Identity and Integrity

The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies of Monash University, Melbourne organized a two-day conference (Thailand: aspects of identity, 1939 - 1989) early this month to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the change of name of Siam to the Kingdom of Thailand. The papers covered a range of subjects bearing on 'identity', including the national language and regional diversity (Anthony Diller), the role of astrology (Nerida Cook) and the Communist Party of Thailand (Somsak Jeamteerasakul). The keynote address was given by
Sulak Sivaraksa, who traced the history of Thai cultural and political identity, expressing certain disagreement with the direction of national policy since Ayutthaya. Central to his hopes for the future was emphasis, in the formulation of policy, on the Thai notion of baan as against the mŸang. In other words, the fostering of autonomy within local communities and the minimalization of external political direction.

The feelings of optimism generated by Thailand's recent economic successes and political advances were given concrete expression by John Girling in his discussion of the limitations inherent in democratic processes and their relationship to free-market economies. Chai-anan Samudavanija took a less optimistic view concerning the eclipse of the 'bureaucratic polity' and the hopeful prognoses about the Chartchai regime.

One of the more prosaic, perhaps, but crucial aspects of the definition of the identity of Thailand with respect to the community of nation states, is the definition of her own boundaries, their maintenance and recognition in international law. Since World War II a series of events have served to define the geopolitical identity of Thailand. In his 1968 book Asian Frontiers Alistair Lamb briefly recounts the Thai response to the 1962 decision by the International Court of Justice on Preah Vihear.

'Since receiving the Court's decision, the Thais have, in effect, demarcated unilaterally the boundary in the Preah Vihear region by the erection of a high fence. It must be admitted, however, that the main Thai objective was less the desire for boundary demarcation than the wish to spite the Cambodians: the Thai fence spoils the view from the temple.'

Elsewhere, too, since then, the Thai have not always been happy about their boundaries - and no wonder, in the second half of the 20th Century, it appears they were the big losers in the 19th Century scramble for empire in Southeast Asia. But in various ways borders have been defined, fought over and, generally, accepted. In the most recent dispute with Laos and the fighting at Ban Rom Klao, the Thai Army turned their policy around and made peace with Laos despite the opposition of their own Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Another interesting development on the western, Burmese, border has been the kind of accommodation reached with drug runners. Two place names illustrate one process of establishing territorial integrity. In the late 1970s Mae Salong was the headquarters of the Kuomintang in Thailand and from it was run an extended trade in heroin and opium. During his period as Prime Minister, General Kriangsak reached an agreement with the Kuomintang, which among other things, traded citizenship for official abandonment of the opium trade and the establishment of an official Thai presence in Mae Salong. A splendid new road is part of the effort to create a destination for tourists. Not far away is the town now officially known as Ban Thoed Thai. Up to 1982 this was Ban Hin Taek, the headquarters in Thailand of Khun Sa, known internationally as a heroin king, and now Commander-in-Chief of the Muang Tai Army, the combined forces of the Shan rebels in Burma. In 1982 the Thai army attacked and occupied Ban Hin Taek. In retaliation Khun Sa burned down government buildings, most notably the police station, in the border town of Mae Sai. Khun Sa's ouster from
Hin Taek did not put an end to the heroin trade, but it did establish the integrity of Thai borders. The Thai Geographical Encyclopaedia of 1964 has no knowledge of either of these two locations.

But 'integrity' is not only a geopolitical concept. Elsewhere in this number we publish a brief communication from John McKinnon in which he warns against the dangers of uncritical environmentalism. His main concern is for the welfare of highlanders in northern Thailand and across the borders. The establishment of Thai authority on these vulnerable borders was clearly a necessity if the logging bans were to be enforced. Their enforcement could see the forcible relocation of highland communities accompanied by immense hardship. But much hardship and disaster are already there. The road to Mae Salong is surrounded by devastation - there is hardly a tree to be seen. This devastation is already happening across the border and must accelerate as Thailand buys Burmese timber. On the other side of the country, the battles of Ban Rom Klao were also, at least partly, about timber, as roads were built, it seems, to facilitate the movement of timber not only from the disputed areas, but also from recognized areas of Laos. The aim of turning the battlefields of Southeast Asia into market places is a worthy endeavour of the Chartchai government - nevertheless it would be fatal if Thai economic success created conditions which were used to devastate the resources of her neighbours. The integrity of the region, the integrity of the environment and the moral integrity of all, should not only be the concern of those who exercise power, but also of the international academic community who derive so much value from the region.

The photograph at left is on the way to Mae Salong. Hardly a tree stands, and burning of grass for swidden still goes on. Everywhere is seen ja kommunit - satru chaw thai 'Communist grass- the enemy of the Thai people'. In Laos, this appalling weed is said to be called ja amerikan. The photograph at right is in the Doi Tung region. The destruction of forest and erosion is evident here too, but the
photograph also shows terraced rice fields said to be the work of Akha.

The Soviet View on Southeast Asia
(1951)
T.H. Rigby

Indo-China

Professor Rigby comments:
A historical irony suggests itself in re-reading this chapter of my 1951 thesis, a chapter titled 'Success in Indo-China'. The perceived success was twofold: nowhere else in Southeast Asia did Soviet analysis seem so nearly as plausible, and nowhere did the communists enjoy comparable prospects of triumphing politically and militarily. And these perceptions were evidently vindicated by the triumphant struggles of the next quarter century. Yet today it is to Indo-China that most minds first turn if invited to consider the darker consequences of Communist rule, while those neighbouring states where the 'socialist revolution' failed now figure in one of the major success stories of socio-economic development in the final quarter of the twentieth century.

In Indo-China, in contrast to the other countries of Southeast Asia, nationalist movements have tended to represent less the agglomeration of territory and population gathered into a single state by the accidents of imperialist conquest than the ancient constituent nations which were united by European rule. This is no doubt due mainly to the comparatively late subjugation of the country and to Annam's thousand year existence as a highly centralized sovereign state. It is now clear, however, that whether the future of Vietnam lies with Ho Chi-Minh or with Bao Dai, Indo-China is likely to remain as permanent and concrete a unity as the Philippines or Indonesia.

Despite the fact that Indo-China was the last country in Southeast Asia, apart from Siam, to be conquered by the West, it had become by the thirties almost the classical colony of Leninist theory. Economically it was soon as much an appendage of the metropolitan country as were the Philippines, and even more than the latter its industry had been retarded for the sake of preserving markets and raw-material sources for imperialist concerns. In contrast to the comparative 'open-door' policy of the Dutch in Indonesia, the French established in Indo-China 'the most protectionist system in Southeast Asia', which kept non-French investments at an insignificant level. Indo-China also gives us the classical case of a Stalinist colonial revolution, with a communist-led movement maintaining its authority over a large part of the country in full scale military conflict with the imperial power, and political developments taking forms readily susceptible to interpretation in terms of communist doctrine on the colonial class-struggle. Consequently, Soviet writers have been able to give a more straightforward, less garbled account of events there
than of those in any other part of Southeast Asia.

Soviet descriptions of the economic and class structure of Indo-China base themselves on statistics of the colonial government and on French writers. Such descriptions stress the stultifying effects of French economic policy on the development of Indo-Chinese industry, claiming these effects to be the deliberate aim of the colonial government. Such secondary industry as has grown up in the country represents predominantly the export of French capital, native capital playing little part. Consequently, while a considerable proletariat had emerged by the thirties, mostly employed in the mining and plantation industries, in transport and to a lesser extent in the preparation of local primary products for the world market, there was only the tiniest national bourgeoisie. Even more than that of most other colonial countries, the bourgeoisie of Indo-China is essentially commercial and compradore in character. This is held to have aided the Indo-Chinese proletariat in winning the 'hegemony' of the national-liberation movement. The conditions of the working-class, bad enough on any account, are made appear even worse by treating the exceptionally bad period of the middle twenties as typical and by writing off all progressive labour legislation as attempts 'to create for planters and businessmen favourable conditions for even harsher exploitation of the workers'.

The Soviet description of land-ownership and rural class relationships in Indo-China tallies fairly closely with that given by Western writers. Twenty-five percent of the cultivated land of Vietnam belonged before the war to French interests, and a considerable proportion of the land was in the hands of the local gentry, usurers and 'kulaks'. The latter applied mainly to Cochin-China and southern Annam, where the typical figure was the landless and indebted tenant. In the Central and Western provinces of Cochin-China 45 per cent of the area under rice was owned by 2.5 per cent of the landholders. In Northern Annam and Tonkin the impoverished peasant owning and working a tiny plot absurdly inadequate to support his family predominated. Over 90 per cent of all landholders in Tonkin possessed plots of under 2 hectares. Their conditions were hardly better than those of the landless tenants, who often paid up to two-thirds of their crop in rent. Along with the process of the alienation of land from the peasants has gone the differentiation within and disintegration of the peasant commune. One result of this is that village common land, formerly really used collectively by the villagers, has passed to the virtual ownership of native notables. Before the Second World War such land accounted for 21 per cent of the area under rice in Tonkin, and 25 per cent in Annam.

Even the most severe Western critics of the effects of imperialist domination in Indo-China admit that certain benefits have accrued to the country from the French conquest. Soviet writing on Indo-China differs from its Western equivalent in denying that the people have profited in any way from European rule. The undoubtedly valuable services of the colonial administration in the field of irrigation, for instance, are completely discounted. Again, a naturally strong Marxist case is completely vitiated by a trimming of the facts which reduces it to absurdity.

The most interesting feature of the Soviet account of the
development of the Indo-Chinese 'national-liberation movement' prior to the Second World War is the class characterization accorded the various nationalist and left-wing organisations. This throws considerable light on the Soviet concept of the intelligentsia as applied to colonial conditions. However, as I shall be discussing this question in the final chapter, it will suffice here to summarize this account briefly.

Before the First World War Indo-China was the scene of numerous peasant riots and local risings. At the same time, 'several groups of the nationalist and national-revolutionary intelligentsia' arose, mostly amongst exiles in Southern China. These two wings of the movement, however, remained isolated from each other, as the nationalist organisations were almost entirely occupied in propaganda amongst the intelligentsia, and made no attempt to organise and give direction to the spontaneous movement of the masses.

The First World War brought the beginning of secondary industry in Indo-China, and with it the emergence of the Indo-Chinese proletariat. The ensuing years saw many workers' strikes and demonstrations, which however were as yet comparatively unorganised, with demands limited to immediate economic issues. During the period 1925-1927 the anti-imperialist movement was particularly active, the peasantry, proletariat, petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia participating in riots, terrorist attacks and revolutionary agitation. This movement was suppressed with the utmost severity. However, new leaders emerged to direct the decapitated national-revolutionary organisations, and in 1930-31, there was a new upsurge of resistance. Earlier accounts of the events of this period appear to treat the various participating organisations fairly. The leading role of 'petty-bourgeois' groups, especially the Vietnam Quoc Zan Dang (frankly styled 'The Indo-Chinese Kuomintang') and the importance of depression conditions as a stimulus to resistance receive adequate attention. However, later accounts stress the primacy of the proletariat in these developments, and associate them with the formation of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, which took place at the same period. Soviet economists and historians, even more than other Soviet scientists, have had to retreat a long way from objectivity in the last few years of growing estrangement from the West. It is of interest that in describing the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Communist Party in 1930, Soviet writers make no mention of the leading part played by emigre intellectuals in this process, or of the role of Ho Chi-Minh (then Nguyen Ai-Quoc) as chief agent of the Comintern for the whole of Southeast Asia. The scanty success of the communist party in the first decade of its existence Soviet writers are able largely to ascribe, with some justice, to the activities of 'Trotskyite provocateurs'. The Indo-Chinese communists have always been embarrassed by terrorist and anti-Stalinist Communist groups whose programmes and actions have appeared more consistently revolutionary than their own. These are characterized as misguided and impractical idealists, or as in the case of the Trotskyists, as agents of the imperialists seeking to disorganise the national movement. On the other hand there can be little doubt that its comparatively moderate but practical policy contributed to the growing prestige of the Communist Party during the late thirties, just as the restrained but consistently nationalist line of the communist-led
Viet-Minh helped it to amass greater public support than its rivals during 1945 and 1946.

