CONTROL DATA
CORPORATION

VILLAGE USE OF COMMUNAL RICE LAND IN LONG AN PROVINCE, VIETNAM

by
Henry C. Bush
Control Data Corporation
January, 1971

Sponsored by ADLR, USAID, Vietnam
under Contract No. AID-730-3249

This report is also available in Vietnamese from ADLR, USAID, Vietnam.

CONTROL DATA
CORPORATION

VILLAGE USE OF COMMUNAL RICE LAND IN LONG AN PROVINCE, VIETNAM

by
Henry C. Bush
Control Data Corporation
January, 1971

Sponsored by ADLR, USAID, Vietnam
under Contract No. AID-730-3249

This report is also available in Vietnamese from ADLR, USAID, Vietnam.

CONTENTS

Reasons for the Inquiry 1

Research Design 3

Results 5

how much rice land is communal land 5
who gets to use it 6
land for revenue and land for welfare 8
the limited authority of village officials to allocate it 9
must one live there or be born there to use it 9
may one sublease or inherit it 10
length of lease and leases without limit 10
rent 10
size of communal holdings allowed 11
villagers' attitudes toward communal land: benefits 11
what village officials say communal land income is used for 13
those who need communal land 14
why many who need it do not receive it 15
those who receive it 17
reasons why it should be distributed to present tillers 17

Conclusions 22

Appendix A: Questions Put to Respondents 25

Appendix B: Villages Sampled 35

TABLES

Table 1: Percentage of all Rice Land Which Is Village Communal Land 5

Table 2: What Villagers Say Income from Communal Land Is Used For 12

Table 3: What Village Officials Say Income from Communal Land Is Used For 13

Table 4: Equity of Communal Land Distribution 15

Table 5: Equity of Communal Rice Land Distribution to Existing Tillers 17

REASONS FOR THE INQUIRY

The Ministry of Land Reform, Agriculture, and Fisheries Development (MLRAF), responsible for the administration of the Land to the Tiller law, is concerned about the application of the law to village communal lands.

Most village communal land is in the coastal plain of Central Vietnam (Annam). In Central Vietnam it is a large proportionof all rice land. In the Delta it is not.[1] Village uses of communal land in Central Vietnam have been studied recently and reported separately.[2] This is a study of one Delta province, Long An. It was requested by the MLRAF and the ADLR advisor to Long An.

It endeavors to learn:

1. How much rice land is communal land in villages in Long An
2. Who gets to use communal rice land, how, for how long, and why

---

1. In Central Vietnam it is about 26% of all cultivated land. In the Delta it is less than 3%. In Long An it is about 11%. ("Communal Land and Ricefields," Report No. 5, Dec. 1960, by the Secretariat of State for Land Property and Agrarian Reform, in Table 6, summary volume, Land Reform in Vietnam, report to the Republic of Vietnam and USAID by the Stanford Research Institute, 4 vols., 1968; estimate by the Directorate of Land Affairs, late 1965, summarized by J. P. Gittinger in "Communal Land Concepts in Recent Vietnamese Policy," pamphlet, May, 1966; and village records.

2. See Village Use of Communal Rice Land in Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Quang Nam, Quang Tin and Quang Ngai Provinces, Vietnam, report to the MLRAF and USAID by Control Data Corporation, Dec. 1970 (available in English and Vietnamese from ADLR, USAID).

3. whether villagers want to continue using village communal rice land as they now do, or distribute communal plots to individual tillers, and why.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Locus: The study was done in 74 rural villages of A, B, or C security rating in Long An province. This is 90% of all villages in Long An. They are listed by district in Appendix B.

Method: Village officials, villagers now tilling or leasing communal land, and villagers not now having the use of communal land were interviewed. From village officials interviewers endeavored to learn how much rice land in the village is communal land, who gets to use it, for how long, and why. From villagers they endeavored to learn what benefits, if any, they derive from communal rice land, whether they regard the system as just or unjust, and whether or not they favor distributing it to individual tillers.

Interview format was structured to minimize interviewer omissions or improvisations. The study built on the field experience and design of the larger study of communal land use in Central Vietnam cited in note 2. The field work was done during October, 1970. The questions put to village officials and villagers are given in Appendix A.

The Sample: In all, 343 respondents were interviewed: 74 village officials, 231 villagers not farming communal land, and 38 villagers who are farming communal land. Of the 74 village officials, one was interviewed in each village. In all cases the official interviewed was the one qualified to explain and discuss communal land use or he was the village chief. Of the 231 village families not farming communal rice land, 90% are farmers and the other 10%

work at occupations typical of rural society. Of the 90% who are farmers, only 30% own all of the land they farm. Of the 38 families who are tilling communal land, all are farmers.

