

**A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATION
IN BINH MINH DISTRICT**

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MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
VIET NAM ADVISORY GROUP
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by

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INTRODUCTION

The following study is an account of administration in Binh Minh district, Vinh Long province of South Viet Nam. It is part of a larger investigation undertaken by a team of researchers from Michigan State University, the Vietnamese National Institute of Administration, and the Faculty of Law of the University of Saigon. The team observed the administrative life of Vinh Long province at each of its echelons of administration for a week. A Vietnamese professor of administration and an American political scientist followed the activities at the province level, focussing on the province chief. A Vietnamese member of the Faculty of Law, University of Saigon, and an American political scientist, joint authors of this report, studied administration at the district level. A Vietnamese professor of administration and an American political scientist formed a third pair to examine administration at the village level. Finally, a Vietnamese sociologist (a young lady) and an American anthropologist concentrated largely on administration at the hamlet level, but ranged across the other administrative echelons in pursuit of their sociological and anthropological data. In addition to the professional members of the research teams, each American member had an interpreter to aid him in his interviews. After each day of interview and study at their own echelon of interest, members of the research team gathered in the provincial town of Vinh Long to exchange information and discuss their activities. Upon returning to Saigon, the entire research team exchanged insights based on their own areas of investigation. This research experience permitted each of the members to get the "feel" of administration at the

local level in a southern province. The American members of the team were especially rewarded by the explanations and interpretations of Vietnamese politics and administration which their Vietnamese colleagues provided. The opportunity to exchange ideas during a period of ten days of intensive study was extremely useful. The Vietnamese members of the team profited by a new perspective and objectivity towards their nation's problems which social scientists from the outside could provide. The entire research team heartily recommends this bi-national pattern of investigation to other university contract groups, technical aid missions, or social science research groups.

The following report is submitted in the belief that a description of administrative activity at the district level would be of interest to those generally concerned with Viet Nam's problems, or those more specifically interested in local administration. An account of the activities of Mr. Nhan and Dr. Zasloff, joint authors of the following report, may be useful in interpreting the material. For one week in April 1960, Mr. Nhan and Dr. Zasloff traveled daily to the district headquarters. Mr. Nhan spent as many hours as possible during the week with the district chief, interviewing him, observing his normal business in his office, and traveling with him on several field trips. During that period Dr. Zasloff carried out interviews, with the aid of an interpreter, with the functionaries on the district administrative staff. The same week, and during a three day period in the month of May 1960, Mr. Nhan and Dr. Zasloff visited the agrovillage sites at Tan Luoc, Cai San and Vy Tan, where they observed the activities and carried out numerous interviews. They had the opportunity, too, to examine the correspondence files at the district level. They found great cordiality and cooperation at every level they visited. The Province Chief,

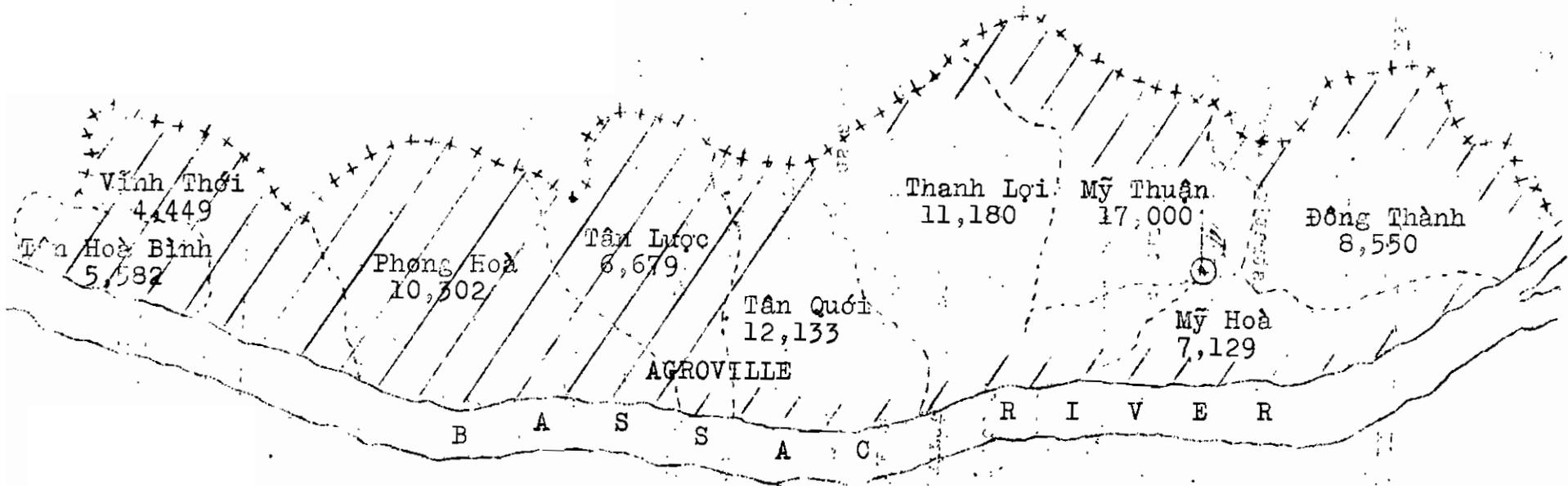
with whom they discussed their research objectives before undertaking the study as well as during the week of investigations, had instructed his subordinates to give full cooperation. He himself was very helpful in answering questions and providing information. The tone of cordiality and cooperation which he had set pervaded the subordinate levels.

This account is largely descriptive. A picture will be given of the district in the scheme of provincial administration, with some comments provided on the general legal situation of the district. A brief account of the economic and sociological aspects of Binh Minh district will be provided. The study will then turn its focus to administration. The district chief plays the primary role; his subordinates, the section chiefs, as well as those in charge of the technical services will be described by a resumé of their duties and a brief sketch of the man holding the job. A part of a week in the life of the district chief will then be described. Mr. Nhan's long hours with the chief provided the opportunity to reconstruct, in a general and incomplete way, the weekly activities of the district chief. A description of the kinds of problems he meets, the way he spends his time, and the major issues on his mind, will provide an impressionistic insight into the administrative duties and problems of the most important officer at the district level. Finally some observations and interpretations of problems and processes of administration at the district level will be offered. If this account gives to the reader some feel for the administrative activities in a southern district of Viet Nam and suggests some issues for further research, it will have served its purpose.

PROVINCE OF VINH LONG

BINH MINH DISTRICT

1959



Insecure Areas * / / /

◎ CAN THO

* According to District Information Chief

CHAPTER I

THE DISTRICT IN THE SCHEME OF ADMINISTRATION
IN VIET NAM¹

At the top of the administrative hierarchy is the chief executive, the President. The responsibility for administration in the field is delegated by the President to his Minister of Interior. Reporting directly to the Minister of Interior are the chiefs of the thirty-eight provinces in which the country is divided. At an intermediary level between the province and the Ministry of Interior, though they have little actual administrative importance, are the three regional government delegations of the central lowlands, the central highlands and the south. Each of these regional delegations has a governor, who was important under the French colonial government but who now has largely ceremonial and investigatory duties. Subordinate to the province is the district. Each of the thirty-eight provinces is divided into two to twelve districts,² which is presided over by the district chief, named by the province chief with the approval of the Minister of Interior. The districts are divided into a large number of villages. There is an intermediate level of administration known as the canton, between the village and the district, but this is not generally in use at the present time. The villages are further subdivided into hamlets.

1 See attached chart, USOM, Public Administration Division, July 1, 1958.

2 L. Woodruff, Local Administration in Viet Nam: The Number of Local Units, Michigan State University and National Institute of Administration, Saigon, November 1, 1960.

The important legal framework for district administration is contained in Ordinance 57A of the memorandum number 115A, dated October 24, 1956. This ordinance gives both the province and the village the status of a juridical person, entitling them to budgets and assets of their own. The district and the canton are described as territorial subdivisions of the province, operating on behalf of the province chief.

Among the major responsibilities of the district chief are the maintenance of security and of law and order in his district. The arrêté of the Governor General in Indo China, dated December 6, 1941, a document still largely in force, authorizes the district chief to detain, from one to five days in the district cell, any citizen who does not comply with the laws and regulations. The district chief is administratively responsible for the district schools, the dispensaries, and the social services. However, the technical aspects of these services are under the supervision of functionaries appointed by the technical departments. The district chief supervises the maintenance of public buildings, bridges, and roads in the district, reporting to the province chief necessary repairs and new projects which should be undertaken. The chief must insure that village and canton administrative authorities perform their duties effectively. He inspects each communal council periodically, examining its administration, its finances, and its taxation. He must report this inspection to the province chief and leave a copy of his report in the communal archives. Where formal sanctions of communal authorities are necessary, the district chief sends a letter of censure to the members of the communal council whom he judges in need of reprimand. In some cases he reports directly to the province chief who makes the decision whether or not to remove the member of the council charged by

the district chief, or simply to post a formal letter of censure in the communal house for a fixed period of time. The district chief is responsible for tax administration, checking the village tax rolls, looking into the efficiency of tax collection, and examining accounting procedure. He is required to lend his assistance to personnel from the taxation service who come to the district on inspection tours, or to examine cases of tax delinquency or embezzlement. He must inspect and supervise other financial matters of the village, such as communal funds, accounting procedures, and the collection of fines for minor offenses. In all these administrative matters the district chief reports regularly to the province chief.

The district chief has various judicial responsibilities. He serves as coroner and assistant to the public prosecutor of the province. He gathers evidence and brings offenders to court. He must report to the proper authorities those minor serious offenses with which he has no competence to deal. In no case may the district chief himself conclude a law suit in his district, even if the contentious parties have reached a compromise. These cases must always be handled by the responsible judicial authorities. In the case of a malefactor caught in the act of crime, the district chief may arrest the delinquent, draw up an official statement, and interrogate the necessary witnesses, without requiring an oath. He may, if he deems necessary, search the malefactor's home to seize necessary evidence. If he judges it necessary, as in the case of a threat to the public safety, the district chief may mobilize the security forces and civilians. In the case of serious crimes, the district chief is instructed to go in person to the scene of the crime, notify the prosecutor of the fact, and conduct an investigation himself in order not to

lose time or evidence. In cases involving public safety or which affect the state of mind of the people, the district chief is required to report immediately to the province chief by letter.

The administrative subdivision beneath the district provided for in the ordinance 57A is the canton. In many provinces, especially those of the lowlands of central Viet Nam, the cantons have been abolished since 1945. The canton is directed by a chief, assisted by assistant chiefs of canton, all appointed by the chief of the province upon nomination by the village chiefs. The canton chief serves the district chief in administrative matters in his territory. He may be important as a mediator of conflicts between citizens in his villages.

