LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN VIÊT-NAM
ITS FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

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Foreword

The original plan for this final report on local administration included completing the descriptive and analytical phases and then proceeding into the area of propositions, guidelines, and suggestions regarding the question of improving local administration. Unfortunately, time has not permitted pursuance of this plan. Instead, the writer has had to seek a less time consuming approach, which would still present to the reader a fair view of the writer's thinking. Looking over the material set aside for the basis of this third report, the writer found a solution: develop a series of readings based on the references already collected.

Thus, in the following pages the reader has the task of "digesting" many of the "raw materials" from which the writer, with sufficient time, would have developed his own analysis. Perhaps this is an even more effective way to approach this final topic- the future development of local administration in Viet Nam.

Undoubtedly, there are other ways in which this topic could be approached. For the writer, however, the most logical includes four steps, which he prefers to call "needs"; first, the need for understanding the nature and implications (especially for a democratic society) of "local administration"; second, the need for understanding the <u>existing system</u> in Viet Nam; third, the need for acquiring a satisfactory perspective of the socio-economic setting of local administration in Viet Nam; and fourth, the need for studying proposals directly concerned with increasing efficiency through strengthening and altering the existing system.

While none of these needs have been fully explored in the following readings, the writer believes they will orient the reader and stimulate further reading, research, and contemplation. He would, of course, be highly pleased to learn some day that these materials, along with the first two reports - made a significant contribution to the study and improvement of local administration in Viet Nam. He hopes they will.

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I. THE POLITICAL NATURE OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

Most of the readings in this section have the common theme of democracy and local administration, although the views of this theme differ radically, especially between Professor Langrod and two others who criticize his views. The basic question for students of public administration in Viet Nam to keep in mind while reading this section is:

> Can a democratic system be established without a strong system of local self-government?

A. Views of President Diem on Western Political and Administrative Mechanisms

NOTE: It is commonly recognized that President Diem strongly questions the adoption of Western political and administrative schemes by Asian countries. It is his argument that in these countries an Asian cultural approach must be made to the ideals of democracy. Before turning to the more extensive discussions by Professor Langrod and others, some observations of President Diem are well worth noting, as reminders of the need to view these writings as Westernized rather than as adapted to the conditions of Viet Nam and other Asian countries, except to the extent to which the writers themselves indicate their adaptation.

At the opening session of the National Assembly in October, 1959, President Diem included in his address several statements in which he in effect argued that Viet Nam should not rush to adopt Western ideas of government and administration, and that, instead, Viet Nam was more closely bound to the patterns evolving in the other Asian and African nations. He said:

"The trust which your electors have placed in you - and for which I heartily congratulate you - makes it your duty, honorable deputies, to invigorate the spirit of this democratic tradition and to hasten its maturity so that it will improve daily in its adaptation to the living reality of our country, and to the evolution of the Asian and African nations to which we are bound by a community of destiny.

"For democracy is not solidified once and for all into a collection of formulas and regulations conceived in other times, under other skies. Old western nations, richer and more experienced than we, have been obliged to recast the very structure of their traditional parliamentary formula. More than one newly independent country has experienced immobility and disorder because it has adopted this formula; more than one nation is trying to free its democratic regime of what has killed it after having helped to bring it into existence.

"The history of the profound political upheavals which have taken place in many countries of Asia and Africa since 1955, that is, since the birth of our Republic, points to a constant evolution toward a new democratic cycle, more adapted to the aspirations of under-developed countries, without, at the same time, breaking with the essential community features of their traditions.

"Indeed, the inner logic of the technically and socially backward countries, Viet Nam being one of them, demands of them an accelerated march which can be accomplished only at the cost of a strict community discipline and of the sacrifice of short-term interests. Such is the heavy price we have to pay to move quickly forward, for it is only at this pace that we can preserve our independence and solve our social problems, the result of an accumulation of many centuries. This accelerated march would not be possible without the will to break down the obstacles placed in our way by the anarchist and communist reactionaries. Thus we are witnessing a general regression of communist influence in the countries of Asia and Africa and also its violent reactions against an evolution which is no longer working to its advantage.

"It is in the stern realities of our conditions, both present and future, that the constitution has been elaborated. It is in anticipation of the immense difficulties which await the underdeveloped countries in the effort required of them to work out a balanced technical organization for their march forward while preserving individual freedom, that our constitution has been set up on the basis of the respect for the human being, the establishment of the common good, and collective progress.

"Thanks to the wisdom and the discipline of all, we have spared our country what the leader of a great Asian nation has recently admitted publicly to his people: fifteen years of 'liberal government' have led the country to political division and economic chaos. At the same time, with the help of our friends of the Free World, we have been able to achieve important and rapid progress which has attracted the attention and sympathy of sincere, competent and impartial observers.

"Internally, the government's efforts are continually directed at the erection of a democratic substructure, especially at the level of the villages, through economic and social progress.

"In the economic sphere, we have sought to develop the main natural resources and to create new ones in order to economize the foreign exchange for industrialization while raising at the same time the standard of living of the masses.

"In order to promote social justice and also to ensure an absolute minimum for a population living in a zone of great instability, as well as to increase the purchasing power of the rural masses, we have directed our main effort towards the agricultural sector.

"Thanks to a sustained effort against communist internal subversion and thanks to technical and social measures favoring small ownership and farming on a rational and community basis, we have successfully extended the cultivated area and improved productivity.

"It is on the basis of this hard and stern effort, both morally and intellectually, that our brothers of Asia, Africa and South America judge us, rather than on the basis of the more or less perfect manner in which we shall have imitated the way of living of the advanced nations of the East to the West. To accept the ways of living of these nations is to accept in advance the idea of a foreign protectorate."

B. The Values of Local Government

In the following discussion, which is headed "Why Have Local Government?," Professor Daniel Wit, in a textbook prepared for Thai students in comparative government, sets forth a well-balanced evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of a strong system of local government.

In addition, he points out some of the ways by which government functions may be arranged and administered. Although he has made no attempt to fully orient his thinking to the peculiar problems of Thailand as an Asian nation, it is evident that he has given this considerable thought in the preparation of this short, but well written section.

Why Have Local Government?

Daniel Wit, A Comparative Survey of Local Government and Administration, Institute of Public Administration, Thammasat University, Thailand, 1958, 119 pp. (mimeo.)

"All countries of more extensive expanse than city-states confront the necessity of developing some techniques and institutions to integrate their territory politically and administratively. There are a number of basic ways in which this fundamental problem of government can be treated. For one thing, it is possible to have each major functional department (ministry) of a central government administer its services directly throughout a nation. Finance, public welfare, public works, police, fire protection, public health -- all these and the many other domestic activities of government could be engaged in throughout all of the territory of a state by each of the separate central ministries in charge of them. Quite obviously, even if these central agencies established regional field offices to provide some undoubtedly necessary administrative flexibility (in other words, deconcentrated), reliance just on this form of territorial organization would constitute the maximum in centralization.

"Another method of dealing with the problem of bringing governmental services to the people in any large territorial area would be the application of a measure of administrative deconcentration which would provide some recognition of local diversity while still permitting the retention of political centralization. This can be achieved by the establishment of general regional and local administrative units responsible to the central government and assigned the task of coordinating all national services administered by the central agencies within their territorial confines, plus,

perhaps, providing some services directly, themselves. In neither this situation nor in the first would local government exist, yet, in both, the services of government could be brought to all parts of the nation. The existence of these two possible methods of binding the territory of a country into a single whole and providing its people with government and administration as well as the frequent use of some version of the second method (for example, in Thailand) sharply raises the question: Is local government, as defined above, really necessary and good? Why should a state attempt the degree of decentralization necessary to create real local government? It has been stated that the problem area under consideration, that involving territorial integration, is obviously the principal area in which the conflicting principles of centralization and decentralization struggle for supremacy... The validity of this characterization compels some consideration of the arguments both for and against territorial centralization and decentralization.

"The arguments for elaborate political centralization with some degree of administrative deconcentration are not unattractive in certain circumstances. For one thing, if a people is characterized by a great measure of homogeneity and is devoid of great regionally oriented diversity (economic, cultural, ideological, or religious), the reasons for organizing the state on a unitary rather than a federal basis also provide some justification for administrative centralization. A people of great uniformity, particularly if inhabiting a small area can be governed easily from a single center, with necessary administrative flexibility provided by a measure of territorial deconcentration. Uniform laws and relatively uniform administration are thus possible, and wide variations from one part of a

country to another in the number and quality of governmental services provided are avoided. A rational and well-integrated national governmental and administrative system is feasible.

"In addition to the benefits of efficiency and economy to be derived from uniform and nationally integrated administration, this combination of political centralization and administrative deconcentration also is attuned in some important respects to the demands of modern economics and technology. These two major forces of our age require broad geographical areas for their successful operation, and the related social and material problems which arise in their wake are also dependent for their resolution on broader areas than many traditional subsections of a country. Government can never afford to ignore the fact that a modern technologically oriented economy is at least national and actually even international in scope. Underdeveloped and semi-developed nations not only must create expanded domestic markets based upon the interaction of all parts of their territory, but they also require foreign manufactured goods, capital, and technical knowledge. Thailand, for example, imports an estimated 85% to 90% of all its consumer goods. To reduce this dependence on internationally derived imports, the country must develop its own manufacturing with international help.

"Moreover, the Thai economy depends almost completely upon the export of rice and such raw materials as tin and rubber in order to earn the foreign exchange necessary to buy all these consumer goods. Such interaction of the Thai and international economies is duplicated in a different fashion by the more developed lands, which also require foreign trade and imports from abroad for their own economic health. These facts of modern economic

life make it obvious that efforts to organize economic activity and foster industrialization locality by locality within a country without integrated national governmental action (planning of human and material resources) actually hinder economic development. Moreover, the local subdivisions of a country normally have neither the human, financial, or technical resources necessary either for significant independent improvement in material well-being or for the resolution of the great and complex problems generated by modern economic activity. Self-help on a community-by-community basis is important, but it cannot produce a solution to the major economic or social problems of contemporary states. As a result, even major industrialized western states with a traditional interest in decentralization and local self-government — such as the United States and Great Britain -- have been forced into ever increased political and administrative centralization. For, one of the outstanding characteristics of modernity is that people do not become more but become less isolated from each other as well as more dependent upon each other. This is the economic and administrative lesson to be derived from the fact that the world steadily grows 'smaller'.

"The justifications for a significant degree of political and administrative centralization also include situations in which nations are seriously divided internally. For, where there is little social cohesion among the people of a country, and their will is fragmented by the absence of many common hopes and aspirations, administrative and possibly even governmental centralization frequently develop as artificial unifiers -- as substitutes for basic mass agreement concerning values, beliefs, and ideology. It was in large measure because of such social fragmentation, for example, that modern France developed those centralized features of its

government and administration which traditionally have placed it in sharp contrast to Anglo-American practice.

"Where a nation is seriously threatened by internal disorder, or where it is marked by great mass illiteracy and political inexperience, still other arguments for some degree of political and administrative centralization are encountered. Rebellious localities cannot be allowed to overthrow the national government in the name of local self-government or even secede where this is judged detrimental to the interests of all the rest of the nation (the American Civil War is a case in point.) The ability of a central government to prevent such action, however, depends upon retention of majority support as well as preponderant power. In similar fashion, the principles of democracy do not demand the sacrifice of the general welfare and of all possibility for progress by requiring decentralization and local self-government where a people is still unready for such advanced political practice. In some Asian countries, such premature action has actually fostered local 'bossism' (near dictatorship), corruption, and increased incompetence. Good government and administration must adjust the application of principles and ideological goals to the actual realities of their setting at a particular moment in history. Such essential adjustment becomes evil only if it then is employed as a justification for establishing permanent tyranny rather than enlightened central governmental tutelage which works to prepare its people eventually to shoulder the burdens of self-government. So wise and ardent an advocate of liberty and representative government as the 19th century Englishman, John Stuart Mill, recognized this necessity to bring ultimate democratic goals and current actualities into balance.

"While noting the existence, under certain circumstances, of justifications for political centralization and no more than administrative deconcentration instead of the establishment of a real local government system, it is also essential to recognize the distinct and impressive advantages which some significant measure of decentralization and local government offer. For one thing, political and administrative decentralization obviously erect important bulwarks against any dictatorship at the national level. It is thus not unimportant that the great totalitarian dictatorships of this century have refused to tolerate the existence of meaningful local government.

"A decentralization of government and administration also permits experimentation and the development of new techniques by localities without compelling an entire nation to follow suit. Moreover, it permits the establishment of organizations and methods geared to the peculiar needs and problems of a particular locality, without forcing such organizations and methods upon the rest of a country, for whom it might be completely inappropriate. The recent series of territorial rebellions in the Republic of Indonesia because of the central government's failure to grant adequate local autonomy to ethnically and economically diverse islands, and its insistence on the maintenance of a centralized state whose leadership has failed to convince most of the territorial components that they were deriving any benefit from such centralization, is an excellent case in point.

"Still another argument in behalf of the value of establishing a system of local government involves the contribution which is thereby made to the efficiency of operation of the central government itself. Such benefit derives from the separation of purely local problems and issues from things of national political concern. The national leadership, as a result, is

~~freed from the necessity to devote an improper amount of time and energy~~ to issues which might better be treated by the territorial subdivision concerned. Decentralization also facilitates administrative efficiency because even local field offices of central administration often cannot be as conscious of local needs and peculiarities and certainly cannot be as responsive to the views dominant in a locality as can a unit of government derived from that locality.

"Lastly, there are some very cogent democratic arguments in behalf of some degree of political and administrative decentralization or deconcentration capable of establishing local self-government. For, only at the local level is it possible for citizens to feel a personal contact with government and give thought to problems of a specific and personal nature. Within the smallest governmental units, citizens have a chance to participate effectively to a far greater extent than at the national level in the process of self-government. Their political education is thus greatly enhanced, and those among them who aspire to political leadership are provided with an initial training and proving ground. Local self-government, therefore, presents the art of government more fully and on more intimate and personal terms than is possible at any higher level. The cause of democracy is thereby served.

"From the above survey of well-founded arguments both for and against the establishment of decentralization and a local government system, it becomes obvious that the modern and complex nation-state normally presents conditions which require an intermingling of techniques to promote territorial integration and management. Decentralization cannot be pursued to the point where it ignores the great contemporary need for uniform national treatment of many socio-economic problems. It cannot be urged without regard for the severe limitations which hamper local governmental efforts to promote the

wellbeing of their citizens on a piecemeal basis. The inequities which are bound to arise because of diverse natural and financial resources in the various regions of a country if the latter are not provided with some equalized central assistance cannot be ignored for the mere sake of introducing local government. In sum, a system of decentralization and local self-government which fails to recognize that the general welfare is more than the sum of local welfare, does not serve the cause of good government. On the other hand, the imposition of a centralization which stultifies experimentation, prevents local problems from being dealt with locally, and places an entire nation in a rigid administrative mold incapable of effective adjustment and unresponsive to divergent local needs also does considerable damage to the cause of good government.

"Within the limits of its special social, economic, philosophical, and governmental requirements, therefore, central government must provide considerable nationwide uniformity based upon the uniqueness of some vital services, whose provision does not depend upon local differences, as well as national administrative deconcentration based on the uniqueness of various areas and capable of providing coherent administration and coordination of various central services within each of these different areas. The central government must also provide reasonable uniform coordination between such areas of the national territory. In these ways, it responds to the centralizing tendencies and requirements of modern government. Simultaneously, however, if it is interested in fostering democracy and administrative efficiency, it must go beyond this blending of functional and areal techniques in national administration in order to provide some measure of local accountability in its governmental system. This requires

the introduction of a degree of both political and administrative decentralization -- the establishment of some form of local government and administration. The variety of techniques available and utilized by the various states of the world indicates quite clearly that there is no single best solution to these problems of territorial management. On the other hand comparative analysis does provide important insight into both the problems and the possible solutions under various sets of circumstances."

* * *

C. Is Democracy Dependent Upon Local Government?

Professor Langrod says "No." In fact, he argues that local government may impede rather than aid the growth of a democratic society. Two other writers disagree. One of these, it is interesting to note, presents his argument within the context of an Asian political setting -- the people and government of India.

While Professor Langrod's article may be difficult to absorb because of its abstractness, it nevertheless remains a valuable item in a repertoire of views on local government. One might ask himself, "is it because Professor Langrod comes from a culture of French administration -- in which less emphasis has traditionally been placed on local self-government, -- and the others from Anglo-Saxon education and experiences that these divergent viewpoints have occurred? Is not Langrod, in short, defending French administration and the other, British?"

Local Government and Democracy

Professor Georges Langrod, "Local Government and Democracy," Public Administration, Vol. XXXI, 1953, pp.25-34. (less footnotes)

Public Administration Editor's Note:

(Professor Langrod is at the "Center National de la Recherche Scientifique," Paris, and is Professor of Comparative Administration in the Brazilian School of Public Administration, Rio de Janeiro. This article is based on a translation of a paper given by Professor Langrod to the Congress of the International Political Science Association at the Hague in September, 1952.)

"This study deals briefly with two concepts: First, there is the concept of local government as a basis for democracy, to be considered in the light of the questions: Is there really, as is so often argued, a relation of cause and effect between a democratic regime and local government? Is political democratization of the state favorable to the existence and development of local government, or, in spite of certain misleading appearances to the contrary, is democratic evolution inimical to local government? Second, there is the concept of local government as a basis of civic education and as an apprenticeship in democracy to be considered in the light of the questions: What is the true role of local government in the work of the democratic education of the mass of the people, in the creation of a democratic "climate" within the whole machinery of the state, and in the formation of the future leaders of the political community?

As the Basis of Democracy

"If local government really constituted the basis, or even one of the bases, of democracy, the logical result would be that the latter could not be conceived without it or that the whole democratic structure would risk collapse without it. On the other hand, the existence of local government would not be fully possible except within the framework of a democratic regime.

"Such a conception, implied rather than clearly stated, is to be found in political literature and seems to be supported by a general conviction. Thus local government is often identified, for example, with 'communal democracy' in the sense of Thouret's pouvoir municipal, or of the German kommunale Selbstverwaltung (Gneist), with the 'grass roots democracy' of the United States (Lilienthal) or with the 'local self-government' of Great Britain. In the small European democracies, as regards extent of territory, e.g., Switzerland, democracy is generally considered to be based on the local commune. But there appears to be a characteristic tendency rather to integrate the institution of local government with the democratic regime than to examine the alleged dependence of the latter on the local government existing within itself.

"Now it appears that there is here, fundamentally, a regrettable confusion of ideas. In actual fact, there appears to ne no justification for asserting that there exists an inevitable tie of reciprocal dependence between democracy and local government. Democracy does not come into being where local government appears, nor does it cease with the disappearance of the latter. It is possible, on the contrary, for local government to continue and to develop under a regime which may be either clearly non-democratic or

only superficially democratic or for local government scarcely to exist or to exist only superficially under a democratic regime. The opposite thesis seems to result either from the fact that (a) one limits oneself to an analysis of earlier historical evolution, or (b) that one confuses one of the factors necessary for the creation of the democratic climate (the essential basis for democracy) with the existence of democratic institutions (the indispensable superstructure for any democratic regime), or (c) that one unconsciously transposes the possible (but in no way indispensable) democratic essence of the internal workings of local government on to the higher level of democracy in the whole state (linking 'local democracy' with the democracy of the whole community). It is necessary to devote some attention to this threefold misunderstanding.

"It is true, indeed, that historically, the development of local government in Europe has corresponded to an anti-authoritarian process in the state, since in decentralizing the administrative system, emphasis was at the same time being laid upon the importance of the periphery in relation to the (territorial) center; by carrying into effect, in practice and in law, centrifugal administrative trends, the centripetal trend, linked historically with absolutism, was being fatally weakened. In the same way it is true that this process has corresponded with a parallel evolution towards democratization on the political-social level. It is consequently true also that not only on the institutional level, but, more important, on that of the general climate, the development, stabilization and extension of local government contribute towards the democratization of customs, to the education of the masses and to preparing them in this way for an active participation in public life. It is true, finally, that often, but not

always, local government helps to spread by its internal structure, the psychological bases and structural forms of democracy.

"But if the problem is studied more closely, none of these statements justifies the identification of local government with democracy. It must not be forgotten that the problem of local government is—in spite of this deceptive title—but a technical arrangement within the mechanism of the administrative system, a structural and functional detail, based on the adaptation of traditional forms of the management of local affairs to the varied needs of modern administration. Now in spite of efforts tending to add to Montesquieu's tripartite division a fourth power, namely, municipal power, and in spite of the various repercussions of the existence of local government, which go far beyond the level of the purely administrative, it seems clear that democracy cannot depend, at least directly, on the existence or non-existence of an administrative arrangement, whatever it may be. To make this picture more striking (although this is only a simplification) it could be argued that is it a question here of a difference of levels. A centralized administrative system, not democratic in se (as regards its composition, recruitment, structure, environment), helps to create a climate foreign to democracy, but—as is proved by various historical examples and by the comparative study of the administrative structure of contemporary states—it is not enough in itself effectively to stand in the way of the existence of democracy. The latter often tolerates within itself various a-democratic and even sometimes anti-democratic phenomena (for example in the army, in the machinery of justice, in the fiscal system, in education, in the organization of some professions, etc...), although in principle it tends to make them disappear.

"Democracy can never be considered as a total phenomenon, absorbing the whole life of the community and penetrating inevitably into every corner; to think so would be to approach the problem superficially and artificially. Consequently, even if one wanted to identify the democratization of the administrative system with local government (and this would be a debatable point), this would in no way justify the thesis that the existence of democracy depends on it, that it is one of the foundations of democracy.

"Even if the democratic climate plays an extremely important role in every democracy (it could even be argued that it conditions it, since democratic institutions alone are never enough for democracy to be achieved in fact and not simply in form), it is nevertheless not sufficient by itself--democratic institutions are also necessary. If, therefore, it is established that local government plays--directly and indirectly--a possible role in the creation of this general climate, this alone would still not be enough to make of it a foundation for democracy. On the institutional level, the existence of local government in no way excludes a high degree of bureaucratization as much in the centralized hierarchy (at all the stages of the administrative pyramid) as in the inner workings of the decentralized organs themselves. Indeed, local government can sometimes serve local obligarchies, political coteries, anti-democratic forces, rather than constitute a true reflection of the public will. In some countries local government, with its structural anachronisms, the high degree of its internal functionalisation, the preponderance in practice of the permanent official over the elected and temporary councillor, its methods of work and its obstinate opposition to all modernization,

can, contrary to all appearances, act as a brake on the process of democratization. Further, it is also necessary to analyse the extent of the effective powers in every case under consideration, the real autonomy, the limits of central control and the way in which this is in fact exercised, the financial dependence of the local on the central government, etc. It is therefore a question of not taking words for realities, of not being content with a facade often fictitious and deceptive, but of going in each case right to the heart of the problem.

"If formerly there has been a certain parallelism between the evolution of local government and the development of democracy, it appears that this parallelism is due rather to fortuitous reasons, at least from the juridicotheoretical point of view. In other respects, this parallelism is less general than one may think. When a state has long since passed from the absolutist age to that of the constitutional regime, local government has often remained (for example in Austria from 1866 to 1918) a veritable fortress of anachronistic privileges. Side by side with parliamentary elections based on equality and universality, we find throughout half a century, and in the middle of the 20th century itself, electoral inequalities on the local government level, based upon purely material criteria and on a clearly anti-democratic spirit. Thus, local government has not always developed towards its own democratization, sometimes moving in a direction contrary to the trend in the state as a whole. Account must be taken of numerous examples of this kind.

"Thus, to sum up, even if the process of administrative decentralization was utilized by democracy in action as one of the weapons against absolutism and as a motive center of an adequate political environment, this is in no

way demonstrates the inevitability of their alleged interdependence, but only their chronological co-existence on the one hand and the purely opportunist and sometimes even fortuitous character of this co-existence on the other.

Is there a Fundamental Contradiction?

"Furthermore, if democracy is studied in its dynamic, and not simply in its static or historical, aspect, it can clearly be seen that there is, in spite of appearances, a fundamental contradiction between these two notions. Democracy is by definition an egalitarian, majority and unitarian system. It tends everywhere and at all times to create a social whole, a community which is uniform, leveled and subject to rules. It avoids any splitting up of the governing (and at the same time governed) body, any atomization, any appearance of intermediaries between the whole and the individual. It puts the latter face to face with the complete whole, directly and singly. On the other hand, local government is, by definition, a phenomenon of differentiation, of individualization, of separation. It represents and strengthens separate social groups enjoying relative independence, sometimes autonomous, constituting parts of the public power. It furthers, then, the relief of congestion, a certain disintegration, a kind of local quasi-parliamentarianism, the multiplicity of local representative regimes within a national representative regime. It constitutes the direct historical reflection of a multiple struggle within the state: a struggle of social and political forces against centralist absolutism; a struggle of national minorities against the majority and of the minorities amongst themselves within the multi-

national state; a struggle against the survivals of feudalism in the administrative structure; a struggle for cultural and economic regionalism.

"Thus, since democracy moves inevitably and by its very essence towards centralization, local government, by the division which it creates, constitutes, all things considered, a negation of democracy. It is true that this aspect of the phenomenon only appears later, in the course of the process of effective democratization. Indeed, the closer the given state approaches a fully democratic regime, the less chance local government has—contrary to the general opinion—for development. Centralism becomes a natural democratic phenomenon; decentralization is exceptional, and more or less artificial. This was underlined in de Tocqueville's statements and prophecies of 120 years ago.

"Bryce, the theoretician of the modern democracies, emphasizes this characteristic analogy between the tendencies of the authoritarian regime and those of democracy. As Radbruch says: 'When the management of communal affairs is entrusted to the local majority, there is a risk of eliminating the predominating influence of the majority at the national level over this local majority (these two majorities being possible quite different); yet the unlimited domination of the overall majority constitutes the very essence of the democratic regime.'

"Democratization of the state tends to transform its government progressively into a self-government of the whole population—which must, during the course of this evolution, make any local government, 'opposed' to the central government, superfluous and devoid of any logical basis. Democratic election on a national scale constitutes a guarantee of the representative regime without requiring its repetition at all the less than national levels

or the partial personalization of the territorial sections of the state. As has already been mentioned, the democratization of public administration, a valuable complement to the democratization of the whole community, may be attempted by a series of different technical arrangements (without the creation of distinct moral personalities) and without recourse to anti-egalitarian differentiations.

"This state of affairs must be understood, or the picture as a whole will be unconsciously falsified. Local government and democracy triumphant represent indeed diametrically opposite tendencies. Democracy in action will claim, then, sooner or later, but inevitably, a breakaway from the fundamental idea of local government and will demand administrative centralization. That is one of the most important problems, and one which is so often unappreciated, although it is a general one in the light of the study of comparative administration. As has already been emphasised many times in published works, the incompatibility of democratic principle with the practice of decentralization is a phenomenon so evident that it may be considered as a kind of sociological law.

"As to the alleged democratic essence of local government, which is said to react upon the political-social structure and upon the form of government of the whole community, this would result from the fact that its deliberative organs are elected. French administrative doctrine even makes this a sine qua non of all territorial decentralization. Comparative experience seems to show that it is election, rather than nomination, which constitutes the principal method of recruitment for local leaders. To a casual observer, election can, then, in actual fact, appear as the differential specific of local government in relation to the formation of the

bureaucratic hierarchy within the framework of every centralized regime.

"But, as is demonstrated in the literature of administrative law (especially in Germany), this phenomenon, however frequent it may be, nevertheless appears in no way essential to the idea of local government. Administrative decentralization is reconcilable with every means of obtaining local leaders. Theoretically speaking, there is no serious reason why election, in public administration, should be considered as definitely characterizing local government.

"In practice, it is easy to find instances of election in a centralized administration or of nomination in local government. It is true that election seems better to maintain the idea of the independence of local government (independence in its subjective sense) and that historically--at the period of the integration of the former self-governing bodies in the administrative framework of the modern state--it constituted a catchword and a password directed against the bureaucratic hegemony of absolutist centralism, although the historical evolution of British local government has been quite different.

"In other respects, it would be in no way just to identify every electoral system with democracy. It has been demonstrated that sometimes administrative decentralization, although involving the process of election, remains nevertheless anti-democratic -- just because of the way in which this process is carried out in law or in fact. Politically speaking, election can constitute a facade pure and simple with no real content; it can serve an authoritarian regime by concealing its dictorial character. From the administrative point of view, it seems more and more that the 'subjective' independence of the local representatives (in relation to the

central government) seems better assured by adequate processes of nomination (this leaps to the eye in the sphere of judicial power, but seems true also in the sphere of public administration).

"Democratic election, that is to say above all universal election, by introducing inevitably into administration the political element (falsified moreover by its local aspect) and the struggle between parties (in the framework of proportional representation), seems less and less to serve the idea of 'good administration.' Indeed, the more public administration develops (in size), improves (in quality) and becomes more technical, the less place there is for the preponderance of purely political factors: the unforeseeable results of an election risk, the destruction of continuity, may deprive local representation of its truly civic character and may set local government in opposition to the true popular will. It is thus, furthermore, that the preponderance of the bureaucratic element appears and develops and is inevitably stabilized in local government. In this way the essential difference between centralized administration and local government is progressively wiped out. Finally, comparative experience proves that in local government election is always balanced by a complementary system of nomination, the co-option of part of the committees of the council, the appointment of local officials, etc.

"To sum up: the electoral system in local government in practice always oscillates between two poles: allowing the popular will to show itself and attempting to suppress the defects of this will. But the essence of local government seems to be not so much in an exclusive method of creating ruling organs as in a reasonable functional distribution and in a non-hierarchical structure. Thus the technical element of decentralization

far outstrips, in this connection, that of democracy. Local government lato sensu seems to correspond much more closely with liberal political ideas than with those of democracy.

As Education for Democracy

"Local government can play a very important part in the work of the democratic education of the people. If decentralization actually takes place and is not simply fictitious; if it is, then, a basis of very close co-operation between the individual and the 'local powers' and not a concealed bureaucracy; and if the influence of the individual on the formation of the body of local leaders is real, not superficial, local government can constitute a real school of civics, a way of bringing the citizen close to public affairs and a nursery of statesmen. Local government becomes in this way a sieve for the selection of future political leaders who become known in local affairs before gradually extending their field of activity. This selection has a chance of being more objective, more direct, more justified. The integration of citizens in this active political elite of the country and their promotion into its specific hierarchy of public offices is thus carried out by stages as their competence and their experience grows.

"But this picture has its shadows. On the one hand, comparative experience shows that it is possible for this apprenticeship for democracy not to be carried out within local government. Indeed, the practical role of the civic element is sometimes--in spite of the law and in spite of appearances--secondary, more or less formal and limited. The citizen acquires from it, under these conditions, a more or less profound knowledge of local affairs, of public administration at this level and of methods of working

together. But it is practically impossible for him to penetrate to the heart of the phenomena, to take them in their entirely, to achieve the idea of the public good. Guided, in fact, by a professional 'clerk,' the citizen only rarely has to take on real responsibilities and more often than not is only part of the scene, with no real influence on events. He therefore has no opportunity to learn administration or government. What he does learn can be reduced to terms of electoral or pre-electoral practices, oratorical demonstrations, and the strategy of small town politics.

"On the other hand, this form of 'local representation' comprises elements liable to lead to a certain narrowing of the horizons of local government leaders, contrary to the spirit of any democracy. Indeed, local interests interpreted in a narrow way, are liable to cover up general interests by ensuring the predominance of 'parish-pump politics.' The apprenticeship can become, in practice, definitely anti-democratic in spite of the democratic character of local government. At this point it is necessary to consider a whole series of slightly differing factors which, in spite of appearances, prevent in fact the achievement of a democratic education of the people through the agency of local government. Comparative experience proves that the deliberative local government bodies (of whatever kind) are inclined to serve and represent private interests rather than the general interest (which goes beyond them). It matters little whether the electoral system is the same at both the national and the local levels: the practical results are very often quite different because of the difference in perspective and the peculiarities of the administrative task on the local level; the same problems are tackled there in another fashion. Thus it is possible for the citizen taking part in local government to know little or nothing of true

democracy in its political and social sense, and to confuse it in fact with a keen defence of sectional and piecemeal interests, with a permanent struggle against the center.

"Finally, this way of forming progressively, in stages, the future leaders of the political community has setting aside its merits--some undeniable defects as to access to democratic offices. Indeed, there is a risk that a fixed hierarchy of the said offices may be set up, making difficult any direct contribution from outside. The citizen finds himself in fact under an obligation to go through in turn a whole series of stages in this hierarchy. In consequence, there is only one means (at least only one main means) of access to the active exercise of political rights at the level of the state, that is to say the progress--obligatory in fact--through public office at the local level. And at this level, as has already been said, the basis of selection concerns private criteria connected with local preoccupations, not general ones. If, in this connection, we take into consideration peculiarities of political promotion within the popular political parties, the rigidity and narrow character of this hierarchy strikes one immediately.

"If then we confront the abstraction with the reality and in spite of the presumption usually favorable to local government as it concerns democratic education, we find that it has not, of itself and a priori, the pedagogic qualities attributed to it. It can prove itself particularly useful in preparing the citizen for public life, by constituting the first stage of his civic education. But everything depends on the way in which it is thought out and carried into effect, on its structure and its working, on its dynamics and creative elan, on its range of legal authority and on the

actual role played in it by the non-professional element. It is not, then, simply the outward appearance, but the content which is decisive.

"Yet it seems undeniable that local government can and ought to be included in the list of factors capable of contributing effectively to the creation of a democratic climate. By the very fact that it is directed towards the differentiation of the population into distinct divisions of the whole, towards the possible variety of solutions and towards the autonomy of the territorial divisions, it permits the attainment of a greater harmony between general regulations and the popular will than is the case in a centralized regime. In spite of the frequent defects of its organization and of its methods, in spite of its cost and of the sometimes unsatisfactory results of its administration, it tends to integrate more closely the power of the people being governed--a fundamental postulate of any democratic reform. By its local character (arising, as regards its early origin, from the ties of neighbourhood), it increases the chances of mutual understanding, of closer and more stable human relations; it prevents the work of public authorities from being an impenetrable mystery to the majority of mankind, which is the characteristic setting of a centralized autocracy. This increases the chances of the practical application of democratic conceptions, by contributing to the creation of an environment more favourable to them. If, then, this environment is not killed at its center by the possible anti-democratic character of the structure or working, undeniably it may play a practical role in the preparation of the future democracy.

Conclusion

"Finally, what precedes may be summed up by stating that local government plays a definite and positive part in the progress towards liberty and possibly a positive part in the process of democratization, But at the same time, even if decentralization contributes towards democratization, and this, we know, is not inevitable, it leads inevitably in the last resort to the achievement of centralism in democracy. This is, then, a complex picture, difficult to clear up at first. By facilitating the possible apprenticeship for certain types of democracy and by propagating the democratic climate (or, at least, the climate common to democracy and to political liberalism), local government has within itself, inevitably, the seed of its own death once the process of democratization is accomplished. Whoever studies local government, then, in all its possible aspects, must notice that--unless the picture is to be falsified--it cannot be analyzed from the point of view of democracy except in a very full manner." (Pages 25-33)

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Local Government and Democracy--A Rejoinder

By Keith Panter-Brick

<u>Public Administration</u>, Vol. XXXI, 1953, pp. 344-8

Mr. Panter-Brick of the London School of Economics and Political Science replies to Professor Langrod's article.

"In his paper 'Local Government and Democracy,' read at a meeting of the International Political Science Association at The Hague last summer

and subsequently published in this Journal (Spring, 1953), Professor Langrod questions certain common assumptions about local government. He denies that local government is necessarily part of a democratic system of government, and he denies also that local government is an essential element in the political education of the electorate. It is acknowledged by Professor Langrod that local government and democracy have gone hand in hand in the past, indeed that local government played an important part in the creation of a democratic climate of opinion in various countries, but it is contested that there is any other connection than this one of historical association. Today local government and democracy can no longer be said to be inevitably interdependent. Professor Langrod goes further. He raises the question whether there is not an essential contradiction between the two.

"To be jolted into questioning one's beliefs about local government is certainly salutary, even if as a result they are only reaffirmed in one's mind. Moreover, if that be the result, then to have had attention drawn to practices which cast doubt upon one's assumptions should be a stir to action. Professor Langrod's remarks merit then careful attention.

"He is led to question the alleged necessary dependence of democracy upon a system of local government, first by certain factual considerations. These are that local government may in fact function in an undemocratic manner, even in a state that is as a whole democratic. Further, Professor Langrod reflects that local government is after all only a technical administrative arrangement. What is important for democracy is a democratic climate of opinion, and democracy may prevail even though certain institutions have in themselves nondemocratic features. A centralized administrative system for instance may be the instrument of democratic government.

"Having thus questioned whether in fact democracy and local government are to be found in a necessary relationship, Professor Langrod turns to a consideration of the nature of local government and of democracy. He then ventures to ask whether they have not come to be contradictory.

"Democracy is by definition an egalitarian, majority and unitarian system. It tends everywhere and at all times to create a social whole, a community which is uniform, levelled, and subject to rules. It avoids any splitting up of the governing (and at the same time governed) body, any atomization, any appearance of intermediaries between the whole and the individual. It puts the latter face to face with the complete whole, directly and singly. On the other hand, local government is, by definition, a phenomenon of differentiations, of individualization, of separation.....thus, since democracy moves inevitably and by its very essence towards centralization, local government, by the division which it creates, constitutes all things considered a negation of democracy.....Democratization of the state tends to transform its government progressively into a self-government of the whole population--which must, during the course of this evolution, make any local government,'opposed' to the central government, superfluous and devoid of any logical basis....Local government and democracy triumphant represent indeed diametrically opposite tendencies....the incompatibility of democratic principle with the practice of decentralization is a phenomenon so evident that it may be considered as a kind of sociological law.

"Finally--and largely in consequence of these difinitions--Professor Langrod doubts whether local government plays a sure and indispensable role in democratic education, however closely it has been associated in the past with the growth of a democratic climate of opinion. Professor Langrod, talking of the local citizen, considers that 'it is practically impossible for

him to penetrate to the heart of the phenomena, to take them in their entirety, to achieve the idea of the public good.' He speaks of local representation leading to 'a certain narrowing of the horizons of local government leaders, contrary to the spirit of any democracy' and claims that 'comparative experience proves that the deliberative local government bodies (of whatever kind) are inclined to serve and represent private interests rather than the general interest (which goes beyond them).'

"Here then is local government in the dock. It is for each and every one of us to recall the arguments in its favor ; not however, in the manner of repeating well-worn maxims, but tested in the light of Professor Langrod's remarks.

"He bases himself in the first place, so we said, on certain factual considerations such as the non-democratic functioning of local government in a community nontheless democratic; and he stresses the democratic climate of opinion, not the existence of local government, as being the indispensable factor in a democracy. Now it cannot and need not be disputed that local government may function undemocratically. It must be questioned, however, to what extent a country as a whole may be democratic despite local government being managed in an undemocratic manner. Professor Langrod generalizes his point when he says: 'Democracy can never be considered as a total phenomenon, absorbing the whole life of the community and penetrating inevitably into every corner; to think so would be to approach the problem superficially and artificially.' The extent to which one agrees with Professor Langrod on this point will depend upon one's conception of democracy. Not merely sensitivity to opinion on the part of the authorities, but also participation of some kind or another by the citizen may be stressed as being fundamental to democracy. It must then be doubted to what extent a country is democrat-

ic where some important part of the system of government functions in a characteristically undemocratic manner; that is, is 'not democratic in se (as regards its composition, recruitment, structure, environment)' as Professor Langrod himself puts it. This point needs further elaboration, but the question of the meaning of democracy has been raised, and it is convenient to consider Professor Langrod's contention that democracy and local government are essentially contradictory, before saying more on the part local government can and does play in a democracy.

"Professor Langrod may or may not commit himself personally to the definition of democracy he has given. He asserts it, however, as the prevailing conception, and he speaks of the tendency of democracy being in a certain direction. We are reminded of the language of Marx.

" 'By facilitating the possible apprenticeship for certain types of democracy and by propagating the democratic climate (or, at least, the climate common to democracy and political liberalism) local government has within itself, inevitably, the seed of its own death once the process of democratization is accomplished....Democracy in action will claim, then, sooner or later, but inevitably, a breakaway from the fundamental idea of local government and will demand administrative centralization.'

"Now Professor Langrod is certainly drawing attention to an important tendency. Much of the centralization in this country is due not to the outmoded area of local government nor to the inability to devise a satisfactory source of local finance, difficulties though these be, but rather to the persistent demand for uniformity of standards throughout the country. But is this a democratic demand? Are we to accept the emphasis on uniformity as the hall-mark of democracy? In many respects it is the Rousseauian conception of democracy. The emphasis is on self-government of the population

as a whole. Rousseau was hostile to any authority lesser than that of the whole community. On this conception local government is necessarily partial because on any question there is the interest of the wider community which must prevail. There is the same insistence on the inadequacy, indeed the iniquity, of any viewpoint other than the general one, and on the inimical influence of any lesser interest or groupings.

"It is an attractive theory; and it may be admitted that there are few matters, if any, which can be said to be in themselves purely local, and therefore outside the province of the general interest. This stress on the general interest emphasizes, however, only one aspect of democracy, and probably not the most important if only because it is the most abstract. It is even only one side of Rousseau himself. Did he not favour the small community, precisely because democracy is to be understood not only as the supremacy of the general over lesser interests, but also as the free realization of this? Democracy involves not only the determination of the general interest by representative institutions, but also an awareness that what prevails is the general interest. Otherwise there is no freedom. It is not for nothing that democracy and self-government have been identified. There is, however, no compulsion to accept this theory, not even if the recent insistence on uniformity and the centralization that this involves has in fact got the upper hand. Professor Langrod is right when he says that the historical association of local government and democracy is not necessarily proof that they are related in a more intimate manner. But it could be said with equal force that democratic opinion having brought about the greater centralization of government, it is no proof that democracy and local government are incompatible, and that local government has now to be abandoned as incompatible with democracy. There are indications in

Professor Langrod's paper that he would distinguish between democracy and political liberalism, ascribing the latter the insistence upon liberty and to democracy the desire for uniform standards. This, however, is to abandon a highly emotive word to those who acquiesce in the sacrifice of liberty to uniformity, with all the dangers that involves, and it is also to resign oneself to what is considered to be the inevitable. If a stand is not made for liberty in the name of democracy then liberty will indeed be lost.

"It is meet at this point to consider what contribution local government can make to democracy, and thus to return to the earlier question we raised, in se, such as a centralized administrative system can be part of a democracy. Mr. C.H. Wilson has already made the relation of local government to democracy the theme of his excellent introductory essay to his Essays in Local Government, but since what is said there apparantly cannot be said too often, this is my excuse for going over the ground again.

"As too much should perhaps not be made of the mere fact that local government allows for greater personal participation in the actual business of governing. Much more important is that local government is not only historically associated with democracy in that it helped to bring about a democratic climate of opinion, but is also an important element in keeping opinion favourable to democracy. Nowhere is democratic government so well entrenched that succeeding generations do not have to learn by their own experience. Democracy is not the egalitarian uniformity Professor Langrod seems to suppose. It demands that another's point of view and another's interests be mutually appreciated and taken into account. This is much more difficult to achieve. As Hume said about ethical conduct, it depends very much upon sympathy brought about by close personal contact. Modern sociologists would talk of face-to-face groupings. If the apprecia-

tion of one another's standpoint is not learned in the local communities, it risks not being learned at all.

"Here we may be accused of exaggeration. Local government, it may be objected, is not the only way of establishing the necessary sympathy upon which democracy is based. There is, however, a further aspect to local government. It not only engenders sympathy; it also tends to guard against too much enthusiasm, against the disinterested but misguided benevolence which in its enthusiasm fails to count the cost. The administrative and financial difficulties of bright ideas can be learned at the parish-pump level, and the lessons learned there on the small scale are valid when one's thoughts turn to the greater possibilities of providing for the general interest. It is not denied that a similar caution and skepticism can be learned by participation of one kind or another in national politics, but the lessons learned on the grand scale are likely not only to be more expensive, but also less well-learned, in that 'they' and not onesself can more easily be blamed when it is the national government. In any case, if democratic government is an art, there is no harm in it being learned on as wide a front as possible. Indeed, since art is learned by a close attention to detail, local government is a vital training ground for democracy.

"Too much must not be claimed for local government, but the successful working of democratic government owes much to it, not only as a matter of past history, but at all times. Far from an attention to local interests rendering a man incapable of appreciating the general interest, he is indeed likely to conceive the general interest in highly abstract and dangerous terms if he has not the more intimate experience of government at the local level. The present disinterest in local government affairs is thus disquieting. Local government will undoubtedly mean some sacrifice of uniformity

among the localities; as has been said already, however, the hall-mark of democracy is not uniformity, even when understood in the special sense of treating only the alike in the same fashion. Democracy, to repeat, means the free acceptance of restraints as much as the supremacy of the general interest. Looked at from this standpoint, central and local government from a partnership, not a contradiction. Executive action is a constraining force, whether imposed centrally or locally, in the general or in the local interest. It is likely to be used better, understood better , and hence more freely accepted if at least some policy is left to be determined locally. Recent developments in this country have brought about a greater demand for direct and financial control over local authorities than has been known in the past. The dangers have often been decried. It would be unfortunate if anyone were to be encouraged by Professor Langrod to believe that an extension of that control until local authorities were indistinguishable from local agents of the central government was a matter of indifference from the point of view of democratic practice."

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Local Self-Government

A.B. Lal, The Indian Parliament,
Chaitanya Publishing House,
Allahabad-2, India, 1956

"It now remains to say a word about local self-government. It has redently been argued by Dr. Leo Moulin and Professor Langrod that local government is not necessarily an integral part of a democratic system of government, and that there may even be an intrinsic contradiction between the one and the other. Dr. Moulin, addressing the Congress of the International

Political Science Association at the Hague, in September, 1952, insisted that far from being the best training for the exercise of democracy at the state level, the realities of local political life are so little in conformity with the spirit and ethics of a democracy that they usually tend to distort and debase the processes of democracy, first at the municipal level and then at the national level. He pointed out that local authorities are extremely jealous of their autonomy and fall a prey to strong local pressures, that the local government is 'essentially a training in the defense of interests which are strictly and narrowly local and almost individual' and that 'the higher interests of the nation--that community spirit which is also one of the features of democratic ethics--are usually overlooked or, if necessary, sacrificed.' He has quoted the cases of Greece in the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C., and of Italy and the Netherlands in the fifteenth century when 'an over-intense local life finally came into conflict with the evolution and application of a broad, overall policy and led to anarchy, the mother of dictatorship,'

"Similarly, Professor Langrod has suggested that the exercise of local government is not always 'the best apprenticeship for the practice of democracy at the state level.' Indeed, it can with some force be maintained that there are basic differences in the nature of affairs to be handled at the central level and those handled at the local level. The central government has to face the problems of defense, foreign policy and national development, of which a local man has no understanding and which he can only approach in a most general fashion. 'A local administrator,' Dr. Moulin has written, 'no matter how energetic he may be, has not necessarily the making of a great statesman.' He may have skill necessary to deal with local issues but he may not have the mental equipment to handle broader national issues

which call for a judgment which cannot be cultivated in the local arena. Again, it has been argued that municipal government has never been democratic in the modern meaning of the word for it might have 'ensured the safety of the person' but it has cared little about freedom and the Rights of Man.

"Now it is easy to meet most of these arguments. To the question of the inability of the local administrator to understand and handle broader national issues an answer has been given that 'participation in local politics, while it might at times detract from the wider issues, nevertheless adds to the sum of experience by which an individual forms his own judgment of what is just and is made aware of what others consider just; that those who are active in local affairs are normally not so parochial that they cannot respond to the just claims of others when these are pointed out to them; that an experience of administration on the local level can teach man some of the limitations of political action; that participation in the affairs of the local community will help man to know better what constitutes justice and will make it easier, not more difficult, for him to give a more sympathetic hearing to the overriding claims of the wider community; and finally, that a system of local government constitutes an effective basis for democracy as it affords 'invaluable opportunities' and gives an insight into political activity and political justice.

"Indeed the practical need of local government in modern democratic states is obvious. The population being large and complex and the area being vast, we come to have complex local problems and complex central issues. The two sets of problems, even if they do not require different sets of qualities for their solution, require different kinds of experience; and experience gained on the spot naturally leads to a much better and must quicker solution. The administration of local affairs from outside will lack 'the

vitalizing ability to be responsive to local opinion.' It may be a little more efficient (although even that is doubtful) but it will very certainly fail to evoke either 'interest or responsibility.' There is also the practical question of the incidence of taxation. 'If a service is exclusively applied to the benefit of a particular district it is obviously only fair that the inhabitants of the district should pay for it.' But the most important argument for local government is its educative value. It may be correct that local problems are different from those of the center, but it is difficult to see how different sets of qualities are needed to solve the two kinds of problems. Basically there will be no difference. A consciousness of one's rights and duties, honesty, the desire to understand public issues and public spirit--these are some of the qualities needed as much for the handling of local affairs as for central. 'A man who realizes that his street is badly paved because a body of persons directly under his view and influence are inefficient begins to have a sense of the network of interest in which he is involved. Local government, in other words, is educative in perhaps a higher degree, at least contingently, than any other part of government.'

"Furthermore, in a backward country like India, which is committed to the establishment of a welfare state within the framework of parliamentary democracy, an effective and balanced system of local government can go a long way. It is bound to have a vital place in planning in India. On the one hand, there is the need of a strong centralized state in India and on the other hand, the association of local interest and opinion is an essential factor in the promotion of development schemes. Thus 'the pace at which progress should take place' is not to be sacrificed and at the same time the 'formidable pressure' of a centralized state is to be avoided.

Dr. Moulin has called our civilization 'a gregarious mass civilization which is unfavourable, if not hostile, to all forms of individual life.' We are living in a world in which the emphasis is on equality and justice at any price rather than on safeguarding freedom. In such a world local self-government has little hope of survival. But just as the growth of delegated legislation need not completely destroy the foundations of the Rule of Law, similarly equality and justice and a positive theory of state activity need not sound the death-knell of local self-government. There is no essential contradiction between 'a liberal democracy' and 'an egalitarian and majoritarian democracy.'

"Our local government system is a western institution deliberately introduced here. In this sphere there was little room for adaptation. Mr. Hugh Tinker of London University in his recent study, (The Foundations of Local Self-Governments in India, Pakistan and Burma, 1954) has pointed out that the local government system in India originated from two motives--administrative and political. Before 1882, it was intended to 'teach people not to look to government for things which they can do far better themselves' and in 1882, Lord Ripon's Resolution was planned to serve 'as an instrument of political and popular education.' In this second phase, local self-government was to divert the new Indian middle class from 'less desirable directions' and 'to prepare them for greater responsibilities.' And since neither object was consistently followed, the result was the changing character of local self-government. The Montford Reforms envisaged local self-government as one of the fields in which an advance could be made towards 'the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration.' The inauguration of provincial autonomy under the Act of 1935, gave a fresh impetus to the development of local government and its democratization. After the trans-

D. Adaptations in Egypt and Pakistan

Two short news items point up two non-western views of the question of democracy and local administration. The Egyptian reference is interesting for its observations concerning the politically unfeasible nature of democratic processes yet points out the need for integrating local with national administration. Likewise, the view in Pakistan is that Western or British parliamentary democracy cannot be applied; still an integrating system must be established--there the proposed solution was tagged "basic democracies."

* * *

NEW MOOD FOUND IN NASSER's EGYPT

The New York Times, December 30, 1959

West's Democracy Alien

"If President Nasser's grip on the public imagination should be shaken by disappointment in economic expectations, Nasserism will be reinforced by social and political devices. One of the President's closest associates, who cannot be quoted directly, gave an explanation.

"'We have a concept of democracy, it differs from yours,' he said. If we had an election on the American plan, it would be foolish. You have evolved over hundreds of years. The Western community started evolving toward democracy when there were no Communists and no radios and other mass media, and perhaps not such an oppressive contrast between great and small countries. Your forefathers working in a rich land were not troubled by a cold war.

"'If we had your conditions we would accept your kind of democracy. But we woke up too late. We need something more dynamic, more realistic. We are going into the last part of the twentieth century with the equipment of the sixteenth.

"'If we use your system the Communists will succeed, because they can speak to masses.

"'You can't have elections here in the form you Americans believe in. It can't be applied in Asia and Africa. There is no basis for it.

"'We have, therefore, started a new experience here. It centers in the idea of a National Union.'

"Denying that this was simply a one-party system, the Nasser aide explained that the idea begins in the villages and in social centers in the villages. The real revolution must come in the villages, he said, 'and the social centers are the places to reach the people.'

"'For every five villages we are establishing a combined social center, with economic and educational branches,' he went on.

"'These centers are the points of departure for village elections. Every village has elected a council, replacing the old appointed mayor. The council constitutes itself a cooperative and works with the government's agricultural experts. It is up to the councils to make land reform work, by joint irrigation service, common seed supplies, cooperative marketing and so on. That in itself is revolutionary.'

"He said each council elected two of its members to a provincial council that would in turn elect the national union of 1,000 men.

"The national union will elect a parliament of 300 men.

"While the national union deals in general policies, the parliament is to approve the budget and to legislate. It will not be able to overthrow a government, but it is to have power to declare 'lack of confidence' in individual ministers.

"President Nasser's aides maintain that political parties could eventually grow out of this kind of democracy. If one calls it 'guided' democracy

they are not insulted.

"They say that President Nasser 'knows he will not live forever,' and that he is seeking organizational forms that would insure continuance of his revolution through coming phases-- the rooting out of corruption, modernization of all aspects of national life and reform even of marriage and divorce laws."

* * * *

Pakistan: If Not Democracy, What?

Source: Time, 4 January 60, pp.21-22.

.....Though Ayub is Amhurst-trained and an admirer of British he wants to be free of the methods inherited from the British. 'So long as I am alive and at the helm of affairs,' he said, 'there will not be parliamentary democracy in this country, because it cannot work. This country cannot be a testing laboratory for political theories any more.'

