

July 14, 1967

Maharakham

Traveled to MK today by new road – makes traveling much easier. In MK stayed at the irrigation dept.'s guest house – arranged by Mrs. Chuanphit Thongthawi whose husband, Nukun, is in the irrigation department.

Conversation with Nukun Thongthawi

He thinks that there are now lots of Communists in the Northeast, though not in MK. Rather they are in the mts [Phuphan Mts. in Kalasin, Sakon Nakhon, and Nakhon Phanom provinces], including in Kalasin province. He thinks that Communists are mainly young men who are in search of ways to better themselves. The Communists promise them the opportunities of being Nai Amphoe or other types of government officials when otherwise they could not be. It is now dangerous to travel in certain parts of the NE, though not in MK.

I asked about the Americans in the Northeast – won't this lead many to dislike Americans. N. answered no, because Thai don't judge all people by what one person does. But, I said, he is more sophisticated – that is, villagers wouldn't think like this. But he still thinks that villagers won't turn against Americans because of the presence of the army. Also, Thailand has never been a colony; this helps in keeping Thai from turning against Americans.

I spoke about making a study of the *cao müang* in the NE. N. says that this should be done rapidly because all the old men who about it are dying off. His own family is descended from the *cao müang* family of Kalasin. [Nai Bunchuai Atthakon, Lord Mayor of MK and a descendant of the *cao müang* family of MK, said in a later interview that Nukun was descended through the female side – his FaMo.] Nai Kwang Thongthawi, formerly an MP from MK and Kalasin, was his uncle. He has another relative who is a judge who wears a traditional *phanung* in court.

Nukun is thinking about applying for a job with USAID in Laos because he wants foreign experience. He has traveled to the Philippines in conjunction with his work.

July 15, 1967

BNT

Visit to BNT

We traveled to BNT this afternoon after the villagers were already aware that we had returned. One woman from KW had seen us in the morning when we were eating at Chuanphit's restaurant – she had been on the way to the hospital to visit her da. In consequence, Ngao came to MK where he found us at lunch time at the same restaurant.

Family of Mae Hom

Ngao is building a new house across from Nai Hom's house (in the place where the old store was and where the family who moved out just before we left had lived). Ngao now has two children, both girls.

Duan married the son of Nai Hom. She and her hu are living in the hse of Mae Hom. She has a child about one month old, which she had to have at the hospital. Ngao said that many women must have their first baby at the hospital because it is difficult.

Muan is also married to some girl from KW and lives in his parents-in-law household.

Other people

Nin has built a new house across from his parents-in-law compound – next to the house of Nai Som.

Phô Siha and Phô Cek are still alive, but Phô Phan (KL) has died.

Nai Chai is still called *phūchuai* [refers to his being the assistant headman], which suggests that despite the incident of killing someone's buffalo just before we left the village had not resulted in his losing his job. Of course, since the *phūchuai* is appointed by the headman, it is possible that Headman Phon would not want to do anything which would alienate anyone.

Phon is still the headman. I mentioned that when Tosh Yatsushiro had visited the village, he had had been told (or so he reported in his notes) that Lae Cantharüang was now headman. Villagers laughed at this and one man said that this might be because villagers referred to him as the 'big man' of the village [referring to his large size]. Phon has built an extension on to his house. His daughter, Thôn̄g Yū, is now married, has children, and is living with Phon.

I asked Ngao about Nai Sao. He is still living in BNT in the same house, but is not well [which I confirmed the following day when we met him]. I asked if he had ever remarried and Ngao seemed amazed at the question and shook his head emphatically.

Buddhism

There are now three novices and three monks at the wat. *Buat nāk* was held a few days ago. [This is the period of ordinations – many in town and we could not find some of our friends because they were attending ordinations. The last possible day for ordination is July 22<sup>nd</sup> which is *wan khao phansā*.]

Education

The village now has a new school building which I noticed when we arrived in the village.

July 16, 1967

Ban Khwao & BNT

Cheunchai Voramitra

We visited Bān Khwao and BNT together with Mr. Cheunchai and two of his sons. He invited himself along – he tries hard to ingratiate himself with us, but he also tries to use us. He had not visited BNT since we left and, thus, had not seen the new school.

Bān Khwao

I asked Cheunchai what *khwao* means. He says it is the name of a tree.

We stopped first in B. Khwao at the home of the kamnan. He had made a trip to Taiwan under the auspices of USOM, I believe. In consequence of his visit there, he had constructed an ingenious type of stove modeled on a type seen in Taiwan. This stove uses natural gas which is obtained from cow and buffalo dung. The whole rig cost 568 baht. Despite its cheapness, it seems so complicated that I doubt it will be copied by other people. In fact, I had the impression that the one the kamnan has is used only to display to visitors (there is a big sign outside his house in Thai and English announcing the existence of this device) [After I had returned to Bangkok I mentioned to Toshi Yatsushiro that I doubted whether the dung-gas stove would become popular. He agreed because wood (and charcoal) is cheap in Thailand. In other places such as India or China, he said, it might be a very useful device.]

Khrū Bunthiang

Khrū Bunthiang arrived at the house of the kamnan. He was very friendly and apologetic about not having written us. "Too busy," he said.

Other People

We also met Khrū Orawan, her husband, Khon Phaicit [the head of the tobacco station at B. Khwao], Khrū Thōngmuan, and Khrū Buphā (not yet married).

People in BNT

Mr. Hōm still plants rice in B. Dôn Dū where he owns land in consequence of his marriage to a woman from there.

