

Hill Tribe Welfare : Buddhism Responding

Ven. Dr. Phramaha Boonchuay Sirindharo

In the remote highlands of Thailand live over half a million people who have chosen a community life isolated from the plains in the area of the north and western parts of the country. For centuries, they have retained their independence and maintained a distinctive way of life. Plainlander calls them Chao Khao which means hill people or hill tribes. These people may be classified under two main groups on the basis of their linguistic identity and geographical distribution.

Under Linguistic classification hill tribes can be classified into three linguistic stocks as follows .-

1. Sino-Tibetan :
 - Sinitic-Haw
 - Tibeto-Burman (Lisu Lahu Akha)
 - Karenic (S'kaw, Pwo, Kayah, Taungthu)
2. Austro-Thai (Meo, Yao)
3. Austro-Asiatic : Mon-Khmer (H'tin, Lua, Khamu, Mlabri)

The tribals may also be divided into two groups according to their geographic distribution i.e.:

First, the low hill and high valley peoples consist of the Karen, Lua, Khamu and H'tin. These peoples do not traditionally grow the opium-poppy. Generally speaking, they practise an ecologically-informed

mode of cyclical shifting cultivation. They (the Lua and the Karen) prefer, where feasible, to develop wet rice fields. These are well established people who are considered to be native to Thailand and the adjoining area of Burma and Laos.

The second group is the pioneer in wilderness and it consists of the highland dwelling opium-poppy growing peoples. They live at higher attitude because the opium poppy can grow well at the 1,000 metre contour (above sea level). Included in this group are the Meo, Yao, Lahu, Lisu and Akha, all of whom migrated to Thailand (from Burma and Laos) in the past one century.

The tribal population, now, is scattered over 75 districts of twenty provinces in North and Western Thailand i.e. Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Mae Hong Son, Phayao, Nan, Lampang, Lamphun, Phrae, Sukhothai, Tak, Phitsanulok, Loei, Phetchabun, Kamphaeng-Phet, Uthai-Thani, Kanchanaburi, Suphunburi, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Prachuab Khiri-Khan. The figures of total population of the tribals have been collected since 1970s, by the Tribal Research Institute. In the year 1995, the total number of tribals was 694,720, the Karen is the largest group, and the Khamu is the smallest.

Apart from the above population figures there are 90 households and 485 persons in four villages of 'Palong' tribe and not more than 182 persons of 'Mlabri' tribe exclusively. The Palong tribe is a new group who have just migrated to Chiangmai. While the Mlabri tribe, a food gatherer and hunter community, is a very small group living in Phrae province, and Sa and Na-Noi Districts of Nan Province.

Regarding their beliefs, most of the tribes are animists and mostly pantheists who believe in spirits of all kinds : heavenly spirits, natural spirits, ancestral spirits, house spirits and other inherent spirits. According to the National Policy Report, there are many problems regarding the tribes such as depletion of natural resources and environment, opium cultivation, national security and low standard of living etc., which the government, NGO's and other volunteer organizations (especially the Royal Project) have tried to solve in the past thirty years. In 1989, the National Policy on the tribes was laid down, and it covers three aspects i.e., political and administrative, economic and social development and natural resource : usage, conservation and development. From the time of the establishment of the Department of Public Welfare in 1959, the Department has been working in accordance with the Nation Policy to solve the four major problems simultaneously. In order to mobilize the policy, the Hill Tribe Welfare Division was set up in 1963, the Tribal Research Centre was set up in 1965 in cooperation with Chiang Mai University which became the Tribal Research Institute acting as advisory body with useful information. Moreover, in order to build up close tie with the tribes, the Hill Tribe Welfare Division consulted and cooperated volunteer groups from several Thai universities and national as well as international NGOs.

Here, apart from several other volunteer organizations, the Sangha was also consulted by the government which resulted in the establishment of Phra Dhammacarik Project (Dhamma-wanderer Project). Regarding this task of Phra Dhammacarik Project of the Sangha, many programmes have been implemented in order to fulfil the

aims and objectives of the project. Phra Dhammacarik Acting in Target Areas programme, Group Ordination and Training programme, Dhamma Education for Tribal Monks and Novices programme, Phra Dhammacarik Training Programme, Herbal Practice for Phra Dhammacarik programme and Vocational Courses and Moral Training programme are major ones being run under Phra Dhammacarik Project from 1993 up to now. However, Phra Dhammacarik Acting Programme is very significant is discussed here in order to make clear of the influences of Buddhism responding to hill tribe welfare.