"Ending Parties. Last March Ayub settled himself in his teak-paneled study in the huge president's house at Karachi and wrote the outline for his 'basic democracies', which are intended 'to begin at the beginning and, after building a strong, democratic base, to construct the structure above.' What emerged was a political system based on the ancient institution of the village panchayat (council of elders). Each council, with elected as well as appointed representatives, will represent 10,000 people. Working without salaries, council members will be expected to levy local taxes, maintain roads, operate police forces, register births and deaths, and handle some 30 other jobs, from the promotion of sports to the disposal of dead

animals. None of the candidates has been permitted to run under party labels; all are forbidden to criticize government policies.

"Since many of the council members who will be elected during the two-week balloting will be both inexperienced and illiterate (in a country) 82% illiterate), Ayub has ordered that council chairmen receive two months of training in financial and administrative affairs. This spring, Ayub will appoint a commission to draft a constitution to go into effect by 1961. It will feature a strong executive, an absence of political parties ('otherwise we will have no peace'), and the indirect election of a national legislature and President by the new councils, serving as electoral colleges. The idea resembles the democracy-from-the-ground-up that Nasser tells U.S. visitors he dreams of for Egypt. It still leaves a strongman running the show, and depends on his good intentions. Once his plans are complete, Ayub promises, the army will give up the administration of the country because 'it has many other things to do.'"

* * *

II. THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN VIET NAM

A reasonable complete description of the existing system of local administration was the first objective of this series of three reports. This description was to extend far beyond a recitation of legal characteristics into the more complex--and unknown--area of current administration. The hope was to piece together most of the dominating patterns so that an overall view of the essence of local administration at present could be obtained.

It is unfortunate that this has not been achieved for it would have met a vital need in the planning of future developments, not only for local administration, but also for many other public policies of Viet Nam, including military programs and economic development. (The writer, upon returning to the United States, plans to set forth a series of propositions as to what he thinks are the essentials of the present system; but these will not suffice for current policy and programming needs of GVN).

Falling far short of any satisfactory description of the present system, this report at least suggests what references are available for further study, reproduced some of the more pertinent legal documents, and illustrates certain aspects of reform and evaluation of reform in local administration during recent years.

A. Suggested References

Although this is not necessarily a complete listing of the major studies currently, or soon to be, available, it does include all that the writer has become familiar with during his stay in Viet Nam.

1. General background of local administration: the most convenient sources for a review of historical developments are: a short survey prepared by Miss Nguyen Xuan Dao, "Village Government in Viet Nam - A Survey of Historical Development" published as an Annex in the study by Lloyd W. Woodruff, The Study of A Vietnamese Rural Community - Administrative Activity, Vol. II, MSUG, 1960; and Mr. Lam Le Trinh's, former secretary of the Department of the Interior, "Village Councils; Yesterday and Today" Viet-My (the journal of the Vietnamese-American Association, Saigon), Parts I and II, Vol. 3, 1958. Miss Dao's study also included a bibliography of various other references, largely French, of the period from about 1900 to 1940.

2. Studies of current administrative characteristics: in the absence of any major overall study of local administration, one must look for more limited studies which include several soon to be published by MSUG.

   a. Lloyd W. Woodruff, The Study of a Vietnamese Rural Community-Administrative Activity, 2 Vols. MSUG, 1960. A study of the village of Khanh Hau, population about 3,000, in Long An province; based on field data collected over a period of one year and centered largely on the activities of the village council; background data include the organization of the province and district and administrative organization of the council of notables when serving also as the village administrative council. The final chapter offers some judgments on both the strengths and weaknesses of this particular council, which can serve as

points for further research in other villages.

b. "The Vinh Long Studies", to be published in 1962, by MSUG and the National Institute of Administration. At least three separate studies are being planned based on field data collected during one to two weeks in the spring and summer of 1961, by an eight-man team of MSUG and NIA faculty members paired off to concentrate on the three levels of administration - the province, district, and village.

The group included an anthropologist, sociologist, as well as political scientists and public administration specialists. The attempt was to describe and analyze the work of the key executives of these three levels during one week. In addition, some socio-economic data were collected as well as other pertinent administrative and political materials. Additional volumes dealing with special problems observed during the week are also being considered: (1) the problem of agroville administration; and (2) the administration of village training programs. The volumes should offer a fair appreciation of the role of the province chief vis a vis central administrative agencies as well.

c. "The Quang Nam Studies", to be published in 1961, by MSUG and the NIA. Encouraged by the results of the Vinh Long research project, another large joint team, in February, 1962, conducted field research in the Central Lowland province of Quang Nam, partly to obtain comparative data and partly to begin the development of intensive studies of the Central Lowlands area.

For the village study, a fishing village of 6,000 population was chosen. Separate reports are planned for the three levels of administration.

d. The forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Nicholaas Luykx, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. This has the potential of being one of the most informative studies of both central-provincial and provincial-local phases of administration in Viet Nam. The research design called for particular emphasis on the problem of delegation of authority and the lack of same. Mr. Luykx spent three months in field research in Thua Thien province in the Central Lowlands. From the viewpoint of value to Viet Nam, one shortcoming may be a need to have reduced the amount of detail since his scope also included similar studies in two other neighboring nations, the Philippines and Thailand.

e. Provincial and local finance received considerable attention during the period 1956-1957, by Professor David Cole, Vanderbilt University, when serving on the staff of MSUG. In addition, his doctoral study prepared at the University of Michigan was centered on taxation problems in Viet Nam. For this study of local administration, his most pertinent publications (all mimeographed) are:

(1) Financial Activities of the Provinces, Prefecture and Municipalities of Viet Nam in 1956, MSUG, October, 1957, 100 pp.

(2) Summary of Village Finances in the South Region of Viet Nam, MSUG, October, 1957, 49 pp.

(3) Provincial and Local Revenues in Viet Nam, Vol. II, 1957(?)

f. Village financial studies, in addition to those of Professor Cole, include Report No. 2 of this current series by the author, which analyzes the budgets of 25 villages in the two southern regions, largely the delta and part of the foothills areas, and the extended excerpts from the article, prepared by Mr. Ro of the Department of the Interior, presented later in this section.

g. Social and economic studies of Vietnamese communities, in addition to those to be published in the "Vinh Long" and "Quang Nam" series mentioned above, include:

(1) James B. Hendry, The Study of a Vietnamese Rural Community-Economic Activity, MSUG, December, 1959, 390pp.(mimeo).

(2) Gerald C. Hickey, The Study of a Vietnamese Rural Community - Sociology, , MSUG, January, 1960, 266 pp. (mimeo). Both studies were based on field research collected over a period of one year from the village of Khanh Hau, in which the author made his administrative study. Emphasis was on developing basic data in the economic and social aspects of village life. Soon to be published in the United States, is a more elaborate and combined volume of these two studies, which presumably will include also some additional information about administrative aspects.

(3) Mission "Economie et Humanisme", Etude sur Les Conditions de Vie et Les Besoins de la Popluation du Viet Nam, Banque Nationale du Viet Nam, Republique du Viet Nam, Septembre, 1959, 2 Tome. Extremely valuable for the socio-economic profiles it offers of various communities in Viet Nam, the study also includes many socio-economic maps and other

supporting data.

h. Other select references. (In addition to readings found elsewhere in this immediate study.)

(1) John D. Montgomery, Cases in Vietnamese Administration, National Institute of Administration, 1959, 481 pp. (Combined British and Vietnamese edition). While the objective of this was a textbook, various cases fairly accurately depict true situations in local administration. It is the first case book to be prepared about Vietnamese administration.

(2) Preliminary Research Report on the PMS, MSUG, June, 1957, 60 pp. (est.). This is cited for lack of any other available studies on the tribal region, which represents a major gap in studies of local administration in Viet Nam. This report was aimed at providing some recommendations to be used in strengthening field administrative aspects of the central government.

(3) Questionnaires prepared for the Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration (EROPA) for use at its 1960 conference in Manila, on local government. The three questionnaires dealt with central services for local government, rural development, and the problem of strengthening local self-government. Copies might be obtained from the EROPA Research Center, National Institute of Administration, Saigon.

d. Suggestions Concerning the Department of the Interior, The Regions, and the Provinces, MSUG, January, 1956, 70 pp. (est.) (mimeo), Centered on a list of proposals for reorganizing the system of

central-local (provincial and village) relationships, the study slights descriptive and analytical phases; however, as an appendix a valuable description of financial administrative procedures was included. Its greatest value, however, rests in its series of proposed reforms.

B. Selected Legal Documents

Some of the basic legal documents about provincial and lower level administrative units are worth reproducing for the descriptions they offer of the essentials of a formal framework. Some of these are not in effect at present, yet they probably will serve as key guides to future changes in the legal structure; unless developmental, rather than historico-traditional, ideas dominate the propositions for improving local administration.

1. Cantonal Administration, Arrete of 1941, for Cochinchina.

In contrast to the elective procedure in the Central Lowlands, in Cochinchina the canton chiefs, under the French, were appointed by the Governor. While the parallel document for the Central Lowlands has not been examined, it is likely it otherwise follows fairly closely the following for Cochinchina.

* * *

The Governor General of Indochina

Commander of the Legion of Honour

Considering the decrees of October 20, 1911, fixing the powers of the governor general and the financial and administrative organization of Indochina:

Considering the decree of August 29, 1940;

Considering the arrete of February 10, 1936, fixing the recruiting procedure for Canton Chiefs in Cochinchina, completed by the arrete of April 21, 1937:

On the proposition of the Governor of Cochinchina

Decides that:

Art. 1. Canton Chiefs are to be appointed by the governor of Cochinchina, on the proposition made by the Administrators (a position title in the Colonial government system), and the Province Chiefs, after taking advice from three highest notables of every village located in the province.

Art. 2. Candidates to the office of Canton Chief must be residents of the canton and prove that they are able to read and write the Vietnamese language. They have to forward to the Administrators and Province Chiefs an application including a transcript of their judicial record, a brief statement of their wealth situation, and other documents attesting the qualifications necessary for an appointment.

Art. 3. (as modified by arrete (decision) of February 17, 1943). Below are the people qualified for a candidacy:

(1) former members or members in office of councils of notables, living in the concerned canton and having been senior notables for at least six years, including two years as village chief.

(2) former members or members in office of Provincial Councils, acting Canton Chiefs (Ban Bien, Sung Bien, Pho Tong*) having been in charge of these duties and living actually in the canton where they run for the appointment.

(3) native former civil servants of the higher catagories in the public services of Indochina, and having at least a ten year seniority and been living actually in the canton where they run for the appointment. Candidates must be 35 years old at least, and 50 years old at most, and have never been sentenced for minor offenses or crimes, or discharged from a government employment.

Art. 4. The Provincial Councillor office cannot pluralize that of Canton Chief. Provincial Councillors elected by the people to fulfill the duties

of Canton Chiefs will be obliged to renounce formally to their membership in the Provincial Council.

Art.5. Canton Chiefs may be retained in their office until the age of 65.

Art. 6. They may be discharged, at any time, for physical or intellectual incapacity, for misconduct or serious misdeed.

They may be liable for the following disciplinary measures:

(1) reprimand pronounced by the Administrator, Chief of Province.

(2) blame pronounced by the Governor, on the proposition made by the Administrator.

Art. 7. (as modified by arrete (decision) of February 17, 1943), In cases of absence of long continuance, unavailableness, death of a Canton Chief, the Governor may appoint, on a temporary basis, an acting chief, who will operate until the appointment of a titular chief, and must be a notable from one of the villages located in the canton, and recommended by the Administrator, Province Chief.

Art. 8. The office of Canton Chief is not remunerative. However, Canton Chiefs may receive allowances for clerical work and official entertainment. They may also be reimbursed for travel expenses. These allowances will be fixed by the Governor of Cochinchina and provided by the concerned communal budgets.

Art. 9. As a transitory measure, the Canton Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs in office at the date of this arrete taking effect, continue to have the benefit of their statute, especially that of their salaries, promotion, right to a retiring pension; their statute will be suppressed by extinction.

Art. 10. The acting Canton Chiefs (Ban Bien*) having at least a five year

seniority may be appointed Canton Chiefs, directly. (i.e.,without consultation from notables as specified in Art. 1.)

Art.10. All provisions contrary to this present arrete (decision) are abrogated, especially:

(1) the arrete of December 14, 1905, and the subsequent texts relating to Canton Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs.

(2) the arrete of September 8, 1918.

(3) the arrete of February 10, 1936, mentioned above.

Art.11. The Governor of Cochinchina is responsible for the execution of this arrete.

Hanoi, July 20, 1941

DECOUX (signed)

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* Note of the translator. - "Ban Bien" and "Sung Bien" were actually "acting Canton Chiefs", assigned with the permanent function of Canton Chiefs in smaller cantons for which no Canton Chiefs were appointed.

2. Village Administration, Decree of 1953

The contents of the 1953 decree, which established an elective village council for the first time, other than during the Viet Minh period, are similar in subject matter to other village organizational decrees dating as far back as 1904.

Although these do not cover all aspects of village administration, they do provide the basic reference. Matters such as budgetary procedure, taxation, vital statistics, and the specifics of village duties in various functions such as education, agriculture, health, etc., are found in documents originating with the major department within whose jurisdiction the function is found.

At present, the inclination of GVN is to return to the idea of an elective council, possible following many of the provisions found in this 1953 decree.

* * *

Decree No. 34-NV of March 19, 1953

Fixing the statute of the Vietnamese village administration

and the attributions of the Village Council

His Majesty Bao Dai, Chief of State,

Considering Ordinance No. 1 of July 1, 1949, fixing the organization and operation of public institutions:

Considering Ordinance No. 2 of July 1, 1949, on the statute of public administrative agencies:

Considering Decree No. 49-CP of June 6, 1952, completed and modified by subsequent decrees; fixing the composition of the government:

Considering all the texts relating to the organization and operation of the village administration in Viet Nam:

Considering the Decree No. 790-CAB-MI of December 16, 1952, on the procedures applied in the election of Village Councils:

On the proposition of the Prime Minister, Minister of Interior,

In agreement with the Cabinet Council:

Decides that:

Part I

Art.1. The Vietnamese village administration is managed by a Village Council elected through universal suffrage.

The Village Council (Hôi Dông Huong Chính) comprises, as a matter of principle:

- one chairman (chu tich)
- one vice-chairman (Phó chu tich)
- one general secretary (tông thu ký)
- and many councillors - the maximum number of the latter is nine - among them are to be distributed the following attributions:

  Education, sports, youth (giáo duc)
  public health, social work (y-tê)
  civil status, vital statistics (hô tich)
  administrative and judiciary police (canh sát)
  tax-collection (thuê vu)
  public works (công chính)
  economics: commerce, industry, handicraft (kinh-tê)
  agriculture (canh nông).

Art. 2. When one-third of the councillors' offices happen to be vacant, on account of death, resignation, or any other motivation, there will be partial elections for replacing the councillors, within a maximum of two months from the date of the last vacancy.

If the number of vacancies is higher than one-half of the total number of councillors, there will be, within the same time-limit, a total election of the council.

While waiting for new elections, the vacant positions must be taken in charge by the councillors in office and chosen by the council.

Art. 3. The following categories of councillors will be considered as resigned ex-officio by decision of the Province Chief:

- Councillor guilty of persistent negligency or serious misdeeds duly observed by a deliberation of the village council with a two-thirds majority of members in office;

- Councillor who falls in one of the unelligibility or exclusion cases specified in arreté No. 790-Cab-MI of December 16, 1952, by an incident occurring after the election;

- All councillors subject to a judicial action will have their office temporarily suspended by decision of the Province Chief.

Art. 4. In case of serious misdeed by the totality or the majority of the Councillors or of systematic filibuster hindering the village administration, the Village Council may be dissolved as specified by Article 19 of arreté No. 790-Cab-MI, of December 16, 1952. The Province Chief must report the event immediately to the Regional Governor. In such cases, the dispatch of the village affairs will be committed to an administrative commission composed of from three to six members appointed by the Province Chief, and there will be new elections within a maximum of two months from the date of the dissolution.

Art.5. The sessions are open to all. However, upon request of the chairman, the Village Council may decide differently.

Art.6. Upon request of the Council, the Province Chief may authorize the chiefs and technicians of provincial services to attend the sessions and offer their consulting services.

Part II

Art. 7. The election of Village Councils takes place in the conditions fixed by the Prime Minister.

Art. 8. The body of electors will be convened by arreté of the Minister of Interior and, in case of partial elections, by arreté of the Regional

Governor.

The arreté fixing the date of the elections, must be issued at least thirty days before the voting day.

The decisions made by the Province Chief as required by this arreté will fix the seat of the vote offices, and the number of councillors to be elected for each village.

Art. 9. Within a time limit of fifteen days after the announcement of definitive results, the Village Council holds its first meeting and elects, under the chairmanship of the eldest Councillor, the chairman, the vice-chairman, and the general secretary, and distributes the assignments among the other councillors.

The Village Council will be free to determine under its responsibility all guarantees of solvency to be required from the village treasurer and the member in charge of tax collection.

Part III

Attributions and disciplinary powers of the Council of Notables and its members

Art. 10. The Village Council is responsible for the administration of the Village and the management of the village affairs.

They deliberate within scope of the laws and regulations in force on:

(1) the village budget and the receipts and expenditures, regular or special, the supplimentary credits and loans.

(2) the procedures for collection of village revenues.

(3) the acquisition, alienation and exchange of village properties, and, in general all which pertain to the maintenance, and improvement of these properties;

(4) the conditions for leasing, renting contracts signed on behalf of the village;

(5) the planning and opening of streets and public places, the projects for alignment and building of communal roads and paths;

(6) the acceptance of gifts and legacies benefited by the village and other public institutions located in the village area;

(7) the judicial, legal actions and the transactions;

(8) the budgetary records submitted every year to the council by the chairman;

(9) and all other questions which require, according to local regulations, a deliberation of the Village Councils.

Art. 11. The deliberations on such matters as follows are effective only after approbation by the Regional Governor:

(1) rent or hire of real estates and properties for a term longer than three years and for an annual cost exceeding VN$50,000;

(2) acceptance of gifts and legacy with compensatory charge;

(3) sale or exchange of village properties;

(4) purchase of real estates, new construction or reparation involving expenses which exceed VN$50,000;

(5) establishment of village budget amounting to more than VN$50,000;

(6) creation of new taxes or percent surcharges to be profited by the village, and contraction of loans.

Art. 12. The deliberation on such matters as follows are effective only after approbabion by the Province Chief:

(1) rent or hire of real estates and properties for a term shorter than three years;

(2) acceptance of gifts and legacies without compensatory charge;

(3) purchase of real estates, new constructions or reparation involving expenses which do not exceed VN$50,000;

(4) contracts involving the responsibilities of the village for financial obligations;

(5) establishment of village budget amounting to less than VN $50,000;

(6) vote for the determination of surcharge rate to be applied on authorized taxes;

(7) opening of streets and public places, projects for alignment and construction of village roads and paths.

Art. 13. The chairman presides over the council, and represents as such the village and defends the interests of the village vis-a-vis the authorities of all levels. He has the leadership and coordinative role of all communal agencies, convenes the council, presides and conducts the debates. He signs the orders for receipts and disbursements within the limit of the collections made.

The vice-chairman, or in absence of the latter, the general secretary, replaces the chairman in his absence or in case of impediment, in presiding offer the Village Council and fulfilling the duties of the chairman.

The chairman, the vice-chairman, or the general secretary settles by amical compromise and private action all minor disputes arising between villagers.

The vice-chairman is the guardian of the village cashbox.

The secretary general is responsible for keeping the record of deliberations and archives, and in charge of the study of problems relating to general administration; he submits the correspondence to the chairman for signature.

The education councillor is in charge of educational work, of youth and sporting activities.

The health councillor is in charge of public health, social work and charity work.

The civil status councillor may be assisted by an auxiliary personnel. He keeps a civil status record, numbered and initialed by the president of the court, on which are to be recorded all declarations of birth, marriage and death made by the villagers. He is replaced by another councillor chosen by the council, in case of absence or impedement.

The police councillor, as chief of the administrative and judiciary police in the village, principal auxiliary to the public prosecutor, is in charge of maintaining order and security with the help of auxiliaries and village guards. He is moreover empowered to forward summons, writs, and notifications of the court.

The financial councillor and the tax collection councillor assisted, if necessary, by auxiliaries appointed by the council, are in charge of the management of village finance and properties and of the tax collection.

The public work councillor, the economic councillor, and the agriculture councillor are respectively in charge of questions relating to public works, commerce, industry, handicraft, breeding, protection of domestic animals, and agriculture.

Art. 14. The deliberations of the council relating to the distribution of village functions between various councillors, as specified in Art.9, must be recorded on minutes established in four copies, one of these is to

be filed in the village archive, the three others forwarded to the Canton Chief, the administrative delegate, and the Province Chief.

Art. 15. The decisions made by the Village Council will be executed by one or many councillors involved on account of their special attributions, and in cases of especially important affairs, requiring the cooperation of many persons (organization of police, tax collection, etc...) the decisions are to be executed by all the members chosen by the council.

Art. 16. All reports forwarded to higher authorities and to provincial administrative agencies must be signed by the councillor involved in the matter and countersigned by:

- the chairman of the council, or in case of his absence by the vice-chairman,
- and the general secretary, holder of the village seal.

The police councillor is the only one to sign the investigation reports intended for the court. The general secretary has to put his seal on these reports.

The general secretary is the only one to sign the investigation reports intended for the court. The general secretary has to put his seal on these reports.

Art. 17. Councillors can be summoned to the chief-lieu (province seat) in case of absolute necessity only by written notice from the province chief to whom the concerned administrative and public agencies should apply to get the notice.

The intervention of the Province Chief is not required when it is the case of summons from the court.

The government officials, excluding the Province Chief, the administrative delegate, and the Canton Chief, who need the assistance of the

councillors in the fulfillment of their duties, must also apply to provincial or cantonal authorities in all cases, there is no requisition right provided in their favor by the laws or regulations. A written order must be handed to the concerned councillors in the case of a requisition.

Art. 18. The Village Council may meet as frequently as necessary, and, in any case, at least twice a month.

In the interval of the sittings, important matters of a pressing character will be settled by consultation at the councilors' home.

Art. 19. The police councillor may retain an accused person in the communal house for a time necessary to an unofficial and preliminary investigation, until the forward of the record to the court. (The legal term for a detention at the Village Hall is 24 hours.)

Art. 20. The councillors may confine villagers caught for being drunk and disorderly, but the detention must never last more than 24 hours.

Art. 21. The Prime Minister, Minister of Interior, and the regional governors are in charge of the execution of this decree.

Made in Banmethout, March 19,1953

Bao Dai (signed)

For the Chief of State
The Prime Minister
Minister of Interior

Nguyen Van Tam

3. Provincial Administration - Provincial Councils,

1954 Decree

It is the writer's understanding that this decree is still in effect, although not followed in practice. It was followed for only a short time, probably in a limited number of provinces. Insofar as the writer knows, no study of the experiences under this elective council exists. The article by Rector Thong, reproduced in part in this section, concerns provincial councils prior to World War II.

Currently, GVN presumably is in the process of planning the reestablishment of provincial councils. It is considering at least two choices for the organization: an elective arrangement similar to that found in this decree; or a representative plan allowing for various organizations and associations to choose their spokesmen.

Various observers have spoken strongly in favor of a provincial advisory council, not only as a political measure in the struggle against subversion, but also as a positive tool for integrating provincial administration more closely with the villagers.

* * *

Decree No. 58-NV of June 22, 1953

As Modified by Decree No. 35-NV of June 2, 1954

Creating A Provincial Council in Each Province of Viet Nam

[JO: 1953 pp. 1421]

HIS MAJESTY BAO DAI, CHIEF OF STATE,

Considering Ord. No. 1, of July 1, 1949, determining the organization and functioning of the institutions of government,

Considering Ord. No. 2 of July 1, 1949, providing for the organization of the statutes of the various public administrative units,

The Council of Ministers concurring,

Decrees:

Art. 1. There is (hereby) created in each Province of Viet Nam a Provincial Council.

Title I

As to the Election of Provincial Councils

Art. 2. The Provincial Council shall be composed of members elected by the Communal Councillors currently in office. The register of (such) voters shall be established by the Chief of Province.

The communal councillors entered in the register shall elect one or more councillors per delegation or district, in such a manner that the number of members of the (provincial)council shall fall between ten and 20.

The election shall take place in the capitol city of the delegation of district.

Provincial capitols elevated to the statue of communes, shall constitute district electoral units, and their Municipal Commissions shall also elect one or more provincial councillors.

An arreté of the Minister of Interior shall establish, on the proposal of the regional governors, the date for convening the electoral college, the number of councillors to be selected per province, and their distribution among the various electoral districts, prorated on the basis of the 'importance' of the population.

Art. 3. The following shall be eligible to serve as provincial councillors- all voters 25 years of age as of the date of the election, inscribed upon the voting registers established on the occasion of the most recent renewal of Community Councils, excluding:

- Notables or public officials recalled or discharged for disciplinary reasons, and for whom the decisions promouncing discharge or recall have not been revoked; who shall be ineligible indefinitely;

- Individuals holding a contract or lease of farm property with one of the communities in the province or with the province itself, who shall be ineligible for the duration of such contract or lease;

- Governors, chiefs of province, deputy chiefs of province, chiefs of districts, circumsriptions or delegations, directors and chiefs of cabinet to the regional governors, directors or chiefs of services, chiefs of cantons, magistrates of all jurisdictions and military officers with territorial commands, who shall be ineligible during their occupation of such positions and for six months thereafter.

Any provincial councillor who, during his term of office, enters into a contract of property lease with one of the communities in the circumscription, or accepts one of the positions mentioned in the preceding paragraph, shall be declared relieved of office (as a provincial councillor) by arreté of the regional governor.

On the other hand, career civil servants or nonstatus employees of the government, other than those listed in the paragraph above, serving in the province, and career or assimilated (reservists on active duty?) military personnel, who are elected provincial councillors shall be allowed a period of ten days to make known their choice. After the lapse of that period, they shall be assumed to have chosen to retain their employment (i.e., to have rejected the elective office).

Art. 4. Every candidate must, at the latest on the 15th day before that of the vote, bring or send to the office of the chief of province who shall issue a receipt therefore, a declaration of his candidacy signed by himself, duly certified by the community councillors of the village of which he is currently an officials, and accompanied by an extract of his police record.

In each electoral district, the list of candidates who have submitted a regular declaration of candidacy shall be publicly posted throughout the seven days preceding the vote, at the doors of the town halls ("Maisons communes") of all villages concerned.

Art. 5. The voting period shall open at 8 a.m. and close the same day at 11 a.m.

An Electoral Bureau of five members shall be established for each voting district; its president, designated by a decision of the Chief of Province, shall be assisted by four members chosen by him among the voters present at the moment of the opening of the polls.

The vote shall be secret and by envelope. The envelopes shall be opaque, ungummed, marked with the seal of the (regional?) administrative delegate or the Chief of District, and of uniform type.

The counting of the vote shall take place then and there and the provisional result of the vote shall be proclaimed immediately and posted at the door of the polling place.

When a second vote is necessary, it must be conducted the same day, from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Art. 6. None shall be elected member of a Provincial Council on the first vote unless he has obtained:

- One more than half the number of votes cast;
- A number of votes equal to one quarter of the number of voters on the register.

On the second vote, election shall be by relative majority, whatever may be the number of voters (registered, or <u>actually voting</u>?)

If several candidates receive the same number of votes, the eldest shall be proclaimed elected.

In counting the votes, no account shall be taken of ballots bearing the names of persons whose candidacy has not been officially declared or recognized.

Art. 7. A Commission composed of:

- The Chief of Province or his delegate.....President
- A magistrate serving in the provincial capitol or, lacking such an individual, a career civil servant who is chief of a (provincial) service .....Member
- A career civil servant of an administrative cadre (New style, Doc-Su or Tham-Su; old style, Doc-Phu-Su, Phu, Huyen in SVN or mandarin in CVN).....Member

shall proceed, within the eight days following to recount the votes, the proclamation of final results and the transmission to the regional governor of the report of its work.

Art. 8. Election results may be protested by the voters of the district. Requests for annulment must be deposited, within five days following the election, at provincial government headquarters.

The Regional Governor and the Minister of Interior may also, within a period of one month from the receipt of the report of the election, request annulment of the electoral operations before the Administrative Tribunal created by Ordinance No. 2 of January 5, 1950.

Art. 9. The term of office of the Provincial Councils shall be three years. The date of renewal shall be established by arreté of the Minister of Interior.

Notwithstanding (the preceding provision), any councillor may be declared removed from office, by arreté of the regional governor, who is guilty of grave faults or persistent negligence duly certified by a finding of the council supported by a majority of two-thirds of the members currently in office.

Any councillor who becomes the object of a lawsuit shall be provisionally suspended from his office, by arreté of the regional governor.

The council may, furthermore, be dissolved by arreté of the Minister of Interior upon a proposal by the governor containing justification.

Art. 10. When, because of death, resignations or any other reason, one-third of the seats have become vacant, a partial election shall be held within a maximum delay of two months from the date of (occurance of) the last vacancy, to replace the missing members.

If the number of vacant seats is greater than half, or if dissolution (of the council) has been pronounced, a total election of Council shall be held within the same grace-period.

* * *

Title II

As to the Organization and Functioning of Provincial Councils

Art. 11. Each year, at the beginning of the session during which the budget for the next budget period is to be considered, the council shall elect its bureau by secret ballot and an absolute majority of the votes cast.

The bureau shall be composed of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and an assistant secretary.

Art. 12. Provincial councils shall meet in ordinary session twice a year. Each session shall last a maximum of eight days.

The dates of sessions shall be set by arreté of the Minister of Interior.

Art. 13. The councils may be called into extraordinary session, and the duration of their ordinary sessions may be extended, by arreté of the President of the Government.

Art. 14. The council may not (legally) deliberate unless one more than half its members are present. If this quorum is not attained on the day fixed by the arreté of convocation, the session is carried over to the next day and deliberations shall then be valid whatever may be the number of councillors present.

The chief of province (as) commissioner of the government, shall participate in all meetings of the council and shall be permitted to speak whenever he requests opportunity to do so.

Art. 15. Meetings of the council shall be public. Nevertheless, on the request of two members, of the council president, or of the chief of pro-

vince, the council may deliberate behind closed doors.

The president directs the debate and the maintenance of order during the meeting.

Art. 16. The minutes of the meetings, prepared by the secretary, shall contain the names of the members who have taken part in the discussion and an analysis of their opinions. They shall be adopted at the beginning of each session for the preceding sessions, and signed by the president and the secretary.

A copy of the minutes of the meeting shall be forwarded to the Chief of Province and submitted for examination by the regional governor, the Minister of Interior and the President of the Government.

Title III

As to the Powers of the Provincial Councils

Art. 17. The provincial council shall issue an opinion upon all questions submitted to it by the Chief of Province.

The advice of the council must be requested regarding:

- The proposed provincial budget, and accounts relative to the implementation of the budget;
- Proposed changes in the boundaries of the villages, cantons, delegations of the province itself.
- Changes in the classification of provincial and community roads;
- The floating of loans;
- Legal proceedings to be instituted or defended by the Chief of Province.

Art. 18. The council shall have its way upon the following questions:

- Questions regarding the proportions and method of assesment of provincial imports and taxes;
- Provincial plans and programs of economic and social interest;
- Acceptance of gifts and legacies made to the province.

Art. 19. The Council may express its opinions (pass resolutions?) on all economic and administrative questions, but political opinions are forbidden.

Title IV

Miscellaneous Provisions

Art. 20. The service of provincial councillors shall be unsalaried. However, they may receive travel allowances with per diem in accordance with rates and standards which shall be established by the Minister of Interior.

Art. 21. The election of the provincial councils instituted by the present decree shall terminate the existence of existing provincial assemblies, specifically, the Provincial Councils of Notables of Tonkin, created by arreté of 19 March, 1913, the Provincial Councils of Notables of Annam created by royal ordinance of 29 March, 1913, the Provincial Councils of Cochinchina created by decree of 5 March, 1889, the Provincial Mixed Commissions instituted by arreté of 27 December, 1940, and the Advisory Provincial Councils created on 9 March, 1945.

Art. 22. The President of the Government, Minister of Interior, is charged with the execution of the present Decree.

Done at Dalat, 22 June 1953
His Majesty has signed

The President of the Government,
Minister of the Interior
NGUYEN VAN TAN

4. Elimination of the Regions - Instructions

Implementation, 1955

Apart from a general reshuffling and renaming of provinces, partly to dramatize the establishment of an independent nation, the first major step in overhauling local administration was the elimination of the regions, a change strongly favored by MSUG advisors, who at the same time proposed reducing the number of provinces to 14 "areas" and eliminating provincial budgets, which in effect would strengthen central departmental roles in field administration vis-a-vis provincial or the to-be-established "area" chiefs.

Since the following 'instructions' rate as one of the first attempts to alter the administrative structure under the Republic, they are worth reproducing in their entirety.

* * *

Republic of Viet Nam

Presidency

No. 34-TTP/VP

Instructions for

Implementation of Ordinance No. 17 of Dec. 24, 1955, on the reorganization of Regions administrative structure

Saigon, December 28, 1955

The President of the Republic of Viet Nam

to Messrs. the Secretaries of State

(and for information, to Messers, the Government Delegates in the Regions and to Mr. the Treasurer General of Viet Nam)

I beg to bring to your knowledge that the Ordinance No. 17 of December 24, 1955, on the reorganization of Regional administrative structure, will

will be in effect on January 1, 1956.

The present instruction is aimed at determining the implementing procedures for this reform.

I. Budgets

1. Regional budgets will be eliminated from January 1, 1956, onwards.

   From the 1956 fiscal year onwards:

   a. all the planned receipts and expenses inscribed up to now in these budgets will be transferred to the national budget;

   b. the delinquent (delayed) receipts pertaining to these budgets will be collected and profited to the national budget and the expenses pertaining to the budgets of completed fiscal years will be financed by the latter.

2. As a transitory measure, the execution of regional budgets for the 1955 fiscal year will continue to be undertaken until the end of the complementary period (May 31, 1956) by the General Prefects, in compliance with legislative and statutory provisions presently in effect.

   At the expiration of this period the administrative accounts pertaining to these budgets will be established and presented under the same forms and conditions than the previous ones.

3. After the definitive winding up of the regional budgets for fiscal year 1955, the credit of the reserve and precaution fund of these budgets will be transferred to the reserve and precaution fund of the national budget.

   The stock and shares belonging to the regional budgets will be transferred at the same time to the National Budget.

II. Properties

4. From January 1, 1956, ownership of movable and immovable properties belonging to the former or present regional property accounts will be transferred to the national property account.

   Movable properties include stock, shares, debts and rights, products and revenues belonging to or profited by the (local or) regional property accounts.

5. The Secretaries of State concerned are in charge of all the formalities required for the transfer of these properties to the national property account; this transfer is to be made before February 1, 1956.

   No charge or fee will be paid and received for this transfer.

6. For this transfer inventories of movable properties and equipment, statements of stock, shares, debts, rights, real estates will be made up in detail and transmitted urgently by the general prefects to the relevant Secretaries of State, as shown in Table A here attached.

7. Each transfer will be eventually accompanied by a delivery of property certificates or similar documents, and an official statement will be made for this operation.

8. One copy of the official statement of transfer will be forwarded to the Secretary of State for Finance. In addition, for immovable properties, one copy will be forwarded to the Secretary of State for Public Works and another to the Directorate of Registration, Public Property and Fiscal Stamps.

8. The immovable properties of the regional agencies transferred to the various departments as specified in Part II, will be under the administration of the Secretaries of State supervising these different

agencies.

9. The Secretary of State for Finance, manager of the national property account, will be qualified to decide on the deeds and contracts involving the transferred immovable properties, in concurrence with the relevant Secretaries of State, under the forms and conditions (procedures) required by the laws and regulations ineeffect.

10. The Secretaries of State may delegate the whole or one part of their power in the administration of properties and concessions to the general prefects in the areas where the properties are located.

III. Agencies

11. Regional agencies having their estimates of expenditures transferred to the national budget in compliance with the present instruction, will be transferred to the different departments as specified in Table B here attached.

12. The taking in charge of these agencies by the departments will be made effective by the Secretaries of State specified in this table, in concurrence with the general prefects. It must be finished before February 1, 1956.

Official records must be established and copies of these will be transmitted to the Presidency (General Directorate of Public Function).

13. These agencies may, if necessary, be reorganized by decisions of the Secretaries of State, after consultation with the relevant General Prefects.

14. The Secretaries of State will keep the general prefects informed of the directives and of the impetus they give to regional agencies transferred

and to national agencies established at the regional level.

The general prefects will express their opinions on the matter, if need be, to the relevant departments.

They may formulate suggestions or propositions if they think them useful, regarding the operation of these services.

15. Until the application of new administrative measures or regulations, all texts in effect not contrary to the provisions of Ordinance No. 17 of December 24, 1955, and of the present Instruction, will remain applicable to transferred regional agencies.

IV. Personnel

16. From January 1, 1956, the power previously vested in governors or government delegates in the management of personnel of the regional administrative and technical statute and of contractual and "daily" statutes serving in the agencies transferred to the departments, will be transferred to different Secretaries of State, as specified in Table C given in annex.

17. From now on, the chiefs of transferred regional agencies will be appointed by the chiefs of the relevant departments, after concurrence with general prefects.

18. The general prefects will give every year an appreciation on political behavior of every civil servant working in transferred regional agencies or in national agencies established at the regional level.

19. As long as there is not any reform or modification, the above mentioned civil servants continue to be under their existing particular statutes which will be temporarily retained in effect.

I am very obliged if you take care to make these instructions strictly observed, and the above mentioned incorporations carried out before the time limit given.

Signed: NGO DINH DIEM

Certified copy:

The Assistant Director

DOÀN THEM

Addressees:

Messrs. the Secretaries of State
the Delegates of Government
Mr. the Secretary General at the Presidency (for insertion in the official Gazette of V.N.)

For Information:

All agencies of the Presidency and all agencies attached to the Presidency.

TABLE A

Showing the properties of the local or regional property accounts to be incorporated to the national property account from January 1, 1956.

Specification of properties	Authorities in charge of their administration
1. Furniture and equipment	Relevant Secretaries of State (supervising the Agency owners of these properties).
2. Immovable properties assigned to transferred regional agencies	Relevant Secretaries of State (supervising the transferred agencies).
3. Woods and forests	Secretary for State for Agriculture.
4. Roads, canals, buildings	Secretary of State for Public Works and Communications.
5. Immovable properties not assigned to any special agencies	
- Waste lands and lands of no ownership - New land formed by the displacement of the foreshore and foreshores, islands, islets and lands left dry by a stream - Stock, shares, and debts, products and revenues from transferred properties	Secretary of State for Finance

TABLE B

Showing the regional agencies to be transferred to various departments from January 1, 1956

	Existing Regional Agencies	Departments to which the Agencies will be transferred
1.	Cabinet of Delegate of Government.	Presidency
2.	Regional Directorate of Police and Security and Immigration Control - Penitentiary Services.	Interior
3.	Regional Financial Services - Regional Administrations and Inspections of Foreign Aids - Pension Fund of the Former Imperial Governor of Hue	Finance
4.	Regional Economic Services	Economy
5.	Regional Directorates of Information --Regional Directorates and Services of Youth and Sport	Information
6.	Regional Directorates of Education - Cultural Service of Central V.N. - Museum of Tourane - Museum "Blanchard de la Brosse" in Saigon - Library and Archives of South V.N.	National Education
7.	Regional Directorates of Health - Regional Services of Social Work	Health and Social Work
8.	Regional Inspectorates of Labor	Labor
9.	Regional Services of Cadastre and Topography	Land Properties and Agrarian Reforms

10.	Regional Services of Agriculture - Regional Services of Forestries - Regional Services of Veterinary, Zootechnique and Epizooty - Zoological and Botanical Garden of Saigon	Agriculture
11.	Autonomous Circonscriptions and Arrondissements of Public Works - Navigation Service of South V.N. - Regional Services of Maritime Fishery	Public Works

* * *

TABLE C

Showing the personnel of regional administrative and technical agencies, contractual or on daily basis, to be transferred to various Departments from Jan. 1, 1956

Similar titles and positions existing in Regions	Relevant Departments
1. Technical personnel and other personnel of various services - Head clerks Clerks - Clerks and Draftsmen of Provincial Agencies - Typists - Messengers - Drivers	Departments to which the employing agencies will be transferred.
2. Special Personnel of Services of Police, Security, and Immigration Control	Interior
3. Clerks and Assistant clerks in Courts of Justice -Personnel of Penitentiary Services	Justice
4. Teachers -Assistant Teachers - Teachers in Vocational Schools	National Education
5. Midwives -NNurses - Superintendents of Psychiatric Hospital of Bien Hoa	Health
6. Draftsmen of Cadastral Services -Land Surveyors of Cadastral Services -Assistant aurveyors	Land Property and Agrarian Reform
7. Clerks in Forestry Services - Superintendents of Forest districts - Vaccinators and Assistant Vaccinators - Personnel of Agricultural Extension Services	Agriculture
8. Launch masters - Chief-mechanics - Stokers - Sailors	Public Works

5. The Current Legal Basis for Provincial and Village Administration, Ordinance 57-a, 1956

Among the students of public administration and administrative law in Viet Nam, this has become popularly known simple as "57-a". Following ten months after the elimination of the regions, this ordinance clarified the position of the province chiefs and suspended the 1953 village council decree (see no. 2 above), providing, instead, for village councillors to be appointed by the provincial chief, a move consonant with the general spirit of this ordinance to increase the power of the provincial chief over local affairs, presumably as a temporary measure motivated by concern over the subversive movement getting under way in rural areas.

Either at the time of this ordinance or close to that time, all municipalities other than Hue, Danang, Dalat, and the Prefecture of Saigon, were reduced in status to villages, placing them thereby under the direct control of the provincial chiefs. This ordinance simply states that later legal enactments will be issued regarding the remaining cities and for all villages. Since this ordinance also discusses the essence of the other units of field and local administration, the cantons and delegates, it must be viewed as the most comprehensive legal document regarding this aspect of governmental administration in Viet Nam.

* * *

Ordinance No. 57-a of

24 October, 1956 (JO'56 P2708)

Regarding the Administrative Reorganization in Viet Nam

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM,

In view of the Provisional Constitutional Act No. 1 of October 26, 1955,

In view of Decree No. 4-TTP of October 29, 1955, establishing the composition of the Government,

In view of Ordinance No. 17 of December 24, 1955, reorganizing the administrative system in Viet Nam,

In view of existing laws concerning all administrative organizations,

ENACTS:

Art. 1. Viet Nam is composed or provinces, cities, and communes.

I. Provinces

Art. 2. Provinces are legal entities possessing autonomous budget and public property.

Each province shall be governed by a Province Chief assisted by one or several Deputy Chiefs.

Art. 3. Province Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs shall be appointed by the President.

Art. 4. Province Chiefs shall be under the direct jurisdiction of the President and local governmental representatives. *1

Art. 5. A Province Chief is charged with the enforcement of laws:

a. He is responsible for the general management of all provincial services, and for making reports to the President and other departments on the activities of services under his jurisdiction or that of other departments.

He may propose transfers of technical officials assigned to his locality.

b. He is responsible for order and security. For such responsibility, he shall have to coordinate all local security and police forces. In emergency cases, he may requisition the armed forces and (if he does so) has to make an immediate report to the Presidency.

Art. 6. In the quality of representative of the Government, he presides over all public ceremonies in his locality.

Art. 7. He controls and authorizes the provincial budget.

Art. 8. He supervises village administration.

The organization of the provincial administration and finance shall be established by (subsequent) decree.

II. CITIES

Art. 9. Cities are legal entities possessing autonomous budgets and public property.

Each city shall be governed by an appointed prefect ("Do-truong" Am., "Mayor") and a City Council.

Art. 10. The city administrative and financial organization shall be established by (subsequent) decrees.

III. COMMUNES (or VILLAGES)

Art. 11. A Province includes many communes which are legal entities possessing autonomous budget and property.

Art. 12. The communal administrative and financial organization shall be established by (subsequent) decrees.

IV. CANTONS AND DISTRICTS

Art. 13. Several communes (may) form a Canton which is governed by a Canton Chief assisted by one or several deputy chiefs.

The appointment procedure and the duties of Canton Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs shall be established by (subsequent) arretés.

Art. 14. Several cantons form a district which is governed by a District Chief.

Art. 15. District Chiefs shall be appointed by the President on the proposal of the Province Chief.

V. DELEGATES OF THE GOVERNMENT

Art. 16. Government delegates shall be appointed by Presidential Decree, and be in charge of a number of provinces.

Art. 17. As administrative inspectors, government delegates survey the activities of services in the provinces placed under their jurisdictions. They may also intervene with the various departments to promote the efficiency and progress of services dependent on such departments.

Art. 18. Government delegates represent the central executive administration.

They shall make periodic reports on the general situation in (their) provinces and make useful recommendations to the Presidency.

They may make recommendations as to the coordination of provincial services and propose promotions for Province Chiefs.

Art. 19. The President may assign to government delegates special missions in one or several provinces, and have them transmit Presidential orders to Province Chiefs.

Art. 20. In emergency cases such as: calamities, special events, etc.... government delegates may order Province Chiefs to mobilize all public services, and (in such cases shall) make immediate reports to the Presidency.

Art. 21. Government delegates are charged with the survey of all problems concerning provinces under their jurisdictions, and with the prior consent of the President, they may organize meetings with Province Chiefs to exchange ideas.

Art. 22. Government delegates may also, with Presidential authorization, organize meetings with the Police and Security and other administrative authorities in their own regions to study security problems. In emergency cases, they need not obtain prior consent from the President, but (in such cases shall) make immediate reports to the Presidency on the purpose of those meetings.

Art. 23. Government delegates represent the Government in all official ceremonies in provinces under their jurisdiction.

They also represent the Government in receiving diplomatic delegations or personages visiting their concerned regions.

For the later duty, they shall receive prior instructions from the government in each case.

VI. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Art. 24. All former provisions contradictory to this ordinance shall be hereby cancelled.

Art. 25. All Secretaries of State, and the Secretary-General at the Presidency are charged, each as to that which concerns him, with the execution of this ordinance. It shall be published in the official journal and be effective from the date of its signature.

*1 "Dai Diên Chinh Quyên Trung Vong tai tinh", representative of central authority in town.

6. Reorganization of the Saigon Prefecture, 1959

In terms of operating policies between the prefecture and the central administration, the 1959 decree (fulfilling in part the commitment of the 1956 ordinance, 57-a) did not make any major alterations. The prefect continued as an agent of the President and the Prefectoral Council as a limited advisory body.

However, its internal structure underwent one major change - the elimination of the elected councillors as heads of the prefectoral subdivisions, the "boroughs" as identified in the following translation. The councillors, some of whom publicly opposed this change, arguing that this provided a valuable link between the people and the prefectoral council, were replaced by administrators appointed under the direction of the prefect. In essence, this marked another step toward more centralization in the governmental scheme in Viet Nam.

Although at present no major study of either the prefecture or of the other municipalities is available, there is underway a study by Professor Guy Fox, of MSUG. There is a definite need for more knowledge about the affairs of these four major local units.

* * *

DECREE No. 74-TTP
of March 23, 1959
(JO '59 -p.1009)

Establishing the Administrative Organization

of the Prefecture of Saigon

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM,

In view of the Decree No. 4-TTP dated October 29, 1955, as modified and supplemented by subsequent decrees, establishing the composition of the Government;

In view of Ordinance No. 57-a dated October 24, 1956, governing reorganization of local government;

In view of Decree No. 143-VN dated October 22, 1956, changing the boundaries and names of Saigon-Cholon prefecture, as well as provinces and chief towns;

On the proposals of the Secretaries of State at the Presidency and for Interior,

DECREES:

Art. 1. The Prefecture of Saigon is an administrative unit possessing the status of a legal entity, an autonomous budget and capable of holding real property.

The Prefecture of Saigon is administered by a Prefect.

At the Prefect's side, a Prefectoral Council is established to advise him on subjects stipulated in Article 17 of this decree.

CHAPTER ONE

I. The Prefect

Art. 2. The Prefect is appointed by decree of the President of the Republic.

He is directly responsible to the President.

Art. 3. The Prefect is the representative of the central government in the territory of the Prefecture.

He directs all prefectural services and is responsible for public security and order: in emergency circumstances, he may call out the armed forces, and (if he does so) must immediately report to the Departments of

National Defense and of Interior.

The Prefect is authorized to make regulatory decisions on such subjects and within such limits as may be provided by law.

He is invested with the "Judicial" Police Authority ("autorité de la Police Judiciaire" -"tu cach Tu Phap canh lai").

The Prefect directs all affairs of prefectoral organization, prepares and implements the budget.

He administers the public and private property of the Prefecture, represents it in law, and assures the execution of its operations and contracts.

In the absence of legal provisions to the contrary, he appoints by arretés (incumbents to) all positions in the prefectural administration.

II. Deputy Prefects, Chief of Cabinet

Art. 4. The Prefect is assisted by two Deputy Prefects.

The Deputy Prefects are appointed by decrees of the President of the Republic.

One of the two Deputy Prefects has the responsibilities of directing and supervising the activities of all boroughs (arrondissements) and the prefectural police services, taking care of the security situation and controlling all political and religious organizations as well as associations, syndicates, etc., in the prefecture.

The other Deputy Prefect is charged with coordinating activities of all other administrative and technical services under the jurisdiction of the Prefecture.

The Deputy Prefects are the representatives of the Prefect, under the orders and control of whom they exercise their responsibilities.

Within their respective assignments they may be granted permanent delegation of decision-making authority for specific types of prefectural government activities.

In case of the absence or incapacity of the Prefect, a Deputy Prefect may be charged, by arreté of the President, with the expedition of the current affairs of the prefecture.

Deputy Prefects are entitled to allowances in kind and in money equivalent to those of a "director of a departmental directorate having many services".

Art. 5. The Chief of Cabinet, directly responsible to the Prefect, is charged with:

- Administrative management
- Confidential matters
- Special missions assigned by the Prefect

He receives salaries and allowances in kind and in money equivalent to those of a Chief of Cabinet in a department.

III. Director of Prefectural Police

Art. 6. The Directorate of Saigon Prefectoral Police is under the direct authority of the Prefect.

The Director of Prefectural Police is appointed by arreté of the President of the Republic.

He is immediately responsible to the Prefect, but may correspond directly with the Directorate General of National Police and Security Services in regard to purely technical matters.

CHAPTER TWO

The Prefectural Council

I. Organization of the Prefectural Council

Art. 7. The Prefectural Council is composed of a number of councillors elected by universal direct suffrage: Three councillors for each borough.

The duration of the councillor's term of office is fixed at three years, indefinitely renewable.

Election procedures of the Prefectural Council will be established by a subsequent decree.

The service of the prefectural councillors is unpaid.

The President of the Council, alone, shall receive a representation allowance which will be fixed by the Secretary of State at the Presidency, on the proposal of the Prefect.

The President of the Prefectural Council or any of the other councillors who are assigned a special mission may receive a compensation fixed by the same procedure.

Art. 8. The prefectural councillors may be removed from office by arretés of the President of the Republic upon recommendation of the Prefect:

- On grounds of ineligibility determined, or incapacity occurring, after the election;
- For absence from three successive ordinary or special meetings of the Council without reasons recognized as legitimate by the Council;
- For refusal to perform duties assigned to them.

In addition, the councilors may resign voluntarily by sending a request under registered envelope to the Department of Interior. The resignation will be effective on the date of receipt of the approving decision

of the Secretary of State for Interior. In case there is no said decision, the resignation shall be effective a month after the date on which the request had been sent.

The election of a new councillor shall be organized to replace the resigned one, except in case there remains only five months before the ordinary election of the Prefectural Council.

II. Organization and Functions of the Prefectural Council

Art. 9. The Prefectural Council shall meet at least once every six months in ordinary session, upon the summons of the President of the Council. The agenda and dates of meeting must have the prior approval of the Prefect.

It (the Council) may also meet in extra-ordinary session, if so requested by the Prefect.

Art. 10 During the first meeting of each year, the Prefectural Council shall elect (from among its members) a president, a vice-president, and a secretary who shall compose the administrative committee.

Art. 11. The Prefectural Council may not legally meet in the absence of the Prefect or his official representative.

Art. 12 The Prefect or his representative may oppose (and thereby prevent) the discussion of all questions not listed in the agenda previously approved by the Prefect.

The Prefect or his representative must be granted the right to speak upon his request.

The following are considered ipso facto null and void:

- Resolutions regarding matters outside the jurisdiction of the Council or taken outside of legal meetings.

- Proclamations which form a demand or emit political views.

Art. 13. The Prefect or his representative may call upon the assistance of the Deputy Prefects or upon one or more officials of the Prefecture, according to the nature of the subject under discussion. The council, even when it has constituted itself into secret session, may not bar the presence of these assistants of the Prefect.

Art. 14. The detailed methods of executing the provisions of Articles 9 and 10 above, as well as the Council's rules of organization and method of functioning, shall be the subject of an internal regulation (statute) prepared by the Council, and approved by the Secretary of State for Interior.

Art. 15. The President of the Prefectural Council presides over and assures order in all meetings, with the facilities (mostly in personnel) provided by the Prefect.

All sessions of the Council shall be public, except when the Council is requested by the Prefect to meet in secret session, or it is so decided by the majority of the Council's members.

Art. 16. The minutes of all the Council's sessions shall be sent to the Prefect within seven days after the closing dates of the sessions.

III. The Powers of the Prefectural Council

Art. 17. The Prefectural Council shall be consulted onthe following matters:

- Budgets (principal and supplementary budgets)
- Taxes and subsidies

- Bond issues
- Acquisition and sale of properties belonging to the Prefecture
- Revision of boundaries of the Prefecture and its boroughs
- Other matters on which the Prefect finds it necessary to consult the Council.

Art. 18. All subjects presented to be deliberated during a session must receive the Council's decisions within that session. On its closing date, all matters which have not been decided upon, shall be considered as approved by the Council.

Art. 19. The Council may, on its own volition, express its wishes or pass motions on all questions of a prefectural character.

If these wishes or motions are intended for publication, or if they are addressed to authorities other than the Prefect, they must be transmitted through the latter.

