.

October 22, 1962

Bangkok

Phya Anuman

On Sunday (October 21) Jane and I went to visit Caw Khun (Phya) Anuman Rajadhon. This man, who is trained in no discipline, has as his province of study the whole of Thai culture and culture history. His interests and his writings cover a very wide range of thing concerned with Thailand. For a man of over 70, he is remarkably well-preserved. His teeth are most impressive for a man of any age (particularly considering how bad westerner's teeth are). He received us in his home at 10:00 in the morning wearing informal pants, an overshirt, and a singlet of some strange design (and, of course, no shoes). His home is a rather large unpretentious building situated in a compound of what must be the homes of some of his family. In front there was a cream-coloured Mercedes Benz and a comparatively young man stripped to the waist washing a sports car. The front garden abounds in all sorts of tropical flora. The walk up to the house is lined with excellent Chinese vases filled with plants. The interior of the house is a potpourri of "artifacts" of Thai and related peoples, books, and rather unkempt furniture (Jane described it as a similar house to that of a rather poor, but- U, English intellectual).

Though Phya Anuman speaks English with comparative ease, he has some difficulty with it (which is explained by some as a result of his English as being a development of self-learning through reading). He himself admits that he has difficulty when he has to make a speech in English and he many times misunderstood our comments and questions. The two and a half hours began with, after being served small glasses of Pepsi cola, a few questions on my work. Then, the rest of the time was filled by a rambling unorganized monologue by Phya Anuman on many facets of Thai culture. He talked of the *khwan*, people interested in Thailand, of his family of nine children by his only wife, about fertility rites (and a love potion of most intriguing make), of language, of his theories on Nan Chao, of blood typing, etc., etc. If one had gone to his place

expecting a disciplined, specific account of some aspect of Thai culture-past as it might relate to one's own work, then one would have been disappointed. His mind has no limits – he has the naiveté of a child interested in all processes, all things in the world about him. He is engaged in writing a Thai encyclopedia - and there could be no better man to do it for his knowledge is encyclopedic. Our conversation was as though we had picked volumes and places at random in such a compendium and red bits and snatches. He suggested to me what perhaps the brother's Grimm might have been like if one had lived and met them in early 19th century Germany. He is a man of intense vitality and acute perception - a delightful raconteur who at age 70 still retains an interest in love potions and boasts of his feat of nine children, while monogamous. We were delighted, if not illuminated.

October 23, 1962

Bangkok

Thôt Kathin (พิธีทอดกฐิน)

Yesterday we went with friends to observe the royal ceremony of Thôt Kathin. Thôt Kathin is literally the giving or presenting of new robes to monks on the occasion of the end of the Buddhist lent (which is coterminous with the rainy season). The ceremony can be performed by anyone at any wat, but the royal Thôt Kathin is the occasion of the King's presenting of robes to a "royal wat." Specifically, on the occasion of his presenting of robes to the monks at Wat Arun, "The Temple of the Dawn," in Thonburi, there is a great pageant which takes place on the river. The royal barges are brought out with their rowers in traditional garb. The barges are pulled to the King's landing place, he enters the Royal Barge (which has a masthead in the shape of a swan's neck). The procession proceeds from the royal landing down the river to Wat Arun and then back up the river again after the King has finished his presentation of the robes.

The pageant is, of course, a great attraction for tourists and natives alike who come to watch these boats pass by in their gala and traditional colours. The Thai tourist organization erected grandstands at ฿100 per seat for the use, primarily, of *farangs*. We and our friends rented a boat in the morning for about ฿20 a head. From 11:00 in the morning until 2:00 in the afternoon we wandered on the river and nearby *klongs* in Thonburi. At 2:00 we were required to clear the river and we sat in our boat for an hour and a half awaiting the procession. Then it came

- the long lines of boats with their rowers rowing in cadence and to songs accompanying the Royal Barge. And then it was over and we came home!