CHAPTER II

BINH MINH DISTRICT

The district under study, Binh Minh, is of average size in the administration of South Viet Nam. Its population is estimated at 83,770, living in 16,000 homes in the nine villages which make up the district. My Thuan Village, where the district headquarters is located, contains 17,000 inhabitants and is the largest village of the district. The others range from 4,500 to 12,000 inhabitants. Though these nine villages are theoretically grouped into subdivisions of three cantons, only one chief of canton in Binh Minh district holds formal office. He serves officially as an assistant to the chief of district. The canton subdivision, therefore, has no practical administrative importance.

The overwhelming majority of the Binh Minh population is Southern Vietnamese. Very few northern refugees are to be found in the district. There are approximately 1,000 Cambodians, now naturalized Vietnamese, who work at rice farming. These Cambodians are remnants of the former Cambodian population who occupied the entire territory before the Vietnamese movement south in the last century. They now live largely in one Cambodian hamlet, Tho Li. There are an estimated 300 Chinese, also of recent Vietnamese citizenship, located largely in the villages near the market place. They are engaged largely in commerce, though a few earn their living by farming.

The Hao Hoa is the largest religious denomination in the district, with an estimated 69,000 members. The largest segment, 62,000 members, follows the tradition of Tran Van Soai (Nam Lua). The remaining 7,000 belong to the sect whose chief was Tran Quang Vinh, alias, Pa Cut, who

was executed by the Vietnamese government on charges of treason. The members of this latter sect live largely in three villages: Tan Hoh Binh, Vinh Hoa, and Thon Hoa. Prior to 1954, the Hao Hoa headquarters was at the village of My Thuan and the sect was generally in control of the region. The remaining religious affiliations of the district population are listed as follows: Buddhist -- 11,400; Cao Dai -- 2,900; Catholic -- 400; Evangelical -- 250.

Binh Minh district is located in the heart of the fertile, rice producing Mekong River delta. It borders the Bassac River, one of the branches of the Mekong. The great majority of the population -- estimated by one official to be 97% -- is engaged in rice agriculture. Approximately 27,900 hectares are cultivated, generally by the family group. A small part of the population engage in fishing as a major occupation. Commercial exploitation of forest resources is almost non-existent. In the total district there are nine rice mills, one brick factory, a small factory for the production of soya sauce, and another for the production of "chao" (a food product with a base of soya, used especially by the many Buddhist vegetarians), one bakery, seven nouc mam factories (fermented fish sauce, a basic ingredient of the Vietnamese cuisine), and one salt refinery. These factories are all under family management. There is also part-time family artisan activity, such as the production of concrete jars, fabrication of wooden shoes, making of thread, and the weaving of nets and other fishing equipment. The district contains seventeen schools for children under nine years of age and five schools for the older children, making a total of ninety-six classes. The 2,961 boys and 2,053 girls who attend school are taught by seventy-nine teachers, sixty-five of whom are men and fourteen women. The district has one public maternity clinic which employs a midwife paid by the government and several private maternity clinics.

Each village is expected to have a first aid station but this is often non-existent for medical supplies are scarce. A social service fund theoretically exists in each village, but many villages are too poor to have money in their fund.

CHAPTER III

THE DISTRICT CHIEF AT HIS HEADQUARTERS

Binh Minh district headquarters is located in My Thuan, largest village of the district. It is on the principal route from Vinh Long to Can Tho, thirty kilometers from Vinh Long. For security reasons the headquarters administrative offices are in a compound surrounded by heavy barbed-wire fences. Entry is controlled by an armed sentry standing before the guard post. Until June 1960, when the new building was completed, the headquarter offices were located on one side of the compound in a long, narrow concrete structure resembling a cinder block garage. The structure was divided into seven separate compartments, each about four meters square, where two functionaries worked. One compartment served as the temporary living quarters for the chief and two of his children. The courtyard of the compound bustled with continual activity; armed sentries moved to and from the guard post, messengers attached to the district headquarters carried out their chores, infants played in the dirt, laborers constructed the new district building, and a constant stream of villagers brought their business to the district offices. The district chief, Nguyen Bhuoc Huynh, was a thirty-seven year old army captain. He was born in My Tho, a southern provincial town where he first attended school. Later he studied in Saigon at the French School, Taberd, completing part of his secondary education, though probably not the baccalaureate. Upon leaving school, he served as a minor clerk at the Saigon court before entering the military academy at Dalat. Following his graduation as a second lieutenant in 1952, he fought with Vietnamese units against the

Viet Minh forces, while the French were still in control of Viet Nam. Captain Huynh speaks French very well. He obtained the rank of captain in 1955. In 1960 he had six children, the oldest of whom was six. Captain Huynh's father, now residing in My Tho, was also a district chief before retirement.

Captain Huynh was appointed chief of Binh Minh district in the middle of March 1960. His former post had been chief of the public works construction at the Vy Thanh agroville. Vy Thanh was the first agroville completed in Viet Nam and has been the showcase for visiting dignitaries. At the completion of its construction, Captain Huynh was appointed as chief of Binh Minh district. Two major factors seemed to influence this appointment. Binh Minh district has a serious security problem. Because of the widespread guerrilla activity a military man seemed desirable. Secondly, an agroville was contemplated for the district at Tan Luoc village and Captain Huynh's experience at Vy Thanh was considered valuable.

Captain Huynh saw himself not as an administrator but as a soldier. "I'm a military man," he proclaimed, "my business is fighting." He professed a lack of interest and a lack of ability in the day-to-day administrative detail. He consigned the bulk of administrative routine to a subordinate, a young man who had served the district as a functionary since its establishment in 1958. The chief devoted his major attention to two activities: the promotion of security in the district, and the construction of the agroville at Tan Luoc. He would frequently participate in security operations and devote his village trips to the organization of guard forces, the Dan Ve and the Bao An. Whenever the chief left the district compound, he would be accompanied by several body guards mounted in a jeep and armed with rifles and submachine guns. Captain Huynh was frequently at the agroville site, conferring with the lieutenant in charge of construction.

mounted in a jeep and armed with rifles and submachine guns. Captain Huynh was frequently at the agroville site, conferring with the lieutenant in charge of construction. There was heavy pressure from the province chief, who in turn was pressed by Saigon, to complete the agroville rapidly. It was Captain Huynh's responsibility to recruit the labor necessary to work at the agroville, to provide the security necessary for the work operation, and to resettle the inhabitants.

CHAPTER IV

THE STAFF UNDER THE DISTRICT CHIEF

A. Introduction

The Binh Minh district chief, following the general administrative pattern of South Viet Nam, has three general categories of personnel through whom he carries out his responsibilities. The normal district administrative duties, for which he is directly responsible, are performed by his staff of six section chiefs. Secondly, there are the technical services which must be performed in his district, such as the distribution of agricultural credit or the work of the district information office. Although much of the substantive direction of these services comes from the higher echelon, the district chief must provide administrative direction and coordination to the technical service officers. Finally, an extremely important function is the maintenance of security. The district chief supervises, gives administrative support, and coordinates with higher echelons the activities of these security forces. They are largely the village guards (Dan Ve), the civil guards (Bao An), and units of the national army who may be operating in the district. The general work pattern and the functionaries performing the duties will be described in the succeeding sections.

B. The Section Chiefs

The routine administrative detail of Binh Minh district is carried out by six section chiefs under the direct supervision of the district chief. Administratively, the district serves as a kind of letter box

between the province and the villages. Orders come from the province which is the major echelon of administration charged with implementing orders from Saigon. These orders are often destined for implementation at the village level but they pass through the district for transmission and supervision. The major activity of the section chiefs, then, is the processing of paper work between the province and the villages. Orders coming from the province are retyped in nine copies for distribution to the villages. Replies, requests, and reports coming from the villages pass through the district on their way to the province. The district offices consolidate budgets, collate reports, and transmit information in both administrative directions. Though the torpid climate slows down this movement to a plodding pace, the section chiefs methodically process their papers. They prepare their documents by pecking at several of the old typewriters in the offices or writing carefully in longhand. Each section chief deals with his own area of competence. For a routine issue, the chief of section types a "bordereaux de transmission" (for transmission to the villages or transmission to the different technical services), and submits it directly for the signature of the district chief. When a question requires a decision, the section chief either talks directly to the district chief or sends him the document. The chief then writes his comments on the margin. Frequent reports are required from the district. On some matters, such as progress at the agroville, daily reports are required by the province. On other matters, weekly, monthly, or quarterly reports are submitted. (See quarterly report, page 57.)

The six section chiefs range in age from twenty-two to forty-three and all come from the surrounding region. Their salaries average

approximately 2,100 plasters monthly. Most have worked there since the district was established two years previously, and seem to be well acquainted with their routine tasks, as well as those of their colleagues, permitting interchangeability of functions. A brief biography of the men and their major duties follows:

1. First Assistant to District Chief

Mr. Nguyen Than Quang, first assistant to the district chief, is in charge of personnel and supervises the general administration of the entire district headquarters. Mr. Quang, in his early twenties, was born in Vinh Long province and received his education, a brevet superieur, in the first cycle of Vietnamese studies, in the town of Vinh Long. While still in school he passed an examination and entered the public service, working as a clerk for nine months in the district of Tra On. When this district was liquidated, he was transferred, on March 23, 1957, to the present district of Binh Minh. The district chief relies upon him to manage the routine administrative matters.

Mr. Quang opens the morning correspondence and distributes it to the appropriate section chiefs for action when routine matters are concerned, such as the request for a marriage certificate. More important communications are referred to the district chief. Though he cannot officially sign for his chief, Mr. Quang initials certain routine requests in the chief's absence. Such issues which he might handle without reporting to the district chief include the counter-signing of a request by a villager for an exit visa which is already signed by the village chief, uncomplicated inquiries from the province for population figures or reports on incidents, the forwarding to village officials of provincial court orders, processing of papers authorizing payment of officials,

supplying of data about transfers of teachers from one village to another, and the transmittal of general information from the province level to the nine villages in the district. All correspondence which originates at the district must be typed in a minimum of three copies, one for the addressee, one for the province, and one for the district files.

2. General Administration

Mr. Nguyen Binh Khoa handles general administrative affairs. Mr. Khoa, twenty-three years old and single, was born in Vinh Long where he attended school until the fourth year, obtaining his elementary brevet. He entered the public service at the age of eighteen, serving as a district clerk, and was transferred to Binh Minh when his district was liquidated. He earns 2,000 piasters monthly.

