

FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY

PLAN FOR RURAL RECONSTRUCTION CADRES IN VIETNAM

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to review the concept of cadre in the counter-insurgency effort in Vietnam and to describe a cadre program that will accomplish the aims set forth in preceding papers on the subject. These are "The Concept of Pacification and Certain Definitions and Procedures" and "Use of Cadre and Village-Hamlet Administration During Pacification", both approved by the U.S. Mission Council; and "Expansion of Hamlet Survey Capabilities", published by USIS in February, 1965.

Under present conditions in Vietnam, there is a real function to be served by cadres as discussed in this paper, but the enthusiasm for the cadre concept has, in the past year, led to a proliferation of types with missions that are more alike than different. Perhaps necessitated by the critical situation that existed a year ago, but nevertheless unfortunate in retrospect, the cadres were hastily recruited and trained, and supervision has usually not been adequate to compensate for the weaknesses of definition of mission, and selection and training of cadres.

This paper will briefly define the word "cadre", describe generally the breadth of activities of different types of cadres, and then develop a plan for more effective use of those types of cadres that are politico-administrative in nature, as distinguished from those that are specialist-technical. The proposals made here are consistent with the rural reconstruction and cadre concepts already approved.

The Word "Cadre". A considerable amount of confusion exists as to the meaning and use of cadres. This comes about because, on the one hand, Americans have learned to think of "cadre" as a small group, or as Webster's New World Dictionary defines it, "a nucleus around which an expanded organization, as a military unit, can be built"; while on the other hand, the Vietnamese word for "cadre", "can bo", has developed two meanings, one indicating a low-level job with limited responsibilities, and the other meaning any government employee, including the Prime Minister.

The word "can bo" came into the Vietnamese language from the Chinese, through the Viet Minh, to make a distinction between the revolutionaries and the corrupt civil service, in the case of China, and between the revolutionaries and the colonialist civil service, in the case of Indo-China. The word probably entered Chinese from the Russian "kadr", which means, according to Webster's Third International Dictionary, "a member of a cadre, esp. a political cadre". Another meaning, from the same source, is "a cell of indoctrinated leaders active in promoting the interests of a revolutionary party". These two definitions give color to the word as it is commonly used in Vietnam. The plural form is "cadres".

During the fight against the French, the word took on positive characteristics because it meant someone who was a dedicated anti-colonialist. Ngo Dinh Diem, in an effort to take advantage of this situation and strengthen the relationship between the people and the fonctionnaires, declared that all government personnel, including the President, were "cadres for the people". With that extension, the meaning of the word has to be determined by its use in the particular context.

In the rural reconstruction effort (formerly called "pacification") in Vietnam, the word usually refers to personnel who have been recruited and trained to perform duties of limited scope in an effort to bring governmental services, presence or control, to the hamlet level. These employees are usually outside of the career civil service and probably could not look forward to continued employment if the insurgency should suddenly end. The word no longer applies only to political agitators but includes agricultural, public health, police and educational employees as well.

Breadth of Activities. Thirty-nine different types of cadres have been counted, and there are other types of employees used in the rural reconstruction effort which are not called "cadres" but which have similar qualifications. To make the problem more complex, some types are known by different names in different provinces and some have been renamed with both old and new names being used interchangeably. Furthermore, different types of cadres often perform the same tasks. It would be a major effort of limited value to locate and identify all of the classes of work that are equivalent in general qualifications, duties and pay to the major types of politico-administrative cadres discussed in this paper.

These major types are three: The New Life Hamlet cadres (variously known as Mobile Action Cadre, Mobile Cadre, Economic Cadre, Pacification Cadre, Can Bo Ap Tan Sinh and Can Bo Binh Dinh), the Rural Political cadres and Mobile Administrative cadres (Groupe Administrative Mobile, commonly called GAMO), all of which are now, as of 18 May, part of the Directorate General for Rural Reconstruction.

Other types of cadres engaged in the rural reconstruction effort are found in the Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Public Health and Information and Psychological Warfare, and Directorate General for Police. These types can be grouped under the title "specialized cadres" to distinguish them from the political-administrative types. The problems of the specialist types will not be discussed in this paper because they are so diverse, they are responsibilities of the various specialized ministries, and in the rural reconstruction effort, are less important than the problem of the politico-administrative types.

The 12,000 Information cadres of the Ministry of Information and Psychological Warfare are included in the "specialized cadre" category but many of their functions have political ends and thus perhaps should be included in the politico-administrative category. The organization and utilization of these cadres deserve study, but because of the size of the problem and the organizational distance that the Information cadres have from the politico-administrative cadres discussed in this paper, no attempt is made here to review this phase of the cadre program.