As in the case of the founding of the Communist Party of Indo-China, Soviet writers do not mention that the establishment of the Viet-Minh league took place on Chinese soil, although they make much of the fact that the Kuomintang-sponsored organisation, the Dong Minh Hoi, had its origin there. They attribute the success of the Viet-Minh in establishing a government in August 1945 to the prestige won for this organisation by its role as leader of the anti-Japanese resistance movement. In this we will agree with them, but will add that the favourable attitude of the Chinese occupation authorities aided greatly in the consolidation of Ho's regime in Northern Vietnam during the first months after the defeat of Japan, while this is conveniently overlooked in Soviet accounts. Nor is there any mention of the comparative failure of the Viet-Minh in Cochin-China and Southern Annam, although this fact is particularly well adapted to a Marxist interpretation in terms of different class-structure (which we have noted above), without having to refer to the contrasting policies of the Chinese and British occupation forces.

A further circumstance of this period, to which I have found no reference in Soviet publications, is the disbandment of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party in November 1945. This action is capable of interpretation in either of two ways. It may have represented an attempt by Ho Chi-Minh to increase the internal and international popularity of his regime by minimizing its communist appearance, without allowing the actual direction of affairs to slip from communist control; or it may have signified that this Stalinist veteran was genuinely cutting his links with world communism in the interests of Vietnamese nationalism. The latter is certainly the interpretation the Viet-Minh leaders wanted the non-communist world to place upon the dissolution of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, an interpretation which for some time was fairly generally held in the West and still has some adherents, despite the now abundant evidence against it. If Ho's action in disbanding the communist party had been more than a tactical manoeuvre in the ultimate interests of the party, how did he manage to retain the support of all Indo-China's Stalinist leaders, as well as the approval of the whole communist world? It is of course impossible to say what part, if any, Soviet and other foreign communist leaders played in the decision to officially dissolve the party. However, right from 1945 Soviet writers have characterized Ho's regime as communist-led. Failure to report the dissolution of the communist party may reflect embarrassment at the difficulty of representing in favourable terms a manoeuvre so directly at variance with the general recommendations of the Stalinist classics on colonial revolution.

The 'elections' conducted by Ho's government in January 1946 are of course held to have been genuinely democratic, with the whole population freely participating in the choosing of the representatives they wanted, for the first time in the country's history. The highpoint of absurdity here is the claim that 'despite conditions of the most unrestrained terror', 90 per cent of the adult population of Cochin-China voted in these 'elections'. From then on the story is one of French perfidy and brutality meeting defeat after defeat at the hands of the united and heroic people of Vietnam. The
Franco-Vietnamese agreement of March 1946 and the 'modus vivendi' of September of the same year are held to have reflected merely attempts by the French to gain time to build up their military forces in the country. The French had no intention of honouring these agreements and it was they, not the Viet-Minh who started the fighting in December 1946.

The Soviet analysis of the 'alignment of class forces' in post-war Vietnam sees a certain narrowing of the anti-imperialist front as the struggle has developed. We are told that at the time of the 'proclamation of independence' (August 1945), both the big bourgeoisie and part of the feudal landlord class were prepared to support the 'republic', thinking that they would thus be able to retain their class rule and hinder the development and deepening of the revolution. But as soon as the 'people's-democratic' character of the communist-led 'liberation' movement became clear, these bourgeois-feudal fellow-travellers withdrew their support. The French imperialists now have the collaboration of the compradore bourgeoisie and the 'feudal and semi-feudal landlords', who always served imperialism, as well as of the not numerous big industrial bourgeoisie. 'All these exploiting classes and strata are helping the French in their fight against the Republic, providing the personnel for the various puppet regimes of the imperialists, at the same time as profiting by the Republic's difficult economic position to build up their fortunes by all sorts of speculations'.

The leading force in the 'people's-democratic camp' is the proletariat of Vietnam, headed by the communists. The chief ally of the proletariat is the peasantry, which accounts for the bulk of Vietnam's population. These classes constitute the basis of the national front, and in close alliance with them go the numerous urban poor. The national front also includes the petty and medium bourgeoisie, and a considerable part of the intelligentsia.

True to the notion of 'an alliance of the national-liberation movement in the colonies with the proletarian movement in the advanced countries', the Soviet press makes much of agitation in France against the 'dirty war' in Vietnam, and of refusals of communist-controlled French transport unions to handle munitions and supplies destined for Indo-China. There is no hint in Soviet reports of any dissatisfaction on the part of Ho Chi-Minh with the aid accorded him by the French communists. In any case, talk about such dissatisfaction should not be taken too seriously.

The chief enemy of the 'Democratic Republic of Vietnam', however, is not seen as French imperialism, but as the Americans. The French monopolies are now supposed to occupy a secondary role in the exploitation of 'their' colonies. 'Marshallized' France is bound to foster American capital investment in the territories it controls. We are reminded that on the announcement of President Truman's point four programme of aid to underdeveloped areas, the French government announced that it was 'prepared to associate itself with the undertaking initiated by the United States government'. A Franco-American Society for the Development of Overseas Territories of the French Union was formed from a number of big French and American banks, including the Bank of Indo-China. Between 1938 and 1950 American imports into the French colonies increased almost eightfold. A significant part of this increased trade is concentrated in the
French-controlled areas of Indo-China. Before the war Indo-China had a trade deficit of 194 million francs with the United States; by 1948 this figure had risen to 4,617 million francs.16

These are the arguments advanced by Soviet writers to support their contention that the American imperialists have the same interest in maintaining the colonial regime in Indo-China as have the French. The Americans' interest, moreover, has a strategic as well as an economic aspect. They are supposed to be working for 'an aggressive Pacific Pact', and for the establishment of a 'cordon sanitaire' and a string of bases along the southern borders of the People's Republic of China, reserving an important role for Indo-China in both of these projects.

It would be tedious and of little value to recount in detail the Soviet version of post-war political developments in the French-controlled areas of Indo-China.17 Ultimate control here is seen as resting with the United States, Mr William Bullitt being given the credit for returning the emperor Bao Dai to his throne. In July 1950 Soviet papers confidently predicted that the Americans, in view of Bao Dai's failure to win any sizeable support amongst the people of Vietnam, would shortly have him replaced by the prominent Vietnamese Catholic, Ngo Din Diem.18 A year later it was being asserted that the purpose of Mr Bullitt's current visit to Southeast Asia was 'to clarify the attitude of these countries to the use of troops, at present located in Korea under "United Nations Command", in the struggle with the national-liberation movement in Indochina, Malay and Burma, in the event of the Korean conflict being settled by negotiation'.19

Soviet publications add little or nothing to our scanty knowledge of internal conditions in the rebel-controlled areas of Indo-China, and on this Ho's own official news service remains the most valuable source of information. Reports of economic conditions in 'Republican' territory published in the Soviet press are concerned primarily with increased production and the spread of the 'patriotic emulation movement'. The rice harvest, amounting to 1,552,000 tons in 1945, had risen to 1,887,000 tons by 1947, and in 1949 reached 2,244,000 tons.20 Reports of land reform check with other information. The estates of landlords collaborating with the French have been confiscated. Village common lands have been 'removed from the virtual ownership of big landowners' and distributed among the peasants. All unused land fit for cultivation has also been registered and distributed. Land rents have been reduced by up to 50 per cent and the land tax by 25 per cent. Usury and the corvŽe have been forbidden, and the peasants are helped by loans of money and draught animals, though it is not explained how this is organised except that a special bank has been set up to handle credits for peasants and handicraftsmen.21 Every citizen, on attaining the age of 18, is entitled to the use of 3 hectares of land on condition that he till it with his own labour. At the end of two years the plot becomes his own property.22

In the field of industry, it is asserted that, due to the enthusiasm and resourcefulness of Vietnam's workers, the Republic has enjoyed ever-increasing supplies of arms and war-materials, as well as of other manufactured products, including textiles and paper - despite the hardship of living and working in the jungle under war conditions,
the worn-out state of much industrial plant, the poor transportation facilities and scarcity of raw materials. The government plan is being overfulfilled by 208-300 per cent by many enterprises. New State factories are mass producing bazookas and mine-throwers. Soviet reports refer to the progressive labour legislation introduced by Ho's government although few details of this are forthcoming. There is provision for annual leave with pay, 'social insurance', sick-pay, pensions, and payments to mothers of large families. There is mention of voluntary overtime without pay in state-owned factories and plantations. On the other hand it is claimed that factory and office workers received wage increases in 1948 averaging 25 per cent, and that their wages are now five times as great as those of workers in the same occupations in the French controlled areas. But no comparable information is given about price levels. The government is reported to be encouraging the organisation of consumers' cooperatives. In the field of culture the chief claims concern, of course, the attack on illiteracy. It is said that, while only 5 per cent of the population could read and write before the war, the percentage had been raised by 1949 to 80 per cent.

The Soviet version of the fighting in Indo-China is based almost exclusively on General Vo Nguyen Giap's optimistic communiques. The claim persists that 90 per cent both of the area and of the population of Vietnam are under the control of Ho's government.

Particular reticence is manifested by Soviet authorities on the actual channels of political power in the 'Democratic Republic of Vietnam'. We are told that 'the foundation of Vietnam's new state structure is the people's committee, which is the organ of power in every administrative unit. People's committees are elected by universal suffrage with secret ballot, and their members are unpaid. They render great assistance to the government in the carrying out of its internal policy'. But the duties of these committees and their official relations with the central government remain a mystery. It is stressed that Ho's government includes ministers 'of the most varying class origin and views, yet all united by the common will to lead their country to independence'. On the other hand, publications intended exclusively for the Soviet public qualify this by referring to the 'leading role' of the communists. But silence is preserved on the organisational techniques by means of which communist leadership is exercised, and on the nature of the channels along which communist directives flow to find expression in government decrees and the resolution of "voluntary" mass organizations. All that we get is the old cliché about communist policies usually being adopted because their obvious correctness is recognized by the non-communists.

The recognition of Ho's government by the Soviet Union, Communist China and the 'People's Democracies' was hailed by the Soviet press as a measure to 'strengthen the international position of the republic and inspire the people of Vietnam to new exploits in the fight for peace and democracy'. The participation of Viet-Minh representatives in Soviet-sponsored congresses of youth, women's, trade-union and cultural organisations is given considerable publicity, as are the activities of the 'Peace Movement' in Vietnam.

If, despite such close relations between the 'Democratic Republic of Vietnam' and the world communist movement any doubt persisted as to the 'Marxist orthodoxy' of Ho's regime, this should
have been dispelled by developments within the 'national-liberation movement' of Indo-China over the past two years. As these developments have so far received little attention in the English-language press, it will be useful to review them briefly here before describing the Soviet reaction to them. These developments proceeded along two main lines - extension of the movement to Laos and Cambodia, and organisational changes in Vietnam itself.

The importance for the strategy of Asian communism of the conference of Asian communist-led trade unions that took place at Peking at the end of 1949 has already been indicated. On that occasion Liu Shao-Chi emphasized that 'a decisive condition for the victorious outcome of the national liberation struggle is the formation, when the necessary internal conditions allow for it, of people's liberation armies under the leadership of the Communist Party'. The months that followed saw the 'Declaration of Independence of Free Cambodia' by the newly-formed 'Provisional Central Committee for National Liberation of Free Cambodia', and the setting up of a 'National United Front' and 'Resistance Coalition Government' under Prince Souphanouvong in Laos. These appear to be part of the political paraphernalia of new communist led 'national-liberation armies'. Souphanouvong, brother of the former Laotian premier Phetsarath, has been one of the most prominent figures of the anti-French resistance in Laos since 1945. His 'government's' general policy is:

1) To unite the whole people within the National United Front and around the Resistance Coalition Government of Laos, in order to drive out the French imperialists, to wipe out the traitors, to achieve genuine independence and unity, and build up the welfare and happiness of the Laotian people.
2) To unite with the brotherly peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia with a view to driving out their common enemy - the French imperialists.
3) To stand in the World Camp of Peace and Democracy and oppose the aggressive plots of the imperialists.'29

The policy statement of the Cambodian movement follows the same lines. Although the communists in Laos and Cambodia are at present working even further behind the scenes than were the Vietnamese communists in the early days of the Viet-Minh, the links between the 'National liberation movement' in these countries and Ho's movement, and the world-communist movement as a whole, are obvious enough from this quotation alone.