CHAPTER III

Regarding the Budget

Art. 20. The prefectural budget shall be prepared by the Prefect and presented to the President of the Republic for approval, after obtaining the advice of the prefectural Council.

The Prefect is the authorizing officer ("ordonnateur") of the prefectural budget, and may delegate permanent powers to an official designated by him to perform these duties under his control and responsibility.

All authorizations of expenditure are to be submitted for the prior approval of the Controller of Expenditure Commitments (controleur des dépenses engagées).

Art. 21. Receipts from the following shall be applied to the prefectural

budget:

- Taxes, property rents, royalties, contributions received to the profit of the Prefecture;
- The amounts received from additional percentage on taxes ("centimes additionnels") within the limits of a maximum fixed each year by arreté of the Secretary of State for Finance.
- The portion allocated to the Prefecture on the basis of the total of all taxes collected on the territory of the Prefecture to the profit of other budgets.
- Funds contributed by other interested agencies to carry out a common project (fonds de concours)
- Interest on (unexpended portions of) loans contracted for major public works.
- Revenues from property belonging to the Prefecture.
- All other receipts the collection of which is authorized by existing laws.

Art. 22. The tax lists established for the Prefecture shall be effective for collection, after being approved by the Secretary of State for Finance.

Art. 23. The prefectural budget shall provide for the total expenses of general administration, police, the road system, public illumination, sanitation, education and, in general, for all expenses of a prefectural nature other than those chargeable to the National Budget or other autonomous budgets.

- The obligatory expenses of the prefectural budget are:

  - debts payable on maturity
  - personnel costs
  - expenses of maintaining material, buildings and roads, and of acquiring material on a current basis;
  - police costs
  - charges in connection with gifts or legacies regularly accepted, and of endowments regularly constituted.

CHAPTER IV

Borough and Borough Chiefs

I. Organization - Appointment of Borough Chiefs

Art. 24. The territory of the Prefecture is divided into several boroughs (eight at present); the number and the boundaries of which shall be defined by arretés of the President of the Republic.

Such division shall not confer any administrative or financial autonomy upon the boroughs (thus constituted).

Each borough shall be composed of several quarters ("Phuong"): the number, organization and boundaries of which shall be defined by arretés of the Secretary of State for Interior. (see annex to this decree)

Art. 25. Each borough shall be administered by a Borough Chief under the authority of the Prefect.

Borough Chiefs are government employees appointed by arreté of the President of the Republic.

Art. 26. Borough Chiefs' salaries and allowances shall be borne by the prefectural budget. They receive allowances (in money and in kind) equivalent to those of a "delegation chief" in the provinces.

II. Borough Chiefs' Powers

Art. 27. The Chief of a borough is the representative of the Prefect in the borough, and exercises his functions under the authority of the Prefect and the Deputy Prefects.

He has no power to issue regulations.

In his capacity, he is responsible for the enforcement of laws

and regulations, and performs all special duties which may be confided to him by the Prefect.

He performs his responsibilities with the cooperation of the chief of the police precinct concerned.

He is empowered, specifically, to certify the authenticity of signatures in private legal documents, including genealogical acts (births, deaths, weddings) and transfers of property, to certify true copies and to issue certificates of good character, of residence and of identity or any pthers provided by special regulations.

In matters of certification, he shall have the authority to act as Chief of the borough in which the person ceding property lives (in case of transfers of things), or of the borough in which the head of the family lives (in case of genealogical acts).

He is also endowed with the powers to authorize private meetings on the occasion of receptions, marriages, funerals and anniversaries (such as social parties, weddings, burials, death anniversaries, sacrifices, etc...), and gatherings of religious organizations for ceremonial performances.

Art. 28. The Chief of a borough is also assigned to act in the functions of a registrar ("officier de l'Etat Civil") in his borough, under the control of the Public Prosecutor.

He is invested with the Judicial Police Authority ("Tu Phap Canh Lai").

CHAPTER V

Miscellaneous Provisions

Art. 29. All members of the Prefectural Council currently serving at the date of signature of this decree shall continue their offices with new responsibilities (in the Council) until the date of election of a new Council. Their term of office will expire after the publication of the result of the election.

Provisionally, Chiefs of boroughs currently in office shall retain their functions until their replacement by others.

Art. 30. All provisions contradictory to this decree are hereby repealed.

Art. 31. All Secretaries of State are charged each as to that which concerns him, with the execution of this decree which shall be published in the Official Journal of the Republic of Viet Nam.

* * *

ANNEX

Decree No. 504 BNV/HC/ND of April 22, 1959, subdividing each prefectoral district into many "phuong" (quarters)

DECREE;

Art. 1. The territory of the eight administrative districts of the Prefecture of Saigon are subdivided into many "phuong" (quarters).

Art. 2. The number of "phuong" and the boundaries of each "phuong" are defined as follows:

- First District
- Second District
- Eighth District

Art. 3. Each "phuong" is placed under the administration of a "phuong truong" (quarter head), appointed by the decree of the Prefect, upon recommendations of the District Chief.

Art. 4. The "Phuong truong" should meet all the following requirements:

- minimum age of 30 and not over 60,
- in good health,
- in possession of a primary school certificate,
- good behaviour, and has a clear judicial record,
- residence in the "phuong" concerned at least for two years,
- registered in the tax records, the basic tax amounts, at least VN$100.

In case the candidate for the position of "phuong head" is an ex-civil servant, he is exempted from the tax registration requirement, but should have had covered a minimum of six years' service in the government and was not dismissed on disciplinary grounds.

In special cases, the Prefect may designate a civil servant to assume the responsibilities of "phuong truong".

Art. 5. The quarter head assumes the following responsibilities:

- Acts as liaison officer between the people and the prefecture,
- Relays the instructions received,
- Undertakes the census of population upon instructions of the District Chief,
- Reports on the unusual occurances in the "phuong" which are detremental to public order and security of the "phuong".
- Provides cooperation in any social work, improvement of the people's living standards and youth organization.

Art. 6. The "phuong truong" is directly responsible to and subject to control by the District Chief; relations between the "phuong truong" and other agencies should solely be maintained through the District Chief.

A "phuong truong" may - for health reasons or severe mistakes-be relieved of all duties by a decree of the Prefect, upon recommendations of the District Chief.

Art. 7. In case a "phuong truong" is temporarily incapable of assuming his responsibilities, the Prefect will assign them to the head of a neighboring "phuong" or to an official serving an interim.

Art. 8. The "phuong Truong" are not entitled to the civil servants' statute with the exception of civil servants who are appointed to these positions. Nevertheless, to make up for the expenses in transportation and the maintenance of correspondence, the "phuong truong" will receive a monthly payment, determined by the Prefect.

Moreover, the quarter head will be reimbursed from the prefectural funds for expenditures on stationery which may not exceed a Prefect-determined maximum.

Art. 9. The office of the "phuong truong" is at his private home.

A messenger is placed at the disposal of the quarter head to deliver correspondence and assist the quarter head in his office.

Art. 10. This Decree is to be implemented by the Prefect of Saigon.

C. Currents in Administrative Reform

There are several currents or aspects of administrative reform about which different persons and agencies have offered some valuable observations and suggestions. These are presented in this subsection. In addition, one document concerning budgetary procedures is included as a sequel to the evaluation offered by Mr. Snyder and two short and valuable articles by Vietnamese about local administration - agrovilles and village training programs.

1. Proposed Scheme for Field and Local Administrative Organization, 1956

When MSUG was first established in 1955, one of its major objectives was to advise the Republic on strengthening its system of central-field-local relationships in order to bind more closely the bureaucracy of the central offices in Saigon with the rural areas and their residents.

The elimination of the regional units in 1955, was viewed as one step in this direction since it eliminated one administrative layer between the local and the central units. MSUG also favored certain additional steps both in administrative organization and procedures, the latter particularly in finance. Its "master plan" for future improvements was summarized in a brief memorandum prepared for the President, in August, 1956.

* * *

FIELD ADMINISTRATION IN VIET NAM
August 21, 1956

A Memorandum for the President

Michigan State University Viet Nam
Advisory Group

PREMISES:

1. Viet Nam is a nation. It is not merely an agglomeration of autonomous regions or provinces.
2. The government's program of services for the people needs to reach the people on their farms, in their shops, at their homes.
3. National services should reach the persons who need them. National services should be paid for by persons who can afford to pay taxes.
4. Responsibility for achieving national service programs should be clearly fixed. This responsibility should be matched by commensurate authority. Those vested with responsibility and authority should be rewarded for effective performance and penalized for ineffective performance in getting services to the people.
5. Meeting of the people's needs is a problem of timing as well as of substance.

FINDINGS:

1. The national program of services is not reaching the people as effectively as is desirable.
2. When the regional delegate for the Chief of Province is "king" in his area, national unity may be obstructed. How well or poorly each national program reaches the people varies from province to province. This variation often reflects the fact that Province Chiefs and regional delegues vary in their enthusiasm for particular programs.

3. It is a proved paradox of modern democratic governments that perfectly balanced provincial budgets are likely to mean unbalanced services to the people. If a substantial part of the total services to the people are paid through provincial budgets and if balancing of provincial budgets is insisted upon, Viet Nam will be ignoring the need in every nation for the well-to-do regions, classes and industries to finance governmental services that benefit not only themselves but the regions, classes and industries which need these services but cannot pay their whole cost. All nationally financed and performed services accept subsidy as an inherent element of nationhood.

4. Responsibility is confused. The national ministries are supposedly responsible for achievement of programs, but outside Saigon the lines of authority from ministries are not clear because competing authority has been vested in Province Chiefs. In this confusing situation it is hard to know whom provincial technical personnel should obey, and who should be praised or blamed for successes and failures of programs.

5. New employees are not paid promptly. Proposed expenditures require an excessive number of approvals. Suppliers of goods are not paid promptly. Farmers' requirements are not met in the proper stages of the growing season.

CONCLUSIONS:

A. About field administration:

1. With the abolition of the regions, the 43 provinces should be reduced to about a third as many. This will provide a more manageable span of control for the Presidency, provide larger and more flexible staffs at the provincial level, and enable greater selectivity in

appointment of province chiefs and heads of technical services.

2. The national ministries should be held responsible for effective execution of national programs, assuring that they reach the people.

3. Each national ministry should have full authority over execution of its program.

4. The provincial chief should not be interposed in the line of authority between the national ministry and its agents in the province. Instead, he should seek to promote cooperation and coordination among the technical services, should be the "eyes and ears" of the President with respect to the effectiveness of the programs in his area, and should be a critical commentator on budget estimates proposed by the technical services.

5. Ministries should delegate more authority to their field agents and should place a larger proportion of their employees in the field. Administrative decisions would then be made closer to the people served. Action would also be speedier.

B. About budgetary and financial administration: All authrity supporting phases of administration, such as budget preparation, budget execution, purchasing, appointment of personnel, and promotion and removal of personnel, should be designed to support the authority and responsibility of national ministries for national programs.

To illustrate, the implications for budgetary and financial administration are as follows:

1. The actual budgets should be for two levels, one for the nation and one for the village.

2. The national budget should contain a chapter for each ministry.

This chapter should cover all costs of carrying out the ministry's program both in Saigon and in the field.

3. All receipts, other than those for villages, should be paid into the national treasury, and should be disbursed in accordance with the approved budgets for the ministries.

4. The Presidency (or the Department of the Interior) would include in its budget an amount sufficient to pay

   (a) the salaries and expenses of Province Chiefs and their immediate offices, and

   (b) the costs of such common housekeeping services as are maintained at this provincial level (office space and maintenance, motor pool, typing pool, etc.)

5. Budget preparation should be fundamentally a responsibility of the ministries and their field agents. However, the Province Chief and the province council should have the opportunity to examine and comment on (but not to alter) the estimates prepared by each technical service of the area. The comments of the chief and of the council would be forwarded to the national ministries and to the Budget Directorate of the Presidency for their consideration when preparing and reviewing ministry estimates.

6. Budget execution should be fundamentally a responsibility of the ministries and their field agents. This means that the ministries would decide on the wisdom and desirability of making individual expenditures that fall within the amounts of the approved budget and within the allotments made by the Budget Directorate.

* * *

2. The Problem of Central-Provincial-Local Budgetary Relationships

At the heart of central-provincial-local relationships is the question of the plan for financial affairs. Which levels should have the power to levy and collect taxes? Which levels should have the privileges and duties of a separate and distinct budget, a status that carries with it the spirit of a self-governing unit, at least to some extent.

Shown in the preceding "memorandum to the President" is a radical scheme for financial administration -- radical if that the provincial budgets were to be entirely eliminated, leaving only those of the national and village administrations. Each separate ministry was to determine its complete plan for its functions rather than sharing to some degree with the provincial chiefs -- the road network, for example, would be entirely nationalized except for village side roads; no provincial roads would exist.

As shown in the following evaluation report prepared by Mr. Snyder of the MSUG staff, the elimination of the regional units created a confused, unsatisfactory pattern of central-still regional-provincial relationships over financial matters. Mr. Snyder apparently anticipating that more authority would be delegated to the Provincial Chiefs found that instead the ministries in Saigon were holding on to their powers over the purse, thereby forcing field officials to come to Saigon for expenditure approvals, even for periodic payrolls.

The second document, instructions of the central administration to Province Chiefs in 1957, regarding budgetary and fiscal policies, shows that GVN had progressed in its thinking as to the scheme it wanted Provincial

Chiefs to follow. Insofar as the writer knows, these instructions still apply in principle if not in each detail.

Thus, provincial budgets have become an important fixture in the existing administrative system for central-provincial-local relationships. Future reform activities must fully evaluate the results of the provincial budgetary system.

* * *

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PREPARATION AND EXECUTION OF BUDGETS IN VIET NAM

Wayne W. Snyder
Michigan State University
Viet Nam Advisory Team

1. Prior to the publication of my earlier study of the budgetary and financial administration in Viet Nam, which was included as a supplement to the report Recommendations Concerning the Department of Interior, the Regions and Provinces, two very important Presidential decrees were promulgated which have had considerable effect upon the budgetary and financial administration in Viet Nam.

The first decree eliminated the administrative function and responsibility of the regional governments (for SVN, PMS and CVN). This decree transferred to the national departments the complete direction of regional services. The regional governments themselves were transferred to the Presidency. However, personnel in financial services of the regional governments have been transferred to the administrative control of the Department of Finance, employees in political sections have been transferred to the Department of Interior, and the remaining employees transferred to the Presidency.

The second decree eliminated the regional budgets and many of the regional administrative powers over expenditures by the regional and provincial departmental services.

2. I held several interviews with officials in the Department of Finance, the regional government for South Viet Nam and regional departmental services in order to determine the effect the above mentioned decrees

are having at the various levels of administration. In the course of the interviews, two comments seemed of particular interest: one official stated that regional departmental service directors were now coming to Saigon from as far away as Huê to have their Secretaries authorize payments in their areas; another official said that under the previous system as a regional departmental director he spent less than 30 minutes daily signing payment vouchers and the supporting documents, he presently spends four hours a day signing these papers. The reasons for and the details of these new developments will be explained in section 7 of this paper where the national budget is discussed. We will begin with a consideration of the village budgets under the new decrees and terminate at the national level.

3. Village Budgets - There has been no discernible change. The village budgets continue to be approved by the Province Chief and expenditures approved by him if they exceed a stipulated amount.

4. Municipal Budgets - They are little affected by the new decrees. Previously the municipal budgets of DaNang (Tourane), Dalat and Saigon-Cholon were subsidized by both the national and regional budgets. Henceforth, these budgets will be subsidized only by the national budget. Though in theory the regional administration should have no further administrative authority over the execution of municipal budgets, this is not the case in reality. For the regulation continues to exist requiring that expenditures for projects estimated to exceed VN$60,000 require a call for bids which must be requested of the regional governments by the municipal authorities. Concerning the payment of salaries for regularly engaged personnel, no further attempt was made to determine the exact amount of

authority of the regional government over expenditures, except to verify the statement that hiring must be done through and with the concurrence of the regional administration.

5. Provincial Budgets - There has been little change. The Provincial Chief remains the fiscal manager of the provincial budget, the decree eliminating the regional administration and budget does not greatly affect provincial financial administration. However, in Central Viet Nam only two Provincial Chiefs had budgets to administer during 1955. This year budgets are being prepared by the administrations of all the provinces. Subsidies which were formerly made to the provincial budgets are now, in theory, eliminated. This means that whereas previously a provincial budget might have shown a regional subsidy of X amount and a deficit at the end of the fiscal year of Y amount, from now on it will show no subsidy but the year-end deficit will be X' plus Y' (this does not of course imply a stable amount from year to year). During the budget year 1955, the Civil Guard (Bao-An-Doàn) was carried on provincial budgets and subsidized by the regional budgets which were in turn subsidized by the national budget. In 1956, the Civil Guard is included in the national budget (under the Presidency); however, the newly created Auto-Defense Corps (Tu-Vê Huong -Thôn) is to be provincially supported by the Exceptional Pacification Tax. This tax is estimated to be insufficient, and either a request for a subsidy will have to be made or, more probably, an additional year-end deficit will be incurred to be paid by the National Treasury. The system whereby Province Chiefs must request regional authority to obligate payments for projects exceeding $VN 50,000 is still in practice, as well as the aforementioned

bid regulations. The budget sections of the regional administrations are still receiving drafts of the provincial budgets (after provincial council approval) and are returning the draft budgets with regional recommendations for changes. These changes will be voted by the provincial councils and returned to the regional administration where the regional government délégué will authorize the provincial budgets. Presently 10 provincial budgets in draft form have been received by the provincial budget bureau of the SVN government. None have been approved in final form by the délégué, but some have been returned to the provincial governments for final approval. The chief of this office said he had not received any request from the national Budget Bureau to send the provincial budgets either for prior approval or recording, but this obviously is a responsibility of the Budget Bureau if the elimination of regional fiscal authority is to be carried out as decreed by the national government. We later learned that the Budget Bureau is studying the method by which it will examine provincial budgets and the responsibilities it will assume towards the provincial budgets.

6. Regional Budgets - There had been a complete change. These changes affect the two old parts of the regional administration: the government itself (la délégation du Gouvernement du SVN, PMS et CVN) and the regional departmental services (Public Works, Information, Education, Health, etc.).

As mentioned in the opening paragraph of this paper, parts of the regional government have been incorporated in the national budget chapters for the Presidency, the remainder in the Departments of

Interior and Finance. District Chiefs, for example, formerly were paid from regional funds but are now paid from the Department of Interior's national budget. The delegue no longer has power as fiscal manager (ordonnateur) of his own budget. However, under the new terminology he is designed the delegated fiscal manager (Ordonnateur Delegue) for the expenditures of his own personnel (remembering that a portion of these have been transferred away from his direct control and are now the responsibility of the Department of Finance or Interior).

The regional departmental services now have greater responsibilities in most instances over the expenditure of funds, but these new responsibilities can be more readily explained at the national level.

7. The National Budget. It how has all the funding responsibilities formerly charged to the regional budgets and administration. Previously fiscal managership rested in two persons, the Secretary of State for Finance who was the fiscal manager of the civil budget "A" and the Secretary of State for Defense who was the fiscal manager of the military budget "B." Under the new decree the President of the Republic of Viet Nam is the only fiscal manager. However, under the new terminology he has named all of his Secretaries of State as delegated fiscal managers for expenditures within their various departments. He has also given to them the power to name the regional delegues and the province chiefs as deputy fiscal manager (sous-ordonnateur) to carry out at the regional or provincial level payment procedures for the account of the Secretaries of State. However, in practice, this possibility has been little used to date. Two situations were cited as limiting the decentralizing of spending authority: (1) It has been explained to me that some of the delegues are extremely unhappy with their demotion in rank. Formerly, they had much greater fiscal authority in that they were fiscal managers and actually controlled the regional and sometimes provincial expendi-

tures of all the departments. Under the new regulations, they have power only over their own immediate expenditures. It was further explained that some of the délégués have refused to accept deputization by the Secretaries of State to carry out the latter's regional expenditures. Furthermore, they would frown on their Province Chiefs agreeing to act as deputy fiscal manager for some department, which in theory would put the Province Chiefs on the same fiscal authority level as the délégués themselves, should they accept a similar task. (2) On the part of the Secretaries of State themselves, many apparently were unwilling to delegate any of their newfound authority over real funds. As mentioned above, never before has a Secretary of State had any final say over his departmental expenditures. He could recommend to the Secretary of State for Finance that he would like such and such funds spent on this or that project, but the Secretary of State for Finance could deny the request on policy grounds, not merely on the grounds that such funds were unavailable. Under the new system, all of the Secretaries of State are delegated fiscal managers of their own budgets and within the availability of funds provided for in the national budget may spend as they see fit, after control exercised by the National Obligation Control Office on the correctness of the purchase itself (verification that all supporting documents are properly signed and executed). Though previously, occasionally Province Chiefs received funds advanced by the délégués to cover expenditures within their provinces by provincial departmental services, under the new system few Secretaries of State are willing to continue such delegation of power and are attempting to centralize all expenditures of

funds in their own hands. Specifically, this is the situation to which the regional directors referred in paragraph 2 of this paper. Previously, as liquidator for the regional funds of his department, he would request the délégué to make funds available to the 21 (now 24) Province Chiefs for expenditures in their provinces by the concerned provincial departmental service. Now, the director complained, his secretary had refused to request that either the délégués or the Province Chiefs be named deputy fiscal managers for this provincial expenditures. Where formerly the regional directors were responsible for liquidating expenditures within their immediate organization leaving to the Province Chiefs the liquidation of monthly salaries, now they are obliged to liquidate all payments within their areas. In another office it was explained that this was the reason why regional directors from Huê found it necessary to come to Saigon to have their Secretaries authorize payments within their regions. Previously the government délégué in Huê had paid their service's employees, but now with the authority in the central departments, they felt it necessary to come personally to Saigon to expedite payment.

8. In conclusion, it would seem that though in theory the new regulations do permit a new degree of decentralization, in fact, the majority of cases do not indicate this, but rather the contrary, a higher degree of centralization. In closing, it should be mentioned the Department of Finance had created another office for the Control of Obligated Funds (Control des

Dépenses Engagées) at Ban-mê-thuôt which partially should speed up the payment process in the three provinces of Kontum, Pleiku and Darlac.

* * *

The Directorate-General
of Budget and Foreign Aid,

No.4289 TTP/NS/S2

the Secretary of State at the Presidency
to the Chiefs of Province of VietNam
July 6, 1957

Objective: the carrying out of the provincial budget fiscal year 1957.

By circular No.47 TTP/NS/S2, dated April 25, 1957, the Presidency let it be known that the provinces will no longer depend on the 'resources of the treasury' and that they should do their best to attain self-sufficiency with their own resources and the subsidy from the national budget.

You are therefore asked to pay attention to the carrying out of your budget, fiscal year 1957, and to do all in your power to fully implement the above-mentioned Presidential circular.

The first part of the subsidy from the national budget has been cleared. The second and the third ones remain to be cleared respectively in the first two weeks of July and October, so that the expenditure process in each province may be maintained smoothly and continuously.

As far as your province is concerned, in order to attain self-sufficiency, I think the following measures should be adopted.

I. RECEIPTS.- To my knowledge, the tax assessment in your province has been drawn up very late. This seriously hampers tax collection. I find it necessary therefore to urge the services in

charge of tax assessment to speed up their work and to finish it as quickly as possible. The services in charge of tax collection also are urged to pay attention to the carrying out of the collection so as to ensure its success.

"Actually, in many provinces, mostly those in the south, receipts are far below their estimated or planned levels.

Other provinces, although well known for their wealth, have scored very poor results in the collection of land taxes. The main reason advanced is that landowners had left their land for the Capital, therefore making tax collection more difficult.

This difficulty could be avoided if, on the one hand, you carry out, completely and strictly, Presidential Circular No.11 TTP/TTK dated July 27, 1956, and, on the other hand, if your tax assessment offices, instead of copying from the old assessment book, take care to add the landowners' new addresses to the new list. The Treasury will then send out collection letters accordingly.

It should be noted also that the license tax is one of the easily collected taxes. But in many provinces, up to now, receipts have not yet reached 50 per cent of their estimated level. This state of affairs clearly demonstrates that the services in charge of tax collection do not work hard enough.

As far as the non-collected taxes of the past years are concerned, they must also be recalled and collected.

"In the provinces of South Viet Nam, the special tax called the pacification tax, which has been levied on the provincial border - the crossing of products or goods, constitutes the most important

resource. If a tight control is to be set up so as to deter taxpayers from avoiding taxes, I firmly believe that the receipts will be considerably increased.

Besides the existing systems of control, I would suggest a few other measures which could easily be carried out:

- permanent change of personnel in charge of control in the different control stations scattered along the borders of the province.
- the setting up of mobile units of control aiming at controlling vehicles and boats at points far from the control stations.
- regular checks on collectors' papers and files.

"By the way, I would like to call to your attention Circular No.25 NTC/TNS dated April 19, 1956, from the Delagate of the Government for South Viet-Nam, specifying that all the receipts from this special pacification tax must go to the provincial budget. Villages are not entitled to collect this tax any more, nor are they entitled to a small part of it, as previously stated.

Finally, the villages should be urged to turn in the receipts resulting from the collection of this pacification tax, as earmarked in the provincial budget, fiscal year 1957 (Chapter IV, Receipts).

To conclude, all available means must be used in the drawing up of assessments, in the collection of taxes, chiefly the land and license taxes, and in the control on the collection of indirect taxes.

II. EXPENDITURES.- In all cases, the policy of limiting expenditures must be considered as a guiding principle and closely pursued. The fact that the expenditures have been approved and earmarked in the budget does not necessarily mean that they must be spent. On the contrary, they ought to be examined carefully, and the collection capacity taken into account.

1. Personnel: According to Presidential instructions, new recruitments are not allowed from now on. A census of the personnel working in the different offices of the province should be taken, and their assignments readjusted, so that their abilities may be fully exploited. Should any of them be considered as unnecessary, they must be returned to the Directorate-General of Public Functions (Secretariat of State for Interior) and assigned to other places. The newly created provinces certainly have more office messengers, wage earners and workmen then they really need. You are therefore asked to retain only necessary personnel, for the sake of lowering the expenditures of the provincial budget. Actually, in provinces of South Viet Nam, expenditures on personnel are as much as 80 per cent of the total expenditures supported by the provincial budget. This excessively high percentage should be gradually reduced, and the money thus saved employed in rehabilitation and construction works that most provinces badly need at this time.

In imperative cases, when new recruitments are indispensable, those recruitments must be approved by the Directorate General of Budget and Foreign Aid, and agreed upon by the Directorate General of Public Function before the hired persons can be sworn in.

All recruitments of personnel on a contract basis, and with communal funds, for assignments in the Chief-of-Province's or the Chief-of-District's office must be stopped at once.

2. Material: Expenditures on material should be reduced to the minimum. Unnecessary or lavish expenditures must be cancelled. The use of government-owned cars should be closely watched so as to prevent abuses and improper uses from occurring. The newly created provinces perhaps have more cars than they really need. A census of cars should be taken therefore, and the necessary vehicles kept while the unnecessary ones should be handled over to the Secretariat of State for Interior for distribution to provinces in need of vehicles. Regarding vehicles which can no longer be used, they should be sold by auction.

In the fields of rehabilitation and construction, only works which be considered useful to the people both economically and socially will be taken into consideration.

Because the government is not in a position to provide the provinces with extra subsidies which are not included in the national budget, you are advised to devote the

subsidies from the central government first to the payment of salaries, then to expenditures on rehabilitation and construction.

III. CONTROL AND CARRYING OUT OF THE BUDGET.- The Presidency has been making a study on the possibility of setting up in the provinces a system of control such as the Service of Control of Engaged Expenditures now existing in Saigon.

There is a good chance that in the very near future, the Directorate General of Budget and Foreign Aid will set up provincial bureaus of control in South Viet Nam such as in Central Viet Nam, with the ultimate aim of helping your province to carry out quickly the projects already approved by the Foreign Aid or the National Budget Office.

Meanwhile, in order to attain more efficiency in the control of the provincial budget, you are asked to make a monthly report listing warrants already cleared, enclosing copies of justification papers such as payrolls, bills, etc., to the Directorate General of Budget and Foreign Aid.

Following is a draft of the aforesaid list:

Warrants		Creditors	Nature of expenditures	Amount of money	Notices
No.	Dates				

Besides this list, please continue to send the receipt-expenditure balance sheets, chiefly the temporary figures on receipts and expenditures of both province and villages, for the first five days of the month (refer to my letter No.77 TTP/NS/VP dated June 15, 1957).

IV. REGULARIZATION OF ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES IN NEWLY CREATED PROVINCES. As far as newly created provinces are conerned, you are asked to see to the regularization of their accounting procedures.

Before being created, the former provinces had issued warrants authorizing either payment or receipt of money. These warrants can be considered as payment orders (ordre de paiement) or temporary receipt bulletins (bulletin provisoire de versement). The Chiefs of these provinces are urged to get in touch with the provincial branch of the Treasury in order to regularize the situation.

V. GENERALITIES ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1958.- Finally, you are asked to start establishing your provincial budget for the fiscal year 1958. From this year on, all provincial as well as prefectural budgets must be approved and promulgated prior to January 1, 1958.

It would be better for you to gather all the materials necessary to the setting up of a realistic and detailed budget as soon as possible.

In the 1958 Budget, expenditures on personnel and material must be clearly explained and real figures given. Here are a few examples:

- on teaching personnel: figures on schools, classes, faculty members, students, should be given.

- on office stationery: figures on paper, pens, pencils, etc., should be given.
- on boarding hospitals: figures on each class of patients and corresponding prices of food required for their feeding should be given.

Reports on achievements during the past three years, as well as plans for 1958 from the heads of provincial services (education, health, public works, police, civil guard etc.), should be added to the different chapters of the budget, as further explanations of your proposals.

To sum up, the budget for the next fiscal year must be a realistic and detailed one, set up according to the real needs of the province - a program you can rely on for conducting your administration.

If necessary, complementary instructions will be given later.

Signed: Nguyen-Huu-Châu."

* * *

3. The Thua-Thien Province Experiment with Village Consultative Councils

An observer of local administration told the writer some time ago that the Central Lowlands were known for their interest in experimenting with possible improvements in local administration, partly because of the impact of changes made by the Viet Minh and partly because of the more pressing economic necessities for better administration.

In a visit to Thua Thien province in May, 1959, the writer obtained the following copy of a statement describing the village consultative councils which, he was told by a provincial representative,

was an attempt of the Province Chief to relate administration more closely to the people. Although the writer had no opportunity to evaluate the effect of this change, it was indicated to him that this was an improvement meriting consideration for other provinces. (Field research in 1961 conducted in Quang Nam by other members of the MSUG staff showed that the plan had been installed there.)

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ORGANIZATION OF THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL IN THUA THIEN PROVINCE

I. SIGNIFICANCE AND PURPOSE OF FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE LEVEL CONSULATIVE COUNCIL.-

"A village-level consulative council was established in the province of Thua Thien on a temporary basis to assist the village councils in the fulfilment of their duties, pending the enactment of a decree which will determine the village administrative and financial organization (as provided for by Article 12 of Ordinance 57-a, dated October 24, 1956).

II. COMPOSITION OF THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL AND BASIS OF SELECTION.-

"The selection of the consultative council should be aimed at the notables, learned men, family heads, family representatives and retired mandarins of good will and devotion who took the Nationalist stand and are influential and attained strong background among the people. The composition of the consultative council in each village is not definite and depends on the density of population, on the importance of each village, and on the number of those who meet the requirements for admission to the consultative council.

"In selecting the consultative council, the District Chief -- in primary relationship to agencies of all corresponding levels -- establishes a list of those members of the consultative council who meet the standard requirements for admission to the villages' consultative councils.

"The District Chief will then organize meetings in each village

and thôn with wide-scale attendance by the people who will receive explanations on the formation of consultative councils.

"The District Chief will take the third step in granting the people the right to select or elect under his guidance. The report on the meeting and the list of elected members of the consultative council will be submitted to the province for ratification. The important point resides in the district's close consideration of the composition of the consultative council, in order to exclude those vicious elements which deliberately sought to infiltrate into the council to carry out sabotage.

"Furthermore, the District Chief should also ensure that each thôn has at least one member on the consultative council so that the voice of the representative of the inhabitants of the thôn will be heard in the village as well as in the thôn itself.

III. AUTHORITY AND DUTIES.-

"A. The main duties of the consultative council are:

"1) To play the intermediary role between the village authorities and the people. To put it concretely, the consultative council represents the people by submitting their just aspirations to the authorities for consideration, and conversely the council also publishes throughout the village the government's recommendations to be popularized and assists in mobilizing the attainment of the government's recommendations.

"2) To advise the village council in all rural reconstruction programs and improvement of rural customs.

"3) To advise the village council in preparing the budget.

- Vote on the village budget
- Follow up and control the implementation of the village budget.

"B. AUTHORITY:

"The majority of the consultative council members who undertake the responsibility of representing the people seldom request any material interests, but instead want to ensure that they are supported morally and their prestige preserved.

"C. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VILLAGE COUNCIL AND THE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL:

"The consultative council is an independent body, not dependent on the village council, in terms of selection and activities as well. However, for the sake of common interests and aiming at the same end of serving the interests of the nation and the people, the village and consultative councils should display unity of will and action, and mutual assistance in the fulfillment of their duties.

"If ever disagreement is unavoidable, both sides enjoy the right to communicate their views to higher authorities for a solution.

"CONCLUSION: The consultative councils were established by the province of Thua Thien itself, aiming at assisting the village council in the fulfilment of its duties and the gradual democratization of the fundamental level. Hence it is thus far

not feasible to set a formal and detailed statute. Nevertheless, two years of experience have shown that where the consultative council fulfils its duties, the situation has proved to be satisfactory, to a certain extent."

* ** *

4. The Agroville Experiment

One of the major attempts to alter the social structure of rural society was centered in the establishment of agrovilles -- that is, new settlements for rural residents living in a more dispersed pattern. Motivated by both economic and political concerns, plans were established presumably for the eventual re-establishment into agrovilles of a large proportion of the rural population. For some areas, modifications were envisioned such as "row" villages along major highways.

Altogether about 20 agrovilles have been completed; whether the program will be continued is not known. From the administrative viewpoint, the establishment of the agrovilles provides an excellent opportunity for improving procedural as well as organizational aspects of communal government.

The following article serves well as an explanation of the announced intent of the agroville program. It closely follows governmental publications regarding this scheme for rural development.

* * *

(Source: Administrative Research, October, 1959, Translated by MSU Pool of Translators)

DENSE AND PROSPEROUS AREAS

by Quach Tong Duc

"Quite the reverse of conditions in North Viet Nam where the inhabitants live crowded together in villages behind the green bamboo hedge, is the situation in South Viet Nam where the land is extensive and thinly populated and the people are scattered throughout the country.

"In fact, rich villages are not rare in the south. On the road from Saigon to the six provinces or from the latter to the districts and villages, one can not miss seeing crowded hamlets, prosperous markets and streets. But if the tourist leaves the highway and goes forth into immense fields or in the borders of bushy and quiet forests, he will see in these remote areas many straw huts belonging to agricultural families who live scattered in a lonely state.

"The tourist may have already asked himself: Why do people live in such a state without attempting to get together to enjoy a more comfortable life?

"The above question suggests the problem of assembling people and putting land to use as well as that of establishing dense and prosperous areas. This is being realized by the authorities within the framework of the improvement of living standards and the social common progress.

I. REASON FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF DENSE AND PROSPEROUS AREAS.

"1. The non-progressive life of the cultivator.

"The cultivator adjusts himself to an isolated life among immense rice-fields or in maquis areas because he wants to live close to his field in order to take care of it easily. He also gets used to his low-roofed straw hut, his muddy hands and feet, and a very hard life.

"Although they have to work hard and in lonely places, the South Viet Nam farmers seldom find themselves in a critical state on account of the extensive land, a regular climate and rivers providing water resources.

"Cultivators are content with their life which is not a miserable one but which could be improved. They live in the narrow framework of a countryside environment to which they cannot bring any change by their own means. The annual yield goes for a large part to the landowner or to the moneylender; the remainder can only help them meet the strict needs of their families. If they do not live in an economical way or if they become ill they are obliged to borrow money or paddy and this with interest. Their lives seem to have no prospects for the future. As to landowners, they get richer and richer and are not interested in the improvement of cultivators' life as well as of agriculture itself.

"Besides, isolated initiatives or goodwill, even if they exist, do not bring any considerable results on the common standpoint.

"In remote areas, the cultivator pays only full heed to his plot of ground, he knows only the landowner and is indifferent to village affairs. Village officials, too, very seldom come to see and take care of him.

"Living far from the village, the hospital and the school, the cultivator's family suffers from lack of medicines and medical care. The cultivator's children usually are illiterate. Even if they attend school, this is for only two and three years during which they are taught reading and writing and then they have to stay home to help their parents in the fields.

"In short, the cultivator's family lives in a primitive, unorganized way, lacking the commonest sanitary conditions and enjoying no advantage of progress.

"This is their way of life in peacetime. During war and trouble and now, farmers writhe with anxiety, threatened by the pressure and menace of the rebels. They are compelled to feed and to supply them and are at the mercy of their plunder.

"2. <u>The construction of dense and prosperous areas is a project lying within the social common progress</u>.

"Living alone and scattered throughout remote and dangerous areas, the farmers should be placed immediately within the scope of governmental works.

"It is with the aim of helping the above farmers to escape such a hard life that includes no hope of progress, no security that the government has worked out a project tending to establish dense and prosperous areas in the provinces of South Viet Nam.

"It is a matter of fact that the farmer's life can only become orderly, systematically organized and progress rapidly if all farmers gather together.

"Based on the principle of a social common progress, the Republic of Viet Nam is oriented towards the country people to rebuild social conditions in the country and at the same time develop the agricultural economy of our country.

"The land reform has brought to cultivators an adequate status and helped a number of them have some private foundation that is likely to be the starting point of some further undertaking.

"At present, the number of tenant farmers having signed a contract is 800,000 and those who have been awarded evicted land are approximately 115,000.(1)

"The resettlement project, which aims at clearing overpopulated areas where there are many people and little land and reclaiming uncultivated districts, has achieved concrete results. So far, resettled people in various centers are about 130,000.(2)

"In the agricultural credit field, the National Agricultural Credit Office has scored steady success; while under French

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(1) Department of Land Registration and Agrarian Reform's report of September 11, 1959.

(2) According to the report of the Commissariat General for Land Development during the Nationwide Resettlement Congress held on September 30, 1959, 84 resettlement centers have been set up so far numbering 128,374 people and 48,336 hectares of cleared land.

domination such agencies as S.I.C.A.M. and O.C.P. did not reap any results that are worth mentioning. Instead of adopting the usual process which consists of lending money against securities or property, the National Agricultural Credit Office dared provide poor cultivators with funds, trusting only their faithfulness. The number of farmers eligible to borrow from the National Agricultural Credit is 500,000. They cultivate about one million hectares of land making during the past few years a benefit of 400 thousand piasters which they did not have to hand back to the lenders if they had to borrow.(1)

"Within the framework of agricultural development, the cooperative and agriculturist association movement has received a strong impetus and brings to farmers conditions suitable to the development of their profession.

"However, the government work program aims at a deeper action in the country to bring a brighter life to farmers who still live in remote areas.

"Dense and prosperous areas will better the countrymen's life from the social standpoint, bring them security, guarantee their freedom and property and will be economic units playing in the future an important part in the national economic development.(2)

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(1) Report of the Commissariat General for Cooperatives and Agricultural Credit of September 7, 1959.

(2) The President's appeal on July 7, 1959.

"II. PROJECT CONCERNING DENSE AND PROSPEROUS AREAS.

"We must discriminate between the delimitation process and the establishment of the above areas. The delimitation process is to be realized in a restricted sphere, whereas the establishment of dense and prosperous areas has a large scope extending over the village framework.

"In the western provinces such as Phong Dinh, Kien Hoa, An Xuyen, Ba Xuyen, Kien Giang, the local authorities are planning to put into effect the project concerning construction of dense and prosperous areas. At the start, a few zones will be established as pilot centers within each province. The work may be divided into three steps:

1. Geographical point survey.
2. Drawing up the building plan.
3. Construction and resettlement.

"1. <u>The choice of location for dense and prosperous area</u>.

"The construction of a dense and prosperous area involves a lasting and large-scale character, therefore the works that are to be put into realization should follow a program which must be carefully studied and keeps close to all various aspects: population, beautification, building, agriculture, land, water and air communication, security...

"First of all, great care should be taken as to the choice of location which must meet all conditions required by further developments:

"a) The location must stand right on or close to a communication axle including roads or rivers or an airport which already exists or which is to be built. Lack of bridges will call for the construction of ones to provide easier and more convenient transportation from the chief-town or the district-seat to the area. Communal roads, little, narrow, caved-in, neglected ways of communication, will be mended, repaired, enlarged because they are necessary to the life of the center.

"Maybe the spot has been selected because of other conveniences and does not lie near the lines of communication; in such a case, a new system of ways will complete the existing ones.

"b) The location should not lie far from the ricefields where the farmers are working so that they can reach them early in the morning and return in the evening.

"However, if they have to cover a distance of more than four or five kilometers, they could be granted another plot of land to cultivate.

"Nevertheless, in such a removal, the government will pay heed not to provoke too much expense or too great a sacrifice from the farmers; even if the expenses and sacrifices are only temporary and will bring multifold profit.

"c) The land should be of a good quality, large in size, easy to cultivate because there is still the problem of

distribution to farmers and their families coming from far-off. They should be able to go and work on the fields without any difficulty.

"d) The location should be suitable to the maintenance of security for the whole center as well as the neighbouring area.

"For these reasons, the foregoing survey needs the participation of numerous central and local agencies. In the case of the above-mentioned provinces, the selection of the center has been performed successively by numerous missions in charge and appointed by the central government including the Director General of Reconstruction, technicians, architects, officers who joined local authorities (the government representative, the military region representative, the Province-Chief, the District-Chief, the representative of the local public works agency) and came to the very spot for discussing and making proposals to the government.

"2. Drawing up the building plan.

"The location once selected, the provincial cadastral service will make a survey and a plan which the Directorate of Reconstruction will use to base the building plan.

"All works relating to the construction of the center will be done in accordance with the building plan of the General Directorate of Reconstruction.

"As the dense and prosperous area operates on a large scale, a number of at least 200 families is required for the construction

of such a one.

"On the General Directorate project of servitude and allotment, it is planned that there will be a canal surrounding the center and many small canals which will be used as separations between the lots. The earth removed from the digging of canals will be utilized for building the roads; there will be a large main road and others.

"The whole area is divided into many sub-areas:

- an administrative section
- a shopping and industrial section
- a residential section with gardens and farms.

"a) In the administrative section will stand the village public buildings and the premises of technical services:

- Post Office.
- Information service.
- Agricultural service.
- Police.
- School and sportsground.
- Dispensary.
- Maternity hospital.

"b) In the shopping and industrial section, around the market, there a place will be reservedto build shopping streets and large grounds for manufactures, and industrial workshops to be set up in the future.

"c) The garden and farm section is in fact the residential one where the farmers' families will be concentrated.

"Each family will be granted a plot which can cover 60 meters x 80 meters (4,800 square meters) or more or less according to each region. The farmers will dig ponds to breed fish and use the earth removed to make the floor. They will have sufficient land to grow vegetables, fruit trees, breed fowl, cattle etc... and go on cultivating the field they are working on.

"The problem of drinkable water which is a very important one for the western regions will be carefully examined; public water tanks, Layne wells or ponds may be installed in such a way that the inhabitants would have sufficient water to drink in the dry months, and if possible, to water their gardens and cattle.

"In case that the selected location falls on an existing village or hamlet, houses built for farmers will be gathered together and added to old hamlets. Additional roads will be constructed, as will cannals and bridges to develop communication. Existing public buildings such as the village office, the school, the maternity hospital will be repaired or enlarged and non-existing buildings such as the offices of various services: information, Post Office, agricultural service, etc... will be constructed.

"The above-mentioned works must follow the building plan of the General Directorate of Reconstruction.

"In short, old and small villages will be enlarged to become a dense area prospering in accordance with a carefully studied project.

"3. The realization of the dense and prosperous area - the means.

"a) Procedure and expenditures.

"Major works such are canal digging, road building, the construction of foundations in the administrative and public sectors will be carried out according to the community development process: the local authorities will take charge of the supervision and will be entrusted with the technical aspect of the problem; the local population will contribute with their work. The government will give an aid amounting to not less than a million piasters to each area for the purchase of necessary tools as well as for scheduled expenditures relating to rewards to our countrymen who have joined their efforts in this undertaking of common interests. Maybe a half of this amount will produce back interest that will serve for the creation of funds for each area to use for the betterment or additional realization of necessary work in the future.

"The building of markets in the commercial and industrial area, of schools, dispensaries, maternity hospitals, village halls, offices of technical services, rainwater tanks, etc... in the administrative area will be entrusted to the local authorities with the cooperation of the technical services concerned. Houses will be built with bricks and tile-roofed. Half of the expenditures which can reach millions will be financed by the government, the other half being given to the province as a long-term loan.

"As to the residential area and that of gardens and farms, farmers will follow the joint families mutual aid way and will together dig fish ponds, the earth removed used for the construction of house foundations. They also will join their efforts to built houses, Local authorities will give some help by supplying and transporting building materials.

"b) Resettlement.

"If the selection of the location requires many technicians and much time, if the building operations and the establishment of the dense and prosperous area causes much expenditure, the problem of resttlement is somewhat delicate in the early stages as the farmer cannot help but regret the less of the cottage where he lived, the fruit trees and the vegetable gardens he has taken care of so long.

"The government understands thoroughly this psychological point and pays full heed to get the settlers prepared in such a way that they are ready to adhere to the program and to participate in the carrying out of the project, With these conditions only, the dense and prosperous area will last and develop in the future.

"Aiming at that goal, several missions have been set up including officials from administrative services, cadres from Civic Action, Information, Youth, farmers' associations, etc... in charge of explaining to farmers and helping them understand the program's utility.

"Provincial authorities also have the initiative in mobilizing the staff and the cadres for helping and taking care of the farmers at the vary start by encouraging, giving presents, making medical visits, giving medicines to their families and more especially by lending a hand in the transfer and the building of new houses.

"Then comes the farmers' work problem which should be resolved in such a way that no impediment would be placed in front of them. So the resettlement phase starts only when farmers have free time after the rice transplantation or the harvest. And those who have to move their houses far from their fields - in case that it is unnecessary to grant them other pieces of ricefield - they should be allowed to set up a temporary hut on the plot of ground to use as shelter during their workday.

"And when the resettlement phase is over, they will obtain aid from all existing means so that they can live in security and lead an active life in the new environment.

III. ADVANTAGES DRIVING FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DENSE AND PROSPEROUS AREAS.

"As stated above, roads, houses, public buildings in dense and prosperous areas must follow the construction plan of the General Directorate of Reconstruction.

"The whole area will be a modern countrytown equipped with electricity, drinking water, well-aligned and beautifully built houses and streets.

"In the residential sector standard houses will be aerated and meet sanitary requirements. Around each house there will be a pond, a garden and room for breeding domestic animals which will bring extra profits to the family.

"In case of illness or maternity, the farmer's family will not have to pay expensive transportation to the hospital.

"The farmer's children will attend the local school; popular education classes and anti-illiteracy classes will help farmers rise from ignorance.

"The information hall and the reading hall will help farmers watch the course of domestic and foreign events and develop their understanding to keep pace with the common progress.

"Living together, the farmers will organize mutual assistance, share standing guard in order to safeguard their own properties and contribute to the area's security. They will be free fron the rebels' plundering.

"The farmers may set up cooperatives so as to avoid heavy interest loans and middlemen to buy cheaply necessary supplies and to sell their own products at an advantageous price. They may join village farmers' associations. These are established according to a wide system covering the central to the local level and will help and guide farmers in every aspect of their professional activities (land and cultivation improvement processes, loans of money, agricultural product manufacturing, cultivation of profitable agricultural species, search of consumption markets, etc.)

"In short, the farmers' life will be organized in such a way to bring them an easy, comfortable life which is to get better and better.

CONCLUSIONS

"The dense and prosperous area is a little town provided with modern conveniences.

"To establish dense and prosperous areas is to construct additional understructure, to set up additional foundations to the National Reconstruction on social, economic and security standpoints as well as on territory change.

"Projects leading to the realization of dense and prosperous areas should use considerable financial means as well as manpower. The expenditures required for each area will not be under three or five million piasters without taking into account the construction of bridges on the main roads leading to the spot, etc., and especially the precious cooperation of the local population in works achieved in the social common progress pattern.

"However, on account of the above-mentioned advantages for rural people, the government has put forth this important project which has already made a bold start on the way to realization.

"It is because of the very useful character of the project and the satisfactory results reaped in resettlement operations due to the understanding of the rural people as well as the serving spirit of staff members at all levels that we may suppose the establishment of dense and prosperous areas will be a success.

"Later, when countryfolk realize the pilot centers' life, they will enthusiastically answer the movement and just like a fire which has been lighted, other areas will be set up in all provinces, from west to east and bring a new change to the whole look of the South Viet Nam countryside.

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5. The Refugee Villages

As the following report prepared by MSUG in 1955 tangentally suggests, the administration of refugee villages in which Catholic priests have had an important role might provide some ideas about ways for improving local administrative organization in other villages--perhaps, some type of an outside leader is needed to assist the villagers in focusing effectively on their problems and defining these in terms of "projects," a convenient administrative device.

To be sure the Catholic priests had a unique advantage in their primary role as spiritual leaders. Yet, their "working relationships" with village councils and the village public might provide many valuable suggestions applicable elsewhere.

As background of the following excerpt it should be said that MSUG had the opportunity to work directly--not as advisors--with the administration of the refugee program when it was in its early stages. In recent times (1960), two members of the MSUG staff made a short survey of refugee villages near Saigon; their findings will undoubtedly be of value to further thinking about the refugee program and its impact on local administration.

* * *

RESEARCH FINDINGS*

"Since the major results of the research have already been passed on to the Commissioner-General in the form of a series of recommendations, this report will include only some of the factual material uncovered through interviewing. Most of the general background information collected would be of little interest in this report because it is so well known to people involved in refugee affairs in Viet Nam. Indeed, our contributions in that regard would be small compared to the general information collected over the months by USOM and other American personnel who have dealt with refugee problems since they began. Perhaps the findings of our survey, however, might be some contribution to the general fund of knowledge. Of course, both general information and specific findings contributed to the recommendations of September 20, 1955.

"1. Concentration of the Refugee Problem in Specific Provinces. One of the striking facts of the refugee situation is that out of 39 provinces in Free Viet Nam, the refugee population and problem is concentrated in relatively few. As Commission or USOM statistics readily reveal, only five provinces in the South and one in South Central Viet Nam contain more than 30,000 refugees. These six provinces--Bien Hoa (128,968), Gia Dinh (115,535), Cholon (51,546), My Tho (46,320), Tay Ninh (40,153), and Binh Thuan (37,112)--are concentrated relatively close to Saigon. The only other areas having an appreciable number of refugees are Tourane (22,410), Thu Dau Mot (18,616), Blao (14,176), Ben Tre (13,700), Quang Tri (13,060), and Khanh Hoa (12,083). All other provinces have less than 10,000 and most of them have only a few thousand or less.

*Research Report: Field Study of Refugee Commission, Michigan State Univiversity, Viet Nam Advisory Group, September 1955, 20 pp. (mimeo, unbound).

"It is obvious that the political, military and transportation situation at the time of the arrival of the refugees explains this pattern. However, this difference in concentration affects the administration of refugee affairs in several ways. First of all, the dimensions of the problem in Central Viet Nam and the P.M.S. as compared to the South are considerably different. Quang Tri province in Central Viet Nam appears to be heavily populated with refugees when compared to other provinces in Central Viet Nam, yet its situation does not begin to compare to the province of Bien Hoa or Gia Dinh or the others in the South. It is easy to see that the problems facing the Commission and provincial authorities in the South have been of different dimensions than those in other regions.

"A second effect of this concentration is that because of the totally different dimensions of the problem in one province as compared to another, different types of administrative organizations are called for to meet the emergency. In some provinces there are no refugees at all; in others, the problems appear to be manageable within the framework of existing authorities; while in others, the situation appears to be beyond the capacity of the present organization. Many of the provinces received several times the number of refugees they predicted they could absorb, and in at least one province, Bien Hoa, the total population of the province doubled with the immigration of refugees.

"A third effect is that the crowded refugee situation in one province and an underpopulation in another will call for resettlement of refugee villages from one province to another in some cases. This

means that the Refugee Commission must continue to maintain central coordinating facilities which can manage such transfer projects. Provincial and field administrative organizations are not enough.

"2. General Lack of Project Orientation. Generally speaking we found little evidence that the existing organization in the field was thinking in terms of rehabilitation projects. It is true that in specific villages and provinces some thinking had gone into developing projects, but these were the exception rather than the rule. Furthermore, most of this thinking had not progressed beyond the first stages.

"As an example of the type of project thinking that was occasionally evidenced, in Gia Dinh, where provincial officials were faced with ten times the number of refugees they had asked for, officials described an area of the province that could be developed as an arts and crafts center for making paper, leatherwork, and clothing, and where sugar could be refined. Saigon could be the market for this mammoth project which could accommodate 100,000 refugees. Very little thinking had gone into such question as land acquisition, refugee skills and training, costs of resettlement and retraining, costs of road construction for marketing the products, possible saturation of the market, and other pertinent questions which would have to be thought through before the project could take specific shape. On the other hand, the suggested project in Gia Dinh was promising in that it demonstrated that at least some persons at the province committee level were thinking in terms of projects. This was the exception rather than the rule.

"Within the villages, refugee leaders were very familiar with what they considered the needs of their followers. In fact, there was ample evidence that within individual villages enough thinking had gone into the requirements of rehabilitation of the village to be encouraging for the project approach. That is, with some guidance and assistance in formulating project plans, a large number of the villages visited could be ready with rehabilitation projects in a short time. Of course, such proposals would require careful review, but the beginnings of self-examination and appraisal of needs were clearly in evidence.

