

THE PROCESS OF ALLOCATING FOREST LAND IN NGOC SON COMMUNE, LAC SON DISTRICT AND NAM SON COMMUNE, TAN LAC DISTRICT, HOA BINH PROVINCE ACCORDING TO DECREE NO. 02/CP

HO LY GIANG

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade, the State of Vietnam has promulgated policies on land and considerably changed people's living standards, especially ethnic groups in remote and distant areas. Contract Policy 10 (1988) and following Land Law passed by the National Assembly in 1993 have remarked a significant change in land use rights, land use periods, shifting from cooperative management into organizations, individuals and households. To concretize Land Law in 1993, the Prime Minister stipulated Decree No. 64 on allocation of agricultural land and Decree No. 02/CP on handing over forest land use right to households for long-term management and usage for the purpose of satisfying aspiration of ethnic groups. It is, however, not identical in implementing policies and guidelines of the State from the central to local level. All achievements are not the same and desirable. Our research is to investigate the process of implementing Decree No. 02 from the Central to local level, as well as define the participation of all levels for mutual implementation of the State policy. This research is particularly to analyze the participation of local people in implementing the State policies in local areas, as well as how the allocation of forest land impact the economic development and sustainable usage of natural resources.

In order to execute this report, we have collected and analyzed official letters and documents issued by the Government, Hoa Binh province, Tan Lac and Lac Son districts, and Ngoc Son and Nam Son communes.

At virtual scenes, we apply methods such as participatory observation, semi-structural interview and interview with open questions to the leadership of provinces, districts and communes, and carry out unofficial discussions with the leadership of all levels to get more information about actual status of "forest land allocation" process and difficulties when implementing the Decree 02. We also apply a depth interview method to gather information from local residents.

II. OVERVIEW ON RESEARCH'S SITE

Nam Son commune is one of the 5 mountainous communes of Tan Lac district, 30km away to the northwest of the district center. Total natural area of Nam Son is 2,025 hectares (ha), of which only 309.67 hectares (ha) is cultivation land, sylvicultural land is 1,042.29 ha and the remaining is rocky soil. In 2002, the population of Nam Son is 1,513 making up into 303 households. The commune divides into 7 hamlets namely: Xom, Chien, Bo, Do, Buong, Bai, Ton, and Trong. Majority of its population is the

Muong ethnic minority (99%), and there are a few from Thai ethnic minority (due to alien marriage). Although the forest is 50% of its area, the Nam Son people mostly live by cultivation and their foods are mainly dependent on water rice-paddy in combination with livestock farming and forestation. Due to difficulty in travelling and absence of electricity network, it is somewhat restricting the speed of economic development of the commune. At present, the commune possesses 2-story commodious primary and secondary schools.

Ngoc Son commune is also one of the mountainous communes of Lac Son district. The Ngoc Son commune is 20 km away to the southeast of Vu Ban town and occupies a natural area of 3,298 ha, of which 379 ha is cultivation land, sylvicultural land is 2,757 ha (equivalent to two third of the commune's natural area), specific land is 35.8 ha, and unused land is 110.75 ha (of which 58.75 ha is uncultivated hilly land). Ngoc Son commune has 8 hamlets: Roc, Boi, Vang, Cha, Khu, Trung Son, Dien, and Cang. There are 394 households comprising of 2,028 people. Most of them are the Muong ethnic minority, and there are, besides, some the Kinh households (majority ethnic) living in alternation with the Muong minority. At the moment, agriculture is the main earning of the local people. Being identified as the center of 3 mountainous communes (Ngoc Lau, Tu Do, and Ngoc Son), the Ngoc Son commune has more chances to develop its economics as well as its facilities than Ngoc Lau and Tu Do communes.

III. RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

1. The role of Decree No. 02 in Land Policy

Conventional form of land ownership in ethnic areas was public property or under the public management. Public land implied land of certain village or family clan that the community will have full power of management. Individuals were entitled to use land, inherit and exploit natural products, but had no right to transfer or sell to others beyond the community. Private property also took shape but only wet-rice field. Feudal dynasties, including colonists and empires afterwards, intervened least in the tradition of land property of ethnic groups.