All villages under GVN control and of A, B, or C security rating in October, 1970, in all 7 districts, were sampled. Interviews were proportionate to district populations. Interviews of villagers now tilling communal land were proportionate to the percentage of all rice land which is communal rice land in the province. Interviews were conducted by the land reform assistants to the ADLR Province Land Reform advisor--each of whom works fulltime in the district in which he did the interviewing. One can be 95% confident that the data obtained are within $\pm$ 5% of the data which would be yielded if one were to interview all village officials, all rural villagers, and all families now tilling communal land on the same matters in Long An province.

RESULTS

Long An has about 100,000 hectares of rice land. How much of this is communal land in villages in Long An? See Table 1.

Table 1

Percentage of All Rice Land Which Is Village Communal Land

District	% of Rice Land Which Is Communal	No. of Villages	Distribution Among Villages
Can Giuoc	7%	15	The 5 villages having more than most average 12%. The 6 villages having less than most average 3%.
Ben Luc	15%	10	In 1 village 58% of all rice land is communal land. All others average 10%. The 6 lowest average 8%.
Can Duoc	11%	7	
Tan Tru	17%	13	In 1 village 70% of all rice land is communal land. All others average 11%. Of these, 9 villages average 8%.
Thu Thua	6%	8	7 of the 8 villages sampled average 3%.
Binh Phuoc	13%	12	In one village 59% of all rice land is communal land. In another 27% is. 7 villages average only 4%.
Rach Kien	13%	9	
All of Long An	11%	74	87% of all villages average 8%.

Of 72 of Long An's villages:

25 villages, 35% of all, hold from 1 thru 5% of their rice land communally
24 villages, 33% of all, hold from 6 thru 10% as communal land.
13 villages, 18% of all, hold from 11 thru 15%
4 villages, 5% of all, hold from 16 thru 20%
1 village, 1% of all, holds from 21 thru 30%
1 village, 1% of all, holds from 26 thru 30%
1 village, 1% of all, holds from 30 thru 40%
3 villages, 4% of all, hold from 50 thru 70% as communal land

Hamlet Communal Land: In two districts, Tan Tru and Thu Thua, a few hamlets possess hamlet communal rice land. In Tan Tru 9% of all the villages include hamlets having communal rice land. In Thu Thua 14% do.

Who Gets To Use Communal Land? Most village communal rice land is used by those who were tilling it when GVN authority was restored during recent years, and they retain the use of the communal land they are on for an indefinite period. When we asked village officials how they distribute communal land, by competitive bidding to raise money, by lottery with equal chance for all villagers, by equal shares to all, or by other methods, 52% of all village officials and village chiefs interviewed say by "other methods." When we asked them what special priorities, if any, make applicants eligible for communal rice land plots, 42% said they are farmed by the landless and others. When we asked villagers now tilling communal land how they happened to receive it, 50% said it was because they were otherwise landless or for some "other" reason. "Other methods" and "other reasons" mean allocation other than by the GVN village authorities. The following typical responses by village officials explain this 42--52%.

> They are farmers allocated land by the Viet Cong in 1966. . . .
>
> When the village was under Viet Cong control, village land was distributed by the Viet Cong to other people. . . .
>
> Viet Cong families. The VC distributed village rice land to their families. . . .
>
> Change of tillers is not authorized. . . .
>
> For over ten years, village land has produced no income for the village authorities. . . .It was distributed to farmers and controlled by the VC. Priority to till village land was given to nobody by village authorities. . . .
>
> Most village farmers on communal land are those from allocation by the VC.

Before 1957 village land was leased by bid. Since that year there has been no more bidding and former tillers have continued to till village land up to the present time. . . .

My village has been pacified since 1968. There has been no change of tilling status since then. . . .

As this village was insecure during the past years, village land is still being tilled by those farmers who have so far tilled that land. . . .

Before 1963 village land was leased by bidding held every three years. Since 1963 village land has been tilled by those who had successfully leased that land before that year. . . .

From 1966 to 1969 land was leased to those who had so far tilled that land at the (token) rent of 2,000-3,000 VN$ in accordance with the productivity of the land. . . .

From 1962 to 1964 this village was not secure. Security has been restored since 1964. Farmers who had tilled village land before then have been given the right to continue to till that land.

When the village was insecure and under VC control the VC upset the village land rules completely. This status is still maintained.

In peace time village land was leased completely through a bid to the highest bidder. . . No bid has been processed since 1960. . . .

Since 1960 village land has been distributed by the VC to their relatives and villagers. Village land rent has been collected by the VC. The right to lease has not been given to anybody by the village authorities. . . .

The last bid took place in 1964. People successfully leasing village land that year were later given the right to continue to till it up to the present time, provided they pay rent to village authorities. . . .

Village land was distributed by the VC to farmers who presently are still tilling it and now pay rent to village authorities. . . .

In 1945 the VC distributed land to poor farmers. These poor farmers have tilled the land distributed to them by the VC up to the present time. These who have so long tilled village land are given the right to continue to exploit that land, provided they pay rent to the village. . . .