The position was made perfectly clear the three day conference in November 1950 between representatives of the rebel forces of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to prepare a 'joint national united front of Indo China'. The joint statement signed on behalf of the conference by Huang Quoc Viet, communist general secretary of the Viet Minh league, Prince Souphanouvong of Laos and Sieu Heng, leader of the 'Cambodian Liberation Army', included this remark: 'in their preparations for a third world war the imperialists, headed by the Americans, are planning to use Indo-China as a military base of aggression against new China and of repression of the liberation movement of Southeast Asia. Therefore the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia is closely connected with the world wide movement for the defence of peace. In order to achieve complete
independence and unity, they must stand in the world camp of peace and oppose the fomentation of a third world war.'30

There was no doubt about where the 'hegemony' within his 'joint united national front' was to lie. The official report of the further conference held in March 1951, 'to outline the organisational principles and the program of action for the Joint National United Front', quotes Sieu Heng as follows: 'Under the clear-sighted leadership of president Ho and with the friendly assistance, both moral and material, of the Lienviet front and of the National United Front of Laos, the people and army of Cambodia will fight resolutely for their liberation and for the maintenance of world peace, and are sure to win victory.'31

Judging from photographs published in Viet-Nam Information, these new 'people's liberation armies' are as yet not very formidable fighting forces, and one is not surprised that the French authorities in these states are not greatly embarrassed by them so far. Nevertheless we should not underrate the importance of these developments. The communist armies of Vietnam, Burma and Malaya had similarly modest beginnings. Hence it is strange that these events have gone practically unmentioned in the Soviet press, especially as it is certainly not the Soviet way to be shy about new extensions of the world communist movement, even when they are still mainly programmatic. A possible explanation of Soviet reticence about these achievements is that uncertainty remains about the viability of these new movements. They may be unsure of the leaders through whom the communists are working in Laos and Cambodia, or of the ability of the movement to attract any considerable number of recruits. It would not do to be too boastful about an army which might any day transfer its allegiance or else be annihilated in a single encounter with a couple of companies of the Foreign Legion. Be that as it may, not a single exploit of the Cambodian or Laotian 'liberation armies' has yet found mention in the Soviet press, although if we can believe Viet-Nam Information, they have been engaged in skirmishes32 on a considerably larger scale than those of the Kubong in the Philippines, which receive ample publicity in Pravda and Izvestia. In fact, the first the Soviet public heard of the developments in Laos and Cambodia was the brief announcement in April 1951 that 'A conference of people's representatives of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos has taken steps to set up a joint united front of these three countries'.33

Recent developments within the 'national-liberation movement' of Vietnam itself are of no less interest. In the speech from which I have already quoted, Liu Shao-Chi also stated that: 'The experience of the victorious national liberation struggle of the Chinese people teaches us that the working class must unite with all parties, groups and organisations willing to fight the imperialists and their hirelings and to form a broad, nation-wide united front, headed by the working class and its vanguard - the Communist Party, the Party equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party that has mastered the art of revolutionary strategy and tactics: that breathes the spirit of revolutionary irreconcilability to enemies of the people, the spirit of proletarian organisation and discipline in the mass movement of the peoples'.34 If this can be interpreted as a call to the communists to assert more openly their leading role in relation to their 'allies' and to reinforce their centralized control of the
'national-liberation movements', it was not long in securing results in Vietnam.

The former reluctance to associate Ho's regime too obviously with the communist world - certainly an anachronism at this advanced stage of the cold war and of the hot war in Vietnam - was swept aside with the recognition of the 'Democratic Republic of Vietnam' by the communist states of Europe and Asia. At about the same time a conference was called of Vietnam trade unions, whose tasks were to carry out the plans and decisions of the ... conference of Trade Unions of Asia and Oceania which met in Peking - and to map out plans for consolidating the Vietnamese working masses and making them a vanguard in the fight for national liberation and in the building of a new national economy'. The next six months saw a 'general mobilization of manpower and material resources'; the administrative machinery of the state was 'consolidated and strengthened on the basis of democratic centralism'; and the educational and juridical systems were 'reformed according to the spirit of new democracy'.

The culmination of this process was the launching in March 1951, of the Vietnam Workers' (Laodong) Party. This party, 'armed with the Marxist Leninist theory, organised according to the principle of democratic centralism, and developing by means of criticism and self-criticism', is held to unite 'the most patriotic, most ardent, the most revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectual workers' into a 'vanguard army, a general staff, a powerful, clear-sighted, determined, pure and thoroughly revolutionary political party', whose task is to lead the people of Vietnam in the struggle for complete national liberation, and to 'fully realize People's Democracy, so as to advance towards socialism'.

This may be taken as the final emergence of the communist party as the party of the State, after more than five years of semi-clandestine existence as the Marxist Study Group and elaborate indirect control over the administration. Simultaneously with the formation of the Laodong Party went the merging of the Viet-Minh - the broad United Front Party through which the communists had formerly exercised their 'leading role' - in the Lienviet league. As the latter is not a policy-making body, but merely a front organisation formed in 1946 to mobilize well-to-do sections of the population - as well as the 'toiling masses' - behind the regime, it is clear that henceforth non-communist nationalists were to be excluded from such minor participation in power as they had previously enjoyed.

The new climate of attitudes in the 'Democratic Republic' both in their internal and their international aspects, emerges in a recent statement by General Vo Nguyen Giap, C in C of the 'Vietnam People's Liberation Army'. Vo gave the following reasons to explain why his forces 'have won and will win'.

'It is because the PLA fights for a just cause, for national independence, democracy and peace.

It is because it is wholeheartedly supported in its struggle by the entire people, the valiant people of Vietnam who give their children and their resources for the front, and are united in the national front of Lienviet for unity and independence.

It is because the army like the people have been formed, educated and led formerly by the Communist Party of Indo China, now by the Vietnam Laodong Party - the Party of the toiling masses and of the
people - which, armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, has successfully led the struggle of the people at the most difficult moments.

It is because it is imbued with the spirit of fighting, sacrifice and unbound faithfulness to the people and the country of President Ho Chi-Minh, leader of the Party and the people, Father of the nation.

It is because it has been able to profit by the very rich and valuable experience of its older brothers, the Soviet Army and the PLA of the Chinese people. From the Soviet Army it has learnt proletarian internationalism, faithfulness to the people and to the cause of the people. From the Chinese PLA it has learnt the whole system of military thought, of strategy and tactics in colonial and semi-colonial countries. More recently it has learnt from the Korean People's Army how a weak people can vanquish the Americans' modern troops.

Finally it is because the armed struggle of the Vietnamese people is not an isolated struggle. It has the wholehearted support of the USSR, China and the New Democracies and the active sympathy of the peoples of France, of the French colonies and the forces of progress and peace in the world. In the neighbourhood of Vietnam the Peoples of Laos and Cambodia, engaged in armed struggle, are closely co-ordinating their efforts with those of Vietnam against the common enemy.'39

As Soviet editors appear to ascribe greater news value to military and economic developments than to purely organisational ones, there would be little reason for surprise if these changes in Vietnam received as little attention as did the activisation of resistance in Laos and Cambodia. However, although the reorganisation and reorientation which took place during 1950 passed unmentioned in the Soviet press, the founding of the Laodong Party and the merging of the Viet Minh league in the Lien-Viet front were fairly adequately reported.40 On the other hand the months immediately following brought no Soviet assessment of the significance of these developments. In fact, while Soviet writers boost the military and economic successes of Ho's regime, no general moral is drawn about the course of the struggle in Vietnam over the past six years, and we must turn to the Vietnamese communists themselves for this. 'This victory', writes General Vo, 'shows that in the years following World War II while the forces of peace, democracy and socialism have been developing and while the forces of imperialism have been declining, the victory of armed struggle is possible not only in large colonial and semi-colonial countries such as China but also in much smaller ones like Korea and Vietnam.'41

* * *

Logging and Conservation
a response to 'Disasters'

John McKinnon

It was with interest that I read your note Disasters in Number 3, December 1988: 32, but perhaps it is best to qualify the response.
There is clear authority for stating that the floods in the South would have occurred regardless of whether any trees had been cut. I understand more rain fell in 72 hours than was experienced in many parts of the Northeast last year. Such heavy concentrated falls inevitably result in earth slumps and floods.

There are dangers in people reading events myopically through fashionable ideology. As a result of the floods in the South a ban on logging has been declared. Thailand needs timber and the stated intention is to get it from Burma (or should I say the Union of Myanma?). Chavalit has been particularly chummy with the Burmese authorities and it appears that recent attacks on Karen positions from across the Thai border may have been set up in negotiations with the Thai Army. Interests in Thailand stand to make considerable financial gains if the Burmese can secure the border.

The long term consequences of uncritically promoting the conservation cause may well hold dangers for highlanders. The grafting of the logging ban on to existing plans for management of the national watershed will give new life to programs drawn up by Forestry and the Thai Army to involuntarily relocate all villages from areas with characteristics identified as qualifying for watershed protection. This will include many long standing Karen communities. Given the manner in which eviction has been conducted in the past (Chupinit Kesmanee 1988 Cultural Survival 12(4): 2-6) there appear to be few reasons for optimism.

This is not to say that all environmental management strategies are a waste of time or that stricter controls on logging are irrelevant. Just a note of caution is advisable when it comes to this particular issue.

* * *

TWO L† SONGS
translated from Tai LŸ into Chinese by Dao Xin Hua
and into English by Li Xiang Yang & Wang Biao

[These songs, part of a weaving ritual, belong to the category known to the LŸ as kaap and in north Thailand as sor.]