Mr. Khoa's routine administrative duties are listed on a typewritten paper which he keeps in his desk. A summary of this list will provide an impression of the kinds of papers he handles and the issues he treats: (1) transmission of papers between the courts and the villagers of the district. For example, in the case of an accidental death, investigation reports must be submitted and a burial permit provided by the district chief. (2) Processing of papers concerning the conciliation of disputes. Disputes which cannot be solved at the village level are often referred to the district. Such cases often include those in which the disputants do not have confidence in the police or village chief because they may be directly involved. In these cases, the district chief gives the decision. (3) Transmission of documents between the village and province for deed registration. (4) Preparation of the report in which the district chief evaluates, on a twenty point scale, the members of the village council. (5) Administrative service to the central

committee for youth functions, such as notification of all the villages about youth demonstrations. (6) Processing of information service material such as the notification of villages about public meetings and special events. (7) Reporting on the control of vice, gambling, and prostitution. (8) Criminal reporting. (9) A report on all work accidents, which require a copy to the Ministry of Labor and a copy to the Procurer General. (10) Maintenance of records on the property and assets of the former Hao Hoa chief, Tran Van Soai, and his wives who are located in the district. This property includes rice mills, farms, houses, and land. (11) Organization of all national manifestations. (12) Communication to villages regarding visitors, official delegations, etc. (13) Reports on activity towards the elimination of beggars. (14) Control of charity requests. (15) Supervision of farmers' associations, and the promotion of propaganda concerning government agricultural programs. (16) Inquiry into the property of prisoners tried before the courts. (17) Control of Chinese medicine and pharmacy. (18) Administrative activity for the promotion of the Society of the Victims of War and of the Viet Minh. (19) Maintenance and control of the dossier of two private electric companies in the district. (20) Documentation on the development of new canals. (21) Organization of meetings in the district. (22) Organization of the "five Family Groups" in the villages including the transmission of orders to activate and supervise these groups. (23) Investigations for the public prosecutor. (24) Authorization for house construction. (25) Supervision of the sale of private goods ordered by the court to raise fines and damages of guilty prisoners. (26) Responsibility for fire protection and the reporting of all fires to the province. (27) The selection of candidates for training programs and schools. (28) Purchase of office supplies and equipment. (29) Supervision and control of foreigners. (30) Maintenance

of a list of forbidden newspapers. (31) Maintenance of security for district personnel. (32) Control and collection of tax on radios. (33) Maintenance of population figures. (34) Control of the legalized gambling device, the "tontines". (35) The transmittal of general administrative documents such as marriage licences and death certificates.

3. Finance

Mr. Ngo Van Thuc is responsible for finance in the district. Mr. Thuc, forty-three years old, married with two children, was born in Vinh Long and completed six years of school. He first served as a village teacher. In 1935 he entered the administrative service and worked in the district of Cai Nhum until 1957. He and his colleagues were transferred to Binh Minh upon the elimination of that district.

Mr. Thuc has largely supervisory and auditory duties in regard to the financial matters of the nine villages in the district. He travels at least once monthly to each village, auditing the budget, inspecting and prodding the tax collection, and supervising payments to the village councillors. He regards his most difficult task to be the preparation of an annual report to the province headquarters in which a record of all receipts and expenditures in the district are recorded. (See appendix for this report.) The district does not have a budget of its own, but rather depends upon contributions towards its expenses by the nine villages. In reality, My Thuan village, in which the district headquarters is located provides the largest part of the district funds. (See the report on village finance by Professor Woodruff for an analysis of the impact of district finance on My Thuan.)

4. Records

Mr. Nguyen Hieu Thuan handles records concerning economic affairs as well as civil status for the district headquarters. Forty-one years old, married and the father of five children, Mr. Thuan was born in the village of Than Loi, where he still lives. He attended the village school, and later served for ten years as secretary to the canton chief. He was, in addition, mayor of his village for three years. He has served at his post as section chief in Binh Minh district since 1957, when the district was established.

Mr. Thuan is charged with keeping current the civil status records. The village authorities are required to issue documents concerning births, deaths, and marriages, and to submit a duplicate copy to the district. The district is responsible for the issuance of duplicate records in case of loss, and when necessary for marriage, identity cards, house purchases, and the many other administrative situations which require them. Frequently Mr. Thuan supplies information to the court in inquiries concerning the civil status of inhabitants of the district.

Mr. Thuan is also responsible for delivery of tax cards for such property as boats, buffalos, and other animals, although it is not his duty to collect the taxes. The documents which he delivers clear the title for the owner.

5. Military Affairs

Mr. Nguyen Than deals administratively with military affairs of the district. Mr. Than, forty-one years old, was born in the village of Tam Dinh where he completed a primary education. Married, with one child, he earns 1,600 piasters monthly, and has no other source of income. He has worked as a secretary to a canton chief for five years, has served in

the customs service and other administrative posts, and then was an administrator in the district of Tan Binh before transferring to the present district of Binh Minh.

Mr. Than's duties were contained in a job description which he cited:

- (1) Maintenance of records showing the number of village guards and their arms;
- (2) Maintenance of information concerning former military personnel;
- (3) Maintenance of recruitment information;
- (4) Publication of information concerning army orders, forbidden materials, control of explosives, etc.;
- (5) The drafting of a daily report showing the security situation in all villages in the district. All incidents between the Viet Cong and the security forces must be described in this report;
- (6) Implementation of court orders for arrest coming to the district headquarters.
- (7) Submission of numerous daily, weekly, and monthly reports.

6. Identity Card Service

Mr. Nguyen Hue Que is chief of the identity card service of the district. He was born in Vinh Long province and received a primary education in Vinh Long. He then spent two years in a secondary school in Saigon, but was forced to stop during the war. He worked for two years for a Saigon business firm, then came to work in administration at the district headquarters of Tam Binh. When this district was dissolved, he was transferred to his present post at Binh Minh. Thirty-one years old, he is married with three children. He earns a total monthly salary of 2,000 piasters.

The delivery of identity cards consumes most of his time. To secure the obligatory identity card, a villager must present an attestation from the village chief, a birth certificate, and appear at the district headquarters with two witnesses. He completes a questionnaire which is

forwarded to the district sureté, where it is presumably double-checked against existing information. Sometimes inquiries are made into the native hamlet of the applicant. Since the military service laws are frequently involved in identity card requests, and many cases have been found of applicants falsifying their cards by advancing their age, the inquiries are a genuine necessity. Until recent years, the large population of the Hao Hoa in Binh Minh district possessed only a sect card, not an identity card. Since identity cards are now obligatory for everyone, there has been a great deal of activity to provide them for the Hao Hoa inhabitants. Identity cards are made out in triplicate: a white card is delivered to the applicant; a red card is sent to Saigon, and a second red card remains in the district files.

C. The Technical Services

A second category of personnel working at the district level are the technical service officials. In Binh Minh district, they comprise the police, the sureté, the information service, the youth movement directorate, the civic action representatives, and the agricultural credit organization. These officials rely upon the district chief for administrative support and receive his instructions concerning general policy in the district; however, they normally receive their program work and substantive direction from their superior at the next highest administrative echelon. The technical services are not located within the district compound, but have their offices spread throughout the main street of My Thuan village. A brief account of these technical services and the men who fill them will follow.

1. The District Police Chief (Can Sat)

The district police chief, nearly fifty years old, lives with his wife and four children in the several rooms adjoining his police headquarters, on the main street of My Thuan village. His basic salary of 2,500 piasters plus family indemnities amounts to 3,400 piasters monthly.

The police chief has nine subordinates who perform police functions at the market place of My Thuan, headquarters of the district, and at the ferry. Two policemen are attached to the district chief. The market place, especially in the placement of vendors and the maintenance of order, requires most of the time and energy of the district police force. Regular rounds are made by the policemen in My Thuan village. Inquiries for the provincial court, transmitted by order of the chief of district, are part of the district police activities. Political issues and secret criminal investigations are generally referred to the sureté.

To demonstrate the range of his activities, the police chief cited three recent examples of his performance: (1) he picked up a prostitute whom the chief of district had decided to send to court; (2) in a recent quarrel he tried conciliation which failed, and he referred the case to the district chief; (3) receiving, through the chief of district, a request from the provincial court in Vinh Long to inquire into the death of a child killed by a falling tree, he made the inquiry and reported through the chief of district to the Procurer General of Vinh Long.

The district police chief has no official connection or jurisdiction over the chiefs of police in the villages. However, when he is required to make an official inquiry, he often contacts the village police for their guidance and assistance. The work of the district police is overt; the policemen perform their functions in uniform. Their responsibilities

consist of preventing infractions of the law, proceeding against law breakers, and reporting accidents and infractions of the law.

Discussing his own personal security, the police chief pointed out that he must be discreet and does not dare wander too far from village headquarters, normally returning to his home after his work. He pointed out, however, that district policemen are in less danger from the Viet Cong than members of the sureté.

2. The Sureté

The district sureté office is assigned three men: the chief, the assistant chief, and a third man normally assigned to agrovillage duty. In the absence of the sureté chief, the assistant chief was interviewed. A man in his late thirties, he had served with the sureté for the past seven years, and had been posted at Binh Minh the previous year. He had been a sergeant in the French army in Viet Nam during the period of colonial rule. He was a primary school graduate. Including family allowance, his monthly salary totals 3,000 piasters.

An important function of the sureté is the gathering of political information, assembled largely through informers. Among the routine administrative tasks performed by the sureté are the communication of security information about prospective government employees and response to inquiries about requests for identity cards. Also, a team composed of one policeman, one civil guard, one village guard, and a sureté member, makes regular rounds in My Thuan.

The assistant sureté chief described his talent for sniffing out competent informers. After striking up a relationship with a potential informer, he assigns him several tasks to test his mettle. If his man is worthy of the trust, the sureté assistant engages him and promises

payment for the information he provides. The district chief normally decides the amount of payment. There is no direct liaison between the informer and the sureté officials, as a general practice. The informer uses intermediaries, often his wife or children, to pass on information so that the Viet Cong do not discover him. The assistant sureté chief travels frequently about the district, attempting to gather information.

He stated proudly that he had recently been able to confiscate three Viet Cong rifles, and to pick up a man who had divulged information about Viet Cong accomplices. This outstanding performance, he pointed out, would be recorded in his personnel dossier, and he would receive a bonus (which could possibly diminish, he intimated, as it passed along the administrative echelons to him).

During the interview with the assistant chief, curled up on a mat in the corner was a twenty year old peasant in tattered clothes. His feet were in manacles, the left side of his face was swollen and his eye and cheek were badly bruised. He was suspected of Viet Cong membership. He had been arrested following the report of an extortion letter received by a village landowner. The writer of the letter demanded money of the landowner. Refusal to pay would result in his assassination by elements of the Viet Cong army, the letter threatened. The sureté officer claimed that the young man on the mat had written the letter. The young man had confessed to authorship but denied that he was a member of the Viet Cong, stating that he had used this ruse to extort money from the landowner. The sureté officer said that the prisoner would be sent to the court in due time.