Politico-Administrative Types of Cadres

General. It has been the observation of Lt. Col. Charles T. R. Bohannan, in a career of study of insurgency and counter-insurgency, that the semantic difference between the terms "cadre" and "civil servant" (or other regular employee) is that the cadre is expected to be mission oriented, while it is accepted that the regular employee may be primarily concerned with advancing his own welfare through the bureaucracy of the government. The notable lack of success of most GVN cadre programs, as contrasted with the success of the VC cadre operations, thus might be explained as a result of insufficient care in selection of, and inadequate training for, GVN cadres. The persons employed by the agencies of government as cadres more often than not seem to consider such service as a means of avoiding the military draft or of receiving a reasonable amount of pay for the amount of work required. It has been difficult to develop the dedication necessary to obtain successful accomplishment of the mission of the particular cadre organization because the programs have frequently been poorly defined, poorly organized and poorly supervised.

There are some observers who have noted one or two characteristics of the Viet Cong cadres, such as blackening their teeth and piercing their ears to develop rapport with the Montagnards, and have then declared that if GVN cadres would only do likewise, "we could easily win the hearts and minds of the people". What is overlooked here is that the sense of mission does not develop from such bizarre activities but precedes them and stems from years of real or imagined persecution or abuse along with intensive training and indoctrination. The goal of VC cadres is not a secure and comfortable working life followed by a pension, but accomplishment of a clearly defined mission leading ultimately to the enhancement of their own power.

The short eleven-year history of the Republic of Vietnam has produced a situation in which it is not likely that such dedicated persons will be found in large numbers, nor will it be possible to develop many through short training sessions of a few weeks duration. It would be a misapplication of effort to copy VC methods; rather, the GVN should adapt the tools it has and knows best to accomplish missions clearly defined and within the capability of the personnel involved. This means accepting average persons with an average sense of national feeling and then training them in narrow and well

defined duties to accomplish goals of limited scope. If the program is well designed, supported, and administered, the sense of mission can develop and perhaps eventually there will be selfless, dedicated cadres who will be willing to sacrifice their lives, if need be, to accomplish their tasks. (This is not to deny that a number of pacification cadres have already given their lives toward this end.)

Duties. The three types of politico-administrative cadres have missions that have considerable overlap in the areas of information gathering, re-establishing civil government and in "winning the hearts and minds of the people". In provinces where two or all three types exist, they have often been combined into rural reconstruction teams in which all distinctions are blurred and GAMO cadres, being paid VN\$3,000 per month, are performing the same duties as New Life Hamlet cadres at VN\$1,5000. The reason for this blurring of distinction is that, from an operational point of view, these distinctions are artificial.

What would appear to be more suitable to the situation is a single cadre organization operating under the jurisdiction of the province and respective district chiefs (without regard to how it may be organized at the central government), with discrete functions and a number of ranks to compensate for varying skills and responsibilities. The accepted concept of rural reconstruction describes the use of cadres, emphasizing their role in supporting, not replacing, local government.

With this in mind, the duties of rural reconstruction cadres may be broken down as follows:

1. In the clearing phase accompanying the troops, the cadres come to the hamlet as a survey group to collect information which will be used by the district chief in determining when the hamlet is ready for the securing phase;
2. When the district chief has decided to start the securing phase in a hamlet, a civil government cadre unit will come to assist the appointed (or in some cases, elected) hamlet officials in performing government functions which, at this low level, consist primarily of creating communication links between the province, district, village, and the people;
3. Related to this, the cadres will assist the hamlet officials in mediating disputes between local residents. Of the several tasks listed for cadres to perform, this one requires the most mature judgment and is often very time consuming;
4. Hamlet reconstruction cadres will inform the people of the many services provided by GVN upon request, and will assist them in getting help and advice in solving local problems. Attention will be paid to generating

interest in self-help projects, road, bridge and canal improvement, agricultural assistance, public health and public welfare problems;

5. Hamlet reconstruction cadres will survey the educational needs and resources of the hamlet to facilitate the establishment or re-establishment of schools in the community by the Ministry of Education;

6. At the direction of the district chief, the survey groups will come back and re-survey the hamlet as a follow-up and a refinement of the survey conducted during the clearing phase;

7. The hamlet civil government cadre unit, after having moved out of a hamlet for two or three months, will return to find out if the action started in its initial stay has been continued. If not, the district chief will have to decide whether or not the unit should renew its efforts or delay the securing phase until attitudes and leadership in the hamlet improve;

8. At the village level at the direction of the district chief, a civil government unit trained in the responsibilities and duties of the village administrative committee, will assist the village administrative committee until the committee is knowledgeable and strong enough to operate on its own.

