

Republic of Vietnam
Special Commissariat
for Administration

VILLAGE ELECTION RETURNS

Step 5 - Date 30/4/1967

PROVINCE	Number of vil- lages under election	Candidates			Voters		
		Number of members to be elected	Number of candidates Ratio	Candidates position Ratio	Registered Voters	Number Voting	Percentage
An Giang	(a)						
An Xuyen	3	26	39	1,5	4.227	3.887	91,9%
Ba Xuyen	(a)						
Bac Lieu	(a)						
Chau Doc	4	42	61	1,4	12.783	12.177	95,3%
Chuong Thien	(a)						
Dinh Tuong	(a)						
Go Cong	(a)						
Kien Giang	(a)						
Kien Hoa	(a)						
Kien Phong	(a)						
Kien Tuong	(a)						
Phong Dinh	(a)						
Sa Dec	(a)						
Vinh Binh	4	34	51	1,5	6.293	6.120	97,2%
Vinh Long	3	26	33	1,3	4.958	4.710	94,9%
TOTAL	14	128	184	1,4	28.261	26.894	95,1%

Remarks: (a) Election in all villages under stage I was completed

VILLAGE ELECTIONS

Step 5-April 30, 1967

Distribution of elected officials by profession:

Farmers	507
Village & Hamlet Officials	26
Merchants	39
Employees (private industry)	36
Liberal Professions	55
Civil Servants	27
Notables	20
Industrial Workers	0
Veterans	2
Prov. Council Members	2
Housewives & others	3
Students	<u>1</u>
Total	718

Distribution of elected officials by ethnic background:

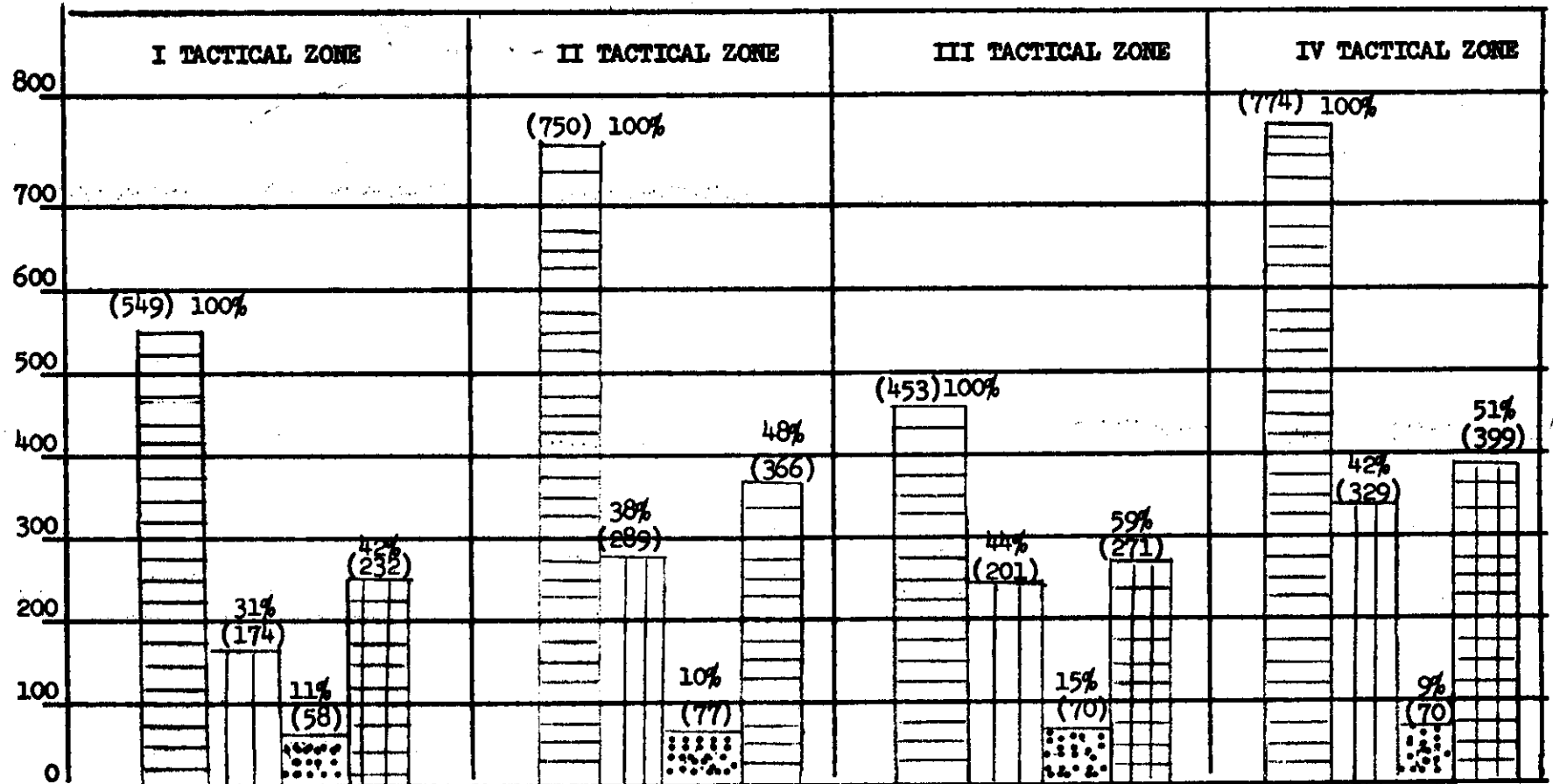
Highlanders	0
Cham	1
Cambodian origin	7
Chinese	0
Vietnamese	<u>710</u>
Total	718