Mr. Sao is a 'distant' relative of headman Phon. He definitely looks unwell – very thin and unshaven.

There are now two stores in the village. The second one is run by the daughter of Mr. Lāē Cantharūng in KY.

Mr. Phommā no longer has a rice mill. He sold it to someone in a villager near the friendship school.

Phō Cek's daughter has remarried and has another child.

Sponsoring a *thôt Kathin*

We are trying to arrange to sponsor a *thôt kathin* (ทอดกฐิน) in BNT, but appears that Phō Sīhā has already 'bespoken' (*cōng*, จอง) for the opportunity to sponsor the ritual. While we were in the village, several village elders had a meeting at the house of Mother

Hōm – including HM Phon, Mr. Tāp, Mr. Phrommā, Mr. Chāi, Mr. Hōm, Phô Sīhā, Mr. Lū and several others whom I did not see. They decided that if another wat in a nearby village can be found where Phô Sīhā can sponsor a *thôt kathin*, I will be able to sponsor the one in BNT. Otherwise I will sponsor a *phīthī phāpā* (ทอดฟ้าป่า) which is similar to a *thôt kathin*. As I recall, such ceremonies are rare in the NE.

July 17, 1967

Maharakham

Conversation with Bunchuai Atthakôn

This morning Mr. Cheunchai took me to meet Nai Bunchuai Atthakôn, Lord Mayor of MK. He welcomed me very warmly. I spoke to him briefly about *cao müang*, but quite frankly, I found it difficult to understand him. As much as I could follow, he didn't say much more than I had already learned from his book, other than the fact about Nukun's relationship to the *cao müang* of Kalasin (see above). Most of the time he and Cheunchai talked about a coming summer in-training program to be held for teachers from three provinces in MK. Towards the end of the conversation, I mentioned the fact that more people in BNT knew his name and the name of Atthakôn than knew the name of the Nai Amphoe or Governor. He said that this wasn't surprising because district officers and governors come and go, but he remains constant. Also, he mentioned that since he had been elected before as an MP, people knew him. He said that if the governor were elected, more people would know him. I said that it would be a good thing if provincial and district leaders were elected because people would feel closer to them. He agreed and gave a little spiel in favor of elections.

Meeting with Acān Wisān

We met Acān Wisān this morning at the Teachers' College. We presented him with a set of prints by Prince Naret which he thanked us very nicely for and proceeded to explain each picture (from the *Jātaka* tales). We also presented him with a set of books by 'Sathian Koset' and by Direk Jayanama for the school's library. These he was very pleased with and showed them around to the teachers later when we had lunch at the school canteen.

In turn, he presented us with two books – one written in honor of his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday in February and the other in honor of Armed Forces Day which was on the 18<sup>th</sup> (tomorrow). (the latter would bring school reserve units from Kalasin, Roi-et, and MK for a parade and a day of speeches and *ngān*). He also presented both Jane and me with a tie-clasp which had been made in honor of his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Acān Wisān will retire in October and then go to live with one of his children in Bangkok. He had remembered that before he had said he planned to live in Khorat where he had his house. But he now thinks that he knows no one in Khorat and would not feel happy living there.

Education in Maharakham

I asked Mr. Cheunchai several questions about education. Now that there had been a transfer of primary education from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Interior, primary education falls under the responsibility of changwat and district officials (that, members of the Interior bureaucracy). However his own job as *süksānithēt* (ศึกษานิเทศ) still is within the Ministry of Education although his responsibility is for primary school curriculum. There are eight such people for Maharakham. He himself visits schools throughout the province.

I also asked about the Friendship School which is located near B. Khwao. He says that at the moment there are only a little over 200 students from eight villages in the school (this confirmed by the fourth teacher at BNT school). Capacity for the school is

about 3600 students. I commented that the cost of the school seemed to great for its use, but he didn't really respond to this observation.

#### Bān Nōng Tūn School

In the afternoon we visited the school in Bān Nōng Tūn. We had misunderstood and the teachers had prepared us lunch, but we didn't arrive until 2 pm. However, we still ate lunch. The school is a vast improvement over the old *sālāwat*, although the classes are still divided only by bamboo partitions. There are now four teachers at the school – the three who were there before (Bunthiang, Beng, and Buaphā) and another older man who is Khrū Bunthiang's assistant and who lives in the village just across the bridge from Mahasarakham town. He used to teach at Bān Tio or Bān Mō.

There was another visitor at the school, a young man who come to visit Khrū Buaphā. He is now in the army and stationed either at Udorn or Ubon (I can't quite figure out how he met her). His birthplace, coincidentally, was Mae Hong Son.

Mr. Ngao and HM Phon also joined us at the school. They had spent all morning in trying to find another wat at which Phō Sīhā could sponsor a *thôt kathin*, but had not yet found one that was free.

It was very pleasing to us that on all of our visits to BNT, villagers (first women and children, and then the men) came crowding around to welcome us and to see Nikhom. We certainly felt that the villagers did like us and were pleased to see us return, although they hadn't believed we would come back.

#### Incident of the 'Stranger'

I had forgotten to note that yesterday when we were in the village a young man arrived on foot from the south (from Nōng Kung way). He had joined the group in front of Ngao's shop. He was asked where he had come from (*mā tāē sai*) and it was ascertained that he was not from the area. When we were preparing to leave, he tried to bum a ride back to town with us. In fact, Jane had originally agreed to his doing so, not realizing he that he was a 'stranger'. This had caused quite a stir with HM Phon, Ngao and Cheunchai. They finally went and told him that he couldn't ride with us and he departed on foot. Ngao said that since he wasn't from the area, one couldn't be sure that he wouldn't do something to us. This strong fear of strangers, or perhaps I should say wariness, certainly has implications insofar as 'communist subversion' goes.