SONG OF OFFERINGS
Listen!
My dearest brother;
Pray listen carefully.
My songs are like broth without salt,
Which to you may not be delicious
For I have no talent of striking my heart's chord
At the sight of things.
My songs are like pure boiled water,
No aroma will you taste,
For I possess no capacity of singing extempore.
Oh, my dearest!
Your songs are more fragrant than Yulan magnolia
Making me lose my way home.
Oh, my dearest!
Your songs are far sweeter than dried bananas
Distracting me from thinking of my beloved at home.
You were born earlier than I;
You see the Sun more often than I do;
And you sing longer songs.
Your songs are as numerous as the leaves of the trees,
Your knowledge much deeper than the seas.
Today I am here with you,
It's Yu Guang's best luck.
Today I am here with you,
Yu Guang has gained inexhaustible power.
It's a pity today that
I've forgotten to bring flowers and candles here
Only my constricted throat for songs.
O my true master!
I will offer my coil of hair
As a gorgeous lotus flower
And produce my fingers
As five straight pairs of candles.
Now, let me present the flowers,
And now allow me to light the candles
Before kneeling in worship, offering the sacrifice.
O the clean robe
Is the ceremony garment of my master;
The soft kneeling cushion
Is the mat of silk cotton flower by my master;
The pillow towel with the design of various flowers
Is the brocade embroidered by my master;
And the endless array of sacrifices,
Both food and daily necessities,
Are all made for my master.
They are offered to clean the sins of this life,
And ask for good luck and happiness in the after life.
I devoutly wish all the sacrifices here
Become a basin of clear sacred water
Washing away the master's sins in his life;
I piously wish all the sacrifices here
Become a holy ship
Taking my holy master on board
And sailing against the strong wind and fierce waves,
Across the place where his soul is punished,
Until the destination people yearn for ---
"Sukhavati"

*

ONE MARCH IS DIFFERENT FROM ANOTHER

Pray listen!
Your beloved sister is going to sing
That one March is different from another.
The golden bamboo joints are short in March,
And the Jiali trees are luxuriant in April.
My dearest brother is to make a big spinning wheel,
Together with a cotton gin.
Oh, my dearest brother,
Forget not the baskets and the winding stand.
After finishing the requirements for weaving,
You must clean the cotton fields;
Fell the parasitic trees and bamboos,
Hoe out the reed and cogongrass.
Open up the field on the gentle hillsides
And fence it with bamboo sticks.
The field cannot be too large,
But cleaned according to actual requirements.
Too large a piece of land is hard to manage,
And could be spoiled by horses and cows.
The best acreage is large enough to sow
Seven large bamboo baskets of cotton seeds,
And ten large baskets of sesame seeds.
Excessive close planting and small seedlings, my dear
Will encourage encroaching grass,
And you must weed with sharpened hoe
Not long after the sowing.
Oh my dearest brother,
Be careful with the weeding
Lest the grass return everywhere.
May in the Dai calendar is known to be Spring
When taro and mulberry sprout.
Cuckoos sing in the trees about the field,
Turtle doves and crickets chirp here and there.
When the felled reeds and bushes are dried, my dear,
You must set fire to them on the hills.
As the fire dies out, brother,
You and I will go up in the hills,
Cut short the unburnt branches,
And carry them home as firewood.
When June in the Dai calendar comes,
We will go to the field after washing our hair,
When the sky is streaked with sunny clouds.
It will rain spring rains in July,
And we will sow the cotton seeds on the hillside.
You will dig holes with a bamboo stick, my dear.
And I will place the cotton seeds in the holes.
In August, the season of the cicada's cry,
Cuckoos will sing gaily in the bamboos.
The sown cotton seeds will burst into two tender leaves,
And the cucumber and gourd plants will vine,
Requiring weeding and earthing up their roots.
In September, cucumber and muskmelon plants
Will bear innumerable fruits.
The big one is worthy of 'yibaiyin'
While the small one sells for 'siliangsi'
Ah, God grants us a fortune.
In October, the cotton plants will bear cotton bolls.
Those bursting first will be picked first,
Carried back and piled about the village.
There is a market for the picked cotton.
The November sky is a clear expanse,
As crystalline as the water-drops on the banana leaves.
When December comes, all the cotton bolls will burst,
All the hills look white.
We will carry the cotton back in baskets, Dear.
Dry it in the sun before sorting and ginning.
O what an ocean of white cotton.
Fluff the cotton after you gin it, my dearest sister,
And set up the spinning wheel after the cotton is fluffed.
Then the valley night will be lit by fire.
The two flames are different.
The glowing flames are torches carried by the young men
Who seek the love of young girls.
Before the sun goes down in the west,
The girls go to bathe in the river,
And then go home to dress, waiting for their beloved.
When night falls
They will go down from the bamboo buildings,
Spinning cotton threads until
Dew moistens their clothes.
After the threads are spun,
The girls will starch them in the red rice gruel.
If they want to dye the yarn red,
They’ll add Perilla to the gruel.
The thick threads are used to weave coarse cloth,
While the thin are woven into brocade.
The woven cloth may be used at will,
Making clothes or for offering to the Buddha.
Such is the custom in Asia.
If you want to make a robe to worship Buddha,
The cloth should be dyed yellow in ginger and indigo.
The design of horses and elephants woven into the brocade
And offered to the Buddha in the temple,
Where the monks will pray for your happiness.
The next day, people will offer their own children
To the monastery as novices,
There they have to learn to chant the scriptures.
That is the task of the monks and novices.
They must finish chanting one page in ten days,
And finish one text in twenty days.
Monks cannot be idle in the monastery.
Novices should not disappoint their parents,
Who send them meals every day.
Novices should carry meals for the monks,
And rise early to sweep the grounds.
That's the job of the novices.
In the Buddhist texts such words are written:
If you've done your duty,
You'll be lucky and happy in the after life.
The happiness is as fragrant as the lotus flower,
That you can find throughout Asia.
Here, at the end of the singing,
Let my song bless you!
Translations

by Irene Bain

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE JI-NUO

[The following excerpts have been taken from Zhong-guo Da Bai-ke-quan-shu: Min-zu (The Chinese Encyclopaedia: Ethnic Groups) pp. 190-2 to provide some general background and supplementary information on the Ji-nuo.]

Ji-nuo is the name by which members of this minority identify themselves and the term translates as 'descendents of the maternal uncle' or 'the ethnic group which respects the maternal uncle'. The Ji-nuo language is classified in the Yi branch of the Tibeto-Burman language group of the Han-Tibetan language system. The old name for Ji-nuo Xiang [Village, referred to in the following article as Ji-nuo Lo-ke Commune] is Ji-nuo Shan [mountain]. Qing Dynasty gazetteers refer to this as You-le Shan, the name the Ji-nuo give to the mountain, indicating that this minority is an ancient tribe of the area. During the Ming and early Qing Dynasties, Han Chinese merchants entered the area and propagated tea and techniques for tea-production.

In the past, the Ji-nuo undertook slash-and-burn agriculture and had no irrigation facilities. The major crops are early-maturing rice, cotton, corn, bananas, papayas and tea. The staple food is rice. The festival for eating the new rice is called Hao-xi-zao, but the most important celebration is for the New Year and is called Te-mao-er. Oxen and water buffaloes are common but, with the exception of a few villages, are not used for ploughing but rather as sacrifices. Tea-production is a side-line for females and hunting a secondary activity for males. Food obtained by hunting shared equally. Before 1949 land renting, hiring of labour and money-lending were already in evidence but not a group which lived by exploitation alone.

A village generally had two elders, the more senior called zhuo-ba and the junior termed zhuo-sheng. These were the eldest individuals from specified ancient clans. The Ji-nuo were animists and also worshipped their ancestors.

'Among the minority groups in China today, the Ji-nuo long-houses most nearly approximate the model long-house system. In the mid-1960's the village of Long-pa [Long-pa Zhai] still contained eight long-houses on stilts. The largest long-house had 13 households containing 48 people. Long-house inhabitants could not casually migrate to or from the long-house. Nuclear families in the long-house were referred to as 'stoves'. The nuclear family operated an independent economy and property was kept in private rooms. Only land and the long-house were owned collectively. If sons in a nuclear family married or family division occurred, two stoves were created. The La-hu of Lan-cang and Geng-ma in Yunnan and the Bu-lang of Meng-hai, Yunnan also have long-houses, but of a much smaller scale.'

In the early 1950's there were still traces of cosanguine marriage and some villages had no restrictions on intra-clan marriage. Other villages prohibited marriage between clan members but permitted them to live together as lovers. There was also much evidence of a
matriarchal system. Usually only mothers were empowered to sacrifice a chicken and 'summon the spirits' for a sick child. In the ceremony for newly-weds it was the eldest female who took the torch upstairs and first lit the family stove. Although the village elders were already males, they were still referred to by the term from the matriarchal clan commune Zuo-mi-you-ka which refers to an old paternal grandmother. The partilineal commune probably superseded the matriarchal commune over 300 years ago. In the 1940's, some villages contained long-houses with over 100 members.

In 1954, the first Communist Party ethnic work team arrived in Ji-nuo Shan to promote production. In 1955 the first work exchange team was established and, in 1957, an agricultural cooperative. In 1978 Ji-nuo village was designated as a predominantly forested area in accord with local conditions. Irrigation works have led to paddy rice production. There are two hydro-electric power stations and Ji-nuo village has electric lighting. Tractors and machinery for agricultural processing have come into use. In 1982, the Ji-nuo numbered 11,974 persons.

* * *

A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF JI-NUO LONG-HOUSES
By Zhu Bao-tian

[In 1963 the Yunnan Provincial Museum dispatched Ma Chang-zhou, Yang Jie, Tian Ying-kang and Pu En-li to undertake an ethnographic survey of the Ji-nuo and the long-houses of Long-pa Zhai [Village]. In 1974, Li Yong-heng and the author were again sent to research the form of the long-houses and to prepare a second research report. In 1978 the author returned to the Ji-nuo Autonomous District to obtain supplementary materials on the long-houses of Long-pa Zhai. The present account present a modified version of the 1963 materials.]

The Ji-nuo comprise over 10,000 persons living in extended families concentrated in the Ji-nuo Lo-ke Commune (also known as You-le Shan) of Jing-hong County, Xi-shuang-ban-na Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province. The entire region is dense virgin forest, with rich soils, abundant rainfall and mild temperatures which make it especially suitable for agriculture and commercial crops. The Ji-nuo have a long history of tea-cultivation. Since the early Qing Dynasty [1644-1911], this area has been one of the six mountains renowned for producing Pu-er tea. Owing to various factors however, the socio-economic development of the Ji-nuo was comparatively slow and although theirs was a class society, it retained many vestiges of primitive society, such as the long-houses of Long-pa Zhai. 'Clan structure and family life are closely linked to household architecture and provide a thorough understanding of the progression from primitive times toward civilisation.'43 This account represents preliminary investigations into the nature, form and special characteristics of Long-pa Zhai long-houses.

Long-pa Zhai is located mid-way up You-le Shan [Mountain]. In the Ji-nuo language, 'Long-pa' means 'those who dwell on the steep, stone slope'. According to our 1963 survey, the village of Long-pa was populated solely by Ji-nuo; 221 persons in 67 households. There were
in total four surnames: A-lao-lao, A-zhe-rao, A-sha-rao and A-che, living separately in ten large long-houses, as indicated in Table 1 below [table on page 17].

The long-houses of Long-pa Zhai are built in the style of pole-dwellings: a rectangular building with a door at each end, wooden bridging beams and supporting wooden posts. The four walls are made of woven bamboo strips and are roofed with thatch secured by vines. There are no windows and day-time lighting is dim. The supporting posts dove-tail with the main beams and the whole structure is built without nails. Materials for constructing a long-house are readily obtained, its construction is speedy and the result, durable.

Take for example the long-house of Zi-er (Fig. 1),

an A-che-rao family-head: this structure is 28 metres long by 16 metres wide and seven metres high. Its eight posts form the house frame and at the left of each main door are wooden stairs of 7-8 steps. Inside the main door is a 2 metre wide, rectangular guest-room. In the Ji-nuo language this is called a-xo meaning 'the place where the Han live'. Passing through the guest-room one enters the main hall of the long-house. Here are the thirteen smaller rooms which serve as sleeping quarters for each nuclear family. 2.5 metres from each door is the household stove, a tripod formed by three upright stones. These stoves occupy the centre of the hall and are enclosed by a wooden rectangle measuring 13.2 metres in length and 1.14 metres wide. To the right of each stove is another stove used for religious purposes or by guests (this is probably the clan stove). Outsiders can calculate the number of households in a long-house by counting its stoves. According to Ji-nuo custom, it is fixed that the room on the far right belongs to the family-head. When the family-head dies, his family members must depart voluntarily to make room for the incoming family-head. It sometimes happens that the families of the old and new family-heads are of different size. This is solved by enlarging or re-building the room or by distributing all rooms in the long-house. The far right end of the guest-room is partitioned to form a room for religious purposes. Hanging on the four walls are the skulls and teeth of game killed by the long-house members; a display of collective hunting skill. Normally this room is out-of-bounds to all persons. Rectangular store-rooms of various sizes belonging to individual nuclear households line the walls of the main-hall. Previously, it was not the practice to lock these rooms and they became places for young lovers to meet.