Distribution of elected officials by age:

Oldest	90
Youngest	25
Average	43

PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGES HOLDING ELECTIONS IN 1967

- 50 -



REMARKS:

- Total number of villages
- Under election in 1st phase
- Under election in 2nd phase
- Number of villages holding election Total

VILLAGES HOLDING ELECTIONS

Phase I



RESUME AND ANALYSIS OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL ELECTIONS

by

THE SPECIAL COMMISSIONER FOR ADMINISTRATION

Republic of Vietnam
Special Commissariat
for Administration

ADPA:5/10/67

General remarks on the elections
of Village Councils

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Following the election of the National Constituent Assembly on Sept. 11, 1966, the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam took an active interest in the reorganization of village and hamlet institutions in an attempt to restore the inherent positions of villages and hamlets in the national community and to increase efficiency of the basic administration.

A reorganization was stipulated in basic documents issued in Dec. 1966, and was actually initiated through elections of Village Councils held on five consecutive Sundays during last April 1967.

These elections mark a new stage towards building true democracy throughout the nation for while the top political institutions affect nation-wide activities in general, the Village and hamlet institutions through the recent elections directly affect the lives of most people living in villages and hamlets that constitute the basic foundations of the Vietnam society.

Following are general remarks on the organization process and the results of the village elections.

I. Village election plan:

A. Preparations

1. Seminars

- The need for reorganization of village and hamlet administration was discussed briefly at the seminar on local administration held at the former Interior Ministry on July 15 and 16, 1965. At this time opinions and recommendations expressed by conferees were limited to improvement or amendment of village and hamlet administration recently reorganized in accordance with decree No. 203-d/NV dated May 31, 1964.

- In addition, at two nation-wide conferences on administration held at Dien Hong conference hall (one held on Oct. 11 and 12, 1965, and the other on March 23 to 25, 1966), short-comings in the existing village and hamlet administration were discussed in detail, and the conferees came to the conclusion that a reorganization should be carried out in an attempt to:

- Build villages and hamlets on a democratic basis.
- Restore the inherent positions and powers of the villages and hamlets.
- Enhance the prestige, and increase efficiency and facilities for Village Administrative Committees.

2. Conferences held at the Commission
General for Revolutionary Development

Besides the interchange of viewpoints, 3 official meetings were held at this Commission on Sept. 29, Sept. 30, and Oct. 1, 1966 to determine basic principles and guidelines for the project of village/hamlet reorganization to be undertaken by the Special Commission for Administration.

3. Discussions at the conference of the Civilian-Military
Council

The initial draft decree concerning village/hamlet reorganization was prepared by S.C.A. and certain items were amended in accordance with suggestions from an Interdepartmental Committee. Afterwards the entire reorganization project including the draft decree and relevant strengthening measures were raised for discussion at the Civilian-Military Council's meetings conducted by a Joint Committee of Politics & Social Welfare from Nov. 7 to Nov. 13, 1966, and at the plenary session of the Civilian-Military held from Nov. 14 to Nov. 21, 1966. The Civilian-Military agreed on the outlines of the reorganization project paying special attention to strengthening measures. Certain recommendations were proposed to amend the draft decree.

4. Discussions at the War Cabinet meeting held on Nov. 22, 1966

The entire project of village and hamlet administration reorganization along with the Civilian-Military Council recommendations was considered and approved by the War Cabinet on Nov. 22, 1966. In compliance with the War Cabinet's decision, the relevant draft decrees and circulars were amended and submitted for promulgation.

5. Seminars sponsored by S.C.A.

After promulgation of basic documents on Dec. 24, 1966 S.C.A. held a seminar on Jan. 24 and 25, 1967 to help local authorities

understand better the local administration reorganization and the ways of implementation.

Present at the seminar were Administrative Assistants to the four Military Zones Deputy Province Chiefs for Administration, Deputy Mayors for Administration, Chiefs of Administration and Information Services, Training Directors, and 2 District Chiefs from each province.