Phra Dhammacarik's Target Areas Programme is a main programme of Phra Dhammacarik Project right from the beginning of the implementation of the project in 1965. Mr. Prasit Disawat, then Head of the Tribal Welfare Division, Department of Public Welfare, consulted with Phra Dhammakittisobhon, the abbot of Wat Benchamaborpitr, Bangkok, Head of the 6th Regional Sangha Administration comprising provinces of Chiang Rai, Lampang, Nan and Phrae (later on Phayao was also included as a new province created out of Chiang Rai) and also Chairman of Spiritual Culture Sub-Committee. The idea of this project of propagation of Buddhism amongst the tribes was a novel one in those days. Having established the group, the members used this project of propagation of Buddhism amongst the tribes by Phra Dhammacarik Group in 1965 as trial project with a view to revive, develop and make it a permanent project in future if the programme succeeds.

The trial project was submitted to the government to seek a proposal from the Department of Public Welfare. The department

approved after making an on the spot study in the field at villages in Phetchabun and Loei. While on the Sangha front, Phra Dhammakittisobhon proposed the project both to Spiritual Culture Sub-Committee and to the Sangha Supreme Council to know the way of functioning the project. The trial project had two main objectives :- (1) to try to build spiritual relationship with the tribes with appropriate means of project for development and tribal welfare, (2) to collect data and information in order to study and find proper means to run the project in long future. The project prescribed the modes of function of the project which are :-

(1) The Department of Public Welfare contacted Phra Dhammakittisobhon the abbot of Wat Benchamabopitr for inviting ten senior monks eligible to become heads of ten Phra Dhammacarik Groups, ten Vipassana meditation experts, ten monks who finished higher grades of Pali Exams and around thirty Parien monks or Nak-Dhamma monks who used to visit and familiarise with the tribes or monks who could speak the language of concerned tribes. It was a project of total fifty monks. Then, monks were divided into ten groups, five monks of each group, and sent to help in tribal development at the villages of six tribes i.e., Meo, Yao, Lahu, Lisu, Akha and Karen in five Northern provinces of Tak, Chiang Mai, Mae Hongson, Chiangrai and Phetchabun.

(2) Tribal Welfare Division, Department of Public Welfare, contacts heads of Tribal Self-help Settlement and heads of the Hill Tribe Welfare Centres, where the targets of the project were laid to complete building shelters for Phra Dhamacariks before their arrival (including providing necessary facilities).

(3) Orientation was arranged by Phra Dhammakittisobhon with the cooperation of Tribals Welfare Division, Department of Public Welfare for fifty Phra Dhammacariks for a period of three days in order to give general knowledge of tribes and proposed project at Wat Benchamabopitr.

(4) Sent fifty Phra Dhammacariks to target areas to implement the project.

There were certain rules for Phra Dhammacarik to obey and tasks to carry out. And there were also special tasks (such as medicine distribution) to be carried out. Apart from the cooperation of the Department of Public Welfare, the project had got financial support from the Asia Foundation, Thailand covering an amount 63,622.90 Baht and medical supplies from Public Health Ministry.

Evaluating the trial project which was implemented for the duration of forty-five days, it was claimed to be successful with the following evidences :-

- Tribals learnt how to pay respect to the monks, knew that the monks has higher status from those of general people and learn the value of giving alms and making merit.

- Numbers of those who proclaimed to be Buddhist were as much as 800 (out of around 5,000).

- Twelve children were seeking admission to get ordination.

- Some villagers expressed their wish of having monks permanently in their villages.