The rural reconstruction cadres should not appear to be supervisors of corvees constructing defenses, nor should they undertake the construction tasks themselves. The cadres should assist the hamlet people in whatever ways they can, including manual labor if the hamlet people are also working. Although difficult, cadres should motivate the people into helping themselves and thus commit themselves to active resistance to the Viet Cong.

Defense of the village/hamlet, including the development of whatever fortification may be required, is the responsibility of the Regional and Popular Forces. At one time, cadres took on the task of building the hamlet fence, moat, and other physical obstacles, but their training does not equip them for this activity (in some places, however, they are still doing these things). Politico-administrative cadres are to represent the civil side of government and not the military side.

Although specialized cadres will follow the introduction of politico-administrative cadres into the hamlets, these first cadres into the hamlet will be required to perform in a rudimentary way certain tasks that are better performed by the specialized cadres. In particular, these include police functions, such as a census (as part of the survey), information-psywar tasks, such as distribution of printed material, and public health functions, such as basic sanitation.

In general, however, politico-administrative cadres will leave the specialized work to the specialized cadres. For example, politico-administrative cadres will obtain information about VC sympathizers through their daily contacts. This information, important in elimination of the VC infrastructure, should not be processed and expanded by the cadres but instead should be provided in its unevaluated form to the hamlet or village chief.

Rural reconstruction cadres should be thoroughly indoctrinated politically but without reference to political parties. They should be well enough informed on the war and political and economic events so that they can rebut VC-oriented arguments and promote GVN policies and programs. One means of training for this objective would be a quarterly political reindoctrination program of about a week's duration at either district or provincial headquarters. This training is necessary because, being relatively unsophisticated about economics, politics and social programs, the cadres may easily lose sight of the goal of the counter-insurgency effort in their day-to-day work. A quarterly review will help redefine their mission and resolve doubts. It is not intended that they become psychological warfare specialists, however.

It is intended that the duties listed for rural reconstruction cadres be done by those who have received training in that particular task; for example, the attitudinal survey will be conducted by cadres who have received thorough training restricted to the techniques of surveying; they will not assume responsibilities in those areas where they have not received training. Likewise, civil government cadres will assist the duly appointed/elected village and hamlet officials, and perform those civil government duties necessary to the job. Each of these may assist cadres with other assignments, but only as helpers. This rule will apply to all the cadres of equal rank, but those who are supervisors at level IV and above may be given responsibilities cutting across a number of the different tasks.

A cadre unit, team or group may complete its particular assignment before another hamlet is ready for the securing step. In order to prevent the cadres from appearing indolent and creating trouble in their idleness, the district and provincial cadre supervisors should be prepared to conduct training and orientation programs at all times by using the services of the provincial training director.

Organization and Method of Operation

With the duties of cadres made more discrete and clear, and training given to match the duties, the cadre organization becomes more competent to deal with the problems of rural reconstruction. Along with a breaking down of tasks at the bottom level, more closely related to the actual capabilities of the cadres themselves, supervisors at all levels will have been trained to recognize the existence of problems beyond the scope of the cadre teams. When

such problems are identified, specialized cadres, normally found at province level, will be made available to the district chief and assigned to the problem by him.

Local conditions vary so much from province to province, and between districts within a province, that it is not possible or practical to set up a standard organization which can be applied to all provinces in the country. Instead, the basic working unit of the organization will be three men with one of these being a working supervisor of the other two. All three may be trained in the same duties, or all three may have different duties, or it may be a 2-1 combination, depending on the needs of the hamlet or village as evaluated by the district chief, and availability of cadres trained in the various duties.