#### Anti-Communist Posters in Bān Nōng Tūn

I noticed on the wall of both Māē Hōm's house and of the school, pictorial posters which depicted the choice between 'communism' and 'freedom'. The one showed a scene in which villagers were being forced under commissars to do their own plowing without the help of plows, while its companion piece showed free Thai villagers happily using buffaloes in their own fields. The second poster (the one is the school) showed obvious Chinese in a situation where a son was denouncing his parents to the cadres while its companion piece showed a Thai family happily eating together. Cheunchai says these posters are made by USIS.

#### Wat Bān Khwao

On the way back to town, we stopped at Wat Khun Khwao (วัดบ้านเขว้า) to visit Phra Khrū Choei (พระครูไชย), but he wasn't there. We noticed a new *bōt* had been built, primarily with money given by Nāi Bunchana Atthakôn. Khrū Buaphā said that the *bōt* had cost between 100,000 and 2000,000 baht and that a special artisan had been brought from Roi-et to do the decorations. The first donation which Bunchana had given for the *bōt* had come during a *thôt kathin* which he sponsored when we were here before.

Buying items from Bān Nōng Tūn

I began negotiations with Ngao and Phon about buying artifacts made by the villagers. I told them I had 5,000 baht to spend.

July 20, 1967

Bangkok

Conversation with Jim Woods

Today met Jim Woods (ARPA Political Scientist) who was introduced to me by Prof. George Kahin who is currently visiting Thailand. Prodded by questions from George and myself, Jim talked for nearly two hours about situation in NE which he has come to know well during his 34 months in Thailand.

\*Situation much worse than the mission officially admits. [This observation nearly the same as that of Lee Huff, ARID liaison, who had said at an earlier meeting, that "the situation is very bad indeed."] [NB: 24/7/67 – met Herb Phillips in Chiangmai who had come out to Thailand as a member of an academic advisory panel for ARPA. He had spent several days in NE – which Woods had mentioned – and did not agree with Woods and Huff. Feels that they exaggerate the situation.]

\*The situation is not bad in most parts of the NE, but only in isolated regions of Sakon Nakhon, Nakhorn Phanom, Nongkhai, and Ubon [didn't mention Kalasin or Udorn]. Thinks that there are several thousand "communist terrorists" (this word and the abbreviation "CT" are what the mission personnel use to refer to what NE'ers call *tahān pā.*, 'forest army'). He says that people in this area are now very frightened.

\*The symptoms of the deteriorated situation include the fact that RTG officials and police fear to go into certain areas without armed escort, that villages are terrorized, that large scale arms supplies are being brought into the "CT's". He claims that there are areas where the govt, has lost effective control.

\*Recruitment: coercion is a major factor. Also a factor is the desire of young men to seek to improve their fortunes, or because they seek adventure which is not provided for in village life. Thinks that maybe youth programs might help, at least should be tried. Discussed at this point Dr. Somchai (Ph.D. poli sci from Vanderbilt)'s project to train Thai researchers to study village leadership and youth activities in the NE. Somchai is currently training a group of Thai researchers (which after final elimination will include ten men) to carry out research in the rural areas of the NE. Woods thinks that this is a fine program in theory, but is worried about what will happen after the researchers, mainly urbanites, spend a few nights in the villages of the NE.

\*Once recruited, the "CTs" are taken to be trained, either in Thailand in the woods, or, in exceptional cases, sent to Hoa Binh in VN for training. Most are discouraged after a short time in the difficult conditions in which they find themselves in the forest. Some actually defect, but many are afraid to because they know or believe that the govt, police know that they have left the village and would be punished if they returned. They are also afraid to turn themselves in because of the treatment they expect to receive. [I queried the statement that the police know when most villagers have left their village because many village youth leave their villages to become workers in Bangkok or elsewhere – that is, many village young men leave their homes for reasons other than joining the "CT". But he said that the police now have a system of knowing who leaves villages (prob. refers to the informer system which I have heard about). Also mentioned one incident where an older man actually said that his son had gone off to join

to "CT". However, I remain sceptical because if the govt. has lost control of areas, how can it get information on the actual activities of every member of the village.] Despite the fact that few actually defect, he believes that NE'ers make poor "CT's" because they do not like living under the hardships which they must. I asked, why doesn't the govt. simply ignore the situation because it doesn't sound that serious, and it would be better for the govt to take no interest than to create fears that if one steps temporarily out of line, he would be punished. Woods reply was that the CT's are well-organized and backed by the Communists who will continue to enhance their strength unless checked. He believes that arms and core members of the "organization" stem from VN, although the actual leaders are Thai who have been trained in VN or China. Despite foreign backing, he believes that the movement is indigenous.

\*George asked about the Am. bases. It would seem logical, he queried, that the bases be used as propaganda material for the "CT's" and that the people in Hanoi would like to create trouble for the Am. at bases from which bombing raids on N. VN originate. Woods agreed with the logic, and said that he didn't know why the bases had never been attacked, as they could be easily. In fact no Am. has been killed or even wounded in Thailand. With regard to the impact of the bases on the economy and their propaganda value, he thinks that the bases have had a disruptive impact on the economy only in limited areas around the areas in which they are located. They may provide propaganda material in the future, but to date they haven't seemed to have done so. He commented that the Thai are very concerned to make the Am. presence invisible in the countryside in order to avoid the impression that the CT's are trying to push that Am. actually controls Thailand as a sort of colony. He thinks that this may be the reason that Am. are restricted when they travel or work in certain parts of the NE.