The study of ethnic housing customs was considered important among anthropologists from an early date. In Ancient Society the famous American Anthropologist Morgan made a major contribution to the development of research on the history of primitive society. Marx and Engels held Morgan's work in high regard. Engels identified Morgan's main achievement as discovering the essential characteristics of clans and their relationship to tribes. This outstanding discovery revealed the standard form of the internal organisation in primitive communist
Moreover, Morgan made an intensive study of Iroquois housing and indicated that 'they constructed a rectangular communal dwelling which could contain five, ten or even twenty households and each long-house had a communal life-style.' Thereafter, the Russian anthropologist Sergey P. Tolstov [1907-1976] undertook further research into the Iroquois long-house using Morgan's study. Table 2 [see page 17] provides a comparison between the Iroquois, based on his earlier findings, and the Ji-nuo.

We can observe many similarities from a comparison of these two types of long-house. These similarities reflect common characteristics in the development of housing habits among ancient peoples, but we must also recognise that the long-houses of the Ji-nuo have peculiar characteristics worthy of further examination.

1. Due to the passage of time it is difficult to determine when the long-houses of the Ji-nuo were constructed. Traditional Ji-nuo accounts concerning establishment of the village inform us that 'a widow with her seven sons and seven daughters originally settled mid-way up Jie-zu [Clan of the Elder Sister] Mountain. These sons and daughters intermarried.' This indicates that at some time in primitive society the Ji-nuo passed through a stage of consanguinal marriage.

The earliest tale of the Ji-nuo long-house is as follows: After the Ji-nuo migrated to You-le Shan they divided into two groups which could intermarry. The group on the mountain-face were patriarchal and those on the rear slope were matriarchal. Afterwards, the group on the mountain-face fragmented into two groups called Ci-tong Zhai, which was patriarchal, and Man-duo Zhai which was matriarchal. The group on the rear slopes also divided into two groups: Man-piao Zhai (patriarchal) and Man-po Zhai (matriarchal). After many decades of development, Ci-tong and Man-duo on the mountain-face evolved into Man-ya Zhai, Man-hai Zhai, Man-gui Zhai, Man-shan Zhai, Hui-zhen Zhai, Hui-lu Zhai, Pa-ni Zhai, Er-zhuang Zhai, Shen-niu Zhai and Nuo-man-xiu matriarchal settlements. On the rear slopes Long-pa Zhai, Mo-yang Zhai, Zha-gong Zhai, Zha-lu Zhai, Shi-zui Zhai, Man-bie Zhai, Man-kui Zhai, Man-ka Zhai and Kuan-ma Zhai son and daughter settlements developed. These are the oldest of the Ji-nuo settlements. In researching the moieties of the Seneca, Engels discovered that these moieties were the earliest clans formed below the level of the tribe. As marriage was prohibited within the clans, each tribe must contain at least two clans to ensure its existence. As the tribes developed, the clans subdivided to produce two or more new clans and these continued to exist as individual clans and include the earliest of the female clans and so the moiety continues to exist. From this we can see that the earliest Ji-nuo settlements on the mountain-face (male) and on the rear-slope (female) were probably the earliest clans to emerge from tribes and that these clans were in fact moieties. Ci-tong Zhai (a patriarchal village) and Man-duo Zhai (a matriarchal village) are probably two clans which split from a moiety and then produced the ten or so daughter clans in Man-ya Zhai and Man-hai Zhai. Our understanding concurs with that of Engels concerning the Seneca: 'The gentes within one phratry [moiety] are considered to be brother gentes.' According to this theoretical principle of Engels it is evident that in ancient times the Ji-nuo tribe split to form the earliest clans (that is moieties), split again to produce the clans and split once more to produce son and daughter clans. This
indicates that in ancient times the Ji-nuo passed through a matriarchal commune stage and probably also a stage of primitive communism resembling that of the Iroquois in which between five and twenty families lived in a single long-house. The Ji-nuo maintained the custom of living in long-houses during the period in which they changed from the matriarchal to a patriarchal system.

(2) Membership of the extended families of the Long-pa Zhai long-houses is based on surname (A-lao-lao, A-shao-rao, A-che-rao and A-che) and blood-relationship. The Ji-nuo explain this very clearly: 'Only those with a common ancestor can live together.' This is evident from a study of the thirteen long-houses of the A-che-rao family [see table 3 page 18].

The blood-relationship between these three households becomes clearer when we examine the preceding fourth and fifth generations. The long-houses of the four surnames in Long-pa Zhai have already begun dividing into a number of long-houses, but these ought to be considered in terms of clan names which have lost their original significance with the passage of time.

Engels stated that 'Today we can still see among the Serbs and Bulgarians the familial commune and family-headship called Zarduga (broadly meaning extended family) and the Bratstvo (moiety) which he called 'a group marriage system which produced a family based on a matriarchal system and is in the process of moving toward a contemporary individual family.' 

The long-houses of Long-pa Zhai ought to be considered an extremely rare example of this historically significant turning-point.

(3) Although the Long-pa Zhai long-houses have already begun dividing into relatively small long-houses (containing at most ten to twenty households and at minimum only one or two) each retains a male family-head. This is a key characteristic of Ji-nuo long-houses apparent in an analysis of three A-che-rao long-houses [see table 4 page 18].

The Ji-nuo called the family-head Wei-zhe-le, meaning 'to be in charge of a family'. The family-head is usually an elder of the long-house who is skilled in managing affairs and holds a high reputation. He is chosen by the house members. In the early years after Liberation [1949], the paternal family-head was still empowered to organise the production activities undertaken by the nuclear families of the long-house. In the past, the Ji-nuo were accustomed to work together to sow crops and this was referred to as sha-da-ke, da-ba in Ji-nuo meaning 'to join as a large group in planting a plot of land'. The family-head organised the small households in sowing the crops and allocated land among them. The family-head also made a unified plan for harvesting. In bad years when famine prevailed, the family-head would pray for protection before his own stove. On festive occasions he offered well-wishes to the long-house members and each nuclear family could commence eating only after kow-towing. These speeches were without fixed format and the length depended on the eloquence of the family-head, but they generally included wishes for bountiful harvest and seasonable weather. The family-head was also accustomed to bless the stoves of long-house members. Each of the three stones which formed the stove base had a special name and significance, as in the following figure:
The stone labelled A was called Kuan-dou and stood for the individual nuclear families of the

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long-house surname:</th>
<th>Family head:</th>
<th>Number of households:</th>
<th>Number of persons:</th>
<th>Number of long-houses:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-lao-lao Da-bu-lu-zhou</td>
<td>Da-bu-lu-zhou</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-shu-zhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da-mu-la-zi</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-che-rao Zi-er</td>
<td>Zi-er</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-ke</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-shi</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-sha-rao Mu-la-zi</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-mu-la</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha-piao</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-che Da-sha-bu-lu</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Total** 67 221 10

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iroquois</th>
<th>Ji-nuo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Long-house form: huge wooden dwelling pole-dwelling
Scale: 50-80 feet 25 m long x 15 m wide
Distribution of individual rooms: one couple per room one couple per room
Stove usage rules: 4 couples per stove one couple per stove
Stoves per house: 5-7 around 10
Relation between living habitat & stove: symmetrical symmetrical
Intra-house inheritance system: patrilineal matrilineal
Intra-house control: power rests with female power rests with male family-head family-head
Intra-house marriage system: uxorilocal virilocal

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Fifth</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>First</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biao-che</td>
<td>Che-bu-lu</td>
<td>Bu-la-er</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-la-xiao</td>
<td>Mu-la-biao</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai-mu</td>
<td>Sha-bu-la</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biao-bai</td>
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<td>Zi-er</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A-bu-lu</td>
<td>Mu-la-ya</td>
<td></td>
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<td>A-lin</td>
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<td>Zi-xiao</td>
<td>Bu-la-che</td>
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<td>Shan-yao</td>
<td>Bu-lu-mu-la *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Che-bu-lu</td>
<td>Sha-piao</td>
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<td>Bu-lu-zhou</td>
<td>Mu-la-ji</td>
<td>Da-mu-la-bu-lu</td>
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<td>Bu-la-cheng</td>
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<td>Bu-la-che</td>
<td>Che-rao</td>
<td>Che-ya</td>
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Note: * indicates the family-head of this house

Table 4

First long-house: 13 households containing 45 people. Zi-er is the family-head.
| Xiao-bu-lu-che | 5 people | Da-mu-la-bu-lu | 6 people |
| Zi-mu-la      | 3 people | Zhong-sha-yao  | 4 people |
| Sha-piao      | 2 people | Bu-lu-mu-lu    | 5 people |
| Shao-bu-lu-zhou | 2 people | Da-po-er      | 2 people |
| Mu-la-ya     | 1 person | Xiao-sha-mu-la | 5 people |
A-lin 1 person    Zi-er 8 people
Lao-bu-lu-dan 1 person.

Second long-house: 5 households containing 12 people. Sha-ke is the family-head.
  Zhong-po-bu-lu 2 people Zhong-che-mu-la 2 people
  Sha-mo 1 person Che-mu-la 2 people
  Sha-ke 5 people.

Third long-house: 7 households containing 21 people. A-shi is the family-head.
  Yao-zi 2 people Mu-la-zhe 1 person
  Da-sha-mu-la 3 people A-shi 3 people
  Bai-jie 2 people Bu-lu-du 3 people
  Bai-men 7 people.

The stone labelled B was called Zhe-luo and represented the family-head of the long-house. The stone labelled C was called Dao-mi and represented the village collectivity.

When the family-head worshipped the stove on major festivals he first gave a portion of the tribute to the family-head of the long-house then to the village collectivity and last to the individual nuclear families of the long-house. The special significance the Ji-nuo attach to the stove probably reflects three types of land ownership: that of the village common ownership, long-house common ownership and the occupation rights of individual nuclear families. The custom of worshipping the stove sometimes also reflects on everyday life.

At harvest each year the family-head of the long-house takes steamed rice made from new grain and carefully studies the direction in which the steam first emanates from the pot. If the steam appears first from direction B then long-house members will enjoy good hunting, if from direction C there will be a year of abundant harvest, but steam from direction A signifies a poor crop. Under the leadership of the family-head the long-house members work together, live together, worship together and share among themselves; a picture of a familial commune under family-headship. The powers and duties of the paternal family-head of the long-house have developed along with the system of private ownership however, and it was the paternal family-head who first destroyed the ancient traditions, customs and system of the long-house which produced further diversification of the long-house members in Long-pa Zhai.

Ethnographic materials indicate that long-houses are not limited to the Ji-nuo but are also common to the La-hu, Du-long and Li of Hai-nan Island.

[The author then lists sites in other parts of China where remains of New Stone-Age houses have been excavated since 1949 and concludes that 'most of these sites are considered to have been matriarchal long-houses. No houses have been found to date which indicate a familial commune long-house under a family-head.']
THE SPREAD AND EVOLUTION OF THE WATER-SPLASHING FESTIVAL AMONG THE DAI MINORITY OF CHINA

Chen Qian

[In earlier sections of this article the author discusses the origin and spread of the festival outside China. He considers it originated in India as a ceremony associated with Brahmanism. 'The Festival spread with Brahmanism to Burma, Thailand, Laos and the Dai areas of Yunnan. The Water-splashing Festival is closely linked with the calendar. The origin and spread of this festival reflect the importance attached to water for agricultural production by the workers of these countries. It also illustrates that introduced customs can only develop when they blend with the indigenous culture.]