3. The District Information Officer

The duties of district information officer are carried out by Mr. Tung. Now in his middle thirties, Mr. Tung was born in the northern part of central Viet Nam, in Nghe An. He is one of the few functionaries working at the Binh Minh district headquarters, perhaps the only one, who is not a southerner. He received his education at a Catholic seminary which he left at the age of thirteen. He served as a bookkeeper with the Japanese occupation forces in 1942. In 1945 he entered the resistance against the French, led by the Viet Minh, and worked in the eighth zone. Achieving the rank of captain in the Viet Minh army, he served as a specialist in organization matters, he stated. In 1952 he quit the Viet Minh and became a school teacher in the district of Tan Binh, a district near Binh Minh in Vinh Long province. Later he entered the government information service, received one month's training at Can Tho, and in 1957 was assigned to the district of Binh Minh, subsequently receiving a second month of training. In 1958, he attended the personalism course for civil servants given in Vinh Long. He earns a salary of 2,000 piasters monthly, a sum which he considers is neither sufficient reward for his services nor adequate to meet his needs. In addition to his tasks as district information chief, Mr. Tung serves as the district President of the National Revolutionary Movement, the President of the District Farmers' Association (Hiep Hoi Nong Dan), Director of the Association for Assistance to Families of Communist Victims, and commissioner for propaganda, research and training at the agrovillage (Uy vien Tuyen Truyen va Nghien Cuu).

The information chief has the duty of distributing news emanating from the department of information to village cadres. He organizes public meetings to propagandize the programs of the government such as

agrarian reform, community development, the agrovilles, and farmers' associations. He organizes anti-communist manifestations throughout the villages of the district. In each village, a village information officer maintains a room known as a phong, which presumably serves as an information center. Some hamlets have established a small information shelter, known as a tram. Prior to 1957, each village was allocated a budget for information activities, but recently this budget has been eliminated and each village must raise its own funds. There are nine phong in the villages of the district, and fifty-six tram. The village information officer in charge of the phong receives a monthly salary of 300 piasters. Sometimes films are shown at the end of which a collection is made from the villagers to sustain the phong and tram.

The district information chief is a key member of the mobile propaganda team of the Binh Minh district. This armed propaganda team was organized at the instructions of the province chief on March 28, 1960, as a measure to combat the increasing activities of the Viet Cong. It was to operate throughout the nine villages of the district during the period from April 4, 1960 to June 30, 1960. The team was composed of members of the Youth and Information Service, a representative of the National Revolutionary Movement, a member of the League of Civil Servants, a representative of the Civil Guard Battalion, and a Civic Action Member. The team was instructed to go into the villages for two days to confer with members of the village council, the National Revolutionary Movement representative, the information commissioner and the youth representative to draw up plans for their propaganda sessions. Their object was to organize study sessions, theatrical performances and film showings; arrange to listen to broadcasts, and lectures; and to organize whispering

campaigns for propaganda purposes. They were instructed to encourage the villagers to paint slogans and posters denouncing the Viet Cong, praising the government, and urging the population to join enthusiastically in the meetings and demonstrations.

Activities as President of the District National Revolutionary Movement

The information chief is also president of the district National Revolutionary Movement, the government political party. The honorary president of the NRM is President Diem. The party attempts to operate as a mass popular movement, providing a framework to organize people for political rallies, manifestations and public demonstrations. It serves also as a transmission belt for directives from the government to various elements of the society. The central core of its membership and its active leadership is provided by the government civil servants, whose league is a subsidiary member of the NRM. This means, in fact, that the government functionary becomes a member of the NRM through membership in the civil servants association. The party does not limit its membership to civil servants; it reaches into the general population for mass membership.

The NRM organizational pattern in the Binh Minh district follows the general pattern for South Viet Nam. The basic unit of the party is at the hamlet level. A hamlet NRM group, called Ap Bo, contains approximately twenty to forty persons. Several Ap Bo form a Xa Bo. The Xa Bo are joined together in the Quan Bo, the party organization at the district level. The district level organization is then represented in a province level organization, and finally, the provinces are represented in the organization at the national level.

Discussing the motivation of villagers to join the NRM and to contribute their two piaster monthly dues, the district information chief gave a resumé of the advantages of membership: (1) if a person is arrested, the party might intervene to his advantage; (2) if a party member wishes to leave the village for a few days, the exit visa might be more easily obtained; (3) party membership gives a "certain security" to the member.

Party members are exposed to a weekly political training session, at which the goals of the government policies are diffused and members are urged to promote government support among their friends and neighbors. The district information chief was proud of the fact that he had been instrumental in increasing the party membership from 1,400 members, its size when he arrived in the district, to 2,370 full members and 4,923 associate members by February, 1960. Associate membership is supposedly a trial period lasting three months, but many members remain in this category for a much longer period. A membership of more than 7,000 in a district of 8,300 represents a significant organizational achievement, the information chief felt.

In the election for the National Assembly in August 1959, Mr. Tung mobilized his district party for political activity. Groups were assembled for propaganda purposes and urged to spread the word in favor of the official party candidate. They were instructed to cast their own ballot for the official candidate and to secure cooperation from their family. The NRM official candidate won 53,000 of the total 70,000 votes cast.

4. Chief of the District Youth Movement

The chief of the youth movement of Binh Minh district, a man in his early thirties, was born in a southern province and went to school in Vinh Long. Prior to accepting work with the youth directorate in 1956, he worked as a village school teacher. He is married and has six children. His salary of 2,100 piasters is hardly sufficient to support his family, he pointed out, but he receives help from his parents who live in the region.

The Republican Youth Movement was originally formed in 1957. It currently recruits youth from the ages of eighteen to thirty-five, theoretically on a volunteer basis but in fact great pressure is applied by the government to mobilize the greater part of the rural youth. The basic unit of the youth organization is the Toan, containing eight to twelve members. From this basic unit a hierarchy is built at each administrative echelon, up to the level of national organization. Men and women serve in separate units. The organized youth have a prescribed uniform consisting of black trousers, white shirt, white beret and scarf, both for men and women. Each village has an executive committee of the youth organization, aided by village notables, which directs training, organizes sessions for propaganda, and generally prescribes the program for fulfilling the directives of higher headquarters. Hamlet youth chiefs must attend training sessions weekly, returning to their own group, in theory, to pass on their newly acquired knowledge.

A project undertaken early in 1960 laid plans for the selection of suitable young men from the Republican Youth Organization to be trained as members of village defense groups. These village defense groups composed of the most vigorous youths would replace the current village guards.

The village defense groups were to be trained by the Seventh Army Division of the Vietnamese National Army. At the time of this research the defense groups were expected to contain a minimum of forty persons in each village, led by a chief, an assistant chief, and four section chiefs, each with ten men. The groups were then to be armed with bamboo staves for symbolic training. It was expected that later they would receive firearms. In addition to being trained for fighting the Viet Cong, the youth group members were being organized to provide intelligence about Viet Cong activity. In fact, the youth chief, in discussing the new concept of these youth defense organizations, suggested that "each member can be a sort of secret agent for the government."

The director of the Republican Youth Movement for the district had the duty of organizing, supervising, and encouraging the formation of youth groups. To carry out his function, the youth chief makes frequent visits to the nine villages of the district, organizing training sessions, holding meetings, organizing rallies, and generally coordinating youth activities for the district. His superior at the province level, from whom he receives technical instructions, is the assistant province chief for security affairs, an army major.

5. The Civic Action Agents

Two agents of the Commissariat of Civic Action serve the Binh Minh district. During the period of the research visits, the civic action agents were constantly at the agrovillage site, engaging in propaganda activity. The Civic Action Commissariat is an agency organized on a national level, containing some 700 cadres. Their task is the promotion of propaganda and community development work. In Binh Minh district they were charged primarily with promoting the agrovillage. No interviews were

completed with the civic action agents.

6. Agricultural Credit Agent

The district representative of the National agricultural credit agency was absent from Binh Minh during the visit of the research team. This agency was established to provide small loans to farmers and one representative is normally located at the district headquarters in Binh Minh.

D. The Security Forces

The district chief has responsibility for supervision or coordination of a variety of security forces. These include primarily units of the national army, to whom he is often called upon to give administrative support, the civil guard whom he deals with more directly, and the village guards. The civil guard is a quasi-military organization now under the jurisdiction of the province chief. It supplements the national army which is limited to 150,000 personnel by the Geneva Agreement. The civil guard is recruited on a national basis, wears a uniform, and has full time military duty. A major function is sentry duty at important installations such as bridges, administrative headquarters, communications centers, and important roads. Civil guard officers aid in the training and supervision of village guards. The village guards are recruited from the villages and perform guardpost duty, security for the important officials, and make local sorties against marauding Viet Cong.

In the Binh Minh district there are approximately 120 civil guards and 200 village guards. The command post of the district civil guard is located at the district civil headquarters in My Thuan village. Civil guard reinforcements are sent to the village guards in each canton.

E. The Canton Chief

Although the Binh Minh district is officially divided into three cantons, only one canton chief actually holds office and he does not perform normal duties. He serves formally as the assistant chief of district, empowered to sign for the district chief in his absence. The canton chief, Mr. Nguyen Van Hieu, formerly a chief of district himself, was stricken with Parkinson's Disease a number of years ago. He now moves about slowly and suffers with trembling limbs. Mr. Hieu received his education in Saigon at the French Lycée, Chasseloup-Laubat, where he was a classmate of the Vinh Long Chief of Province, Mr. Ba. Although the administrative activity of Mr. Hieu is slight and his duties are largely ceremonial, he continues to draw a salary of 4,000 piasters monthly as chief of canton.

Mr. Hieu was a rich landowner, owning with his brother-in-law over 1,000 hectares of rice land before the land reform. Once the land reform program is fully implemented, he will be permitted to keep only 100 hectares of rice land. He pointed out that his land had not yet been fully expropriated by the government for resale because it is located in areas infested by the Viet Cong and the land is impossible to transfer. Legally he is entitled to receive rent from the land which is tilled by peasants living on it, but he claimed that he cannot collect his rents since the agents and the village officials fear entering the area to collect it. They would risk assassination by the Viet Cong. The rent which he succeeded in collecting, he claimed further, was far inferior to the value of the land, but he dared not demand more because of the security problem.

CHAPTER V

A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF THE DISTRICT CHIEF

A. Introduction

When the research project for the study of administration in Vinh Long province was first constructed, it was decided to observe in close detail, if possible, the daily activities of the three principal administrative chiefs of the three principal administrative echelons, the province chief, the district chief, and a village chief. It was hoped that a Vietnamese professor might accompany the chief for the major part of his activities. It was impossible, at the district level, to be with the chief at all times. He handled secret and personal matters, and he was engaged several times in military operations on which it was impossible to accompany him. Moreover, in the narrow confines of the district chief's office, the presence of an outsider obviously altered the normal train of activity. It was possible, however, to examine the paper work which the district chief processed during a good part of the work, and to engage him in conversation about administrative matters. This experience was extremely useful for gaining insight into the administrative activity of a district. In the belief that these conversations about administrative activity and a description of the routine administrative matters handled will be of interest to students of Vietnamese administration, the following account is offered. It is incomplete and impressionistic and should be viewed simply as a sample of the tasks and problems of the district chief.