Responses from villagers now tilling communal land confirm this. The following are typical:

> This village land was distributed to my family long ago. . . .
>
> The Viet Cong divided it and gave this to my husband. After he died I took his place and I continue tilling it. . . .
>
> It was allocated to our family by the VC in 1965.
>
> As almost all the villages in this district were once under VC control, the VC confiscated village land and allocated this to their relatives. . . .
>
> Village rice land is still leased to those who have so far tilled that land. . . .

The major priority is the family farming it when GVN village authority was restored. Village officials have accepted squatters and VC beneficiaries on communal land.

The second major priority is the military: families of war veterans, of disabled war veterans, of soldiers killed in the war, families of members of the PF and PSDF, and of war victims have special priority for communal rice land, according to 46% of all village officials. 25% of all villagers now tilling communal land are members of such families and stated that that is why they received communal rice land.

Land for Revenue and Land for Welfare: About 10-15% of village communal land is leased by competitive bidding, to raise money at the market price for rent. 13% of all village officials say their villages lease some land by competitive bidding. 17% of the villagers interviewed who are now tilling communal land obtained it by competitive bidding. 26% of village officials say they

distribute some communal land equally among all village families, by shares. 9% say they distribute some by lottery, with an equal chance for each family to win the right to lease a plot. Among villagers now tilling communal land, only 3% obtained their lease rights by lottery.

It is obvious that villages in Long An, unlike villages in Central Vietnam,[3] do not use communal land either as a system of general minimum subsistence subsidy for all villagers, or as a traditional system to maintain identity between the native villager and his birthplace. They use it to subsidize the landless, to ratify the status quo ante recent restoration of GVN control and security, and to assist families whose men are serving or have served and suffered in the military.

The Limited Authority of Village Officials To Allocate Communal Land: We have seen that 42--52% of village communal land is not reallocated because it is occupied by families who were there before GVN village authority lapsed and was restored in recent years or by families who squatted on it or were given the use of it by the enemy during the lapse of GVN village authority. Of the other communal land which can be reallocated, in only 12% of the villages investigated do village officials say that they decide who will receive the use of it. In all others they say that the welfare priorities determine who may use it. This, too, indicates that village traditions are weak in Long An compared to those villages of coastal Central Vietnam.[4]

---

3. See study cited in note 2.

4. See study cited in note 2, pp. 11 and 13.

Must One Live There or Have Been Born There, or Both? In 76% of the villages one must live there to use communal rice land. In 56% one must have been born there. Except for a few villages in the district of Can Duoc almost all require one or the other, and many require both.

May One Sublease Communal Land, or Inherit the Lease? In 80% of the villages of Long An, one may not sublease. But in just about half (48%) of the villages one may inherit the right to till communal land. This strongly suggests that about half the villages in Long An do not intend to disturb the status quo ante recent restoration of GVN control and security; they intend to allow those families who were tilling the land when village control was restored recently to continue to till the land. Thus a good portion of communal land has become permanent leasehold land, similar to privately-owned owner-operated rice land except that presumably it yields token rent revenues to the village--or did until rent was remitted recently.[5]

Length of Lease: 58% of all village officials say in their villages communal land is leased for 3 years. 32% say there is no limit to the time a lease may run. 8% say their leases run for 5 years. 2% release the land every year.

Rent: Officials in 77% of the villages say all users of communal land pay the same rent. Rent on communal land is lower than rent on private farm land,

---

5. Landowners, including villages, no longer have authority to collect rent on rural farm land. Decree No. 072 SL/CCDDNN/PTNNN dated June 5, 1970, Circular No. 7043 CCDDNN/HCTC/3 dated July 8, 1970, and Circular No. 7843 CCDD/HCTC/3 dated July 27, 1970 [available in English as attachments to Land Reform Memos No. 17, July 14, 1970, No. 19, July 15, 1970, and No. 23, October 4, 1970 (ADLR, USAID)]

generally half or less. Rents on communal land vary depending on the past yields of the plots.

Some villages in the district of Ben Luc give communal land to members of the PF and PSDF and to otherwise landless farmers at lower rents than others pay. Some villages in Ben Luc also lease communal land at lower than normal token rents to some "other" users. These, the reader will remember, are farm families who were there when GVN village authority was restored in recent years: squatters, families to whom the Viet Cong had distributed the land, or those who had leased the land from the villages many years ago before the lapse and restoration of GVN village authority.

Size of Communal Holdings Allowed: Village maximums on how much communal land one family may till differ as follows:

There is no limit in 14% of Long An's villages
One may farm up to 3 hectares in 4%
One may farm up to 2 hectares in 17%
One may farm up to 1.5 hectares in 5%
One may farm up to 1 hectare in 50%
One may farm no more than 0.5 hectare in 10%

Villagers Attitudes Re Communal Land: Benefits: One out of every three villagers says he receives no benefits from village communal rice land. Two of every three villagers do cite benefits. See Table 2.