After the Water-splashing festival spread among the Dai of Yunnan its mythology melded with that of the Dai and the custom came to represent a struggle between good and evil. It is said that in ancient times there was a terrible tyrant in the area where the Dai lived. Neither fire nor water, arrows or spears could harm him. He frequently plundered treasure, slaves and beautiful women from his domain and no-one could stop him. His seven wives were all beautiful women stolen from among the people and each loathed her lord but lacked means of escape. One day, the tyrant returned with a huge bundle of booty and began boasting in front of his youngest, seventh wife whom he loved most. The quick-witted woman took the opportunity to state: 'The abilities of my lord are matchless, he has no enemies anywhere, he will surely live forever.' On hearing this the tyrant became even more assured and unwittingly let slip the secret of his vulnerability: that if one hair was plucked from his head and tied around his neck he would certainly die. The seventh wife told this to the other wives and they agreed to save the people by murdering him that night. After the tyrant was sleeping soundly, they gently took a hair and tied it tightly around his neck. With a thud the tyrants' head fell to the floor, but they were not to know that after hitting the ground the head would burst into flames. From these flames many tyrants lept toward them. With desperate resolve the eldest wife grabbed the head and wrapped it to extinguish the fire. The tyrant died. To save the people further harm each wife took a turn to guard the head for a year. When it came time to transfer the head the other wives would splash water on the guardian to wash away the blood-stains. Seven years elapsed before the tyrants' head finally stopped bleeding and died. The Dai commemorated the bravery of these seven women by splashing water on each other once a year on this day.

There are also many other tales, but these are roughly the same. There is one which clearly indicates the difference between the Chinese and Indian calendar and agricultural seasons. In this story the heavenly elder [Tai-shang Lao-jun] is gambling with the Buddhist deity [Fo-zu] on the condition that the loser will be decapitated. The heavenly elder gave the time when the rice should be sown and
harvested, but the rice failed to sprout. The Buddhist deity then specified the time for sowing and reaping, and the grain grew well and gave good harvest. Having lost, the heavenly elder lost his head. On striking the ground it burst into flames and so the Buddhist deity charged seven celestial females with responsibility for the head, each to guard it for one year. When the time came to transfer the head, the other six females splashed water on the seventh to wash away the blood-stains. The story indicates that the Chinese calendar and agricultural seasons conformed to climate in the Yangzi-Yellow River region and were unsuited to Yunnan. In the region where the Dai lived, the Indian Ocean climate produced distinct wet and dry seasons and made the Indian calendar more suitable as a basis for agriculture.

From: 'Po-shui Jie de Qi-yuan, Chuan-bo Ji-qi Yi-yi' (On the Origin of the Water-splashing Festival, its Spread and Significance) Yunnan She-hui Ke-xue Yuan (Yunnan Social Science), 1981, No. 3 pp. 62-6.

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FERMENTED AND PICKLED FOOD AMONG THE DAI OF XI-SHUANG-BAN-NA

Yin Shao-ting

The ethnic minorities of Xi-shuang-ban-na produce a wide range of fermented foods using a variety of methods. The most common techniques are described below.

Sour tea: Tea-leaves are stirred in a pot over dry-heat until limp. The leaves are then squeezed, placed in a bamboo tube and sealed with a wooden stick. Natural fermentation occurs several days later. The tube is then unsealed and the leaves dried in the sun. Tea prepared in this manner may be stored for long periods.

Pickled bamboo shoots: There are two methods of preparation: the first involves rinsing the shoots in water then cutting out the heart of the root-base, which is poisonous. The shoots are cut into slices or strips (strips should be squeezed in water) then salt and chilli-peppers are added. Cooked glutinous rice is washed and then stirred into the mixture to produce fermentation. Pickled bamboo shoots can be stored for more than a year. In the second method, bamboo shoots are also cut into slices or strips but then placed in a bamboo tube. A stick slightly narrower than the mouth of the bamboo tube is driven into the ground and the tube is up-ended over the stick. A stone is placed on the top to weigh down the tube and excude the liquid. Bamboo shoots fermented in this manner will keep for over a year.

Pickled vegetables: Many wild greens or vegetables are suitable for pickling and the water method will serve as an example. The vegetable is dried in the sun for a day or two and then the stems are beaten with a stick until soft. The vegetable is washed clean in a bamboo basket and placed in a pot with glutinous rice which has been cooked and washed. After four to five hot days the contents ferment and turn sour.

Nan-mi52 (Dai term): Vegetables are picked when flowering, rinsed and dried in the sun for a day or two. The vegetables are then
crushed in a mortar and placed in a pot with cold water and glutinous rice which has been cooked and washed. After the mixture is fully fermented it is scooped from the pot and squeezed to remove the dregs. The stew is then simmered until it forms a paste. This is placed on the tough sheaths of bamboo shoots and dried in the sun until it becomes a hard, black substance suited to long-term storage. It is only necessary to add one or two pinches to soup. This soup can be served as a dipping sauce with glutinous rice and the xing-cao plant [Houttuynia cordata].

Pickled fish: The fish is washed and scaled then soaked in clear lime-wash for half an hour or overnight. The lime-wash makes the fish firm and less likely to spoil. The fish is then rinsed well in fresh water and placed in a pot or bamboo tube. Salt, glutinous rice which has been cooked and washed, or glutinous rice flour are added then the tube is sealed. Fermentation and pickling require a week of hot weather or around ten days in colder weather. Pickled fish is eaten cooked or served raw with garlic seasoning.

Pickled meat: Beef, pork or beef skin can be prepared by two methods. In the first, the meat is mixed with pickled bamboo shoots and cooked glutinous rice. The mixture is then wrapped in a banana leaf and bound tightly with bamboo strips until fermentation is complete. In the second method, the meat is mixed with cooked glutinous rice, stuffed in a bamboo tube and sealed. The sealing method is as follows; a banana leaf slightly larger than the mouth of the tube is squeezed into the tube to cover the mixture and two short slivers of bamboo are made into a cross and lodged in the tube to secure the banana leaf. The procedure is repeated with a second banana leaf and bamboo cross. Water is then poured into the tube to make the seal air-tight. The meat is eaten either cooked or raw.

Fermented beans: Soy-beans are first rinsed and then soaked overnight. The next day they are boiled soft then spread in a shallow bamboo basket and covered with bamboo or sugar-cane leaves until fermented. When the surface of the beans becomes mouldy, chilli peppers and salt are added and the whole mixture is pulped. The resulting paste is moulded into pieces which are wrapped in banana leaves and placed in a grain store. There are a variety of fermented beans in Xi-shuang-ban-na: dry beans, beans with liquid, plain beans, chillied beans and bean milk, but the manner of preparation is essentially the same in each case.

Alcohol: In brewing spirits it is first necessary to make the brewing agent. The simplest method is used by the Ai-ni of the Ha-ni minority who use only rice flour, chilli peppers, ginger and a type of flower called biao-biao-liang by the Dai. The method the Dai themselves use is much more complicated: the author interviewed Yan Yuan, a fifty-seven year old brewer living in Man-chang Zhai [Village] in Da-luo District of Meng-hai County. Yan began distilling spirits in 1948 and is now a renowned expert. His brewing agent is made from glutinous rice flour and 32 other plants, some of which are used as flavourings and others to raise the alcohol content. Although the use of so many different additives was surprising, the author was later informed that a Dai brewer in Meng-ya District of Meng-hai County used over 100 different plants to produce a fermentation agent.

Brewing methods used by Yan Yuan is as follows:
Manufacturing the brewing agent: First collect and wash the 32
different plants then mix and boil them for about four hours. Let the resulting liquid cool. Weigh out 22 jin [12.5 kg] of glutinous rice, wash it and leave soaking for about one hour. Dry the rice in a shallow bamboo basket and grind it in a mortar. Mix four jin [2 kg] of forty per cent proof spirits and the cooled plant extract with glutinous rice flour and knead to form round cakes weighing about one jin [0.5 kg] each. Before the cakes have completely dried in the sun, make a shallow depression in the centre of each, sprinkle this with powder ground from old brewing agent and top with a little spirits. Then wrap the cakes in grass to facilitate fermentation. This will require 7-8 days in summertime and longer during winter.

Brewing the spirits: First boil or steam the basic ingredients (rice or mixed grain) then let cool. Mix with the ground brewing agent in the ratio of one and a half powdered cakes per fifty jin [25 kg] of grain. When making grain or rice wine during winter the basic ingredients should still be a little warm when the brewing agent is added. The mixture should be placed in a shallow bamboo basket and tightly covered on top. The bottom of the basket should be left uncovered to facilitate filtering. Once the strained liquid has drained out, it should be poured into a large pitcher to ferment. The process requires a minimum of 15 days but is best left for a month before distilling.

Origin and development of fermented foods:

As market-gardening is only found around the cities in Xi-shuang-ban-na most areas still rely on wild greens as a source of vegetables. The inhabitants have chosen several hundred types of food from among the 5,000 kinds of plants and 1,153 types of animals available (in earlier times the range was even larger). In the forested terraces, along the paddy verges and in rivers and ditches are animals and plants that even the locals cannot name precisely. In breaks from labouring the people picked some of these wild plants wrapped them in a banana leaf and carried them home. Frequently, hunting yielded more meat than could be consumed before spoilage began and so the remainder is roasted dry or pickled in a bamboo tube. These methods of preservation are everywhere apparent, are of ancient origin and explain the frequent use of fermented foods in local cooking. In early times, food wrapped in this manner would have fermented easily in the high heat of the region, but it is likely that a long period elapsed before natural fermentation became a controlled process.

Most of the products described above use rice as the fermenting agent. From this it is evident that food fermentation could only have become a skill after the adoption or rice agriculture. The lactic acid in cooked rice speeds fermentation and kills the fungi which cause deterioration, thereby increasing the range and quality of fermented foods. At this point, fermentation became the main method by which food was stored.

The appearance of alcoholic beverages indicates that a high standard of fermented food processing had been reached. There is a traditional account of the origin of alcohol from Meng-a District in Meng-hai County: In earlier times the Dai and the La-hu of the area used tree leaves to wrap food for making Buddhist offerings. After food was left in the crook of a tree for several days the bundle began
to drip water which was delicious to drink. This was the discovery of spirits. The complex preparation of the brewing agent represents the high point of spirit-making skill among the minorities of Xi-shuang-ban-na.

Special characteristics of fermented food:

The principle characteristic of fermented foods from Xi-shuang-ban-na is their 'sourness': a quality which can reduce internal heat [a concept used in traditional Chinese medicine] and aid digestion and absorption of nourishment. There is a saying that 'Han like food sweet and barbarians like it sour', which indicates that the Dai habit of eating sour food is widely known. In terms of the range and quality, the Dai are the most skilled of the Xi-shuang-ban-na minorities producing fermented and pickled foods. The Bu-lang, Ha-ni, Ji-nuo and La-hu of the mountains all recognise this fact.

From: Min-zu-xue yu Xian-dai-hua (Ethnology and Modernisation) 1987 No. 4 pp. 53-4.

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WA MINORITY LONG-HOUSES
IN DA-SAN-MEN ZHAI,
XI-MENG COUNTY

Fu Su-fei (April, 1957)

Building the long-house of the Wo-lang-liu:

The Wo-lang System: The Wo-lang are called Mang na-ke-rao in Wa. According to tradition, the Wo-lang were the earliest officials of the Wa and were charged with responsibility for the drum room, the village ghosts and with ruling on decapitation. They were repositories of Wa history and traditions. The position of Wo-lang is hereditary and I consider it to be a vestige of the ancient position of clan leader. If deer, red deer, or wild boars are killed by hunters, they must give a portion to the Wo-lang. At the house-building festivities the Wo-lang must be the first to drink (p. 101).
The Wo-lang-liu is the great chief of Da-ma-san Zhai, although some people intimated that his management was incompetent and he did not deserve to be regarded as a chief, never mind a great chief.

Mu-yi-yi, the highest spirit in the primitive religion of the Da-ma-san Wa, can only be worshiped in the long-house of the Wo-lang-liu.53

The surname of the Wo-lang-liu is A-mi-ang and he is the official in charge of the wooden-drum room. I infer that the drum room could not have originated before the patriarchal tribe. The Ge-lei-nuo of traditional accounts could only have been an ethnic hero during the period in which the matriarchial system was changing to a patriarchy. His contemporary, Ge-la-tuo, was also a hero and originator of the drum-room (pp. 222-3).