The district chief was available to the research team a good part of each day from Monday to Thursday during the week of April 4, 1960. Late on Thursday night, he departed with a military unit for operation against the Viet Cong reportedly active in a jungle area nearby.

B. Monday Afternoon, April 4, 1960

When Mr. Nhan arrived at the office of the district chief at 2:45 PM, Captain Huynh was studying secret dossiers regarding the activities of the Viet Minh which had come from the Ministry of Interior through the chief of province. From time to time during the conversation between Mr. Nhan and Captain Huynh, section chiefs would arrive with papers for signature and inspection. A review of some of the papers which the chief inspected and signed follows.

Captain Huynh put his signature on a circular destined for three of his villages. The circular contained an order from the province for young men to be selected for training as members of the village council and as hamlet chiefs. Next, Captain Huynh examined a receipt from a village which showed that delinquent taxes owed by certain businessmen in the villages had been paid. Earlier, a request from the provincial tax service had passed through the district, asking for action in collection of taxes from these businessmen. The district would now return the receipt from the village to the province level and the cycle would be completed. The chief then signed several papers which showed that notification of criminal judgments had been transmitted to the appropriate judges. Among these papers was notification to a village woman that she had been fined 800 piasters for her part in a quarrel. The judgment would be sent to the village council to be delivered to the woman. Following the delivery

of this judgment the woman would have three days to make an appeal.

During the processing of these papers Captain Huynh commented that he lost much time dealing with unimportant papers like these, and was asking for permission to have his section chief sign for him. Captain Huynh interrupted the conversation to meet outside of his office, in private, a visitor who was a specialist in the recruitment of civil guard troops. The chief returned to his office to withdraw money from his desk in order to give his visitor an advance to pay the twenty recruits who had been gathered for service in the security forces. A telegram was brought in from the province ordering the district chief to send a representative immediately to receive instructions regarding a new training program. The district chief instructed one of his assistants to take the district jeep and drive immediately to the province. For the rest of the afternoon Captain Huynh discussed district administrative problems with Mr. Nhan. These discussions will be treated in the final section of this paper.

C. Tuesday, April 5

Tuesday, April 5th, was a national holiday, Than-Minh, to commemorate the dead. Orders had been issued from Saigon that this holiday would be given a political orientation, using religious gatherings to promote patriotism for the national government and denunciation of the Viet Minh. The province chief transmitted orders to the district chief to organize village celebrations commemorating the dead, especially those who fell as a result of Viet Minh attacks. The order from the province headquarters had been received only a few days earlier, and the district chief explained that he did not have time to make properly solemn

arrangements for the religious ceremonies, such as children's choirs. The district chief had ordered the village chief of My Thuan to work with the district chief of information to prepare a memorial service for the four neighboring villages of the district. The ceremony was held at the village temple, the Dinh. There was, in addition, a service commemorating the dead at the Hoa Hao cemetery in the village.

Captain Huynh, outfitted trimly in his dress military uniform, attended both of these ceremonies. The canton chief, too, sat at the table of honor in the Dinh. Also at the table of honor was a civil guard lieutenant, a former colonel in the Hoa Hao army, now an influential member of the community. The district chief pointed out that he and the canton chief were Catholic and that their attendance at the Hoa Hao religious ceremony was a matter of official presence.

The district chief spent the afternoon in his office, joined by Mr. Nhan, processing administrative papers. The following account will describe a sample of the papers with which he dealt. The chief recorded in a notebook that he was transmitting a message to a villager to appear before a neighboring district chief. This communication had come directly from the neighboring district and had not passed through province Headquarters, the usual channel. Next, the chief handled a letter from the province, inviting a delegation of certain women from Thanh Loi village to attend a speech on April 11. The speech would be given by a lady civil servant on the subject, "The Goals of the Service for the Amelioration of Family Life." Explaining why these particular women were selected from the village of Thanh Loi, the district chief pointed out that they were probably former agents (Can-Bo) of the wife of the Hao Hoa chief Nam Lua. It was thought useful by higher authorities to

involve these ladies in governmental projects. Next he dealt with an official letter from a NACO (National Agricultural Credit Organization) representative in the district requesting the chief to investigate the retention by a village chief of 4,000 piasters purportedly belonging to NACO. Captain Huynh noted on the margin of this letter that the village chief should be brought before him with the 4,000 piasters. Captain Huynh explained that though this might appear to be a criminal offense, he knew that the village chief had spent the money for public use. The village chief had needed the cash and could not sell the public stock of rice because of the government price policy. The government had fixed the price of rice at forty piasters per gia in order to prevent Chinese merchants from profiteering. It was their practice, it appears, to buy rice at the period when it was cheap and sell it later in the year at a higher price. Now that the free market rate for rice was only thirty-seven piasters, it was impossible for the village chief to get rid of the rice and raise the money he needed for village expenditures.

The district chief next examined a report which showed the quantity of medical supplies in one of the villages. Eight other such reports would be collected dealing with the same subject and forwarded to the medical service of the province level. A special messenger then came requesting the chief's signature on a proces verbal dealing with fraud on an agricultural reform matter. Questions of fraud in agrarian reform arose frequently. To investigate charges of fraud in each district a commission was established composed of the district chief as president, a representative of the agrarian reform ministry of the province, a village chief, two members of the village council, one representative of the landowner, and one representative of the tenant. The chief signed

the proces verbal, which he had no time to read, but pointed out he had confidence in the document since it had been prepared by the chief of the Provincial Agrarian Reform office.

The district chief then put his signature on a document listing the salaries of the members of the village council. The list of salaries of council members follows:

Binh Thoi Village:

Village chief - - 1,300 piasters monthly

Councillor for security and finance - - 1,200 piasters monthly

Political Councillor - - 500 piasters monthly

Youth Commissioner - - 200 piasters monthly

Information Commissioner - - 200 piasters monthly

Tanh Hoa Binh Village:

Village chief - - 1,500 piasters

Finance Councillor - - 1,400 piasters

Police Councillor - - 350 piasters

Information Commissioner - - 250 piasters

Youth Commissioner - - 200 piasters

The differences in these salaries were explained by the fact that the richer villages could offer more money to their officials than the poorer ones.

The district chief next read a letter from a woman in Saigon asking for the arrest of her servant; a young girl now living in a village of Binh Minh district, who had committed a theft in her house, she charged. This woman had filed a complaint with the Saigon police who suggested it would take too long to follow the case through normal channels and suggested that she contact the district chief directly. The chief explained

that he could not arrest a person without court authority and he sent the letter to the village police councillor with instructions to investigate the matter and report.

Captain Huynh now signed an authorization for Mr. Quang, his principal section chief, to be absent in Saigon for a week to take a civil service examination which would permit him to rise into the civil service cadre. A guard then came into the office to ask Captain Huynh to sign a paper showing he was reporting back from leave. Next, the district chief signed a receipt from the Vinh Long court showing that a reimbursement of twelve piasters would be made to a village woman for an excess fine she had paid. This woman would be obliged to go to the Vinh Long post office, thirty kilometers from her village, to receive her twelve piasters.

The district chief then examined the report of the police councillor of Bong Thanh village giving an account of the death of a village guard from a neighboring province who was assassinated by the Viet Cong. A police investigation was made and a death certificate was drawn up to be sent to the victim's village. Along with this report from the village was a table showing the number of casualties from communist attacks, with the most recent casualty added to the list. Captain Huynh described the area in which the guard was assassinated as a swampy area strongly infiltrated by the Viet Cong. The Captain had already participated in operations in this area attempting to flush out the guerrillas.

The district chief next signed a service order providing for a multiple personnel transfer. The chief of the district youth movement was transferred by central headquarters and the assistant to the district civil guard chief was promoted to the youth position. A member of the

civil guard was appointed to fill the vacancy of the assistant to the civil guard chief. At this point, Mr. Quang, the section chief, entered the chief's office to discuss a problem which required a decision. A communication had arrived from one of the villages reporting that land expropriated under the agrarian reform program had not been accepted by the peasants to whom it had been attributed. The land comprised ten hectares and would cost 5,000 piasters per hectare, to be paid out over a period of six years. Mr. Quang reminded the district chief that as president of the agrarian reform committee of the district a decision was required of him. The alternative solutions were discussed: (1) the situation could be reported to the agrarian reform ministry in Saigon and the decision left to them, with perhaps the suggestion that the land might be sold to other purchasers; (2) the district chief might order the village authorities to purchase it and maintain it as public rice land. Mr. Quang pointed out that the peasants might have received threats from the Viet Cong and were thought reluctant to make the purchase. The fact that the land was far from the village headquarters and under serious danger from the Viet Cong might make the village officials equally reluctant to purchase this land. Captain Huynh finally instructed his assistant to write to the agrarian reform ministry in Saigon with the suggestion that this land be sold to other purchasers, if possible. He added that if no other purchasers were found he might try to work out a method for the purchase of this land by the village.

Next, the chief read a letter coming from a village requesting information regarding a dispute over fishing rights in a village. A notation by one of the section chiefs was on the letter stating that an official circular describing fishing regulations was being sent to the

village under separate cover. The district chief added his initials of approval on this notation.

The district chief next reviewed a letter which was prepared in his headquarters to inform his nine villages that young men must be selected for training programs at the province headquarters. This program would train youths for future service as members of the village councils and as hamlet chiefs. Instructions about the program had arrived the previous day through the messenger who had been summoned by the province chief. The letter for the villages, to be signed by the district chief, had already been stamped "Very Urgent" (Hoa Toc). The chief commented wryly that this classification would not speed up the communication, but it might impress the village authorities. He added that Vietnamese administration has a tendency to overclassify its documents, using the terms "urgent" and "very urgent" too frequently. He added that during the Korean war, the Americans had used these terms only twice: once to order the attack and the second time to order the retreat.

The district chief next signed a payroll authorization for the civil guard. Normally the payroll is drawn up at the beginning of each month to be distributed at the end of the month. After payment, the payroll is sent back to the chief of the provincial civil guard. During this pay period, however, one of the members of the civil guard was absent without leave. For this reason, the chief of the civil guard of the district had requested the district chief to sign the authorization which would return 300 piasters not utilized for payment of the AWOL soldier to the province. The district chief next dealt with the request from a villager asking a furlough for a son taking military training at Quang-Trung. The villager had promised the village chief that he would be responsible

for the return of his son to the military post. Acknowledging that the village chief had approved the request, the district chief added his countersignature.