Woods is very pessimistic about the Thai's desire to do anything about the situation in the NE. He feels that the Thai system needs to be overhauled in order to really cope with the problem, but that is an unrealistic solution.

August 22 1967

Interview with Khun Ta. (  $\text{กฤษณะ$  ), an old inhabit<sup>ant</sup> of Mae Sariang

Yesterday afternoon khun Čit brought an old man over who came to tell me about Lua' and Karen customs. This man, whose name is<sup>s</sup> khun Ta. is a native of Mae Sariang and is now about 65 years old. He is a khonmuay, but his years of experience as a policeman (which if the calculations are correct were between 2477 and 2485) brought him into contact with hill tribesmen.

#### Local Geography

Our conversation started out with discussion of khun Ta.'s "beat" as a policeman, which was between Mae Sariang and ~~Mae~~ Hō.ysō.n. In the course of this conversation some comments were made about the local geography. The river that passes through Mae Sariang and eventually ends up in the Salwin has its origins in Dō.i Khūn Yuam (  $\text{ဂဝုဂျက ဝဘ$  ), more than 100 kilometers north of here.

#### Japanese in Mae Sariang

Before the war, according to khun Ta., some Japanese came here as gardeners and traders. Actually they were soldiers in disguise who came here <sup>as</sup> (according to Čit to many places in Thailand) to map the area in preparation for military action. The Japanese did not apparently stay here during the war. I asked Ta. about whether there were any "free Thai" here during the war. At first he didn't understand, but when Čit explained to him, he didn't recall any people of that sort. Čit, however, thinks there must have been some free Thai here.

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Government in Mae Sariang

The younger brother of Thànǎm Kittikàchǎn (the present Prime Minister) used to be an official here.

History of Mae Sariang

I tried to ask Ta. a few things about the history of Mae Sariang. I asked him when he was a young boy if there were many Lua' and Karen living in Mae Sariang. I think that his answer was that there weren't (only khonmuan) but there was some confusion in his answer and in my understanding.

When he was a boy Mae Sariang was known as muan yuam ( မွန်ယွမ် ) and was governed by a Čáo muan ( ဇော်မွန် ) who was appointed by the Prince of Chiang Mai, in Lamphun. The four highest government officials of the muan were (1) Čáo ( ဇော် ) (2) phia ( ပျီ ) (3) thá.o ( တော ) and (4) sǎ.n ( ဆန် ). The names changed according to Čít's interpretation of what Ta. said, in the Fifth reign, that is the reign of King Chulalongkorn. I tried to ascertain when Mae Sariang was founded as muan yuam. Ta. said that he recalled his father saying to him that it was founded by the Thai (khonmuan ?) in order to prevent Karen and Shan from settling here. Apparently there was a war between the Thai on one side and Karen and Shan on the other (probably two wars).

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### Traditional Trade

I asked about traditional trade carried on or in or through Mae Sariang. The answers were somewhat confused, as the situation seemed to be different for things coming from Burma and things going to Chiang Mai. From Burma Mae Sariang (i.e. khonmyan) traders brought such items as lamp oil, candles, kapi (closer to get it from Burma than Bangkok), rope, Indian sandals and cloth. The traders usually travelled on foot carrying their goods hà.p style but occasionally horses and elephants were used. Interestingly, the traders carried nothing to Burma when they went there to get their goods.

In Mae Sariang these traders sold their goods to "Indian" merchants who in turn sold them to other people. Sometimes these merchants would take things to Chiang Mai. Sometimes Chiang Mai merchants would come here to buy things. But apparently the trade was minimal (even today I doubt that very much besides a little cloth goes from here to Chiang Mai). The route to Chiang Mai apparently followed much the same route as the road today.

Hõ. soldiers apparently played and still play a very minor role in the trade carried on in or through Mae Sariang. Ta. said that traditionally they brought only a type of nuts (there was apparently only one Hõ. trader in Mae Sariang, an older man who owned a tin mine. He was made a captain in the Hõ. army [specifically distinguished in the "Chinese army"]).

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Lua' and Karen Buddhists

I asked Ta. some questions about Lua' and Karen who live in  
who  
Mae Sariang and/are Buddhists. Ta. said that those groups, even  
though Buddhists, continue to bury rather than cremate their dead,  
although they will have priests and monks participate in the cere-  
monies. The Lua', for example, will have priests to the house of the  
deceased to chant for seven days (if rich) or three days (if poor).

Buddhist Lua' make merit at wát c̣.ɱ c̣ê.ŋ (วัดจันทน์ ) which  
is in Mae Sariang or wát c̣.ɱ tho.ŋ (วัดจันทน์ ) which is located  
up in the hills at the eastern edge of town near the other Lua'  
village. Lua' young men have been ordained in wát c̣.ɱ c̣ê.ŋ.

Karen Buddhists make merit at wát phǎ. phà. (วัดป่า )  
which is not in Mae Sariang town. Young Karen boys may become  
novices there, but Karen men are not ordained as Monks. According  
to Čit Karen men at Bâ.n phǎ. phà. have too much work (elephant  
mahouts, lumbering, etc.) to take time to be ordained. There are  
Karen priests in wát m̄. hǎ.n (วัดแม่เหล็ก ), a village near the  
town of Mae Sariang. Ta. says that this village, m̄. hǎ.n is  
close to being khonm̄.ɲ.