Village officials, not surprisingly, view their world somewhat differently in that the budget comes first and all receive benefits. See Table 3.

Table 2

What Villagers Say Income from Communal Land Is Used For

Benefits	Percentage of Responses (N=346)*	Details
There are no benefits	33%	Only 1% added this: "no benefits as yet."
It pays for public facilities and things useful to all	30%	3 of 4 of these named specific public benefits thus: 53% roads, bridges, canals, and drainage facilities. 30% schools. 12% dispensaries and maternity clinics. 5% wells, market facilities, athletic fields, and small rice mills.
It pays village administrative expenses	18%	92% said it pays routine budget expenses; 8% said it is used for office buildings.
It pays traditional religious expenses	10%	82% said it is used to repair and maintain temples, pagodas, and shrines. 12% said it pays for required or customary religious ceremonies. 6% said it pays for burials of unknown persons.
Communal land is rent free, or available at very low rent, or communal land guarantees them tenure	5%	35% said communal land is rent free; 35% said it is available at very low rent; 30% said it assures them land to farm.
It pays for security	3%	90% said it supports the PF and PSDF; 10% said it pays for watch towers and other military construction.
Don't know of any benefits; don't know what communal land is used for	1%	
Total	100%	

* Some villagers named more than one use.

Table 3

What Village Officials Say Income from Communal Land Is Used For

Benefits	Percentage of Responses (N=93)*	Distribution
It pays village administrative expenses	37%	
It pays for public facilities and things useful to all	35%	About 3 of 4 officials named specific public benefits thus: 48% schools. 40% roads and bridge construction and repair. 8% dispensaries and maternity clinics. 4% water storage facilities.
It pays for traditional religious expenses	13%	
Communal land is rent free (therefore there is no village income from it) or it is available at very low rent	10%	45% said it is let out rent free; 55% said it is let out at very low rent.
It pays for security	2%	All mentioned its use to support the PF
It makes possible financial aid to very poor families and war victims	2%	
There are no benefits for villagers	1%	
Total	100%	

* Some officials named more than one use.

The following typical responses illustrate this:

> The village authorities have not received payment for the use of village communal land since 1960.
>
> Occasionally the village authorities contribute one or two thousand piasters to the performance of our worship ceremonies. . . .
>
> My family and I do not have to pay rent to the village for the communal rice land which we are farming. . . .
>
> As far as I know, those who have been tilling communal land during these past years continue to enjoy in full all the crops they produce without having to pay any rent to the village at all. . . it is hard for the village to collect rent to grant benefits to villagers.
>
> A few months ago the Village Administrative Committee had all the roads and drainage systems repaired and rebuilt, using its public fund. Communal land rent is put into the public fund.
>
> I've observed that roads and the school in this hamlet were rehabilitated, and I think the income from communal rice land was used to cover these projects.
>
> We may lease communal rice land at a lower price than privately-owned land.
>
> Money from this has been used for the repair of temples and digging of canals for irrigation of rice land. . . .
>
> . . . maintenance of roads leading to hamlets, schools, maternity houses, and the burial of unidentified deceased persons. . . .
>
> We were allowed to receive communal rice land. Our family may continue to enjoy it in full. No one else may share it with us. My family has not had to pay taxes or rent to the village for the use of communal rice land for six years now.
>
> Only the tillers receive benefits. . . .

<u>Those Who Need It:</u> There are many who need it but do not receive it.

See Table 4.

Table 4

Equity of Communal Rice Land Distribution

Questions and Responses	According to Villagers (N=240)	According to Village Officials (N=59)
Q: Are there some families in your village who need land but do not receive the use of village land?		
Many	50%	52%
Few	20%	42%
None	16%	3%
Don't Know	14%	3%
Total	100%	100%

Why Many Who Need It Do Not Receive It: The main reason why there are many families who need communal land but do not receive it is that there is not enough of it. Those who stayed there during the lapse in GVN authority in recent years and those who returned there first have leased it or were on it and will not give it up, and the village governments have done the thing that works in land distribution: they have allowed these tillers to continue tilling the land rather than attempting to dispossess them.[6] Villagers who said they

6. Doreen Warriner, evaluating land reforms in East European, Latin American, Mideastern, and Asian countries and making historical comparisons to earlier Western European countries' land development and tenure programs, concludes that land distribution to tillers works and that land distribution to other than present tillers does not work. [Land Reform in Principle and Practice (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1969)]

know of families who need communal land but do not have it gave the following reasons:

75% said there is not enough communal land for all the needy.

9% said present tillers will not return it for lease to others and the village accepts this with no limit on the length of the lease.

4% said many needy families returned recently but those who had returned earlier or who had never left already had possession of it.