The district chief next signed an authorization to issue duplicate identification cards to a number of villagers who had lost theirs. He then handled several communications from the provincial court regarding inhabitants of his district. He signed a communication to the treasurer of the city of Can Tho reporting that a man the treasurer wished to contact in his district was not there. Next, he signed a transmission certificate for a document destined for one of the villages in which four tax rolls were listed. These tax rolls, previously approved by the provincial taxation service, showed these four categories: (1) rice fields and gardens; (2) boats; (3) houses; (4) animals. The district chief then examined a communication from a village which requested that Vietnamese of Cambodian origin be given permission to celebrate the Cambodian New Year for five days. The chief signed the letter, which had been prepared for him, granting his permission for the five day celebration. but admonishing the Cambodians that gambling was forbidden.

D. Wednesday, April 6

On Wednesday morning, Captain Huynh accompanied the members of the research team to the agrovillage under construction at Tan Luoc. Since the completion of the agrovillage held a high priority among his administrative duties, Captain Huynh spent a good deal of time at the agrovillage and in administrative activities concerned with agrovillage construction. A full account of the agrovillage project is found in another report.

in the afternoon, Captain Huynh was in his office handling routine administrative papers. Mr. Nhan had the opportunity to peruse them with the captain and a sample of the documents he processed follows. The chief signed a registry from a local rice mill which showed the name of the peasant and the amount of rice he processed at the mill. The chief remarked that his signature on the report was a monthly formality, but he was not confident of its accuracy. He intended to pay a visit to the rice mill when he had time. Next, the chief read a notice from the National Institute of Administration which stated that a number of NIA courses were printed and available for sale.

An adjutant of the civil guard, also acting as the chief of its intelligence service, came to discuss with the chief of district the site for a youth meeting the following morning. The youth groups of the four closest villages were being assembled to denounce the Viet Cong, especially their recent destruction of a leprosarium at Ben Son. Three possible sites for the manifestation were discussed: (1) the court in front of the Civil Guard headquarters; (2) a football field in the village; (3) the school court of My Thuan village. The civil guard headquarters was rejected for security reasons, and the school court seemed the best alternative. The adjutant and Captain Huynh then discussed the case of the alleged Viet Cong agent who had been arrested the previous day for attempted extortion (cf. p.25). Captain Huynh made clear that he believed the prisoner was actually a member of the Viet Cong, and suggested to the adjutant measures that could be taken with the prisoner to discover the truth.

Captain Huynh next examined the letter from the My Thuan village chief reporting the visit by six Viet Cong members to the house of the

village youth group leader during the night. The Viet Cong left a letter with the youth leader, warning him to withdraw from his functions or be held "responsible for his activities before the nation." The letter was two pages long, written in good handwriting and correct spelling, and had a heading at the top entitled Alliance of Religious Sects (Lien-Minh Giao-Phai): Underneath the heading on the left was found the line designating the batallion (Ly-Thuong-Kiet).

A note from the sureté chief asked Captain Huynh to take action on the matter since the youth leader lived in a hamlet far from the village headquarters, extremely exposed to the Viet Cong danger. Captain Huynh said that he would do nothing for the present. He was in the process of gathering information from agents he had in the area, and would take appropriate measures when his information was complete.

The district chief next read two telegrams marked secret emanating from the military zone headquarters. One telegram contained instructions that ferries fix lanterns on their bows when traveling on the river at night, and the other specified the use of armour on these ferries. The classification "secret" on these communications was noted with mirth. Captain Huynh next examined several mimeographed form postcards which came from internees at the political detention camps. These detention camps held those suspected of subversive activities. The post cards were being sent by the internees to their families living in the district. The district chief next leafed through several documents which came from the province headquarters which were to be used at the next political indoctrination sessions, given regularly to the civil servants of the district. He then examined a circular marked "secret" from the Ministry of Information dealing with counter-propaganda techniques against the

Viet Cong.

A report came, dated April 6, from the district sureté officer, showing that he had investigated a village police chief who had been denounced for holding card games at his house. The investigation had followed a denunciatory handwritten letter from several villagers charging their police chief with using his house for gambling and collecting a commission during the period of Tet (Vietnamese New Year). The letter, properly signed, stated that the police chief ceased receiving gamblers in his home only after he had learned of his denunciation. The sureté report showed that the denunciatory letters had been correct. Captain Huynh pointed out that he intended to call the police chief before him, dismiss him, and probably send him before the procurer general. The chief added approvingly that now people were not afraid to send such letters.

Completing his correspondence at 5:15 PM, Captain Huynh invited Mr. Nhan on a tour of the new district headquarters building. The first floor of the building contained a private office for the chief and a large common administrative area in which the desks of the section chiefs would be placed. On the second floor of the building there were living quarters which the Chief would occupy with his wife and six children.

E. Thursday, April 7

On Thursday morning members of the research team attended the district youth rally. The district chief was in his office during this time, processing administrative matters. Stopping in briefly following the ceremony, Mr. Nhan found the chief signing separately 125 authorizations for farmers to receive loans of 4,000 piasters from NACO. He was

exasperated by the need to spend his time to sign each authorization. The chief was to leave shortly for a security contact in the town of Can Tho. Members of the research team invited Captain Huynh for a luncheon in Can Tho, where they enjoyed a sumptuous Chinese dinner, and informal discussions of a wide range of issues concerning the district.

Following the lunch, the chief returned to his office to deal with routine correspondence. Thursday evening, following the report that eighty Viet Cong were operating in the area near the agrovillage, Captain Huynh left with units of the civil guard, the village guard, and army personnel to engage in an operation which lasted two days. Personnel at the district headquarters commenting on this operation the following day considered it a normal practice. Such security operations were so frequent that they regarded it much as a military unit regards skirmishes during war.

CHAPTER VI

OBSERVATIONS OF SOME ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS
AND PROCESSES IN THE DISTRICTA. Introduction

In the following sections some summary observations regarding administration in the district are offered. The research team had the opportunity to observe administrative problems in the district in a one day preliminary visit, a full week of observation, and in a three day visit several weeks following the observation week. As the previous account demonstrates, the activities of the district chief were followed with close scrutiny, his subordinates were interviewed, the development of the agrovillage was followed with special attention, and interviews were carried out with officials at both higher and lower echelons

the district. The observations which follow represent a distillation of some of the major administrative phenomena which struck the authors. As in the foregoing descriptive material, impressions are offered not as definitive conclusions, but as observations which may suggest insights and understanding of some of the district administrative problems, and hopefully, will suggest further areas for research.

Two phenomena had overwhelming influence upon the administrative process in Binh Minh district: the precarious security situation, and the great centralization of Vietnamese government. A description of the effect of the security situation on administration will be given, evidence of the highly centralized system will be provided, and finally, some general observations on particular administrative processes

will be offered.

B. The Security Situation.

The ominous security situation had a pervasive effect on all administrative activity. Administrators operate in garrison-like quarters surrounded by barbed wire entanglements whose entrance is guarded by armed sentries. These measures are cautions to prevent the danger of guerrilla attack. When trips into the countryside are necessary, the district chief moves about in a jeep accompanied by at least two body guards armed with submachine guns. Similar to the final years of French colonial domination, the government controls the built-up areas and the countryside along the main arteries during the day, but during the night the forces of the enemy constantly threaten control of the rural areas. The Viet Cong units move about the district, extracting taxes and information from the population, assassinating government functionaries and members of the security forces, and generally spreading terror. To protect themselves against the danger of Viet Cong bullets at night, village councillors who live outside of the headquarters area often come to the village communal hall to sleep under the surveillance of the village and civil guards. At the district headquarters in My Thuan village for example, three village chiefs came from their own villages to sleep under heavier protection. One of these village chiefs had already been the victim of an attempted assassination, managing to recover from seven bullet wounds inflicted by Viet Cong assassins. Perhaps the most vulnerable position in the entire administrative apparatus of Viet Nam is the post of village chief. Living in villages which are often far from the national security forces, they may be singled out by the Viet Cong members as easy targets. During the past two years assassinations of government

personnel by the Viet Cong have been increasing.

The maintenance of security becomes the number-one concern of all administration. The district chief is an army captain whose admitted concern is not administration, in which he has little interest, but fighting the communists. A tremendous portion of the limited district resources is committed to dealing with the problem of security. Important sums are spent upon the civil guard, the village defense forces, the police, and the sureté. The youth are being organized and trained primarily to serve in the battle against communists.

Social and economic development programs suffer because of the security danger. Government officials consume their time and energy dealing with the security problem and cannot devote adequate effort towards raising the standard of living. Agrarian reform difficulties demonstrate the deterioration of economic development programs. The agrarian reform program calls for land to be expropriated from large landlords and sold to the peasantry over a six year period. But in insecure areas, peasants are fearful of purchasing the land they work because of the threat of Viet Cong retaliation. Some, it is true, do not wish to make this purchase since they can work their present land without paying rent for it. Many of the landlords would not dare to enter certain areas to collect their rents, for fear of assassination by the Viet Cong. The Binh Minh district file showed a dossier indicating that large land holdings belonging to a French company, the Credit Foncier, had not been surveyed, nor had contracts between the company and the tenants been negotiated. This land was located far from the village headquarters and village officials were afraid to survey the land or collect the rent. This land, therefore, had not been expropriated, even though it was the intent of the agrarian reform law.

A climate of suspicion understandably pervades the countryside. Viet Cong activity is ubiquitous, and officials cannot be certain who is sympathetic toward the Viet Cong, who is under their control or domination, and who are the loyal supporters of the government. Officials throughout the administrative hierarchy attempt to develop an intelligence network, cultivating their own private informers. The province chief, the sureté agents of the district, and the village chief, all spoke of their personal agents (Indicateurs) who supplied them information about Viet Cong activity in their region. For preventative measures those suspected of subversive activity may be interned by administrative action. The arrival of several post cards through the district office from internees communicating with their families, indicates that Binh Minh district has its quota in these camps.

To deal with the communist problem, the national government instituted a policy of developing "agglomeration centers" (Khi Khu and Khi Ab), in which families suspected of Viet Cong affiliations and families living in dispersed areas which were difficult to control by government security forces would be concentrated. A beginning was made on the development of these agglomeration centers in the district, but they were replaced by agrovilles. The agrovillage program was an attempt to develop a new pattern of rural living which aimed at military security, taking into account at the same time the economic and social needs of the population. Both of these programs, the agglomeration centers and the agrovillage development, are described in another report. Another administrative measure to meet the security danger was control of the movement of the population. No villager can leave his village for more than a day without an exit visa signed by his village chief and countersigned by the district chief.