There is no wát in Mae Sariang where Karen or Lua' is used  
for chants or sermons. According to Ta. there used to be a Karen  
monk at wát pà. hǎo, the wát near here, who did chant and preach  
in Karen but he is now, according to Ta., dead.

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Temples in Mae Sariang

The following is a list of temples in Mae Sariang with the main ethnic affiliation, according to Ta. with the help of Čít.

- (1) wát sithimongkhon (วัดสีหิมางคอง) also known locally as wát khápuan (วัดคชปวง). This is a khonmyan wát.
- (2) wát sí.bunryan (วัดศรีบุญเรือง) This is a Shan wát in the process of becoming a khonmyan wát.
- (3) wát cho.ṅsǔ.ṅ (วัดช่องสูง), a Shan wát
- (4) wát čanthára.wá.t (วัดจันทราวาส) also known locally as wát manta.le. (วัดมณฑล), in other words, the Mandalay wát. This is a Burmese wát. This is the wát, incidently, which also has services in Mon.
- (5) wát kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์) This is a khonmyan wát and the seat of the head monk of the head abbot of the ampha.
- (6) wát sě.n tho.ṅ (วัดแสนทอง) This also is a khonmyan wát.
- (7) wát čw.ṅkham (วัดจวงคำ) This is a Shan wát.
- (8) wát pà.náit (วัดป่าหนาด) This is a khonmyan wát.
- (9) wát čw.m tho.ṅ (วัดจอมทอง) This is a khonmyan wát, though, as I mentioned earlier, there are Lua' who go to this wát.
- (10) The wát locally known as wát pà hiao (วัดป่าเขียว) This is a Burmese wát.
- (11) wát čw.m cě.ṅ (วัดจอมแจ้ง) This is a khonmyan wát which also has Lua' attending it.

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As a final note Ta. noted that the Lua<sup>7</sup> eat dog meat.

Visit to Wát pà hñao

Yesterday morning Jane and Sānga. went to wát pà hñao to take some food for the monks. They discovered only one monk there, a Burmese, who speaks kammjan, but not Central Thai. He said that the other monks had gone to Bangkok (?) but would return shortly.

Chinese shopkeeper

Yesterday morning we went to the market to buy some cord, etc. with Čit. We went to the shop of a Chinese shopkeeper on the main market road next to the Esso distributor. I saw a letter on the shopkeeper's table written in Chinese and with Taiwan stamps. I thought that he might be hñ., but Čit says no "he is Chinese."

I asked the shopkeeper if he or any of the other shopkeepers in the shops near the market went to the mountains to trade with tribes people. He said no, the tribes people come to the market. There are, he said, some traders who go to the mountains, but are from another part of town.

August 23, 1967

Christian Hostel for Karen Students

This morning I paid a visit to Benny and his wife, Lasay (? sp.) at the Baptist Mission Station where they run a hostel for Karen (and a few other tribal) students who are attending government schools in Mae Sariang. There are a total of 45 students at the hostel, 34 boys and 11 girls. Three of the students are Lua', two (siblings) are half Karen, half Thai. Interestingly, these latter two are children of a Karen father and a Thai mother. Benny commented that this was unusual. The father is a school teacher. Only three of the students are non-Christian--animists with some overtones of Buddhism, according to Benny's definition. There is a practice of favoring Christians at the hostel. However, according to Lasay, some of the students still believe in spirits "even though they shouldn't". She said that when a student becomes ill, their parents often put pressure on them to return home to undergo the proper ceremonies propitiating spirits. She said ~~at~~ <sup>that</sup> the hostel (mission?) fights this pressure on the grounds that a periodic school in the hills would seriously disrupt the students' education.

This is the ninth year of the hostel operation. When it was first opened most of the students were older (14 or 15) even though they hadn't yet begun school. The older age has been reduced in recent years although they still have a problem with older students. Since Thai law (or practice ?) insists that children not be older than 15 when graduating from prathom 7, and entering ma.thayom sa.m, some of the students at the hostel are not officially eligible.

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Last year the hostel had to get special permission for two over-age children and this year they had to get permission for one.

I asked about the teaching of Karen writing to the students. There is no formal teaching. Rather, Benny says, the students pick it up through the Bible and <sup>through</sup> the hymn books. The younger students are much more at home, however, with Thai script, than with Karen script. The script developed by the Baptists is a modification of Burmese script. However, the Catholics introduced Roman script. No Thai script has been developed for Karen, according to Benny although he thinks it might be a good idea. The ages of the children range from 7 up to about 17 years, as there are students in all grades from pràthom 1 to ma.tháyom 6. Some children come to the hostel after having completed pràthom 4 at a school in the hills, while most enter pràthom 1 in Mae Sariang. Those who have completed pràthom 4 in the hills do not do nearly as well as those who start in Mae Sariang, because they don't have enough command of Thai. According to Lasay, many of those who start pràthom 1 in Mae Sariang use Thai among themselves while playing.

The idea was that all students would finish ma.tháyom 6 but there are some drop outs because the parents believe that the child has had enough and should <sup>return</sup> be sent home to work. I asked about the cost to the students for room and board and I believe the answer was about B80 per month. However, according to Lasay, this cost was calculated at a time when prices were lower. Some students do not return to their homes during the vacation because they can

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some extra money by working around the mission. Some students often do not get enough from their parents to buy new clothes, etc. This interview, which was conducted entirely in English, was interrupted by Čit, who came to take me on a visit to the Na.i Amphə..