Collecting all data and information, problems and obstacles, the project had been revived and continued in the following years with the cooperation of two Buddhist Universities, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University and Mahamakuttarajavidyalaya University, in order to combine the knowledge of both secular and religious nature. But due to the conflict regarding sects, in 1968, the method of selection of the monks to work in this project had been changed to accommodate both city monks and local monks, in which eligibilities of both types of monks were prescribed separately. Apart from these, some of tribal novices, who had got ordination from this project from the beginning, had started cooperating with the project by returning to live in their respective village's Ashrams. And after their higher ordination, they still have continued and cooperated the project continuously. The objectives of the project, which was not very clear earlier, had been revised many times in accordance with the changed situation. The present project's objectives are those which were last revived in 1986. They are as follows .-

- (1) to propagate Buddhism amongst the tribes
- (2) to develop morality, education, treatment and solve immediate problems
- (3) to strengthen the sense of Thai nationality among the tribes
- (4) to train the tribes for high morality, make them ideal citizens

It is to be noted that during 1967 - 1982, a communist movement tried to incite the tribes and captured many tribal areas. This created the difficulty in functioning the project and resulted in the decrease of number of Ashrams as well as the number of Phra Dhammacariks in many areas.

However, after the problem was solved, number of Ashrams increased relatively. In 1986, there were 129 Ashrams in as many as 17 provinces. Moreover, in order to solve the financial problems of the project, Buddhist Mission for Remote People Foundation was set up in 1971.

In 1986, the administrative structure of the project was reshaped to get correct information and getting faster result of the project by the way of introducing new division of Phra Dhammacarik zones and appointing monks to follow up the project instead of having only senior and head monks of the project. It was a natural outcome as the number of Ashrams was increasing faster. The division of Phra Dhammacarik zones are as follows.-

1. First Zone : Area of Chiang Mai, Lamphun and Mae Hongson which is divided into three groups, i.e.-

1.1 Group I : Muang, Maerim, Maetaeng, Chieng-dao, Phang, Mae-ai, Samoeng, Phrao and Vienghaen districts, Chaing Mai.

1.2 Group II : Sanpatong, Chomthong, Maechaem, Hod, Omkoi, Sankampaeng districts, Chiang Mai and Thunghuachang sub-district, Lamphun.

1.3 Group III : Maesarieng, Maelanoi, Khunyuam, Muang, Pai, Sopmoei district, Mae Hongson and Maechaem district, Chiang Mai.

2. Second Zone : Chiangrai, Phayao and Lampang.

3. Third Zone : Tak, Sukhothai, Loei, Suphanburi, Kamphaengpet, Uthaithani, Kanchanaburi, Phetchabun and Phitsanulok.

4. Fourth Zone : Nan and Phrae

However, this administrative structure of Phra Dhammacuriks was again reshaped in 1993 by dividing each zone into various groups i.e., four groups in the first zone, two groups in the second zone, three groups in the third zone and two groups in the fourth zone, and set up offices at appropriate places in respective areas.

During the period 1966 - 1986, the project was considered to be a new step of propagation of Buddhism in the highland. It is because, apart from main duty of propagation of Buddhism, Phra Dhammacariks performed other remarkable role of developers in social as well as economic development. Moreover, other prominent activities of Phra Dhammacariks are a combination of local beliefs and Buddhism which could be seen through several rituals performed by them.

However, number of Ashrams increased relatively, from 1986 there were 129 Ashrams, in 1994 alone there became 183 Ashrams and lived 365 Phra Dhammacariks, according to the data collected by Office of Chairman of Executive Committee of Regional Phra Dhammacarik Project, Wat Srisoda, Chiang Mai. Out of these 183 Ashrams, as many as 123 Ashrams (67.21%) are in the villages of Karen tribe, 16 Ashrams (8.74%) are in villages of H'tin tribe, 10 Ashrams are in village of Yao tribe, 9 Ashrams are in villages of Meo tribe, 7 Ashrams are in villages of Lahu tribe, 3 Ashrams are in villages of Khamu tribe, 3 Ashrams are in villages of Lisu tribe, 2 Ashrams are in villages of Lua tribe, 9 Ashrams are in villages of combined tribes, and other 1 Ashrams is in villages of unidentified tribe. Here, it is to be noted that there is no single Ashram in the village of Akha tribe which was in the fourth place in 1965 except those of five Ashrams of combined Akha and other tribes.

It is indicated that Akha tribe is the only tribe that refuses to accept Buddhism. And the figure also shows that Karen and H'tin tribes are the only groups who have syncretised their local beliefs with Buddhism more than the other groups have been able to do.