The Mo-ba system: Mo-ba is a La-hu term but has become popular in the area around Ma-san [According to the author, the settlements around Da-ma-san, Xiao-ma-san, Wo-niu Zhai and Xiao-xin Zhai were originally a single unit]. The term in Wa is Beng-cai and the Yue-song Wa refer to the Mo-ba as Ben-chai. The Mo-ba spend most of their time undertaking ghost ceremonies for villagers. Some local settlements do not attach the importance to ghost ceremonies that they enjoy in Ma-san; in some cases the ceremony does not include incantations. The author could find no cases of apprentice Mo-ba and considers that the Mo-ba are religious specialists who have emerged from the Wo-lang [chiefs] group (pp. 101-2).

It is not clear whether the Mo-ba system is a complete social system, but the links between the religious and political system in Ma-san are close and a number of political positions are held by Mo-ba. It is not possible to undertake either of the important ceremonies associated with house-building or severing an ox-tail
House-building:

First day of the Na Month (31st January, 1957 in the Wa Calendar).

Ordinary houses may be constructed during the An month of the Wa calendar. The following month of Na is the only period in which long-houses are to be built. Several days into the Na month, the Wo-lang-liu kills seven chickens and chants to the ghosts in preparation for house-building. On the 13th, the villagers help the Wo-lang-liu carry grass and cut bamboo in preparation for house-building. At mid-day, the Great Mo-ba Ai-sao sacrifices a pig and examines the entrails. The pattern on the surface of the liver is vertical and the organ is full of water - a good omen. A horizontal pattern would indicate a hanging. The pig is gutted, cooked and offered to the ancestors. In the afternoon, Ai-Sao recites incantations before the stove. Then he leads the villagers in singing the house-building song. They begin to remove the old thatch from the house.

On the 14th, the work of dismantling the old thatch continues and utensils from the individual rooms are removed to the guest room. On this day the whole village ceases production and goes to cut bamboo and timber in preparation for house construction. Four relatives of the Wo-lang-liu come from Mo-se-mai to offer well-wishes. In the afternoon an ox is killed and everyone is invited to eat. The family of the Wo-lang-liu stews a pot of beef mixed with ox-droppings. After the Mo-ba chants to the ghosts, the stew is portioned out for eating. At 7.00 pm, Ai-sao pushes the stick which has been used for killing the ox into the vacant ground behind the house and addresses the ghosts. Then the nephews in the Wo-lang-liu clan dig a hole beside the stick then insert an eight metre high bamboo pole and fill in the hole. On top of the bamboo pole is a one metre-long bamboo cross. Seventeen poles are stuck around the main pole and these lean against it. The structure formed by these poles is called ni-he-dao-ge; ni-he meaning house and dao-ge meaning to drag, the implication being that the old house is temporarily dragged to this spot. It is also referred to as ni-he-qiao, meaning the house for dancing. Singing and dancing continue throughout the night.

On the 15th, production is still prohibited. In the early morning, over 20 villagers dismantle the old house and at 9.00 am construction of the new house commences. The foundations remain in place. Of the sixteen original bamboo poles only the two at the front are changed. The rotted wooden posts at front and rear are replaced. At about 5.00 pm in the afternoon the thatch has been put in place with only a gap remaining above the ridge-pole. At 2.00 pm that afternoon two water buffalo and an ox are slaughtered and a divination is made from the livers. The larger and smaller parts of the liver are stuck together at one place - a bad omen. Ai-wan says, 'From this oracle it is apparent that another settlement will carry off some villagers.' If the two parts did not adhere this would have constituted a lucky omen. The meat of the ox is divided for all to eat. At 4.00 pm the eight metre pole at the centre of the Ni-he-dao-ge is replaced with a 25 metre-long bamboo pole with a cross on top. Children and youths play at climbing the pole. It is an
exciting atmosphere with spectators milling about including twenty-odd well-wishers from other villages, people portioning out beef and others firing guns. In the evening, over fifty young men and women arrive from Yue-song and they sing and dance around the Ni-he-dao-ge. The great Mo-ba Ai-sao appears in ceremonial dress, carrying the stick for slaughtering sacrificial animals. He leads seven or eight people into the new house to chant to the ghosts and to sing and dance around the ghost stove. Over 300 people participate in singing and dancing during the evening. Beside the central pole of the Ni-he-dao-ge are two kegs of spirits with special attendants to serve the dancers and singers. There are also people to cook meat and rice for the guests of the Mo-ba. At midnight the Mo-ba goes to the wooden-drum room of Ai-liu to divine from a chicken. A bamboo sliver is inserted into the bird to kill it, but the result is unlucky; a person will probably die. Another chicken is killed and this time the omen is good and there is dancing in the drum-room.

On the evening of the 15th, the singing and dancing continue throughout the night. The people of Yue-song leap around the Ni-a-dao-ge and those of Ma-san leap behind the new house. On the morning of the 16th, the people from Yue-song disperse among the homes of Da-ma-san to eat. Then they dance until it is time to return to Yue-song. Those from Da-ma-san continue dancing. At 7.00 pm, a suckling pig is slaughtered and singing and dancing cease after midnight when the ceremony for the ghosts ends.

On the 17th and 18th, the Mo-ba chants for the ghosts and offers sacrifice to the house-spirit.

On the 19th, the gaps along the ridge-pole of the house are covered in thatch and images of wild animals and humans are sketched on the walls. Small wooden carvings of human figures and forked wood are attached to each end of the ridge-pole.

On the 20th, there is chanting for the ghosts, singing and dancing.


The entire village can only build one long-house each year; to construct more is considered unlucky. In 1957, Da-ma-san comprised 28 households living in small houses, including the abattoir. The small house of the Ai-kun family is typical and will serve as an example: On the eve of house-building, the children of the house call out through the village: ‘Carry grass or bamboo for our family because tomorrow we will build a house. Please come to eat and drink.’ That evening rice is ground in front of the house and the old grass is pulled down from the roof late that night. On the morning when the new house is to be built, the family take the bag for the human head to the small room housing the wooden village drum and beat the drum for several minutes. Over thirty people come to help when the house frame is erected. Only the original bamboo wall beside the main cooking stove is left standing a while longer. Three oxen and a pig are slaughtered. At this point, the relatives of the host offer weak wine, rice and pickled...
meat. All those present can obtain a large piece of meat. That evening several Mo-ba worship the house ghost. They place three cooked mice, some fresh ginger, salt and small portions of the tips of pig ears, pork belly skin, the pig-tail, stomach and intestines on a banana leaf. The Mo-ba surround this and chant to worship the ghost. Then the old women of the village divide the food for everyone to eat. A suckling pig is slaughtered inside the house to worship the ghost and a divination is made. The Mo-ba then goes to the wooden-drum room to exorcise the ghost and invite the human head bag into the new house. That day the foundations of the new house are built. Next morning, the Mo-ba sacrifice a chicken to worship the ghosts. Ai-kun divides the beef among the relatives, friends and helpers. On the third day, the host undertakes some small matters. On the fourth, everything inside and outside the house is arranged and in the evening four Mo-ba are invited, and ten mice are cooked for the house ghost. Those who helped construct the house also come to eat and drink. The cost of constructing Ai-kun's house was three water buffalo, two pigs, four chickens, sixteen mice, and 16 dou [160 litres] of grain and red millet used in making alcohol. The eleven Mo-ba received 10 jin [5 kg] of salt and 11 bundles of thread.

Decoration of the Long-house:
After entering the ghost-door one sees several small bamboo tubes stuck in the left-hand wall of the first room. These are provided for the heavenly spirit, the earth spirit and the ancestors. Further on are hanging hides and bones from the hunt. If an ox has just been killed, its skull is also displayed there. In the corner beside the ox-skull there are usually one or two torn hessian back-sacks containing baskets woven from bamboo with an egg inside. This is the ghost of the human head. If the household were once head hunters, then the knife used for decapitation is also stored there.

In addition to the Wo-lang-liu, the chiefs and Zhu-mi can also construct long-houses, but all must first offer respect to the spirits, drag over the wooden-drum and hold ceremonies every second year for the old sow ghost, the boar ghost and the cutting of the ox-tail...only then can the long-house be constructed. On the walls of the long-house are drawn some images of humans and beasts. Most houses are repaired in the first ten days of the twelfth month.

Wa-zu She-hui Li-shi Diao-cha [Investigations of Wa Society and History] pp. 146-8.

BREWING AND BETEL-NUT PREPARATION
BY THE WA MINORITY OF DA-MA-SAN Zhai,
XI-MENG COUNTY

By Li Yang-song (March, 1957)

Distilling spirits:

The Wa of Da-ma-san consider that 'without wine there is no ceremony' and if guests or relatives meet without toasting this shows a 'bad-heart'. Drunkenness among rich and poor is common following the
autumn harvest and during winter. Alcohol is consumed while squatting on the ground. The host passes the wine to his guests with his right hand and guests receive the wine with their right hands. Then they pour a little onto the ground or dip a finger into the wine and sprinkle some as an offering to the ancestors. Only then do they drink.

The Da-ma-san Wa say they learnt the art of distilling spirits from the Han five or six hundred years ago. The spirits are distilled in the following manner: A bamboo pole is placed near the brewing-wok (see Fig. 1) and a banana leaf is stuck on top; this is known as 'exorcising the ghost'. Then the fermented grain is emptied into a wooden pail which has been positioned in the wok. The pail is made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk. There is a hole high in the side of the pail through which the handle of a wooden ladle protrudes. This handle is joined to a bamboo tube. A fire is lit beneath the iron wok and the steam which rises from the grain condenses on the under-side of a copper basin containing cold water which is placed over the top of the pail. This condensed alcohol collects in the wooden ladle and is drawn off through the bamboo tube into a jug. One dou [10 litres] of grain will produce 11-12 jin [5-6 kg] of spirits.

Preparing betel nuts:

The Wa pick the teak tree [ma-li ] leaves in the mountains and boil them in a pot of water for 2-3 hours to decoct the sap. In the process, the water turns purplish. The leaves are scooped out and the remaining liquid is boiled for another hour until reduced and thickened. Quick-lime is added slowly while the liquid is stirred constantly and a sticky solution forms. This becomes firm when removed from the pot and is areca. Another method involves removing the boiled leaves and pulping them in a mortar and shaping the substance into cakes which are dried. The dried pieces are dipped in quick-lime and chewed. Tobacco, quick-lime or reeds are often added when the betel nut is eaten. Lime is collected from river valleys in the mountains and brought back for boiling and baking in the family stove or black-smith's forge; there is no special utensil for preparing the quick-lime. Baking is used primarily as a method of making quick-lime.

Fig. 1: A Wa Still

Betel-nut chewing is a common practice in Ma-san and the resulting
red-stained lips and blackened teeth are considered beautiful. Young women may give their male companions a betel-nut as an expression of interest. In Weng-ga-ke the custom of chewing betel-nut is comparatively rare.


* * *

news and correspondence

Geoff Wade, Hong Kong, has provided us with details of the following publications in Chinese.

ZHUANG-DONG PROVERBS


This work collects together 1,600 sayings and proverbs from peoples who speak those languages which come under the language phylum referred to in the PRC as 'Zhuang-Dong' languages - the Zhuang, the Bu-yi, the Lin-gao, the Xi-shuang-ban-na Dai, the De-hong Dai, the Dong, the Mu-lao, the Shui, the Mao-nan, the Li and the La-jia Yao.

A section is devoted to each language and at the beginning of each section a list of initials, finals and tones of the language is provided. This is followed by the sayings/proverbs which have been collected, listed under topical categories such as 'Society', 'Life', 'Study', 'Frugality', 'Marriage' and so on. The entries comprise: 1. a romanized rendering of the saying/proverb; 2. a literal Chinese rendering of each of the original morphemes; 3. a formal translation of the saying/proverb in Chinese.

The book concludes with an afterword, giving details of the persons responsible for the collection and translation of the sayings/proverbs of each language.