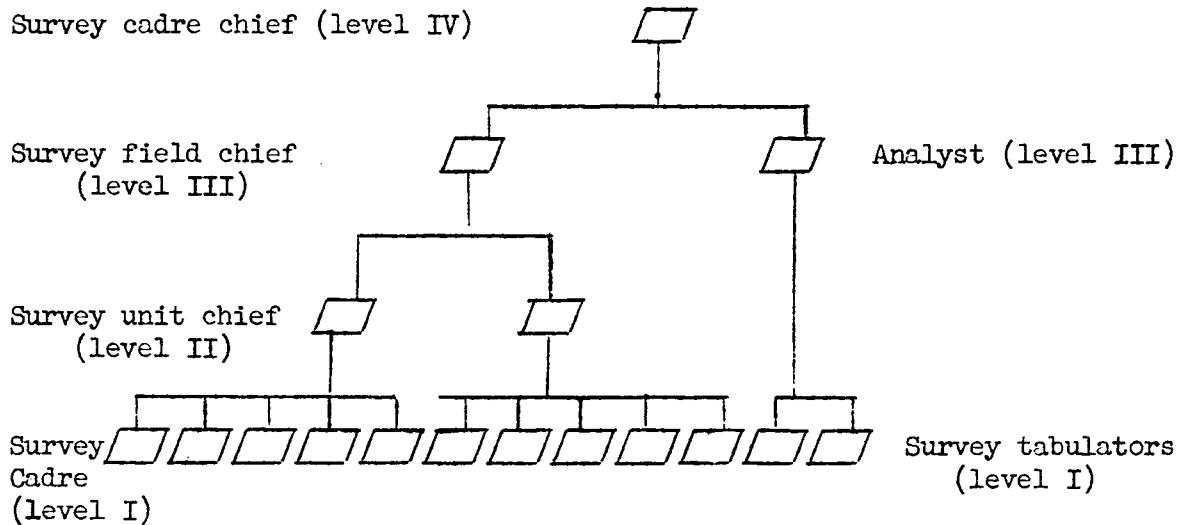
When two three-man units are combined to cope with a more complex problem, a team is formed, and two or more teams make a group. The number of cadres in a unit may vary up to six, but if there are seven, the unit should be split and a team of two units formed. The reason for this is to insure close supervision over all cadres. It will be unusual to have six rural reconstruction cadres in a hamlet at one time for other than survey purposes, so a unit of from three to six cadres should cover all normal eventualities.

The new organization will have seven levels of pay and responsibility. The following table compares the monthly salary schedules for the existing types of politico-administrative cadres with the new rates.

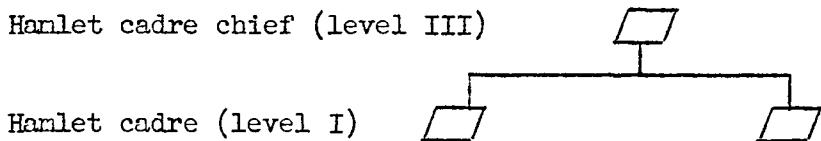
<u>New Life Hamlet</u>	<u>Rural Political</u>	<u>Mobile Administrative (GAMO)</u>	<u>Rural Reconstruction Cadres</u>
VII		7500\$ (6000 + 1500)	7500\$
VI	6000	6500 (5000 + 1500)	6500
V	4950	6000 (4500 + 1500)	5500
IV	4840	5000 (3500 + 1500)	4500
III	4400	4500 (3000 + 1500)	3500
II	2000\$	3500 (2000 + 1500)	2500
I	1500	3000 (1500 + 1500)	2000

The organization structure will be typically pyramidal in shape. For example, a district will usually have one survey group composed of two field

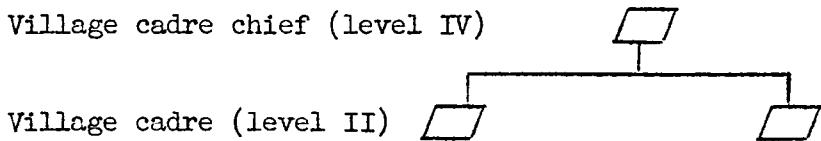
units, plus one made up of tabulators and analysts. This group is organized as shown below:



The civil government cadre units for each hamlet will consist of one unit leader at level III and two cadres at level I.



At the village level, the cadre unit will be headed by a cadre at level IV and he will be assisted by two cadres at level II.



The number of these units will vary from district to district, depending on the number of hamlets and villages that are undergoing securing and do not yet have fully functioning government establishments.

At the district level, the teams and units will be headed by a cadre leader at level V, assisted by an inspector at level IV. The district cadre chief reports to either the district chief or his deputy for security, depending on the particular provincial and district organizational arrangements.

At the province level, the rural reconstruction cadre organization is headed by a cadre supervisor at level VII, assisted by a deputy at level VI. Clerical work, such as payrolls and personnel records, will be maintained at district and province levels by cadres at levels I and II.