6. Seminars sponsored by the Military Zones

The 4 Military Zones held seminars on the village and hamlet administration reorganization on the following dates:

- Zone 3 : Feb. 22, 1967 in Bien Hoa
- Zone 4 : Feb. 24, 1967 in Phong Dinh
- Zone 1 : Feb. 27, 1967 in Da Nang
- Zone 2 : Feb. 28, 1967 in Da Lat

A delegation headed by Brig. General Commissioner General for R.D. with representative(s) of S.C.A., attended these seminars to give additional instructions and review reorganization plans set up by the provinces. The Brig. General Commissioner General for R.D. reminded all provinces of the following:

- In hamlets and villages where conditions allow the organization of an election such elections should be absolutely free, honest, and legal.
- Provincial Committees for Coordination of Efforts to Organize Elections should be established immediately.
- Building democracy is a common task for both the government and people. Deputies of the constituencies concerned, the Civilian-Military Councilmen and the Provincial Council members should be consulted to receive their confirmation of hamlets and villages eligible for elections and hamlets and villages where only provisional administrative structures can be set up.
- A detailed plan composed of various technical aspects such as security, propaganda, training, and inspection should be drawn up so as to assure success for the election organization.
- In the election campaign, female candidates should enjoy the same rights as male candidates.

- Voters rolls should be brought up to date in all hamlets & villages including those where elections of village & hamlet institutions cannot be held this stage, so that preparations may be ready for the national elections to be held later in 1967.

7. Election organization leadership system

To oversee the election organization the Prime Minister decided to establish an interdepartmental committee for coordination of efforts to organize elections with the following composition:

- Commission General: Brig-General Commissioner General,
for R.D. Commissioners for Agriculture,
Public Works, Youth, and Special
Commissioner for Administration
- Commission General: Brig.-General Commissioner General,
for Information and Deputy Commissioners for Information,
Chieu Hoi (Open and Chieu Hoi
Arms)
- Commission General: General, Chief of Joint-staff
for Defense Head/Political and War Office
- Commission General: General/Commissioner General,
for Security Director General for Police
- Special Commissioner for Montagnard Affairs
- Director General, Budget & Foreign Aid

The Central Committee was requested to invite representatives of the Constituent Assembly office and representatives of the Civilian-Military Council to participate in meetings and visits organized by the Committee.

In each province a local committee was set up to coordinate all election activities. This committee is composed of:

- Province Chief/Sector Commander
- Deputy Province Chiefs
- Chiefs of Services, Chiefs of Technical Services and R.D. provincial team chief.

The Provincial Committee invited a number of Constituent Assembly deputies and members of the Civilian-Military Council, provincial councillors and local notables to participate in its

meetings and to contribute advice, particularly on determining villages where elections could be held, or where provisional administrative offices should be set up.

The interdepartmental committee studied and decided to apply appropriate measures concerning electoral campaign plans and nationwide security plans.

With the agreement of the interdepartmental committee, an appropriation of 30 million piastres (National Budget) was earmarked to support localities in the organization of elections. Those villages having no budget or lacking financial capacity were to be provided a maximum of 15,000\$ for the election of Village Council and 2,000\$ for the election of Hamlet Management Board.

The Commission General for Information and Open-Arms also earmarked 10 million piastres to support the electoral campaign of the local Information Services.

- Pre-Election Inspection

The S.C.A. established 4 teams to visit all provinces before the election, the purpose of the visit being to observe and inspect the preparation of election plan in the localities.

Each team was headed by a Commissioner (Agriculture, Public Works, Youth), or Special Commissioner for Administration within the bloc of Commission General for Revolutionary Development. Deputies of the constituency concerned, members of Civilian Military Council and press representatives were also invited to participate. During the period 7 to 28 of March 1967, these 4 teams inspected 39 provinces.

B. Promulgation of basic documents and implementation documents

(a) On 24 December 1966, the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee issued 3 basic documents concerning the reorganization of village/hamlet administration:

- decree No. 198-SL/DUHC governing the reorganization of village/hamlet Administrative structure
- decree No. 199-SL/DUHC defining the election procedure of village/hamlet institution (village council, hamlet management board)
- Circular No. 191-TT/DUHC concerning strengthening measures.

(b) In application of the basic documents, the S.C.A. promulgated the following arretes and circulars:

- circular No. 96-DUHC/NC/6 signed 9 January 1967 concerning the implementation of measures for reorganization of village/hamlet administration.
- circular No. 103-DUHC/NC/7 signed 9 January 1967 concerning election procedures for village council, hamlet chiefs and deputy hamlet chiefs.
- circular 106-DUHC/HLTN signed 9 January 1967 regarding the organization of seminars and training of newly elected village and hamlet officials.
- arrete 48-DUHC/NSKT/15 signed 24 January 1967 concerning the increase of allowance and monthly compensation for village and hamlet officials.
- circular No. 552-DUHC/HC/6 dated 14 February 1967 completed by circular No. 96-DUHC/NC/6 and 103-DUHC/NC/7 dated 9 January 1967 dealing with election of village councils and hamlet chiefs.
- circular No. 553-DUHC/HLTN dated 14 February 1967 completed by circular No. 106-DUHC/HLTN dated 9 January 1967 dealing with organization of seminars and training courses for village and hamlet officials.
- Arrete No. 106-DUHC/NC/ND dated 21 February 1967 fixing the procedure for issuance and use of voter's cards in the election of village councils and hamlet officials.