Visit with the Na.i Amphə.

Today I finally had an opportunity to meet the Na.i Amphə. who has been either away or been ill since I arrived in Mae Sariang. His name is Captain rō.i 'è.k ( ร้อยเอก ) Khādit Sūkhā.non. ( พลิกเวทย์ สุโขนนท์ ) He has only been here for about 5 or 6 months. Before that he was in the district of Na.n, which borders on Laos. He has also worked at Pras., Chianrai, Ubon, and Kho.nkè.n. He is originally from Uthai-tha.ni..

I presented my letter from the National Research Council and told them in general terms about my projected work. He appeared very friendly and willing to help me in any way he could. He called in his assistant, Pālāt 'amphə. tri. Nakhə.n Čuppōksə.t ( พันจ่าเอกตรี นกชน ชูปุขเสถียร ) and introduced us. He directed this man to provide me with any statistics which I might want. He also discussed the Department of Public Welfare's center which is some 15 to 20 kilometers outside of Mae Sariang on the road to Hə.t. This is not a Mikhon, but a center where experimental crops are tested for possible use in the hills. There is a wāt there. There are monks from Bangkok working under the Phannāthū.t ( พระญาณวิมล ) program for bringing Buddhism to the hill tribes. He

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is planning to visit the center on Saturday to check about the preparations for the visit of the director-general of the hill tribes' division of the Public Health Department (he was coming up on Sunday and attendance at the hill tribes conference in Chiang Mai). As I expressed an interest to see the center the district officer invited me to join him in his trip to the center. As I could not go on Saturday he changed his plans to go on Friday so that I could go with him.

We also talked in general terms about his family and home in Uthai-tha-ni.. He has two children, one 6 and one 1. He invited me to both visit his house here and in Uthai-tha-ni. when he goes there on a visit.

After leaving the district officer Mr. Nákhō.n took Čít and me for coffee at the restaurant behind the district office. I discovered that Nákhō.n had spent two months in Mahasarakham in Bâ.n Dō.n Dū., Tambon Khwǎo, apparently on Tosh Yatsushiro's project, also working apparently under Jacq<sup>u</sup>es Amyot. Nákhō.n was then a student of political science at Chulalongkorn University. He has only been in Mae Sariang 5 months, probably his first job since graduating from Chulalongkorn University. His home is in Ba.ŋsě.n, in Chonbu.ri. province. He said that when he goes ~~down/there~~ out to the villages "to inspect land" he must often walk. On occasions he is out for several days, he must get food from the villages which are mainly Karen. He feels very much his lack of knowledge of Karen. He estimates that 75

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per cent of Mae Sariang town is Karen. I have heard 40 to 50 per cent from other people.

He took me to the health center where there was a rough map of the district ( I will make a copy of this later). In talking to the "doctor" in charge of the center,, I discovered that this health center services most of the health problems of the district and town in the absence of a government hospital ( there is of course, a Baptist Mission hospital). The health center has only 10 beds and even most of these were not filled.

#### A Karen Nationalist

After lunch Khun Nákhon took me to meet a Karen refugee by the name of George Mahnsra Po. I was quite startled when entering his house to see his room filled with books, Especially prominent were a set of Encyclopedia Britannica and a set of Great Books published by Encyclopedia Britannica. But there were also books on such diverse subjects as English literature, nuclear physics, the book on Thailand by the Human Relations Area Files, Burmese history,, etc. I felt quite ill at ease during the whole conversation because it soon became apparent that he was a man of exceptional intellect,, especially in Mae Sariang, but also a man with a dominant obsession,, Karen nationalism. We started talking about different types of Karen. He himself was a P'wo, but his wife is half S'kaw, half P'wo. K'ayah, he says, are different (( he refers to them as P'wo and agrees that they are what the Thai call ya n' d' n, i. e., real Karen), in that

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they have a tie-up with the Shans for a long time even to the point that one Kayah principality in loosing its leader, recruited a Shan sawbwa. He explained three colors (white, red and black) in the Karen flag which existed from 1932 to 1948 represented the three Karen groups.

This lead him into a discussion of Karen nationalism. It followed with an admixture of his personal life history, Karen/Burmese history, and diatribes against the Burmese. Using a map of Burma he showed me his birthplace in the delta near Bassein. His father was a school teacher who once punished U Nu by beating him over the head with an umbrella (for which he was forced to move ). George himself was educated in several places including Rangoon (he is referred to as "doctor") but where, when and in what subject he received his doctorate I did not discover. Before the war he became director of physical education at a teacher's college in Rangoon. During the war the teacher's college was moved to a place in northwest central Burma but it was later disbanded and he was stranded at Kelao near the Kayah state. He was interned for about a third of a year by Japanese. After the war he entered the Kayah state and became one of the leaders of KNU (Karen Nationalist Union). For the next several years he was involved in the Karen rebellion, but after the death of its leader he fled into Thailand, for 11 years. In other words, ever since he fled he has been living in Mae Sariang. He now devotes himself to writing about Karen history and tradition so that the Karen will not forget.

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His intense anti-Burmese sentiments are most vividly contained in a couple of paragraphs which he had written in a text for ~~"Completed"~~ "Famous Writers' Writing School" (in America). He also is bitter against the English for not helping the Karen. He sees no government of Burma, Communist, Socialist, or Democratic, in which the Burmese could give the Karen their due. To him the Burmese are intruders into Karen land. The delta of Burma is Karen and they almost succeeded in capturing it (which they almost did).