3% said the Viet Cong distributed much of it during the lapse in GVN control and security, and the beneficiaries continue to till it.

3% said those who need it are too poor to farm; they can neither afford to bid for it nor afford to farm.

2% said many of the needy are not farmers but work or seek work at other things.

2% said it is GVN policy under the Land to the Tiller law to distribute land to farm families now tilling it.

2% said distribution by village authorities after the restoration of GVN control and security was unfair, favoring friends and relatives, and thus much communal land was quickly allocated to returning families.

100%

Village officials who said many families need communal land but do not receive it gave the following reasons:

70% said there is not enough communal land for all who need it.

13% said the Viet Cong distributed it during the lapse in GVN control and the beneficiaries continue to till it.

7% said present tillers will not return it for lease to others.

6% said it is GVN policy under the Land to the Tiller law to distribute land to farm families now tilling it.

4% said many needy families returned only recently but those who had returned earlier or who had never left already had possession of it.

100%

Those Who Receive It: Those who receive the use of communal land need it.

See Table 5. Everybody agrees to this.

Table 5

Equity of Communal Rice Land Distribution to Existing Tillers

Questions and Responses	According to Villagers (N=240)	According to Village Officials (N=59)
Q: Are there families in your village who have received village land but do not really need this land?		
Many	0	0
Few	3%	5%
None	93%	88%
Don't Know	4%	7%
Total	100%	100%

Have They Heard of the Land to the Tiller Law? Everybody has (N=269).

The following responses tell how:

Yes, the village officials came to this hamlet to talk about it.
Yes, this is repeated on the local radio over and over again.
Yes, but it is not clear to me.

Do They Want Communal Land To Be Distributed to the Families Now Farming It?

Almost all do. (N=269 villagers)

76% want communal land to be distributed to the families now tilling it (but two percent would limit plots to 0.5 or 1.0 hectares per family).

18% do not want it distributed to families now tilling.

6% are undecided, neutral, or have no idea what should be done.

100%

Why: Of the 76% who want distribution to present tiller families:

2% would limit plots to 0.5 or 1.0 hectares per family because there are many poor and landless and the excess could be distributed to them.

Of the 18% who do not want it distributed to families now tilling it:

9% want all communal land distributed to the poor and landless.
3% want all communal land distributed equally among all village families.
5% do not want communal land distributed to anyone because the village needs the income from it.
1% do not want communal land distributed to anyone because then the poor and landless will have minimum subsistence in that they will have a chance to farm it in rotation.

The following responses are typical:

Yes, I agree. Of the Land to the Tiller law, everyone here appreciates it very much. . . .

. . . every villager here will welcome this warmly.

. . . there is no other choice. It has long been considered as their own land because for the past several years the village did not take back communal rice land for reallocation to other villagers, nor did it collect taxes at all.

Most farmers are poor people. Without the help of the government they will remain tenants forever. They will be really happy if ownership of the communal land they are tilling is given to them.

It will enhance the production of the land. Farmers have great desire to own the land they farm and will improve it greatly.

Yes. The GVN should have distributed village land to the tillers before processing private land in the application of the Land to the Tiller law. It is easier.

All farmers agree that tillers of village communal land should own it. . . They welcome the law 3/70. . . .

Farmers request it be applied to village land as soon as possible. All of them agree tillers of village land should own the land they are tilling. They sincerely thank the GVN.

I have a great desire to own the land.

Yes I agree, but no more than 0.5 hectares each, enough for a family to live on.

Yes, but what I really want is each family to be given one hectare only; then the extra part could be reserved for needy people who do not have land. . . .

Yes . . . but no more than 0.5 hectares. The extra part should be divided among the needy and those crippled because of the war. . . . Those now tilling communal rice land have already enjoyed it for so long now--some of them also have 2 or 3 hectares of their own land but still want to retain communal rice land. . . .

Yes I agree, but it should be distributed to the landless farmers only. . . .

. . . it must be distributed only to those who do not own any land to be fair.

. . . whoever already owns some land should not receive communal land but should let it go to the landless.

I disagree. Village land should be distributed to those who are really poor and homeless because of the war.

It should be redistributed to those families who are really poor or to war victims.

Yes I agree, but it should be given equally to each family in the village. . . .

Village land is public land, belonging to . . . the villagers. It should be equally distributed to <u>all</u> farmers in the village. It is unfair to give the land to tillers cultivating it now.

Village funds are very poor. . . .

If village land is distributed to farmers the village authorities will have no more money for public facilities.

Communal rice land here should be assigned to the poor in the village to till on a rotative basis, but most of those who are tilling it are well off now.

It should be distributed to poor families to till in rotation . . . about 0.5 hectares each is enough to support their families.

This is up to the government. If distributed, those who are made owners of it will surely appreciate it. If not, no one will request it because it has long been mutually agreed that communal land should be administered and used by the village.