In addition, the Special Commission for Administration issued 462 Memos. dealing with election of village councils, hamlet chiefs and deputy chiefs as follows:

- Report:	20
- Circular:	11
- Memo:	266
- Routing slip:	53
- Miscellaneous:	112

C. Election Schedule

Decree No. 198-SL/DUHC dated 24 December 1966, reorganization of village administration provided for the following:

- In secure villages, election of village council which is a deliberative body is to be held. This council will elect

one among its members as chairman of the village administrative committee which is an executive body.

- In insecure villages, a provisional village administrative committee will be designated and will assume the power of both a village council and a village administrative committee.

According to the election schedule, elections are planned in 1,268 villages (50.1% of the total villages throughout the country) in two phases in 1967:

a. Phase I: 993 secure villages.

- Zone 1: 174 villages (32% in the Corps)
- Zone 1: 289 villages (38%)
- Zone 3: 201 villages (44,3%)
- Zone 4: 329 villages (42%)

Total 993 villages (39.3% throughout the country)

b. Phase II: 275 villages. This number is contingent on the development of the R.D. program.

- Zone 1: 58 villages (10% in the Corps)
- Zone 2: 77 villages (10%)
- Zone 3: 70 villages (15,4%)
- Zone 4: 70 villages (9%)

Total 275 villages (10.8% throughout the country)

On the other hand, 928 provisional village administrative committees will be appointed:

- Zone 1: 244 villages (44.4%)
- Zone 2: 208 villages (27,7%)
- Zone 3: 132 villages (29.1%)
- Zone 4: 344 villages (44.4%)

Total 928 villages (36.7% throughout the country)

In order to ease the work load and provide security elections were scheduled in 5 successive steps:

- Step 1. April 2, 67: 219 villages
- Step 2. April 9, 67: 258 villages
- Step 3. April 16, 67: 255 villages
- Step 4. April 23, 67: 186 villages
- Step 5. April 30, 67: 75 villages

Total : 993 villages

II. Result of the election in Phase I

A. Review of the election

Upon completion of phase I, 984 villages were recorded to have held election of village councils (Number of villages scheduled to hold election is 993 villages). The election plan for stage 1 was 99% accomplished.

There were 9 villages in which elections were postponed to phase II. Reason:

- 5 villages (security problem)
- 3 villages (number of candidates was not sufficient)
- 1 village (in Quang Tri province the people must be resettled in a more secure area as a result of the recent VC attack in the demilitarized zone).

In accordance with a directive from the Special Commission for Administration, pending election of village councils, and effective May 1967, provisional village administrative committees will be established in all villages scheduled to hold election in phase II (including villages in which elections planned for phase I have been postponed) and in villages where security conditions do not permit. As a result, the final number of provisional village administrative committees will be greater than the number originally proposed.

Phase I elections were successfully accomplished. If we look at the map, we find that secure villages throughout the country are closely connected such as those in the fertile delta in zone 4, along lines of communication in Zone 1 or Zone 2 or in neighboring areas of the Capital as a security perimeter. We also find that the government has kept control of the most fertile areas of the country. Most of the remaining area where elections can not be held in woody or marshy area where few or no peasants live.

We can therefore reason that the more developed the lines of communication, prosperous areas and government authorities are, the more extended the secure areas are. Some decisions governing reestablishment of Sadec province (Decree of 24 September 1966) and establishment of Rach Kien district in Long An province (Arrete of 7 January 1967) proved its appropriateness. In Sadec, the people in the entire province enthusiastically participated in the election (90%). In Long An, although the newly established Rach Kien district did not hold

elections, it shared the burden with Can Duoc district so that the latter could hold elections very satisfactorily (4 villages out of 7 held election and the percentage of voters was very high).

Development of government structure at village and hamlet level and assignment of RD Workers to rural areas are important achievements because to hold an area is more difficult than to clear it. Obviously these units are advanced parties in developing and accomplishing the national reconstruction.

B. Voters

1. Throughout the country there were 3,233,441 voters enrolled in the election of village councils in phase I as follows:

- Zone 1: 392,888
- Zone 2: 628,320
- Zone 3: 904,865
- Zone 4: 1,307,368

Total 3,233,441

2. The number of voters who went to the polls was 2,511,453 (77.6%) and broken down as follows:

- Zone 1: 316,877; 80.6% (in the Corps)
- Zone 2: 512,160; 81.5%
- Zone 3: 600,910; 66.4%
- Zone 4: 1,081,506; 82.7%

Total 2,511,453

3. Number of invalid ballots: 52,581 (2%).

- Zone 1: 3,764 (1.1%)
- Zone 2: 11,883 (2.3%)
- Zone 3: 17,843 (2.9%)
- Zone 4: 19,091 (1.7%)

Total 52,581

Comments

a. As compared not only with Western nations but also with other Afro-Asian countries, the number of voters who went to the polls was very high. This was due to the sense of responsibility of each individual to the village community and to the fact that voters knew candidates who have been their co-

villagers (reference to article 12, Decree No. 199-SL/DUHC dated 24 December 1966, candidates for village council must have lived in the village concerned for one year prior to the date of candidacy application).