Government authorities take great pains in their attempt to build positive loyalty towards the government, mostly by propaganda activity. Every gathering is used as an opportunity to pronounce slogans in favor of the government and to denounce the Viet Cong. Public manifestations and rallies are frequently organized in order to whip up hatred of Viet Cong terrorism. Essentially religious ceremonies are manipulated to give them a political content. The youth organizations are assembled from time to time for patriotic rallies. Every Thursday morning the entire administrative staff of the district, including members of the technical service, members of the village councils of the four closest villages, and approximately thirty school teachers from the same four villages, are required to attend this session under the chairmanship of the district chief. Each week, one of the participants must direct the session, generally reading the political material supplied by higher headquarters and guiding a general discussion along the lines presented in the paper. Meetings of the official political party, the National Revolutionary Movement, are held from time to time to stir up political enthusiasm. Other propaganda activity is pursued by the two civic action agents of the district. Their major task in Binh Minh district was to popularize the agrovillage program among the peasantry. Pro-government and anti-communist slogans were pasted ubiquitously throughout the district. The district information officer was busy promoting district propaganda programs and encouraging each information officer in the villages to carry out government directives.

It is difficult to assess the success or failure of these propaganda activities. At the rallies attended by the members of the research team, the population appeared docile. They were certainly not enthusiastic, but they gave the signs of acclamation and shouted the necessary cheers

when the signals were given by their leaders. There was no discernable open resistance to the mobilization of workers for the agrovillage. When given the order, they appeared and carried out the tasks which they were assigned. Nevertheless, the incessant Viet Cong activity, with its intermittent assassinations and constant propaganda, indicated that conditions were not placid. Hamlet officials of the district received threatening letters charging them to resign from their activities.

It is possible, of course, that this administrative havoc is caused by a handful of Viet Cong members. It is true that a relatively small number of active, dedicated guerrillas can paralyze an entire administrative apparatus. But it seems unlikely that these guerrillas could operate successfully if the population had full knowledge of present conditions. Apparently, the attitude of the local population is less one of sympathy for Viet Cong activity than fear. Indifference towards the government by some of the peasantry may induce support for the Viet Cong activity, though those peasants are not necessarily communists.

There can be no doubt, in sum, that the problem of insecurity is the major issue affecting administration in the district. It is in this area that the government of Viet Nam faces its greatest challenge. A great deal of study is necessary to determine what methods should be used to deal with this problem, both militarily and psychologically. It is clear that the security problem is not purely a military one. Somehow, the government must win the support of the local population, so that it will participate in eradicating the danger from the Viet Cong.

C. Centralization in the Administrative System

Another factor which pervades the administrative climate, in addition to the problem of insecurity, is the tremendous centralization in the administrative systems. Legally, Viet Nam is a unitary state, providing the constitutional basis for a centralized system. The Vietnamese were imbued with the French centralist administrative tradition, and much of the pattern established by the French remains. The threat to the central government from a Communist coup adds to the centralizing forces. Also, separatist tendencies from the remnants of the religious sects reinforce the tendency towards strong control by the central government.

This centralized power is evident in the administration of Binh Minh district. All officials look upward for their direction. Programs are framed in Saigon, communicated through the province, the district, and the village level. In all echelons of government there is some sensitivity to the attitudes and desires of the central government.

The evidence demonstrates a great flow of orders from upper echelons, but that reverse flow contains little to indicate the difficulty of implementation. The lower echelons feel under great pressure to fulfill the tasks imposed upon them by higher headquarters, but there are few occasions to communicate suggestions, constructive criticism, or information which would reflect unfavorably upon the programs desired by higher echelons. There is an elaborate reporting system from the lower echelons to the higher. A number of the administrative staff of the district chief feel that their major activity is the preparation of their reports from the district to the province. However, there is no evident formal machinery and little evidence that there is an informal practice

of consulting lower echelons. Criticism of superior officials is regarded dangerous in this system, and the dominant ethos is following orders in military fashion. Moreover, since the following of orders has such a high priority, great attention is paid to following proper administrative procedure. Functionaries feel safer in adhering to the rules of the book, and working within official administrative channels although these measures may be a necessity under present security conditions. This leads to the generally recognized phenomenon of administration in Viet Nam "la paperasserie" (excessive paperwork). In a system in which office machinery is relatively scarce, typing skills are backward, and speedy administrative procedures are relatively unknown, a slowness and heaviness in administrative procedure results.

This problem of administrative overcentralization merits further research. Methods for tapping the opinion of local officials as well as the general population could be usefully developed. Measures for inspiring local administrative initiative, which is sadly lacking, would be desirable. National programs would have more chance of success if they could inspire local support and participation. These programs might be more intelligently framed if they were developed in cognizance of local reaction. The inspiration of local initiative would be useful in adapting national programs to the variety of local situations. Study of this general problem would make a great contribution to the development of sound administration in Viet Nam.

D. General Observations about Administrative Processes

1. General Conditions of Work

The vast majority of functionaries working at the district level

are native to the region in which they are presently located. None of the section chiefs in the district has career status (cadre) in the public service. They are all temporary employees without tenure, receiving on the average 2,100 piasters monthly. This is a meagre salary to care for large family needs, and almost unanimously the men complained about insufficient remuneration. Most of the section chiefs seemed limited in their career objectives, though they were not really satisfied with their conditions of employment, few envisaged a prospect of change. The district administrative staff works steadily, if unhurriedly, checking in at 7:30 in the morning, leaving for lunch at 12:00, returning after siesta at 2:30, and staying at their desks until 5:30. The introduction of a new district chief, Captain Huynh, did not appear to change the administrative processes of the district. Perhaps administrative activity was even more routinized, for the new district chief meddled little in administrative affairs, leaving the common pattern undisturbed, and focussing his own interests on the security problem and construction of the agrovillage. Normal administrative supervision was handled by the first section chief.

It is not unusual that the staff at the district headquarters were native to the district. There is little attraction for a career functionary to come to a district post, except perhaps as district chief, and these posts are largely held by military people in the present state of insecurity of Viet Nam. For the normal administrative post at Binh Minh district, the pay is low and the security risk is high. For the ambitious or comfort-oriented public servant in Viet Nam service in the rural areas is undesirable. He would prefer to work in Saigon, or at best one of the provincial towns, where the comforts of life are more readily available and the danger from Viet Cong bullets is considerably

less.

2. Relations of the District with the Province and the Villages

The general character of relationships between superiors and inferiors in the Vietnamese administration has already been explained. It might be useful, however, to summarize more specifically the contacts of the Binh Minh district chief with his province chief and the village chiefs.

The district chief is in constant close contact with the province chief, either through correspondence or personal meetings. The district chief calls frequently on the province chief at his headquarters. The province chief made it a habit to stop on unannounced visits, often on his way to the agrovillage, at district headquarters. There is a formal monthly meeting of all district chiefs at the province chief's headquarters. Regular reports of all district activities must go to the province. A resumé of the quarterly report from the district chief to the province chief, giving a useful summary of district responsibilities, is cited below.

Report from District chief to Province chief, submitted quarterly:

15 January 1960 to 15 March 1960 -

Part A.

Resumé of district activity:

1. Security
2. Judicial affairs
3. Finance, especially village budget
4. Economic affairs, including agriculture, stock raising, fishing, forestry, industry, commerce, food production, etc.
5. Public works and reconstruction
6. Health and social services
7. Education
8. Youth and Public assistance
9. Labor

10. Work to raise living standards, especially agricultural credit and land reform.
11. Principal work of the month
12. Administrative situation, especially reports on the village council.

Part B.

Political Affairs:

1. Political situation and principal issues, communist activities, anti-communist activities, information and propaganda.
2. Reactionaries. Resumé of activities against suspects and reactionaries. (report showed a reactionary suspect had recently been jailed.)
3. Surveillance of foreigners. (Little comment in this section since only a few foreigners - Cambodians and Chinese - live in this district.)

Part C.

Internal Activities:

1. Report on activities of personnel:
 - a. Personnel attached to the presidency: civic action, youth, agricultural credit.
 - b. Personnel attached to the Ministry of the Interior: administrative services; personnel administered under orders of the district chief; village councils
2. Police and sureté
3. Bao Ann, Dan Ve (Civil Guard and Village Guard)
4. Youth organization (report the 7,000 young men between 18 and 35 and 2,600 girls, each without uniform, had been organized.) Each village has two youth groups:
 - a. Youth group for the protection of the village;
 - b. Special group for the protection of the village, including members with former military training.
5. Personnel attached to other ministries:
 - a. Ministry of Information
 - b. School teachers

If the district chief has a technical question concerning his district, he may deal through the technical service representative. If a decision is required however, it must be cleared through the province chief.

The district chief has frequent contacts with the nine village chiefs of his district. He calls regular meetings at district headquarters and meets informally at other times. Since three of the village chiefs sleep in My Thuan village, largely because of security considerations, they see the district chief almost daily. The district chief's regular visits to the agrovillage mean that he sees the village chief of Than Luoc village almost as often. In addition to these informal contacts, regular reports from the village to the district are required.

3. Communications and Correspondence in the District

For routine communication with the province, each morning Mr. Quang, the first section chief, sends a messenger by public bus to ride the forty kilometers to Vinh Long, taking the previous day's correspondence of the district to the province headquarters and returning with provincial correspondence. Radiograms from the province provide another source of communication. Several of these arrive daily, as a normal rule, sometimes in code when the material is secret. Only in cases of urgency does the province send its messenger directly to the district. Transportation at the disposal of the district is inadequate, according to the chief. One fairly good Land Rover, one old truck in poor operating condition, and an old motorized junk capable of transporting sixty people on rivers and canals, are available. When necessary, the district can call on the local military authorities for use of the telegraph.

Concerning the district communication with the nine subordinate villages, the pattern is as follows. The three village chiefs who reside in My Thuan village frequently pick up communications personally. If not, their messengers can pick up correspondence any time of the day since the villages are in brief walking distance from the district headquarters.

This is the case of three other villages as well. The three farthest villages receive their correspondence one day late, picking it up from the village closest to them who had collected it at district headquarters. Villagemessengers receive about 300 piasters monthly, and must be changed every few months so that they do not become targets of the Viet Cong, according to the district chief. He pointed out that the risk was that they would either be attacked or purchased.

Although an essentially agricultural district with a high degree of illiteracy, there seems to be a copious amount of paper work. From the province to the district the paper work flows in great abundance. This gives the appearance of a highly administered society. Written permission is required for many activities which seem normal liberties in other communities. Though the paper work is abundant, the techniques are slow. At the village level in particular, the problem of illiteracy means that there are few competent clerks -- and these are not high speed typists-- to request the permissions and formulate the reports. This means, therefore, that the many requests which require written permission find their way slowly back to the villager.