Great impacts on land use and land ownership in ethnic group areas happened under the regime of the democratic republic of Vietnam. The policy on agricultural collectivization in ethnic group areas (the 1960s in the North and after 1975 in the South) enabled the State in direct management of the whole land. From 1986 in implementation of renovation process, Vietnam made a sudden attack on reforming land by promulgating Land Law 1988 and Contract Policy 10. Yet, Land Law 1988 limited land users in their rights: land users had the right to enjoy the achievements from labor, investment and to transfer long-year trees on the used land (Land Law 1988: 29-32) and in highlands. There was a limitation in the Contract Policy 10 because it was applicable to agricultural land. It was until the birth of Land Law 1993 that effect of the State policy on land became all rounded and stronger. Direct use right of agricultural and forest land was handed

over to organizations, households and individuals for long-term and constant usage. Period of handing over land is stabilized for long-year trees: 20 years for aquatic production and 50 years for long-year trees. People, including ethnic groups, had land use right such as conversing, transferring, leasing, inheriting and mortgaging (Vuong Xuan Tinh, Bui Minh Dao, 2000). Pursuant to Land Law 1993, the Government stipulated Decree No. 64/CP on handing over agricultural land and Decree No. 02/CP on handing over forest land to organizations, households and individuals for long-term usage.

2. Content of Decree No. 02/CP

In January 1994, the Prime minister signed the Government Decree 02/CP concerning allocation of forest land to organizations, households and individuals for long term forestry purposes. Forest land divided in to three categories for administrative purposes:

- Production forest are mainly use for production, timber production and exploitation of forest products in compliance with approved management plans

- Protection forest are designated to protect land and water resources in critical areas and their exploitation is more or less severely restricted

- Special use forests are most nature reserves and natural parks, kept for bio-diversity and conservation

The decree states that special use forests will not be allocated to households but will be managed by the local administration and forest protection units. However, these units will have a

contract with farmers living in the area to undertake protection and reforestation activities (Article 8)

Similarly, in the case of protection of watershed forests, Management Board are set up to manage these forests according to approved plans. Areas which are classified as protection forest but are unforested may be allocated under long term leases to organizations, households and individuals and may be used for economic activities if they are in low priority watersheds, provide windbreaks and shelter belts in sandy areas, or protected sea or river dikes where soil has already been stabilized. Small areas of protection forest within one commune or village, which have not been allocated to any organization or individual, may be managed by the commune in line with guidelines issued by the local forestry authorities (Article 7)

In the case of production forests, the state is leases all lands to organizations, households or individuals living in the area. The State encourages reforestation and assists with organizing production, processing, marketing and the provision of infrastructure(Article 9)

All leases for forestry land are for periods of 50 years but can be renewed and revoked if farmers do not adequately look after their land as required by the land law. In the case of state organizations, the lease period is decided by the state (Article 6), Two different types of land allocation:

Land Tenure Certificates: Degraded lands and bare hills will be allocated under long term tenure certificates (50 year lease) which include a cadastral map or sketch, with the allocated area

demarcated on the ground and on the map. The Certificate gives the right to long term use as well as the right to access support services by the State.

Management contract: In the case of watershed forests, special use forests or land which already has natural and planted forest, households or individuals can have contract with the appropriate state management units for protection and management. These contracts are to be registered with the local people's committees. According to these contracts, a fee for management and protection of forest will be paid to the forest owners for a period not exceeding 5 years

3. Process of implementing Decree No. 02/CP at all levels

To implementing Decree No. 02/CP, the Former Ministry of Forestry stipulated Circular No. 06 guiding implementation of Decree No. 02/CP on handing over forest land, and opened 8 training classes on handing over forest land in various provinces and cities in the country (Forestry Bureau 1996). The Ministry put forth the contents, measures and procedures of handing over land in local areas. All steps are carried out as follows:

- Preparing for organization and procedures of implementation: Establishing steering committee for allocating land at district level, specialized groups at commune level and organizing for local meeting, training processes of allocating forest land.

- Technique and professional skills: carefully preparing maps with obvious borders, collecting people's requirements of land allocation.

- Preliminary investigation of the action place and present condition of forest land (type, area, deposits), checking land use planning, estimation of handing over forest land as specified on map, and then organizing for handing land out of the field. In receipt of land out of the field, households were granted with **minute** of land allocation.

In Hoa Binh, after Decree No. 02 of the Government and Circular No. 06 dated June 1994 of the Ministry of Forestry guiding implementation of Decree No. 02, Hoa Binh Provincial People's Committee, on September 1994, stipulated Decision No. 548QD/UB guiding regulations of handing over forest land and contracting forest according to Decree No. 02/CP of the Government. According to the Decision, Hoa Binh Provincial People's Committee appointed the Forestry Bureau to chair and coordinate with the Department of Forestry, Department of Land, Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, People's Committees of districts for concrete implementation of this stipulation. Guidance of Hoa Binh Province consisted of 11 articles based on 18 articles of Decree No. 02/CP of the Government. The Province stipulated conditions of contracting with households and individuals having application for forest land allocation (Article 3). The measure of contracting specified steps of implementing: Respecting reality, conforming to sentiment and reason, finishing once and dividing into two steps.