Do Village Officials Want Communal Land To Be Distributed to the Families Now Farming It? Most do not (N=60).

54% do not want it distributed to families now tilling it, nor to anybody else.

32% do want it distributed to families now tilling it.

14% are undecided.

100%

Why: Of the 54% of the officials who do not want communal land distributed to families now farming it:

44% say the village needs the income from communal land to pay its bills.

5% say there isn't much income yet from communal land but that sometime in the future they will get around to a land census and to collecting rent on communal land now used rent-free.

5% simply assert that village land is by definition village property and cannot be distributed to individual families.

No village official invoked welfare or tradition or village ties to native born as reasons why communal land should not be distributed to present tiller families.

Of the 32% who do want it distributed to families now tilling it:

16% qualified their approval by adding that funds will have to be allocated to villages by GVN to replace income from communal land rent.

16% approved without reservation.

Of the 14% who are as yet undecided, most spoke for the village's officials in each case and meant to indicate that the village officialdom was divided, some for, some worried about the consequences, and some against distribution.

The following responses illustrate this:

> I agree. Poor farmers wish that tillers of village rice land should own that land in compliance with the Land to the Tiller law.
>
> Private rice land is owned by tillers. So should be village land.
>
> I agree, but not all the village authorities here agree. If this is the case, village operations will be paralyzed by lack of village funds.
>
> I agree. However, the village authorities should be allocated other funds by the government.
>
> I disagree. I recommend instead perpetual lease be established and annual payment be allowed to help the village meet its expenses. . . .
>
> Although for these last years there was no income from village land, village land rent can be collected in the future to meet the Village Administrative Committee's expenses. If it is passed to the hands of farmers village authorities will have no funds. . . .
>
> When security is restored in the village, a land census can be carried out by the village authorities for collection of payment for use of village land to meet village expenses. . . .
>
> Village land is the only village resource. Village authorities will be short of funds. . . .
>
> I disagree. Village rice land is a village property for public utility.

CONCLUSIONS

Village communal land in Long An province--unlike village communal land in Central Vietnam[7]--does not provide basic welfare security against destitution to all villagers.

Village communal land in Long An province--unlike village communal land in Central Vietnam--does not perpetuate traditional ties between the native born and their birthplace.

Village communal land in Long An province--unlike village communal land in Central Vietnam--does not reinforce quasi-religious or religious ties among villagers by symbolizing and representing common ancestry.

In sum, communal land in Long An is not a means to maintain social cohesion. Historical studies of Vietnam contrasting the functions of communal land and other village functions in the delta to those in Central Vietnam substantiate this.[8] It is clear that there is no reason to suppose that any social hiatus or major discord would be created in Long An if communal land is distributed.

---

7. See study cited in note 2, pp. 34-35.

8. Charles Robequain, The Economic Development of French Indochina (N. Y., Oxford University Press, 1944) and John T. McAlister and Paul Mus, The Vietnamese and their Revolution (N. Y., Harper & Row, 1970)

Village communal land in Long An province does provide some village income, and if it is distributed without compensation to the villages, they will need other sources of revenue. Compensation directly to the village would accomplish this, for at least an 8-year period--as it will exceed lost rent income for at least an 8-year period for landlords whose privately-owned land is transferred to tenants, sharecroppers, or squatters under the Land to the Tiller law.[9]

It is obvious, also, that inasmuch as most tillers of communal land in Long An retain the land by de facto possession, most communal land is not being distributed at set intervals when leases expire, nor is it likely to be in the future. The villagers have accepted the inequities of this for late returnees, and almost all want communal land to be distributed to present tiller families. The village governments have accepted the status quo ante the return of GVN control, authority, and security, and have not presumed to dispossess present tillers or to invoke the ending of leases. Comparative studies of land distribution programs and efforts in other Asian, Middle Eastern, East European, and Latin American countries confirm the wisdom of this and the

---

9. Rent on privately owned land is roughly 30% of crop yield. Compensation under the Land to the Tiller law is roughly 2.5 times crop yield. Initial compensation is 20%; the following 8 years 10%, plus 10% interest. Compensation is 8.75 times rent, aside from interest, over 8 years. Rent on communal land is much less than on privately owned land.

ill effects on production of expulsion of present tillers and installation of others.[10] The ineffectiveness of earlier (1956--1967) efforts to displace present tillers in Long An and in the delta as a whole also confirm the wisdom of the villagers' and GVN's present policy.[11]

In sum, the logical choices are between distribution of communal land to present tillers with some equivalent sources of revenue for the villages, and continuation of the present system which is: squatter's rights and first come first on communal land and only token rent payments and only partial or potential revenues. Taxes from productive free farmers might well exceed and even far exceed token rent revenues partially collected now. Most important, most villagers want communal land to be distributed to present tillers.