November 1, 1962

Bangkok

Personal Pronouns in Thai (Khun Noot - informant)

General Remarks

The use of Thai pronouns for the English-speaker learning Thai is one of extreme difficulty. The reasons for this lies the fact that there is a far greater number of personal pronouns in Thai which ostensibly represent gradations in the relative status of the individuals concerned and the non-native speaker finds it extremely difficult to "get a feeling" for these status gradations. There is a further problem which stems from the fact that the Thai social system is one in which absolute status was never codified in the sense of the Japanese system thus leaving the decision as to the relative status of persons involved in conversation up to the individual rather than giving him a set of unambiguous cues by which to ascertain the status of the people concerned. Finally, the Thai social system is in a state of flux - particularly in Bangkok where there exist forces - both for the more rigidly defining social relations on the one hand, and the force which tends towards egalitarianism on the other. The latter appears to this observer, to be a far stronger force. Nonetheless, there do exist in Thai a variety of personal pronouns which are used in various relatively well-defined circumstances. On the other hand, one basic rule of Thai language is the avoiding of pronouns wherever possible. For example, when speaking with servants, taxi drivers, etc., it is far better to leave pronouns out all together. Further, in some circumstances one can use a title provided, but there are complications in this as well. The following is information gathered from one informant who is well-educated and associates considerably with *farang*.

First person

<i>chan</i>	ฉัน	m/f - commonly used when speaking to people who are lower or intimate.
<i>dichan</i>	ดิฉัน	f - polite form
<i>phom</i>	ผม	m - polite form

<i>qua</i>	อ้าว	m (when used in Thai); this word is derived from Chinese (dia?) first person singular; when used in Thai is very intimate or slangy as when used among school boys; very insulting when used with people whom one doesn't know very well.
<i>kan</i>	กัน	m - slang among intimates but a little more polite than <i>qua</i> .
<i>khā</i>	ข้า	m/f - used in Bangkok to show one's importance <i>vis-à-vis</i> inferiors; stronger than <i>chan</i> ; usually used by old people who are rather status conscious ('Victorian' types); in the north this is a polite form among peasant people.
<i>kū</i>	กู	m/f - impolite form; also reflects intimacy; in Bangkok this is a very impolite form; less impolite and more common in villages.
<i>khanô</i>	ขน้อย	m/f - common word, but polite, in Laos or NE Thailand.
<i>khô</i>	ข้อย	m/f - comes from <i>khanô</i> ; polite term used in Laos or NE.
<i>khāčao</i>	ข้าเจ้า	m/f - polite term used in the North and the Northeast.
<i>khāpháčao</i>	ข้าพเจ้า	m/f - formal term used in giving speeches, preaching or writing.
<i>khāphraphutthačao</i>	ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	m/f - used by members of the royal family.
<i>kramôm</i>	กระหม่อม	m/f - used when speaking to royalty.
<i>nū</i>	หนู	m/f - used by young children when referring to themselves.

There are other ways of expressing first person as well. For example, servants when referring to themselves usually will use their personal name rather than any pronoun. There are other ways, as well, for members of the royal family to refer to themselves. (See also first person plural).

Second Person

In the second person as in the third person distinction as to sex of person being spoken to is not important.

<i>kāē</i>	แก่	Impolite form; one showing inferiority of person spoken to; used when first person uses <i>khā</i> .
<i>müng</i>	มึง	In Bangkok, an impolite form; in the village more common and less impolite; used when first person uses <i>kū</i> .
<i>ēng</i>	เอง	Interchangeable with <i>kāē</i> ; used when <i>khā</i> is used by first person; very impolite in Bangkok.
<i>thoe</i>	เธอ	Used with intimates or to inferiors (who are not quite as low as servants); very common among school children; used with first person <i>chan</i> .
<i>rao</i>	เรา	Used with persons who are a little bit lower than person speaking as with office associates who are not in as high a position as oneself.
<i>khun</i>	คุณ	Very common; used with persons of equal status.
<i>nū</i>	หนู	Used when speaking to children; particularly one's own.
<i>lū</i>	ลือ	From the Chinese (dia.?). used in conjunction with <i>qua</i> ; has the same distribution as 'ua.
<i>thān</i>	ท่าน	Polite form, usually used with older people or with people of higher status.
<i>taithao</i>	ใต้เท้า	Polite form - more than / <i>thān</i> /; usually used with older people that are also of high status.