- + Step 1: Completing in action place

- + Step 2: Completing procedures as stipulated by Law

Measure of handing over with 10 steps: plan of guiding; measuring at action place;

border-land marking; drawn by technical officers; marking on map and measuring area. In handing over land, policy objects will be given priority; for example, they are allocated good forest land near their house.

As for natural forests, afforestation by state budget will be checked before contracting with the following contents and inspection methods:

- Trees of diameter under 20cm in the area of 100m² (random method), measuring and counting number of trees.

- Trees of diameter over 20cm: measuring and counting deposits of forest on the handed area, specifying precious trees on separate table.

- Method of inspecting households under the supervision of technical officers and representative of the Forest and Land Allocation Council.

At district level, Lac Son District People's Committee appointed the district's Forestry Protection Department (FPD) to be in charge of land allocation. The People's Committee established Land Allocation and Forest Contract Council (LAFC Council), and accordingly promoted FPD to coordinate with local land and forest allocation councils to hold a meeting for local households of cooperatives for the purpose of disseminating Decree No. 02 and developing contents of documents concerning land allocation and forest contracting. In first stage (1994 - 1997), people's awareness of the policy on land and forest allocation was not profound because of thin forestry force, limitation in professional skills and no supervision of the forest land allocation councils. The

district did not coordinate with land office in this first stage to issuing forest land use right to households. Thus, the Council decides to allocate land mainly to groups and households. In stage 2 (1997 - 1998), the district People's Committee discussed with FPD to share experiences according to Decree No. 02 and written stipulations of the Province: informing local people and discussing with them under the supervision of the Council. Accordingly, officers of the inspection delegation circled on map in scale 1/10,000 to specific household. Separating land, present condition of forest, forest state and submitting the results to the district land office for checking. If approved, duplicating and enumerating to the District People's Committee for issuing forest use right.

Ngoc Son Commune, officers of forestry county coordinated with the local council to carry out inspection in hamlets and mountain villages, including forestry officers, land office, and the chairman of the commune People's Committee. In preparing plan on land allocation, the commune People's Committee held a meeting to adopt the policy and estimating the plan on land allocation. Present at the meeting were officers in charge of forestry affairs, land office, statistics, heads of local groups, standing officers of the People's Council, secretary and permanent member of the Party executive committee. The meeting adopted documents and guidelines on forestland allocation for constant usage of local households, plan on land allocation plan in groups. The land office set up map based on the district tele investigation map and Map 364 (administrative map) of

the commune to estimate land allocation in local hamlets.

Upon completion of local steps, meeting was held at local hamlets. In the meeting, chiefs of local hamlets informed policy on forestland allocation of the State, popularized land fund of hamlets and area of hills for households to register and receive by themselves. After local households themselves received land, handing over land was carried out on the field, including the Land Allocation and Forest Contracting Council together with chiefs of local hamlets, secretaries and related households. Guideline and method of handing over land was carried out by hill, local people were entitled to receive land on their local area. Boundary between households was defined by commune land officers and district forestry in form of painting or cross-sticking on trees. Definition of boundaries was based on marks on big trees, rivulets, large stones or mountain tops. For less area of forest like Vang hamlet, competent officers divided equally to households and individuals under common agreement of using the same hill. In interviewing Mr. Bui Van Tu, it was told to be very difficult to divide because a hill was estimated to allocate equally to 4 households while there were 5 or 6 households. Some hills were received by 2 households because they were too far from residential area. In Ngoc Son Commune, Phu Hamlet had the largest area with total 2115,5 ha forest land. There were 956.6 ha forested allocated to local people with land use right certificate. According to Mr. Quach Van Hoa - the hamlet mayor, Phu forest was divided into 2 types: high-tree forest and sapling forest. Sapling forest was bare