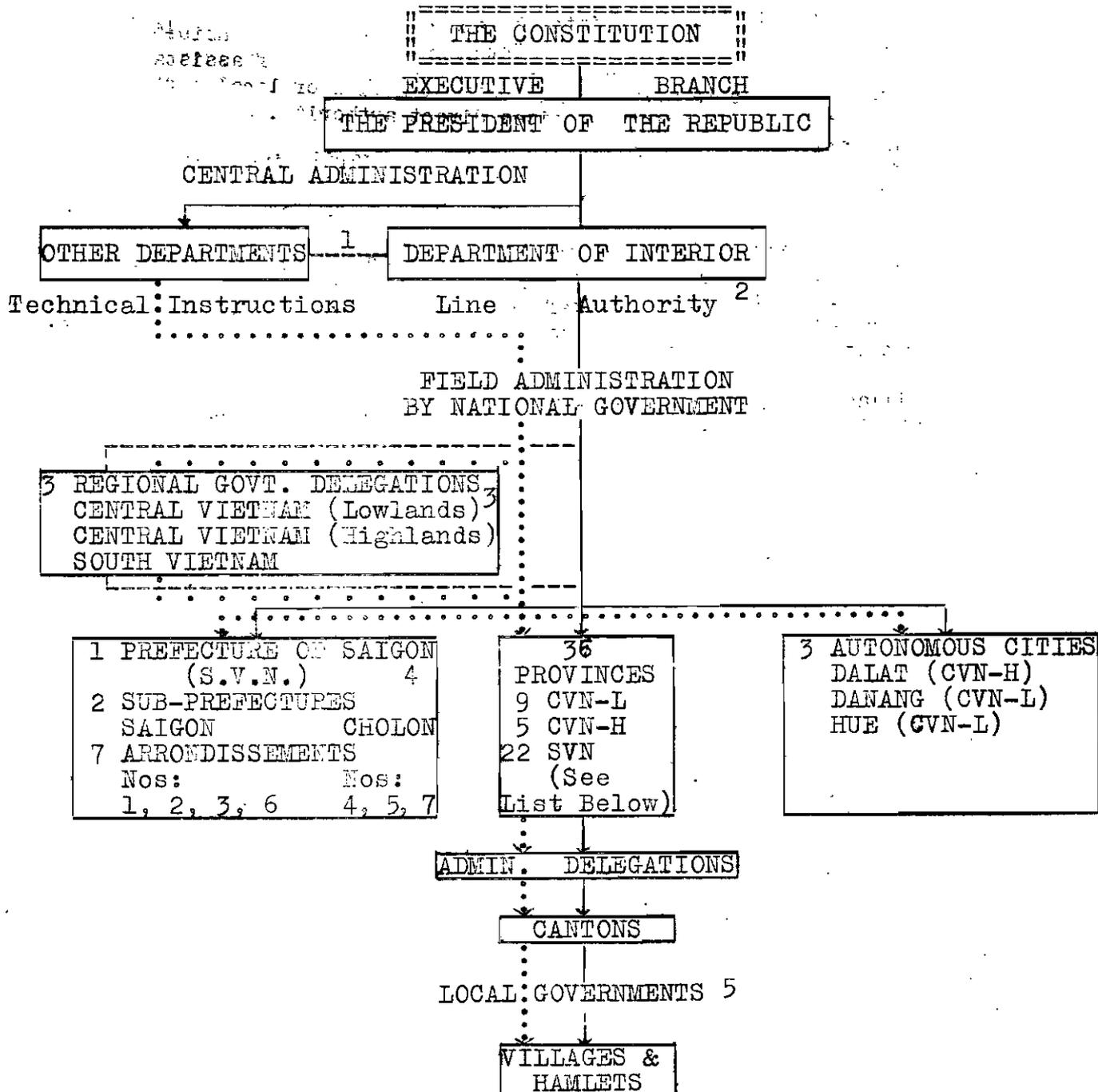
4. Financial Relations

The district has no separate source of income as an administrative entity but draws its funds by adding its expenditures to the villages located within it. It relies largely upon My Thuan village for its source of funds. A copy of the list of estimated expenditures for Binh Minh district, fiscal year 1960, and a payroll account for the district staff are included in the appendix. Comments on the district financial situation will be found in the paper by Professor Lloyd Woodruff and Truong Ngoc Giau, "My Thuan: Administrative and Financial Aspects of a Village in South Viet Nam", Michigan State University, Saigon, July 1961.

APPENDIX I

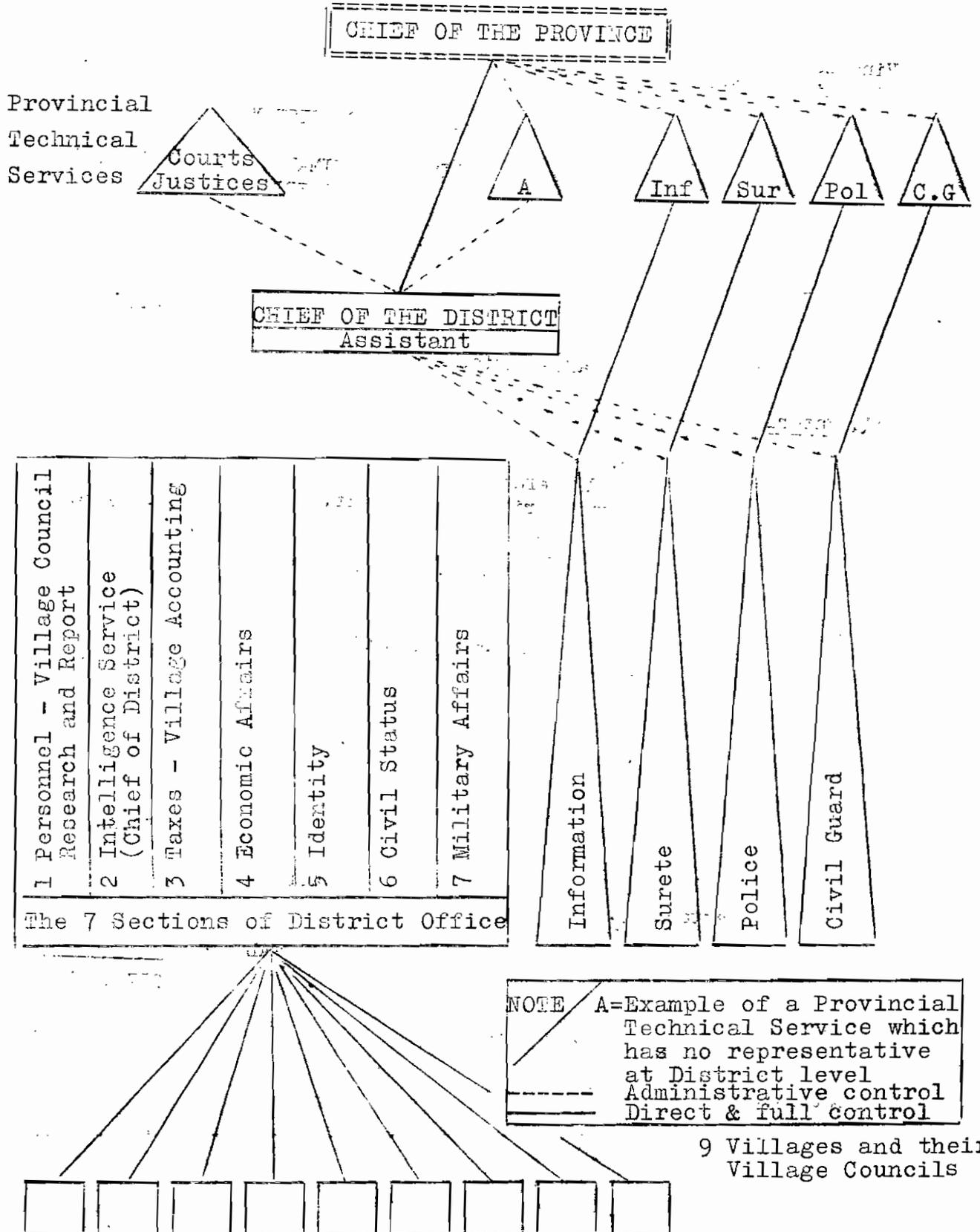
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Field Administration and Local Government
 Unofficial as of July 1, 1958 USOM Public Administration Division



- 1 Liaison and clearance of directives and reports.
- 2 Province Chiefs are appointed by and are directly responsible to the President. Department of Interior provides staff assistance to the President in areas of the administration of local government where the President exercises direct authority.
- 3 In transition from line authority to a primarily inspectional function under Ordinance No. 17 of December 24, 1955; but retain certain important elements of the line authority.
- 4 Some features of "Federal City" governmental control by central administration; some responsibilities assigned to SVN regional delegation. Prefect and Sub-Prefects are appointive national officials. Thirty-five member Prefectural Council (which chooses mayors of arrondissements) is elected.
- 5 Village "Council of Notables" eventually elective; currently partly appointive.

APPENDIX II



APPENDIX III

Vinh Long Province
Binh Minh District

REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM

LIST OF ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES FOR
THE WHOLE DISTRICT FISCAL YEAR 1960

1. Staff

Clerk salaries 128,100\$00

(Staff list hereafter attached)

11. Material

Writing paper, ink for district,
civil guard, self defense militia,
police, security, Agricultural Credit,
land reform offices. 22,800\$00

Repair and purchase of material for
District office. 8,000\$00

Repair and purchase of gasoline and
oil for official cars and district
motor boat. 20,000\$00

Expenditures relating to informants. 24,000\$00

Expenditures relating to ceremonies. 25,000\$00

Miscellaneous (soldier recruitment). 30,000\$00

(lists of material expenditures hereafter
attached).

TOTAL

257,900\$00

Closed down the present expenditures list at the amount of 257,900\$00.

Contribution made by villages:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Village of My Thuan | 110,900\$00 |
| Than Loi | 20,000\$00 |
| Dong Thanh | 7,000\$00 |
| My Hoa | 10,000\$00 |
| Tan Quoi | 30,000\$00 |

| | |
|-----------|------------|
| Tan Luoc | 40,000\$00 |
| Phong Hoa | 40,000\$00 |

| | |
|-------|-------------|
| TOTAL | 257,900\$00 |
|-------|-------------|

Binh Minh, 13-10 1959

THE DISTRICT CHIEF

Approved:

Vinh Long, (day) (month) (year)

THE PROVINCE CHIEF

APPENDIX IVI

LIST OF BINH MINH DISTRICT STAFF -- 1960

| NAME | FUNCTION | MONTHLY SALARIES | ANNUAL SALARIES |
|-----------------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| Nguyen Hieu Thuan | Village Secretary - Grade CL Step 1 | 3,475 x 12 | 41,700\$00 |
| Nguyen Minh Khoa | Secretary | 2,000 x 12 | 24,000\$00 |
| Nguyen Huu Qui | Secretary | 2,000 x 12 | 24,000\$00 |
| Nguyen Van Thoa | Secretary | 1,600 x 12 | 19,200\$00 |
| Nguyen Van Sau Alias Thu | Messenger | 1,600 x 12 | 19,200\$00 |
| | Total | 10,675 x 12 | 128,100\$00 |

Closed down the pay-roll at the amount of ONE HUNDRED TWENTY EIGHT THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED PIASTERS (128,100\$00)

Binh Minh, October 13, 1959

THE DISTRICT CHIEF