"The implications of these facts to the organization and procedures of the Refugee Commission are clear. Attention must be devoted to orienting refugee officials to the project approach; and means must be found to stimulate and assist villagers in formulating their plans. Suggestions to achieve these ends are contained in our report to the Commissioner-General.

"3. Disparities in the Level of Self-Sufficiency. In each province and village questions were asked about the level of self-sufficiency achieved by the refugees. Of course, different people have different ideas about what self-sufficiency consists of, and it was clear as some of the interviews progressed that some officials and leaders were thinking in terms of the level of living in homes in the North. In spite of this, however, it is possible to state a few generalizations which have implications for the field administration of the Refugee Commission.

"Generally speaking, self-sufficiency was approached to a greater extent in Central Viet Nam than in the South. This was particularly true of fishing villages, but it was true of others as well. This is probably a result of the smaller number of refugee villages in the central provinces, but it may be caused by other factors as well. In several instances, we found villages in Central Viet Nam which had a higher level of living than was enjoyed in the North, and yet these were still classified as "refugee" villages. In a few cases, refugees were living better than people in surrounding permanent villages.

"About half of the villages reported less than one-third self-sufficiency, and 12 reported no self-sufficiency. There is some question as to how reliable a finding such as this may be, given a possible desire to distort the picture of 'self-sufficiency' and the varied meaning of this term. However, generally speaking, the lot of the refugee is still a dismal one is most villages, and much work is needed before rehabilitation and resettlement can be said to be complete. Where the problems are still most severe--in the six provinces with large refugee populations-- the situation required emergency action and could not be turned over to existing provincial authorities until a higher level of self-sufficiency had been attained.

"4. Provincial Organization for Refugee Affairs. In every province visited during the study, either the Province Chief or one of his deputies was chairman of a province committee for refugee affairs. Beyond this one point of similarity, the organizations within the various provinces differed considerably. These variations do not seem to run parallel to variations in the types of refugee problems

faced in the province, but seem to depend instead on the views of the Province Chief.

"The usual pattern consists of a committee of from five to fifteen men with jurisdiction over all refugee affairs within the province. Usually one official is charged with the everyday activity concerning refugees, and he was usually present during interviews at provincial headquarters. An office staff assists this official on refugee affairs, and as many as half of the staff is paid for by the Commission in Saigon.

"Perhaps the pattern in some specific provinces (Table I) will illustrate the general organization as well as the points of diversity.

Table I

Provincial Organizations for Refugee Affairs

Province	Size of Refugee Committee	Composition	Functions	Meetings
Gia Dinh	13 + chiefs of technical services	4 district chiefs 4 refugees 4 priests	project and policy decisions	no information
Binh Thuan	6--plan to add 18 refugees	technicians at present	housing and relief problems	no information
Bien Hoa	11	5 priests 5 refugees	all refugee problems	once a month
Quang Tri	17	mostly parish priests	all refugee questions	once a month
Tay Ninh	12	4 refugees, technicians, 2 Cao Dai	Province Chief decides all matters, and committee never meets	
Da Nang (Tourane)	21	technicians some priests	all refugee problems	no regular meetings
Long Xuyen	5	refugees and one priest	distributions	often as necessary
My Tho	9	3 technicians 5 priests	general administration	no information

"5. Village Orgamization. Several observations can be made on refugee village government. First, some very intricate systems of orgamization had been worked out within the village. As Table II indicates some of the villages were divided, subdivided, and arranged in a variety of ways for governmental purposes. The usual pattern consisted of a central committee with jurisdiction over all matters in the village. Committee members were almost always elected. Frequently they had specific operations to perform and occasionally they represented specific districts within the village. In every case administration of village affairs centered in this committee.

"As for leadership within the village, the spiritual leader dominates. In most cases, the priest is not a formal member of the elected committee, however. He serves as advisor in most villages when he is not a member. It is the spiritual leader who serves as the leader in village decision making and problem solving. In almost every case he was the one who dealth with authorities in Saigon or the province on village matters.

"This clearly identified leadership pattern and the nucleus of administrative organization found in the village committee have implications for resettlement. If anything they should in most cases make it easier to develop and carry out rehabilitation projects. Furthermore, the tendency to elect leaders is a good sign for the development of democratic institutions. On the other hand, the heavy reliance on spiritual leadership may too severely restrict the planning of the village. This may be offset by the Commission's interest in developing young lay leaders and occasional evidence that this may be coming about in some small measure.

Table II

Refugee VillageOrganization in 12 Selected Villages

Province in Which Village Is Located	Size and Composition of Village Committee	Functions Performed by Committee	Role of Spiritual Leader	Comments
My Tho	4 provisional members	administration	leader	former comm. members arrested
My Tho	3--1 priest	requests, complaints	no formal position	also 12-man advisory
My Tho	none	general admin.	makes position decisions	no comm. because no money
Bien Hoa	3--1 priest	administration	comm. member	whole village meets
Bien Hoa	5--no priests	execute orders from Saigon	no formal position	- - -
Ben Tre	3--1 priest	administration	comm. president	village divided in sections
Ben Tre	3--1 priest	administration	comm. president	- - -
Tay Ninh	5--2 Cao Dai	administration	Cao Dai priests on comm.	under Cao Dai
Tay Ninh	not clear	administration	Cao Dai leader of comm.	whole village meets
Long Xuyen	3	administration	spiritual advisor	- - -
Long Xuyen	3--1 priest	health, welfare and security	president of comm.	village organized in sections
Gia Dinh	3	administration	advisor	whole village meets
Binh Thuan	3--provisional	administration	"supreme advisor"	expect comm. in 2 months
Dalat (PMS)	8	divide land administration	- - -	Protestant camp
Da Nang	3	administration	supreme councillor	- - -
Quang Nam	3	administration	advisor	- - -
Thua Thien	5	administration	advisor	whole village meets
Thua Thien	3	administration and security	advisor	village organized in sections
Quang Tri	3	administration and resettlement	advisor	- - -
Quang Tri	7	administration	informal advisor	- - -

"One comment based on the impressions of the interviewers is probably in order here. It was generally agreed upon that, while many factors influence the progress demonstrated in individual villages, one factor of great importance was the individual leadership qualities of the spiritual leader of the village. Certainly, such factors as date of arrival, available land, water, fertilizer and animal availability and others play an important role in determiningthe level of self-sufficiency. But it seemed equally clear in some of the villages that the priest with a plan for his village, with a clear idea of what was wanted, with some administrative and political understanding had a distinct advantage in providing for the welfare of his followers.

"6. Availability of Technicians. When the question of technicians was raised, most provincial authorities indicated a general scarcity of technical persons for refugee affairs. Quang Tri, Ben Tre, My Tho, Bien Hoa, Da Nang, and Tay Ninh authorities said they had no technicians for refugee affairs. In no province are there enough technicians to do the job of rehabilitation. Only Gia Dinh indicated that they did not feel a shortage of technicians, because provincial leaders felt they could call on technical persons in Saigon if it became necessary. In Long Xuyen provincial authorities said that provincial services assisted in the refugee program whenever needed. However, because of technician shortages or for other reasons, this was not the pattern described in other areas. In Tay Ninh, for example, provincial authorities said that they could make no provincial technical personnel available because there was so much to do along regular lines.

"This general lack of technical personnel, which was already well-

known to the Commission, may well pose one of the most serious problems in project development and implementation. Our suggestions to the Commissioner-General have taken this fact into account.

"7. Village Communications. While the usual pattern of communication between village and commission flowed through district, province, and Commission Delegue where these units were designated for refugee matters, one very serious deviation was found. As can be discovered by observing visitors to the Commission in Saigon, a constant procession of spiritual leaders makes its way directly to the central office in Saigon. This was readily admitted by all concerned--the village leaders, provincial and other authorities. According to the villagers this was the most effective way to suuport requests. In Saigon, contacts were through religious liaison persons in the Commission or through officials in the Commission.

"This direct contact with Saigon was found to be very common throughout the South, and it was the dominant communication pattern in provinces very close to the city. Since the priests were frequently successful in their direct relationships, provincial authorities were bypassed and administrative problems resulted. In the provinces, it meant ineffective planning, record keeping and controls. In the central office of the Commission, it meant much time consumed in handling individual village problems and requests and less time for important general matters. As was pointed out above, because so many refugee villages are located in the provinces near Saigon, this is a problem of considerable proportions, and it will have to be solved before more efficient administration can be instituted.

"8. Village Needs and Problems. In each village we asked about the problems that would have to be solved before the village could be considered self-sufficient. As was mentioned above, it was encouraging to find that in some villages thinking had progressed to the point where specific plans and projects might be worked out in the near future. In every instance, however, there was at least some consideration of village needs, probably stimulated by their own situation as well as the previous visits of Commission and USOM personnel making somewhat similar inquiries. Table III presents a summary of those needs.

"The subsistence-type requests were found relatively more frequently in the South than in Central Viet Nam, as can be seen in Table III. The

Table III

Refugee Village Needs for Rehabilitation, by Region

	South	Central	P.M.S.	Total
Subsistence-type requests:				
Land	11	2	1	14
Security	5	3	-	8
Raw materials (handicrafts)	5	1	-	6
Food	5	1	1	7
Water	2	1	1	4
Money for housing	2	2	1	5
Services beyond subsistence:				
Money for co-ops	2	2	1	5
Markets	2	-	-	2
Transportation	3	2	1	6
School supplies, etc.	3	10	2	15
Equipment:				
Fishing equipment	1	2	-	3
Farming equipment	5	7	1	13
Medical supplies	4	2	1	7

request for land was one of the most persistent of all, but it was not heard as frequently outside of the South where refugee farmers have frequently had to turn to woodcutting, or other occupations for a meager sub-standard subsistence. Villages in Central Viet Nam, on the other hand, were already thinking of schools and money to pay schoolteachers. This verified our observations based on other data that the South had a longer way to go to achieve self-sufficiency.

"Requests for farming equipment in Central Viet Nam were requests for water buffalo for the most part. Transportation requests were frequently for a means of transporting firewood or other products to market. Of course, the questionnaires themselves detail the general information contained in Table III, and they may be of some use in supplementing the excellent fund of knowledge already collected in the survey by the Resettlement Division and the Field Service (USOM). This earlier survey was more exhaustive on this particular point.

"If any general summary statement of research findings is possible, it is, perhaps, that great diversity prevails throughout the refugee situation. The diversity of problems, organizational structure and procedure, and the level of self-sufficiency attained is a striking fact as one delves into refugee affairs and administration. Much imagination, flexibility and constant reappraisal will be needed to administer successfully an emergency program containing so many variations. We hope that this report, the more detailed data contained in the questionnaires themselves, and the report to the Commissioner-General with suggestions based on this research will be of some assistance in meeting the challenge."

* * *

6. An Evaluation of a Village Council Training Program.

Assuming the existing system of village administration is to continue an important aspect of the system will be a continuing training program for both new and current members of the village councils. Plans for the establishment of a network of provincial training centers are already in the project stage.

The following article describes some of the training programs which have been held and then discusses some of the problems involved in conducting a special training program for new village councillors in the spring of 1960.

It so happened that preparations in Vinh Long province were underway for this program when the field work for the "Vinh Long Studies," described earlier in this section, were underway. One of the reports will discuss the problem of implementing this program in that province, stressing weaknesses in the administrative system, which, it should be noted, were apparently common throughout many provinces as indicated in this following article by Nguyen Trung Truong.

* * *

The Problem of Training Village Councils

by

Nguyen Trung Truong
Bureau Chief - Research Service
Department of the Interior

"The village is the fundamental structure of Viet Nam, and the village council is the key unit of the machinery of government. In order to maintain the stability of the foundation of the administration, it is necessary to have executive personnel at the village level who are capable and fully aware of the existing regulations. The training of village councillors has, therefore, become essential during the period of national reconstruction as well as consolidation of the regime newly-established.

"This problem was dealt with by Mr. Lam Le Trinh, Secretary of State for the Interior, in an article published in the Administrative Studies Review (Hanh-Chanh Khao-Luan - 1958 - Vol. 1). This article is concerned with the progress of the training of village councillors which has been carried out in an attempt to find a new training method for the future.

"I. Why training for the village councils.

"Shortly after the foundation of the Republic, the Secretary of State at the Presidency has, in circular no. 1704-BPTT/VP dated November 5, 1956 addressed to the province chiefs, the following observations: The majority of the village councillors today do not have full understanding of their duties, and the rural administrative mechinery is not therefore operating harmoniously.

"The Secretary of State at the Presidency has, in this effect, issued instructions to the provinces that intensive courses be organized

for training village administrative personnel.

"Thus the primary and main reason for training village councillors was the lack of capability on the part of certain members of the village administrative personnel.

"This situation was attributed, on the one hand, to the fact that the present village council was originated from the former administrative council, the village administrative committee improperly elected or selected, and the excessive importance and complexity of the village council's duties on the other.(1)

"And, in his aforementioned essay, the Secretary of the Interior said: Experiences acquired from their daily work help improve to a certain extent the competence of the village councillors, but did not constitute a reliable and sufficient guarantee.

"The second reason motivating the organization of training for the village councils was the reorganization of village administrative agencies. At the instructions of the central government, the purification and rejuvenation of the village councils has been carried out by the provincial authorities. New councillors had to acquire a fundamental technical knowledge, in order to fulfil their mission.

"Experience has also shown that the village councillors who had received training should, after a trial period through the performance of their duties, attend supplementary training courses with a more comprehensive program (circular 817-BPTT/VP dated April 3, 1959 of the

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(1) See "The Village Administrative Agency" by Nguyen Van Nhan, Administrative Studies Review - 1959 - Vol. 4.

Secretary of State at the Presidency).

"For the above reasons, the government's interest was focused on the training of village councillors to improve their general knowledge, raise their political standards and technical knowledge, as well as the improvement of moral standards and behavior of the members of the executive level in rural communities. Since 1957, courses have been held in the provinces and districts for training village administrative personnel, according to instructions received from the central authorities.

II. Instructions of the central government concerning the training of the village councillors.

"The Secretary of State at the Presidency has, in the above circular no. 1704-BPTT/VP, laid the principles for the organization and the program for training of village councillors:

"A. Organization

"1. Location: at the provincial chief town or district town.

"2. Duration of study: two weeks at the minimum.

"3. Instructing staff: instructors were selected from among public servants working at the provincial administrative headquarters, or district offices, services which are competent and experienced in rural administration.

"4. Trainees: the village councillors will, on an alternative basis, attend the courses, with at least half of the council membership remaining on duty at the village hall, in order to ensure an uninterrupted flow of village work.

"5. Materials (for study): The greater part of these materials are prepared by chiefs of bureaus at the provincial headquarters and provided for the instructors. Materials selected for study should be understandable and realistic.

"6. Certificates: At the close of each course, a certificate is given to each trainee.

"7. Expenditures: The village budget may allow participants living far from the study center daily indemnity for food, determined by the provincial authorities.

"B. Program

"The training program involves, in the main, the technical and political aspects.

"a. The technical aspect.

"1) The functions of the village council:

"1. Police: The police councillor plays the role of an assistant of the public prosecutor. Procedures for investigation, statement of findings, execution of the court's orders. Organization of self-defense militia, interfamily mutual assistance.

"2. Finance: Rural accountancy simplified (the preparation of the budget and the quarterly statement on receipts and expenditures, maintenance of the expenditures diary, the cash journal and the (perforated) receipt book). Taxes, tax collection procedures, villages revenues (public land, fields, fishing, bidded tax collection, etc.)

"3. Civil status: Birth, death, marriage. Civil status penalty. Substitute for birth certificate, marriage certificate, etc... Preparation of certificates of parenthood.

"2) A summary concept of the existing laws and regulations:

- Economy (policy of economic self-sufficiency and increase in production).
- Agrarian reform.
- Agriculture (veterinary, water and forest. etc.)
- Sanitation.
- Education.

"3) Miscellaneous

- Filling, receiving and sending correspondence.
- Statistics simplified.
- Registration of papers relating to real estate in the form of 'actes authentiques'.
- Communication and contact with representatives of the authorities and the people.

"b. Political aspect.

"This part of the program includes:

- The position and policies of the government of the Republic of Viet Nam.
- Achievements gained by the government.
- The sins committed by the communists and the Viet Cong (the Vietnamese communists).
- The duty of standing against communism of every Vietnamese citizen.

"In addition, the Secretary of the Interior had the following recommendations to make (1):

"'... The training program should be realistic, largely concerned with practice, in order that it be fruitful... The police councillor should possess a general knowledge of military command in order to be able to command the village militiamen... The competent authorities should take a particular interest in the political training of the village councillors with an aim to turn them into loyal nationalist cadres, who are firmly anti-communist and attain a thorough understanding of the plans of the central government for the improvement of the people's conditions, community development, agrarian reform, capital investment, etc... which they have the duty of popularizing and executing among the people.

"'In the province, a committee for training village councillors should be set up headed by the Province Chief. This committee is in charge of preparing the program and subjects for study...'

"Circular 817-BPTT/VP had contained the following instructions concerning supplementary training: 'According to the means available in each locality, a mobile training team may be organized to make visits to the villages according to a schedule set by the District Chief for the purpose of providing guidance and assistance to the village councillors in their performance of technical work: rural accountancy, the execution of the village budget, etc...'

"The major part of these instructions have been correctly carried out by the provinces and, in certain localities, the organization of training for village administrative personnel has been very satisfactory.

III. The training of village councillors in provinces.

"A. Organization.

"The provincial administration in many provinces had issued official orders determining elaborate details concerning the organization of training courses, the designation of the board of directors, the board of supervisors, the instructing staff. In case a training center was established under the system of internship, the provincial authorities also appointed a management board and laid down the internal rules which the trainees had to observe during the period of study.

"1. Location: Classes were held, according to local conditions, in the conference hall, the club premises, or in classrooms temporarily made available at schools. Almost all provinces have training courses organized in the provincial chief-town. Training courses were opened in the district town only when the availability of instructors could be ensured by the district or when the provincial authorities wished to achieve financial economy and facilitate the movement of the village councillors.

"2. Duration of training - This is not uniform: Training lasted for three days in this locality and a week in the other. In certain provinces, it lasted for two, and sometimes three weeks. Very few provinces have training courses lasting for up to one month.

"The timetable was prepared very carefully, so that the trainee's study covered the whole program.

"3. Instructors: In conformity with instructions of the central authorities, the chiefs of bureaus at the provincial headquarters together with the service chiefs, made up the composition of the instructing staff -

the deputy chiefs of province and district (district in the provincial chief-town) also participated in the instruction. The district officials seldom took part in the training of village councillors because very few among them were capable of assuming this task.

"4. Trainees: All village councillors were allowed, on an alternative basis, to attend the training courses. Some provinces took the initiatives in holding separate courses for the village chiefs, the finance councillors, police councillors and civil status councillors.

"In certain provinces, training centers were established adopting the internship system in order to provide the participants with opportunities to study and live collectively. Trainees were expected to observe the internal rules and a strict discipline from their coming in and out of the meeting hall, their study, expression of opinions to their hedging, sanitation and common order.

"In provinces where available means were insufficient to meet all needs, participants were expected to secure for themselves food and lodging in residences in the neighborhood of the training center.

"5. Materials for study: In actuality, the instructors prepared the lectures by themselves. These lectures were, in many provinces, mimeographed and distributed to the trainees, and will be bound into pamphlets used as reference materials for the trainees when they returned to the villages.

"6. Graduation examinations and certificates: -

"At the close of a training course, a certificate is given to each trainee if he was graded as successful in the graduation exam. In order to save time, and due to the relatively low level (of knowledge)

"In separate courses arranged by the provincial authorities for village chiefs, finance councillors, police and civil status councillors, the technical part of the program would be set according to the functions of the trainees.

"The timetable usually was 7:30 - 11:30; 14:30 - 17:30 (7 hours daily).

"In certain localities, trainees engaged themselves in physical exercises from 5:30 to 6:00 a.m.

"In provinces where trainees lived collectively during the training period, the time from 19:00 to 21:00 hours was set for homework (if any), discussion or artistic performances.

"IV. Special training courses.

"In addition to the regular training courses for village councillors sponsored by the provinces and districts, special courses have also been organized at the initiative and with the cooperation of central agencies. Among these special courses were: a training course for village chiefs and deputy chiefs sponsored by the Highland Social Action Service, a training course for police councillors at the Rach Dua (Cap St. Jacques) Police and Surete Training Center, a training course for rural cadres recently opened in the provinces and training conducted in the villages with the guidance of Civic Action cadres.

"a. Training course for the chiefs and deputy chiefs of villages of Highlanders.

"In addition to the administrative training classes held in every province in the central Highland, training courses have been organized, since the beginning of 1958, by the Highland Social Action Service for

the purpose of training the chiefs and deputy chiefs of Highlanders' villages in methods of improving living conditions in the hamlets, and in practical work at 15 model villages. A special amount of VN$858,000 was granted by the Highland Social Action Service to finance the program.

"b. Training courses for police councillors at the Rach Dua Center.

"At the proposal of the commanding staffs of the First and Fifth Military Districts, and with the approval of the Interior Department, the Rach Dua Police - Surete Training Center organized two training courses for police councillors from provinces of South Viet Nam:

"From December 10 to December 20, 1959, for the police councillors from provinces of South Viet Nam East.

"From June 17 to June 26, 1959 for police councillors from South Viet Nam West.

"The program included three parts:

"1. The duties of the police councillor:

- Judiciary duties.
- Security duties.

"2. Intelligence.

"3. Psychological warfare.

"In addition to the daytime program, film showings or lecture on political, social affairs, current events, etc... were also organized at the Center.

"The trainees followed the system of internship. Each trainee, prior to entrance, had to pay VN$360 for food and VN$25 for necessary papers to the Center. These expenditures were financed by the villages

concerned.

"c. Training courses for rural cadres.

"Since April, 1960, at the instructions of the Superior and with the (study) materials published by the Interior Department, training courses were held in the provinces for rural cadres.

"This training was held at two levels: one for the village council's employees and the other for the hamlet chiefs.

"These courses were held in the provincial chief-towns.

"The provinces were to finance all expenditures on food for the trainees and the printing of study materials, identification cards, certificates granted to trainees at the close of each training course.

"The training period was fixed at 10 days for village councillors and six days for hamlet chiefs.

"The program covered three main areas: political administrative, military and intelligence.

"During the training period, trainees stayed at the center and received VN$20 each a day for food.

"At the close of a training course, trainees had to undertake an examination in the form of test. Subjects for the exanination were prepared by the Interior Department and sent to the provinces.

"d. Training conducted by the Civic Action cadres.

"At the beginning of 1959, the special commissariat for Civic Action had, with the cooperation of the various departments, trained and assigned to the villages a number of cadres who were charged with organizing on-the-spot training classes for village councillors. This work was undertaken simultaneously with community development, improvement

of the people's living conditions, and rural reconstruction by the Civic Action cadres.

"V. Results from the training of village councillors.

"According to reports from the provinces, the participants had demonstrated their devoted efforts and a spirit of self-improvement.

"They engaged in hot discussion during class sessions and an exchanged experiences of mutual interest.

"The results of the graduation examinations had proved that the trainees' receptive ability was remarkable.

"The number of councillors who failed in the exam was inconsiderable.

"It was also learned from the provinces that after receiving training, the village councillors had showed a steady reorientation in their thinking as well as in their actions. The work performed by these village councillors have been in greater conformity with the laws, enthusiastic and more efficient.

"It was reported by the general directorate of Police and Surete that results of the training courses at the Rach Dua Training Center for village police councillors were very satisfactory, technically as well as spiritually.

"In many localities, the trainees had, at the graduation ceremonies sworn allegience or submitted petitions expressing their loyalty to the Republic, their firm determination to serve the people and eradicate the communist rebels, the ominous enemies of the country.

VI. Difficulties and obstacles encountered in the training of village councillors.

"1. Location: In many places, especially in newly-established

provinces, the major obstacle encountered was the unavailability of premises for the training classes which sometimes were put off until schoolrooms were vacated during summer holidays. This problem can be met in each province--as in Long An province--with the assistance from the National Institute of administration and the foreign aid funds.

"2. Duration of study. Anxious to maintain village work uninterrupted, the province often shortened the training period, sometimes to three days. Such limited time was not sufficient for the trainees to fully grasp all subjects studied. The duration of the training, according to the Secretary of the Interior, should be from one to two months. Supplementary courses were, as a matter of fact, held in addition to the intensive courses, but in order that the village councillors fully understand the regulations related to the performance of their complicated duties, attending two or three courses which lasted for two weeks respectively would not suffice.

"3. The program: It was noted that, by reading lectures given during the training period, the village councillors had studied almost the entire curriculum prescribed for the 'administrative clerks' competitive examination. This, in the limited time allowed,,was too strenuous.

"4. The educational background of the trainees.

"Most of the provinces were concerned with the lack of homogeneity in educational background of the trainees, or their background was too low (the majority having not acquired the primary certificate). Most of the Highland village councillors will not know how to read Vietnamese.

"5. Materials (for study). In some provinces, study materials were not mimeographed for distribution to the trainees since the authorities were concerned with saving public funds. These materials were, in essence, too lengthy and heavily theoretical. Even in provinces where mimeographed materials were available, it was admitted that they will be used by the trainees for later study. It was also argued that if, on the contrary, the study materials were prepared in a summary form, it would be questionable if the trainees could obtain a comprehensive understanding of the subjects which would enable them to perform their work in better conformity with the laws.

"6. Instructors. Most of the instructors fully grasped the subjects related to the field in which they were assigned to teach. But since very few of them had received training in pedagogy, their explanations were lacking in vividness.

"The trainees, especially those who had a low educational level, were unable to memorize to a considerable extent the arid principles after the instructor read through his lecture.

"7. Expenditures. If the village councillors attending training courses were expected to help themselves in finding food and lodging, the indemnities received (for food) were not sufficient to meet all expenditures during their stay in the provincial chief-town; but an increase in this allowance is hardly feasible in the present financial situation of the villages. Many villages did not even have cash on hand to make advance payment to the village councillors attending training courses. The provinces and district in which this situation had to authorize the transfer of funds--in the form of loans--from the

rich to the poor villages, in view of the fact that the use of the mutual assistance fund had encountered much difficulty in formality (procedures), or that the fund was reserved to finance construction and reconstruction projects in the villages.

"8. Results of the training. Little was, in fact, acquired by the village councillors in technical knowledge for the above reasons.

"In addition, as the competent authorities are carrying on the purification of the village councils and under the present rural security situation, a number of councillors who had received training no longer remain in service while the new councillors have not yet received technical training.

VII. Let's try to find a new orientation for training village councillors.

"As mentioned earlier, valuable experiences have been obtained after three years of implementation of the training program.

"Now that the achievements and pitfalls are identified let's try to find a new procedure for the training of village councillors.

"The new procedure should, if it is to be effective, bring a solution to the difficulties and obstacles encountered by the provinces in organizing training courses for village administrative personnel.

"In other words, with the new procedure, the training center should be convenient to the trainees, the duration of training be adequate to enable them to grasp the necessary subjects, the program be adjusted to the general level of understanding of the village councillors, lessons should include both theories and practice, study materials mimeographed and distributed to each trainee, explanations should be clear and

understandable, expenditures be minimized for public funds as well as for the trainees, the results of the training should be concrete and far-reaching.

"In order to achieve this, it is suggested that the training of village councillors be carried out in two periods: study in the village through the first period; workshops and observation in the provinces or districts, the second.

"In the first period, the villages will receive study materials prepared by the central authorities, covering the technical subjects--principles of administration, the judiciary, civil status, financial, economic, social affairs, etc. Included in the lessons will be a guide for study that includes in part practical work and questions to be answered by the trainees in order to make a self-evaluation of the progress of their work. The village councillors will, with the materials available, conduct continuous study in the villages with the stimulation and supervision of the district chiefs and canton chiefs and deputy chief. The civication cadres working in the villages may guide such study meetings, if they had received training in the field concerned. The central authorities will prepare the timetable and determine the maximum duration of the period of study in the village.

"This period will be followed by 'study groups' (Hoc Hoi) and observation. The latter period will not last beyond one week. Participants may, on an alternative basis, attend meetings in the province at which the instructors (who had received training) will check on the progress of their study and give replies to their questions.

"A followup test will be given to the trainees throughout the

province or district immediately after all lessons had been revised.

"Study materials and minutes of the study meetings will be retained in the village offices to serve as basic reference data for new councillors in case replacements are made.

"The factors of success in the training of village councillors with the new procedure would be:

1. Study materials will be carefully prepared, accurate, detailed but understandable.
2. The high learning spirit of the village councillors.
3. The continuous stimulation of the cantonal and district leaders.

Conclusion

"The training of village councillors, although it has been conducted for almost four years, should be carried on since the need for improvement of knowledge remains imperative for any level.

"However, the finding and the effective adoption of the new in the training of village councillors only brings a partial solution to the problem of consolidating the village councils for, as the Secretary of the Interior said[1]:

"'The consolidation of the village councils tends to involve the following problems: the selection and training of village councillors, the means and methods of performing their work.' These four problems

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[1] See "Some remarks on the necessity for the consolidation of village councils" - Administrative Studies Journal, Vol. 1 - 1958.

should be simultaneously solved before a profound consolidation of the foundation of the national administration can be achieved."

Source: Administrative Studies Review, Vol. 8 - 1960, pages 39-46.

* * *

7. The Re-establishment of Provincial Councils

This appears as one of the first steps in local administrative reform to be taken in the near future by the Republic. Anticipating this step, Rector Vu Quoc Thong, National Institute of Administration, prepared the following review of experiences with the provincial councils during earlier periods. The following is an extract from a more extensive article that also included a discussion of the provincial councils in Tonkin, modeled after those in Cochinchina.

* * *

CONCERNING DECENTRALIZATION OF POWER IN PROVINCES

Creation of Provincial Councils under French Domination

by

Prof. VU QUOC THONG

(Source: Administrative Research, National Institute of Administration, Vol. III, No. 10, October 1959, pp. XIII-I.)

"The turnout at the recent election for the second term of the National Assembly of August 30, 1959, has proved the interest of Free South Viet Nam's inhabitants, in urban and rural areas, in national affairs and their firm willingness to use their rights in the government.

"A certain number of people concerned with political events in this country and having recent contacts with this writer have put to themselves such questions as follows:

"'It is now high time for us to think about the creation of provincial councils elected by the people to represent them before the Province Chiefs appointed by the central government. These councils might help the heads of the provincial government to learn the aspirations of the inhabitants living in their province, under their leadership. Moreover, these provincial councils might give provincial councillors a good opportunity to learn and to get experience about problems essential to the life of the country and its inhabitants. By initiatives submitted by provincial councils, the representatives may be more able to play, eventually, at the National Assembly their role as elected assemblymen, if they succeed in gaining later the complete confidence of the people.'

"The above problem is very important and requires an oppropriate solution, as we all know that the Viet Cong always takes advantage of these councils, at whatever level they may be, to militate openly and make propaganda for their godless and unethical communist doctrine.

"It would be preferable to go back to former times and have a look at what proceedings the French had tried while they were ruling our country, and this is an opportunity to find out the importance of the problem. It goes without saying that in the present administrative, social and economic situation of independent Viet Nam, the proceedings used by the former colonial government have no longer any value or reason of being. However, the understanding of these methods may at least help us to get some insights to clarify the problem, especially to determine clearly the importance of representatives of people at the province level and the need of an opportune action.

"In retracing what had been done in former times the only intention of the writer is to try to get a clearer understanding of the present state of things. 'To go over the past again is to learn about the present,' and that is the purpose of this study.

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Section I

A STUDY OF PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

"During the period of their rule over our country, the French had not only retained the decentralization of power in local government, in rural units, the then-called 'autonomous village,' but also had the intention to use this proceeding in administrative units higher than villages, such as provinces, towns, and regions (Ky). The application of this policy was displayed by 'bodies of people' representatives of the provincial level (Provincial Councils), town level (Municipal Councils), and regional level (Colonial Council of Cochinchina and the Council of Representatives in North and Central Viet Nam). We are studying here the organization of People's Representatives Councils at the provincial level only.

"As the organization of these bodies was not based on a statute common to three regions, let us describe them, one by one:

Section I: Provincial Councils in Cochinchina

II: Provincial Councils in Tonkin

III: Provincial Councils in Annam (Central V.N.)

"We should study the regime applied in Cochinchina first because Cochinchina was the first region in which the inhabitants of a province had the right to elect their representatives to seats in the Provincial Councils. Provincial Councils in Cochinchina were not considered as a model for the organization and operation of Provincial Councils in Tonkin and Annam (Central Viet Nam). The Provincial Councils in

Cochinchina, created in 1882, were therefore, in comparison with those of North and Central Viet Nam, characteristic of a people's representative body. Moreover, immediately after the defeat of France in 1940, the policy of decentralization of power in provinces was still in force in Cochinchina.

Section I. Provincial Councils in Cochinchina

"The French had created Provincial Councils in Cochinchina just before 1889. However during this early period, there were only indications of unbound, scattered measures, taken by local leaders, in order to find out (determine) the reaction of the people rather than to establish actually stable bodies in full compliance with the general statute of Provincial Councils for the Southern Region.

"And it was only as late as March 5, 1889, that a Decree issued by the President of the Republic of France shaped regulations for these people's representatives bodies. This was an important text because it had a half-century existence, from 1889 to 1940. During all this period, in spite of many amendments, the 1889 text remained a basic text, a groundwork for further elaboration.

"A brief examination of the evolution of the people's representative provincial bodies in Cochinchina, would lead us to distinguish three periods:

I: Prior to 1889

II: From 1889 to 1940

III: After 1940.

A. Provincial Councils in Cochinchina, prior to 1889

"In an attempt to make an experiment of the policy of decentralization of power at the provincial level, after an occupation of South Viet Nam of almost 20 years, French authorities had signed an Arrete dated May 12, 1882, establishing in each province (then called Arrondissement or District) a District Council (Conseil d'Arrondissement). During this period, the French had adopted the assimilating policy and regarded Cochinchina as a French Department, and consequently each province of the South as an 'Arrondissement'--a borough.

"In the older time, under the Nguyen dynasty, the southern part of Viet Nam was composed of six provinces only, but under the French administration, the number of 'Arrondissements' amounted to 20:

1. Baclieu	11. Mytho
2. Baria	12. Rachgia
3. Bentre	13. Saigon
4. Bienhoa	14. Sadec
5. Cantho	15. Soctrang
6. Chaudoc	16. Tanan
7. Cholon	17. Tayninh
8. Gocong	18. Thudaumot
9. Hatien	19. Travinh
10. Longxuyen	20. Vinhlong

"Each 'arrondissement' comprised, according to its size, a certain number of cantons:

- Arrondissement of Bentre: 21 cantons (the largest)

- Arrondissement of Hatien: 3 cantons (the smallest)
- " Saigon: 17 "
- " Cholon: 13 "
- " Vinhlong: 13 "

There were, by that time, a total of 212 cantons in South Viet Nam.

"In compliance with Arrete of May 12, 1882, issued by the Governor of Cochinchina, each 'arrondissement' had a 'council of arrondissement.' The number of members in the 'council of arrondissement' varied with the number of cantons, as each canton had one representative in the council. The 'arrondissement' of Saigon had 17 councillors, since it comprised 17 cantons.

"All members of the 'council of arrondissement' were elected through the system of limited suffrage, and only village notables had eligibility to vote and to be candidates. The term was three years. The council met once a year, and had only a consultative role consisting of expressing its opinions on questions submitted by its chairman, a French superintendent (inspecteur) of indigenous affairs.

"This experimentation of the policy of power distribution in arrondissements had brought about satisfactory results as inhabitants living in the provinces showed a favorable attitude and participated in large numbers to the experiment. The then-Governor of Cochinchina, Mr. Le Myre de Villers, had stated that the turnout was beyond his expectation. However, since the experiment was only a reforming measure from local authorities, an approbation by the French government in the Metropol was regarded as indispensable.

"Seven years later, as late as 1889, this situation was changed

by a decree issued by the President of the Republic of France, and dated March 3, 1889, and with the promulgation of this text we entered in the new stage of people's representatives bodies at the province level.

B. Provincial Councils in Cochinchina, from 1889 to 1940

"For almost half a century, the decree of March 5, 1889, was the basic text (groundwork) fixing the statute of various representative bodies at the province level in Cochinchina.

"During this rather long period, the statute of Provincial Councils in the southern part had undergone no essential change, only such variations as in the denomination of the councils, in the extension of their composition by an increase in the number of French members, by an enlargement of the electorate... All these reforms had been in force during the years 1929, 1930 and 1931.

a) Organization of the Councils of Arrondissement in compliance with Decree March 5, 1889.

"There were four points to be examined:

"1. Membership and recruitment methods. As in the former statute, each arrondissement (province) had a council composed of a certain number of members. In provinces of five cantons or less (such as Baclieu, Gocong, Rachgia, which had but four cantons, Hatien, which had but three cantons) each canton was given the exceptional right to elect three members, on account of the fairly large numbers of their inhabitants.

"Besides this exceptional right, the arrondissements of more than five cantons and less than 18 cantons had right to elect two members.

"This measure was designed in order to permit each council to

include at least 10 members.

"The term of office was changed from three to four years, and the reelection of one-half of the council took place every two years.

"The recruiting methods was clearly specified: Councillors was to be elected by limited vote since only notables in office were qualified to vote.

"The requirements for candidateship were clearly stated as follows:

- To be of Vietnamese nationality
- To resident in the concerned canton
- To be free from all judicial suits
- To be at least 30 years old, and to be a notable with a minimum seniority of two years.

"Only former notables and notables in office were qualified for a candidateship. Those who failed to get a majority vote at the first ballot would not be elected. The majority vote was 1/4 of the total number of voters. At the second ballot, only a relative majority was necessary, regardless of the number of voters.

"2. Functioning. The chairman of the council was the Arrondissement Chief (Province Chief). The council held two ordinary sessions every year: the first session was in early August, and the second was in February. Each session lasted eight days at the utmost. However the Governor of Cochinchina could convene the council for an extraordinary session. Meetings were valid only when they were attended by more than one-half of the total number of members. Hearings of these meetings were to be written up in two languagos: in Vietnamese and in French;

there were therefore two secretaries, one Vietnamese and one French.

"The Arrondissement Chief had the assignments to execute the decisions made by the council and to fix the agenda of the council.

"3. Power. The council had power to decide questions relating to the budget, to accept or decline donations offered by private persons, to bring a legal action against other people, to be sued. As for other categories of questions, the council had only a consultative role, i.e. that of submitting their opinions, questions of these other categories might include the change in the boundaries of a province, canton or village or the establishment of the tax roll (assessment of tax?).

"The council also had the right to send motions relating to general economic and administrative problems, but not the political ones.

"As a rule, in August the council voted the budget draft for the coming year, decided on the works to be executed, and fixed the amount of subvention to be requested from the Colonial Council and elaborated the projects to be submitted to higher authorities. During the February session the council examined the report on the execution of the budget of the preceding year, and considered all necessary modifications.

"4. Measures of Administrative Guardian (Tutelle administrative). Although the people had right to participate to the council, the French authorities still retained control of this right through administrative guardian measures (mesures de tutelle administrative) as follows:

"a. All decisions made by councils could be executed only after approbation by the Governor of Cochinchina at the consultative

council (of Cochinchina). For example, the budget draft deliberated and voted by the provincial council could be definitive only after approbation by the Governor of Cochinchina.

"b. Full right of the administrative guardian to substitute itself to the council. For example: If the provincial council omitted to inscribe on the budget an expenditure item of a compulsory nature, the Governor had right to rectify the budget by putting this item in the budget himself.

"In brief, Decree of March 5, 1889, had officially given to the inhabitants of arrondissements in Cochinchina of that time the right to appoint their representatives in the council of arrondissement. However, after the suppression of arrondissements and division of Cochinchina into provinces, the statute of 1889 had to be modified to meet the new situation. This was not the only reason for change, because some imperfections were also found after its being put in effect: French residents had no right to elect their representatives in the provincial councils, there were no effective ways to prevent the people condemned by common law to participate in the council.

"The modification of the 1889 text appeared therefore as necessary, although it had to deal with details only.

"b) The post-1889 reforms.

"The statute of the councils of arrondissement in Cochinchina was modified many times, however the most important changes were those put into effect during 1929-1930 and 1931.

"1. The 1929 reform

"This reform had three purposes:

- To complete the Decree of 1889.
- To rectify certain errors altering the character of the council as desired by the authorities.
- To adapt the statute of the council to the new administrative organization.

"We note that the reform had covered such points as follows:

"- Denomination. The denomination of a provincial council replaced that of a arrondissement (district) council. This change was aimed at an adaptation to new administrative organizations, since the territory of Cochinchina was then divided into provinces, not into arrondissements (districts) as before.

"- Eligibility to vote. No change to the electorate, only notables in office had right to vote. However, to avoid a misunderstanding, the 1929 text specified that the notables in office mentioned above were notables of village councils.

"- Eligibility to candidateship. Requirements were more severe than in the previous regulations, as an additional clause required that candidates must have resided in the village for one year or more. Moreover the 1929 text had defined ineligible people as people condemned by common laws for whatever offence it may be (in the previous regulation, only for subversive activities against the protectorate government, as piracy).

"- Procedures. The candidate had to deposit his application 16 days before the election date, at the office of the Province Chief; the application had to be signed by the candidate himself and certified by the council of notables of his village and accompanied by all

justificative documents required (transcript of the judicial record, certificate attesting to being village notable for two years, certificate attesting to be on the personal tax-roll).

"However, the 1929 text had omitted to specify if French residents had the right or not to participate in the provincial council. That's why the 1930 text was issued to bring an amendment to the statute of provincial councils on this particular point.

"- The 1930 reform. The 1889 text had not made provision for the election of French representatives in the provincial councils. This was easily understandable, as French residents were not in great number at that time. However, when Cochinchina was already pacified, the number of French residents had doubled in number. For this reason, French authorities recognized that they had to make arrangements to have representatives of French residents in the councils. Since 1922, the colonial council of Cochinchina had requested unanimously a solution to this problem on the ground of the following reasons:

"- Practical consideration. French representatives were more experienced on political matters and could be helpful to Vietnamese representatives in the council debates.

"- Legal consideration. All taxes levied by the provincial council were intended to be collected from French residents and these taxes could be illegal if they were not approved beforehand by the French residents.

"Although the Governor of Cochinchina had authorized French residents to appoint their representatives in the council, the Governor General of Indochina did not concur to it since this reform was not

opportune for many reasons:

"- The work of the council would become difficult in the presence of French members: the content of all debates should be translated into Vietnamese, a difficult work, even for a talented translator, if the work was to be a perfect one.

"- French residents were not, in fact, in need of representatives in the council, since they could lay their views and opinions directly before the Province Chiefs.

"- The legal reason mentioned above could not be well-founded, because according to a jurisprudent case of the council of State of France, all categories of taxes approved by the provincial council, with or without French members, had a legal character.

"Finally, another realistic reason to the opposition made by the Governor General of Indochina was that the presence of French members would bring disturbance and confusion to the provincial council.

"French members, in spite of all, had always more or less influence over Vietnamese ones, and the latter would feel less independent in their debate and deliberation.

"Because of the opposition by the Governor General, the question was not taken into consideration, although it was mentioned. And they had to wait until 1930 to see the question mentioned again, on the occation of a reform of the provincial council and settled by a decree of the President of Republic of France, dated August 19, 1930. According to this text, there had to be in every provincial council two French members, not elected by French residents, but appointed by the Governor General and chosen among five candidates proposed in a list

established by the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture of Cochinchina.

"The 1930 reform after all, was not as important as that of 1931 which had a somewhat democratic character by an enlargement of the electorate.

"2. The 1931 reform. According to the 1889 text, the electorate comprised only members in office of the village council of notables existing in the province. The number of voters was too small since each council of notables comprised only 11 members at that time. To face the change in the political situation of that time, the French recognized the necessity of widening the electorate. That was why the decree of June 27, 1931, was issued to give the voting right to all those who were capable, on account, either of their social status, or of their services rendered to the Protectorate government.

"According to this new statute, the electorate was largely extended and comprised four categories of voters, as follows:

"1. French subjects of more than 25 years old and having paid personal taxes to the village.

"2. Former notables, having at least a five-year seniority.

"3. Former notables, having a two-year seniority and one of these qualifications: real estate owner, merchant or industrialist paying the license tax of the exceptional class or of the sixth or higher category, holder of a secondary school or junior high school leaving certificate, holder of the Military Cross, or of a military medal.

"4. Civil servants of the upper or middle category, former sergeants of the infantry or navy with more than ten years seniority, holders of a higher education diploma...

"Although it underwent several changes, the decree of March 5, 1889, continued to be in force until the Second World War. During this war, all provincial procinces had to stop their activities and were replaced by consultative commissions (committees?) with a smaller number of members.

"The establishment of consultative commissions (committees?) put and end to the evolution of provincial councils in Cochinchina.

"c) Provincial Councils in Cochinchina after 1940.

"After the proclamation of the decree dated November 8, 1940, by the government of Vichy, a text aiming at suppressing all activities of elected bodies in Indochina, the Governor General of Indochina signed an arrete dated December 27, 1940 postponing all the sessions of provincial counsils and creating the provincial mixed commission (committees?) replacing the provincial councils.

"This was a period of centralization of powers, and the policy of decentralization of power was neglected to the utmost.

"1. Formation of the Provincial Mixed Commission (Committee)*

"The provincial mixed commission had lost the character of the former elected council which represented the people, since its members were in very small numbers and were not elected. In all provinces, the number of members was invariably five (four Vietnamese, one Frenchman) plus five substitute members. However, two titular and two substitute Vietnamese members should be chosen among the members of the provincial council in office at the moment of the creation of the mixed commission (committee?).

*Committee, in the Vietnamese text.

"2. Operation and powers.

"This commission was presided over by the Province Chief. Its power was limited because for all questions which had to be submitted to the provincial council for deliberation and decision, the new commission had only the right to express its opinions. The budget draft was to be made by the Province Chief himself.

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(Section II not translated as it is not pertinent to this study. Author.)

Section III

STATUTE IN FORCE IN ANNAM (CENTRAL V.N.)

"Under the French government, the principle of decentralization of powers in provinces was applied here (Central Viet Nam) by the same institutions as in Cochinchina and in Tonkin. Inhabitants had the right to have representative bodies at the province level. However, these bodies had not a character of full representation, since they were elected through limited suffrage and had a mere consultative power.

"This does not mean that the decentralization of power in Annam did not have special features different from those found in Tonkin and Cochinchina.

"A careful examination of the representative system at the province level in Annam may indicate some differences as follows:

"1. Annam had provincial councils beginning in 1913 after Cochinchina and Tonkin, as Cochinchina had its representative bodies at the province level in 1882, and Tonkin as early as 1886).

"2. Provincial councils in Annam had not a mixed character as there were no French members.

"3. The statute of provincial councils in Annam had not undergone so many amendments as in Cochinchina and in Tonkin, because the authorities of that time had profited from the experiences gained from these two regions and relating to the organization and operation of provincial councils.

"4. Although Annam was not under the statute of a protected territory like that of Tonkin, it had the right to maintain its representative

bodies at the province level until 1940, the year in which all elected councils in Indochina had to postpone their sessions.

"Although the statute of provincial councils in Annam did not undergo many changes, we can distinguish three differend periods:

I. First period: from 1913 to 1930.

"Decree of April 29, 1913, creating in each province in Annam a representative body called provincial council of indigenous (native) notables. The organization was an adaptation from that of provincial councils in Tonkin, with some special features:

"a. Membership and the selecting method: Like the provincial council in Tonkin under the 1913 regime, the provincial council in Annam comprised two categories of members:

- Vietnamese members
- Members from the ethnical minority (Cham, Muong, Cham - Highlanders).

"Their term of office was three years. Members could be reelected for an unlimited number of times. However, there were some differences as compared to the 1913 statute in Tonkin: All Vietnamese members were not elected by the inhabitants, as in Tonkin, because in addition to elected members, there were others appointed by the "Resident Maire," (French Chief of Province) and the Vietnamese mandarins-- Chief of Province—after concurrence with the Resident Superior (French governor) of Annam. (These appointed members had to be chosen among Vietnamese notables, capable, and loyal to the protectorate government, excluding the civil servants in office). The number of members was not to be fixed beforehand, but was determined by the Resident Superior after

consultation with the regency council. However the number of elected members had to be at least one-half of the total number of councillors. The selecting method (procedures) for elected members was similar to the one found in Tonkin: the electorate was a very short list and comprised only two categories of voters: canton chiefs and deputy chiefs in office, and former canton chiefs and deputy chiefs temporarily unattached, but not by disciplinary measures. Unlike in the statute of Tonkin, eligibility to candidateship had a more severe character. For example, to be eligible it was necessary to be a titular (regular) canton chief (while in Tonkin, it was merely necessary to be a resident in the province or a real estate taxpayer).

"The voting procedures were the same as those found in Tonkin: secret vote (by ballot) at the district chief-lieus and a relative majority was sufficient. However, there were some differences: the right to examine complaints belonged to the Resident Maire (French Province Chief) assisted by a Vietnamese mandarin, and the right to review belonged to the Resident Superior after concurrence with the regency council. (In Tonkin, only the Resident Superior had this right).

"b. Functioning: Like in Tonkin, the provincial council in Annam met once a year. However, the Resident Maire (French mayor or Chief of Province) had right to convene extraordinary sessions, after concurrence which the Vietnamese Chief of Province and approbation of the Resident Superior. Each session lasted eight days and the meeting was public (open to all). Unlike Tonkin, the Protectorate treaty was somewhat observed in Annam and the chairmanship was therefore assumed by the Resident Maire assisted by a Vietnamese mandarin as vice-chairman.

(In Tonkin the Resident Maire--French Province Chief--was the only one to preside over the council meetings). The statute of provincial in Annam required a quorum for each session. This quorum is over one-half of the total number of members.

"The compilation of minutes and their submission to the administrative guardian (tutelle administrative) were different from those found in Tonkin. In Annam, the Chinese characters were used, the minutes were written up in three languages: Vietnamese, French, and Chinese. The minutes were to be sent not only to the Resident Superior but also to the regency council.

"c. Power. As in Tonkin under the regime of 1913, this council had only a consultative role and had only the right to send motions related to economic and administrative questions. Below are the questions for which the opinion of the council was necessary: proposition of expenditures (items) having an economic and social character, change in the administrative boundaries of provinces, huyen (district), chau (highland district), phu (larger district). But, as in Tonkin, there were questions for which the administrative authorities were not compelled to get an opinion from the council.

"In brief, the statute of provincial councils in Annam under the regime of Ordinance April 29, 1913, was quite similar to the statute of March 19, 1913, of provincial councils in Tonkin. However, from certain points of view, provincial councils in Annam did not have a complete representative character like in Tonkin, since all the Vietnamese members were not elected by the inhabitants--a certain number of members were appointed by the government--and the requirements for

candidateship were more severe. That is why it could be said that in 1913 the principle of local power distribution was not so fully observed as in Tonkin, despite the fact that both Tonkin and Annam were under the same political statute of a protected territory. Such a statute was not to last a long time.

II. Second period: from 1930 to 1940. The document fixing the statute of provincial councils in Annam for this period was the Arrete of the Resident Superior dated August 1, 1930. This Arrete was amended twice, on August 29,1938, and December 2, 1939.

"a. Arrete of 1930. The operation of the council did not undergo any change. But, the composition and power were much changed to aim at a stronger democratization of this body. Indeed, not only the number of elected members was increased, the electorate widened, but the council's powers were also strengthened.

"Composition and the selecting method: There were three categories of members: (1) Vietnamese members, elected by a limited suffrage. (2) Members representative of the ethnical minority, appointed by the administrative authorities. (3) Vietnamese members appointed by the government in number equal to 1/4 of the total of members mentioned above.

"The 1930 statute indicated some innovations: (a) The number of members appointed by the government was clearly fixed. The maximum number of members of this category was clearly specified in the arrete, and the government could not fix it at will like before. (b) The number of elected members was larger than before. In the former statute, each district of six or less cantons was given one representative, each district of more than six cantons was given two representatives. In the 1930

statute, every district of more than five cantons had two representatives.

"The selecting method.

"Members elected by inhabitants. There were two innovations aiming at strengthening the representative character of the council.

"1. The electorate was widened, since there were two more categories of voters, including the notables in office and the retired civil servants.

"2. The requirements for candidateship were less severe; members of the council were not compelled to be Canton Chiefs or deputy chiefs; they had merely to be natives of Tonkin or Annam, of at least 30 years of age, residents of Annam or Tonkin for five years, and personal taxpayers in the locality where they ran for competition. There were some cases of ineligibility, as follows: (1) civil servants in the government payroll (2) military men in office.

"The appointed members were selected among notables who were not civil servants, and for a four-year term by a decision of the Resident Superior in Annam after concurrence with the secret affairs council (Hoi Dong Co Mat--gathering all the Ministers, presided over by the French Resident Superior, during the French domination) and on the proposition of the Resident Maire (French Province Chief) and Vietnamese Mandarins.

"b. Functioning and powers. The functioning of the council had not undergone much change, however the power was widened.

"The council had not only the right to express their opinions on questions mentioned on the agenda, and to express wishes (motions) but also the right to deliberate and decide on certain number of questions,

especially those relating to taxation. Article 33 of Arrete 1930 specified that the council could discuss and decide tax rates and the percent surcharge received by the provincial budget. The council had also right to discuss on tax assessing procedures.

"The list of questions for which it was necessary to get an opinion of the council was longer and more significant: there were nine items (only three in former times). For example, on budgetary questions the provincial councils were requested to express their opinions on budget drafts, except the expenditure items on general administration and the change in the expenditures of the current year budget. The council had right to propose the new expenditure and receipt items, provided that an adequate receipt item be suggested to cover the new expenditure items.

"The new administrative guardian measure: According to article 36 of Arrete 1930, the official holder of the Administrative Guardian, i.e., the Resident Superior in Annam, after concurrence with the secret affairs council, and on the proposition made by the Resident Maire (French mayor and Chief of Province) and the provincial mandarins, could postpone the council sessions or break up the councils.

"Moreover the administrative guardian body had also the full right to replace the council by another, in the case that the provincial council refused to examine the whole or one part of the budget draft. In such a case, the guardian body could establish by itself the budget, after concurrence with the council of protectorate, without consulting the provincial councils.