There were comparatively few invalid ballots.

b. The elections were held after the harvest during good weather and voter participation was enthusiastic. Local authorities were empowered to fix such election days as deemed appropriate and in accordance with the general guidance of the central government. Additionally the elections were held in secure areas as previously provided for.

c. Percentage of voters going to the polls: Generally speaking, an average of 78 per cent of registered voters went to the polls throughout the country. Upon examining each zone, province and village separately, we have the following comments.

- Difference in voters' psychology: Voters in rural areas knew that their present and the future of their descendants were connected with those in power in their villages and hamlets. In addition, the question of position, honor and prestige were essential elements conducive to keen competition. In some areas voter participation was 100%.

On the other hand, since voters in province and district chief towns have had opportunities to contact provincial authorities and the central government in the capital and since they do not live by farming, they paid little attention to the elections. As an example, in Binh Hoa village (located in Gia Dinh chief town), the percentage of voters who went to the polls was 43.6% and in Phu Nhuan village (neighboring area of the capital), the percentage was 23%.

In these two cases it was found that although the voters live in Gia Dinh chief town, they earn their living in the capital, they buy rice in the capital, use electric power from CEE and water from Dong Nai Water Supply plant and therefore are not concerned with the elections.

Another reason is that the peasants live scattered in large areas, so they have a high sense of corporate feeling. They are united to meet danger and to fight against their common enemy. On the other hand city dwellers faced with overpopulation and provided with material comfort, confine their interests to their families.

d. Let us come back to the case of Gia Dinh province; the low percentage of voters who went to the polls indicated that they directly preferred to be city dwellers rather than village dwellers. Incorporation of Gia Dinh chief town with Saigon in order to ~~make~~ the capital larger now becomes an obvious fact.

In this connection, the status of some other chief town villages should also be reconsidered.

With regard to villages in rural areas where the population is not dense but the sense of solidarity is high and traditional values are firmly preserved, effective assistance should be given in order to promote the community life in those areas within the framework of the R.D. program.

C. Candidates

1. Ratio of candidates to the number of seats.

Generally speaking, the ratio was fairly high. In some localities, the ratio was 300% (In Ba Xuyen Province, in the 3rd phase on 16 April 1967). In other localities the ratio was moderate, with the number of candidates slightly higher than the number of seats to be filled. This fact disproved previous opinions that manpower in rural areas had been exhausted. However, this ratio was lower than that in the election of the Constituent Assembly of 11 September 1966 (540 candidates against 117 seats, that is 461%).

Looking into the matter, we found that those who volunteered to render service to their villages were actuated by the sense of responsibility of common good and of honor rather than by pecuniary compensation which, although adjusted was regarded as low.

In several cases the high ratio was also due to the encouragement of local authorities. In provinces where the province chief or his deputy was to be replaced the ratio was relatively low. This is a lesson of experience which shows that a successful plan requires an appropriately assigned staff and once the plan is put into execution, any replacement or change in the staff should be avoided.

On the other hand, the ratio was moderate in some areas because the peasants, mild by nature, usually tend to make concessions to each other. Such keen competition as found in the recent election of the Constituent Assembly did not take place.

However, this did not mean that they agreed to irregularity. In fact several complaints were lodged against irregularity and fraud in the election. To the knowledge of the Special Commission for Administration, 34 complaints were filed with local election councils or local courts and classified as follows:

- 17 complaints about removal of candidates from the list
- 3 complaints against individual candidates
- 8 complaints about unlawful campaigning
- 1 complaint against libel
- 3 complaints against local election council
- 2 complaints about troubles that some candidates met with in campaigning.

In addition, several complaints were lodged with SCA without going through proper channels as provided by law (article 32 and 36 Decree No. 199-SL/DUHC dated 24 December 1966).

2. Local feature

For the purpose of transmitting village affairs to villages to take care of, basic documents governing reorganization of the administration provided that eligible candidates must have lived in the village concerned for at least one year without interruption prior to the date when candidacy application is filed (Article 12, Decree 199-SL/DUHC dated 24 Dec. 1966). The following composition of elected candidates reflects the feature of each locality:

a. Race:

- Vietnamese		8,346	
- Highlander	335	}	618
- Cambodian descent	172		
- Chinese descent	29		
- Cham	78		
- Refugee Montagnard from North Vietnam	13	}	

Total: 8,964

b. Religion and political party:

Formally most candidates ran for village council membership as independants but actually gained the support of some religions or political parties.