The scenario for rural reconstruction cadres would follow this general pattern: the survey units of five to seven cadres enter the hamlet under the protection of ARVN or Regional Forces during the clearing process and gather their information. It is appropriate that these cadres be armed with concealed pistols. They should also be trained in the use of their weapons.

The survey group normally operates under instructions from the district chief through his deputy for security and the district rural reconstruction cadre chief. The survey group leader is the immediate supervisor of the field survey units and the central tabulation unit. Reports of the survey section are given to the district chief and to the MACV subsector advisor. When the survey of a particular hamlet has been completed, the district chief assigns the field survey units to another hamlet for an initial survey or a resurvey.

After the survey has indicated that the hamlet is ready for rural reconstruction, a civil government unit of two low-level (level I) cadres and one medium level (level III) supervisor arrives. These cadres should identify themselves with the people and thus should not be armed unless, in the opinion of the district chief, it is necessary. The mission of the supervisor is to assist the hamlet rural reconstruction committee until a resident is elected in accordance with Decree of the Prime Minister No. 203d/NV dated 31 May 1964; the two level I cadres are activities coordinators.

The cadre unit supervisor will spend most of his time working with the hamlet rural reconstruction committee in developing their ability to mobilize the hamlet's resources in the rural reconstruction effort, but he also has the responsibility of supervising the work of his two subordinate cadres. This means suggesting projects for them to discuss with the people and then making sure that the activities coordinators spend their time in a constructive manner. He should also assist them when necessary in getting help from district and province.

The activities coordinators have the job of identifying areas of activities that would be useful and of benefit to the people in the hamlet, and of generating interest among them in helping themselves. This requires knowledge on the part of the cadres of the several programs available from the various ministries that can be requested by the people in a hamlet. Equipped with a notebook containing instructions and the proper forms, the cadres should be able to respond to indications of interest by preparing the request properly and seeing to it that it is delivered to the right office in district or province headquarters. They should also follow up on the requests to insure that action is taken as expeditiously as possible.

After the civil government unit has moved out of a hamlet, leaving the elected hamlet chief to operate on his own for several months, the district chief may want to measure the effects on the people of the process of rural reconstruction. To do this, he will order the survey team to return to the hamlet, and with a questionnaire designed for the purpose, determine the present attitudes of the hamlet residents. With this current information, he can assess the situation and take one of several courses of action: he may find that the hamlet chief and his deputies are continuing the work begun by the hamlet civil government cadre unit, in which case he would probably take no action; he may find the hamlet chief has allowed reconstruction work to lapse, in which event, he would probably order the hamlet civil government cadre unit back to give further assistance; and finally, the district chief may find that the hamlet leadership is not capable or reliable, or that the attitude of the people is not sympathetic to reconstruction, in which circumstances he would have take action which may involve the return of the hamlet civil government unit, or postponing rural reconstruction in the hamlet until the attitude of the people changes.

When the district chief has decided that a village is secure enough for rural reconstruction, but that the Village Administrative Committee lacks experience, he may assign a village civil government unit composed of one level IV cadre and two level II cadres to guide and help the Village Administrative Committee until the Committee is capable of operating on its own. The organization of the Committee, and its duties, responsibilities and authority are given in Decree of the Prime Minister No. 203d/NV dated 31 May 1964.

The supervisor of the village civil government unit is the counterpart of the chairman of the Village Administrative Committee and in that role, assists the chairman in representing the central government in the village. Of the other two cadres in the unit, one is the counterpart of the vice-chairman of the Village Administrative Committee, and the other the counterpart of the Economic and Finance member. The Police and Security member will have as his counterpart a National Police cadre, when necessary. The duties of these members of the Committee are given in the decree, and this document, and other related documents of the Ministry of Interior, will constitute the guide lines for the work of the village civil government unit.

When these steps are followed successfully, security in the district should evolve through the clearing and securing phases, into the early stages of the development phase.

Implementation

The approach of this report has been to take the existing types of cadres involved in the rural reconstruction effort, combine them into a single organization with adequate pay for varying levels of skills and responsibilities, and restrict their functions to those that can logically be performed by cadres with the education, training and experience normally found in these groups. Specialized types of work, such as all but the most rudimentary police and health functions, will be undertaken by specialized cadres from the several ministries. Village and district chiefs will request needed specialized cadres from province.

The program outlined in this report is to be implemented in the following manner:

1. Action must be taken by GVN to give responsibility for rural reconstruction cadres to the Directorate General for Rural Reconstruction.