"In brief, although the Arrete of 1930 did not reorganize the

provincial council created by the Arrete of 1913, it contained the initiative of a partial democratization of this body. Compared to the 1913 statute, the council had not only more power, but also a greater number of members. That is why it could be said that under the 1930 statute, the provincial council was more representative of the people than when it was under the 1913 statute. However, when Emperor Bao Dai came back to the country in 1930, the statute of 1930 underwent some change.

"B. Reforms made after 1930. The statute of the provincial councils in Annam was basically the one fixed by Arrete of 1930, but two changes had been made, one by the arrete of August 24, 1938, another by the arrete of December 2, 1939; these modifications in the details were aimed at strengthening the representative character of the council only.

"a) Reform made by Arrete of August 24, 1938. This Arrete widened the electorate of the provincial council by addition of a new category of voters including the members of the provincial council and the members of the people's representatives councils of Annam having at least a five-year seniority. This Arrete had also put into effect a new method of fixing the number of provincial council members. Prior to this reform, the number of members varied accordingly to the number of cantons. With the reform, the number of members was based on the population number of the districts: There was one councillor for every 7,000 inhabitants, however, a minimum of 3,000 inhabitants was required to justify the election of a councillor.

"However, the requirements to candidateship became more severe.

For example, to be eligible it was necessary to belong to one of the following categories of voters: delegates (?) of villages, Canton Chief and deputy chiefs in office, notables in office, retired civil servants, temporarily unattached civil servants, civil servants on leave. Under the former statute, any one may be eligible, provided he complied with the required age, residence and behavior conditions.

"Reform made by Arrete of December 2, 1939. The electorate was widened by the addition of two new categories of voters: former members of provincial councils, former members of the (regional) people's representative councils in Annam with a five-year seniority and all the members in function. This text was in effect until 1940, when the Governor General of Indochina promulgated the Arrete of December 27, 1940, to bring an amendment to the statute of all elected bodies.

III. Third Period: After 1940. Like all elected bodies of that time, in Indochina, the provincial counsils in Annam stopped their activities December 27, 1940, the date when the Governor General of Indochina signed the Arrete postponing all their sessions. However, unlike the northern region, the central region continued to have a representative body at the province level, the 'provincial mixed commission.' This commission (committee, in the VN text) was, in fact, nothing but a reduced or smaller provincial council, since there was a smaller number of members and their power also was restricted. Article 2 of this Arrete also specified that in each province of Annam, there was a mixed commission (committee, in the VN text) with the duty to express opinions on questions for which the opinion of the former provincial council was necessary.

"a. Power. This commission had a merely consultative character, as compared to the former provincial council. The power was also considerably restricted, and there was no longer consultation even on questions for which the administrative authorities were compelled to get an opinion from the former provincial council.

"b. Composition. The provincial mixed commission had a maximum of six members, and this composition varied with the size of the province. For example, in the provinces of Thanh Hoa, Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, the mixed commission was composed of three former members of the provincial council, selected among members of the former councils and three native notables appointed by the provincial administrative authorities, while in the provinces of Quang Binh, Quang Tri, Thua Thien, the commission was composed of four members only (two appointed among the members of the former provincial council, and two appointed by authorities among the notables). The provincial commission of Ninh Thuan was composed of two members only: one selected among the former councillors and one appointed by the administrative authority. It can be said, from a close examination of the council composition, that the two categories of members were of an equal importance: the elected members, chosen among the provincial councillors--the appointed members, chosen by the Resident Superior (French Governor) of Annam, after concurrence with the Minister of Interior of the Royal Court of Annam, and on the proposition of the Resident Maire (French mayor) and the mandarin Chief of Province.

"These commissions functioned and lasted until 1945.

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CONCLUSION

"All through this study, our reader has no doubt recognized that during the French period, French authorities had shown a very reserved attitude in the admission of people of the province level to the local administrative affairs. Even by the end of the French occupation the provincial council had only a consultative role instead of the character of a fully representative body. In fact, the creation of these councils had never affected the large power of the French administrators. On the contrary, through the establishment of these (elected) councils, French authorities had obtained at least two significant advantages.

"From the political point of view: They had succeeded in creating an allusion of democracy for their governing system, and satisfied to some extent a certain number of inhabitants of the province level. The inhabitants of the province of that time had the feeling of having their representatives by the side of the Province Chief, and the impression that these representatives could convey their aspirations to the Province Chief. Moreover, the creation of provincial councils in Tonkin and Annam had helped French authorities to achieve their political strategem in gradually reducing the power and authority of the King and mandarins over the population in these two protectorate countries.

"In addition to this advantage of a political character, the creation of these provincial councils, in spite of a lack of effective power, had helped French authority to reduce abusive authoritarian actions by the Province Chief. However, there is one fact that we cannot neglect: After the outbreak of the Second World War and the defeat of France,

French authorities in Indochina did not hesitate to stop all activities of elected bodies, to be free from all obstacles or handicaps caused by provincial councils so as to be able to face the urgent situation in this country. But they had also skillfully saved some 'democratic character' by substituting a consultative mixed commission to the provincial council--the mixed commission being composed of a reduced number of members endowed with minimized consultative powers."

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8. Views on the Department of the Interior

Although the following views on local administrative reform were expressed by a man who is no longer the secretary of the department, it is fair to assume they still reflect the general position of the department, especially since no evidence to the contrary has been noted and in fact, evidence in support of the general trend favored by the former secretary can be found in the announcements concerning provincial and local representative councils.

The first "reading" is taken from a major article prepared by Mr. Trinh for the Vietnamese-American Association journal, Viet-My. Much of it has also appeared in other journals, namely, that of the Association for Administrative Research. The second, more recent - being of 1959, consists of extracts from a radio interview later published in the journal of the Department of the Interior.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY ON IMPROVEMENT OF VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

"After having carried out the decrees on the reorganization of the administration in the village, the Department of the Interior feels that it is urgent to solve a number of rather complex problems:

1. The selection of members of the village council,
2. The village budget,
3. The organization and consolidation of the hamlets.

"I. The Problem of Selection of Members of the Village Council: *

"This problem is important in that the village organization will not achieve desired results if the authorities do not have efficient and competent officials. In this period of reconstruction and struggle against communism, the government needs to have village councils which are not only competent in administration but also enjoy a strong nationalist spirit and are firm, active, and loyal to the government. For that reason, the training of the village councils in the administrative as well as in the technical and military fields has received special attention from the Department of the Interior.

"Another problem of the central government concerns the allowances for the village council. In principle, all the expenditures for running the village affairs must be carried by the village treasury. But, because of the insecurity prevailing in the villages during the past years, the financial account of practically all the villages is in the red, and the provinces have had to bear three-fifths of the allowances for the village council. The other two-fifths come from the village budget. In Memorandum No. 2497/TTP/NS/S2 of March 25, 1957, the Secretary of State to the Presidency ordered the provinces to let the village budget take care of the above mentioned allowances.

"At present, there are still a large number of villages, especially in South Viet Nam, which do not have enough money to pay the allowances for the members of the village council. In order to help these villages, the government has instructed the provinces to set up a supplementary budget.

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* Lam Le Trinh, "Village Councils - Yesterday and Today", Viet-My, Vol.3 #3, 1958.

With regard to the revenue, this budget will consist of contributions made by the villagers in the provinces as follows: one-tenth of the total receipts and one-fourth of the taxable receipts of all markets, the revenue of which was above 100,000 piasters a year.

"With regard to expenditures, the supplementary budget is used to help the poor villages or to carry out works of public usefulness. Any monetary assistance has to be determined by the Chief of Province and must be submitted to the Presidency for approval. The above-mentioned measure concretizes the spirit of inter-village mutual assistance and permits an equitable distribution of resources among the villages belonging to the same province, and prevents a great difference in the wealth of the village.

"It should be remembered, however, that this is only a temporary measure until security can be completely restored so as to enable each village to establish its own budget. From the psychological standpoint, this mutual assistance cannot last forever because the rich village will be discouraged and will not exert itself to contribute to the funds, to continue to help defray the expenditures of other villages. Moreover, by contributing to the fund, the rich village will not have the means for the construction of its own public works.

"Another problem is how to increase the allowances for the village council and how to raise the allowances for the representative of the village. Indeed, the duties and responsibilities of the village council are much heavier and much more dangerous than in the old days. During the French domination period, a position in the village was an honor and

a title which brought advantages and profit to the official and his family. Today, the responsibilities of the village officials have a noble character because our country has become independent, but they have also become heavier burdens because there are so many problems to be solved. Moreover, the communists always attempt to kill or assassinate the most efficient and brightest elements in the village.

"However, the increase of allowances for the officials must depend on the size of the budget and the duties of the officials in question. Although everybody agrees that allowances for the council need to be increased, up to the present, this has not yet been achieved because of the limited budget. With regard to the representative of the village, the government feels it is necessary to raise his allowance to that of the village because the representative of the village is responsible before the district officer for the activities of the village. This is a problem of prestige and justice.

"II. The Problem of the Village Budget:

"According to the Memorandum of March 25, 1957, the village must be self-supporting with regard to the budget from that date. The reason for this principle was reiterated once again in Memorandum 2991-BPTTT/VP/M sent on December 23, 1957, to the General Directorate of Budget and Foreign Aid.

"It is only with self-sufficiency that an administrative unit can progress rapidly, especially in the social and economic fields. On the other hand, the population will be satisfied to see that their own contribution has been used in the construction of works for the province and the village, and that their own efforts and sacrifices have brought them direct benefit."

"The application of this principle, in practice, has met with several obstacles because the resources of the village have not yet been fully exploited, due to the fact that security has not been completely restored in some areas.

"In addition to the setting up of an inter-village mutual assistance fund, the government also studied many other measures. Here are three measures which are worth noting:

"a. It is possible to grant a fixed percentage of the collected taxes to the village council. The village will distribute it among those who are in charge of the collection of taxes. At present, the village can get only four per cent of the total and national taxes on land. If the government grants a percentage of the collected tax, either direct or indirect, and regardless whether it is national, provincial, local, principal or additional, it will greatly encourage the collection of taxes and help the village to bolster its budget.

"It should be remembered that before 1945, in addition to the monthly allowances, the village officials in charge of the collection of principal and additional taxes received the following percentages: five per cent of the taxes collected during the period from the beginning of the year to May 31; four per cent of the taxes collected from June 1st to September 30; three per cent of the taxes collected during the period from October 1st to the end of the year; and one per cent of the yearly taxes regardless of the date of their collection.

"Since 1946, up to June 11, 1956, members of the village council in charge of the collection of taxes were not given the above percentages. According to a decree of June 11, 1956, of the Department of Finance,

members of the village council in charge of the collection of land taxes for the national treasury receive an allowance fixed at exactly four per cent of the main tax.

"According to this decree, the member of the village in charge of the collection of taxes receives a percentage only on the land tax collected for the national treasury. This percentage is based only on the main tax (rather a small amount) and not on the additional taxes which constitute a greater amount. Furthermore, regardless of the date of the collection, these officials can receive only four per cent.

"The Secretariat of State to the Presidency is studying the change of procedure for the allocation of allowances for the village council.

"b. It is possible to grant land or rice fields to the village. A large number of villages are poor and do not have rice fields to obtain revenue for the village. The Department of the Interior has already instructed that a study be made of land facilities so as to redistribute them among the villages.

"3. It is possible to help the villages obtain property. In order to have more revenue, it is necessary for the village to have as many properties as possible. At present, some villages own houses and even streets. Some provinces even own rubber plantations, forest land, etc. These estates give to the province or the village budget rather large revenues.

III. The Organization and Consolidation of the Hamlet

"In the present administrative organization, the village is the basic unit necessary to maintain security and to get the people's support. But,

in practice, the hamlet is the real unit which can get things done, and the success or failure of the program of the government depends entirely on the activities of this unit. Because of the close liaison between the interfamily mutual assistance fund and the people's self-defense, this unit must be consolidated. It is on the hamlet level that the regional authorities can utilize to the fullest extent the two above mentioned systems. The status of the chief of hamlet is at present being studied by the Department of the Interior.

CONCLUSION

"After having studied briefly the important and complicated role played by the village council in the present administration, we can see clearly the noteworthy change of policy of the government with regard to the concept of leadership in this historic period.

"On the basis of the results obtained by the government in the village administration, we can make the following conclusions: In a rather short time, the national government has, in spite of all the internal and external difficulties, which need to be solved, built a solid foundation for the village administration and has greatly improved the working methods of the village officials. At present, throughout the territory of Viet Nam there are in all 2,596 villages with well-staffed village councils. They are distributed as follows:

South Viet Nam:	1,283	villages
Lowlands of Central Viet Nam:	878	villages
Highlands of Central Viet Nam:	435	villages

"All the reforms introduced by the government aim at the perfection of the independence and unification of Viet Nam in accordance with the principles of democracy and respect for the human being.

"As President Ngo Dinh Diem has stated, democracy demands sacrifices and virtues, and it can be added that democracy is a system of government which demands from us a permanent program of self-imporvement. This system, as we have seen, manifests itself today in the Vietnamese villages as people participate more and more actively in the administration of their own village and in the community development which will bring direct benefits to all people living in the village.

"The democratic system of government in the national territory of Viet Nam undoubtedly will make further progress once security has been completely restored and the people hold their destiny in their own hands by participation in self-government."

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PROGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN 1958-1959 *

Lam Le Trinh
Secretary of the Interior

(Following is a radio interview with Mr. Lam Le Trinh, Secretary of State for the Interior, at VTVN, on October 17, 1959, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Republic of Viet Nam.)

"QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, would you give us a description of administrative progress made during the last year?

"ANSWER: First, I want to take a brief look at the reorganization made in the Saigon Prefectural administration.

*Source: The Administrative Studies Review of the Department of the Interior of the RVN. Pp 1-5. The sixth issue of 1959(special issue, 4th Anniversary.) of the foundation of the Republic of Vietnam.

"The President, on March 23, 1959, enacted Arrete No. 74/TTP, concerning the organization of the Saigon prefectural administration.

"Saigon prefecture is an administrative unit which has a legal personality, a budget and public property, placed under the administration of a Prefect appointed by decree and directly responsible to the President. There is also the City Council.

"Two Vice-Prefects and a Bureau Chief were appointed to assist the Prefect. The position of Secretary General was abolished.

"The city council is composed of 24 members - instead of 35 previously -- representing eight districts.

"This reduction in the membership of the council of course entailed a simplification in the workload.

"Each district of the prefecture is placed under the administration of a District Chief -- who formerly was the councillor elected in the district -- competent in administrative affairs, appointed by Presidential decree.

"This new procedure enables the prefecture to ensure a more harmonious and efficient operation of its dependent agencies. Formerly, as elected members (of the City Council) and representatives of the authorities, the District Chiefs were confronted with a complicated situation in performing their functions.

"Each district is divided into many "Phuong"; each phuong is placed under the administration of a "phuong truong" (head of the phuong), appointed by decree of the Prefect, in light of the District Chief's proposal.

"Another important achievement scored last year, it should be recalled, was the establishment of two government delegations in the eastern and western parts of South Viet Nam.

"The plan (region) system has been abolished. The plan (region) no longer has a legal personality, autonomous budget and regulatory power.

"Nevertheless, representatives of the central authorities in important provinces solve difficult problems or effectively intervene with the central authorities.

"Therefore, Arrete No. 87/VN of April 15, 1959, established the delegation in south-western South Viet Nam for the twelve provinces of the west, and Arrete no. 138/TTP of June 18, 1959, established the delegation in eastern South Viet Nam for the ten provinces of the east.

"In addition, in order to improve the performance of rural affairs, the authorities (provincial and district) have encouraged the people to take an active part in village administration.

"Many youthful elements have become members of the village councils. In the provinces of southwest Viet Nam, the composition of the village councils is strengthened by three additional members - the political, youth, and information commissioners - so that the village council can provide adequate assistance to the local authorities who are to guide the rural people in their efforts towards the improvement of rural life. These commissioners receive monthly salaries from the national budget.

"Allowances for the village council members and hamlet chiefs are also taken into account in the effect that support will be given those elements who bring their devotion to duties assigned them. Hamlet chiefs have been selected from among anti-communist elements to give the village council their

active assistance in the maintenance of security in the hamlets.

"QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, would you tell us the advantages of the creation of two new provinces - Quang Duc and Phuoc Thanh?

"ANSWER: As you know, Quang Duc Province, established by Presidential Arrete No. 24/NV of January 23, 1956, includes:

1. the area northeast of Phuoc Hoa District, Phuoc Long Province.
2. the whole area of Daksong District, excluding Daklao Canton in the north and part of Lac District, Darlac Province.
3. part of the area north of Diling (Djiring) District, Lam Dong Province.

Phuoc Thanh Province, established by Presidential Arrete No. 25/VN dated January 23, 1959, includes:

1. the territory of Tan Uyen District, excluding the Gay Gao area in the southeast, and part of the northwestern area.
2. part of the western area of Binh Duong Province
3. part of the northern area of Phuoc Long Province
4. Part of the eastern area of Long Khanh Province.

"The establishment of these two new provinces was aimed at the materialization (realization) of the government's program for improvement of the people's living standards and local security.

"Formerly, the territory of Banmethuot and Bien Hoa (old) provinces stretched over a vast area where effective control could not be exerted and many remained virgin lands.

"The establishment of the two new provinces of Quang Duc and Phuoc Thanh which were parts of the territory of Banmethuot and Vien Hoa, resulted in many advantages in terms of security and economic activities.

"Besides, the development of these areas is in full swing, their resources will be fully exploited and swiftly transported. Administratively, the authorities' representatives will be in closer touch with the people, in order to get a deeper understanding of their aspirations.

"QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, in addition to these newly-established provinces, we also learned that a number of PMS districts have recently been integrated into the Central Lowlands, is this true?

"ANSWER: Yes, sir, that's true. A number of new districts have been established within the framework of the plan for reclamation of wastelands. The intermediary area (between the Plateaus and the coastal area of Central Viet Nam) was integrated into the Central Lowlands.

"The population density of this region is low and Highlanders constitute the greater proportion.

"The Central authorities' objective is the expansion of this area toward the coast where the ground level is higher, material means are plentiful, and cultural level is high.

"A proportion of the territory of the PMS Provinces of Kontum, Pleiku, and Darlac have been integrated into coastal provinces of Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Phu Yen and Khanh Hoa - either for the establishment of new districts or the expansion of existing districts.

"Quang Ngai Province, Son Ha District, was consequently expanded and Chuong Nghia District established.

"In Binh Dinh Province, to establish An Tuc District, i.e. the old district of Tan An.

"In Phu Yen Province, to expand the territory of Dong Xuan and Son Hoa and Phu Duc Districts.

"In Khanh Hoa Province, to expand the territory of Ninh Hoa District and the establishment of the Khanh Duong Administration offices.

"QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, we have learned that you are particularly concerned with the inservice training for civil servants; would you give us a description of the training undertaken by the Interior Department during the last year?

"ANSWER: During the last year, the training of civil servants and cadres of various levels at the Department of the Interior has been undertaken on a large scale.

"With an aim to give the village councils, especially the police commissioners, a clear understanding of their power and functions, three training courses had been held in Rach Dua (Cap St. Jacques) for 860 police commissioners from 12 southeast provinces in South Viet Nam.

"Civil servants of various administrative levels from the provinces as well as from the department attended in-service training classes conducted according to the documents and program prepared by central authorities, in order that they could attain opportunity to improve their knowledge and their professional abilities, and thereby efficiency could be increased.

"For the police and security branch, training courses were opened on a continual basis to train heads of services and chiefs of sub-sections and security agents throughout the country.

"So far, 1,200 agents and 110 heads of security services and chiefs of sub-sections have received training.

"The plan for training police agents will be carried on in the days ahead.

"Cadres of the Civil and People's Self-Defense Corps will also receive training either at the military regions, or at training centers established by the Central Authorities, or in their localities. Many Civil Guard officers have been sent abroad for observation tours in friendly countries.

"At the Department of the Interior, an airy and well-illuminated conference hall has recently been built for the in-service training and political study conducted for up to 400 participants.

"It's my belief that in-service training for civil servants will bring concrete results and provide the authorities with cadres who not only are competent in their career but have also acquired clear-sighted ideas of the national government's policy."

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III. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETTING OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

In the study of local administration in Viet Nam there is a need for gaining a clear perspective of the many, many activities, influences, conditions that bear upon problems of public administration at the community level. Lacking a better term, these may be identified as elements of the "socio-economic setting." Broadly viewed, these include not only the existing cultural patterns but also the present programs of the various governmental departments and agencies having close contact with the population in its home environment.

Thus, the student of local administration must develop considerable appreciation for the study of sociology as well as for the substantive interests of the various governmental departments such as public health, agriculture, and public works. Before a truly effective system of local administration can be devised, the creators must have made it a "part and parcel" of these various elements. Such a task cannot be left to the mind of a man whose interest might be narrowly confined to the legal aspects of administration.

This section can only begin to point the way toward the degree of mastery of the social sciences that should be attained before moving to the stage of administrative reform. To compensate for its shortcomings, it will suggest some additional readings, but by no means is this a complete guide.

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A. Report of the Regional Seminar on Social Research and Problems of Rural Life in Southeast Asia, 1960.*

Excerpts from the final summary report of this regional seminar suggest the scope and the approach of social scientists to the problems of rural development. Several excellent papers were given during this conference; parts of one are reproduced in the next subsection.

I. The role of sociological and psychological research in rural development programs.

"Three reports were submitted by Mr. H. M. Phillips (Unesco), Mr. Nguyen Khac Hoach (Viet Nam) and Father Birou (France) respectively.

"Mr. H. M. Phillips opened the discussion with general observations on the role of social research in the solution of problems of rural life. He recalled the classic distinction between pure research intended to contribute to the development of scientific discipline or the scientific body of knowledge, basic research for the collection and interpretation of the underlying data necessary for the understanding of the problems of particular regions (e.g. ecological, economic and demographic resources; legal and administrative systems; system of land ownership; class structure, etc.) and applied research aimed at contributing to the implementation of programs of action by means of economic and social surveys and preliminary studies of rural communities. He indicated what the various social science disciplines

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* UNESCO/SS/31, Paris, 27 August 1960, 15 pp. (printed).

could contribute to the solution of rural problems and cited instances from Southeast Asia and from other parts of the world. His résumé included a passage dealing with the way in which social research could be used in the evaluation of development projects.

"Father Birou drew the seminar's attention to the need to integrate rural development into a general programme of economic development. Economic development always involves mobilization at all levels of the socio-economic system. It is also closely bound up with other aspects of daily life. All the humane sciences must therefore be brought into play if programs of action are to be correctly prepared. As regards the importance of human factors in rural development, a distinction should be made between the now traditional rural societies in process of development and rural societies already participating in a market economy. Human factors would appear to have been rather an obstacle to the introduction of new techniques in traditional societies. Thus careful psychological preparation is needed in order to carry out development projects in such societies. Education can play a vital part in this connexion, and teachers must be associated in the research undertaken by economists and sociologists.

"Mr. Nguyen Khac Hoach's report was more specially devoted to social research in Viet Nam. In that country, social research is not entrusted to a single body but is carried out by several governmental institutions, such as the National Statistical Institute, the General Commissariat for Agricultural Development, the Commissariat for Civic Action and the Committee for Community Development. He laid

particular stress on the importance of the research carried out during the past two years by the Economics and Humanism Group. This research had helped the government to prepare its rural development projects (especially those relating to land reform and community development).

"The discussion of these reports revealed that all the experts were agreed on the need for research, not only during the preparation of rural development programs, but also during and after their implementation. Research should cover basic data (geographical, ecological, demographic, institutional, psychological etc.), the objectives to be reached, the means to be employed and the evaluation of final results. The discussion also showed the essential role of innovators in the adoption of new techniques, and the need to evaluate the social and economic effects of rural development. Such development inevitably implies social changes. The aim of social research is to show how changes are produced and how they can be directed so as to avoid a breakdown in the social structure.

II. Rural life and working conditions in southeast Asia.

"In his introductory report, Mr. Vu Quoc Thuc set out to demonstrate that problems of rural life in the countries of Southeast Asia could, despite their great complexity, be reduced to a common denominator, namely the need to modernize rural life.

"Farm work imposes on peasants a number of limitations due to their habitat, work calendar, social life, etc. For example, it is not easy for peasants to organize public utility services or defend themselves against bands of pirates. In the West, however, thanks to

technological progress, improved transport, the electrification of the countryside and the mechanization of agriculture, peasants have gradually freed themselves from these limitations. There is no appreciable difference between rural and urban living conditions. Such is not the case in the countries of Southeast Asia. A deep gulf exists in these countries between urban and rural life, because the growth of cities has not been the result of natural economic development, but of contact with the West. The towns of Southeast Asia may be thought of as doors through which western ideas and techniques have entered. For a long time, these novelties met with strong resistance from the peasant population. Yet there seems to have been a kind of awakening since the Second World War, and Southeast Asian peasants, realizing their poverty, ardently desire to improve their lot by means of appropriate reforms. Circumstances would therefore appear favourable to the combining of governmental intervention and peasant initiative under a national community development programme.

"With special reference to Thailand, Mr. Nikom Chandravithun said that many community development projects had been set on foot in that country, and had involved heavy annual expense; however, progress had been very slow for many reasons, in particular, the lack of a long-term general policy. The Government of Thailand had recently prepared a national community development plan based on the following principles:

"(a) Villagers must learn to use their own cultivation, their own manpower and their own resources in order to improve their living conditions.

"(b) The governmental aid already available must be made more effective by means of improved methods of action.

"Professor Lauriston Sharp tried to make an 'inventory of resources' as suggested by Mr. Phillips in his report, that is, to describe, analyze and evaluate the possibilities of utilizing peasant initiative in Thailand. He took as his point of departure the social structure of the Thai village, where, outside the family, only four definite social groups existed, the Buddhist priests, the notables, the lay temple committee and the schoolmasters. He had come to the conclusion that the priests had the most prestige and could play an extremely important part as innovators. Among the notables, a distinction should be made between elected officials and the real chiefs of the community. Any change obviously needed the acceptance of the real chiefs. The lay temple committee could be a highly effective instrument for local reforms. Lastly, the schoolmasters, owing to their knowledge and experience, could make a useful contribution to community development.

"The situation in Cambodia was the subject of a paper by Mr. Ouk Soeung. The general information supplied by the speaker indicated that the rural sector was developing favourably in that kingdom and was not creating special difficulties.

"Mr. J. E. Ismael stated the problem for Indonesia in the following terms: 'How can the changes which have occurred in rural districts be made use of in order to mobilize traditional social institutions for the improvement of peasant living conditions?' The village councils during the pre-revolutionary period had been exclusively composed of

landed proprietors under the chairmanship of the tjamat (administrator, head of the district). Frequently, the personal views of the tjamat did not at all coincide with the aspirations of the villagers. Whenever the tjamat was transferred to another post, his successor tended to follow an entirely different policy. Since 1945, this social structure had greatly changed. Every family head was ipso facto a member of the village council, which had become an autonomous body, since all village administrators were elected by the council and were responsible to it. Another new element was the creation of village sections of political organizations, and the constitution of peasant and youth movements. Mr. Ismael considered that these changes would be highly favourable to the mobilization of certain traditional institutions such as the arisan (tontine) and the Gotong-rojong (mutual aid in work) with a view to improving peasant living conditions.

"Abundant information on Viet Nam was supplied by Messrs. Nguyen Huy Bao, Chau Tien Khuong, Bui Tuong Huan and Phan Tan Chuc.

"After clarifying the concept of social structure, Mr. Nguyen Huy Bao undertook to analyze traditional Vietnamese values, with reference to their three religious sources, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. His conclusion was that the economic underdevelopment of Viet Nam was due to a set of historical, geographical and cultural factors. Nothing could be done about the first two types of factors, but the third could be influenced by giving the Vietnamese a more rational and more technical outlook.

"Mr. Chau Tien Khuong felt that the Vietnamese rural structure

could be summed up in four characteristics: community feeling (that is, an attachment to the communal organization), the absence of a capitalistic mentality, the absence of excessive individualism and a tendency towards pauperism. He nevertheless believed that rural development would be considerably facilitated by a loosening of community bonds, by population movements and by the spread of a market economy.

"Mr. Bui Tuong Huan also thought that traditional values and social structures were, to some extent, an obstacle to improved levels of living, but that their influence was not preponderant, for economic development was more dependent on economic factors (such as the availability of capital and technicians, local savings, etc.). The past should not, therefore, merely be ignored and traditional institutions systematically destroyed. Such institutions could still be of great value, especially in the matter of social security. Moreover, raising the level of income was not everything. In Viet Nam, as in other Southeast Asian countries, it would appear wiser to aim at raising the 'satisfaction level' (a term invented by Robert Guillain with reference to Japan).

"To complete this analysis of existing structures, Mr. Phan Tan Chuc tried to describe present social trends as manifested by governmental measures in Viet Nam: land reform, the community development movement, the creation of agricultural development centres, the creation of prosperity zones and of professional associations, the co-operative movement, the extension of farm credit, the literacy campaign, etc. On the basis of the first results obtained with these measures, Mr. Chuc

expressed his faith in the success of efforts to improve rural living conditions in Viet Nam.

"The discussion of the reports gave rise to a general exchange of views which revealed that:

"(a) Present-day rural life in Southeast Asian countries shows certain characteristics which are rather general and which may provisionally be placed under 13 headings:

"1. Demographic disequilibrium (lack of balance in the distribution of the population by regions, especially as between mountain regions and plains).

"2. Contrast between flooded rice fields and dry lands.

"3. Existence of ethnic minorities.

"4. Existence of traditional civilizations with their laws and customs.

"5. Respect for the family (in the sense of blood relationship).

"6. Intense village community feeling.

"7. Very limited and sometimes unsuitable school instruction.

"8. Unsatisfied aspirations of the peasant masses, together with passivity as regards certain fields of activity.

"9. Spiritual influence of certain beliefs tending to check the desire for material progress.

"10. Tendency towards tolerance, excluding class and religious strife.

"11. Insufficiency of collective equipment, especially sanitary installations and communication lines.

"12. Insufficiency of peasant income, due to under-employment and low farm productivity.

"13. Slowness of technological change, and even greater slowness of social change.

"It would none the less appear that despite their complexity, the problems of rural life can be reduced to a common denominator, the need for modernization or, more exactly, the need to fill the present gap between urban life and rural life through the introduction of new techniques and ideas in country areas.

"(b) Traditional structures are frequently an obstacle, though not an insurmountable one, to the modernization of rural life. It is even probable that, since the Second World War, such structures have lost much of their power to retard progress, since the need for modernization has been more and more strongly felt and the pace of development has accelerated. There have been instances where modernization has had the support of traditional forms of society and local leaders.

"(c) Though rural development must form part of a general plan, the essential effort still needs to come from the peasants themselves. They cannot improve their lot unless they want to. It is necessary to find minds which are open to progress and collaborate with them. It might, for example, be possible to spread the desire for progress through an improvement in the health situation and by utilizing women and children, who form the majority of the rural population everywhere.

III. Problems connected with the introduction and communication of new techniques and ideas.

"There were seven reports on this subject, by Professor Walker (speaking on behalf of the Australian National Commission for UNESCO), Professor Lindstrom (United States of America), Professor Silcock (University of Malaya), Professor Nguyen Cao Hach (Viet Nam), Dr. Dalisay (Philippines), Mr. Nguyen Manh Tu (Viet Nam)and Professor Hayashi (Japan).

"Professor Walker spoke of research undertaken in this field in Australia by the University of Melbourne for the Department of Agriculture of the State of Victoria. This research appeared to have led to the discovery of a theoretical approach and certain scientific methods which could applied by any country in the world (in particular by the use of indices such as the urbanization index, the index of exposure to mass communication media, etc.). It had also been possible to forecast the social cost of technological changes and the means of meeting such a cost.

"Professor Lindstrom showed, on the basis of the Seki-Mura study in Japan, how traditional cultural values and standards often thwarted efforts to develop new techniques. The 'communication' of such techniques always depended on their 'acceptance' by the peasant population. The 'felt needs' of the population must be taken as basis; confidence would seem to be the determining factor in the acceptance of new techniques.

"Professor Silcock's report studied some economic aspects of the

dissemination of new ideas and techniques, in particular, the roles to be assigned to the spirit of enterprise and to education in the achievement of rural development programmes. Experience had shown that methods normally used in a free-trade economy were not always effective in the countries of Southeast Asia, and that the community development procedure could give excellent results. Nevertheless, the real aim--the strengthening of individual initiative and responsibility--must not be lost sight of.

"Professor Nguyen Cao Hach analysed the obstacles to the introduction of new techniques in Southeast Asian countries and attached particular importance to the lack of integration in Asian societies, the isolation of social groups and national units, the class structure and certain technical and economic factors.

"Dr. Dalisay cited the experience of the Philippines to show that, before any rural reform was undertaken, economic research on the operation and management of farms in the various parts of a country was indispensable.

"With more particular reference to Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Manh Tu analysed the natural mechanism by means of which new ideas and techniques penetrated into a village. He mentioned three main lines of penetration: the initiative of an inhabitant, stimulus from natural leaders and the collective action of primary groups. He concluded that government intervention was necessary but most not go beyond certain limits.

"On the basis of Japanese experience, Professor Hayashi analysed the structure of traditional rural communities and discussed the problems

raised by the introduction of new techniques in such communities. In his opinion, it was very difficult to evaluate the degree of influence to be attributed to the work of dissemination alone.

"The discussion of the seven reports just mentioned gave rise to an extensive exchange of views. The question was asked who were usually the innovators in villages, the notables or the young people who had received instruction in technical schools? The answer would seem to vary according to the locality. The role of women in Southeast Asian countries was examined at length. All the experts were agreed on its great importance. It was noted that in several countries of the region, women tend to have legal status equal to that of men.

CONCLUSIONS

"In the discussion of the papers submitted to the seminar the following conclusions emerged and were agreed upon by the participants:

"(i) The necessity for modernization of rural life in Southeast Asia raises many vital economic and social problems in the solution of which the social sciences have an essential contribution.

"By providing an analysis and understanding of the various types of social and economic change necessarily involved in rural modernization, the application of modern social science methods and research can:

"1. Provide the necessary scientific, economic and social information to the governments of the region regarding the social and economic resources existing or needing to be developed for the various types

of rural development, and of the likely economic and social consequences of various types of rural development;

"2. Enable governments and communities to plan ahead to meet the social and economic problems associated with rural development;

"3. Supply governments and communities with economical techniques forgetting accurate data on which to base development plans and to operate and evaluate them, and for this purpose to draw upon the body of social research techniques and finds already established in other regions of the world.

"(ii) "1. The research agencies of governments of the region should draw up long-term research plans which will enable governments to have before them the necessary basic data for development programs, and in the interim to develop by sampling and other more rapid methods, facilities for obtaining information needed for urgent action programs;

"2. The universities and social scientists of the region should in the course of their ordinary program of teaching and research direct special attention to the building up of research techniques and the necessary body of knowledge and scientific techniques in the social field needed to deal with problems of rural life.

"3. Social scientists should be consulted and attached, when possible, to major rural development projects in order to ensure that social factors necessary for their successful implementation are taken into account and the methods of social science applied in their operation.

"4. Recent developments in the methods of evaluation provide

governments with means of assessing the effectiveness of these programs, and such evaluation procedures should become a regular feature of development projects involving substantial expenditure of resources.

"(iii) 1. In view of the limited resources likely to be available bothe from overseas and from the countries of Southeast Asia, priorities need to be accorded for the more urgent research. Priorities may vary from country to country but it is essential that they be established and adhered to. In general, priority should be given to research projects that produce large returns for relatively small investments, or to research projects which promise to have fundamental effects upon the economic structure of the nation. Among the more urgent matters calling for study and research is family planning and its place in economic development and demographic adjustment.

"2. The supply of trained social scientists needs to be substantially increased. This implies that the universities of Southeast Asia need to expand their social science departments to cover empirical investigation and research methods in all the various social sciences and to review their organization to this end.

"3. There is need for the organization of a system of interchange of methods and procedures applied, and of studies made by national and other local research institutes in the countries of this region.

"4. A booklet dealing with social research methods and procedures already applied or applicable in this region would be of considerable value.

"5. There is a need for consideration of the establishment of

a Southeast Asia Regional Social Research Training Center, possibly is conjunction with existing international institutes (e.g. UNESCO Research Center on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia.)

"6. It is recognized that the need for research should not hold up action where the lines of effective development are clear but at the same time it is noted that programs based on previous scientific study are normally more economical in the use of a country's scarce resources than action based on inadequate data.

"7. In order that the results of social research should be used and the methods and approaches of the social sciences should be more widely applied, at the same time as the supply of social research workers is increased, there must be an increase in the number of administrators who appreciate how social scientists can help with practical development programs. This presupposes that the universities and research organizations (governmental and non-governmental) will develop new types of training and may demand the governments establish special programs of in-service training for their administrators to familiarize them with the contributions of the social sciences. This calls for co-operation between the universities and these organizations and the various government agencies.

"8. In the training of social scientists, great value can be derived from the training of students in practical field techniques, for this provides a way of ensuring that the social scientist understands the practical problems of the villages at first hand, and has some practice in dealing with village people. It also provides a means of gathering data that can be used

to assist the administrators pending the gathering of more reliable information by fully trained personnel using more advanced techniques.

"(iv) The participants of the seminar, having examined the results of existing research and experience in the application of social science techniques, considered that:

"1. Governments need to give careful consideration to the various rural development programs that are possible and to concentrate resources and activities upon strategic programs, to avoid wasting scarce resources, both physical and human, and to avoid arousing opposition from villagers beset by a variety of development programs.

"2. Vital to the success of rural development programs is the state of development of public administration and economic organization. Land ownership, farm credit, the availability of technical services and the general market for agricultural produce must be given attention if rural modernization is to succeed. Likewise, the extent to which the whole machinery of central and local government is able to meet the additional calls placed upon it by rural development programs must be considered. A most fruitful field of research would be the reaction of villagers to various types of institutional organization introduced by the central government to implement various aspects of rural development. Careful attention should also be given to farmers' and peasants' associations as a means through which technological improvement may be promoted and channelled down to the level of the individual farm.

"3. If rural development programs are to succeed, the co-operation of the villagers is essential. Villagers are ready for progress in

so far as they can see the attraction of better living standards, and they show remarkable adaptability to certain technical innovations while tenaciously resisting others. The traditional institutions of the rural community can sometimes be utilized to support modernization, and social science research may save governments a great deal of money, effort and time by revealing the elements in the traditions which can be utilized in this way. Where the traditional social structure is opposed to change, it may be necessary to explore it carefully to find how the notion of progress can be stimulated and fostered. It may be necessary to begin with needs felt by the community in order to progress to more basic needs which it may be unwilling to recognize at first. Here social research has an important part to play gathering reliable information on what villagers really want. It is necessary to consider the nature of the community and to use various techniques of getting its participation in rural development. There can be no doubt of the importance of basic education for literacy in this process, but its value can be much greater if it is consciously directed not merely to literacy but also to the spirit of national progress receptivity to impersonal means of communication such as the mass media, the experimental attitude and the life of the village as a whole. The biological division of the community into men, women and children provides a basis for influencing the people, particularly through an emphasis on health improvement which touches every person in the community and usually brings a ready response from the women. Older people are not always opposed to change, they often accept progress

for their children while resisting it for themselves. It is important to understand the 'influence structure' of the rural community and to ensure that progress will not be opposed by the leaders of the community.

"4. Special attention needs to be given to those willing to make innovations or to encourage them. These individuals and groups may require support against the ridicule and opposition of others. Technical innovators are not always to be found among the social or political leaders of the community. The application of social science techniques and research to the process of diffusion of technical and economic information can achieve economies and increase effectiveness, particularly if emphasis is laid upon the fullest possible use of existing social structures, leaders and systems: political, educational, spiritual, social and technical.

"5. Extension of primary education in rural areas is a vital factor in creating the necessary psychological climate for economic development, overcoming inertia and providing rural people with the means of realizing their economic potentiality and becoming effective parts of a modernizing society in which literacy and self-reliance are necessary to enable the individual and the family to achieve a reasonable level of living. This requires at least some reform in the school curriculum in order to meet the basic needs of rural communities, and special training of teachers who will work in rural areas.

"6. The extension of public health activities, mainly sanitation and the care of mothers and children, is another vital factor in

creating the necessary physical and psychological fitness for economic development and overcoming of physical inertia, providing rural people with the necessary health and vigour to enable the individual and the family to achieve a reasonable level of living.

"7. The role of important events, natural or man-made, in inducing change should not be overlooked. It is important that actual events, if they are deliberately arranged by government policy, should be intelligibly related to the technical changes that are required.

"8. The long-term prospects of the 'progressive' villagers need careful attention to ensure that their abilities and enthusiasm are applied constructively. Encouragement of education and technological competence will be self-defeating if the community does not provide opportunities for the full use of the special qualifications of such people.

"9. Constant contact between the administrators of rural development programs, technical agents, field workers and social scientists is urgently needed so that each may learn the problems and techniques of the others. In particular, social scientists can play an important part in furthering the co-operation of these various workers by studying the pressures and goals relevant to each type of worker and taking these into account in their relations with them.

"(v) It was suggested that governments should make full use of the facilities available as regards assistance from the various international agencies, both bilateral and multilateral, for:

1. The development of the methods and techniques of the social sciences in their countries;

2. Increasing the supply of social scientists and providing additional training for existing specialists;

3. Giving administrators the opportunity to understand the utility of the social sciences in relation to specific programs;

4. Providing and exchanging specific documentation required in the social sciences;

5. Encouraging, assisting and conducting research related to rural development.

"In availing themselves of such assistance, governments would need to ensure appropriate co-ordination between the various types of assistance and with their own activities."

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B. "Specific Applications of Social Science Research"*

H. M. Phillips, Chief, Division of Applied Social Sciences, Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO

During the UNESCO conference mentioned above, one paper was read explaining the use of social science research relative to the construction and administration of programs aimed at social and economic development. It is essential that personnel concerned with constructing an administrative system see how social research can be employed. It is not inconceivable that the design of an administrative system might be more true if it were based on some systematic research involving the attitudes and interests of the population vis a vis governmental organization. In addition, it is evident from a reading of these explanations that some permanent arrangement for a continuing use of research personnel in local development should be viewed as a vital part of any administrative organization that might be constructed. Of course, whether this would be an integrated part of every local unit or a special service of the national administration remains undetermined.

In the first two sections of this paper, Mr. Phillips discussed "The Role of the Social Sciences and Social Research," and "Basic Research," In the opinion of this reviewer, Mr. Phillips in the

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* H. M. Phillips, Social Research and Problems of Rural Life in South East Asia, UNESCO, Paris, 1959, 23 pp. (mimeo.)

following sections has set forth an excellent statement about the ways social research can help administrators. He closes by suggesting in general how provisions could be made for organizing research.

"In the report of the FAO entitled 'A Survey of the Investigations Required for Planning Development of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries in the Lower Mekong Basin' (February 1959) the following passage illustrates the growing need for social research: 'It is tempting to accept the view that the villager is well satisfied with his traditional way of life and that development must therefore be a slow evolutionary process and there is no need for energetic action. Against this there are two important arguments: (1) the villager is becoming rapidly exposed to the impact of modern influences and his sons will certainly require something different from that which satisfied his forebears, and (2) the Basin countries cannot afford that their rural populations remain merely self-sufficient; it is necessary that they become increasingly contributive to the national income. Changes in mode of life, e.g. from shifting to settled cultivation, from flood to controlled irrigation, from individual to cooperative marketing, will involve unwelcome acceptance of new disciplines. How best to obtain this acceptance is an important task for a sociologist with insight to appreciate the complexity of religious, animistic, traditional, social and material urges affecting each individual. His findings will help to guide the extension services which will be essential to the development of agricultural progress in the Basin.'

"If basic research of the kind described in the first part of

this paper is promoted, administration will become in a better position to know: which areas are those where programs of technical change are likely to yield the best results on terms of the inter-relation of economic and social resources; which are those where limited and concentrated projects are required and of what kind; which need an 'opening' or a 'loosening' of community ties; which need the creation of more group action and local leadership; which must depend for further advance mainly upon legal and institutional changes; which must depend upon a series of specific agricultural measures such as irrigation and reclamation, land redistribution, changed patterns of agricultural production or new techniques; and which must look to the development of secondary or tertiary employment including the introduction of small scale industries, the setting up of trading estates; and finally which can only progress by the broadest possible combination of a number of the above measures, accompanied by a general program of education and promotion of family welfare in order to create the necessary social infra-structure and incentive for development.

"The extent of the research required will depend on intensity of the impact which the program of technical change is likely to have on living conditions and social structure, e.g. are the technical changes limited to specific production operations, or do they involve major switches in production patterns affecting a community's way of life, from extensive to intensive agriculture, from single crop to diversified farming, from tenancy or wage labor to ownership, and from village life to living on scattered farms, or from agriculture to industry.

The Anthropological Approach

"Social anthropology is concerned with man in his cultural setting and the way it is structured; accordingly the anthropologist is in a particularly strong position to study and assess the effect of technical change directed at particular points of the structure. Since the science of anthropology relies in the first place upon empirical observations out of which theory can later be constructed, it is at its best when dealing with single village communities or tribal units. Where the unit of observation is larger and the human components and social variables greater the sampling techniques of sociology and social psychology tend to be more effective as instruments to aid the administrator. None the less anthropologists draw upon techniques common to the different social sciences: opened and closed interviews, questionnaires, role and status, analysis, content analysis, etc. There is therefore no hard and fast principle as to whether an anthropologist or sociologist should be used in any particular case, and the techniques of anthropology previously confined to primitive tribes, are today in use in studies of factory conditions and observance of behaviour in highly developed communities.

"A fascinating study by an anthropologist in the area of South-east Asia is that reported by Professor Clifford Geertz in his article 'Ritual and Social Change: a Javanese Example' in the American Anthropologist of February 1957. Starting from the empirical observation of behaviour at a funeral ceremony he proceeds to trace the role of slametan (a communal feast) in community life in Java. He states that

'the demands of the labor-intensive rice and dry crops of agricultural process-require the perpetuation of specific methods of cooperation and force a sense of community in the otherwise self-contained families--a sense of the community which the slametan clearly reinforces.' His study shows how the function of the slametan becomes atrophied in the kampongs as a result of the process of urbanization, although it survives as a ritual. This is a common feature in a transitional society where the traditional forms of rural living are being steadily dissolved and new forms steadily being constructed. The outward manifestations appear in the incidents such as that at the funeral ceremony, leading to the study, and in other forms of social disorganization. The nature of the emergent social structures can be traced from anthropological enquiries of this kind. These emergent structures, as well as previously submerged pieces of social mechanisms (like the Indian 'panchayats') can be used positively by administrators who desire to intervene in the social process to stimulate economic change linked with social change.

Social Surveys and Community Studies

"Two other major tools of applied research which can be used in aid of the execution of such programs are the social survey and the community study. There are some problems of terminology in the use of these expressions. By community study we mean a field enquiry ranging rather widely over the main areas of community life, while by social survey we mean specific enquiries organized either centrally or locally which collect and analyze data on particular aspects and

repercussions of administrative action. The nature and scope of such enquiries and the techniques to be used are well set out in a simple form in 'Fact Findings with Rural People' prepared by the FAO and they need not be enlarged on here (1).

"Survey techniques and community studies are intended for a multiplicity of uses but for our purpose these are needed to help in (a) finding the right approaches and points of intervention for particular programs; (b) encouraging local leadership and group action; (c) promoting the communication and diffusion of new ideas.

"As regards (a) and (b), typical questions which can be illuminated through social survey techniques are:

"(1) What are the roles being performed by different individuals, groups and institutions in the area? (Clearly changes can be introduced more smoothly if they take into account the patterns which exist between roles).

"(2) The power structure, and the status and responsibility of its different elements. (The source of power may lie outside the community, and the local roles may be only intermediary or manipulative).

"(3) The incentives and rewards attached to maintaining the status quo, or alternatively to causing change or development. (These will be influenced by the role and the power systems in operation; but they may be independent of both).

"(4) The prevailing customs and norms of behaviour of individuals

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(1) See too Father J. L. Lebret "Guide pratique de l'enquete social," Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.

and groups, (these may be conditioned by and inter-locked with the role, power and reward. But they may be independent, having their roots in deep seated historical or ecological and biological causes).

"Within the foregoing factors there will be elements which will stimulate resistance to change, and others which will provide a basis for improving community development. Analysis of these different elements can help in program execution.

"As regards (c) it will be noted that the problem is not only to discover the right means of stimulating the forces tending to development, but also to secure proper lines of communication so that the policy is not altered by the time it reaches the person it is intended to influence. (This may take place consciously or unconsciously because the motivations of the intermediaries are not the same as those of the initiator or recipient of the new measures).

"The same considerations apply to the acceptance of programs. The person affected by the action will respond differently according to whether he feels he is involved in the policy and is actively participating or whether he regards himself as a passive beneficiary. This applies to some degree also to applied research itself. Surveys and studies have been conducted on the basis of the community participating in the surveys of itself, not only at the recipient but also at the action and of the research process. What such procedures gain in securing acceptance of the results of the research, how~~ever, t~~hey tend to lose in scientific precision and objectively where social problems are concerned, since self-survey is a difficult research

task when well-trained people are involved. But participation is a crucial issue at the level of execution, and research workers can give guidance on the choice of different methods of action by conducting small scientific controlled experiments. An experiment was carried out in the United States (1) to establish the efficacy of individual instruction or lectures as distinct from group discussion in introducing new methods of child nutrition. Both methods were tried and compared and the group discussion method proved far superior to individual instruction or lectures. Pilot experiments of this kind when carried out both scientifically and economically can guide operational agencies in their choice of working methods.

"The type of applied research required varies with the place of the community on the development scale we described earlier. The more the community is of a Gemeinschaft, folk or familistic character, the more value there is in the cultural or anthropological approach. Such cases exist in almost all regions and countries, even those called economically well-developed: they are rarer than in other continents. In Rural Sociology for March 1957, Margaret Vine deals with the social change in a Norwegian valley community. She states 'practically cut off from other peoples they have developed a sacred society with an almost impermeable value system that is resistent to social change.' She writes 'since about 1920, when communications improved, they have had electricity, schooling, roads and government services forced upon

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(1) See Group Dynamics: Research and Theory. Cartwright and Zander, p. 294. (Row, Peterson & Co. New York).

them. Because their value system does not encourage change they have not particularly wanted these changes nor have they utilized them to the upmost advantage (1)... the result is that the people do not use farm machinery although they know it exists; they do not particularly want labor saving electrical equipment although they have cheap electricity; they do not want to buy their food and clothes (instead of producing them themselves) although these items are available at local stores.'

"This investigator goes on to say that 'one of the significant factors producing social change is an external force--the Norwegian state government.' She explains that almost the only factors making for social change are the recent initiatives brought in by the government.

Attitude studies, experiments in group organization and leadership

"In the foregoing we have been mainly concerned with the aid which can be given to the action agencies by indicating the strategic points of entry into the community to secure social change, and with problems of communication and acceptance of new ideas. It is however also desirable to have available procedures for finding out the beliefs and attitudes which condition the thinking of the individuals and the community, and in particular the nature of the psychological processes which bring people to take initiatives in common. In rural communities

(1) On attitudes to land ownership in the Phillipines (Economic Research Journal, March 1959) Gutierrez notes slowness to use settlement opportunities: "family ties and village systems are stronger than the pioneering spirit."

it is particularly necessary to take into account religions beliefs: attitude to occupation or to leisure as ends in themselves: attitude to saving and the time span taken into account when deciding different courses of action: attitude to authority: the parent's attitude to children and to each other, and their ambitions: attitude to different types of occupation and activity, etc.

"In a number of countries, notably the U.S.A., agricultural extension services have made considerable use of social science techniques. The techniques employed are in some cases transferable to economically under-developed areas but in other cases reliance has to be placed on different tools, e.g. on anthropological approaches suitable for the analysis of whole communities. An example of a transferred technique leading to inter-country comparisons is a study of the Philippines by Edward A. Tiryakian reported in the American Journal of Sociology, January 1958, which covered four rural communities in Central Luzon and examined the prestige of different occupations. The results were correlated with similar enquiries in the USA, Great Britain, New Zealand and Japan and indicated 'marked agreement between the Philippines and other countries on the prestige evaluation of occupations.' Analysis of this kind can facilitate the work of both the foreign export and the national agricultural extension officer who is trying to put into operation methods successfully undertaken in other countries. The items of similarity need to be ascertained and further study centred upon the disparities of social patterns and behaviour. The results obtained have to be seen from the standpoint

of the prevailing system of social inter-action in the village community taken as a whole.

"Well established techniques exist for studying attitudes and for ranking them in order of importance in relation to specific programs. Substantial work has also been done on the question how to change attitudes and as is well known this aspect of social research has been used by advertising firms to great commercial advantage (1). In the field of community development research of considerable value has been conducted on the dynamics of group action of leadership, associated particularly with the experimental work fathered by Kurt Lewin in the United States. An example of this kind of experiment was that undertaken by R. Lippitt to find the necessary arrangements which encourage individuals in association to unfold their potentialities. Children at play were experimentally observed under different group atmospheres. Leaders behaved first in an authoritarian manner, i.e., dictated tasks, gave personal praise, and showed willfulness in the manner and selection of the commands. The behaviour of the children in the first situation could be compared with the responses in a second situation to a 'laissez-faire' leadership in which interference with the children was reduced to a minimum; no praise or blame was allotted and the children were left to their own devices. A third type of leadership, called in this experiment 'democratic,' organized group discussion, gave praise factually, and allowed for a division of labor in the group. Briefly

(1) See The Hidden Persuaders (Longmans) and The Engineering of Consent (University of Oklahoma Press, 1955).

summarized, the 'authoritarian' group responded at first efficiently, but when left alone was at a loss to know how to act. The 'laissez faire' group seemed purposeless and bewildered. The 'democratically' run group gave the best long-term results (1).