Candidates seldom introduced their political parties to voters, except in case they lodged a complaint or a denunciation to local authorities (Vietnamese Kuomintang in Quang Ngai and Binh Dinh). In other provinces, political parties secretly voted their candidates into village and hamlet administration in an attempt to spread their influence in the next election of the President and the Congress.

The growing influence of political parties is a stimulus to the democratic process. Nationalist parties have contributed to eliminating VC attempt to introduce their men into village and hamlet administration. These parties should be upheld in order that they may play a key role in the political arena for the promotion of a genuine democracy.

However, it is found that at the present time organization of political parties is very complicated. These parties have not been coalesced into larger groups capable of influencing public opinion. On the other hand, since they still work as underground political groups, very few candidates call themselves members of a specific party.

c. Profession:

Following is the composition of elected candidates:

1. Farmers	5,118	(57%)
2. Village and hamlet officials	1,182	(13.1%)
3. Merchants	1,032	(11%)
4. Liberal profession	439	(4.7%)
5. Private employees	349	(3.8%)
6. Government officials	346	(3.8%)
7. Handicraftsmen	203	(2.2%)
8. Notables	150	(1.6%)
9. Housekeepers	94	(1.04%)
10. Ex-servicemen	27	(0.3%)
11. Province councillors	24	(0.26%)
Total	8,964	

3. Average age

The youngest member is 25 years old, the minimum age limit for a candidate. The oldest is 90 in Quang Nam province.

From this fact we find that we can revive village autonomy because for some decades these old men have understood what village autonomy meant. We can also reason that behind the wall-like green bamboo hedge, the tradition for respect of old men and respect for five cardinal virtues still exists.

The average age of members of village council is 49, higher than that of deputies of the Constituent Assembly (40) and higher than that of province and city councillors (43). It is learned from this fact that the young generation now has the tendency to lead a city life in order to enjoy comforts of material civilization.

This tendency is found not only in Afro-Asian newly developed countries but also in Western nations. The reason is that young men prefer high positions with good pay and honor at the central level to other positions at village level. On the other hand, under the present condition education has not been successfully used as an effective means for young men to return to rural life. In cities many intellectuals graduated from high school and university are competing for employment while in rural areas, we are short of hands for reconstructions and production.

The high average age has also shown that young men are deserting their villages and leaving them to the care of old men. This fact also endorses our reasoning that Vietnamese civilization will become Western styled rather than Eastern styled, because city life is the milieu for Western civilization. This observation should not be neglected in initiating reform programs.

4. Male and female candidates

Out of 8,964 elected candidates, 274 were female (3%).

Provinces where several female candidates were elected:

Vinh Long (4th Corps):	27 (3%)
Long An (3rd Corps):	15 (6.8%)
Gia Dinh (3rd Corps):	13 (4.7%)

In Phong Dinh, a female candidate was elected Chairman of Long Tuyen Village Council with highest number of ballots (4,331) in the province. In Darlac province, a female candidate was elected Chairman of Lak M'Trung Village Council (Lac Thien district) and another woman was elected deputy Chairman of the said council (election of 9 April 1967).

It is noted that in previous elections participation of women as candidates was limited, but in this election the government maintained equal rights for men and women.

The reason for which women are entitled to assume village administration is twofold: To emancipate women in accordance with the democratic process, and to ask them to replace men in village affairs. The appeal of the government met with an enthusiastic response from women and such responsiveness was a revolution in the traditional village life.

5. Old members and new members

Of the total number of elected candidates, 1,182 were former village or hamlet officials and 7,782 were newly elected members.

The purpose of reorganization of village and hamlet administration is to provide rural areas with a new and healthy life that is to screen cadres at the grass-root level, to pick out anti-communist nationalistic cadres, to eliminate corrupt officials and country lords and to receive returnees from the opposite side with open arms.

Following is the result:

- 286 candidates were eliminated because they worked for the Communists, they were pro-communist, or neutralists for the benefit of the communists (with reference to item 9, article 13, Decree No. 199-SL/DUHC dated 24 December 1966) including 25 former village and hamlet officials.

- 1,182 out of 1,719 former village and hamlet officials were elected.

- 3 out of 4 returnees were elected.

Following is a comparison between qualifications and background of newly elected members and outgoing members:

- 25 provinces found that new members were better qualified:
- 4 provinces said that they were on the same level.
- 6 provinces said that new members were less capable.
- 9 provinces maintained a reserved attitude.

Comments on responsiveness of voters:

- 31 provinces found that voters maintained a more positive attitude than ever.
- 5 provinces said that voters maintained the same attitude as before
- 8 provinces said that voters were less active.