2. Without waiting for complete consolidation of these types of cadres in the field, a training and orientation program for provincial cadre supervisors must be undertaken by the National Institute of Administration. In the meantime, there should be no upsetting shift in the activities of cadres in the field. The change of emphasis will take place as cadre supervisors and province and district chiefs come to understand the program and adapt it to local requirements.

Training programs should first include higher level supervisors and then gradually be extended to the district level. They should also vary in intensity and length from a few weeks to several months; and in location, from Saigon, to regional headquarters, and down to province and district headquarters, depending on the subject matter and the level of trainee.

3. Once the province chiefs and their key officials understand this new statement on the role of cadres in the rural reconstruction effort, regional meetings of the senior cadre supervisors should be held. It is intended that these sessions, lasting one to two weeks, serve two purposes: first, to allow thorough discussion on this refined concept of cadre and of the training techniques necessary to develop the cadres to the point where the mission can be accomplished; and second, to permit cadre supervisors in adjacent provinces to compare experiences and perhaps learn of successful solutions to problems they may have in their own areas.

4. The basic instruments of training will be GVN publications of the Ministries of Interior, Agriculture and Health that relate to life in hamlets and villages. Supplementing these, it would be useful to have translated into Vietnamese the Remote Areas Manual, published by the Community Development

Counselling Service, Inc., of Arlington, Virginia, and the Village Technology Handbook, published by the Communications Resources Division of USAID. For documents relating to problems of day-to-day administration, there should be one copy for each village and hamlet civil government unit plus instructional copies at district, province and regional levels; reference documents, such as the two mentioned above, should be available at village, district and province levels, plus instructional copies.

5. The pay scale recommended in the text is similar to that of the Mobile Administrative Cadres (GAMO). While the pay structure should be adopted, the GAMO requirement of the first secondary school degree should be eliminated so that mature and experienced individuals lacking in formal education, but able to read and write, can be included in the cadre organization and promoted according to merit.

Appointment of a person to be a cadre is to be based on an application, recommendations of respected citizens in his hamlet or village, recommendation of the district chief, and the final approval of the province chief.

Promotions are to be based on performance as evaluated by the cadre's team supervisor, and the district cadre supervisor, and upon recommendation by the district chief. Final approval should rest with the province chief.

6. It can be anticipated that when the New Life Hamlet cadres, the Rural Political cadres and the Mobile Administrative cadres are combined into one organization, there will be difficulties in placing leaders of the New Life Hamlet cadres and Rural Political cadres in the new pay scale because of previously existing differences in educational qualifications and pay. Since the purpose of the new organization is to have unified command, only the province chief, assisted by his key officials, can determine the relative merits of each cadre and what job he can best perform. The power of removal, as well as that of appointment and promotion, should rest with the province chief.

7. In recruiting persons to be cadres in this program, special consideration should be given to discharged and disabled veterans. Efforts should be made, through the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Social Welfare, to inform veterans of the opportunities in being a rural reconstruction cadre.

8. One of the most difficult problems at the present time is the lack of transportation for supervisors and for the cadres themselves. The province cadre supervisor should have a Lambretta or something similar at his disposal; the district cadre supervisor should have a scooter; and the district survey group should have a jeep-type vehicle.

9. This program is to start as soon as it has GVN approval and the training program can be designed with the objective of implementation at the

hamlet level by 1 January 1966. The number of cadres required for the civil government aspects is based on an organization of three cadres per hamlet or village with an average stay in each hamlet or village of three months with each unit scheduled to assist in reconstructing three hamlets in a twelve month period. This will allow three months for retraining, travel between assignments, and rest periods. The number of hamlets that can be reconstructed in the next twelve months is estimated to be about 3,000, and the number of villages is estimated to be one-fifth the number of hamlets. On these assumptions, the number of hamlet civil government cadres required for CY 1966 will be 3,000, and 600 village civil government cadres. Five hundred survey cadres will be trained by 1 January, and in the following year, another 500 should be trained. The district and supervisory staff for the country would total about 1,200, giving a total of 5,800 for the entire rural reconstruction cadre organization. There are now about 9,000 cadres in the GAMO, Rural Political and New Life Hamlet organizations with salary costs in this calendar year estimated to be approximately VN\$200,000,000. The salary costs of the proposed organization are estimated to be about VN\$192,000,000.

For the rest of this year, normal attrition, including the effects of the draft, can be used to bring the number of cadres down to the authorized number for each province. If the number of cadres still exceeds the authorized number at the start of the next budget year, the province chief will have to determine which cadres are to be separated.

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