"An interesting sociological study relating to Asian conditions is that by David E. Lindstrom (2) of the diffusion of farm practices in Japan which was based on tests of attitudes to four major recommended farm practices and of the extent of the adoption of the practices. The study led him to the conclusion that if the extension system in a country to which technical aid is to be extended has a stated policy 'not to force people to do anything against their will,' then it must be recognized that adoption of new practices can come only if the people involved understand their importance, see them work out successfully in practice, and find in them distinct advantages over the old practices. This means that, although the conditioning influences can come through mass media, yet the influences leading to adoption must come from trusted and reliable agents in the community, who can find and convince those of influence among people to try out and use the new practice. Technological training is important, but it is not enough; agents must have training as well in how to analyze local social situations and how to work with the people and the groups of which they are a part.

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(1) R. Lippitt: "An experimental Study of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmospheres" in Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology, Iowa, 1940, Vol. I, No. 3.

(2) Rural Sociology, Vol. 23, June 1958, No 2.

Evaluation

"Evaluation is a field in which growing use is being made of the social sciences. The techniques range from those of the basic resource survey through community studies and social surveys to ease histories, attitudes scales, response evaluation of mass media campaigns, and experimental tests of the performance of groups in reaction to different types of programs measured against 'control groups' of persons unaffected.

"Normally evaluation is of three kinds according to whether it takes place before, during or after the project. The first kind ('pre-project evaluation') is concerned with the choice and planning of projects. The second kind ('in-project evaluation') deals with the assessment, guidance and re-direction of the operation and administration of the project. Ideally, evaluation of this kind should be 'built into' the project so that its effect will be similar to that of a gyroscope keeping a machine in balance. The third kind of evaluation ('post project') amounts to a post mortem, and while it is of little help to the project which is being dissected, it is likely to aid future action in different projects.

"A further, if rather self-evident, point is that evaluation should seldom be pursued for its own sake. Many projects clearly evaluate themselves and 'in-project evaluation' which tends to be most expensive of the three kinds needs to be limited in its use to major or pilot projects and to complex and marginal cases which will throw light on the direction of subsequent operations. Also it is necessary

to add that evaluation machinery, however effective, is no substitute for the day to day evaluation which should take place each time decisions are being made: every choice of a project and each operation unless of a routine character involves assessments which can never be of a mechanical character.

"In 'pre-project evaluation' the concern is with problems of choice and probability since by definition the project has not yet come into operation. The factors to be taken into account are: careful definition of the goals of the project; comparison with previous similar projects; analysis of the economic and social context; study of the institutional and administrative framework within which it is to work; interlock with other programs bearing on the same area; relation of cost and effort to anticipated result as compared with other alternatives. The chief requirement here is the data provided by basic research extrapolated as necessary.

"'In-project evaluation' is greatly assisted if it is possible to establish a 'basic line' in an area where basic research has already been undertaken; the necessary data may already be available but sometimes it may have to be collected afresh. In either case care must be taken to reduce the components of the base line to the absolute minimum compatible with the administrative needs, and with the available resources for maintaining the necessary record of changes as the project proceeds. For this purpose it is necessary to be clear in advance on the techniques to be employed for collecting the information and the periodicity of check.

"So far as the problem of village development is primarily one of changing people's social behaviour the techniques of social psychology are particularly relevant but are at the same time perhaps the least known and widespread. Certain changes in rural life are relatively easy to measure (e.g. crop output, growth of personal income, morbidity rates) provided data collecting machinery is available. But to study changes in people's attitudes and motivations more subtle and complex techniques are necessary. By the establishment of base lines and giving scores to different practices it is possible to measure the effect of specific programs and campaign on the behaviour of a community's population. The results are sometimes surprising.

"Further, since the essence of programs of the kind we are discussing is the stimilation of change and its spread to as many people as possible the social survey methods are a useful means of checking what communication has actually been effected. A study made by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission of the Government of India produced some remarkable results. Whereas an average of 68 percent of the villages had heard of the project covering their area, in one village as many as 85 percent had not heard. The techniques used in this enquiry were partly those of social survey and partly those of public opinion research.

"Other forms of evaluation are more strictly in the field of social psychology, such as discovering what means are the most effective in producing participation in projects and group tasks. Most of these studies (1) emphasize the importance of securing discussion and

(1) See Lippitt, 'Training in Human Relations', Harper and Brothers. New York, 1949.

involvement in decisions on the part of the people affected and confirm the statement by Lords Lindsay 'that the primary cell of the democratic community is the discussion group.'

"Research activities of this kind can introduce an objectivity of judgment and a reliance on verifiable facts which can greatly help rural development programs.

Conclusions: Organization of Research

"It seems clear that existing research institutions and universities could give more attention to the social problems of rural areas: in teaching and training activities, in influencing the choice of subjects for doctorates, in promoting field studies in vacation periods, in 'adopting' particular villages or communities for continuing study.

"The next step is the extension of existing research resources, either as a national or regional basis. Various patterns of action are possible. In the countries where the social sciences are more extensively developed the effort has been largely made through the existing universities. In countries where the social sciences are still at early stages of development the facilities of the United Nations and specialized agencies, and particularly of UNESCO through its Department of Social Sciences, can be utilized. Various types of assistance are available according to needs. Assistance can be given in the establishment of new teaching faculties in existing universities, in the setting up of reaearch utilizing particular disciplines, in meeting documentary and bibliographical needs.

"Then there is the problem of creating a trained research staff. Here again the international agencies can help, as for instance in the case of the Demographic Training Center established in Saigon by the United Nations, and in the followship programs of UNESCO, the FAO, and other agencies. But the main responsibility must rest with the governments and research institutions of the countries concerned, and the initiative, even with limited resources, must come from them. This points to the need to create an 'operational sense' among the social scientists concerned and a 'research mindedness' among administrators. On this difficult point there has to be a spirit both of give and take, as indeed there has to be also between the various social sciences concerned. The problems of the rural areas of Southeast Asia are a challenge to the research potentiality and the practical capacity of all of the social science disciplines and the inter-disciplinary approach should be used wherever feasible, particularly in basic research.

"The organizational action required therefore might be summarized as follows:

"(1) Better use of existing research resources: greater concentration of effort on the social problems of rural areas.

"(2) Extension of social science resources and setting up of new research institutions where feasible: use of facilities of international agencies.

"(3) Training of the research workers concerned to be operational in their outlook when framing the problems to be studied and

choosing the hypotheses to be tested, while not in any way compromising their scientific objectivity.

"(4) Training of administrators to be aware of uses and possibilities of research and to exploit the full potentialities of the social sciences.

"(5) Use of the inter-disciplinary approach in basic research.

"(6) Development of simplified research methods where possible, which can be sponsored by the government departments and agencies concerned without excessive cost, and which can be fitted into the framework of their programs, particularly in the field of evaluation."

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C. Studies in Viet Nam: The Montagnards

One of the major administrative, as well as social, problems facing the Republic concerns the welfare and development of the Montagnards. Strengthening the rapprochment with the tribal peoples represents one of the major challenges facing the Republic in its endeavors to transform the nation from an underdeveloped to a developed stage.

Currently, the political issue makes this even more serious. Because of the extreme degree of "underdevelopedness" of the Montagnards there is a vital need to maximize the use of social science research in developing plans for governmental programs and administrative systems.

The following recommendations were made on the basis of a brief study prepared by an anthropologist on the MSUG staff in 1957. They illustrate how a social scientist attempts to relate his study to action programs.

The PMS: Recommendations and Analysis*

Conclusions and Recommendations.

"Land grabbing and fear of land grabbing is one of the primary causes of Mountaineer discontent. Therefore, it would be advisable for the government to adopt a firm policy regarding the land rights of

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* Preliminary Research Report on the PMS, Michigan State University, Viet Nam Advisory Group, June, 1957, 50 pp. (est.) (mimeo).

the Mountaineers as soon as possible and to publicize the adopted policy widely. The present ambivalent attitude of the government in this respect leads to administrative chaos. Some province chiefs saw a need to define Mountaineer land rights while others declared that the Mountaineers have no such rights because they do not have 'papers.' Research conducted thus far has established the fact that all of the ethnic groups in the PMS have a traditional system of land tenure and definite mechanisms for holding and transferring title or use of land. Further, Rhade land owners expressed their willingness to discuss the sale or rental of their land with a commission composed of government officials and Rhade leaders.

> This was one of the major problems that had to be resolved in the case of the American Indians. At the present time, about 2/3 of the Indians in the United States live on land which they own, the title of which is guaranteed by treaties or statutes.

"In view of the pressing need to establish in the minds of the Mountaineers the good faith of the government, the following programs should receive special attention:

"1. Medical Service. Under the French there was an effective medical service in the PMS. It included resident doctors in the provincial towns, dispensaries in many villages, and periodic visits to all villages to administer inoculations and general medical care. In the present transition period this service has been discontinued in the villages, leaving a noticeable gap. This medical service should be reestablished as soon as possible.

"2. The Education System. The education system is badly neglected

in many areas. Missionaries have established some impressive schools, but there is a noticeable lack of government schools. The shocking condition of the Kate school (mostly Mountaineer orphans) near Dran is a striking example of administrative neglect.

"3. Alcohol Sales. The continuing sales of alcohol, mostly chaume-chaume rice wine, is a contributing factor to the problems that exist in the PMS. Responsible individuals have expressed great concern over the effect of this alcohol on the Mountaineers and the exploitation associated with it (chaume-chaume is much stronger than the rice wine which the Mountaineers make for their own consumption). There were cases cited where Mountaineers drunk on chaume-chaume would sign over property or their harvest. It would be advisable for the government to consider an effective ban on alcohol sales in this area.

"4. Price Controls in the Markets. The markets appear to be a source of many incidents. The Mountaineers often complained of being cheated by the merchants. There are many incidents cited where the merchants offer very low prices for vegetables the Mountaineers bring in to sell, and in some instances when the Mountaineers refuse, the merchants crush the vegetables, making them unsalable. There are also cases of Mountainers being overcharged for articles they want to purchase. In the Pleiku market it was noted that prices were marked on many articles. This is a step in the right direction and it is recommended that it be carried out more completely and strictly enforced in all of the markets.

"Serious consideration should be given to the formation of joint

Vietnamese-Mountaineer committees in each province to act as advisors to the province chiefs on problems that arise between the Mountaineers and the Vietnamese.

"Administrators being sent to the PMS should receive a special course of training in Mountaineer customs and traditions so that they will be better prepared to deal with administrative problems associated with the Mountaineers.

"Mountaineers should be placed in administrative positions in the PMS whenever possible. Special attention should be given to a program for training more Mountaineer administrators at the National Institute of Administration.

"A propaganda campaign should be launched among the Vietnamese and Mountaineers alike to increase understanding and tolerance of their respective customs and traditions.

"The Secretary of State for the Interior should have access to advice on Mountaineer affairs from the Mountaineer viewpoint. This could be achieved by appointing a Mountaineer or someone fully cognizant of the Mountaineer viewpoint as a Special Assistant for Mountaineer Affairs, or establishing a Council of Representatives of Mountaineer tribes which would meet with the Secretary at stated intervals to discuss Mountaineer problems of national interest.

"In view of the programs proposed for the PMS by the government, there is definite need for additional knowledge on certain aspects of Mountaineer societies. This is particularly true in the areas of traditional economic systems and land tenure as well as internal political

systems. The administration of these programs and the successful administration of the PMS in general demands perceptive understanding of the Mountaineers. The PMS is a unique area in Viet Nam and should be recognized as such.

"It is proposed that such research be carried out in conjuction with the economic projects being started in the PMS. As areas are selected for development, research on the Mountaineers in these particular areas should begin as soon as possible thereafter, so that the collected information would facilitate the carrying out of the project. For example, in a relatively short time, valuable information on Rhade land tenure and the possibility of purchasing or renting Rhade land was collected in relation to a land development project being launched near Ban Me Thuot.

"This work should be done by the research division of the National Institute of Administration in collaboration with the Michigan State Advisory Group. Basically, the knowledge gained in such research will be applied in an administrative framework. It not only will result in a deeper understanding of the administrative problems in the PMS, but it also will be valuable in training a permanent cadre of researchers for the Vietnamese government.

Analysis.

"In many respects, the present situation in the PMS resembles that of the American West during the 19th century. The movement of settlers into the new western territories touched off years of struggle

with the Indians who regarded it as an invasion of their ancestral lands. It also precipitated problems which have taken years of study and work to resolve. The American government and interested agencies have put much effort in the Indian problem and have learned a great deal in the process.(1)

"From the Vietnamese point of view, the PMS is a new territory and settlers, encouraged by the government, are moving in at an ever-increasing rate. Towns such as Ban Me Thuot and Pleiku have almost doubled their populations and the areas surrounding them are dotted with new villages and new fields. More than one outside observer has noted, however, that the Mountaineers fear this influx of settlers. Like the American Indian they look upon it as an invasion—a colonization of their land. They bitterly recite instances of exploitation, mostly by the military and merchants, and land grabbing by the new settlers. They seem to feel a deep sense of frustration at not being able to do anything about it. Although they resented the presence of the French, they tend to look back on the days of French rule as a time when things were better. Many express the desire to flee to the remote parts of the mountains and others appear determined to fight.

"One important element in the PMS situation is the presence of Viet Cong agents abetting the unrest and utilizing it in their propaganda

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(1) At the present time there are more than 400,000 Indians in the U.S. The number is increasing every year at a very rapid rate. At the close of the 19th century there were only about 250,000 Indians.

to the detriment of the government's prestige and programs. This propaganda stresses the government's lack of interest in the Mountaineers and the government's lack of good faith in failing to keep promises. In addition, Viet Cong agents reportedly are making the tempting offer of autonomy if the Mountaineers support their cause.

"The current government program is to bring settlers into the PMS for economic development and also to stablizing the area by a large influx of anti-communist refugees from the North. It would be well to consider the effect this may have on the Mountaineers, viz., to alienate them further. This could possibly lead to a situation where stability is gained in isolated spots while the region as a whole becomes less stable.

"The French remain an economic force in the PMS. Any role they may be playing in the present situation is not clearly visible. If additional research is undertaken, one of the specific objectives might be to determine the influence, if any, of the French on the Mountaineers.

"The above recommendations are made with a view to forming a program for the PMS that will ameliorate the existing situation and more clearly define the role of the Mountaineers in the economic development of the area."

* * *

D. Studies in Viet Nam: A Major Socio-Economic Survey

One way to categorize research is by the continumm of "intensive-extensive." A study limited to one village council would be viewed--in terms of studies of village councils--as an intensive study while if all village councils were included, the study would be described as extensive. Similarly in social and economic research studies may be classified in this way. Already available in the Republican era of Viet Nam are excellent examples of both "intensive" and "extensive" socio-economic studies (or surveys).

Various studies made by faculty members of the NIA and MSUG merit the category of "intensive." In both the "Vinh Long" and "Quang Nam" series, major portions deal with socio-economic features of the two villages. While the "intensive" character of those is more limited in terms of time spent in research, the studies by Professors Hendry in economics and Hickey in sociology in the one small village of Khanh Hau (The Study of a Vietnamese Rural Community cited earlier) merit viewing as examples of fairly high degrees of intensification since more than one year was spent in field research. Yet both researchers could envision even more research within the one village.

The outstanding example of extensive research (with which the writer is familiar) was prepared by a special staff hired by the Bank of Viet Nam and known for its survey work in other countries. This staff came from the "Centre d'Etudes Economie et Humanisme" in Paris. Its final report, consisting of two printed volumes, provides a wealth of data about the socio-economic characteristics of all areas in

Viet Nam and a set of proposals for further governmental programs. In the opinion of this writer it is a report that should be thoroughly digested by all students of administration concerned with relating administration closely to socio-economic development. The study was published in September, 1959: Etude sur Les Conditions de Vie et Les Besoins de la Population du Viet Nam, Mission "Economie et Humanisme," Banque Nationale du Viet Nam, Republique du Viet Nam, 2 Tomes.

The basic technique for the study was the use of a sample of 71 rural communities chosen as representative of the variations in socio-economic patterns throughout Viet Nam--the group consisted of localities identified as rice growing, fishing, refugee, plantations, Montagnard and Cham; a regional distribution was also made. Urban areas were also chosen from Saigon and other localities. A standardized method for measuring the various socio-economic characteristics was used by all of the field research personnel when making their personal interviews. To present their findings consolidated profiles for each community were presented in the form of circular diagrams--very confusing for the neophyte to read but very convenient after one has mastered the code and the meanings. The following extracts explain the composition of consolidated profiles that depict the socio-economic characteristics and the major divisions of the entire report, copies of which should be available in libraries and elsewhere.

A. FOREWORD

By his letter dated September 9, 1957, Mr. Tran Huu Phuong, Governor of the National Bank of Viet Nam, requested the Center of Study

"Economie et Humanisme" to contemplate for Viet Nam an analysis similar to those made formerly by the same Center for the government of the Republic of Colombia and for the Commission of the Parana-Uruguay river-basin in Brazil.

It was agreed that the first portion of the work would treat only the standard of living and the needs of the rural and urban population of Viet Nam.

This analysis should be made by a systematic sounding operation and a method commonly used by the "Economie et Humanisme" Center.

The aim of the work is, for the rural population, to characterize by a certain number of criteria:

I-A.-	Health standard
I-B.-	Sanitary facilities
II-A.-	Agricultural situation
II-B.-	Technical and economic facilities
II-C.-	Structural conditions of economic development (the economic life)
III-A.-	Household life level
III-B.-	Household facilities
IV-A.-	Overall residential standard
IV-B.-	Housing standard
V-A.-	Education standard
V-B.-	Educational facilities

These standards are considered as "basic" standards, and the "facilities standards" or condition standards I-B, II-B, III-B, IV-A,

V-B should be able to indicate the ways and means to improve the "situation standards" I-A, II-A, II-C, III-A, IV-B, V-A.

It seems helpful to add to these "basic" standards, more or less measurable, a certain number of "social" standards which could be accurately estimated by well selectioned and sufficiently trained investigators; four standards of this type have been retained in our study:

VI.-	The cultural and leisure standard
VII.-	The familial standard
VIII.-	The social life standard
IX.-	The spiritual standard

"Basic" standards pertaining to the urban population included the following ones:

I-A.-	Health standard
I-B.-	Health facilities
II-A.-	Household or home life situation
II-B.-	Household facilities
III-A.-	Educational situation
III-B.-	Educational facilities
IV.-	Housing situation
V.-	Town planning and basic urban facilities
VI.-	Administrative facilities and services
VII.-	Handicraft and Trade
VIII.-	Means of transportation

I-B, II-B, III-B, V, VI, VII and VIII are various standards of facilities

and conditions, the improvement of which should permit the increase in the standards of situation I-A, II-A, III-A, IV.

Like in the rural analysis, four "social" standards have been added:

IX.- The cultural and leisure standard

X.- The social life

XI.- Familial life standard

XII.- Spiritual life standard

In both analyses, no qualitative discrimination between different forms of spiritual life was made; we only attempted to find out, for each religious or para-religious group, the degree of devotedness to and imbuement with the form of spiritual life they have chosen.

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E. Interests of Various Governmental Agencies in Socio-Economic Action Programs

Describing all pertinent governmental programs would be too demanding for this presentation; however, considerable appreciation of programs of the Republic can be obtained from excerpts of a questionnaire on rural development prepared for the 1960 Conference of EROPA in Manila.

"Governmental Administration of Rural Development"

"I.- Recognition of the need for a rural development program. Viet Nam is essentially an agricultural country. The problems of rural development have always been the main preoccupation of the government as well as that of the people themselves.

"1. Was there any tradition of governmental assistance for rural development?

"In an earlier period, agricultural development was given special emphasis and public works such as water and flood control were undertaken by former kings. Viet Nam also has a tradition of regulating private property and common lands (Cong dien, Cong tho) and assuring their equitable distribution among villagers. Other traditions include recruiting manpower for developing new land, establishing new settlement centers (Chieu dan luu mo dinh dien), building up public granaries to meet famine contingencies and to prevent an increase in the price of paddy, and to generally assist farmers by extending loans and distributing

seeds (sac khuyen nong, khuyen quyen, khuyen nap). In the last few years the government has carried out a number of important programs of rural development: agrarian reform, agricultural credit, cooperative movements, farmers' associations, agrovilles, land reclamation, health facilities, mass education, information services, aid to fisheries, handicraft and small cottage industries.

"2. What were the major factors accelerating the interest of the government in rural development?

"The importance attached to rural development by the government may be explained as follows:

"a. Reasons inherent in conditions of underdeveloped countries with agricultural infrastructure:

"(1) In crease in population; unequal distribution of rural population; necessity to modernize agriculture, to raise the social standing of the population, to reorganize traditional structures; shortage of capital--underemployment in agricultural activities;

"(2) Natural resources not fully exploited;

"(3) Rural sector relatively less developed than urban sector;

"(4) Low productivity in agriculture;

"(5) Important role of the agricultural sector in the economy (80 per cent of total population): economic potential and political stronghold of the nation.

"b. Consequences of recent ways: necessity to implant the refugees from the North and to resettle the displaced population; disorganization of rural life and administration. It is worth noting that our program of rural development, a mainspring of our national economic policy, is part of the general policy of reconstruction and renovation of our country the objective of which is to assure social and economic justice and to promote the advancement of the working class.

"3. In what years did the interest of the government expand the most?

"In Viet Nam, the existing program for rural development was initiated in 1955 beginning with the agrarian reform; it has been thereafter followed up by relentless efforts of the government. In 1957, a considerable amount of effort was concentrated on a vast program of land development and for that purpose the Commissariat General for Land Development was set up and made directly responsible to the office of the Presidency. In 1959, the program was intensified by the extension of a cooperative movement, the creation of farmers' associations and agrovilles. These efforts were aimed at community development through collective action and self-help.

"4. What basic decisions did the government have to make in shaping its program for rural development?

"In accordance with the principles of the Constitution, based on the respect of the human personality and collective advancement and for the purpose of rural development, the government has taken the following basic decisions:

"a. To redistribute land to propertyless farmers so that they are provided with incentives to work and that social justice may realized through a more equitable distribution of rural land (agrarian problems);

"b. To lighten rural debts by making available loans at a low rate of interest (agricultural credit problems);

"c. To develop an agrarian infrastructure, to introduce technical improvement, to diversify and to increase production (problems of farmers' management and productivity);

"d. To assure the farmers a just remuneration for their labor by improving methods of producing and distributing agricultural products (problems of marketing);

"e. To improve the living conditions of peasants a sine qua non condition of economic development; struggle against illiteracy; diffusion of technical know-how and hygienic education (e.g. malaria eradication);

"f. To educate the population with a view to making them aware of their 'underdeveloped' living conditions and thereby stimulate their individual and collective activities to remedy the situation (problems of social infrastructure).

"In effect, in an underdeveloped economy, or one at the taking off stage, agriculture is the backbone which supports all other economic activities. All the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors penetrate each other in a national economy, and in order to maintain the economic and social equilibrium, all efforts are directed towards a better integration of agriculture. (Speech delivered by Mr. Tran Ngoc Lien, Commissioner General for Cooperatives and Agricultural Credit before the Rotary Club of Saigon on April 28, 1960. 'The Importance of a Sound Agricultural Credit Program for the National Economy!)

"5. Was there a conflict between concentrating on urban rather than rural development?

"6. Once the interest of the government was awakened, was there any major conflicts over the choice of means by which rural development should be achieved?

If so, what were these conflicts?

What were the issues?

What was the division of opinion by groups interested?

"There exists no conflict in the choice of ways and means used on the one hand for the development of the urban sector and that used on the other hand for rural development.

"The government policy, clearly defined by the Chief of State in various official messages and speeches, aims at a harmonious development of different regions of the

country, with a view to collective advancement of the working mass towards a better life and progress.

"The official policy is also guided by a concept of balanced growth between the agricultural and industrial sector. Both sectors are beneficiaries of appropriate measures of help from the government.

"There is no conflict of principle as to the policy adopted for rural and urban development.

"The most recent device adopted in rural development is the creation of agrovilles which involves the grouping of scattered peasants isolated from the main arteries of communication and transportation. Agrovilles are designed as agricultural settlements to provide these peasants with protection and allow them to enjoy more of the facilities and conveniences of modern life. The agrovilles should contribute to the cessation of Viet Nam's rural exodus.

"Rationally conceived and sensibly carried out, our program of reconstruction will bring about order and harmony in the redistribution of the population as well as in the establishment of rural and urban centers.

"7. What groups within the society played the most important roles in shaping the rural development program groups such as political parties; key executives; private associations; university personnel; newspapers and other mass media; and technical assistance from other nations and such agencies as UNESCO, WHO, FOA, etc.?

"In an underdeveloped country, state interference in agricultural development has been necessary and will undoubtedly remain so for a long time with the view to helping the farmers. Public authorities have therefore an important role to play in the conception, elaboration, implementation, and coordination of development programs as well as in their eventual adjustment to the general interest.

"Our government attaches paramount importance to the promotion of a nationwide movement of self-improvement (farmers' associations, agricultural syndicates, cooperatives and unions of cooperatives) which is deemed to be the most efficient means of obtaining permanent results. The field agents as well as the press also play a significant role in the diffusion of new ideas and techniques. The institutions of technical and higher education such as the National School of Agriculture at Blao, the National Institute of Administration, and the University of Saigon indirectly play an important role in rural development in the training and formation of technical and administrative cadres. International organizations (UNESCO, WHO, ILO, FOA) have also made valuable contributions. Mention should also be made of the highly appreciated aid of the USOM, the French Technical Aid Mission and the Colombo Plan.

"8. In what year did rural development become well established as a major program? How did it achieve this recognition?

By the establishment of a separate agency? By the adoption of a 'five year plan'?

"Rural development programs have been considered since 1955 as essential to the reconstruction of the national economy. In his message to the Vietnamese people of January 24, 1955, President Ngo Dinh Diem outlined the main points of a vast program of economic and social reconstruction aimed at raising the level of living of different classes of the population according to the principles of justice and equity.

"a. Although the necessity of rural development has been firmly recognized by the government, the implementation of the program has not been entrusted to any single organization; rather, our government has divided the responsibilities and assigned them to several departments and agencies, the activities of which are coordinated at Cabinet meetings or meetings of the secretaries of State. Besides the Departments of Agriculture, National Economy and Agrarian Reforms, there exist agencies as the Commissariat General for Cooperatives and Agricultural Credit, the Commissariat General for Land Development, the Special Commissariat for Civic Action, and the General Directorate of Planning all of which function directly under the office of the President. Various technical commissions have also been set up such as the Commission for Community Development (whose chairman

is the Secretary of State at the Presidency, the special Commission for Farmers' Association, and the Commission for Rural Life Study. A five-year plan aimed at an increase of 16 per cent of gross national product during the life of the plan, was drawn up in 1957 in which highest priority was given to the development of the agricultural sector.

"II. The substance of rural development.

"9. What aspects of rural life have been selected as the objects for development?

"10. What goals has the government set? How have these been defined?

"11. What priorities relative to the various aspects of rural life have been established? What improvements, in other words, does the government consider as first, second, and third importance?

"An increase in the level of living of the rural population requires the implementation of a set of technical, economic, and social measures which 'in order to be really effective must be integrated into a living and realistic setting.' In an underdeveloped country, and particularly in the agricultural sector, the social and economic aspects are intimately related to each other. To maximize efficiency, social and econimic problems of rural development must be dealt with simultaneously. The goal of the government's

agricultural policy is the improvement of the general conditions of rural life. To achieve these goals, it is essential to increase agricultural production both quantitatively and qualitatively. Among the means appropriate to this end are the widespread and improved use of seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, and the introduction of mechanized farming. In Viet Nam, the government has supported and assisted the formation of both producer and consumer cooperatives. These cooperatives are intended to enable farmers to share scarce working tools and equipment and to allow them to receive remuneration commensurate with their labor as well as to protect them from being expoited by money lenders. At the end of a long period of war our government had to help the refugees and displaced persons by providing them with necessary means to resume their normal activities.

"To reach its goal, the government has deemed it necessary to furnish land to farmers and then to consolidate the new land tenure system through government policy.

"Suffice it to repeat here that such measures as agrarian reforms, credit to small business, land development program and rural credit are intended to help the farmers and to normalize the conditions of rural life. Other improvements were made after those basic measures had been put in operation.

"12. What does the government feel is the <u>sine qua non</u> condition of rural development? It is concerned with preserving any

traditional religious characteristics and family patterns, or does it say all obstacles to rural development must be eliminated?

"Our government considers as an essential condition of rural development the establishment of a democratic social base particularly at the village level by economic and social progress: 'the amelioration or the creation of an agricultural infrastructure and the promotion of a vast movement directed towards progress and community action.' (Message of President Ngo Dinh Diem to the National Assembly).

"It is not necessary to break with the traditions of the past. It does not imply the indiscriminate adoption of new techniques in rural areas with the risk of destroying the existing equilibrium. The objective of our government is to lead rural communities in the path of progress by a continual but gradual adoption of modern techniques introduced at a rate commensurate with the community's level of development. However, research and study is needed to measure the effect of these social-psychological factors which may either hinder or assist development.

"Among the social-psychological factors hindering development in Viet Nam are the following: regional particularism, a stubborn attachment to family ties and birth places, inertia, irrational resistance to change, and obsolete concepts of agrarian philosophy. But these obstacles do not seem to be insuperable.

"13. What picture has it developed for rural life 30 years from now?

"Thirty years from now, we hope to see a harmonious urban and rural development as well as the social and economic advancement of our rural population to the point that problems of rural poverty and under-employment will be solved and that education will be accessible to everybody.

"'The government is convinced that with a sound, human economy, based on our capacities of meeting the essential needs of the population in foodstuff, clothing, housing, health and national defense, all social problems which are at the bottom but economic problems will be satisfactorily solved and a new life free of all pressure will animate this land of Asia.' (Message of President Diem to the Vietnamese people 12/2/1956.)

"III. <u>The administrative scheme for rural development</u>.

"It might help if the scheme and its part were placed within the range of two theoretical extremes:

"a. At one extreme no special administrative scheme for rural development would exist: the nation would conduct its rural development through its already existing system of government and administration.

"b. At the other extreme 'rural development' would be established as one of the basic functions of the government and so recognized by giving it various status symbols

such as a major separate department of administration, a special and separate program, a special personnel system, and a special budget and financial system.

"14. Describe briefly the organizational arrangement (including central-field relationships, delegation of authority, role of local units).

"The policy of our Government is not to set up a single agency endowed with a budget and a special personnel to carry out our programs of rural development. It is deemed more efficient to entrust the implementation of rural development programs to several Secretariats of State, Commissariats General, and Directorates General which collaborate intimately with local administrations.

The administrative scheme for rural development.

"Governmental organizations at the following levels are in charge of rural development: Secretariats of State, Directorates General, Commissions, Local Administrations and popular associations.

"a. Central organizations:

(1) Secretariat of State for Agriculture

(2) Secretariat of State for National Economy

(3) Secretariat of State of Agrarian Reforms

(4) Secretariat of State of Health

(5) Secretariat of State of National Education

(6) Commissariat General for Agricultural Credit and Cooperatives

(7) Commissariat General for Agricultural and Land Development

(8) Commissariat Special for Civic Action

(9) General Directorate of Planning

(10) General Directorate for Reconstruction.

"b. Commissions:

- National Commission for Agrarian Reforms
- Special Commission for National Farmers Association
- Commission for Rural life Study
- Central Commission for Community Development.

"In addition to these technical commissions, there are attached to ministerial departments and central organizations Consultative Commissions (Uy Ban Tu Van), e.g. the rubber commission in the Department of Agriculture, a mixed commission comprised of representatives of the population and of the government. A number of the above mentioned Secretariats of State and Commissariats General have their agencies at various levels of administrative organization. Most of these agencies are assigned to a sector covering several provinces.

"c. Local administrations: The collaboration of provincial authorities, chiefs of districts, and communal councils is also necessary for the implementation of rural development programs.

"d. Popular associations: In Viet Nam, our organizational

method for rural development has a clearcut democratic character. It is based on the active collaboration between public authorities and the population which have their representatives in the technical and consultative commissions (see also answer No. 20.)

"15. Describe briefly the programming procedures, the implementation of program.

"For each sector of development (agrarian reforms, agricultural credit, cooperatives, fisheries, handicraft, etc.) programs based on concrete data are carefully prepared by the responsible technical services, then studied in commission before being submitted to the decision of the government.

"At the implementation stage, a certain amount of freedom of action is given to local authorities to take appropriate measures to make the program adaptable to their localities according to local conditions.

"16. Describe briefly the 'rural development' personnel system (status, modality of recruitment etc...)

"The personnel in charge of rural development is comprised of government employees and technicians who have a status as civil servants, even if recruited by contract.

"In addition to the above mentioned personnel, there have been created in these last few years numerous cadres and mobile teams: for civic action, for information, for

agricultural credit and cooperatives, for sanitation services etc. They are recruited by competitive examination and must complete an intensive training period which varies according to the needs of the agencies concerned, usually from three to six months. These cadres are responsible to the existing and relevant technical services. They receive, besides their usual remuneration, a stipulated per diem allowance for their field trips.

"17. How do the functions of the rural social organizations such as the village tribe, clan, and family fit into the pattern of local government?

"As was said before, local authorities exercise their power through close contact with traditional family and popular rural organizations such as the farmers' associations and cooperatives.

"In effect, the objective of our government is to promote rural development not in a planning framework imposed from above but with the voluntary and active participation of the population with a view to establishing a free and human economy which will be able to meet the needs and legitimate aspirations of the peasants.

"18. What role do the following organizations (public health, public schools, libraries, agricultural extension) play in the present community development program? Could their effectiveness be increased?

"In our answer to questionnaire No. 9 we have underlined both economic and social aspects of our program for rural development. It is essential to rationalize productivity in the agricultural sector and to raise the social standing of the population, sine qua non conditions for our economic development. Therefore, the form of organization relied upon to deal with problem as rural sanitation, expanding primary and technical education, extension services in agriculture, and diffusion of economic information, is important to the success of rural development enterprises. In order to increase their efficiency, we try within the limits of our financial possibilities to:

"a. Give support to those organizations whose branches are set up at the village level to make their services available to the population.

"b. Multiply our cadres and our mobile teams which are in constant contact with need villagers.

"In the field of public health, a decentralized organization had been set up for the development of rural health and the popularization of hygienic education. Order No. 59 of October 25th, 1956, created Provincial Services of Health, District Bureaus of Health Bureaus of Rural Health, and Committees of Rural Health Protection at the village level.

"19. How are the local authorities interrelated organizationally to community development projects and community development personnel?

"The role of our local administration is crucial to our rural development activities.

"a. They establish and carry out in collaboration with the technical services detailed plans for local action. New projects or ideas may be introduced into the local community by the central government after general investigations as to the desirability and timeliness of projects. In the process of adopting a rural development project, local administrations help by conducting on-the-spot investigations, by evaluating projects, and in other ways. In some cases, local administration submits proposals for local development to the appropriate department of the central government. In addition they may engage in development projects of local interest on their own initiative.

"b. Local administrations render assistance to technical agencies of the central government in many ways. They may supervise works in progress and in some cases they may have to provide personnel and other means to carry them out, including funds. They assist the technicians in their official trips to localities in every possible way. They conduct propaganda campaigns in favour of rural development and encourage popular development organizations. Local administrations have been beneficial in stimulating the active participation of the

villagers in every phase of the modernization of rural life.

"21. What does the government consider as the most significant criteria for evaluating accomplishments?

"In evaluating the results of our rural development program, we considered the following criteria as the most significant:

"a. Material and tangible criteria: Increase of land under cultivation, redistribution of rural property, increase of agricultural production, diversification of production, development of profitable 'secondary' activities (fisheries, animal husbandry), increase in number of new schools and hospitals, establishment of rural credit institutions, creation of rural development centers, agrovilles, etc.; in brief, all tangible factors which contribute to the productivity of the rural area.

"b. Psychological and intangible criteria: a more and more active participation of the population, improvement in health conditions, education, acceptance of a regulatory legislation, concerted action of the community with a view to accelerating rural development.

"22. Have established technical ministries been weakened as the result of rural development programs?

"'No.' The cooperation of technical services is always

necessary and will remain so for the implementation of rural development programs. Whatever the importance and magnitude of the results in rural development, the role of the technical services should not be ignored, diminished, or belittled. This is more ture in the case of underdeveloped countries with rudimentary techniques and tools in the sense that farmers should continually be adpting themselves to new techniques and conditions of modern life, As a sociologist has rightly put it, 'The modern farmer is no more a man attached to the hoe; he is becoming a laboratory agent, an executor of scientific rules...' It is therefore indispensable to simultaneously carry out research and the popularization of new techniques and knowledge. We maintain that it is important to promote a continual adaptation of the farmer's mind to broad economic and professional training so that a conscious and voluntary harmony between Man and Land may be established, creating and recreating and perpetuating itself in concrete action to cope with new needs and situations which are always changing with the process of growth.

"It is in this framework of ideas that our rural development program has been organized and based on the close and permanent collaboration between the technical services and the local administrations.

"23. How much of local self-government is related to the overall planning body in rural development?

"Strictly viewed, local self-government does not exist in Viet Nam. However, the municipalities, provinces, and villages can be regarded as having to some extent a self-government, and they are consulted in problems having direct concern to their localities.

"24. What is the present direction of the trends for rural development? What changes might take place in the present trend?

"Soon after the partition of the country in 1954, programs of rural development were started with definite social objectives consisting of the resettlement of displaced persons and stabilizing their conditions of existence. The present focus is more on economic aspects with a view to increased agricultural production and the promotion of collective action as illustrated by the creation of co-operatives, syndicates, development zones, farmers' associations, and agrovilles. It should be born in mind that to improve rural life is a long run enterprise. To insure the continuity of efforts, the successive plans, those which are consecutive to each stage of evolution, must fit in a long term perspective in accordance with national objectives which are clearly defined. Although plans may change in order to meet changed local conditions, it is important not to lose sight of the general criteria of development aimed at the promotion of both the economic

and social standing of the community as well as the harmonious growth of different sectors and regions of the country."

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IV. IMPROVING LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

This is being written at a time when interest in administrative reform in Viet Nam is strong. The attempted coup d'etat of last November strongly stimulated thinking among governmental officials and others about ways for strengthening the existing system.

In February, as shown below, the President announced the overall scheme for administrative reorganization. However, movement toward this was slowed by a competing attraction, the first Presidential election. But a few days following the election, local newspapers picked up the theme of reform once more.

Perhaps by the time this Report is published the reforms of the President will have been made. But that will not decrease the value of the following discussion unless a more comprehensive and "modern" reorganization occurs in the pattern of central-provincial-local administration for as the writer views the intentions of the administration, reform relative to these aspects will not have a major impact on the existing system. Specific proposals so far call merely for establishment of village elections, addition of a representative of the Republican Youth groups, and a provincial consultative council. In the writer's opinion much more is needed in local reform to adjust the system to the demands and capabilities of the people. This section, "Improving Local Administration," closes with a brief statement of an approach that the writer believes can provide

the concept and mechanisms for a far more effective system of local and central-local administration.

* * *

A. The President's Plan for Administrative Reform

1. As announced in the Le Journal d'Extreme Orient:

It may be that the official announcement differs somewhat from that carried by the newpapers; however, in absence of a copy of it, the following newspaper account of it is reproduced.

For this study of local administration the most interesting features of the President's program are (1) the proposal to establish a Department of Rural Affairs that will include activities of agrarian reform, agriculture, agricultural development, agricultural credit, and agroville construction; (2) the addition of a representative of the Republic Youth organization to the village councils; (3) the activiation of the National Economic Council, and (4) a reenforcement of villages, districts, and provinces; and (5) election of village councillors.

Extract from "Journal d'Extreme-Orient"

February 7, 1961

"In his first press conference, President NGO announced fundamental reforms in the government and local institutions"

"Within the scope of reforms announced by the Chief of State in his message of October 3, 1960, to the National Assembly, many projects of a major importance have just been adopted in view of a more adequate readaption of our institutions to the necessities of the present conjuncture.

"There will be, at first, a need to proceed to a regrouping of essential administrative wheels and mechanisms which will permit a better coordination, a higher efficiency and also a more rational distribution of departmental responsibilities. For this purpose, many agencies, so far attached to the presidency, will be distributed to various relevant departments; the large agencies or certain departments having connected activities will be united under the single and same authority of, either a Secretary of State, or a Secretary of State-Coordinator: this innovation will favor a harmonized development in every area, especially in the economic and social ones.

"In this sense, the number of agencies presently depending on the Presidency will be reduced to six, and the remaining ones will be reformed; the General Directorates of Information and Youth will be brought together with the Commissariat for Civic Action to form the Secretariat of State for Civic Action. The agrarian reform, the agriculture, the agricultural development , the agricultural development, the agricultural credit, and the establishment of agrovilles will be assigned to a new Secretariat of State, the one for Rural Affairs. The departments themselves will be distributed in many groups: the Security Group, the Economic Development Group, the Social and Cultural Group, each of them will be assigned not only to Secretaries of State, directly responsible, but also to a Secretary of State especially in charge of giving the impetus and harmonizing the efforts.

"Moreover, new local and national institutions will be established in order to enlarge, by a more active participation in

state affairs of all the intellectual, laboring and productive classes of the country. Communal councils will include a new elected member, especially in charge of Republic Youth groups and Information activities at the village level. Provincial and municipal councils will be organized in a decentralizing spirit. A National Economic Council and a National Cultural and Social Council, composed respectively of members chosen among people from economic and technical fields or among notables, reknown by their experience and knowledge, will be invited to participate directly in the elaboration and adoption of governmental plans and programs or to formulate the useful advices and propositions. A Cultural Institute, of a flexible organizational structure, and composed of members representative of the intellectual 'elite' will give impetus and assistance necessary to researching, studying and creative works in the scientific and artistic fields.

"With the establishment of the Constitutional Court and the Higher Council of Magistrature, the existing institutions complement the governmental structure and permit an accelerated advancement under the sign of efficiency, personalism and democracy.

"The President of Republic held yesterday his first press conference at the Indpendence Palace to announce the decision made concerning the reform of institutions. The declaration published above is very clear by itself. However, through the answers given by the President Ngo to the questions asked by the Vietnamese, French, American and Philippine pressmen, certain discriminations and precisions appeared.

"With the Chief of State were Mr. Nguyen Dinh Thuan, Secretary of State at the Presidency, Dr. Tran Van Tho, General Director of Information, Mr. Nguyen Thai, General Director of Viet Nam Press, and Mr. Truong Buu Dien, Chief of the Press Service at the Presidency.

Seven Objectives

"The question is first to complement the democratic institutions of the Republic by the establishment of bodies provided by the Constitution, such as the Higher Council of Magistrature, a Cultural Institute, the National Economic Council, the National Cultural and Social Council and the Constitutional Court.

"The decongestion of the Presidency will be carried out by the transfer of agencies depending presently on the Presidency to various Secretaries of State. And there will be but six directorates under the direct supervision of the Presidency, on account of their activities concerning all the departments as a whole: Public Function, Budget and Foreign Aid and Plan, Social Works and Social Works in the Highlands, National Institute of Administration, Administrative and Financial Inspection.

"Each Secretariat of State will be under accrued responsibilities and the creation of Secretariats of State Coordinator will give impetus to the former. They will assure more efficiency of the departments as a whole.

"On the local level, it is also question of a strengthening of the village administration and a decentralization of power at the province and district levels.

"Finally, the Councils mentioned above will permit a participation of all social strata in the national effort.

The Choice of Persons

"After giving these precisions, the President emphasized in his answers to various questions the fact that the Secretaries of State remain responsible before the Chief of State and pointed out that the date of putting in effect these reforms would depend on the consultations under way for the choice of competent personnel. The delay would be relatively short for the choice at the central level, but it could be longer at the provincial level.

"In certain particular cases, the President said, the choice of responsible executives depends not only on the seniority of their services, the qualification proved by their diplomas, but also on personal capacities of the individuals, irrespective of the traditional criteria specified above.

"As to the establishment of election system in the villages, the President pointed out at the final stage that the appointment of a representative of Republican Youth elected by the chiefs of District Youth groups was an innovation and a beginning. 'If this trial comes out with satisfactory results, we will continue,' he added.

"President Ngo Dinh Diem did not want to give any statement on his electoral programs: 'You will know it to-morrow,' he said, before closing his press conference."

* * *

2. A Commentary in the Extreme Asie.

In its discussion of the President's program the Extreme Asie added an additional point of information about the plan to decentralize authority that is of interest to this study--the plan for a provincial consultative body.

According to the following article, this body would consist of representatives of already existing organizations including labor unions, social groups, and political movements. Would this be more effective than the re-establishment of elective advisory councils as discussed by Rector Thong in his article presented earlier in this Report?

The Meaning of the Reform of February 6.

February 11, 1961 - page 12

A new institutional stage has opened in Viet Nam

"The 'running in' of the governmental mechanisms, first gathered around the Presidency, permits by its completion, the beginning steps of an experimental decentralization upon the success of which will depend a full development.

"How to translate into the vulgar language the principles of the governmental reform promulgated by the Chief of State on February 6?

"If the terminology of mechanics and pilots could be used, one would say that the 'running in' of institutions is, at the time being, finished in the essentials, that the President ceases progressively to drive as 'a driver-trainer' the various fundamental agencies taken

into his hands in the early hours, for salvation's sake and that he is proceeding to 'let them go' simultaneously.

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"Someone would ask why this was not done at an earlier time. We may request him to think over the chaotic state of things in the governmental structure almost seven years ago, when Ngo Dinh Diem first seized the control lever.

"To eliminate the centrifugal forces which nearly dissolved the nation, an action for forcible mustering was absolutely necessary by that time. Is not it a kind of biological law among the underdeveloped peoples, these doleful spirits, to undertake their reanimation under the cover of strongly unitarian regimes?

"An extremely developed centralization is nowadays a political panacea, even in countries which have not experienced like ours, the triple cyclone of war, national amputation and communist subversion.

"To take a couple of striking examples, we may cite the instance of the Republic of United Arabia which has adopted it (centralization) with an almost monarchic fervor and that of Indonesia, which had thought it was possible to begin a happy life with an enviable decentralization, but is now 'centralizing again' at top speed.

"Is not it a feat of great courage to reform, as Ngo Dinh Diem is proceeding to it, by going against the tide for the sake of respecting the democratic ideal?

"At the provincial level, not central, the President has drawn his inspiration from the same decentralizing principle which can be regarded here as 'regionalist.' He has proceeded with the prudent empiricism which guides him while approaching problems dealing with the life of the people. To provide assistance to province chiefs, delegates of the central government, he has decided to create consultative councils recruited from organizations which have already a legal existence.

"We are not able to know all about the decisions made, but it seems to us that these councils will be composed of the 'elite' of social, corporative and other associations such as labor and professional unions and the women's solidarity movement.

"Thus the province chiefs, absorbed in technical duties and burdened with regular scribblement, will be no longer alone with their minds in the interpretation, and even the implementation of government directives.

"Is not there in this collaboration between the governors and the governed people a visible first step towards provincial liberties which will blossom out, once security comes back, as desired by everybody, and in the first place by the Chief of State himself?

* * *

"The decision to include a member elected by youth organizations in the village council is also very significant, and indicative of the new trend.

"Each of these councils is presently composed of three or four experienced citizens chosen by the provincial authorities. To these capable colleagues, the newcomer will not only bring the deportment and the dynamism of his age, but will also represent, because of his innocence, the elective principle already familiar to young men in small democracies which are their groups headed by elected chiefs.

"The communal experiment undertaken will be open to further developments in accordance with the degree of success;--little by little, the bird builds its nest. Should we cite in addition Montaigne and his fox, so strong in sorties, which only puts its leg on safe ice? In the midst of dangers which surround this country, civic action should progress by safe steps only.

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"If we come back to the capital city where the decongestion of presidential agencies, clearly reported by the daily press and the radio, is going to be carried out according to the standards of 'running in' and 'slackening' evoked at the beginning of this article, we also have to emphasize the decisions, not less important, consisting of the creation of two councils, the National Economic Council and the Cultural and Social Council.

"The Vietnamese intelligentsia, so impatient to take part most directly in the national progress, will be invited to join these consultative assemblies. No doubt our intelligentsia will be enthusiastic to make these councils the younger sisters of the National

Assembly. These two councils will be what the Vietnamese elite make them.

"Who could ignore, in the future establishment of the Constitutional Court and the Higher Court of Magistrature, the complementary evidences characteristic of advanced democracies?

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"Certain confreres of the West, living under the atomic buckler of NATO and far away from the misery of underdevelopment and of communist guerrillas, in New York, London or Paris, may severely criticize our 'reform pace' (as too slow), they may suggest to us, once again, to have an electoral locomotive stoked up with meetings of the Brooklyn (US) or Aubervilliers (French) style.

"It has been an ingrained mania, among the intellectuals, even the most conservative, in these privileged lands, to get rid of 'enemies of the left.' The people of the right--the essayist Paul Serant wrote humorously--are not those who have chosen to be of the right: they are those designated by the left as being of the right.

"Hence the haste of these reactionary middle class people to put on the masks of pseudo-libertarians and preach a lesson of democracy, to prove their own alibi...

"Ah! if these cowardly and fearful people would have to face even for a few minutes, the Viet Cong terrorist commandos--this left specific to our country--infiltrated in their bachelor rooms!"

Bong Mai

B. Environmental Limitations to Decentralizing Administration

Even apart from the problem of political security in Viet Nam there are serious limitations to decentralizing as a way of strengthening local administration for Viet Nam is still in the category of 'underdeveloped countries.' What this means as viewed from the local administrative viewpoint is discussed extremely well (although not comprehensive) in the following passages from a textbook about Thailand, a nation having many problems in common with Viet Nam.

"Conclusions for Thailand"*

"It is not the purpose of a textbook like this to conclude its survey of local government and administration in the three major western countries and Thailand by suggesting solutions to Thai administrative problems. Rather, within an interpretive framework so that Thai students and officials might have a frame of reference for their own review of the Thai system. It must also be emphasized that, in any such review of the Thai system, the reviewer must begin by recognizing that Thailand's administration of its territory is the product of several centuries of independent evolution. Moreover, it is a system which has worked well, for the most part, and it continues to work reasonably well at the present time. No great popular uprisings or other indications of mass repudiation have occurred. There

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*Daniel Wit, A Comparative Survey of Local Government and Administration, Institute of Public Administration, Thammasat University, Thailand, 1958, pp. 117-119.

is no great demand by any region that it be given a new organizational from or that its ties to Bangkok be fundamentally revised. The Thai system of territorial and local administration, therefore, is a system which works and which apparently provides the citizenry with reasonably adequate services; at least, there is no important evidence to the contrary.

"Once full recognition has been given to the basic viability of Thai local administration, however, it is then possible to consider at least in general terms some further forms of development which might contribute to an improvement of the system, particularly in the light of the current forces for modernization and democratization which are making themselves felt throughout the entire kingdom. Again, it must be noted that it is not the function of a textbook to detail recommendations to accomplish these improvements. It would seem in order, however, to suggest some logical and feasible directions derived from a study of other local administrative systems in combination with an awareness of contemporary world and Thai forces.

"To begin with, there is the question as to just how much decentralization of territorial administration is feasible or necessary in Thailand. It is the author's feeling that while some further decentralization of the system would both improve administrative efficiency and contribute to the evolution of Thai democracy at both the local and national levels, there are some very definite limits to that decentralization. These limits stem not only from Thai historic experience up to the present moment but from the economic,

financial, political, and educational characteristics of Thai society, itself, at this particular point in history. Three considerations are particularly important in this regard. First, it is obvious that the nation's revenue resources are so severely limited at present that the financial costs of elaborate decentralization could not be born properly. Most of the localities of the kingdom just do not have the funds, nor can they raise the funds, to support by themselves a major portion of the costs of fully autonomous local government. Certainly, there is not enough revenue available to the central government so that it could either turn over to the localities much more money than it now does or permit the localities to expand their taxing powers to a point great enough to make them financially self-sufficient. There is no doubt that improvements in the national tax structure and tax administration will permit better utilization of those revenue resources which are available. Nonetheless, the sums of money necessary to support a territorial system as decentralized as the British or American obviously are not available. Second, it is also clear that there is a shortage of skilled administrative talent in Thailand. This is not to say that there are not a good many very well educated and well qualified government administrators, but it is questionable as to whether there are enough both to staff the central government and to staff the number of autonomous local units which thorough-going decentralization would bring. Administrative experience and talent presently are members of the national civil service system. Elaborate private enterprise capable of

training large numbers of persons who would then decide to transfer to local government service does not yet exist. Only the national government, then, can provide administrative personnel in large number for local administration. Third, the still limited democratic political experience of the overwhelming majority of Thai citizens, the very limited character of political party activity at the local levels, and the still limited educational backgrounds of large numbers of Thai citizens in the rural areas constitute obstacles to the sudden introduction of extensive local self-government in large portions of the kingdom. Considerations of the foregoing type suggest that the further development of decentralization and local self-government must proceed gradually (as has actually been the case during the last several years).

"Within the restrictions of a gradual expansion of local self-government, a number of aspects of territorial administration would appear to be suitable for modification within the near future. At the municipal level, for example, it would appear to be in accord with the democratization of Thai politics to place the initiative for selection of the Council clearly in the hands of the Municipal Assembly; the provincial governor merely making the formal appointments. Another measure which would further make feasible decentralization would be the transfer to the provincial governor of some of the control power over municipalities currently vested only in the Minister of Interior. While tutelage, in itself, would not thereby be abolished, the exercise of that tutelage could be brought closer

to the municipality and perhaps removed more from national politics by such a transfer of power. A third area for possible improvement in municipal administration might be the gradual training and appointment of city managers. This would undoubtedly contribute to the professionalization of local administration and should foster administrative efficiency.

"At the Changwad provincial level, it is questionable whether any rapid changes would be advisable. The trend toward the establishment of a popularly elected Provincial Council is certainly one to be supported, just as the transfer of control and tutelage powers from the minister to the provincial governors seems to be a sound approach. There seems to be little doubt but that the Minister of Interior is burdened with excessive numbers of responsibilities in the personal administration of controls over territorial administration. While remaining at the summit of the control system, it would appear to be in the interests of administrative efficiency and flexibility to continue the trend of augmenting the governor's powers, limiting the demands made upon the minister, and binding the governor closer to the emerging popular governmental apparatus within his Changwad.