III. Population under the control of the government:

The population in South Vietnam has not been clearly determined. Information provided in statistical statements has no guarantee. Local authorities suggested one figure while the central government introduced another figure. In some cases central agencies did not agree on the matter of population. An interdepartmental meeting was convened by the Special Commission for Administration to set a criterion for determination of the population under the control of the government.

The meeting agreed that the population under the government's control included the population living in the capital, in 5 cities and in villages where election of village councils would be held.

In these villages, the population can be estimated from the number of voters registered for the election of the Constituent Assembly on 11 September 1966. This number of voters was 35%, that is 35 eligible voters enrolled out of 100 people. We should increase this percentage to 45, that is 45 eligible voters for each 100 people. This shows a high percentage of young population (people under 18 years of age constitute the majority).

According to this criterion, the population under the government's control throughout the country can be estimated at 10,390,731. Following is the computation:

- Voters enrolled:	3,770,914	
- Population under government's control:	$\frac{3,770,914 \times 100}{45}$	= 8,379,808
- Population in the capital and cities:		<u>2,010,923</u>
Total		10,390,731

This figure does not include 1,700,000 anti-communist refugees who have not been resettled in permanent localities, and those people who live in villages where provisional village administrative committees are to be assigned. These villages are called contested areas.

The above figures and information do not permit us to have a pessimistic attitude regarding the situation of our country or to attach exaggerated importance to the VC's strategy aimed at using rural area to blockade cities.

IV. VC reaction

According to documents seized during military operations and to their argumentation through their broadcasting station, the VC placed emphasis on using rural areas as their source of supply and their field of operation. In fact, the reorganization of village and hamlet administration was an effective plan to eliminate their influence from rural areas. For that reason, the VC has used every possible means to prevent the elections, e.g. assassination of candidates, acts of terrorism, etc. Total number of VC sabotage for Phase 1 of the election was 555.

- 6 attacks
- 5 mortar firings
- 2 ambushes
- 247 acts of terrorism
- 295 sessions of armed propaganda.

Casualties

	<u>Government</u>	<u>Enemy</u>
E.M.:	18 killed, 41 wounded 3 missing	2 killed, 1 captured (some more killed or wounded and carried away by their fellows)
Cadres:	8 killed, 8 wounded, 7 missing	2 killed, 4 captured
Candidates:	6 killed, 1 wounded, 18 missing, 22 captured but already returned	
People:	15 killed, 52 wounded, 36 missing	
Materials:	7 individual weapons and 1 Dodge damaged 1 village headquarters smashed.	3 individual weapons, 8 mortar shells, 4 grenades, 1 mine.

VC activities were most intense during the week preceding the 5th election (144 incidents) and least during the week preceding the 4th election (82 incidents) On election days (with the exception of 30 April 1967 when nothing serious happened), the VC launched 44 attacks (1 assassination, 12 kidnappings, 25 cases of harassing fires, intimidation of voters etc.) To sum up, VC activities during the election of Village Councils were much more intense than during the election of the Constituent Assembly in 1966 (in this period only 166 incidents were reported: 32 explosions, 95 shellings, 4 sabotage acts, 5 kidnappings, 30 cases of intimidation)

As previously pointed out the VC plot to sabotage the election failed for the national cadres were vigilant, the election being held only in secure areas and spread over 5 phases, thus allowing local forces sufficient time to concentrate their efforts for the protection of the selected places. The efforts of the local authorities were crowned with reward for the plan was successfully carried out as expected.

Despite the fact that the VC could not sabotage the election, precautions must be taken after the election. If the elected Constituent Assembly men work in the Capital after the election, then the village council members must stay on the scene to work with the people. There are only 117 Constituent Assembly men but there are 8.964 village council members. The VC, will try to undermine our administrative structures in the days to come. Therefore, strengthening measures are most essential.

V. Strengthening measures

In the plenary session of the Social Political Committee of the Civilian Military Council emphasis was placed on strengthening measures rather than reorganization measures for success does not depend on basic documents but on the measures applied later to carry out the common policy as defined in the basic documents.

Consequently, in circular 191-TT/DUHC dated 24 December 1966, the Prime Minister specifically asked Commissioners to carry out the following strengthening measures:

- (1) - Organize elections in a manner to show their free and just nature, encourage capable individuals to run for election: Commissioner for R.D.,

Commissioner for Information and Open Arms, Special Commissioner for Administration.