---

10. Doreen Warriner, cited in note 6.

11. In Long An between 1956 and 1967 Saigon and Province governments made several efforts to expel squatters and beneficiaries of Viet Cong land distributions, to restore landlord families, to collect back rents, and in general to impose what had been prior to 1953. These efforts were ineffective and did not contribute to pacification. See Jeffrey Race, "How They Won," in Vietnam: Politics, Land Reform and Development in the Countryside, Asian Survey, Vol. X, No. 8, Aug. 1970 (University of California, Berkeley). On the ineffectiveness of these policies in the whole of the delta during this period, see William Bredo, "Agrarian Reform in Vietnam: Viet Cong and Government of Vietnam Strategies in Conflict," ibid.

APPENDIX A

Form A: for use in interviewing villagers
Form B: for use in interviewing village officials

FORM A #CLI_____

_____ Village Official

_____ Village Resident, but not Village Official

_____ Tiller of Communal Rice Land

_____ Province

_____ District

_____ Village

_____ Hamlet

1. Are you a farmer?

_____ Yes (If 'yes,' go to questions 2 and 3. Don't ask question 1a.

_____ No (If 'no,' go to question 1a.)

1a. What is your occupation?

_____ (Go to question 7. Don't ask questions 2 through 6.)

2. How much land do you till?

_____ (Indicate sao/hectares, etc.)

3. Do you own all of the land you till?

_____ Yes (If 'yes,' go to question 7. Don't ask questions 3a through 6.)

_____ No (If 'no,' go to question 3a.)

3a. Is any of the land you till owned by your village (hamlet)?

_____ Yes (If 'yes,' go to question 3b.)

_____ No (If 'no,' go to question 7. Don't ask questions 3b through 6.)

3b. How much of the land you till is owned by your village?

_____ (Indicate sao/hectares, etc.)

4. How did you receive the right to lease and till this land? (More than one can be checked.)

_____ Bid, auction

_____ Lottery

_____ Allocation of shares to villagers

Special Eligibility

_____ War veteran

_____ Disabled war veteran

_____ Family of disabled veteran

_____ Family of deceased veteran

_____ Family of war veteran

_____ PF or PSDF

_____ Family of person in military service

_____ Landless

_____ Other Please Specify: _____

5. For how long were you given the right to till this land?

_____ Years

6. How much of your crop do you give to the village for allowing you to till this land?

_____% of rice crop

7. What benefits do the people of your village receive from payment for the use of village rice land? (Write in response.)

_____

_____

8. Are there some families in your village who need land but do not receive the use of village land?

_____Yes _____Many? _____Few? (Then go to 8a.)

_____No (Go to question 9. Don't ask question 8a.)

_____Don't know Go to question 9. Don't aske question 8a.)

8a. Why don't these families receive use of village land?

_____

9. Are there any families in your village who have received village land but don't really need this land?

_____Yes _____Many? _____ Few? (Then go to 9a.)

_____ No (Go to question 10. Don't ask question 9a.)

_____Don't know (Go to question 10. Don't ask question 9a.)

9a. Why do these families receive use of this land?

_____

_____

10. The Land-to-the-Tiller Law will give title to each farmer who is tilling the rice land.

(a) Have you heard of the Land-to-the-Tiller Law?

_____ Yes

_____ No

(b) Do you agree or disagree that farmers who are tilling village communal rice land should own that land?

_____ Agree

_____ Disagree

_____ Undecided/don't know

_____ Other Specify: _____

_____

FORM B

CLI _____

_____ Village Official

_____ Hamlet Official

_____ Province

_____ District

_____ Village

_____ Hamlet

1. How much communal rice land does your village (hamlet) own?

_____

1a. What percentage is this of the village's (hamlet's) total rice land?

_____ %

2. Do any of the hamlets of your village own communal rice land which they administer themselves?

_____ Yes (If 'yes,' go to question 2a.)

_____ No

2a. Which hamlets have communal rice land of their own?

_____ _____

_____ _____

(Interviewer: Note instructions at end of page 4 after you complete this interview.)

3. Do any persons have special priority to till village (hamlet) communal rice land? (More than one can be checked, if necessary.)

_____ Allocation by village authority

_____ War veteran

3. (cont'd.)

_____ Disabled war veteran

_____ Family of disabled veteran

_____ Family of deceased veteran

_____ Family of war victim

_____ PF or PSDF

_____ Family of person in military service

_____ Landless

_____ Other Please specify: _____

4. By what means is the right to till village (hamlet) communal rice land given?

_____ Bid, auction

_____ Lottery

_____ Share

_____ Other Please explain: _____

_____

5. How much communal rice land may one family lease?

_____

6. Must those who are given the right to till village (hamlet) communal rice land be residents of the village (hamlet)?

_____ Yes

_____ No

6a. Must those who are given the right to till village (hamlet) communal rice land be natives of the village (hamlet)? (Note: "Native" means "born in that village."