"At the district, commune (groups of villages), and village levels, there would appear to be little justification at present for any drastic changes. The commune is already marked out by law for the eventual development of a popular legislative body. The district might possibly remain much as it is, thereby duplicating the position of the French arrondissement in that nation's system

of local administration. The proceeding would seem to be the most logical lines along which further constructive evolution of Thai territorial and local administrative system could proceed."

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C. Strengthening Local Tax Systems.

So far the major approach to the problem of improving local administration has come from the viewpoint of finance. Mr. Cole who did an outstanding job of collecting data about provincial and local taxes summarized his proposals in the following lecture given at the National Institute of Administration. His key to strengthening and local system is to increase the levies upon agricultural and other lands.

"Consideration of Improvements in the Revenue Systems of Local Government"

David C. Cole,

Provincial and Local Revenues in Viet Nam, Vol. II, MSUG, 1957. (Vietnamese and English editions combined)

"Now that we have completed our review of the existing local revenue systems in Viet Nam it seems opportune to consider what changes might be made in this system to correct defects, to more adequately meet the changed political and economic circumstances of the country and to prepare for future needs which will arise from the program for economic development. The various papers which have been prepared by the students in this course have reflected some of the strong and weak points of the revenues, and on the basis of these papers we can suggest possible changes. In the following sections we shall consider the revenue needs of provincial and local government in the coming years; after that we shall discuss possible changes in existing

revenues, and finally indicate some potential revenue sources which might be exploited.

Determining the Revenue Requirements

"The first problem to be faced in considering a system of revenues is to analyse the existing or anticipated pattern of expenditures, for, as we have stated previously, the revenue expenditure process is a single process by which people obtain those services which can be provided in a more satisfactory manner by the government than by private enterprise. Thus we should begin our discussion by trying to estimate how much and what types of services the public will wish to be provided by local governments. This is a twofold problem of deciding both the total demand for governmental services, and the relative proportions demanded from the national and the local governments. We have not discussed the demand for governmental services extensively during the course and will be unable to go into the matter very deeply in this lecture. Elsewhere I have proposed that the government should establish a commission which would consider the future responsibilities of provincial and local governments. Until such a commission does undertake this study, we can only speculate in general terms about the level of expenditure and revenue needs, using past experience as a basis for our speculation.

"You will recall we presented figures on the expenditures and receipts of local government in 1954, 1955 and 1956 and projected a level of expenditures and receipts for the year 1963. The following Table I gives some more accurate figures on the revenues and

expenditures for 1956 of the provinces of the South and the Center, the Prefecture of Saigon, the three municipalities of Hue, Danang and Dalat, and all other villages. The table also gives estimates of revenues and expenditures for the year 1961[1] for the same units of government. Table II shows the absolute and percentage changes in receipts and expenditures between 1956 and 1961.

"These expenditure estimates are based on the following assumptions:

"a. Local government expenditures will probably increase in general.

"b. The present high level of expenditures for security (approximately 100 million piasters) in the provinces of the South will be reduced but largely replaced by increasing expenditures for social and economic activities, which will result in a net decrease in expenditures of some 100 million piasters.

"c. Provincial expenditures in the Center are relatively very low on a per-capita basis and will probably undergo considerable increase to bring them more nearly into balance with provincial expenditures in the South. Also the provinces of the high plateau will need to expand their activities considerably.

"d. The Prefecture of Saigon is currently maintaining a fairly

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[1] The year 1961 chosen because it coincides with the five-year plan.

TABLE I

Receipts and Expenditures of Local Government
Results of 1956 and Estimates for 1961
(in millions of piasters)

	1956		1961	
	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues	Expenditures
South Provinces	200	1,000	900	900
Center Provinces	85	140	400	400
Saigon	465	635	900	900
Hue, Danang, Dalat	45	100	150	150
All Villages (Estimates)	250	300	400	400
Total Local Government	1,045	2,175	2,750	2,750

(1) Figures for all levels of government are not exact, as not all the final reports have been turned in yet. The village figures are estimated. All figures are rounded to nearest 0 or 5.

TABLE II

Projected Absolute and Percentage Change in Revenues and Expenditures, 1956 - 1961

	Absolute Change		Per Cent Change	
	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues	Expenditures
South Provinces	+ 700	- 100	+ 350%	- 10%
Center Provinces	- 315	+ 260	+ 371	+ 186
Saigon	+ 435	+ 265	+ 94	+ 42
Hue, Danang, Dalat	+ 105	+ 50	+ 233	+ 50
All Villages	+ 150	+ 100	+ 60	+ 33
Total Local Government	+ 1,705	+ 575	+ 163	+ 26

high level of expenditures and probably will continue to increase its activities in the coming years. Considering that expenditures rose by 80 million piasters from 1954 to 1955 and another 100 million piasters in 1956, they seem destined to reach the 900 million piasters level in five years. In fact considerable restraint will be required to keep them from going higher.

"e. Municipal expenditures are expected to rise by about 50 percent in response to increasing urbanization.

"f. Village expenditures may increase by about one-third as the villages undertake programs of community development.

"As indicated in Table II, total expenditures of local government would rise by almost one-fourth (575 million piasters) with the biggest percentage increase in the provinces of Central Viet Nam.

"The present local government revenues are almost 50 percent of expenditures, varying from 20 per cent for provinces of South Viet Nam to 45 per cent for thre three municipalities, 60 percent for the provinces of Central Viet Nam, about 70 per cent in Saigon and 80 percent for the villages. The national treasury is meeting the more than one billion piasters deficits of local government.

"While admitting that a case can be made for national government subsidies of local government, we shall assume for the purpose of our discussion that all such subsidies and advances will be eliminated over the next five years and that the revenues of each of the various levels of local government will be expanded to meet

these projected levels of expenditure. Table II shows the increases in revenues which would be required. The revenues of all local government would have to increase by 1.705 million piasters or by 163 per cent over the 1956 level. The largest percentage increases would be required for the provincial revenues (350 percent increase in the South and 371 per cent increase in the Center.) The Prefecture of Saigon will need to raise its revenues by 435 million piasters, or 94 per cent. These figures give a clear indication of the scope of the problem of balancing local government budgets in the coming years.

"Another way of analyzing the relative levels of expenditures and revenues for the different units of government is to compare them on a per-capita basis. In Table III we present such figures for 1956 and 1961.

TABLE III

Per Capita Revenues and Expenditures of Local Government, 1956-1961

	1956		1961
	Revenues	Expenditures	Revenues and Expenditures
South Provinces	33	167	150
Center Provinces	21	33	100
Saigon	275	375	530
Hue, Danang, Dalat	150	333	500
All Villages	25	30	40

"We have used the following proximate population figures: Southern Provinces, 6 million; Central Provinces, 4 million; Hue, Danang, Dalat, 3 million; Saigon, 1.7 million.

"The 1956 figures show both per-capita revenues and per-capita expenditures, while for 1961, per-capita revenues and expenditures are given as one figure since revenues and expenditures are assumed to be equal. The table shows that there now exist sizeable differences in per-capita expenditures of the different governments. In Saigon they are high (VN$375) while in the Center provinces they are very low (VN$33). If we estimate that approximately 2 million persons are living in Saigon and the three municipalities, then the remaining 10 million persons live in villages, which gives a per-capita village government expenditure of 30 piasters for 1956. In comparing the prefecture and the three municipalities with the other units of local government, it is possible to combine the provincial and village figures since the village population also is included within the jurisdiction, and benefits from the expenditures, of the provinces. In 1961 the village expenditures will be approximately 40 piasters per-capita, which can be added to the Southern provincial expenditures of 150 piasters per-capita, or the Center provincial expenditures of 100 piasters per-capita in comparing these units of government with the prefecture and municipalities. It is obvious that per-capita expenditures are still much higher for the urban governments. This is a normal condition throughout the world because cities require more services and greater governmental activities than do the rural areas.

"To summarize the discussion on revenue requirements, we have proposed that local government expenditures will increase by approximately

25 percent in the next five years. If the budgets of local government are to be balanced, it will be necessary to increase local revenues by approximately 160 percent (1.7 billion piasters). The amount of increase in both revenues and expenditures will vary for the different units of government, but as we have projected the changes, they will result in greater equality of per-capita revenues and expenditures in 1961 than exist currently. We shall now turn our attention to the ways by which these increased activities of local government may be supported.

Reorganization of Existing Revenues

"Aside from the fact that the existing revenues of local government are not nearly sufficient to meet current expenditures, the principal weaknesses of these revenues are their multiplicity and complexity. There are too many different kinds of taxes and charges, most of which actually produce very little income. Consequently, a first project in reorganizing local revenues is to eliminate all taxes and charges which are difficult and expensive to enforce and produce little income.

"Many of the taxes of a control nature fall into this category of inefficient revenues. The taxes on advertising, restaurants which stay open after normal hours, stationing of vehicles, are examples. In addition, I am sure that there are a number of charges currently being made by various levels of government which not only are insufficient to cover the cost of the services for which the charge is made, but also probably do not even cover the cost of collection.

The various levels of government should go through their existing revenues and cull out these various control and nuisance taxes and charges.

"In addition to the control and nuisance revenues there are a number of traditional taxes which produce very little income. An example is the prestation on animals and vehicles in South Viet Nam, which produced about 3 million piasters of revenues for all provinces during 1955 and some 6 million for 1956. By rough estimation, it seems likely that collection costs were perhaps as high as 25 per cent of collections in 1955. Such a tax is hardly worthwhile under those circumstances, and any one of three solutions might be sought.

"a. Eliminate the tax entirely.

"b. Make collection procedures much more efficient, i.e., lower cost for the present level of collections or higher collections for the present level of cost, or lower cost and higher collections.

"c. Raise the rates on these taxes to obtain higher collections. In the case of the prestation I have indicated in my report that this is a tax on the ownership of productive assets i.e., animals and vehicles, and that it probably has some effect in discouraging the purchase of these assets. If it is the desire of the government to encourage private investment in productive goods such as animals and vehicles then these taxes are opposed to the government's desire. Since they produce so little revenue anyway, it seems

reasonable to adopt solution 'a' above and abolish these taxes.

"One significant difference between productive assets such as animals and the productive asset, land, is that the former can be produced, i.e. its supply may be increased, while the latter already exists. A tax which discourages the ownership of produceable assets will tend to reduce the demand for such assets and consequently reduce their production. In the case of a tax on an existing non-produceable asset such as land, the existence of a tax may discourage ownership of land and therefore reduce the price of land, but it is not likely to have much effect on the supply of land and may even cause more intensive use of the existing supply.

"Having considered the nuisance taxes, which we said should be eliminated, and the presently inefficient taxes, which should be either made more efficient or eliminated, we come to those taxes which are characterized by harmful or undesirable economic effects. In this category I place the various import and export taxes administered by provincial and village governments. It seems to me that these taxes place undesirable barriers on the movement of goods throughout the country and as such they interfere with proper and efficient marketings. I suspect that these taxes on exports were mainly intended as substitutes for taxes on total production, and that they are assessed on exports because that is the easiest means of collection, For example, the provincial taxes in Binh Thuan and Ninh Thuan on exports of 'nuoc mam' are substitutes for taxes on the total

production of 'nuoc mam'! It is easier to check the supply of 'nuoc mam' moving out of the province by several principal routes than it is to collect production taxes from each of the many producers of 'nuoc mam.' Also the local population may be more receptive to a tax on exports rather than total production, feeling that they are freed from the tax.

"In the case where a particular product originates from a particular and limited area in which most of the inhabitants are engaged directly or indirectly in its production, there is probably little difference between the export tax on that product or a production tax, and the more efficient means of collection should be chosen. However, in the opposite case where a product is produced over an extensive area by only part of the population, export taxes are not such good substitutes for taxes on production, and they tend to interfere with the movement of the taxed good across the tax boundary. The pacification tax as currently found in the provinces of the South applies specific rates of tax on between 50 and 100 different kinds of goods. It produces approximately three-fifths (120 million) of the 200 million piasters revenues of the provinces of the South. It is probably not an expensive tax to administer, but it does appear to have some adverse effects on commerce and, at the present time, it is forcing the national government to grant a higher subsidy to exporters of rice than would be necessary if the provincial export tax on rice did not exist. The main burden of the pacification tax on rice is now

born by the consumers in the Saigon area. This means that the urban population tends to be supplying the main provincial revenues in the South. These unsatisfactory features of the pacification tax make it unlikely that the rates of the tax will be increased to contribute towards closing the current gap between revenues and expenditures in the provinces, and even make the continuation of the present levels of taxation subject to question. I would be opposed to the idea of eliminating this tax without introducing a suitable substitute which produces at least as much, and preferably more revenues than the pacification tax. The government should however be searching for substitute revenues and I will make several suggestions in the following section.

"The market tax is another major source of local government revenues. I have stated previously that I think this tax could be improved by eliminating the confusion of five or six different bases of assessment and making the tax into a rental-type charge on the use of public property. In general I think that this improved type of market tax and other rental or lease charges on the public domain should be exploited to the fullest possible extent by the various units of local government. By this I mean that the governments should try to absorb all of the economic rent from these facilities which the governments own or over which they have jurisdiction. This includes the fishing sites, public-owned slaughterhouses and ferry-boat sites. Where possible, the government should try to establish the rent or lease-price by means of competitive auctions.

"Whereas these revenues from the markets and various leases are collected by the provinces and the municipalities in the Center, in the South they are revenues of the prefecture and the villages (there being no more municipalities in the South). Since, in some cases, these markets or leases provide revenues far in excess of the normal needs of the villages in which they are located, it seems necessary to devise some means for dividing or distributing the revenues. The prefecture, the municipalities and the large towns should probably continue to receive the total revenue from their markets and leases, because these units of government must maintain many services and their budgets are already showing sizeable deficits. Also they provide services and facilities not only for the inhabitants within their boundaries but also for those from surrounding areas. The revenues from the markets and leases in the rest of the country, I suggest, should be divided between the provincial and the village governments. This is especially true if the leases are for large amounts, e.g. fishing sites in the provinces of Khanh Hoa and Bac Lieu. In this way the provinces could assist in the conduct of the auctions (to insure that they were properly handled) and also the provinces, by providing services throughout the provinces which were paid for by the revenues from local auctions or markets, would distribute the benefits more broadly among the population. The basis for dividing the revenues between the local villages and the provinces could vary according to circumstances, particularly in the case of leases. The lease of a fishing site in the small village

which produces 1 million piasters of revenue should be divided more heavily in favor of the province than a fishing site lease for only 10,000 piasters. As for the markets I would suggest that their revenue be divided evenly between the province and the village in which the market is located.

"Local governments own various kinds of property including houses, urban land and agricultural land. I have proposed above that the government should attempt to obtain maximum revenues from these properties. This applies to houses and urban land. The agricultural land presents a particular problem. Usually this land is held in the form of communal land and, as has been noted previously in the course, this type of land is handled quite differently in the South and in the Center. In the South all communal land is rented and it comprises only about three percent of the total agricultural land. Except for the fact that continuation of this practice may be contrary to the philosophy if not the law of agrarian reform, I suggest that the villages in the South obtain the maximum permissable rent from this land, or in those cases where it seems desirable, the communal land could be sold to private persons.

"In the Center communal land accounts for approximately 25 percent of total agricultural land and it is both distributed free to the citizens of the village and rented to provide income for the village budget. It can be shown that this system of combined free distribution and renting of communal land has the effect of placing a uniform tax on all male inhabitants of the village. Such a uniform

tax is subject to the same criticism, on equity grounds, as the voter's tax or the old personal tax, i.e. it takes no account of the relative income or wealth of the taxpayer and therefore is perfectly regressive. In addition, the communal land system in Central Viet Nam, by providing an assured, if minimum, income to each official resident of the village, discourages migration from the village, thereby obstructing the government's program for resettlement of the High Plateau, while encouraging over-population of these villages with communal land.

"Because of these defects in the communal land system which, to my mind, outweight the social benefits of the system, I suggest that the communal land in Central Viet Nam be sold to private persons in accordance with the agrarian reform regulations, that the receipts from the sale of such land should be used for capital developments or expenditures within the villages, and that the revenues from communal land should be replaced by land tax revenues which would be paid by all land owners within the village. Such land taxes would be proportional to the land holdings of the landowners and consequently more equitable than the regressive quasi-tax of the communal land system.

"A final area which should be considered in relation to the reorganization of existing revenues is that of the various business or enterprises activities of local governments. These include the production and distribution of electricity and water, and certain sanitary services. Also, in some cases, the slaughtering of animals

is performed directly by the government as an enterprise e.g. in Saigon. I suggest that, for these enterprises, commercial accounting practices should be used so that the government could relate costs to receipts and ascertain the net revenues or deficits of these activities. In this way the government could consciously set rates which would either provide subsidies to the consumers, charge the consumers exactly the cost of production, or extract a quasi-tax from the consumer of the services. For example it appears that the water service of Saigon in 1954 charged rates for its water which, in effect, amounted to an indirect tax approximately equal to the actual cost of providing the water. Without commercial accounting of the activities of the water service, however, it is not possible to be sure that this was true.

"Before taking up the subject of projected new sources of revenue for the provincial and local governments, we should review the implications of the changes in existing revenues proposed in the preceding paragraphs. We do not have available now the necessary statistics to state with precision the probable implications of eliminating or changing various types of taxes or revenues. We are currently engaged in compiling such statistics for 1956, and it is hoped that within one or two months we will be prepared to make such predictions. For now we must be satisfied with general estimates.

"All levels of provincial and local government currently utilize what I have termed nuisance and control taxes. I have said that these do not produce much revenue and their elimination probably

would not reduce total revenues of local governments by more than five per cent, or 50 million piasters. The elimination of the prestation in South Viet Nam would have reduced provincial revenues by 6 million piasters in 1956 or three per cent of South Viet Nam's provincial revenues. There are various inefficient taxes of other levels of government whose elimination would cost several million in revenues.

"In suggesting that provincial export taxes should eventually be eliminated, however, we are approaching considerably more important magnitudes. For the provinces of South Viet Nam, the pacification tax raised almost 80 million piasters in 1955 and approximately 120 million piasters in 1956. The provincial verification of product taxes in Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan brought in 8 million piasters in 1956. These taxes accounted for some 13 per cent of total local government revenues in 1956, while supplying about 60 per cent of provincial revenues in the provinces where they are employed.

"The sale of communal land would provide sizeable amounts to the cash for the villages for several years (which I feel should be invested in capital formation), but the villages would lose the revenue from communal land. This would be especially important for the villages of Central Viet Nam whose budgets depend heavily on this source of income.

"As an offset to these declines in revenue which would come about from eliminating various taxes, revenues from the market tax and the various leases should be increased. It is very surprising, for example, that collections of the market tax in Saigon have shown

very little increase over the past three years while at the same time there have been increases in the number of markets, in the number of sellers in the markets and in the prices of goods being sold. The lack of increase in market tax collection in Saigon indicates that the effective rate of taxation has fallen, which may be the result of lower assessment, or inefficient collection; but also it is the result of the market tax being a specific tax which does not increase with rising prices. Revenues from the market tax could be increased, if it was a rental tax and if the rents were subject to periodic revision. The proposed division of market tax revenues between the provinces and the villages in South Viet Nam would replace part of the loss of revenues from repeal of the pacification tax.

"Generally, we have proposed more reductions than increases in the existing revenue structure. In contemplating the revenue needs for 1961 and the requirements for new sources of revenues, we must take this fact into account. On the other hand, certain of the existing revenues, which do not require any change, will probable increase in productivity (of revenues) over the coming years as the level of income and production in the country rises. I would suggest that my proposals for elimination of existing revenues would have reduced 1956 revenues by approximately 250 million piasters, leaving a revenue base for 1956 of 800 million piasters. Increases in market tax collection and income from leases due to better administration and enforcement, could restore this loss over the coming five years. In addition, the general improvement in the

economic condition of the country in the coming years should raise total local government revenues by perhaps an additional 200 million piasters. Combining these various considerations, I suggest that, if no new sources were introduced, and if the above-proposed changes in existing revenues were made, the total local government revenues in 1961 would be approximately 1.3 billion piasters. Thus it becomes necessary to look for new sources of revenue amounting to approximately 1.4 to 1.5 billion piasters.

New Sources of Revenues

"In looking for new sources of revenues for local government which are of approximately the same magnitude as the existing receipts, a first possibility which comes to mind is simply to double the rates of all existing taxes. Such a move, while not only resulting in many inequitable changes, would also be most unlikely to attain the desired results. The reason for this is that doubling of the rates would probably reduce the tax base, so that the higher rates would be applicable in a smaller number of cases or on a smaller number of commodities. Doubling of the slaughtering tax rates would probably result in less animals being brought for slaughtering and therefore less than a doubling of the revenues from the slaughtering taxes. In some cases an increase of the tax rates may even result in a reduction of the total revenues, but this is not very likely.

"At any given time there are usually certain sectors of the economy or society which are less heavily taxed than others. This

is an equity problem which may come about in several ways. First, the basic tax structure may have been created in such a way that it favored certain groups while heavily assessing others. Secondly, in response to the establishment or existence of certain taxes, persons may have revised their activities so as to avoid the taxes, and therefore the existing tax structure is unable to accomplish the purposes for which it was intended. Thirdly, basic changes in the economy may have altered greatly the impact of various taxes, as, for example, a large rise in prices which reduces the burden of specific taxes, approximately maintains the burden of ad valorem taxes and tends to increase the burden of progressive income taxes. The many changes in Viet Nam's economy over the past few years have altered considerably the amount and the burden of taxation. One of the principal effects of the changes has been, in my opinion, to reduce the burden of taxation on agriculture and the owners of land. Both the agricultural and urban land taxes have fallen to insignificant importance. During a period of rising prices the tax rates on agricultural land were reduced so that they are now, on the average, less than three percent of the value of production. Also, the pacification tax, which would have placed a burden on the farmers of South Viet Nam when Vietnamese rice entered the world market, has been in part pushed forward onto urban consumers because of the government's rice export policies. The agrarian reform program is intended to provide special benefits to tenant farmers and transform them into land owners. The very low rates

of agricultural land taxation help to support higher agricultural land prices which are likely to make the effective completion of the agrarian reform program more expensive. Also urban land tax rates have been low and continue at very low levels despite the sharp increase in urban population and rental values.

"Land taxation has particular merits as a revenue of local government.

"a. Since the burden of land taxation is not easily shifted and since the tax falls on property owners within the area served by a local government, the local land owners--mainly local residents--are the ones who support expenditures of local government.

"b. Land values tend to increase with increased population and improvements in local facilities e.g. roads, water supply, sanitary conditions, etc. Since land owners benefit from these increased land values they should be taxed to help provide for them.

"For these reasons, and for others which we do not have time here to develop, I suggest that the main portion of the projected local government deficits for 1961 should be filled by taxation of land. I suggest that the national land tax, on which the provinces, prefecture, municipalities, and southern villages, now collect surcharges, should be transformed into a revenue of provincial and local government only, although I do believe the national government should provide the basic legislation for these land taxes and should

supervise their implementation. A new system of agricultural land taxation should probably be developed which would be based upon the value of production rather than an amount or type of production. The urban land tax system also needs to be studied and perhaps changed into a tax on capital value rather than rental value. These new agricultural and urban land taxes should be so conceived as to provide revenues of 1 to 1.5 billion piasters per year by 1961. Referring to the figures in Table I and II, the principal requirements for increased revenues are in the provinces of the South (from an agricultural land tax), the provinces of the Center (particularly the developing provinces of the High Plateau, which should offer increased opportunities for agricultural land taxation), the prefecture of Saigon and the municipalities (urban land taxation), and the villages of Central Viet Nam (which should seek to replace the lost revenues from communal land with agricultural land tax revenues).

"We hope to make further studies of this problem of land taxation in order to comprehend more thoroughly the difficulties and the potentialities of such taxation. It seems to me, however, that land ownership is presently an undertaxed area of the economy, and that it provides the most promising source of those revenues needed to balance the budgets of provincial and local government."

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D. Strengthening Local Finance and Financial Administration.

While Professor Cole limits his attack to the tax system, Mr. Ro, personally familiar with local administrative practices and problems as he is a former District Chief, broadens his frame of reference to include budgetary and administrative aspects. His recommendations for improving village finance are the most interesting--in terms of new ideas--that the writer has found in Viet Nam.

It is apparent that Mr. Ro has not only attempted to seek effective means for solving local financial problems but he has been able to free himself considerably from traditional concepts of village life and government. Herein he proposes strengthening the role of the district in village financial affairs. Mindful of the need for stressing economic and social development he also proposes reorganizing village budgets to point up the distinctions between "productive" and "non-productive" expenditures.

In the opinion of the writer, this article ranks among the leading produced by Vietnamese for foreign observers interested in improving the welfare of Viet Nam through the development of a more effective system of local administration. It is an article that should be thoroughly read and reread.

"Suggested solutions to help the village budget attain autonomy."

by Do Van Ro,
Charge de Mission in charge of Civil Guards
and Self Defense Corps.
Administrative Service,
Department of the Interior.

Source: The Administrative Studies Journal, Volume 1958 (no month) (Department of Interior) Pages 32-48.

"In the Vietnamese administrative system, the village is the fundamental unit, the foundation of higher organizations. Through generations and historical events, the communal spirit as well as a great deal of local religious customs have been engraved in the minds of the citizen and have become traditions--though no longer unalterable--which are not swift-changing with the passage of time.

"Ordinance 57a, dated October 24, 1956, confirming that the village is the administrative unit with legal personality and the foundation of the national administration, had formerly recognized the leading role of the village in the Vietnamese administrative and political machinery.

"Once its key role is recognized, the village shall be of course given an essential position in any economic and social development plan, for an efficient and firmly-established plan--if it does not deal primarily with the fundamental--must at least penetrate into this unit, unless it is not a limited plan the roots of which do not grow in fertile soil. By the foundation of the Vietnamese society, we mean the village itself.

"Raising the problem of village development is, we think, an (muon mang) undertaking, for the national government has long focused its operations on the village, and has been, since 1957, accelerating the rural construction movement in the framework of many plans, reorganization and important achievements. Measures for the organization and consolidation of the village administration, the movement of people's self defense, community development, the program for expansion of rural primary education... represent typical examples in the administrative, economic and social areas.

"However, to shed more light on the problem of obtaining means for village development, we think it is not an untimely matter. Village development is a long range undertaking and the problem of finding means for the pursuit and achievement of this important project is a many-sided problem to which a definite solution can never be found. For years, villages could not be developed and equipped because of the unavailability of means for development. And at the present time, the village has, each year, requested financial support to carry out operations of social and economic interests.

"Certain villages also request financial support to finance such indispensable expenditures as the management expenditures of the village council.

"In this limited study which is made in the hope that it may be of interest to the readers, we will deal with a means (a crucial means, in our view) in the village development project—that is, the problem of village budget autonomy.

I. THE VILLAGE AND ITS BUDGET

"The village is recognized as having a legal personality, a budget, and public property. The village must therefore be viewed as an independent family. And to sustain its existence, the family must live a harmonious life with the common life of other families--society; it must possess the abilities to live independently from others, and develop itself in pace with the trend of common evolution. A family that is built without a livelihood cannot maintain a lasting subsistence but constitutes a burden to other families and society; it does not only fulfill its responsibilities, but its independence is also meaningless. In other words, the village should have an adequate budget to, at the very least, fulfill these two functions:

"A. The operation of the village administrative machinery.

"In the administrative area, the village must be able to finance the regular management expenditures (allowances for the village officials, purchase of stationery, miscellaneous expense...)

"B. Economic and social self-development.

"Apart from management, the village must possess the abilities to achieve reconstruction projects of economic and social value such as road building, rehabilitation of bridges, dikes, construction of schools, hospitals, maternities, etc.

"The village budget has to fulfill those two functions, only then the family of villages may be called as autonomous. That is, it must be able to subsist and develop itself in order to lead a long lasting life.

"The above analysis provides some insight into the functions of

the village budget which are quite burdensome and tend to exceed the possibility of the greater bulk of the present villages, Indeed, in the existing village situation, the village budget can hardly finance management expenditures. Expenditures on socio-economic reconstruction are usually considered as exceeding the village's authority. Community development, the program for the expansion of rural primary education, are reliant, to a certain extent, on subventions from the provincial or national budget.

"If certain village budgets are at present self-sufficient, that should not, in our thinking, be interpreted as actually self-sufficient, but on the contrary, one must boldly face the facts which requires analysis and examination, so that an appropriate solution can be found to the problem: The village's actual autonomy (financial).

II. THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE VILLAGE BUDGET.

"On the basis of the receipts and expenditures during the fiscal year, it may be noted that the village budget had attained autonomy since 1957, after the Mutual Assistance Fund was established in the provinces.

"As a matter of fact, most village budgets have at the end of each fiscal year a reserve for the following fiscal year.

"But, a more elaborate examination of the receipts and expenditures of the village will reveal a contrasting fact. The annual excessive receipts of the village budget is but the result of much restriction on the village's activities according to the maximum that 'only spend when cash is on hand' (this is also a principle of family administration.

Spending should not exceed income and it is unwise to squander while one is in debt all year round).

"Generally speaking, the village finance is in fact still too unstable and further strides must be made before true autonomy is attained.

"1. The real situation of the village finance.

"RECEIPTS. The village budget includes in general, the following items:

"Tax incomes for the village cash: surcharge of tax on lands and fields, business licenses, boats, on exen and buffaloes, horses, automobiles, carts, buffalo carts, pedicabs.

"Village revenues: rental of public lands and fields, urban land, rental of houses (and apartments), theaters.

"Bidded tax collection: boat landing piers, markets, slaughtering houses, parking stations, fees on running water and power consumption.

"Miscellaneous revenues: fines, charge for detention, revenues for sale of unclaimed properties, subventions, registration fees, regular tax miscellaneous tax. (As for the Central Midlands, the villages have been, in recent years, obtaining two other sources of special revenues: payment for reconstruction work and subventions from the provincial budget; in the Central Highlands, almost all village budgets are reliant upon subventions from the national budget.

"To obtain a clear understanding of the important proportion between the village budget's various categories of receipts, we would list as examples the budgets of two relatively rich villages:

"Thanh Hoa village (Cailay District, Dinh Tuong Province, Southern

South VN) and Quang Loi village (Quang Dien District, Thua Thien Province, Central VN).

"Listed below are the important estimated receipts of the two villages during fiscal year 1958.

Thanh Hoa Village:	VN$2,122,000
Bidded tax collection	VN$858,120 (40% of total)
Fines	360,000 (16.9% of total)
Miscellaneous tax	200,000 (9.4%)
Taxes on lands-fields and business licenses	103,534 (2.9% of total)
Quang Loi Village:	VN$993,389
Payments of labor contribution to reconstruction work	VN$363,000 (36% of total)
Village revenues	202,000 (20.3% of total)
Bidded collection (market tax)	84,600 (8.5% of total)
Surcharge tax on land and fields	2,189 (0.2% of total)

"This figure shows that the principal receipts of these two budgets included bidded tax collection, fines and payment for labor contribution to reconstruction.

"Market tax is a special source of revenue for the village, varying according to the economic events, the security situation in that village and in neighboring areas. In the present general situation this category of receipt is a stable and reliable source of revenue in the days ahead.

"Fines and payment for labor contribution in reconstruction are unrealiable sources of income and cannot be considered as the essential revenues of the budget. Fines are expected to be reduced on a gradual basis in pace with the progress of popular education.

"Payment for reconstruction labor is only a periodic contribution to the government from the people during the present phase of reconstruction.

"A budget which is over-reliant upon these two categories of receipts will be doomed to insecurity and unexpected deficit. The village budget, in this case, lacks stability, the unalienable condition for a healthy (sound) finance.

"On the other hand, such revenues which can be considered reliable as surcharge tax on land and fields, on business licenses, revenues from public properties of the village play only a substitute roll (less than five per cent of the total budget).

"In this situation, the budget's receipts--even if they are prosperous, cannot justify firm confidence in tomorrow, because of the instability and the periodic character of the principal receipts.

EXPENDITURES.

"With productiveness as a criterion, the expenditures of the village may be divided into two categories: production expenditures and non-production expenditures.

"Productive expenditures involve the proposed expenditures of economic and social value. These are investment expenditures, aimed at the construction of various institutions necessary for the village's economic and social development.

"The unproductive expenditures involve expenditures for the operation of the village administrative machinery. In other words, the objective of these expenditures is to safeguard the present village life, in the administrative, and political respects.

"The more importance is attached to productive expenditures, the further the village is developed, the people's living standards raised, and the brighter is the prospects of the village finance.

"A glance at the two budgets of Thanh Hoa and Quang Loi reveals that the management expenditures amounted to over 65 per cent of the funds. Productive expenditures were estimated at 35 per cent. Reconstruction came next.

"Moreover, these two budgets do not truly represent the general financial situation of the villages for it can be said that almost all the village budgets today, mainly in the Central Midlands and Highlands, are reliant upon subventions in order to meet management expenditures which--in the Central Midlands alone--amounted to 70 per cent of the budget. Expenditures for rural development remain almost an expectation to the village budget.

"We may, from this analysis of receipts and expenditures, reach the conclusion that the village budget has now fulfilled all but part of its functions and must still be further consolidated, if rural reconstruction projects are to be adequately financed in the progress toward an actual autonomous life.

"2. The Mutual Assistance Fund and its impact upon the village finance. The problem of village (financial) autonomy has drawn the concern of the central authorities since 1957.

"By circular No. 2497 TTP-NS/S2 dated April 25, 1957, the Secretary of State at the Presidency had reestablished the principle that 'the village budget must finance the management expenditures of the village'

and established the Mutual Assistance Fund to assist poor villages finance their own necessary expenditures.

"The M.A.F., like a pipe connecting many pots, is established to harmonize the distribution of resources between villages.

"Part of the surplus resources of rich villages is channeled into poor villages in the form of subventions, so that every village obtains sufficient funds for the operation of public affairs in the village.

"Two questions should be raised at this point to evaluate the 'Mutual Assistance Fund'--financially: 'What results the M.A.F. has brought to the village finance and the real value of this fund, in time and in space?

"The M.A.F. is an account opened in the provincial budget.

"The receipts come from the villages in the province at a definite proportion: 1/10 of the actual receipts of the budget, and 1/4 from market tax revenues of over VN$100,000.

"As for expenditures, the aforementioned Circular No. 2497 provided that 'The Mutual Assistance Fund is used to subvention needy villages or to carry out projects of common interest.'

"Thus, the M.A.F. may also be used to carry out general development operations in the villages, apart from granting subventions to poor villages to meet management expenditures.

"In its function of aiding poor villages, the M.A.F. had achieved a major part of its purpose (objective).

"Has it fulfilled its reconstruction task?

"To respond to this question, let's take a look at the condition

of the M.A.F. at a wealthy province of eastern South Viet Nam: the province of Bien Hoa.

"In 1958, the receipts in the M.A.F. of Bien Hoa amounted to VN$1,917,142 of the province's 78 villages, 54 received subventions from the M.A.F.

"Comparing the Fund's receipts with the number of village receiving subventions (69 percentof the province's villages), it's our thinking that it is too burdensome for the M.A.F. even to finance only part of the overall management of these villages. The funds earmarked for reconstruction projects are inconsiderable, if not non-existing.

"The M.A.F. has attained only part of its objectives of providing funds for management. In broader words, it has created financial effects, but not as yet sounded an important echo in the economic and social spheres.

"This does not mean a denial of the value of the Mutual Assistance Fund. The M.A.F. has its own value, the value of a temporary measure to revive the critically paralized financial pattern of the village after 10 years of chaos.

"In time, the M.A.F. has exercised an immediate effect in the preliminary steps toward a recovery of the village finance: granting immediate aid to poor villages for survival and relieving the provincial budget of annual subventions to these villages.

"In area, the M.A.F. has been so far established only in the South. In most of the Midland (Trung nguyen) provinces, and in nearly all provinces of the Central Highlands, the M.A.F. was not established

according to the guiding principles. In fact, in the Central Midlands, the M.A.F. has been established, but instead of being called Bo-tro, it was called Ho-tro (Mutual Assistance). In this part of the country, although collective contribution cannot be realized, the provincial authorities have had rented a certain acreage of public land and fields to get revenues for the provincial budget, in order to grant annual subventions to the villages (in fiscal 1958, Quang Loi village received a VN$50,000 subvention from the province).

"In short, the M.A.F. only has a limited value in time and in area. It cannot be a definite (an ultimate) solution to the problem of village (financial) autonomy (self-sufficiency), because in reality, the inharmonious distribution of resources among the villages is not the only cause of the unstable situation of village finance which is attributed to other reasons.

III. THE CAUSE OF THE UNSTABLE CONDITION OF THE VILLAGE FINANCE

"The present illness of village finance is attributed to many causes. The principal causes should be identified before necessary conditions for a proposed, appropriate solution can be set forth.

"1. The psychological reason.

"Some light must shed first of all on a psychological cause: a too narrow concept of the village as an administrative unit and of village finance. Under the eyes of the ruling authorities during the domination period, the village was an administrative and social unit, which existed as a result of the villagers' customs, religions, creed and traditions. The village unit tends to be more social and religious

than administrative. The people living in the some village are considered assunder the protection of a 'guardian spirit' whom they are to worship.

"On the council of notables at that time, except for the three 'executive notables' (notables instrumentaires), all other positions were titles of honor. These notables and the honorary notables were charged with solely tax collection and holding ceremonies.

"Since our sovereignty was restored, the village unit became a concern, and the village administration has undergone gradual reorganization and consolidation.

"But that narrow concept still prevails. Recognized as having a legal personality, the village has not as yet attained the financial, economic and social status it merits with its legal personality. Many villages, established for administrative and political reasons in order to meet the emergency needs for the creation of a system to control the village population are in fact lacking economic and financial conditions for their existence and development that is deserved by their administrative legal personality. (For example, five plantation villages of Dau Tieng District, Province of Binh Duong).

"The village is therefore only a fundamental administrative unit. The national socio-economic foundation is the province, and rural development is merely a least-concerned point in the framework of the province's development program.

"Such is the concept of the village unit; the village budget is of course limited within the management area and is merely a balance sheet of proposed receipts and necessary expenditures for the village

administrative operation. Thus, the development of the village resources beyond its needs is not considered as a matter of ultimate necessity. This narrow concept has been a stumbling block to the improvement of the village budget.

"This concept has undergone consideration change in Central Viet Nam. In the South, it is still prevalent. Some administrators, who have long cherished it often attempt to enhance the cities rather than to undertake rural 'true reconstruction,' even though they are fully conscious of the fact that the greater bulk of the people are living beyond the limits of the cities; and in order to achieve final victory, steps should be taken to rally the whole people to the government's cause. Consequently, at various localities, in the provinces or districts, each year has witnessed the realization of many beautification projects; while in the rural areas, a great many villages are in need of necessary construction; and in many localities, roads are non-existent, or existing but not in good shape for communication because they are badly damaged. The administrators are fully aware of this fact, but it seems that when taking up their posts, they are more inclined toward urban development than rural rehabilitation. They probably have the feeling that their stay in a province is usually too short to work out elaborate programs for the villages; they are instead concerned with the swift realization of certain projects in the chief towns which are visible to the superior, while rural affairs draw the least attention and may be handled at any convenient time.

"It is also probable that some administrators who--when assigned

to certain posts--developed a habit of carrying out their pet projects in the chief town in remembrance of their term of office there.

"It is also probably because some administrators were usually praised for their achievements in the province of the district by their superior or by natives of the locality, or by visitors. This is quite understandable. The superior, the travelers (visitors) scarcely have the opportunity to set foot in the village. Rural people, accustomed to destitution, scarcely express any demands. The village council is carrying out operations that are within the capacity of the village's tight budget. Urban people, a number of whom are intellectuals, are used to getting into contact with the authorities and voicing this suggestion or discussing the other. The province chiefs sometimes find these suggestions good, sometimes are motivated by self-respect, and usually mapped out their reconstruction plans according to these suggestions. Yet, almost every 'high' dignitary is living in the chief town, so they tend to be only concerned with urban questions. These personalities often come to large provinces and the capital. Their living standards are relatively high. They find everything unsatisfactory in the provinces. They requested that the chief towns be taken care of . The relatively high standards of living in urban areas are on the rise, but never sufficiently high in their eyes; there is therefore a competition between the chief towns to accelerate development, and development and reconstruction projects exert financial requirements.

"In this respect, the province chief has his provincial budget. The province chief is in fact the actual administrator of the village budget. With Ordinance 57a increasing the responsibilities and power

of the province chief and with the present administrative system, the province chief may--if he so desires, make available part of the village resources to finance reconstruction projects in the province, that is, usually in the chief towns. On the other hand, the establishment of the Mutual Assistance Fund in the province provides the province chief with another legal means to fully use part of the village resources, without either any strict control, nor any well-defined plan.

"Therefore, we sometimes hear complaints from some district chiefs and village council members that the village finance is existing but may not be used for village affairs, and that only the province has the priority in development and reconstruction work. These complaints are at times true. They are true complaints, partly because some administrators are primarily concerned with the welfare of the chief towns, rather than the rural areas. They usually are working to satisfy their self-respect, their desires to receive tribute for projects that sometimes are rather more beautifying than actually useful. Consequently, there are few administrators who tend to voice their tribute to the achievements of their predescessors. The opposite is the fact: they usually claim that their predecessor's work was not justifiable and sometimes abolish unilaterally certain operations or modify them according to their personal taste, or abandon the present program and work out a new plan that jibed with their will. Exclusive care has been, year after year, given to a handful of chief towns, but the results have never been completely satisfactory, not to mention the rural areas. The way of work without continuation and the predecessor's projects

were abolished as modified when disapproved of hampered the smooth flow of work. Beautification work, as a matter of course, requires the appropriation of funds.

"It would be more useful if these funds were used in reconstruction work in a village which is thoroughly lagging. The crucial thing is to use the village resources to finance useful projects in insufficiently developed rural areas, rather than to enhance the beauty and the 'showy' appearance of places where, relatively speaking, the people are enjoying much material and mental comfort.

"2. Financial reason.

"Financially, three chief reasons may be pointed out:

"Inharmonious (unequal) distribution of resources among the villages.

"Village public property is insufficient.

"And the village's private resources are not adequately exploited.

"In the distribution of resources among the budgets, the village is subjected to disadvantage. An important amount of revenues which are either within the village or directly related to it, or which totally go to the superior budget, or partly belong to the village as an almost symbolic amount.

"Land-field surcharge tax:

"In the South, the village budget is entitled to five per cent and ten per cent of the principal tax revenues (except for land-field tax in the chief town to which the village is entitled 25 per cent; but urban land

is very scarce or non-existing for the distant villages). In Central Viet Nam, the percentage surcharges on field and land amounts to 50 per cent.

"Forestry tax: The national budget is fully entitled to this tax, even though the provincial and village budget has to meet such expenditures for the exploitation of forests (repair of roads damaged by timber tracters).

"In public property, the villages usually have public land and fieldsand apartments for rent. Unlike the villages in the Central Midlands, the greater proportion of which possess an important acreage of public land and fields, the acreage in the Southern villages is inconsiderable, so receipts from the village's sources of revenues are low. The reason we are faced with this fact is that it has been our thinking that the village may have only public fields and lands within the village area. This concept was the motivating force behind our firm restrictions imposed upon the village's right of private ownership.

"Being recognized as a legal personality, the village should have every privilege as a physical personality (except for the restrictions imposed by law). The village's right of private ownership should be enlarged so that the village may obtain more property. The village budget will receive considerable annual revenues, especially when this source of revenue is steady and permanent.

"The village's resources are so limited and the exploitation so inadequately undertaken, that is important.

"In time of war, insecurity has forced the rural authorities to abandon a great amount of resources, or consent to their exploitation by the people for the later's personal interests.

"At the present time, although security and order have been restored, the exploitation of the village resources has not as yet reached the desirable extent for the following reasons:

"The village council is not powerful enough to insure respect for regulations of exploitation. Bidders become discouraged and tax collection suffers depreciation. Example: at a certain village, a ferryboat landing pier was bidded, but some local influential figures openly put their boats into operation within the scope of the bidded pier; the bidder suffered loss in revenues, and the village council was unable to put an end to this violation. Collection at this ferryboat landing pier will be depreciated if the situation remains unimproved.

"The village council does not have sufficient time and means to exploit the village resources. For this reason, part of these resources are abandoned or exploited in an perfunctory manner.

"The village council has not fully grasped the usefulness of these resources and was not genuinely interested in their exploitation, swing to its habitual reliance upon the superior. It's good if there are receipts, and if not, subventions will be obtained from the province.

"The above reasons have weakened village finance and resulted in a vicious consequence: the village budget is limited to limited-scale operations, without the constructive and reconstructive character that a sound budget is expected to have.

IV. SOLUTIONS

"Let's consider some solutions which may contribute to the development of the village budget.

"Before putting forth our suggested solutions, it would be helpful to reiterate the concept of the village unit and village budget.

"A legal personality as it is, the village should attain a status that its legal personality deserves, both administratively and financially.

"Financially, the village should be able to sustain itself, to organize its existence in an appropriate manner and to develop itself. The village budget its not a mere means for the management of administrative affairs, but is a plan for village development, to a certain extent. The village budget cannot be established without taking into account the rural development plan.

"Although this concept is reiterated, it is in fact in existence and it is certain that the administrators will label this reiteration as unnecessary, and probably elementary. At any rate, it should be clearly reiterated according to its importance, so that it will not be overwhelmed by another concept--or in better terms, another tendency--the tendency toward the beautification of the urban areas and the abolition of operations which are essential to rural welfare, despite the true fact that urban villages are prospering with the assistance of neighboring villages.

"This tendency is the present illness of many an administrator, an illness from which no one realizes he is suffering if it is not pointed

out . And that probably is one of the key reasons why village resources, the village's artery, are not circulating harmoniously in an 'administrative unit' called 'province.'

"With the concept of the village unit and the village budget thus reiterated, we will find the improvement of the village budget is an urgent step, for it is the essential condition for the village to attain a deserving position. That is, in effect, 'personalism' applied to the village budget.

"The problem of budget improvement should be considered in two aspects: receipts and expenditures.

"1. Increase in receipts.

"Increase in receipts should involve the increase of sources of revenues which are stable and regular, in order to set the village budget on a steady foundation. The following incomes should be increased:

"a. Tax surcharge on lands and fields:

"Lands and fields are real estate from which the annual incomes are relatively steady. Land and field taxes are imposed on a definite basis. It is deemed fit to increase tax surcharge on lands and fields to preserve the key role of the village budget. Furthermore, lands and fields are to a great extent located in rural areas. It is not in any way unreasonable to give the village a major proportion of revenues from land-field taxes.

"Tax surcharge may be increased in two ways:

"Increase in percentage surcharge for the villages.

"The rate fixed for fiscal 1959 (from 5 to 50 per cent of the principal tax) was too low. Receipts from land-field taxes too insufficient: (Thanh Hoa village: 1.1 per cent; Quang Loi village: 0.2 per cent.)

"But, if the village's percentage surcharge is increased and the main tax item unchanged, the tax burden will be on the shoulders of land (field) owners, and that may be an unpopular measure.

"On land and field tax, the national budget should reserve all revenues for the provincial and village budgets. The national budget has a great deal of other sources of revenues and should not be concerned with land and field tax. Moreover, the national budget has a relatively small share of these tax revenues. If the provincial and village budgets are fully entitled to land and field tax, an increase in this tax to improve the village budget and to finance rural reconstruction projects will most likely stimulate the people's eagerness to pay taxes, because they can see by their own eyes and in their own village, useful operations carried out by their own efforts.

"The village is not deserving of its legal personality, its status as an administrative unit, if it does not possess financial capacities for the management of regular necessary operations. The villages (with the exception of particular cases in the Central Highlands and Midlands) should not, year in year out, remain in a state of deficiency, uncertainty and reliance. How could such a village be called an administrative unit, a legal personality, and how could it sustain itself? And the rule, too, is by no means progressive.

"In our view, the village is a family. It is unbearable if a village is in debt all year round without thinking of repaying, and how it could repay them. How long can the lifetime of such a village be?

"That village should have finances to sustain its existence. And finance is made up of resources within or without (outside) the village. The only source of revenues in the village are land and fields, but when these revenues go to the superior budgets, and an inconsiderable amount to the budget of the inferior; that is irrational. How can financial improvement be realized in those circumstances, particularly when at present, there is no industry, no rational organization of fishery, and no commercial development?

"Also in this respect, we suggest a reconsideration of the tax rate levied on garden lands, rubber plantations and other industrial trees, for these categories of land are more productive in comparison with ricefields--either one crop or two crop fields.

"In short, it is necessary to reconsider the tax rate imposed on lands and fields for a temporary tax increase, and for the village to obtain the proportion it deserves.

"Only when this is realized, the administrative unit called the village can attain its necessary values. If not, distant villages will ever be poor in comparison with the well-off urban people, and will ever be those who are in debt all year round, their moral values deteriorated, their human dignity damaged. To give the village its equitable share of revenues from the lands and fields tax will financially strengthen the presently poor villages, while the financial

status of urban villages remains unchanged, due to their limited possession of lands and fields. This would mean the application to the village budget of a policy that may be called 'a personalistic finance,' like the policy of 'personalistic economy' adopted by the Vietnamese government.

"b. Introduction of a surcharge tax on forestry for the village and province. Viet Nam has considerably large areas of forest. Forestry tax constitutes an important source of revenue to which the national budget is entirely entitled. It is deemed necessary that a surcharge be imposed on the net tax (principal tax) for the provincial and village budgets, as these two administrative levels share an important proportion of expenditures on forest exploitation.

"Furthermore, if the village and province have a common share, they will take a more active part in tax collection from which they obtain their direct advantage. The annual tax receipts will increase.

"As far as we are concerned, this problem has long been raised and scrupulously studied by many province chiefs. We suggest that the step be taken at the earliest moment possible so that the villages which have large areas of forest obtain their due advantages.

"c. Increase in the village's revenues.

"This category of receipts is the most stable and should be boosted to the greater extent the better. This could be done in two ways:

"Increase of the village's public lands and fields.

"In this respect, a broader view must be taken in regards to the village's right of private ownership, so that it may purchase privately-

owned lands and fields in or outside the village area or reclaim new land from the national forests.

"In former times, little concern was given to the extension of public lands and fields beyond the village limits. If a resident of Saigon may purchase land in Long Khanh or An Xuyen, we think a village should be able to possess public lands and fields outside the village areas, in case no lands (and fields) are purchaseable in the village itself.

"Agrarian reform being carried on may offer a good opportunity for the villages without public fields to purchase a proportion of expropriated fields, (land) or to reclaim waste land, regardless of whether it is in the village area or in other provinces--for cultivation or for rent. If the opportunity is missed, it will later be difficult to create public lands and fields for the villages.

"We may reconsider the status of many privately-owned plantations or foreign companies seized by the local people who, in the past years, destroyed the trees and turned the land into crop land or rice fields, These areas of land, if they are not owned by the present occupants, may be sold to those who are cultivating it. The remaining will be sold in appropriate proportion to the village as public lands and fields. Possession of public lands and fields is one thing, another equally important thing is its exploitation.

"No uniform statute has yet been established concerning this question. The exploitation of public lands and fields was determined by many separate documents on local initiatives.

"Public lands and fields are either allotted free to the peasants or rented at a symbolic rate.

"In the Central Midlands, certain proportions of public lands and fields were bidded in many provinces (Quang Tri, Thua Thien). In Binh Dinh province, during fiscal 1958, all public lands and fields were allotted to the farmers who paid 25 per cent of the rental to the budget as defined by the land reform law. This form of exploitation has brought to the village an important amount of receipts (VN$18,000,000 for the whole province).

"This form of exploitation according to the local needs and on local initiatives has encountered many disadvantages; in certain localities, the village is suffering loss, for lands (and fields) are rented at a symbolic rate or allotted free to the people. On the other hand, in other localities, rental is too heavy and illegally imposed, and that may give rise to complaints from the renters. A well-defined and uniform statute should be enacted concerning the cultivation of public lands and fields. The statute may fix the maximum proportion of public lands and fields each village is authorized to have and determined the procedures for exploitation which will at the same time improve the village budget and prevent possible complaints from the people.

"In our view, the form of exploitation (cultivation) in Binh Dinh province may be considered as realistic but the rental percentage should, according to the equality of the land, be reduced to support the tenants. The rental period for each tenant should also be restricted (limited), so that public lands and fields will be alternatively allotted to poor

tenants in the villages for cultivation. Besides public lands and fields, populous villages should also consider the problem of building more houses or apartments, theaters, inns along the highway for rent. These operations, if carried out, will be useful in many respects, especially in the social respect, and increase the village resources.

"In some localities, the villages can establish plantations. If the villages can have theaters, markets, slaughtering houses, ferry boat landing piers, power stations.., they can also have rubber, coffee, tea plantations, fruit trees, salt fields and fish ponds along the coast. The problem of exploitation is not irresolvable.

"But, the villages may raise this question: 'Now that the villages have no funds even to meet management expenditures for their personnel, how can they obtain funds to finance the construction of such ambitious establishments?' Such a problem has not arisen, and if it does arise, a solution will certainly be found, sooner or later. Farmers, industrialists, businessmen may request loans from the government to carry on their profession, so may the villages. And if loans are not requested for the construction of such properties, a prospective source of revenues, when shall autonomy be attained? Loans are, it goes without saying, to be repaid, not in the immediate future, but in terms, under a plan which is in compliance with the plan for operations of these newly established proprieties. The problem cannot be solved within five or ten years, but gradually under a long-range and well-defined program. Rural affairs, like the provincial or district administrative affairs, should not be viewed as periodic, but continuous.

Only the implementation of the program requires a classification of operations according to their urgency. In the absence of a government program--requiring the administrators to drop their pet projects unless they are approved by the government, little will be done to the village welfare, but village resources may sometimes be squandered.

"d. Increase in market tax.

"Bidded market tax, the village's private revenue, should be increased by all means in order to improve the village budget. Particularly for villages which have rivers bidded fishing is also an important source of revenue to the budget. Revenues from marine products should be reconsidered everywhere, and this task may be assigned to a technical committee to study all aspects of the problem.

"2. Systematization of the use of the budget.

"In this phase of reconstruction, the reduction in expenditures cannot be contemplated. The village budget should finance, as much as possible, expenditures on rural reconstruction to increase the people's purchasing power in order to accelerate economic recovery. Expenditures do not mean over-expenditures to squander. Spending must be justifiable.