Although his grandfather was a Baptist pastor, he calls himself a "liberal Catholic". This is because his wife is a devout Catholic. (I forgot to mention that he has a number of Catholic books among his collection.)

In many ways he is a pathetic figure. He is an expatriot from a place where their is no nation of its own, from a cause, which, even if it ever succeeds, will be carried on by other hands. He has no work of his own, but he has picked up such odd jobs as working part-time for a Japanese anthropologist, Iijima, and selling <sup>1</sup>Encyclopedia Britannicas (which he has sold several sets in Mae Sariang, much to my surprise, since a set costs B8000 to B9000). He has taken a sophomore English course from the University of Chicago and has written to Professor Cady about mistakes he has made in his History of Modern Burma. I could sense a <sup>barely</sup> ~~very~~ concealed hope that I too might employ him. How ironic and how tragic. A man but for the twist of fate and post-war politics might have been a national leader in a free Karen state. Here was he hoping

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that a young man half his age might claim to employ him for some  
minor task.

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Visit to Wát cò.mcê.ŋ

This morning Čít and his friend from the Phanasit Company, Mǎ' thàwǎ.n (not really a mǎ.) took me to wát cò.mcê.ŋ which is near the Lua' village Bâ.n Phǎ' (บ้านพะพะ) and near the khonmuaŋ village of Bâ.n cò.m cê.ŋ. At the wát we had a long conversation with the abbot.

This wát currently has two priests and ten novices, all of whom are khonmuaŋ. However, some Lua' have been ordained here in the past as novices, although not as monks. The 'congregation' of this wát is primarily khonmuaŋ, some Lua' and a few Karen. [For Karen participation in a cremation ceremony for a former abbot of this wát see the picture on page '19' at the set of pictures in Pete Kunstadter's, editor, Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations.] The sermons and chanting at wát cò.mcê.ŋ are both in <sup>kammuaŋ</sup>khonmuaŋ (the reference to chanting in <sup>kammuaŋ</sup>khonmuaŋ refers to the sounds used in chanting Pali words, see below). The wát possesses baila.n in both <sup>kammuaŋ</sup>khonmuaŋ and Thai.

The abbot does participate in certain Lua' festivals upon invitation, among which are burials, the funeral rites known as sǎŋkháha' (สังฆะ) and sǎŋkhátha.n (สังฆาทาน) and a ceremony known as 'entering a new home' -- phǐthi. khùn bâ.n mǎi. There are differences in these ceremonies from those which are found among the Thai. At death people are buried rather than cremated. The offerings of the people in other funeral rites are for the dead and not for the priests in honoring of the dead. There is some

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confusion about the two terms used. The first apparently refers to offerings immediately after death while the latter refers to a ceremony at some indefinite time later. It is interesting to note that all ceremonies are performed by households rather than by villages. Čit commented and the head priest agreed the Lua' who live in this area are neither Buddhists nor 'animists' but a little bit of both.

We talked at some length of the old abbot~~f~~ who had died about three years ago and his cremation was attended by a personal representative of the King [Peter Kunstadter attended this funeral]. This abbot~~f~~ was extremely well respected.

The present abbot~~f~~ has been here for 14 years in this wát and is a native of<sup>f</sup> Mae Sariang. His Central Thai was a little sketchy, at least in speaking.

I asked about books in the wát but there was nothing old. Also there is no history of the wát.

After finishing talking to the abbot~~f~~ we walked around the wát. Čit and mǎ. thǎwǎ.n explained to me that the bǒ.t is in northern Thai style. The two of the three če.di. ( the in the ashes of the recently deceased abbot~~f~~) and the gates are in Burmese style. The half man-half beast decoration, among other things, indicates this.

#### Burmese in the Market

After leaving wát cǎ.mcĕ.ŋ we returned to the town where I was taken to a shop selling, among other things, Burmese ceroots (Shroot) and tobacco. This same shop has some medicine in Burma. The

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other shop (the large, modern one) has Burmese Phâ.sĩns and blouses, some goods that continue to come to Mae Sariang from Burma.

Interview with the Chief Abbot of the Amphø.

This afternoon Čit and Thàwǎ.n took me to wát kittiwøŋ (วัดกิตติวงศ์) which is the residence of Phrá' khru. 'ánúsô.nså.tsanákiat (พระครูอุทิศธรรมศาสตร์เกียรติ ) the chief abbot of the amphø., that is spent čas kháná 'amphø. (เจ้าคณะอำเภอ ). We ~~spoke~~ spent more than two hours talking with him.

The chief abbot said that this monastery has ten monks and two novices, all of whom are khommuŋ. There have been Karen as novices (but not as monks) here before, but not now. He again mentioned Bâ.n Mš. Hǎ.n (บ้านแม่ขาว) as a Buddhist Karen f village. There were 5 or 6 monks ordained there in April. Only one now remains. Also a Karen from there is still in a monastery in Chiang Mai. He said that the wát across from us where we live, wát pà hiao, or wát 'ommára.wâ.t ( ) has a monk who is Karen (it has two monks, the other being Shan). This Karen was ordained here, but studied in Burma.

Apparently what makes a wát 'Burmese' is the mode of chanting the Pali text, quite different from the Thai sounds employed in the same chants (there is also a difference between Thai and kammuŋ). Mons and Shans use the Burmese style. Actually there is only one real Burmese monk in Mae Sariang, the abbot of wát čanthára.wâ.t. Their abbot has reached the highest stage of Pali learning, but he studied in Burma rather than in Thailand.