Almost all of the present activities of Phra Dhammacariks are actually considered to be the ancient and traditional social activities of monks if we do not include the role of Phra Dhammacariks in solving contemporary problems, like drug problem, HIV/AIDS problem etc. The secular service of Phra Dhammacariks who live in remote area in order to make the tribals understand the changing world has been considered as an offensive role of monks. The way of approaching the tribes instead of waiting for them in the monasteries like before has been widely criticised. On the contrary, it is return to ancient role of monks to create harmony and safety of the nation which has been obscured by social and economic changes. Extension of the tar areas of the project resulted in other problems like of the lack of voluntary personal to work as Phra Dhammacariks in the newly founded Ashrams. It is quite evident when we observe the number of new applicants for the year 1994, less than 30 applicants applied to work for the project. However, there is an effort to solve this problem by organizing new project of personal training which the Phra Dhammacarik project took cooperation from Rajapat Institute, Chiangmai. This project of personal training provides four years course of B.A. in Non-Formal Education. Later, in 1999, the project took also cooperation from Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya university, Chiang Mai Campus in providing four years course of B.A. in Social Works. These may help the problem getting solved. The project

expects at least 200 monks to work in the project a year circularly. But the number of monks trained in this project is still less than expectation (50 monks in a year). Besides, this project of personal training helps in solving another main problem i.e., the problem of Phra Dhammacariks not staying and working regularly in the Ashrams. It is because fieldwork in the Ashrams is one of the compulsory subjects which all have to pass in order to complete their study and get degree. The Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya university, Chiang Mai Campus, therefore, propose the project to have graduated monks work as volunteers for the welfare of hill tribe people. The proposal has been accepted by the University Council and get financial support from the Thai government. At the beginning, the university sent 24 graduated monks to work voluntarily as Phra Dhammacarik in order to fill up the gap of the project. From then, not less than 30 graduated monks have been sent to work in the newly founded Ashrams mainly in Chiang Rai and Chiang Mai.

After three decades of the implementation of the project, the study finds that for further propagation of Buddhism amongst the tribes, it is desirable to classify the tribes (according to their own beliefs) into two groups: (a) those who accepted Buddhism, and (b) those who did not.

(a) Those who accepted Buddhism: This group includes Karen, H'tin, Khamu and Lua etc., which covers sixty per cent of the total tribal population countrywide. They love to have the project implemented in their respective areas permanently. But the project, for the lack of financial resources, fails to fulfil their wish by sending Phra Dhammacariks to the whole area.

(b) Those who did not accept Buddhism: This group includes Meo, Yao, Lahu, Lisu and Akha etc., who are shifting cultivators. This system of shifting cultivation has caused the destruction of headwaters forests. Their habit of cultivating opium-poppy (a cash product) is considered to be the major problem. Besides, they still retain their animistic beliefs and love to maintain their identity.

Here, the second group of the tribe is considered to pose serious threat to the goals of the project. It is generally believed that a contingent of devoted Phra Dhammacariks with special training would be more successful to work in this area.

At the time when the Phra Dhammacarik Project was being introduced in 1965 as a trial project, many of the tribals embraced Buddhism and wished to have their children ordained. Most of those, numbering 12, who wished to get ordination were the sons of Meo tribe from the Ashram of Phra Dhammacarik, Ban Tabberg, Lomkao District, Phetchabun. And in 1969, some of those who had been ordained in 1965 and had not left novicehood started working for Phra Dhammacarik Project and it marked the beginning of the direct involvement of tribal monks/novices in this project. Ordination programme was not only a way to involve them in studying the teachings of the Buddha, it also helps in producing personal for the project in propagation of Buddhism to the tribes regularly. As they can communicate better with the target people they can make them understand easily. Moreover, they are in total control of the knowledge of the people's belief. It helped them immensely to adjust their old beliefs of each tribe with Buddhist belief. The first group of 12 children were ordained at Wat Benchamabopitr, Bangkok. Later on,

Sanghas of local level liked to make their contribution to the project by hosting ordination ceremony and admitted newly ordained monks and novices in their respective monasteries. Some of these monasteries include Wat Mahadhatu, Petchabun; Wat Phayabhu, Nan, Wat Phrasriratanamahadhat, Phitsanulok and Wat Phradhat Doisuthep, Chiang Mai. These monasteries were authorized to organize group ordination ceremony in 1968. However, it did not work out in organizing ordination ceremony in other provinces separately due to financial problem. Therefore, it was stopped and the ordination ceremony takes place now only at Wat Benchamabopitr, Bangkok.