hill with rush, betel and cinnamon-trees, etc... In implementation of Decree No. 02, households that were allocated with bare hills were added with high-tree forest and limited in 30 - 33 ha. In reality, many households were handed over with forest more than as stipulated, e.g. Mr. Bui Van An was handed over with 36.7 ha forest while Mr. Bui Van Nho received only 3.8 ha for Mr. Bui Van Nho was short of manpower and he dared not to receive remote forest. Presently, there are 25 households in Phu hamlet, in which 48 households are handed over with forestland, and two others have not been handed because of new divided households. According to Mr. Bui Van Quynh in Phu hamlet, forest allocated to local people according to Decree No. 02 is inadequate because forestland was entirely handed over to local people upon promulgation of Land Law 1988. He also said Phu hamlet has total forest area of 2115.5 ha, but only 956.6 ha were allocated to local people. In his opinion, there is lot of forest area left. The area is under the management of the commune and district forestry. However, this forest area has not been effectively and constantly managed and used. In addition, several households have reflected the area specified on Land use right Certificate is unfitted with reality, it is in fact larger, it is because of inaccurate measuring that results in this difference. Upon completion of land allocation, the Commune People's Committee will collect minutes on land allocation to submit to the district land office for issuance of land use right certificate. To the year 1999, most of households in Ngoc Son Commune were granted with land use right certificate.

In Tan Lac District, Standing board of the District Committee stipulated Instruction No. 05 on the 30th of August 1994 guiding concrete assignments of authority of all levels and competent boards for implementation. Appointing the forestry county as permanent board to help local authority with professional skills and complete procedures of land and forest allocation, settle down all obstacles in process of implementation. The district handed over to the land office for checking, speeding up and inspecting issuance of land use right certificate.

However, before Decree No. 02 of the Government, Tan Lac District had PARM Project (1989 - 1993) sponsored by FAO in cultivating saplings to green bare hills and Program 327 (1993) contracting bare hills to households for rearing and protecting. The great part of bare hills have been entirely allocated to households. Thus, with the promulgation of Decree No. 02, households allocated with land under the PARM Project or Program 327 remained the same. So forestry officers were responsible for informing local people about the content of Decree No. 02 and collected materials from Settled Agriculture and Fixed Residence Committee for issuance of land use right certificate.

In Nam Son Commune, Tan Lac District, households were allocated with land under the Program 327 performed by the Settled Agriculture and Fixed Residence Committee. Total natural forest area in Nam Son Commune was 1042.29 ha, while total area handed over to local households was 725.93 ha and then allocated to local hamlets as follows:

Table 1: Total forest area allocated to local hamlets under the Program 327 (1993 - 1998)

Hamlet	Ha (forest)	Amount (VND)
Xom	148.51	1,039,500
Chien	137.9	944,300
Do	130.88	916,100
Buong	77.80	544.000
Bai	75.44	528.00
Ton	91.36	618.500

Within the Program 327, the Provincial Settled Agriculture and Fixed Residence Committee based on Map 364 to allocate forest land to local hamlets. Mr. Ha Van Hoang - in charge of land in Nam Son Commune - said: local hamlets did not know how exact their forest area was. They knew the limit specified on map. The limits specified on map were based to measure forest area allocated to local hamlets. Upon completion of measuring, local hamlets held meeting to disseminate and mobilize local people to take part in forest allocation. Method of allocation varied from this hamlet to other one. As for Xom hamlet, hamlet mayor coordinated with local households to divide forestland into 3 types:

Type A: land of highest quality, low slope with many big and good trees

Type B: reed forest, mainly brushwood (regenerated forest)

Type C: bare hills

Each type of land was divided into specific plots to local households. Those households drew lots in three types. Every household was handed over with three types of forest irrespective of its quality.

However, allocation by this way made households tattered and unsightly. Several households agreed with each other to change so as to be convenient to look after. The great part of households that changed each other had similar area of forest. Because of unequal allocated area, many households had much while others had less, which resulted in difference in annual allowance for raising and protecting. According to Mr. Bui Van Tuc in Xom hamlet, he knew about Decree No. 02 stipulated in 1994 because the district forest officer and permanent officers of the commune People's Committee disseminated in the local area. However, the district forestry still remained as under the Program 327 for issuance of land use right certificate, so Mr. Tuc saw everything was the same. For other hamlets of the commune, forest area was allocated equally to all households. This task was mainly undertaken by local competent officers, households had no right to receive by themselves. Remote forest areas were not handed over to specific household but group of households.

The great part of households that were allocated with land was issued with land use right certificate. Privately Nam Son Commune, Tan Lac District, bare hill land was divided by the Settled Agriculture and Fixed Residence Committee to households under the Program 327. Thus, the district forestry collected all previous materials for issuing land use right certificate without measuring again. Due to the misunderstanding between communes, households in Nam Son Commune were granted with certificates with name and land area not as specified. Nam Son Commune People's Committee

revoked and transferred to Tan Lac District Forestry for reissuing land use right certificate to households. Up to present, although households are allocated with forestland, no land use right certificate has been granted.