(N.B. The difference between *thān* and *taithao* is something like this: A person who is of proximate age to oneself but has higher status; or a person who is older but proximate status will receive the use of *thān*. A person who is both older and of higher status will receive the use of *taithao*.

ĉao เจ้า Used with people who are of lower status and/or younger. Commonly used in villages; in NE and Laos the common term for 'you'.

fāphrabāt ฝ่าพระบาท A royal term.

Another common way of talking to a person is to use kinship terms – fictive or real. Thus, Noot says that she refers to her old gardener as *lung* ลุง, 'uncle'; *pū* ปู่, 'FaFa'; or *tā* ตา, 'MoFa'.

There is also the practice of speaking to one of nobility or of high rank by using the following terms:

ĉaokhun เจ้าคุณ This is usually used with the name following such as a Čhaokhun Anuman (Phya Anuman), but it can be used as the second or third person pronoun in referring to such a person (masculine).

khunying คุณหญิง This performs much the same function as *ĉaokhun* for females (what the actual ranks of such females must be if they are to be called or referred to by such terms, I don't know).

Noot says, however, that the use of these terms as pronouns is rare and some other of the pronouns above would be acceptable if not better.

Second person pronouns give the *farang* the most difficulty particularly when speaking to people such as servants, taxi drivers, etc. The best rule is to attempt to avoid any uses of pronouns at all if possible. The second best rule is to use proper names or even (according to some people) the occupational designation of the person spoken to (much in the same way as we would say in English "driver, stop here").

Third Person

khao เขา The common term to refer to other people or to animals.

kāē แก Common but more intimate than *khao*.

thān ท่าน Used as in the second person to refer to people whom one respects such as parents or superiors, teachers, etc.

<i>thoe</i>	เธอ	Used when referring to Môm Ratchawong or people whom one respects who are not very old.
<i>man</i>	มัน	When referring to animals or things, this is the common third person pronoun; when referring to people, this pronoun is used for those whom one hates or would treat like an animal.
<i>čaolôn</i>	เจ้าหล่อน	Used to refer to third person female; now nearly archaic very little used except by older people.
<i>phra'ông</i>	พระองค์	Used when referring to royalty, the Buddha, or monks.

First Person plural

The first person plural presents some particular difficulties because there appears to be only one form which is used, and thus, *farangs* use this almost as much as they would in English. However, this one form *rao* เรา, really has overtones of superior speaking to an inferior and thus the Thai themselves -would make very little use of the word. The best rule is to avoid the word and. Make substitutes such as 'wife and I', '(did something) together', etc. Thai think not only is the word somewhat angering but that *farangs* over use it when the context would be perfectly clear without it. There is another word *phūakrao* พวกเรา, which is sometimes used and means something like 'our group', 'the group of us', 'or gang', etc.

November 12, 1962

Bangkok

Social Mobility - A Case

Today Tom Kirsch and I met a man by the name of Damri Noimanee who has just been made (within the last three weeks) the Deputy Director General of the Community Development Department in the Ministry of Interior. From some little that he told us of his history, I gathered that he was a case of social mobility - albeit one of traditional nature insofar as his family has had bureaucratic connections before, Damri was a man of about 47 or 48 who was born in the province of Uttaradit. His father had been a Nāi Amphoe in that province. Damri himself went to

college and took his B.A. in Law from Thammasat University 27 years ago. He then joined the Ministry of Interior, first as a Nāi Amphoe in the Province of Nan. He then filled several jobs at the amphoe level. Then he served in the Ministry in Bangkok, was a governor of a province for a year, and then back to Bangkok where he served in the Department of Municipalities for 10 years. For the last four years, he has been a governor again. And now has become the Deputy-Director of the Community Development Department.