Earlier, interested children who embraced Buddhism were mostly uneducated because the national education plan had reached only a few of these remote areas with effort of the Border Police and Tribal Welfare Division, Public Welfare Department. Therefore, in 1969, the following qualifications were prescribed to those tribals who were interested to get ordination i.e., he should be :

- 1) adequately literate
- 2) prepared to live in monastery not less than one year
- 3) of not less than 12 years of age and below 40
- 4) aware of the procedure of ordination from his perspective place as a training.

Later on, when the programme was extended, the Ashrams were constructed more and more, and the national educational plan of the government was introduced in more areas which availed the tribes compulsory education. It resulted in the increase of number of those

who expressed their desire to get ordination. In 1971, new set of eligibilities was prescribed. With these new eligibilities, one who wished to get ordination should have :

- 1) passed the primary school class four level
- 2) intension to live in monastery for not less than one year
- 3) an age of 15 years but not over 35
- 4) prior good training on ordination method (Esaham...) from his respective place

At the same time, there was also another set of qualification for those tribal monks and novices who wished to seek admission to stay permanently at Wat Benchamabopitr, Bangkok. Such seeker should be :

- 1) graduated fourth class
- 2) with deep interest in studying Buddhism
- 3) not less than fifteen years of age but not over thirty-five
- 4) qualified in Nak-Dhamma course (Nak Dhamma Tri)
- 5) authorized and guaranteed by his abbot, district head, and provincial governor of Sangha of his respective area

Earlier, during 1965 to 1971, most of the tribal monks and novices who continued to live in monkshood had resided in Wat Benchamabopitr to study Buddhism and some of them return to their respective provinces and lived there in order to get education in Sangha system. Since 1965, more than 10,000 monks and novices have been ordained, and in 1994 alone, 322 monks and novices were

ordained at Wat Benchamabopitr, Bangkok the following table made clear monks and novices ordained tribewise :

Table-1 : Monks and Novices Ordained tribewise

Series	Tribes	Novice	Monk	Total
1	Karen	121	26	147
2	Yao	58	4	62
3	Meo	50	4	54
4	Lahu	23	-	23
5	Lisu	14	-	14
6	Akha	9	-	9
7	H'tin	7	2	9
8	Lua	2	-	2
9	Khamu	2	-	2
Total		286	36	322

Note: Apart from these nine tribes, there were other tribals living in remote areas who embraced Buddhism and sought admission in ordination i.e., one novice from Lue (a Tai tribe in South China and North Thailand), one monk from Palong, five novices from Thai Yai (certain Thai tribes in South China and North Thailand), five novices from Chin Hor (Yunanese or Chinese trader living in Yunan, China, and

in Northern Thailand), and eleven monks and three novices from lowlanders. Therefore, the total number of monks and novices ordained in 1994 was 348.

Every year, in the month of April and May, several Ashrams would select those who are interested in getting ordination and fulfil the prescribed qualifications and propose their names to serve the Coordination Centre at Wat Srisoda. At Wat Benchamabopitr their parents from respective areas also arrive to attend the ordination ceremony. These newly ordained monks and novices return and reside together at the Centre for Training of Buddhism to Tribal Monks and Novices, Wat Srisoda, Chiang Mai for their study of Buddhism. In order to provide educational facilities for ordained monks and novices, Phra Dhammacarik Project has established a Centre for Training of Buddhism to Tribal Monks and Novices at Wat Srisoda, Chiang Mai in 1971. It has developed as a place for tribals to live and study Buddhism. However, at the time when the centre could not provide necessary accommodation for increasing number of the newly ordained monks and novices, many Ashrams in several places were used as branches of the centre to provide residence and education. They are :-

1. Phra Dhammacarik Ashram, Maechan Self-Help Settlement, Chiang Rai (1975-1976).
2. Phra Dhammacarik Ashram, Nongwaen Village, Maechan, Chiang Rai (1975-1979).
3. Phra Dhammacarik Ashram, Klonglan village, Klonglan Sub-District, Kamphaengphet (1975-1976).
4. Wat Phaihin, Muang, Chiang Mai.

Later on when the centre at Wat Srisoda completed the construction of a new building the necessity of having branches does not exist any more. However, now, the centre has made a plan to support the ever growing number of tribal monks and novices by using the complex of Wat Vivekvanaram, Sanchai District, Chiang Mai as a branch of the centre.