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It is not necessary for a monk who has been ordained in Burma to be re-ordained in Thailand if he moves here.

He mentioned that Bâ.n Hài sa.i and Bâ.n Hài sîng were nearby Lua' in which Buddhism was practiced. Bâ.n Thây lə.ŋ (บ้านท้ายเหล็ง ) is a village that used to be Lua', but now is khommuay. He said that the Lua' "used to be Buddhist". Karens, on the other hand, are not very good Buddhists. They do not like to be ordained as priests for two reasons: one, they are afraid that the phî. will not like it, and two, they feel that they should help their parents.

He knows quite a bit about the Thammathû.t program although he is not directly involved. It is restricted in this amphø, at least to the hill tribes center on the road to Hò.t. There the monks do not go out much in the villages but are available tribesmen who come in.

We discussed the history of Mae Sariang and I picked up a few disjointed facts. The ex-chief abbot/ who died a few years ago at the age of 110 had made a few notes on the history of the amphø. but these have not been published and do not seem to be available. The abbot/ suggested that I read book Nîya.i bo.ra.n khádi. kho.ŋ phá.knÿa (นิยายโบราณคดีของภาคเหนือ) originally  
The abbot/ mentioned that the most famous person who/ came from Mae Sariang was one Thê.p Sîng (เทพสิงห์ ) who lived in B.E. 2270, that is, A.D. 1627, who appeared in the history of Chiang Mai. Another famous personage was cāofa. ko.rā.n (เจ้าฟ้าโกนร่าณ ) (a Burmese name) who some how ended up in the Shan states. There used to be a wall around Mae Sariang, remnants of which can still

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be seen. The wall, which had four gates like Chiang Mai, was to protect the populace from attack by the Red Karen and Shan.

This wát used to/called wát chai sôk<sup>be</sup>kra.m (วัดชัยสงคราม ) because it represented victory over the Karen and Shan. One hundred and thirty-three years ago the name was changed to wát sôphă.n-naiwian (วัดสมณานันท์เวียง ). Some 46 years ago it received its present name wát kittiwon<sup>tho.n</sup>. Wát sê.n / is the oldest wát in Mae Sariang.

The abbot<sup>f</sup> provided me with some statistics. Population of Ampho. Mae Sariang in 1960 (1960 census) is as follows:

men	19387
women	19227
Karen	19860
Lua*	2464
Total	38614

The following is a religious breakdown of Changwat Mae Hongson 1960:

Buddhists	67360
Christian	2277
Islam	299
Chinese (or Confucian)	2
Other	10869
Total population	80807

Wáts and Clergy in Ampho. Mae Sariang 1967

29 wats  
75 priests  
114 novices

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73 temple boys

All wáts belong to the Máhá.níka.i sect. Only 5 wáts have bò.t with sě.ma. within which ordinations can take place. These include wát kittiwong, wát čanthára.wâ.t, wát sí.bunryan, wát 'ùtháya.rom (วัดอุเทนรัตนาราม) which is the formal name for wát cho.η sú.η, and wát phă.phă.. Only two monks in the amphə. are 'upatchaya., the amphə. head abbot/ and one other.

The head abbot/ of the amphə. was very friendly and invited me to return often. His Central Thai is excellent and he is up on much of what is happening in Thai and world Buddhism. He is a relatively young man, not much older than his late 30's or early 40's.

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Visit to Tribal Development Center

This morning the Na.ii Ampho. in the company of three assistants, a driver, six-year old son, and Chit, took me to the Tribal Development Center some 17 kilometers outside Mae Sariang on the road to H.S.t. We didn't spend too long at the Center because its director had gone to Chiang Mai to meet the Director-General of Tribal Welfare Division of the Department of Public Welfare. We did look around at some of demonstration plots—apples, grapes, litchis, corn, coffee, etc., which are being tested for possible use in the hills. Also at the center is a store for tribes people. Although the main people at the Center are Thai, the workers in the fields are tribes people, predominantly, if not exclusively, Karen.

The Center also serves as a base camp for teams of workers who go out to live in selected villages. Three Thai, an agricultural officer, a development officer, and a public welfare officer, live in four Karen villages (both S'kaw and P'wo). Within two hours walk from the Center. These villages in turn serve as sub-centers for work in other nearby Karen villages.

There was a Thamathūt program. One monk lived in <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ village near the Center, but he has returned to Bangkok for Lent.

One young Thai at the Center with whom I talked has been there for 3 months and is a graduate of Thammasat University in Public Welfare. Although he knows no Karen, one of his companions or co-workers does.

I asked about opium. The first answer was that it is forbidden. Then the young worker admitted that the Karen grow poppies "but

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not in the area covered by the Center."

The Center is obviously a pleasant place to live, at least for part of the year, as there are several very nice houses with bath and there is electricity and running water as well as the cooler weather and the produce of the demonstration plots.

Visit to the Court in Mae Sariang

On the return to town the Na.i Amphø. had to stop at the Mø. Hõ.õsõ.n court in Mae Sariang so that I could meet the two judges. Both were young men in their late 30's or early 40's and had only been here since May (the Na.i Amphø. commented on the tremendous ability of Thai government officials!). One judge is from Ayuthaya and the other is from Bangkok.

The Court hears only about 100 cases a year. I asked if tribes people ever appeared before the Court. They answered that occasionally they do in connection with opium.