- (2) - Organize seminars at District, Province levels, training at Village/Hamlet level: Commissioner for R.D., Special Commissioner for Administration in coordination with other Commissioners.
- (3) - Provide additional work facilities such as typewriters, vehicles...to village, hamlet offices: Commissioner for R.D., other Interested Commissioners, Special Commissioner for Adm.
- (4) - Provide weapons to officials who hold key positions in villages for self-defense: Commissioner for R.D., Commissioner for National Defense, Special Commissioner for Adm.
- (5) - Issue necessary instructions to popular forces at village level to closely cooperate with the village authorities: Commissioner for Defense, Commissioner for R.D., S.C.A.
- (6) - Increase allowances for Village officials, unify the allocation of expenditure fund: Commissioner for R.D., Commissioner for Information and Open-Arms, Commissioner for Security, Commissioner for Youth, Special Commissioner for Administration and DGBFA.
- (7) - Control the use of village fund so as to respect the autonomy of its budget, draw the attention of provincial authorities to instructions concerning this matter, particularly circular 65-UEHC/NSNV dated 22 Sept. 1965 of the Prime Minister office: Office of the Superintendent General, S.C.A. and DGBFA.
- (8) - Study the reorganization of administration at district and province levels in order to support the reorganization of village/hamlet administration: Commissioner for R.D. and Special Commissioner for Administration.

Of the above-mentioned measures, 2 problems pertaining to popular forces and administrative reorganization of province district are under study. All other measures have been realized (in particular the organization of elections, the organization of training, increase of allowances, facilities for village hamlet offices) or have been studied for implementation in the near future (such as providing weapons to village/hamlet officials).

In the field of personnel training has been considered as an important requirement to supplement the reorganization of structures and to help provide village/hamlet administration a new category of efficient generalist cadres ready to serve the program of new life reconstruction. To attain this end, the S.C.A. has worked out a basic training program which will be put into effect in all provinces immediately after the newly elected or appointed village/hamlet officials begin to take office.

Training courses and seminars will be held in provinces to help village/hamlet officials understand many important matters such as:

- Objectives and significance of the reorganization of village/hamlet administration .
- Basic politics
- Improvement of attitude and activities techniques
- Rural construction
- Administration
- Specialization and on-the-job training

The training period of each course is 15 days and necessary expenditures incurred will be provided by central government. Basic training materials for the above program have been prepared and published by the Commissioner for Revolutionary Development and the Special Commission for Administration in cooperation with other central technical agencies.

In the 1st phase, 3000 training books (600 pages each) were forwarded to the provinces early the month of April, 1967, for use in organizing training courses.

With the assistance of USAID and JUSPAO, 50,000 training books were printed for distribution to all trainees and village/hamlet administrative offices for reference.

To create favorable conditions for the training of village/hamlet officials, the S.C.A. has requested all provinces to send their training directors, instructors and high-ranking officials to participate in:

- Sessions on training techniques in the tactical zones.
- Pilot training courses for village/hamlet officials in provinces selected by tactical zones.

The training program was scheduled as follows:

- 4 sessions on training techniques to form instructors:

- Zone I (Jan. 30 to Feb. 4 '67, in Da Nang)
- Zone II (Jan. 16 to Jan. 21 '67 in Da Lat)
- Zone III (Nov. 15 to Nov. 19 '67 in Gia Dinh)
- Zone IV (March 21 to March 27 '67 in Dinh Tuong)

4 pilot administration training courses:

- Zone I (April 10 to April 28 '67 in Thua Thien)
- Zone II (" 20 to May 5, '67 in Binh Dinh)
- Zone III (" 17 to " 5, '67 in Bien Hoa)
- Zone IV (March 13 to March 20, '67 in Dinh Tuong)

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Conclusion.

In the year-end ceremony held at Independence Palace before the delegations of various civil groups and civil and military officials of the government, the Directory Chairman declared that one of the key works to be carried out by the government in the "Goat Year" (Dinh Mui 1967) is the reorganization of village and hamlet administration to support successfully the program of pacification and revolutionary development.

Because of its emergency nature the village and hamlet administration reorganization program launched through the elections of village councils for phase 1, was carried out prior to promulgation of the Constitution of the Republic of Vietnam on April 1, 1967. However, this program is recognized by the Constitution since it is in accordance with its basic principles relating to village institutions.

Even though the autonomy of villages and hamlets has been recognized by our history for about 500 years, it has once again become a topic for our world of today to discuss. To restore villages and hamlets to their basic positions in the nation, is a task worthy of our traditions and our aspirations. To build a basic administration which provides autonomy and defends the inherent rights of the people is a requirement not only for the present anti-communist fight but also for the future when peace reigns over this country.

In the future, if the people's struggle assumes a new aspect a political aspect which may be equally challenging - the basic administration must have been strengthened and improved to support this struggle towards victory. In the event communists succeed in infiltrating the lower level agencies for political purposes defeat could still be possible.

But we may believe in the success of village and hamlet administrative reorganization as stated in the Prime Minister's televised speech to the people on March 3, 1967: "...through the village and hamlet elections communists and oppressors will be eliminated by the people themselves, thus the people will be able to build a new life with justice and unity, to enjoy benefits thereof and to share the responsibilities".

Benefits commensurate to responsibilities coupled with a firm solidarity within the framework of a new life, these are the factors that help the rural people stand up together with other classes of people to build a bright future for the nation.

The foregoing resume is made up of excerpts from a paper prepared by the Special Commissioner for Administration, Mr. Nguyen Van Tuong.