Regarding training and educational programme for tribal monks and novices, prior to the establishment of 'Centre for Training of Buddhism to Tribal Monks and Novices', the programme had provided a course of Thai (Language) to help them in learning Buddhism in Wat Benchamabopitra, Bangkok. And in the early years of the establishment, the centre had opened a course of Adult Education under Informal Education Department, Ministry of Education with main aim of providing basic study of the Thai (language) for speeding up the learning of Buddhism. This School for Adult Tribals at Wat Srisoda had also provided a course for tribal children living in Wat Srisoda as temple boys. This course of Adult Education (equivalent to Grade Nine) has been offered at 32 Ashrams (mostly in Chiang Mai) which serve around 1,850 students as experimental programme. It is successfully done. The centre, then, takes further necessary action with the support of the Department of Informal Education. In 1990, Somdet Phrabuddhajinavong School was established which provides a course of Dhamma Study General Division, under the Department of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Education (now Office of National Buddhism) for class seven to class nine. Later on, it was upgraded to class twelve. Besides, Dhamma School for Dhamma and Pali Studies was also opened in 1971 which produced many tribal Nak-Dhammas and Pariens.

Apart from three schools that provided courses of studies for Tribal monks and novices, the centre have constantly tried its best to uplift quality of Phra Dhammacariks working in the Phra Dhammacarik Project including those tribal monks by providing four years Bachelors course of Education, majoring in Informal Education, in 1992, with the cooperation of the Rajapat Institute, Chiangmai. And later, in 1999, the project took also cooperation from Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya university, Chiang Mai Campus in providing four years course of B.A. in Social Works which is considered to be fitted for Tribal monks and novices who are to work in the hill areas. With all efforts of the centre, Phra Dhammacarik Project has got advantage of having more and more educated and well trained tribal monks and novices to work in the target areas.

It is to be noted that apart from programme mentioned above of Phra Dhammacarik Project, Phra Dhammacarik Project has extended the project by introducing several new programmes as follows :

1. Pre-school Training Centre Programme ; to prepare tribal children for going to school.
2. Programme of Centre for Helping Villagers in Villages; to support the extension of work of Tribal Welfare Division.
3. Old-age Service Centre Programme ; to provide necessities to the aged persons in the modern society where the youngsters have migrated to work in the city.
4. Natural Resources and Arts & Cultural Conservation Programme ; to cultivate the sense of conservation of natural resources and tribal arts and culture.

5. Programme of Moral and Vocational Sub for the Female Tribals ; to develop morality in female tribals and offer professional course to them.

6. Programme of Phra Dhammacarik Information Centre: to collect and exchange data and information about the Phra Dhammacarik Project for study, promotion and publicity.

7. Programme of Extension of Education for Phra Dhammacariks: to upgrade Phra Dhammacariks working in the Project by supporting their further higher education.

These are attempts of the Sangha organization to solve tribal problems. However, the Sangha organization still needs more cooperation from all sectors to fulfil the objective of solving tribal problems.

Technical Service Club, Tribal Research Institute, Minbri, The Hill Tribes of Thailand, Bhing Mai : Nantakarn, 1995 : 4.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 5.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 47-48.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 73-77.

For elaboration see, Singhakowind, Ampol ed., 30 Years Phra Dhammacarik, Bangkok:

Buddhist Mission for Remote People Foundation, 1996 : 53-54.

ibid. 61.

ibid.

Number should be twenty instead of thirty.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 63-65.

Ibid. 68.

Ibid. 71.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 81.

ibid. : 81.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 397-9.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 89-90.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 188-9.

Table provided by Office of Chairman of Executive Committee of Regional Phra Dhammacarik Project, List of Phra Dhammacariks Class no.30, Year 1994, Chiangmai: Wat Srisoda, typed paper of Office of Chairman of Executive Committee of Regional Phra Dhammacarik Project, 1995.

Singhakowind, Ampol ed., 30 Years Phra Dhammacarik, Bangkok: Buddhist Mission for Remote People Foundation, 1996 : 150.

Ibid. : 152.

Ibid. : 173.

Ibid. : 190-91.

Ibid. : 191.

Ibid. : 191.

Ibid. : 191.

Ibid. : 193.

Ibid. : 193.

Ibid. : 211.

Ibid. : 213.

Ibid. : 213.

For elaboration see *ibid.* : 179-80.