* ANAECENT CHINESE BRONZE DRUMS


The Chinese Association for the Study of Ancient Bronze Drums was founded, and the first conference held in April 1980. In 1982 it published a collection of papers from this conference. The second conference was held in December 1983 and the collected papers from that conference were published in 1986. Now, all the information from those papers together with new information has been collated, revised and published in this new volume. The nine chapters commence with an overview of research into bronze drums and proceed to detail the origins, types and evolution of the drums, the ethnic groups with
which they were associated, their decorations, the technologies with which they were produced and their significance to historical research. All chapters are well-illustrated and statistical tables include metallurgical analyses for 100 drums and a casting technology analysis of a similar number of drums.

The appendices provide much information not previously published. Appendix 1 lists discoveries of 236 bronze drums as recorded in Chinese historical texts. Appendix 2 lists approximately 250 drums which have been unearthed/discovered over the last 30 years in the PRC. For each drum, typanum diameter, drum height and base diameter are given. Appendix 3 provides a listing of bronze drums held in China. The number of drums detailed in this Appendix is well over 1,000 and, for each drum, the following information is provided: i. a drum number, in many different series, assigned apparently at time of excavation or acquisition; ii. the unit where the drum is held; iii. the manner in which the drum was obtained; iv. the same type of measurements as provided in Appendix 2. Finally, four colour plates and 120 b/w plates are appended, illustrating over 250 bronze drums and several cowrie containers. The quality of the photographs is excellent.

It is notable that in this work the Heger classification system is rejected and an eight-type classification, with names taken from Chinese excavation sites, is adopted. The types are detailed on pp.29-105 and noted briefly in an English summary on pp.330-332.

It is, of course, up to readers to assess the validity of the term 'Chinese Bronze Drums' when used to refer to drums produced by essentially non-Chinese cultures, and to evaluate the claim made by Shi Zhong-jian, the president of the Association, in his foreword, that 'bronze drums are magnificent creations of the ancient cultural treasure-house of the Chinese nation'. However, for anyone interested in such bronze drums, this is an indispensable work of reference.

* * *

The Lanna-Thai Dictionary Project

It is a great pleasure to read regularly the Newsletter of the Lanna-Thai Dictionary Project of which Tawi Swangpanyangkun is the editor. It has been issued monthly since January and the August issue, Number 8 is the latest at time of writing. The Newsletter reports on the progress of the work of the Lanna-Thai Dictionary itself, which is being produced under the direction of Dr. Udom Roongruangsri with Acharn Kraisri Nimmanheminda as President, Acharn Nakhorn Phongnoi as Vice President and the collaboration of forty-six other members of the Advisory Committee. The Project has received financial help for the compilation and publication of the Dictionary from the Mae Fa Luang (Queen Mother's) Foundation and the Bangkok Bank of Commerce. The first draft of the Dictionary is complete and comprised between 12 and 18 thousand Lanna words in one thousand three hundred and fourteen pages. In August the correction of the first draft had proceeded to the letter thor thung. It is anticipated that there will be a meeting to discuss the final corrections in November this year. Acharn Kraisri Nimmanheminda, an expert on Lanna studies, and President of the Advisory Committee, has emphasized the great value this Dictionary
will have for the study of the Lanna language.

At the same time there are two other projects concerned with the publication of Lanna dictionaries.
1. Acharn Pinnarit Chanthima (who is of Tai LŸ ancestry) of the Education Advisory Unit of the Department of Elementary Education, Ministry of Education is currently compiling a Dictionary of Tai LŸ-Lanna-Thai-English.
2. Acharn Aroonrut Wichienkeeo of the Teachers College, Chiangmai has been designated Head of a project for a Dictionary of Northern Local Dialects by the Office of the Committee for National Culture. This Dictionary will bring together northern words found in ancient documents with pronunciations in internationally recognized phonetic script.57

In addition, there is news that Associate Professor Dr. Prani Kullavanichya of Chulalongkorn University has already published a Dictionary of Chuang-Thai.

Associated with the publication of the Lanna Dictionary there have been advances in the technology of compilation and printing. It is reported that Acharn Khachornsak Khanthaphanit of the Chiangmai Faculty has devised a font and program for the use of Lanna script with IBM compatible microcomputers in which it is possible to use the Lanna characters on a standard Thai typewriter keyboard. This research team intends extending this program to include other scripts, such as Tai Khoen, Tai LŸ, Tai Jai (Shan) and Burmese. It is hoped that this project will be ready for announcement and demonstration at the International Conference on Thai Studies to be held in Kunming in May 1990.

* * *

Staff news

Dr. Scott Bamber has taken up an appointment with the Department of Anthropology. He will be engaged in a study of medical practice in Xishuangbanna.

Professor Serge Genest of Laval University, QuŽbec, will spend his sabbatical year as visiting fellow in the Department of Anthropology. He will commence medical anthropological research in north Thailand towards the end of 1989.

* * *

The economic history of southeast asia

The Research School of Pacific Studies has initiated a major project in the 'Modern Economic History of Southeast Asia to run for at least five years from 1989. To quote from the first issue of their newsletter,

It is premised on the conviction that the contemporary economic performance of Southeast Asia cannot be understood except in relation to its past. The study of Southeast Asia's economic history has been
impeded by the diversity of its sources and data series, many of them in languages no longer accessible to economic researchers. The Project will endeavour to integrate the economic history of the region between countries and across the gap created by World War II and political independence.

The convenors of the project are Professor Anthony Reid and Dr. Anne Booth.

In mid-August the project conducted a very successful workshop at which prospective authors gave accounts of their projected volumes. Some of the papers presented to the workshop were:
'Sources of growth, central questions, from a larger perspective' Eric Jones (La Trobe),

'Problems of coherence in Southeast Asia' Malcolm Falkus (New England).

'Trade and society before 1800' Anthony Reid

'Government and public administration: colonial and post-colonial styles' Jamie Mackie

The final session was devoted to 'country studies'.

Jennifer Cushman (see over) was one of the principal organizers of the project at the time of her death.

Dr. Jennifer Cushman
1945-1989

Jennifer completed her PhD at Cornell in 1975 with a thesis entitled Fields from the sea: Chinese junk trade with Siam during the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries. This was translated into Thai by Charnvit Kasetsri and published in 1985. She is also the author of a number of studies on Chinese commercial activity in the region. She came to the ANU in 1975 and is held in great esteem for her teaching, research and general activity in the University community.

In 1985 she organized a conference on the 'Changing identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese since World War II' with Professor Wang Gung Wu which resulted in a publication by Hong Kong University Press last year. This has been commended as the most important book on the subject since the 1950s.

Her major work at the ANU was on the Khaw family of Southern Thailand. This is soon to be published as Family and State: The Formation of a Sino-Thai Tin-Mining Dynasty, 1810-1932.

Jennifer died suddenly on 12 July, and on a cold, frosty morning, in a church in Queanbeyan overflowing with colleagues and friends, we said farewell.
Bibliography and Data Base (B&DB)

In the last issue we referred to Geoff Wade's criticisms of the draft bibliography. I hope we have now met some of these, though the improvements are mainly to the computerised B&DB. We had hoped at the outset to include a facility which would allow a Hypercard sub-stack to be built from the main one using any keyword. Matthew Ciolek (of the Coombs Computing Unit), who designed the original stack, has now added a 'button' as required.

The first input to the data base, as distinct from the bibliography, is the card index of ethnographic notes and references on Thailand built by the late Richard Davis. This is now in the custody of the Department of Anthropology. When of sufficient size we hope to make the bibliography and data base available on disk at moderate cost.

Anyone who wishes to see a sample of the B&DB could send us 3.5" disk formatted for Macintosh Plus or SE and we would be glad to oblige. Hypercard software is necessary and the use of the stack is quite straightforward.

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Distribution of the NEWSLETTER

It is with some reluctance that the Editor brings this message to the notice of readers.

Our distribution list is now nearly as large as our print run, and new requests keep coming in steadily. We must, therefore, prune our list. We will try to keep on the list those with even a minor interest in the project and the contents of the newsletter. New numbers will continue to be free of charge. To enable us to do this please complete the form below (or write us a brief note) and mail as soon as possible to

The Editor
Thai-Yunnan Project newsletter
Department of Anthropology, RSPacS
Australian National University
Box 4, GPO
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia

Institutions, including departments and libraries, will not be taken off the list, but we will appreciate hearing from you.

Back numbers are nearly exhausted and we will now make a charge, payable in advance, of $10 for each back number requested. These will now be photocopies. Please feel free to photocopy and distribute your own copies of back numbers to those who may be interested.
To the editor, Thai-Yunnan Project newsletter:

I wish to be retained on the mailing list.

Name............................................................

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1This is the third extract from a dissertation submitted for a Master's degree to the University of Melbourne in 1951.
2See below, p.186.
3Jacoby, op.cit., p.134.
4V. Y. Vasilieva, Indo-Kitai, Moscow/Leningrad, 1947, pp.127-137.
7Vasilieva, op.cit., pp.90-121.
9See Krizis Kolonial'noi sistemy, p.188.
10See Adloff and Thompson, The Left Wing in Southeast Asia, pp.22-29.
11Krizis Kolonial'noi sistemy, p.187.
12Krizis Kolonial'noi sistemy, p.189.
13Ibid.
14See Adloff and Thompson, op.cit., p.40.
15See For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy, No. 20, 19 May 1950.
16New Times no. 9, 1950.
18Pravda, 15 July 1951.
19Pravda, 15 July 1951.
21Krizis Kolonial'noi sistemy, p.183.
22Pogorelov, loc.cit.
23Krizis Kolonial'noi sistemy, p.185.
24Pogorelov, op.cit., p.49.
26Krizis kolonial'noi sistemy, p.184.
29Viet-Nam Information, 26 January 1951.
30Viet-Nam Information, 26 January 1951.
31Viet-Nam Information, 28 April 1951.
32See, for example, Viet-Nam Information, 29 November 1951.
33Pravda Izvestia, 25 April 1951.
35See Milton Sacks, loc.cit.
37Viet-Nam Information, 22 March, 1951.
38See For a Lasting Peace, 30 March 1951.
40Pravda Izvestia, 24 March 1951.
41Vo Nguyen Giap, loc.cit.
42Produced under the Chief-editorship of Hu Qiao-mu and published in 1986 by Zhong-guo Da Bai-ke-quan-shu Chu-ban She (Chinese Encyclopaedia Publishing Company), Beijing.
43 Morgan Ancient Society 1957:4
44 Engels Communist Manifesto 1888 English edition; Collected Works of Marx and Engels Vol. 1 p. 251
46 Engels, The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State, Peoples' Publishing House p. 86. [This last sentence is not at all clear. The author perhaps wishes to convey that the 'moiety' remains at the highest level of segmentation, despite the emergence of clans. Part of the difficulty arises from the inability on the author's part to distinguish between the purely structural implications of unilinear descent and the speculative formulations of theories of social evolution. Ed.]
47 ibid. p. 87
48 ibid p. 55
49 Yunnan Min-zu Dia-cha-zu (Yunnan Ethnographic Survey Unit), 1958: La-gu Zu Dia-cha Bao-gao (Survey Investigation of the La-gu Minority) printed draft.
50 Yunnan Min-zu Dia-cha-zu (Yunnan Ethnographic Survey Unit), 1958: Du-long Zu Dia-cha Bao-gao (Survey Investigation of the Du-long Minority) printed draft.
51 H.H Tebokshalov? and Tebokshalova 1858, On Ethno-historical Classification of Housing Types and Collected Works on Ethnographic Problems No. 8 p. 35
52 Nam-mi is probably more correct. Ed.
53 No further details on these two individuals are given.
54 Rich households. These are not political leaders but have economic means which allow them to sacrifice oxen frequently and lend money in lean times; thereby gaining prestige in the eyes of villagers (p. 60).
55 See map on page 22
56 There is some confusion in this account because betel nuts from the areca palm were not an ingredient in the recipe. Perhaps the Wa refer to the pieces of congealed leaf-solution as betel nuts - trans.
57 A preliminary version, entitled Ist Year Report, is in limited circulation.