_____ Yes

_____ No

7. May village (hamlet) communal rice land be sublet to others?

_____ Yes

_____ No

8. For how long is the right to lease and till a plot of village (hamlet) communal rice land granted to a family?

_____

9. May the use of village (hamlet) communal rice land be inherited?

_____ Yes

_____ No

10. Does everyone who leases village (hamlet) communal rice land pay the same price?

_____ Yes (If 'yes,' go to question 11. Don't ask questions 10a, 10b, and 10c.)

_____ No (If 'no,' go to question 10a, 10b, and 10c.)

10a. What kinds of people pay less than others for leasing village (hamlet) communal rice land? (More than one can be checked, of course.)

_____ Allocation by village authority

_____ War veteran

10a. (cont'd.)

_____ Disabled war veteran

_____ Family of disabled veteran

_____ Family of deceased veteran

_____ Family of war victim

_____ PF or PSDF

_____ Family of person in military service

_____ Landless

_____ Other Please specify: _____

10b. How much do these people pay for the village (hamlet) communal rice land they lease? (Indicate price per unit of land.)

_____ PER _____
(% of crop, or price if other than % of crop) (unit of land)

10c. How much do other people pay for village (hamlet) communal rice land? (Go to question 12.)

_____ PER _____
(% of crop, or price if other than % of crop) (unit of land)

11. How much do people pay for village (hamlet) communal rice land?

_____ PER _____
(% of crop, or price if other than % of crop) (unit of land)

12. What benefits do the people of your village receive from payment for the use of village rice land? (Write in response.)

_____

_____

13. Are there some families in your village who need land but do not receive the use of village land?

_____Yes _____Many _____Few (Go to 13a.)

_____No (Go to question 14. Don't ask question 13a.)

_____Don't know (Go to question 14. Don't ask question 13a.)

13a. Why don't these families receive use of village land?

_____

_____

14. Are there any families in your village who have received village land but don't really need this land?

_____Yes _____Many _____Few (Go to 14a.)

_____No (Go to question 15. Don't ask question 14a.)

_____Don't know (Go to question 15. Don't ask question 14a.)

14a. Why do these families receive the use of this land?

_____

_____

15. The Land to the Tiller Law will give title to each farmer who is tilling the rice land.

(a) Have you heard of the Land to the Tiller Law?

_____Yes

_____No

(b) Do you agree or disagree that farmers who are tilling village communal rice land should own that land?

_____Agree

_____Disagree

_____Undecided

_____Other Specify: _____

_____

INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWER: After you complete this interview with the village official, look at item 2. If the response to item 2 is 'yes,' go to the hamlets listed in item 2a, and locate a hamlet official and interview him using all items except items 2 and 2a.

APPENDIX B

DISTRICTS AND VILLAGES SAMPLED

District	Village
Cần Giuộc	Đồng Thạnh
	Long An
	Long Phụng
	Long Phú Tây
	Long Thượng
	Mỹ Lộc
	Phước Hậu
	Phước Lai
	Phước Lâm
	Phước Vĩnh Đông
	Phước Vĩnh Tây
	Tân Kim
	Tân Tập
	Thuận Thành
	Trường Bình
Bến Lức	An Thạnh
	Bình Chánh
	Bình Đức
	Bình Nhựt
	Long Hiệp
	Long Phú
	Mỹ Yên
	Phước Lợi
	Tân Bửu
	Thanh Hà
Cần Đước	Long Hựu
	Mỹ Lệ
	Phước Đông
	Phước Tuy
	Tân Ân
	Tân Chánh
	Tân Lân
Tân Trụ	An Nhựt Tân
	Bình Lãng
	Bình Tịnh
	Bình Trinh Đông
	Lạc Tấn
	Mỹ Bình
	Mỹ Bình Cầu

DISTRICTS AND VILLAGES SAMPLED (cont'd.)

District	Village
Tân Trụ (cont'd.)	Nhơn Thạnh Trung
	Nhựt Ninh
	Quế Mỹ Thạnh
	Tân Phước Tây
	Tân Trụ
	Triêm Đức
Thủ Thừa	Bình Phong Thạnh
	Bình Thành
	Hưởng Thọ Phú
	Khánh Hậu
	Lợi Bình Nhơn
	Mỹ An Phú
	Mỹ Lạc Thạnh
	Nhị Bình
Bình Phước	An Lục Long
	An Vĩnh Ngãi
	Bình Quới
	Bình Tâm
	Hiệp Thạnh
	Hoà Phú
	Long Trì
	Phước Tân Hưng
	Thanh Phú Long
	Thanh Vĩnh Đông
	Thuận Mỹ
	Vĩnh Công
Rạch Kiến	Long Cang
	Long Định
	Long Hoà
	Long Khê
	Long Sơn
	Long Trạch
	Phước Lý
	Phước Vân
	Tân Trạch