IV. COMMENTS

- In accordance with the Decree, forestry land is classified into three categories: protection forest, special-use forest and production. In accordance with the Decree, protection forest is not allocated to villagers for management but may be assigned to villagers under the tenant contract form. But only by 1998, had the Forestry Survey and Planning Institute completed the classification of 3 forest categories in Ngoc Son commune, as so many parts of protection forest had already been allocated to villagers.

- At district level, the district people's committee assigns the district forestry station to conduct the procedures of land allocation in communal areas. But due to inadequate staffs as well as their limited capacity, the procedures were not undertaken properly or sometimes shortcut was made. Village meetings with householders were conducted but actually it is just a kind of popularization. Villagers did not fully participate in the process of land allocation, therefore they are to some extent passive, don't know the concrete plan and are not allowed to participate in option setting for land allocation. The villagers just know that it is a long-term allocation but not clear about regulations as well as the rights of the land recipients. There are many households who dare not receive forestry land because they do not know what they have to do with the allocated land.

- In some villages, forestry land was allocated in accordance with the Program 327 but mainly fallow land and barehill, and land was divided into household groups and registered by one person. When red books are issued in accordance with the Decree 02, the person representing for his/her household group will use his/her name for red book issuance. As so the rights of the registered person in the red book and the facts are totally different. Transfer, collateral or trading is hardly implemented.

- Allocated forest land is scattered and patchy because of average allocation, therefore management, protection and development are difficult.

- In some villages, when allocation was conducted, the procedures were not undertaken properly as most of the work was done by village leaders and cadastral officers, therefore the villagers are not fully aware of the role and obligations of land recipients, they can not capture actual acreage and border on field, as the matter of fact they are not so bound to the forest. Therefore, facility should be given to the villagers to participate in contributing their opinion during the dissemination of policies so that they really take part in right from the beginning.

- In many villages, as forest land is totally allocated to households, therefore no land fund for reserve, the question is how to deal with the cases of family split, migration and retired workers...

- The acreage of forest land, which has been granted certificate of land use right, accounts for 30 – 40 % of total forest land of communes. The rest is assigned to the communes, villagers or communities for

management, but merely protection, there is no impact on silviculture, no policies of benefits from forest, of investment and credit for communes, villages and communities to manage forests efficiently.

- Forest land allocation was undertaken since 1994, but until 1999 classification of three forest categories was conducted. Slow planning, measuring and assessing forest categories affected the process of forest land allocation as in some villages natural forests have been totally allocated to households for management.

- Although forest land were allocated to each households for productive projection and protection, but households lack of capital for forest development. And if only rely on fund for productive projection, which is VND 50,000/year per ha for a duration of 5 years (1993-1998) it is a meager figure.

- 90% of interviewed households said that land allocation is relevant with local people's aspiration and they think that forest land allotted to them is of the own, whereas the rest 10% had different idea because they want to receive more forest land and because their allocated forest land is very far from their houses. 70% interviewed households heard of Decree 02 but their understanding is just at elementary level as they are not so clear and ambiguous of their rights and obligations. They just simply think that they have the responsibility to protect forest, no impact to silviculture to enrich the forests. Perhaps it is because of inadequate staff of forestry protection sector, so local people are not fully aware of their rights in accordance with Decree 02.

V. CONCLUSION

During the process of forest land allocation, villager's participation is not so adequate and their understanding of the Government's intentions and policies is limited, one of the reasons is district and commune officers did not followed properly the procedures and they made shortcut. Forest land is divided in scattered and patchy manner, and it makes difficult to invest, plan and develop the forests. However, Decree 02 clearly protects the legal rights of local people. They have better perception of protection and feel more confident to be real owners. Most of them, when being asked, said that since forest land was allocated to households for long-term management and utilization for the purpose of forestry, local people's perception is enhanced clearly. They no longer slash and burn forests for cultivation. In the past, anyone could go to forest to collect firewood and bamboo shoots freely (even villagers and outsiders). Now as forest land is already allocated to households for management, free collection of forest products from other's forests is not allowed. They also dare not to chop trees as before, just collect dry branches or bad or dwarf trees for firewood. Presently, no phenomena of forest destruction, burnt and exploitation of timber products occur. Forests are better protected, large poor forest land or fallow land and bare hills are allocated to households to protect and reproduce naturally. Therefore destroyed forest area has been notably reduced.