"Therefore, what shall be realized is not a restriction on expenditures to maintain the balance of the budget, but the orientation of the budget's expenditures account toward production and reconstruction goals. To attain these goals, a plan should be worked out for each individual budget aimed at two main objectives: reduction of non-production expenditures and increase in reconstruction expenditures of economic and social interests.

"a. Unproductive expenditures involve expenditures in management (salaries for personnel, stationary, miscellaneous expenditures, irregular expenditures, and customary expenditures... construction, rennovation of the 'dinh', pagodas, ceremonies...)

"Management expenditures are regular and necessary, but highly flexible according to local needs. Egocentrism--the common illness--often necessitates much squander from this category of expenditures. Any village sees itself as an important element, its work burdensome, and is therefore inclined toward the recruitment of more employees whose number sometimes exceeds the demands of public service. This typical village will demonstrate the fact: it has a population of 3,974 and hires a minimum staff of 14 persons in charge of administrative affairs and 10 in charge of information, cultural and social affairs.

"In 1957, this village's management expenditures--payment of salaries--amounted to VN$270,000 out of the total budget of VN$336,344 over 80 per cent. (These figures are taken from a report dated December 10, 1957, by Mr. Nguyen Van Luan, comptroller).

"The Central (Central Viet Nam) authorities should, it is suggested, reconsider the personnel necessary for public affairs in each village, in order to prevent excessive spending in some localities, and the shortage of personnel in others which disrupt the general work flow.

"Furthermore, the village budget has to each year meet considerable expenditures on customary religious activities (construction, rennovation of pagodas and the 'dinh,' ceremonies...) These expenditures are also necessary at the present time. But they must be reduced by

mobilizing the people's participation. The budget only provides a symbolic financial support. This step was taken in many localities and good results have been obtained. We cite for example an average village in Tay Ninh where, with contributions from the local people, a VN$300,000 'dinh' was rebuilt and inaugurated in 1958. The local people had voluntarily donated VN$100,000 to the funds for organizing the fete.

"b. Expenditures for social reconstruction should be increased to the greatest extent possible because these expenditures go to the building of the very structure of future development. The greater these expenditures become, the sooner the village budget will be improved and its prospects become more promising. For these expenditures, the village may request loans if need be, provided that the achievements are really constructive and fruitful.

"In short, to attain sound village finance, the applicable measure involves two main points:

"Increase in the regular and stable revenues, in order to establish a stable and healthy basis for the village budget.

"And the systematization of the use of funds, aimed at production and reconstruction goals.

"But this is not a new measure and is in fact hardly applicable in some very poor villages with limited resources and a small population. It is difficult to find a solution to the problem of increasing receipts without an investment plan and credit loans to poor villages (the case of Highland villages and a great proportion of Southern and Midland

villages). These poor villages constitute the majority at the time being.

"In this situation, when shall the problem of 'rural autonomy' be solved, and how?

V. TWO SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS TO THE VILLAGE'S AUTONOMY PROBLEM: INTEGRATION OF VILLAGES AND THE DISTRICT BUDGET

"1. Integration of villages.

"The village is viewed as an independent family, and its existence depends upon the harmonious evolution of various activities. A family that is inactive, and has no livelihood is a burden to society. A village in this case is a burden to other villages and the province. The usual solution to this problem is to reduce to the greatest extent feasible this burden. And the only way to reduce that burden is the regrouping of small and poor villages into a large village which may obtain an adequate livelihood. The regrouping of villages has already been realized in Central Midlands. In 1957, 4,476 old villages (Lang) had been regrouped into 882 new villages (Xa). The village budget was consequently relieved of a considerable amount of expenditure on personnel, office management and material.

"In the South, the demaracation of provinces has been made. Many old provinces had been regrouped, and a number of new provinces created according to their geographical position. In this undertaking, apart from political and administrative reasons, the government had also aimed at turning each province into a unit which may have adequate means for economic, financial, and social development.

"New districts have also been established in recent years.

"But simultaneously with this undertaking, it is to be taken into account the regrouping of some small villages which are facing serious financial difficulties into a large village with sufficient means to carry out various activities. The regrouping must of course depend upon the political, security situation, and must be based upon other key factors: resources of the village, and the socio-economic status.

"The regrouping of small villages is but a periodic measure. Whenever the overall situation justifies, that large village may be divided into many small villages. The crucial problem is to ensure a reduction in management expenditures without harming the administration.

"2. The district budget.

"The role of the budget, as defined, is the functioning of activities and rural development and the improvement of the budget is essential to any social advancement plan. But one stumbling block remains to be broken down: the obvious difference in resources between villages.

"Beside a number of large and populous villages with rich resources there exist a good many extremely poor villages, lacking all conditions for development: no natural resources, insufficient manpower, and inadequate equipment. Although efforts have been made by the government to realize the full recovery of the village finance, development is not harmonious and the gap of difference between the villages is widening. Financial equilibrium may be attained in each individual village, but that gap must be filled before an equilibrium can be established between all villages. In other words, rural development is not to be carried

out in individual villages, but has to be placed in a broad perspective; resources must be equalized; the needs be identified; and the undertaking must be carried out under an overall plan.

"This requirement reminds us of the pooling of village resources in order that development can be carried on under a definite plan. This has been done in some parts of the Central Midlands.

"Part of other villages' resources were concentrated in the District Mutual Assistance Funds. But the results were not satisfactory, owing probably to loose coordination and inefficient administration.

"Since 1958, the Mutual Assistance Fund has been established in the provinces. The concentration of part of the villages' resources in the form of M.A.F. has brought about good results, but shortcomings' were unavoidable, because the province chief is the only administrator of the fund.

"Let's consider the problem of establishing a district budget.

"a. The district budget and the village traditions.

"Budget is this case does not represent a national or provincial budget, but it may well be considered as the district's plan for action, i.e., 'a number of villages illustrated by figures.' The district will use the budget a means for the realization of economic and social reconstruction plans in the district's villages.

"If the district budget is established, the Mutual Assistance Fund has no justification for existence. The village budget will be limited to a record book on management expenditures. Each village will establish necessary receipt books and a record on regular management expenditures.

All receipts will be deposited at the treasury, and the village will only keep sufficient cash on hand needed to meet management expenditures recorded in the expenditures book. If expenditures exceed receipts, the village may request subventions from the district.

"According to Ordinance 57a, the village, under provincial leave, is an administrative legal personality, financially autonomous. The district is but the intermediary rank between the province and the village, and has no right of establishing a separate budget. The district chief is the province chief's executive officer in the implementation of regulations in the district.

"The establishment of a district budget may be viewed as shifting to the district part of the legal personality and, at the same time, a major part of the village's resources.

"This integration shall, in its early steps, raise objections from the people because the village tradition is somewhat damaged and the village's character is also partly shadowed.

"However, this is a surmountable barrier. Furthermore, the concentration is merely financial, and the village still maintains its status as an old administrative unit. Regionalism will increase with the passage of time and the people will be gradually adjusted to the idea of collective development and will recognize the important role of a district budget in rural development.

"This measure would--prior to its application--be widely expounded throughout the villages, as were the government's policies.

"b. The district budget vs. the present village finance.

"The idea of a district budget will revolutionize the whole village financial pattern.

"In contrast to the situation in which resources are scattered in individual small units, the district budget implies a strict concentration of those resources, with the purpose of establishing a financial equilibrium for the whole district.

"Any village--regardless of its financial capacities--may obtain management funds corresponding to the village's needs. Subventions to poor villages will no longer remain a problem and the waste of resources on the part of rich villages will be put to an end.

"The district budget is thus a plan for action in accordance with an established line. Village resources concentrated in the district will be handled in a more systematic and scientific manner. Rural development will be achieved on an expanding basis, starting from the most needy villages.

"The villages will, in this process, witness equal development and the gap of difference in resources will be narrowed.

"The district budget is established, as mentioned earlier, to restore the balance of the village budget and to realize the rural reconstruction program according to a long range plan, the district's plan which is embodied in the general plan of the province.

"A question may be raised at this point. If all the villages are poor and obtain insufficient resources to meet all regular management expenditures, how can a district budget be established and reconstruction work be carried on? The necessary measure is that the poor district

will obtain loans from the prosperous, under a plan mapped out by the province, after joint examination with the districts. And if this measure is taken, why should not the Mutual Assistance Fund be maintained at the province for the sake of convenience? Because it is not advantageous to concentrate the resources in the provincial budget, although plans have been drawn for the districts, e.g. the whole province, and if the fund is maintained at the province level, it may be misunderstood that these resources belong to the province and must remain at its disposal.

"Moreover, the province chief must be free to take charge of the general management, control and guidance, i.e., leadership.

"The district chief is in an executive position and must be active in his activities directed toward definite goals. But these activities demand adequate means, and an increase in the means does not entail an increase in power. This rural reconstruction plan will, once it is approved by the government, be gradually materialized. This plan may be modified as the situation justifies, but these modifications are subjected to the government's approval or order. District chiefsand the province chief may be shifted, but the program remains unchanged, and any replacement is expected to carry it on and not to widen the scope of the program unless the action is approved.

"The district budget will be reviewed by the province chief and approved by the Presidency. The district chief is the disbursing officer, under the control of the province chief.

"This system of management of resources is more efficient, for the district chief has a firmer knowledge and a broader understanding of

finance than the village officials.

"Disbursing officer as he is, the district chief does not have full power in using the funds at his discretion but must be under the control of the province chief.

"The province chief is not in a position to freely use the funds as do the present Mutual Assistance Fund authorities.

"The control over village budgets is no longer a serious problem. This will greatly reduce the workload of the village of the province, and the General Directorate of Budget, while there is no considerable increase in the district's affairs.

"The control over the district budget, too, is easy, because it is established primarily to finance part of the poor villages' management expenditures. The annual remaining cash will go into capital investment, economic and rural social reconstruction under a plan mapped out for the district.

"a. The district budget and rural development.

"The district budget, as mentioned earlier, tends to be a program (i.e., apart from management) and is also aimed at rural development according to a program mapped out for the whole district.

"Each district has to work out a program based upon the local situation, needs and available means. The period of implementation may cover many successive fiscal years (from three to ten years). The program will receive elaborate study with the assistance of experts, and the plan will be forwarded to the province chief and the central authorities for consideration and, after ratification will serve as

a basis for any yearly plan of activities of the district. The district budget will include proposed expenditures according to work projects which will be carried out during the year covered by the program.

"The speed of rural reconstruction, and whether or not the projects of economic and social interests are carried out in conformity with the village's needs, depend on the work schedule and the use of the district budget. If the resources are maintained at the village level, poor villages will remain poor, while rich villages are at times squandering. The development of the organisms of the whole 'province' body are consequently inharmonious.

"Our suggested solutions called for an increase in receipts, reducing expenditures, and an equal and rational distribution of village resources in order to carry out rural development under a definite program. The realization of a truly autonomous finance is an extremely subtle and complicated problem. No matter which solution is to be found, to strengthen the present budget, fruitful results still depend upon many factors: time, efforts on the part of the competent authorities, the understanding of the people, village incomes, the internal general situation.

"In raising the problem of village autonomy, it's not our ambition to seek a clearcut solution, but solely--on the basis of some insights obtained--to put forth an orientation in the hope that these constructive suggestions will receive the consideration of the technical and competent authorities, so that effective solutions can be found to the problem of rural development and the improvement of living standards of those people who are living beyond the reach of the cities."

E. An NIA Student's View

The following extract is from a paper prepared by one of the NIA students during his period of field work in a Southern delta province. The paper merits reading for his observations concerning the political security problem, "peasant passivity," and steps he believes should be taken to strengthen the democratic spirit.

His solution involves making popular participation in village affairs a compulsory duty of each and every adult. Is this a reasonable way to encourage the growth of democracy?

From the view point of changes in the structure of village councils, it is interesting to note that he proposes strengthening the executive role of the village chief vis a vis the other councilors. Since he also proposes having the chief chosen by the villagers, he is in effect suggesting making the chief the equivalent of a mayor with fairly strong powers. He would have the authority to choose the other councilors, subject to the approval of a higher reviewing authority, a selection committee at the district level.

"Draft Proposal for the Modification of the Village Council Statute" Report on Special Assignment, 1960.
Tran Van Nghi, Third Year Student, National Institute of Administration

"Owing to the lack of training in civic education and in addition, the terrorism and menace of the communist rebels, the peasants have become almost unconscious of the spirit (sense) of responsibility and thus are less united and constantly remain in a state of passivity. They are like young herbs, feeble and bending at the direction of the wind, despite their awareness of what was the just cause and what was evil.

"Does this passivity create insecurity? Or, on the contrary, does insecurity create passivity? If the rural people stay closely united in readiness to face any challenge, if everyone has a clear conception of his responsibility and is willing to sacrifice his life for the peace and security of his village and his country, it is unlikely that the communist rebels could perpetuate insecurity to serve their aims.

"But how could the spirit of responsibility be fostered among the innocent and honost masses? Training in civic education, building of the spirit of serving the common cause, these have been and still are pursued, but can hardly catch up with and surpass the terroristic acts and menace which are the most effective measures of the communist rebels in that if they can not win the support of the populace, the latter will at least forcibly remain in a position of inaction and the communists then have a free hand.

"For us, there are two practical solutions which tend to be effective:

"- Either make the people affected, more or less, by a certain act of terrorism of the communist rebels, so that they come to recognize clearly that interests are also damaged. This measure cannot be adopted because we are upholding human dignity.

"- Or to foster a spirit of responsibility among the rural populace by establishing a new principle of public function. This principle will be embodied in a legal institution based upon Article 14 of the Constitution: 'every citizen has the right and duty to work.' Now, let's form a new conception of public function as follows: 'every citizen living in the village upon reaching adulthood, is obliged to participate in village public affairs. Those who evade responsibility will be

severely punished by the law.'

"This principle is, in the main, similar to the principle of tax payment and military service. The problem is how this principle can be applied to the masses. Like the military service institution, the principle of military service must be transformed into a legal institution. To attain this goal, public opinion should be prepared and popular reaction be sounded out, as in the case of preparations for military service.

"The law governing the village public function would be similar to that governing military service, and contain provisions on age, capacity, morality, and spirit of the citizen, as well as provisions determining administrative and legal sanctions.

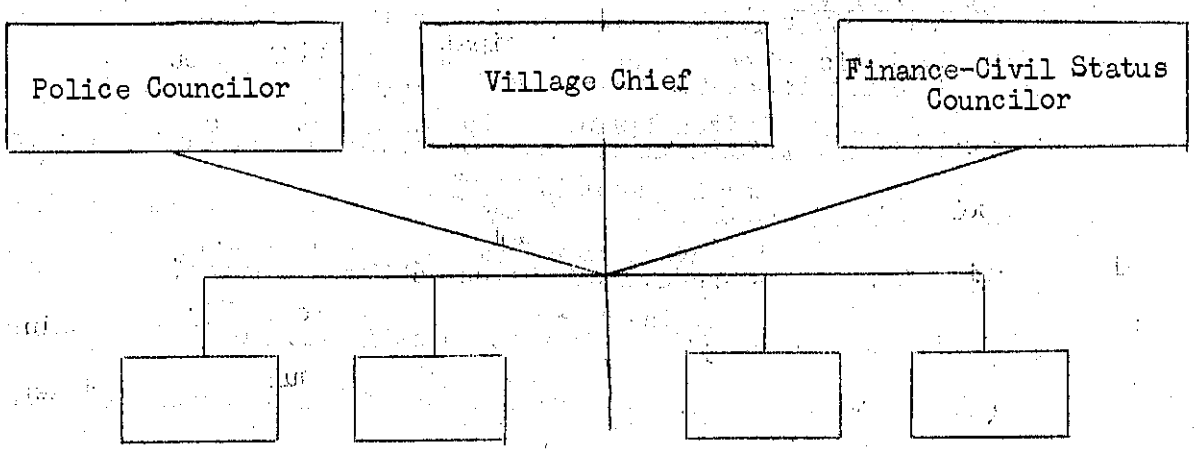
"When every citizen conceives of public function as an obligation, as the youth conceives of military service as an obligation, the village administration will no longer be a burden for the nation. The selection of village personnel (councilors?) would then be facilitated. Financially, the village personnel may be given nominal allowances, but would not relase their efforts in fulfilling their duties.

The selection of village personnel.

"On the basis of compulsory participation in village public affairs, each adult citizen living in the village may be designated to perform certain work which cannot be refused.

"The selector would have a large number of people available for his selection, but the difficulty would lie in how to identify a genius in that mass, if selection is based upon negative requirements such as good spirit and political stand.

"The selection should not be entrusted to one person, but to a committee. In order to facilitate its work, this committee should not be established at the provincial, but at the district level. The district committee will be composed of the district chief as chairman, the chief of the security service and the canton chiefs as members. When village councilors are to be selected, the committee should make the selection in the village and the oldest notable would be chosen as member (of the committee?) The essential problem is to select the Dai dien xa (village representative - village chief) who directs village administration. Since a definite statute for the village council has not yet been established, the village chief is not considered - in many localities - as the supreme leader. For example: the organization chart of My-hanh-Dong village placed the village chief, the police councilor and the finance councilor on the same footing:



"The same situation exists in Tan-phu-Dong village: although the chart is not as well-drawn as the above, these three councilors are also on the same line and there is hardly any village which dares (dam) place the village chief above the police councilor.

"If centralization of power has been adopted at the central level, it should also be positively applied to the village. Under the future statute, general responsibility should be held by a single person and this person should be the village chief. The power of the village chief should be increased to such an extent that he exercises full authority in using or dismissing other councilors.

"The selection of the village chief is, therefore, of crucial importance. We should need a good person and should increase his power in order that village administration operates smoothly and that vicious elements and infiltrators be eliminated. Experience shows the spies often infiltrate in the realm of internal security and the vicious elements in the realm of finance. If the village chief was placed on the same footing with other councilors, the spies or vicious elements would - when they succeeded in penetrating into our ranks - grasp leadership of the village council from the village chief.

"We can have confidence in the leader of the village administration if his selection is conducted on the following pattern:

"- Conduct a referendum in the village for selecting a meritorious person to hold the position of village chief. This referendum will be held under the direct control of the selection committee.

"- The committee will conduct an investigation of the personal background, the spirit and political stand of the selected, and will

have the authority to nullify the results of the referendum, if the selected fail to meet all political requirements.

"- The person selected will undertake the selection of his collaborators, with the agreement of the selection committee. The designation of collaborators will of course be provided in provisions concerning certain restrictions: for instance, relatives may not be selected, etc...

"Selection conducted according the above pattern is a compromise between the three procedures of popular election, designation, and confidence."

* * *

F. Views of the 1960 EROPA Conference

This entire conference held in Manila dealt with the problems of local administration. A brief summary of its various papers shows that in general it favored strengthening local administration through a rational scheme of development and decentralization, although as one representative from Viet Nam stated, "Centralization and decentralization should be reconciled." It is the task of students of politics and administration to search for ways to perform this fusion. As the final paragraph advises, foreign systems should not be adopted without being adapted.

WORK GROUP REPORTS

Source: Daily Bulletin
First General Assembly,
Eastern Regional Organization
for Public Administration
10 Dec. 1960 pp. 2-5

Group I - Central Services to Local Government

"Mr. Cung, group chairman, read an additional report to that rendered by Mr. Prajudi in the plenary session.

"Mr. Cung emphasized the paternalistic father-son parallel of central-local relationships. Central direction, control and supervision of local units are therefore indispensable, he said.

"Fron this principle he drew the following conclusions and recommendations:

"1. A closer central-local cooperation is necessary in organization and coordination. Techniques must be found to avoid duplication and waste.

"2. Intensified training of local officials and a sense of public welfare among local people must be emphsized.

"3. Central financial aid to local units must be rationalized and equalized to avoid favoritism and regionalism.

"4. There must be a proper balance between rapid socio-economic development and the education of local officials to prepare them for local autonomy; closer cooperation in that if the central has to formulate a general program, the local unit should implement it. Implementation of rural development programs should be so emphasized that the 'self-help' spirit and local interest would be developed under central control and supervision.

"He added that 'even in strengthening local government for a better economic and social development, we would not forget the major role played by the central government.' Centralization and decentralization should be reconciled. The extent to which this combination could be made depends upon the particular situation in a country in times of historical geographic, economic and social, and cultural conditions."

Group II - Problems of Local Self-Government

"Dr. Yao, country rapporteur, presented a three-part report on the proceedings of his group. Some of the points made were as follows:

I. Autonomy of Local Government

"1. The group generally agreed that decentralization is the most preferable method of self-government.

"2. Except China none of the countries in the region has adopted direct popular legislation throught the initiative and referendum. Practically all countries aspire for direct participation and local legislation and government.

"3. Division of central and local powers is provided for in the constitutions and other basic laws of most countries. Where such delineation is not specified, central powers are delegated to local units in certain fields.

"4. Democracy is strengthened through local autonomy, but it suffers from lower-calibre elective officials.

"5. Democracy is not incompatible with efficiency, given sound personnel management and election. Local government efficiency under totalitarian regimes is attainable at the expense of mechanization of human caliber.

"6. With increased local government services, modern government is entering into expanded social welfare activities.

II Organization of Local Government

"1. Local government should adopt the single executive plan for administrative efficiency. In addition, aprofessional administrator (i.e., a city manager) or a competent staff agency should assist the elective executive. The difficulty lies in the demarcation between such a staff's responsibilities and those of the elective chief.

"2. Appointment procedures should be coordinated with other aspects of personnel administration in whomever the power to appoint is vested.

"3. Local legislative bodies should also have parliamentary immunity, and voters should be encouraged to go to the polls through an intensive program to attract competent persons to local elective offices.

"4. Such personnel administration systems as position classification and pay plans would be conducive to the development of local government. The central and local governments should have separate sets of classification plans depending on peculiar circumstances.

"5. There should be minimum central supervision over local authorities in whatever forms it is found.

III Financial Administration in Local Government

"1. Certain taxes like income, whole land tax, etc., should be levied by municipal governments or, as another school of thought suggests, should be levied and collected by the central government and transferred to local government. Corporate taxes of private firms should be of the central governments.

"2. There should be a single tax office at each tax area.

"3. Local governments should be financially self-supporting.

Group III - Government Administration of Rural Development

"Dr. Menon, work group chairman, waived reading the first three parts of the group's report inasmuch as copies had been distributed to the participants. He presented Part IV only, 'Achievements and Trends.' In summary, this brought out the following observations:

"1. Substantial results have been achieved, and the tempo is increasing, although no country has fully implemented its rural

development program. The most notable achievement is in agriculture; improvements in health and education and citizen participation, etc., and subsidiary occupations may also be noted.

"2. It is difficult to determine the basis or criteria used by governments for rating accomplishments - in one sense, the bases are the targets achieved. No simple measure is possible for rating changes in local people's attitudes. Such changes would be a matter of time.

"3. Depending on the system in particular settings, rural programs of technical ministries have been weakened or not weakened - when local self-government has not been much in existence or when such programs have not been transferred to local units.

"4. Ideally, local bodies should, eventually, formulate as well as implement programs, but this would take some time under present circumstances.

"5. Everywhere there should be a phased plan to cover the whole country with rural development programs. Intensification and extension of programs should go with training executives, both technical and generalist. Such questions as the technical-generalist relationships, whether such programs should be under a single generalist-administrator or centered around a subject matter like agriculture should be reconsidered.

"6. Beware of 'adopting without adaptation' the system of rural development of a more developed country, and of central complacency when rural development functions have been transferred to local bodies.

* * *

G. Can India's Democratic Decentralization Plan Be Adapted for Viet Nam?

Recognized for its great efforts to raise its living standards through democratic means, India is also becoming noted for its willingness to take bold steps in decentralizing administration. Its aim in doing this is not only to democratize but (perhaps more importantly) to gain greater support of the people for its vast program of socio-economic development.

The following attempts to summarize the nature of this experiment in India by pointing largely to those aspects of most interest to Viet Nam. The article is based on personal interviews held by the writer during a two-week visit to India in 1960 as well as on various publications obtained while there.

Administrative Aspects of the Democratic Decentralization Scheme in India

The major purpose of this discussion is to point out highlights in the administrative aspects of the plan adopted in India in 1957 to decentralize and democratize responsibility for part of the socio-economic program. It is likely that many of these features could be made part of the local administrative system in Viet Nam.

To this examination has been added some information collected from interviews with Indian national, state, and village officials during a two-week visit to India in April and May, 1960. Also, some references to publications are included, in case more information is desired.

Background and Expectations

Some excerpts from the key report leading to the adoption of the Democratic Decentralization Program indicate the thinking which led to its establishment. This report, known as the "Mehta" study, was submitted to a Committee on Plan Projects of the National Development Council.*

1. Failure of the existing community development program to evoke popular initiative. In spite of the efforts that had been made to establish and operate a system of community development, little progress had been made in obtaining community support. Ad hoc bodies containing mostly persons nominated (rather than elected), and having only advisory functions, had so far given no indication of durable strength nor leadership necessary to provide the motive force for continuing the improvement of economic and social conditions in the rural areas. Thus, the commission felt that further efforts to construct a more effective system for social and economic development were needed. It stated.

> "So long as we do not discover or create a representative and democratic institution which will supply the 'local interest, supervision and care necessary to ensure that expenditure of money upon local objects conforms with the needs and wishes of the locality,' invest it with adequate power, and assign to it appropriate finances, we will never be able to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development." (I, p.5)

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*Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on Plan Projects, New Delhi, November, 1957 (four volumes). All references in this discussion are to Volume I; considered the most important volume for an overall view of the program.

Filled with value judgments, this statement professes extremely strong interest in the importance of local initiative in the field of development.

2. The existing system of local administration was not adequate for the administration of an effective democratically controlled development program. An evaluation of the existing system showed that it contained neither the "tradition" nor the "resources" for implementing a program of self-government.

Without attempting to show why the existing system was inadequate -- for this would require additional background material about the government of India -- it can be pointed out that the Mehta study commission did consider the possibility of adopting the existing structure and administration rather than creating new units of local administration.

A general criticism of the entire system was that while it was democratic, it was not sufficiently adapted to reflecting local needs:

> "Democracy has to function through certain executive machinery but the democratic government operating over large areas through its executive machinery cannot adequately appreciate local needs and circumstances. It is, therefore, necessary that there should be a devolution of power and a decentralization of machinery and that such power be exercised and such machinery controlled and directed by popular representatives of the local area." (I, p.7)

3. Desired characteristics for the future governing body: a single representative and vigorous institution to take charge of all aspects of development work in rural areas.

a. The body must be statutory, elective, comprehensive in its duties and functions, equipped with necessary executive machinery and in possession of adequate resources.

b. "It must not be cramped by too much control by the government or government agencies." (I,p.6)

c. "It must have the power to make mistakes and to learn by making mistakes, but it must also receive guidance which will help it to avoid making mistakes." (I, p.6)

d. "This body can function effectively only if it is the sole authority for all those development programs which are of exclusive interest for the area. (I, p.6) In such matters higher units of administration will cease to operate within the area or in special circumstances when it has to; it has to do so through the agency of this local body." (I, p.6)

4. <u>Authority must be truly decentralized, not delegated, to the newly established governing body</u>.

a. Delegation of power does not divest the government of the ultimate responsibility for the actions of the authority to whom power is delegated.

b. Decentralization, on the other hand, is a process whereby the government divests itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolves them on to some other authority. --It is true that devolution of responsibility cannot be complete without a complete devolution of all the control over the necessary resources. Such devolution cannot be completely feasible in any country. <u>What we can work up to is to decentralize certain sources of income assured under statute and recommend that further resources should be made available by mutual agreement between the government and the people</u>. (I. p.7)

c. The governing body should have complete charge of all development work within its jurisdiction. "Develop-work" covers agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperation, minor irrigation works, village industries, primary education, local communications, sanitation, health and medical relief, local amenities and similar subjects.

d. For the decentralized development work the government should reserve for itself the function of guidance, supervision, and higher planning; and where necessary providing extra finance. (I, p.7)

5. <u>The jurisdiction of the proposed local body should be neither so large as to defeat the very purpose for which it is created nor so small as to militate against efficiency and economy</u>.

a. A review of various possible alternatives led the commission to favor employing the National Extension Service Blocks. Size of these blocks were not to exceed about 80,000 population.

b. The existing block advisory committees will be replaced by a statutorily powerful instrument of the local people's will, which can ensure that the expenditure of resources upon local works conforms with the wishes and the needs of the locality.

c. A body about 20 elected representatives plus a maximum of six co-opted members is favored.

--Small villages can be grouped into circles having a council. Council members can choose the representative from among themselves.

--The representatives can co-opt:

--two women interested in work among women and children.

--depending upon proportion of population, castes and tribes, to have special representatives if none already elected.

--two additional local residents whose experience in administration, public life or rual development would be of benefit to the governing body.

--if cooperatives are important, seats equal to ten per cent of the elected seats might be assigned to representatives chosen by directors of the cooperatives.

d. The body should have a life of five years to start at a midway point between five year plans so as to be able to draw up its own plan and "shoulder the responsibility" of seeing it through the first half of the period.

e. At first the new governing body should deal only with development work but eventually the government might assign other responsibilities together with appropriate financial resources. (I, p.12)

6. <u>Provisions should be made for assuring adequate financial resources</u>.

a. Various specific tax sources should be assigned. (The commission enumerated many possible taxes.)

b. In addition, adequate grants-in-aid must be established. (Some of these grants will be unconditional, others earmarked for certain purposes but on a matching basis. The result will be that each governing body will have an assured income of a certain size and will attract grants-in-aid

from government by producing its own fresh resources." (I, p.13)

7. <u>The new governing body will have two sets of officers -- those at the block level and those at the village level</u>.

a. Those at the block level will include the chief officer or executive officer and various technical officers. The executive officer will be vested by law with administrative powers, subject to checks, similar to those of a commissioner of a municipality. Executive functions should, as a matter of policy, be separated from legislative functions; the latter belonging with the governing board.

The state government will loan these officers to the block and will meet the cost of their pay other than current operating expenses. The latter will be paid by the block with the basis of rates prescribed by the state. These officers will be subject to withdrawal and a new appointment by the state.

The village level employees such as primary school teachers and development workers (Gram Sewak) will be recruited by the zila parishad (a new governing body at the next higher level containing representatives of the block governing bodies.) They will be under the control of the block executive officer.

8. The budget of the new governing body must be subject to approval from above but this power must be located still close to the body and exercised with great care so as not to destroy local initiative.

a. It is suggested that the zila parishad be authorized to review the block budgets.

b. A certain amount of control will inevitably have to be retained by the government, e.g., the power of superseding a block body in the public interest.

9. Village administrative organizations should be continued and placed under the supervision of the new governing bodies at the block level. In addition to being responsible for certain duties, the village unit may serve as the agent of the new governing body and its officers in executing any schemes of development. A maximum degree of cooperation between the villages and the block units should be ensured. Members of the village councils should be popularly chosen.

10. A coordinating body should be established at the next level for all of the new block governing bodies.

a. Members of this body (zila parishad) will be the presidents of the new governing bodies, all members of the state legislature and of Parliament residing in the area, and technical officers from the various developmental services. The collector (chief executive officer) will serve as chairman.

b. It will examine and approve budgets of the new governing bodies.

c. It will participate in allocation of grants.

d. It will coordinate and consolidate plans of the governing bodies, annual and quinquennial.

e. It will also generally supervise the activities of the new governing bodies.

11. A training program should be established for the elected members of the local bodies. (I., p.21) These may be established either by the state governments or by responsible non-official organizations of local officials.

12. In the ultimate analysis, the establishment of the new governing bodies with a wide devolution of powers has to be an act of faith -- faith in democracy.

a. If a state government hesitates to enter this plan, it may consider a more gradual evolution of installing the plan in only one or so areas at a time,

b. It is vital to the success of the plan, however, that all three tiers of the scheme -- the village, the block, and the zila parishad -- operate simultaneously.

Results of the Program

Given the federalistic organization of government in India, each state was in principle free to determine its own answer to this proposed plan. However, since the country is unified politically through the dominance of one political party, adoption by the central powers meant enactment by the local powers, in this case, the state governments.

It is the writer's understanding that, although some variations in the plan exist, all states have accepted it in principle. That some have tarried longer than others in its implementation, was indicated in an informal progress report prepared early in 1960, about three years after its adoption by the central powers. In the paragraphs to follow

various excerpts from that report are included. Most of the materials pertain to only two states -- Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan -- since there were not only the pioneers but also the two states visited by the writer in April and May, 1960. Some material from that trip -- largely interviews with village as well as higher officials -- enrich this discussion.*

Adoption in Andhra Pradesh. This is one of the most populous states with about 30 million residents. It contains 14,000 village administrative units. Eventually it will have about 390 of the newly established governing bodies and development units -- the Panchayat Samithi. Local publications fully support the criticisms of the community development programs found in the Mehta report. This is illustrated by the final paragraph of a special pamphlet prepared for the inauguration of a Samithi (probably the first) in October, 1959:

"It is our hope that with this institutional frame-work and with the necessary education, training and guidance of leadership from the humblest levels would be able to succeed in what was the basic and original purpose of the Community Development program, viz., that of creating in the community itself both the desire for its own

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*The following documents provide the basis of this discussion. Study Camp for Pramukhs and Pradhans (3rd-6th February, 1960), Notes and Proceedings, Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Government of India, 185pp. (mimeo.); Community Development in Andhra Pradesh -- A Brief Review, Planning and Development Department, State of Andhra Pradesh Hyderabad, October, 1959, 16pp.; Panchayat Raj in Andhra Pradesh -- A Brief Outline, Planning and Local Administration Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, (date?), 83pp.; and Local Government in Rajasthan, Panchayat and Development Department, State of Rajasthan, Jaipur, (date?) 17pp.

upliftment as well as the energy and the organization for achieving it; to generate within our various village communities social self-propulsion so that they may all become dynamos of social energy that would develop the motive force necessary for the progress of our country.*"

Several excerpts from a more complete publication under score the view that the Samithi or block unit will help strengthen democratic processes as well as stimulate economic development and illustrate various features of the scheme that has been officially adopted for the state:**

"The block is a compact unit offering an area large enough for functions which the village Panchayat by itself cannot perform and yet small enough to attract the interest and service of the residents." (p.3)

Since every village president will be a member of the Samithi, every village will be represented and in turn:

"The Samithi has, therefore, the advantage of knowing everything about each village through the president and implementing its schemes by the Panchayats (village councils)." (p.3)

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*Community Development in Andhra, p. 16.

**Panchayat Raj in Andhra Pradesh.

Stressing the transfer of public power from higher governmental administrators to the newly established local governing bodies the report reads:

"The scheme of democratic decentralization... seeks to transfer to the people the powers of administration now vested in government officers, and to help their representatives to assess the needs of the area, work out schemes to meet them, and execute the schemes." (p.6)

Thus, the members of the local governing body will be expected to carry out duties currently administered by higher authorities but in addition they will be expected to stimulate interest in community works:

"The presidents and members of the Panchayat Samithis have to endeavor to instill among the people within their jurisdiction a spirit of self-help and initiative and harness their enthusiasm for raising the standard of living. They have to enlist the whole-hearted support of the people for the implementation of the development programs, not only those which relate to the community for which government assistance is forthcoming, but much more so to that which relate to individuals and which are mainly based on self-help." (p.6)

As one example of a power and its related duties granted the Samithis:

"The government of Andhra Pradesh has decided to give to the Panchayat Samithis the funds provided under the heading 'Loans for irrigation and rural housing' in the Community Development program. These funds will be recovered from the Panchayat Samithis in installments. The Panchayat Samithis will have to sanction and

disburse loans to individuals and will have to recove them from the loanees. The loan funds available with some of the normal development departments such as Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Industries, etc., will also be made over to the Panchayat Samithis to be similarly spent and recovered... All of these loans will have to be recovered from the loanees by the Panchayat Samithis themselves." (p.7)

An illustration of how existing functions and activities are to be reassigned is offered by the following policy for determining whether a seed farm should be assigned to a Samithi or to the higher unit, the district.

"Seed farms are at present established in blocks by the Department of Agriculture. Wherever a seed farm is intended to serve exclusively the needs of a block and nothing more, that seed farm must be handed over to the Panchayat Samithi for management with the assistance of the extension officer (Agriculture) under the guidance of the district agricultural officer. Where, however, a farm is intended to serve the needs of more than one block, it will continue to be directly under the control of the district agricultural officer. It shall, however, be available for demonstration purposes within the block where it exists." (p.8)

Because the Samithi is a relatively large body, provisions have been made for dividing authority and responsibility between sub-committees, the president, and the entire body. Considerable importance is attached to the work of the committees:

"The essence of the administration... is to be found in the

committee system... Large assembles are not appropriate for the discussion and settlement of matters of detail... In the present pattern large powers of sanction are given to standing committees themselves with a view to speed up sanction and execution of schemes and works. In this system the power is vested in the hands of the elected representatives (without delegating any undue amount of it to administrators.)... The great merit of the system lies in the intimate contact with the realities of administration which it gives to every member... The administrative value of such contact is a civic experience of high value. The key-note of the system is the subordination of the paid official to the wishes of the Samithi... and its committees... The standing committees are thus the workshops... where technical knowledge of the officials and the members interpretation of public requirements are brought together, blended and applied." (p.37)

Every Samithi is to establish five standing committees having the following division of duties:

1. Standing committee for agriculture, animal husbandry, minor irrigation, power reclamation, including soil conservation and contour bunding and fisheries;
2. Standing committee for cooperation, thrift and small savings, cottage industries, rural housing, statistics, prohibition of, or temperance in, the consumption of intoxicating drinks and drugs which are injurious to health.
3. Standing committee for education including social education, medical relief, health and sanitation including rural water

supply and drainage, social welfare, welfare of women and children and relief of distress in grave emergencies.

4. Standing committee for communications and works.

5. Standing committee for taxation and finance.

Every standing committee will have nine members. To coordinate their activities the president of the Samithi will serve as chairman for every committee and the chief administrative officer will attend all meetings, along with the appropriate technician.

Adoption in Rajasthan. In contrast with Andhra Pradesh, the state of Rajasthan is one of the least populous, yet its population is still impressive, about 14 million. It contains about 3,5000 Panchayats (village councils) whose councils range from six to 16 members; the average population of these villages is 3,700. There are 123 Samithis and 26 Zila Parishads (the district level coordinating body). Although the basic design resembles that found in Andhra Pradesh, variations do exist. Among these are, for example:

1. The provision to establish the Samithis throughout all of the area rather than limit them to the areas already involved in block development programs.

2. A few number of standing committees, three all told, although other committees could be added. The three are: 1. Production programs in agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, co-operation, cottage industries, etc.; 2. Social services, including rural water supply, health and sanitation, education, and communications; and 3. Finance, including taxation and budgeting. The normal membership consists of seven persons.

The president of the Samithi may join; if he does, he becomes the chairman.

Also in Rajasthan it appears that more attention has been given to the problem of coordinating urban with rural development. One step toward this is to have the mayor of any municipality under 10,000 population become a member of the next higher body, the Zila Parishad on which will be found the President of the rural Samithis. It is also proposed that all programs for development of the areas around municipalities must be in conformance with urban needs -- crop patterns, for example, must meet the fruit and vegetable requirements of the municipality.

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Lacking from this discussion is a fair view of the anticipated organization and administration of the two other tiers in this scheme, that is, the village and the district. Each is to be involved; each is to have its own sphere of activity, not in the spirit of subordinations but of equals with variations in degrees of responsibility. In general it is anticipated that the village councils will become more representative in their composition and will execute many of the programs adopted by the Samithis since their presidents serve in both units.

The district governing body -- the Zila Parishad -- is to serve largely as a coordinating unit as proposed by the Mehta report. Where Samithis have not been established, the Zila Parishad assumes executive responsibilities for development.

A key feature of the three is the interlocking system of representation -- a village president may in fact be the president of both of the other two. At the village level, in addition to the village councils, there are also trained development workers -- generalists so to speak -- who will continue their tasks of facilitating development activities including aiding the residents to identify their needs and communicating these to the higher units. These workers are now, however, viewed as employees of the Samithis or of the villages rather than of any higher government. At least in Rajasthan to make a more cohesive unit, some villages are to be reduced in population. Also judicial responsibilities in Rajasthan -- and the writer believes in other states as a rule -- will be performed by separate village agencies to encourage the participants in the Democratic decentralization scheme to concentrate on developmental programs.

Reactions to the Impact of the Plan

Not enough time has elapsed since the first adoptions of the plan for any crystallization of reactions whether favorable or unfavorable; however, early in 1960 a conference in which the progress of the plan was discussed provides some appreciation of the views Indian officials were developing.* In addition, the writer obtained some additional views a few months later, May, 1960, during his observation tour in India.

Among the various impressions one can offer as to the present thinking about the success of this change in local administration in

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*Study Camp for Pramukhs and Pradhans.

India, the following are the most pertinent for this limited review:

1. Indian administrators, although having considerable skepticism about the outcome of this change, have by and large accepted it as a matter of faith in India's desire to develop a more democratic system of administration. They present the contention -- with sincerity, the writer believes -- that for the system of government in India to be truly democratic more authority must be located closer than the national Parliament and the state legislatures to the people.

Apparently many administrators have become upset due to the adjustments they are required to make in their own roles vis-a vis the public. They have to learn to become "partners" rather than directors; they must give up some of their authoritarian ways in favor of their new local rulers. In fact one of the unanticipated problems of the implementation of the scheme has been the failure of administrators at the state and district level to make mature adjustments to this plan; instead in an irrational way they have reacted by arguing that since they are no longer for administration, they should simply sit back and await orders.

2. It is evident that meaningful authority has been transferred to and invested in the new governing bodies, especially the Panchayat Samithi (which is of most interest for this study of Viet Nam). The reaction of the administrators mentioned above is one sign of this. Various administrators in India stressed this in discussions with the writer. Furthermore interviews with members of the new governing bodies underscored this with examples such as given in item 3.

3. Already evident is at least partial fulfillment of one key hope held out for this political investment -- that once the people saw they did possesspolitical control they would proceed to act in a responsible manner. The best example of this reaction found by the writer occurred in an interview he held with several members, including the president, of one Samithi in Rajasthan:

The writer: What has been the most important decision taken by your governing body?

The president: To adopt a program to increase agricultural production.

The writer: After adoption, how was the program implemented?

The president: The village presidents went back to their villages and explained to all members of the councils who then went back to their own settlements and described the proposals in their own meetings with villagers. The people were more interested and progress has been made.

The writer: Well, didn't these ideas for improving programs exist before the Samithi was established?

The president: Yes, but at that time the people looked at them as ideas of the government, something the government wanted done. Now they are more willing to accept proposals.

These replies of the president were made in the presence of about ten other villagers, including members of the Samithi, and an administrator from the state government who served as the interpreter. They sound almost too good to be true.

Throughout the entire discussion the tenor followed this same pattern -- one of optimism about the impact of this plan and its feasibility. These villagers seemed to have an exceptional grasp on how they could work closely with the technicians assigned to their Samithi. For example, to avoid local politics such as "back scratching," they contended they would depend upon technical analyses and priorities established by the technicians for determining the locations of new wells to be dug with minor irrigation funds allotted to the Samithi.

4. Concern has already been expressed over certain patterns that are developing: First, some presidents of Samithis seem almost too enthusiastic and thereby fail to distinguish between political and administrative phases of governmental processes. As a result they enter too far into details of administration, some observers reported; Second, there is a concern that the bureaucracy of the government will twist this plan to justify further expansion of its own affairs -- that decentralization requires more personnel to serve in field, supervisory, and record-keeping activities; Third, there have been some examples of flagrant factionalism where weakly represented areas of a Samithi have not received fair treatment.

However, at the same time a common concern that some immediate gains in economic development would have to be sacrificed since the tempo would be reduced in this transitional period proved in error. The changeover, observers believe, did not result in any loss and in fact may have already increased the tempo.

It is also recognized that there are many aspects of the program that need further consideration. A serious problem concerns the role of the village council vis a vis the Samithi -- which is to be the "primary" unit of developmental activity?

While current literature proclaims the village, indications are that the Samithi will assume more responsibility. The unit above the Samithi also needs some additional study -- the Zila Parishad apparently cannot be viewed primarily as a coordinating body. It wants to have a more important status -- and in fact in many areas it does. Given the complex structure of the Samithi -- its large size, division of duties between committees and the whole body, the role its president vis a vis the general administrative officer -- many aspects need to be studied in more detail.

What is important is that both the Indian official and the lay citizen are realizing a need for working more closely together in the development of this new scheme for local administration.

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H. A Proposal for Local Administration in Viet Nam

In the writer's opinion, the Indian experiment can be adapted for Viet Nam -- at least serious consideration should be given to its adaptation. Although not developed beyond a "preliminary" statement, the following summarizes the views of the writer as to the way the Indian scheme can be adapted.

This paper has been used as a basis for discussions with both American and Vietnamese personnel involved in either the academic or the applied approaches to the study of local administration in Viet Nam. By no means should it be viewed as setting forth a complete plan of administrative reorganization. The writer was interested in getting reactions to the idea.

A Proposal for Local Administration in Viet Nam

The following plan is still in the idea stage. No attempt has been made to fit it entirely to the existing system nor to prescribe what additional changes would have to be made in order to compensate for its indirect effects on the overall administrative scheme of government in Viet Nam.

The essence of the proposal is to transform the district unit of administration into an organization well equipped to deal with various aspects of social and economic development and to provide the population with an effective, meaningful voice in the conduct of local affairs. In doing this the district would, in general, replace the village as a unit of community administration and the province as a key unit of field

administration. Both the village and province would still exist, but their roles would be more limited.

The scheme for district organization would provide for a governing body consisting of representatives of the villages within the district boundaries. When conditions were suitable, these representatives would be chosen on a popular basis and hold office for a limited term of two or three years. If necessary, the unit if representation might be made the hamlet or a group of hamlets. As a result, the district governing body would tend to be large, probably ranging from 10 to 40 members. Each governing body would elect its own president. With the assistance of a general administrative officer the president would function as the key executive officer of the district. Assisting the executive staff would be a staff of technicians trained in the various fields of economic and social functions.

What would be the responsibility of this new district organization? This would have to be determined on the basis of an analysis of the different activities found in all of the social and economic functions. In general, the objective would be to assign responsibility for all of those aspects for which the district would be competent, in term of skills, area, and to some extent, finances.

How would the new district finance its operations? At present almost every district enjoys the advantages of one major market center that provides considerable tax revenues for the villages and provinces. Along with other local sources, revenues from these markets would be allocated to the new districts. In addition, a scheme of bloc grants

providing revenues from central governmental sources would be established as provincial demands were reduced by the transfer of responsibilities to these districts. The expectation -- the hope -- would be that in years ahead more local revenues would be forth coming in cash, kind, and service.

What is known about the problem:

The argument can be effectively presented that as yet we do not know enough about the existing system to be contending that a change should be made. The writer, in fact, will not deny this. Instead, he will preface his proposals with this admission but then go on to justify thinking about change on the bases of the following facts, impressions, observations, and ideas.

1. The government recognizes the present system as temporary -- thus, it is concerned with change. Since 1956, when Ordinance 57-a came into effect, village administration has been viewed as temporary, awaiting the enactment of a Presidential decree.

2. If local administration is to assume an active role in social and economic development, some major changes in the existing system are needed. A significant proportion of the villages are inadequate for employment as effective administrative units; almost 60 per cent of the nation's 2,600 villages have under 4,500 population; 41 per cent under 3,000. Undersized villages are too small to support competent administrations but too numerous to be ignored. The general spirit that prevails in villages today is not in keeping with the demands faced by the nation -- it is probably fair to say that the spirit has not been

altered even with the rise of the newly established independent nation. This spirit continues to dominate the administrative as well as the social aspects of village life.

3. Current thinking of the government about local administrative reform reflects a narrow, legalistic view inclined toward re-establishment of earlier organizational forms rather than forms adapted to the needs of newly established nations and nations in need of maximizing all social forces for economic and social development.

4. The potential for major changes in local administration exists. Interest groups that might oppose changes reducing their advantages as yet are not effective. While the higher level of provincial administration appears to be solidifying, nevertheless, major adjustments are still possible. The political atmosphere of the government at present also is suitable for major changes in local administrative organization.

How realistic is this plan?

It is difficult to determine what is an adequate test of realism -- even assuming that such a test is the measure of acceptance for any proposal dealing with a problem of this nature. It might be argued that a visionary (not presently realistic with considerable doubt as to its ever being) scheme might be more desirable as a means for elevating as well as stimulating thought about government in Viet Nam. Accepting realism is essential to obtaining acceptance for this plan, the following observations are offered in its defense:

1. A major part of this plan has already been proposed by a Vietnamese administrator of the Department of the Interior. Mr. Do Van Ro, writing for The Administrative Studies Journal, (apperiodical of the Interior Department) in 1958 argued for granting budgetary powers to the districts and assigning them major responsibilities for rual development. He pointed out that this will "revolutionize the whole village financial pattern." His major argument for this change was the financial inadequacy of villages. He envisioned each district setting forth a three to ten year plan for rual development taking funds from "rich" villages to use in the others.

2. Limited observations of district-village administrative relationships in Viet Nam indicate that even at present district offices participate considerably in community affairs. The district chief attends local ceremonies. The district administration gets most if not all of its finances from village revenues. District chiefs serve as appeal courts for minor civil disputes -- one district chief pointed out that he was in fact the court of original jurisdiction since villagers preferred coming straight to him. District chiefs at times employ village funds for nonanticipated programs, which illustrates the extent to which districts invade village budgetary plans. District chiefs assumed major responsibilities for the construction of the new villages -- the agrovilles. District information officers deal directly with local groups rather than with village officials.

3. Current programs in the fields of public health and agricultural cooperatives mark the district as the key unit in field

administration. It is to be the operating unit for their programs. It is to contain a staff of technicians and certain institutional services. In addition, the agricultural cooperative plan calls for the establishment of an advisor or governing board at the district level consisting of representatives chosen from the localities.

4. While not envisioning the major change proposed in this plan, Vietnamese officials have acknowledged the need for increasing the adequacy of local units by consolidating the small villages and establishing temporary systems allowing for the flow of funds from rich to poor villages. Recognized as a step forward in local administration, in fact, are the newly established villages in central lowland provinces, even though they were the work of the communist controlled era. Small villages (xa) were combined into lien-xa, or group villages.

5. A scheme for provincial reorganization submitted in January, 1956, by the Michigan State University Group would, with some modifications, complement this proposal. That scheme, adopted only in part that time, provided for decreasing the number of provinces to about 14 and eliminating the provincial budgets, leaving only local or village and central governmental budgets. (see II c.1)

6. The idea for this scheme came to the writer from observations of the system already in effect in parts of India as a result of a decision to establish a system of "democratic decentralization." While Indian and Vietnamese conditions differ, the differences do not preclude adapting the Indian scheme for use in Viet Nam, for both countries face certain common problems of social

and economic development. Viet Nam can, in fact, take advantage of the ideas as well as the experiences of India in local administration and rural development.

7. The plan would not have to be installed simultaneously throughout the entire nation. A key to its success would be a gradual adaptation as the availability of personnel and satisfactory systems was assured. Plans would have to be made for training administrators, local legislators, orienting the public, and providing the proper system of administration.

Why is this plan favored?

Some reasons for favoring this plan have already been mentioned or suggested in the preceding discussion -- namely the inadequacy of the villages and a need for looking for ways to combine popular support with modern views of economic and social development. These may stand some additional elaboration.

1. The problem of financial inadequacy is at the heart of the proposal for setting up the district as a unit of rural development set forth in the article by Mr. Do Van Ro, an administrator in the Department of Interior. But in the article there is also the implication that he would not favor solving the problem by placing additional responsibility on the provincial level. In his view, past practices have shown provincial administrators to be more inclined toward urban rather than rural development. (In part, as he explains, because urban development impresses visiting firemen more since they seldom go out to the hinterlands.) To be sure, he envisions the

continuing of village administrative machinery. For this plan, only finances would be centralized at the district level.

2. The problem of financing is also at the heart of the scheme in India. Up to 1957 the expectation was that with some outside leadership villagers in India would assume responsibility for their own development -- they would identify their problems and determine how to solve them. The failure of the block development plan led to the establishment of a study commission that set forth the scheme. Added to the block development staff of technicians in socio-economic programs is the governing body of village chiefs plus some co-opted members. This governing body is given control over some funds alloted by the five year plan for rural development. It is expected that as the scheme takes hold, local contributions will be increased by the newly established governing bodies on a gradual shift from central to local financing. This need certainly exists in Viet Nam as well.

3. Also, in Viet Nam there is concern among governmental officials for decentralizing administration and increasing local participation. The intent to re-establish elected village councils and provincial advisory councils, apparently also on an elective basis, has already been announced. This, however, does not seem like a reasonable plan, especially in view of the political security problem that prevents giving any real authority to the village councils. It would soon be shown as a facade of local rule. On the other hand, at the district level more flexibility could be built into the plan for democratizing the governing body. At first all members may be hand-picked, but as

villages became cleared of domination by communist elements provisions could be made for popular election of the village representatives.

4. From the viewpoint of management, the district unit in Viet Nam seems favorable for maximizing the use of the limited supply of trained personnel, the technicians in the various substantive fields as well as the generalists in administration. At present there are 209 districts in all of Viet Nam having a mean population of 58,000 (median, 50,000). All in all, the district seems a feasible meeting place for the rural citizen and the trained technicians to meet and decide how to work together.

5. Insofar as possible the administration of police and related security programs should be removed from this new organization, at least for immediate future. The new organization should be recognized for its primary interest in social and economic affairs but it should also be recognized as the new unit of local government. This seems a reasonable way to unravel the current mixture of political and socio-economic affairs of the present system.

6. In line with the MSUG proposals concerning provincial organization, consideration should be given to reducing the number of provinces and their powers and responsibilities. Following the pattern in India, governing bodies consisting of the presidents of the new district bodies plus some special members would be established at the provincial level. The major function of this body however would be, as in India, to coordinate, guide, and stimulate work at the lower level. Similarly, provincial level personnel would assume this

role in addition to other tasks assigned by the central governmental offices for functions or activities not assignable to the new districts.

The end