Along with efficient management, utilization and protection of natural resources, i.e. forests, development of village regulations on forest protection

and development make a significant sense, both mobilising traditional values and indigenous knowledge of each locality and making momentum to implementation of forest protection right at village level. Although the State's rules and regulations are made available, compliance seemed not so high, local people paid inadequate attention to comply with. The reason is those rules and regulations are not set up by them so they are not fully aware of their rights and obligations in forest protection. On the other hand some provisions stipulated by the forest protection sector are not relevant with the customs of local people. To surmount the above-mentioned difficulty, the Government has issued a circular No. 56 TT/NN –KL guiding the setting of village's regulations on forest protection. Two communes, Nam Son of Tan Lac district and Ngoc Son of Lac Son district, have carried out the development of village's regulations. Each village had to develop a regulation of their own. But in fact, most of the village's regulations have been prepared by the village leader and party secretary, who based on the commune's one. After that village meeting is convened for villagers to participate in opinion contribution. Nevertheless, those regulations were developed from village level and villagers had an opportunity to participate in. Each village has different regulation in relevance with their customs and the traditional regulations are still kept. Muong people have a custom of building stilted house, thereby prohibition can not be fully applied on collection of timbers for building houses and making furniture. In each village's regulation, villagers are allowed to exploit wood from their allocated forest for house building,

furniture and coffin making as well as for the purpose of production and construction works of their village. For instance, when timber is exploited for house building, they have to make a request to the commune people's committee and have to declare in details and make estimate of a timber volume of m³, which their family intend to use for their house. The amount is subject to tax exemption and no compensation. In case there are not enough timbers from their own forest, they are allowed to negotiate with their neighbors or relatives to get timbers from their forests but with acceptance from the village leader. In the village's regulations the rights of villagers, who are allocated forests: they can collect firewoods in their own forest (e.g. dry branches). For bamboo forests, as villagers plant themselves so they are allowed to exploit. Apart from developing regulations, villages also set up a forest protection team. This team is voted by villagers on the basis of their creditability and under the instruction of village leader or group leader. Every year, in harvest season, the village will collect each household 5% paddy based on product rate contributed to communes to use as a fund and extract from this fund to pay for the protection team.

In short, in implementation of the State's policies, intention and laws, uniform implementation should be made at all levels and should be participatory so that Civilian people can have opportunity to participate in discussion and decision making.

REFERENCES

1. *Nghi quyết số 10-NQ/TW (Resolution No. 10-NQ/TW)*. 1988. NXB. Chính trị quốc gia (National political Publishing house), Hà Nội.
2. *Luật Đất đai (Land Law)*. 1988. NXB. Chính trị quốc gia (National political Publishing house), Hà Nội.
3. *Chương trình 327/CT (Decision No. 327/CT)*. 1992. NXB. Chính trị quốc gia (National political Publishing house), Hà Nội.
4. *Luật Đất đai (Land Law)*. 1993. NXB. Chính trị quốc gia (National political Publishing house), Hà Nội.
5. *Nghi định 02/CP (Decree No. 02/CP)*. 1994. NXB. Chính trị quốc gia (National political Publishing house), Hà Nội.
6. *Nghi định 64/CP (Decree No. 64/CP)*. 1996. NXB. Chính trị quốc gia (National political Publishing house), Hà Nội.
7. *Quyết định 661/QĐ-TTg (Decision No. 661/QĐ-TTg)*. 1998. NXB. Chính trị quốc gia (National political Publishing house), Hà Nội.
8. MARD. 1998. *Technical issues of six year implementation of 327 Programme*. Evaluation report. Hà Nội.
9. *Cục Kiem Lâm (Forest protection Department)*. 1996. *Giao đất lâm nghiệp (Forest land allocation)*. NXB. Nông nghiệp (Agricultural Publishing house). Hà Nội.
10. Jeane Cuisinier. 1995. *Người Mường (The Mường people)*. NXB. Lao động (Labor Publishing house). Hà Nội.
11. Vương Xuân Tinh – Bùi Minh Đạo. 2003. *Truyền thống và biến đổi trong hương dung đất của các dân tộc thiểu số ở vùng cao Việt Nam (Traditions and changes in land tenure among ethnic minorities in Vietnam upland area)*. Anthropology Review, N^o 4.
12. Trần Tú. 1996. *Người Mường ở Hòa Bình (the Mường in Hòa Bình)*. Hội Khoa học Lịch sử. (Vietnam History association).